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JAMES S. DOYLE examines the impact of money and celebrity on the work of the Washington press corps.

FREDRIC TULSKY and BILL SLOAT analyze press reaction to the investigation of a baseball hero's bent for gambling.

NICHOLAS DANILOFF opens wide the Green Mountain State to an impressed Soviet delegation.

LYNDA McDONNELL considers the phenomenon of part-time journalism jobs. Is there a "Mommy Track" for women reporters and editors?

ELI REED photographs the human condition in the late 20th Century.

HELENA LUCZYWO talks of a more open Poland at Lyons Award Ceremony.

CHRIS ARGYRIS offers solutions to help quell conflicts between presidents and journalists.

HSIAO CHING-CHANG and YANG MEIRONG recount the story of a banned Shanghai newspaper headed by a veteran journalist.

DANNY SCHECHTER explains the "grip" South Africa holds on reporters covering that country.

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"Against the Wind"

John Marks

[Publisher's note: With this article by John Marks we carve out a space in NR to be used from time to time to examine, challenge and question some of the conventions of contemporary journalism. Often we do what we do because "that's the way we do it." Observers more than others must always ask if there is another way to look at things. As did the early explorers this space asks us to look to see what lies out there against the wind.]

I recently suggested to a senior statesman of broadcast journalism that an article be written on the adversarial quality of the American media. He replied that he had never considered the subject before but, come to think of it, of course the media are adversarial — that's just the way things are.

This journalist reflected what I believe is the prevailing view among media professionals that good reporting of "hard news" is rooted in conflict and involves the chronicling of clashing personalities and forces. Within this world view, the emphasis is overwhelmingly on describing disagreements. And in the unlikely event that reporters cannot find enough conflict on their own, there have come into existence whole professions that feed the process — political consultants, lobbyists, public relations experts, public interest advocates, etc.

What reporter who has covered a political campaign or an issue beat would dispute how editors' interest fades when candidates agree ("Tweedle-dum and "Tweedle-dee") or when consensus emerges on a public policy issue ("dog bites man").

It would seem to be no accident that reporters frequently use sports metaphors, which refer to games

where winning is thought to be everything, to describe the political scene. There is a widespread attitude in the newsroom, as on the ball field, that nice guys finish last.

As President, George Bush is clearly not as much a practitioner of the "us-against-them" approach as Ronald Reagan was. Leaving aside the merits of his policies, the reporting on President Bush seems to reflect the view that consensus-building does not reflect decisive leadership and is somehow less than presidential. There is almost a palpable nostalgia — most pronounced among editorial cartoonists — for the adversarial ways of the Reagan Administration.

of perhaps that greatest of all sins in this media age: namely, being boring. Most journalists seem to work within a framework that conflict is interesting and agreement is dull; they tend to reward discordant behavior with air time and column inches; and they penalize — by ignoring — action aimed at building consensus and solving problems.

Such a framework may be fine for lively conversation and selling papers, but a case can be made that it has a negative impact on society as a whole. Society almost certainly functions better when differences are resolved and conflict is not exacerbated. Indeed, if solutions are going to be

The message is clear: A President who does not stir up rancor is guilty of perhaps the greatest of all sins in this media age: namely, being boring.

By not lashing out at opponents, President Bush has reduced the availability of sound bites for the networks and usable quotes for the newspapers. As a result, according to *The Washington Post's* David Hoffman, he gets less news coverage than his predecessor. Referring to a talk last spring to the Independent Insurance Agents of America, which dealt with a wide range of substantive issues from homelessness to the environment, Hoffman writes that the President "attracted little attention. . . . Not once did he express any rancor toward Capitol Hill."

The message is clear: A President who does not stir up rancor is guilty

found to the ever-growing list of problems that confront America and the world, common sense calls for solutions which reduce polarization and which are inclusive rather than exclusive.

The press should not become an advocate of — or a cheerleader for — particular solutions. But at the same time, responsible media voices would be wise to consider the idea that the very structure and definition of news coverage may actually hinder the emergence of such solutions.

With that said, in the public arena, conflict is probably inevitable, and the press obviously has a responsi-

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Has Money Corrupted Washington Journalism?

James S. Doyle

Money, money, money makes the world go 'round — but what does it do to journalists?

James S. Doyle, Nieman Fellow '65, a vice president of The Times Journal Company of Springfield, Virginia, and editorial director of the Times group, began his career at age 15 as a copy boy for newspapers and bureaus in Boston. Subsequently, he joined The Boston Globe, where he served respectively as bureau chief of City Hall, State House, and in Washington. In 1969, he joined The Washington Star as national correspondent; in 1973, he became special assistant to Archibald Cox, the Watergate special prosecutor. He served until the end of the trials. His book, *Not Above the Law*, a history of the prosecutions, was published in 1977. He was appointed chief political correspondent and deputy chief of Newsweek's Washington bureau in 1976. He joined his present company in 1983.

Q: What is your salary?

A: My salary is \$100,000, Sam.

Q: How much do you make, Sam?

A: Well, I make quite a bit, Reverend Falwell.

This Sunday morning television exchange between Sam Donaldson and Jerry Falwell was recounted in an October *Washingtonian* column by former Senator Eugene McCarthy — a sarcastic piece filled with observations about the self-importance of the Washington press corps. If its members continue to assume the powers and privileges of a new religion, McCarthy argued, they must demonstrate their moral superiority, at least by refusing

honoraria and making public their sources of income.

The cover piece of the same magazine is entitled "Money Fever." It says of Washington, "This is now a rich place, full of six-figure incomes, million dollar homes, luxury cars. Where does all this money come from? Is it blinding us to what's really important?"

I am uneasy about one segment of Washington's new rich — the journalists.

Six years ago I moved across the Potomac from Newsweek's Washington bureau to become the

executive editor of a group of national weekly newspapers — *Army Times*, *Navy Times*, *Air Force Times*, *Federal Times*. (Since then we've added two titles, *Defense News* and *Space News*.) While the 100 reporters, editors, photographers, artists and news assistants who work with me are all covering the Washington bureaucracy, they are part of a workaday journalism world which is far closer to the pay scales and life style of Richmond than Washington.

Some of them will become top-of-the-heap Washington bureau types. But for now they are part of a jour-



Jim Doyle surrounded by the publications he supervises. In plain talk, he explains his uneasiness "about one segment of Washington's new rich — the journalists." His target is the "fat and happy" press corps.

I am not the only observer who senses that the Washington press corps has become fat and happy, removed from readers, listeners, viewers . . . by income gaps which put many Washington journalists far above the average American.

nalistic infantry struggling to make house and car payments.

I have been struck by the difference in lifestyle and in attitudes of my former and present colleagues. (Not the least of the contrasts is the impressive digging of many of my troops and the stories of substance they turn up about government — often to find their stories picked up and rewritten, without attribution, by the national media.)

I am not the only observer who senses that the Washington press corps has become fat and happy, removed from its readers, listeners and viewers in at least one respect — by income gaps which put many Washington journalists far above the average American. Articles on the subject have been appearing more frequently.

In the past a few of my Washington colleagues had their heads turned by both proximity to power and lots of disposable income. Now this is becoming a general condition which separates a lot of the Washington press from the rest of the country.

A well-compensated writer at one of the news magazines told me, "The star system has moved from television to the print media. There were always a handful of stars. Today every major

publication and not a few minor ones have stars. These are not necessarily superstars in terms of influence, but simple people who earn salaries close to or in excess of six figures. It's ironic that even as their salaries have jumped, the influence of print journalists has diminished.

"... Forget about the TV appearances and lectures. Simply by making such huge incomes journalists have less in common with their readers. When you are on the prowl for tax deductions, how can you identify with the average Joe?

"At our place there is always talk about getting more of America into the nation section. But the 'big feet' who draw the big salaries are often pushing inside-the-beltway stories. They are making big bucks, and they have enormous influence over story selection. It's common for them to push out a piece on Gary, Indiana for an inside baseball piece on Rostenkowski and Dole.

"Journalists who vacation in Europe, stay at posh hotels and attend dinner parties with the elite have nothing in common with Middle America."

A *Los Angeles Times* Poll showed in 1985 that almost half of newspaper journalists but only 18 percent of the general public had incomes over \$40,000. The pollsters, I.A. Lewis and William Schneider, wrote in *Public Opinion* magazine, "What we end up with is an impression of newspaper journalists as something like 'super yuppies.' They are emphatically liberal on social issues and foreign affairs,

Can one be so comfortable, living among such wealth and not avert one's eyes and professional attention from the problems of the less affluent?

As a depression baby I look at the new affluence, indifference and excess and it scares me.

distrustful of establishment institutions (government, business, labor), and protective of their own economic interests."

I think it's fair to say, although I can't prove it, that many print journalists in Washington earn more than Supreme Court justices, cabinet officials, governors, mayors, full professors, school superintendents and other community leaders. It didn't used to be so.

Is this why journalists have not pressed an agenda that would focus on the economic problems of many Americans — including a generation of immigrants not offered the same opportunities as my parents and me? Can one be so comfortable, living among such wealth, and not avert one's eyes and professional attention from the problems of the less affluent?

Frank Mankiewicz, vice chairman of Hill and Knowlton in Washington, says, "Consider the fact that the drafting and the debate on the 1986 Tax Reform Act was covered for the first time by journalists, most of whom had a serious stake in the outcome. Securities regulation, restoration of capital gains tax favoritism, government attitudes toward real estate, student loans — all of these matters are no longer academic and no longer neutral for almost all our colleagues who cover these stories."

James Fallows, the *Atlantic* editor just returned from a tour in Asia, remarked on public radio that American cities are like Manila in the degree of homelessness and poverty evident on their streets. He didn't see that in any of the great cities of Asia. "Where is the Izzy Stone of the

homeless?" asks Ronald Ostrow of the *Los Angeles Times*, referring to the publisher of *I.F. Stone's Weekly* and his impact on policymakers and journalists.

As a depression baby I look at the new affluence, indifference and excess and it scares me. I wonder if there is a moral Kondratieff Wave soon to wash over us for our sins of omission, sweeping away our authority and prestige if not our wealth. I wrote to a number of reporters and writers, most in Washington, and asked if they thought this new affluence, and the celebrity status of many talk show contributors and other journalists, affected the quality and scope of reporting from Washington. Their answers are worth sharing. For the most part they made a sharp distinction between the journalist as celebrity and the journalist as wealthy. The real problem, almost all agreed, has to do with work habits and an absence of plain old shoe leather.

"There certainly is a new classification of reporter — the Journalist Performer," wrote *Washington Post* Executive Editor Ben Bradlee. "A lot of them were never journalists, like (Chris) Matthews, (George) Will, (Pat) Buchanan and (Tom) Braden.* Some of them were terrific journalists who got bored with the reporting side of it and became mesmerized by the political side. (Robert) Novak is the lead dog there. But I think this Journalist Performer has been the object of parthenogenesis, developing over the last generation or two. Certainly the Alsops, the Lisagors slowly became characters, and it's not too large a step from character to performer."

Bradlee asks, "How much real journalism is being done by the celebrity reporters? You and we are doing really serious reporting day after day by reporters whose names are not household words yet, and they probably never will be."

Washington Post columnist Colman McCarthy wrote this: "When I look at the blowhards on television — Buchanan, Kinsley, Novak, Shields, McLaughlin — I enjoy the rough and

Colman McCarthy: "When I look at the blowhards on television — Buchanan, Kinsley, Novak, Shields, McLaughlin . . . it's farcical that these guys are journalists. They're into hootchy-kootchy, carnival antics that get suckers into the tent . . . thinking that all the gab is what the news business is about. Koppel isn't much better. When he has on Kissinger, Haig . . . it's painful to see how obsequious Koppel becomes. . . ."

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"The best reporters and columnists are those who regularly get into the community — its soup kitchens, literacy programs, schools — as volunteers. That way they stay in touch with those on the margin. Which often enough is where the crucial news is to be found."

Hodding Carter III, [NF '66], sent along a five-year-old *Wall Street Journal* "Viewpoint" he had written noting that it "understates how strongly I feel about the subject." The top journalists, the column said, "move in packs with the affluent and powerful to Washington (just doing their job, of course), then swarm with them in summer to every agreeable spot on the Eastern seaboard between Canada and New Jersey. When any three or four sit down together on a television talk show to discuss the meaning of current events, it is not difficult to remember that the least well paid of these pontificators (in whose rank I occasionally fall) makes at least six

times more each year than the average American family."

The suggestion that "these players in the comfortable game of permanent Washington" are liberals is too much for Carter. "While no one was looking, they went from the raucous world of 'The Front Page' to sleek profiles in the Style sections," he wrote. "For those seeking a sociological explanation for the spread of neoconservatism and neoliberalism on editorial and op-ed pages, look no further. . . ."

"The truth is that there is not a hell of a lot of tolerance or empathy among the leading figures of national journalism for outsiders, losers, nonconformists or seriously provocative political figures or causes."

John Herbers, [NF '61], contributing editor at *Governing* magazine and a distinguished Washington correspondent for *The New York Times* until his retirement two years ago, wrote, "The prevailing orientation of Washington journalists began to change from populist-working middle class to moneyed elite in the early 70s. It took well into the 80s to be fully evident." He offers a personal benchmark for the change, from his days covering urban affairs: "One day a group of us were discussing the government's efforts to bring about a better order of economic justice — people really did

*Bradlee is making a point here. All four write for newspapers but have little or no experience as reporters.

Hodding Carter III writing in a five-year-old *Wall Street Journal*: The top journalists "move in packs with the affluent and powerful to Washington . . . then swarm with them in summer to every agreeable spot on the Eastern seaboard between Canada and New Jersey . . . on a television talk show . . . it is not difficult to remember that the least well paid of these pontificators . . . makes at least six times more each year than the average American family."

talk about things like that back then." An idea discussed seriously in academic circles was broached — taking away some of the home mortgage tax writeoff and using the money for low income housing. "No one suggested it might be a good idea, even for consideration," Herbers reports. "In the past most everything we had written affected other people, other places." Now higher salaries, television appearances, book contracts and speaking fees "put us securely with the haves. The world of the have-nots is a world we no longer know."

Herbers thinks the 1988 presidential campaign was an example. "Every action, every reaction by the

Washington press seemed to me to favor Reagan-Bush, the status quo, not out of any effort to be unfair but unconsciously out of a defensiveness that says 'This is what we know and understand. This is us.' It is not so much any lack of empathy for other classes as an insularity fed by constant contact with other Washington institutions that feed on each other."

He admires the way Robert Pear of the *Times* covered the Department of Health and Human Services, "from the bottom up," but sees mostly "a tendency to follow television with its fixation on the top of government, and a new breed of journalists, children of suburban professionals who have never been on the streets."

James Fallows, in the June 12, 1986 *New York Review of Books*, found George Will a compelling model for many Washington reporters. Will's fluency, and his success, suggested that the reward goes not for reporting or interpreting "but for sheer opinion and the promulgation of sweeping world views," according to Fallows.

The proliferating talk shows no longer use journalists as props but as stars, he said. They weren't reflecting the needs or desires of most Americans but the needs and desires of Washington. The distinction between politician, movie star and media celebrity become blurred as all compete for media attention, and two basic facts dominate the new Washington journalism: "lectures are how Washington journalists make big money, and TV is how journalists get lecture dates."

The result is more public recognition if not adulation, less time to report, less inclination to spend your leisure time among the unwashed. Fallows quotes Robert Kuttner of *The New Republic*: "The TV culture rewards people who are willing to make TV more important than anything else. It becomes a self-selecting circle of superficiality."

Fallows quotes Charles Peters, the editor of *The Washington Monthly* and perhaps a latter day Izzie Stone: "George Will and all the people imi-

tating him are playing the taste game. They're telling the readers, you can prove your taste by liking me. This puts a high premium on cleverness and pseudo scholarship. It's part of a broader movement away from a generation like my father's, who looked back on their poor relations on the farm and identified with them, to a generation that identifies with their betters. . . ."

Fallows adds, "Let me emphasize that I am not discussing Will's personality but a particular kind of journalism. Because it is high on erudite sounding opinion but low on exposure to details, it brings out whatever latent pomposity a writer may have." And he concludes that despite improvements in the talent that higher wages have brought to Washington journalism, its members need a new set of models closer to the Walter Lippmann/Theodore White/James Reston pattern "out of respect for their readers and for themselves."

Stanley Karnow, [NF '58], the author and former *Washington Post* foreign correspondent, finds the quest for celebrity status more corrupting than the money. "Reporters, who are supposed to be detached observers

John Herbers: "In the past most everything we had written affected other people, other places." Now higher salaries, television appearances, book contracts and speaking fees "put us securely with the haves. The world of the have-nots is a world we no longer know."

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dedicated to digging up the truth, have become show biz stars. As a result they have allowed themselves to be co-opted, and can no longer serve as investigators or critics of those in high places. Sam Donaldson may sound defiant at news conferences, but he is merely acting the part of the tough journalist. He is playing a role, and everyone knows it. Nobody takes him seriously and thus he reflects the fact that nobody takes the press seriously."

Karnow notes that most news about foreign affairs and other complex subjects gets to Americans by way of newspapers and not television, but that television is important because it is "validating." A syndicator told him his column would be helped if he could get a slot on a talk show. He gets few invitations and small fees when he lectures on subjects about which he has written books. TV anchormen lecture on the same subjects to packed houses. "It used to be that you derived authority from being in print," Karnow said. Now television gives what you have written credibility.

One Journalist Performer shared his (or her) experience, asking not to be identified in this piece. "I am paid about what a senior, non-celebrity reporter makes on the Washington Post.* Last year I made more than my salary in speech fees (25 or so, typically, for the last five years) . . . Most of the speeches arise from long,

familiar tenure on a television panel show. The invitations come from all over the country where my column isn't read. . . . As for my column, it is less and less about my area and more and more about national affairs that are right for the television show and speeches. I do try to bring national affairs down to ordinary people's levels. . . . Yes, my professional life and product have changed because (1) television being in my readers' living room has a tremendous influence on what I write about, and (2) I am on television myself. The latter has doubled my income and no doubt has affected my point of view subconsciously. It is quite possible that the net result is a wider gap between me and my readers. At the same time the 'status' that has come with being on television seems to have enhanced my confidence and security to the point that I feel freer than ever to take the side of plain people — to be 'liberal' if you will — in a publication otherwise committed to conservative opinion."

William Greider, national editor of *Rolling Stone*, wrote, "I think the class transition of reporters you describe is right but I'm not sure whether the biases are a function of their income

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or their *social* equality and proximity with the people they cover. When I was a reporter covering City Hall in Louisville 25 years ago I would never have dreamed that the mayor would have dinner with me. He would barely talk to me. In Washington it is routine for Cabinet officers to select news correspondents as tennis partners. Surely, this is as corrupting as money. . . .

"There was something invigorating — and perhaps also purifying — in the reporter's legacy we encountered when we were young: lean and hungry outsiders."

Author Seymour Hersh agreed. "The issue is, are reporters hungry?" he wrote. "It's not linked to economic strata, but to the desire to do the best job possible, to get the most facts and present them with care. That still goes on. I'd like to see more of it. . . . The press is largely lazy, uninterested in facts, and always looking for a way out."

Author Anthony J. Lukas, [NF '69], wrote that many reporters and non-fiction authors in New York, San Francisco and Chicago have found their incomes improving as well but have hardly pulled their punches in their books and articles. "It isn't a reporter's salary per se that permits him or her

*The average Post reporter makes around \$55,000 according to recently published figures. A senior national staff reporter would make \$75,000 or more.

Lars-Erik Nelson: "This city has no white working class, no industries, no factories . . . The normal stresses of American life are barely visible here, and apply mostly to a black population on the other side of town. . . ."

to mix on relatively equal terms with the powerful and influential. But I suspect it is the ability, nay eagerness, of many Washington reporters to socialize with the powerful, to dine at their Georgetown tables and natter at their Mclean garden parties, which drains their skepticism and blunts the edge of their reporting. There is also the relentlessly political tone of Washington reporting which leads — except at places like the *Washington Monthly* and *The New Republic* — to a woeful lack of interest in the social, cultural, not to mention economic and class dimensions of what they are writing about."

"I see two problems in Washington journalism," says Lars-Erik Nelson, bureau chief of the New York *Daily News*. "This city has no white working class, no industries, no factories . . . The normal stresses of American life are barely visible here, and apply mostly to a black population on the other side of town. . . . The real change is the professionalization of everything in journalism. Political reporting is now a full time beat, four years out of four. *The New York Times* has a guy who does nothing but arms control. *The Washington Post* has a guy who does nothing but campaign finance. *The Los Angeles Times* has a diplomatic correspondent who only does the Middle East and another who only does the Soviet Union. . . . Too often, they are intelligible only to the people they cover. Sample *New York Times* page one lead: 'Arms Negotiators Agree on New Counting Rules for Aircraft.' Leading the paper! Others plunge into investigations that are not intelligible to anyone at all."

"Prediction: you will see even more punditry. Television has supplanted newspapers for bringing basic facts to the American people."

Media critic Richard Harwood, [NF '56], offered this analysis in a chapter of the new edition of *The Washington Post Guide To Washington*: The Washington press establishment in recent years suffered a collapse of self esteem and the growth of a new elite. The journalistic coups uncovering abuses in the CIA, the Mylai massacre, the Pentagon Papers and the fall of Richard Nixon were, "in each case, the work of unheralded outsiders (Seymour Hersh, Woodward and Bernstein, Neil Sheehan)" with no connection to the Gridiron Club.

"A New Establishment has arisen in Washington and the new Press Establishment has been quite in tune with it; adversarial attitudes have spread throughout the bureaucracy and Congress, so the new posture of the press is no impediment to access The Washington press establishment, in any case, has prospered in the 1980s as never before, both in an institutional sense and in terms of individual fortunes. The great media

companies, profitable and secure, have expanded the Washington press corps enormously and elevated the living standards of its members. Collectively, they are members of Washington's upper middle class. They work long hours, have a fair quota of ambitious and liberated husbands, wives and lovers, and for all the glamour and excitement, often lead fearful and insecure lives as they contemplate the mortality and attrition of their colleagues and hear, always, in the background the footsteps of younger, brighter competitors. . . ."

Reed Irvine, chairman of the board of Accuracy In Media, Inc. disputes the suggestion that wealth would change the orientation of journalists.

"A journalist who lives in Potomac will probably take a different attitude towards a proposal for a new low cost housing project in Silver Spring than would a reporter living in the area that would be affected," he wrote. "A reporter in need of low cost housing who hoped to move into the Silver Spring project would also take a different attitude. . . . probably one closer to the Potomac resident with several times his income."

Irvine says he "personally made the transition from ultra-liberal, statist views to strong advocacy of free market economics when my income was quite low. I changed because I was in a good position to make observations of what worked and didn't work in the real world. . . . I haven't seen many of the increasingly affluent journalists who have also been beneficiaries of the Reagan prosperity acknowledge, grudgingly or otherwise, that they were wrong in their efforts

Richard Harwood: The journalistic coups . . . were, "in each case, the world of unheralded outsiders (Seymour Hersh, Woodward and Bernstein, Neil Sheehan)" with no connection to the Gridiron Club.

to denigrate the Reagan program and get it scuttled in its infancy.

"If income had the influence you suggest, Bill Moyers should be out doing a documentary on how supply-side economics really worked, bringing a rising tide that has raised most boats. What we actually see is a lot of well-to-do but conscience-stricken reporters doing penance for their prosperity by producing tear-jerking stories about the drug addicts, alcoholics and mental cases that are lumped together as 'homeless.' They are out of touch with the real world and can't write stories about these people that provide a realistic view of the difficulty in dealing with them."

Joseph C. Goulden, the author and former *Philadelphia Inquirer* bureau chief, is director of media analysis for Accuracy In Media. "I came to realize this town requires an enormous amount of energy," he wrote. "It is not enough to spend eight to ten hours a day in your office and attend the occasional backgrounder or briefing. When reporters begin to take on a plethora of outside speaking engagements and spend their weekends making the talk show circuits, how much time is left for

Joseph C. Goulden:

"... Why was the appearance of a raging mob of oldsters with Dan Rostenkowski as their target, necessary to alert the press that much of elderly America was angry at the new surtax for medicare? Do not reporters talk even with their own parents any more?"

basic reporting?

"... Reporters seem to have lost any grasp of the frustrations of blue collar workers and the lower middle-class. The reports on the 'urban poor' and 'farmers' I read in *The Washington Post* and elsewhere remind me of a sociologist's field notes. Why was the appearance of a raging mob of oldsters, with Dan Rostenkowski as their target, necessary to alert the press that much of elderly America was angry at the new surtax for medicare? Do not reporters talk even with their own parents any more?"

Tom Mathews, the political consultant, says the problem is the "mandarin style of journalism" practiced by many prominent journalists. "With a few exceptions, these name reporters engage in a convoluted, unsubstantiated guessing game about the motives, futures, tactics and ethics of our political figures. They call it analysis, but it's merely a competition among insiders to be more brilliant and different than their peers. Little leg work is involved. Almost no hard digging is done. If it were, their opinions would not be so clear and jeweled. ... The truth is often boring to these guys. That is the ultimate disgrace. They play a chess game for an audience that knows checkers. It fascinates the grand masters, but leaves the public in the dark."

Finally, many of my correspondents took exception to the suggestion that Washington journalists as a group were among the well off. "Certainly a sizable group of journalists in this town are well enough off to be legitimately called an income elite," wrote Ben Bradlee. "The average national reporter at *The Washington Post*, few of them 'Performer Journalists,' makes more than \$55,000, probably very close to \$60,000 now. But I don't know how really elite that makes them. It sounds elite as hell when you think of the days when reporters weren't paid at all well. ... Certainly the status of journalists has changed enormously. It's okay now for your daughter to marry one."

Richard J. Maloy, bureau chief of the

Richard J. Maloy:
"The whole 'overpaid, out of touch, elitist' journalist thing ... is another of those inside-the-beltway matters which involve 50 of the 2000 working press in this town ..."

Thomson Newspapers, puts in a strong word for the great number of hard working reporters who "are part of a very large sub-culture in the Washington press corps," the regional reporters. "First of all they are talented or they couldn't cut it. Secondly they are journeyman for the most part and are paid at or near the top of the AP scale which is the benchmark for this town. AP scale for a journeyman everywhere is around \$36,000 and the differential for Washington means a journeyman here makes \$40,000. Is that so much that it separates a reporter from his readers? I don't think so. Steelworkers in Lorain, Ohio make that. So do automakers in Detroit. So do GS-12s in Washington.

"When a journeyman gets good enough at what he is doing to move up to a national staff his pay goes to \$45,000 or \$50,000 in this town — not enough to sever his ties with the real world outside the beltway. ...

"The whole 'overpaid, out of touch, elitist' journalist thing in my view is another of those inside-the-beltway matters which involve 50 of the 2000 working press in this town. Do they set a tone that the rest of the press corps follows in its coverage and news judgements? I don't think so, at least among the mid-level reporters who have worked for me over the years.

continued on page 43

The Press and Pete Rose — The Missing Ingredient — Skepticism

Fredric N. Tulsky and Bill Sloat

*Cincinnati Reds clubhouses were home base for characters
that never play the game.*

Fredric Tulsky, Nieman Fellow '89, is a reporter for The Philadelphia Inquirer. Bill Sloat is a reporter on the staff of The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio. He is based in Cincinnati.

In 1988, baseball security officials became concerned about the people who used their association with the Cincinnati Reds manager, Pete Rose, to hang around the clubhouses. They were people with fancy cars and a lot of cash.

Baseball officials inquired about them, and learned from federal officials that one, Paul Janszen, was cooperating with them in an investigation.

In March 1988, Janszen had begun cooperating in a cocaine and income tax investigation. He came forward after learning that he was likely to face indictment.

It was not until February 24, 1989 that a Washington lawyer named John Dowd interviewed Janszen, who was a constant companion of Rose's during 1987. In that interview, Janszen provided a thorough account to baseball officials that he regularly bet baseball games for Pete Rose, including games involving the Reds. One day before the interview, Dowd had been hired by baseball commissioner Peter V. Ueberroth to investigate such accusations.

But it would be weeks before the

public would know any of this.

Three days before Dowd talked to Rose the Cincinnati manager had been directed to leave his team and come to New York to talk to outgoing commissioner Ueberroth and his successor, A. Bartlett Giamatti. Both *The Cincinnati Enquirer* and *The New York Times* reported after that meeting that baseball officials had questioned Rose about his betting on sports other than baseball.

a major league baseball uniform.

That discovery came March 20, when Ueberroth and Giamatti issued a joint statement that their office was "conducting a full inquiry into serious allegations involving Mr. Pete Rose." In its March 27 issue, *Sports Illustrated* reported that "SI has been told" that the investigation involved accusations that Rose "may have bet on baseball games." The *New York Daily News* later reported that the commis-

It was another month before the public began to learn of the problems of Peter Edward Rose, the man who became a baseball legend . . . who stroked more base hits than anyone else who ever wore a major league baseball uniform.

The Reds manager told *The Enquirer*, "That's been associated with me for 20 years. You can't control rumors."

It was another month before the public began to learn the full extent of the problems of Peter Edward Rose, the man who became a baseball legend for his "Charlie Hustle" style of play, and who stroked more base hits than anyone else who ever wore

sioners' announcement had been prompted when baseball officials learned of the forthcoming *Sports Illustrated* article. For the next five months, the extracurricular activities of Pete Rose became the dominant sports story of the year. It dominated the public's attention not only in Cincinnati — where the public largely decried the investigations by baseball officials and by the media —

but throughout the country.

And it ended after an August 24 press conference, when Giamatti announced that Rose had agreed to be banned from baseball for his betting activities.

Yet despite the widespread attention the media devoted to Rose, a review of the coverage raises serious questions about how well the press had acquitted itself covering this story.

- Shouldn't reporters who knew Rose best have been questioning his activities long before March 1989?
- Do sports reporters feel constrained, by the nature of their coverage of sports teams day after day, to go out and do serious investigative reporting?
- Had some reporters become so close to Pete that it caused at least the appearance that they could not be objective?

One CBS producer who was defending Rose to other reporters presented him with a birthday cake; Rose was the best man at the wedding of baseball editor for *USA Today*; and Rose testified under oath that one editor had borrowed money from him and never repaid that debt.

- Was the media in general, and in particular the Cincinnati media, duly aggressive in digging up information and reporting it, once the investigation had been made public?
- And has the media properly helped the public fully understand that Rose's problems with baseball may be largely overshadowed by the prospects that he is still under federal investigation for income tax fraud?

The investigation focuses not on whether Rose bet on baseball — the issue of concern to the commissioner — but on information they have obtained that he has earned significant cash through selling memorabilia, signing autographs and through betting that he had hidden from the government, money that he used in part to pay gambling debts.

- Even if members of the news media didn't know of Rose's baseball bets, then, should the Reds manager's activities have raised questions worth

exploring?

In 1978, the gambling of Pete Rose while he played for Cincinnati so worried Reds executive vice president Dick Wagner that he expressed concern for Rose's safety to team officials, *The Cincinnati Post* reported.

Wagner told officials at a special meeting to discuss Rose's gambling that "Pete Rose's legs may get broken when his playing days are over."

It would have been an important story broken by *The Post* except that the story was not printed until March 24, 1989 — 11 years after the meeting, and four days after baseball had announced the allegations.

Why not sooner? Should Rose's gambling habits, and his associations with the very people who raised the eyebrows of baseball security officials, have found its way into print years earlier?

and the players' use of cocaine — had drawn widespread exposure. Though clubhouses were expected to be free from hangers-on, the presence of people such as Janszen did not interest most reporters. "That entourage was a big thing to me. I thought he was gumming up the locker room with a lot of people who didn't belong in the locker room. I just felt that Rose was the kind of guy who liked to have a lot of lackeys around."

Too, Sokolove said, it was well-known that Rose "loved to bet. It was just a given around the team that Pete liked to bet on sports. Did I miss the story? Yeah. Me and a dozen other baseball writers who covered Rose over the years."

Tim Sullivan, a sports columnist for *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, said that he knew "Rose had been involved with horses, dogs. There were rumors

Despite the attention the media devoted to Rose, the coverage raises questions about how well the press had acquitted itself covering this story.

"I think among the baseball writing community there's a disinterest in doing any kind of investigating other than about what the next trade might be," said Michael Y. Sokolove, who covered the Reds for *The Post* in 1987 and now is writing a book about Rose. "And you're too busy; you have to write 60 to 70 inches of copy a day on the beat." While Sokolove said there was no cover-up by the media, he added, "There's a disinterest, a lack of proficiency at that kind of reporting, even fright at that kind of reporting."

Sokolove is not a typical sports-writer; he joined *The Post* after earning a reputation at the *Philadelphia Daily News* for aggressive cityside coverage.

When he became the Reds baseball writer, it was less than two years after the Pittsburgh Pirates clubhouse —

for years he had bet on college football and basketball. Clearly there were questions about his association, the kind of lifestyle he led."

Sullivan said that Rose's popularity did not lead his paper to pull any punches. While he placed an item in a column a few years ago, admonishing Rose for his flagrant racetrack betting, "I had no sense as to the extent of his gambling."

Others, who knew Rose's practices better, also did not attempt to raise the issue.

Andy Furman, a sports commentator of WLW-AM, a 50,000 watt station that carries the Reds games, is a former public relations staff member for the Turfway Park outside Cincinnati.

In that role, Furman concedes that he had first-hand knowledge that Rose

was betting extensively and having other people at the track cash tickets for him.

Furman contends he was not in the media but working as a track employee, and Rose was a customer: "So when I saw people cashing his ticket I didn't get involved. Obviously I didn't get involved, and when I went on the radio I stayed quiet about what I knew." Part of his silence, he said, was motivated by the feeling that Rose's betting practices had nothing to do with the Reds. "Or maybe," he added, "I didn't want to make waves.

"People were really afraid, really intimidated about covering Pete. There were some sports writers who were close to the situation and who walked on eggshells," he said.

crumbs, at least not in print."

Many of those associates were people connected to Gold's Gym, the club owned by Michael Fry.

Rose met many of those people through his association with Thomas Gioiosa, who befriended his son in Florida and, ultimately, befriended Rose himself.

Rose brought Gioiosa back to Cincinnati and allowed the young man to move in with the family. Gioiosa ran his errands and placed his bets, according to Rose's own statements. Gioiosa became manager of Gold's Gym in 1984. Through him, Rose met Fry, Donald Stenger, a national champion bodybuilder who was an investor in the gym, and Janszen.

It was also through people at the

that was the tipoff," said *Cincinnati Post* staff writer Randy Ludlow. "The meeting was about gambling, and every sports writer in this town who covered Rose knew he liked to gamble. But nobody started digging. The story was blown right from the start, nobody started checking into Rose's associations, nobody took a look at the people he hung out with."

There were signs of trouble.

In March, Ueberroth sent a new expert to speak to each team as part of the spring-training ritual. In addition to experts warning about the dangers of drugs and gambling, the personnel of each baseball team heard from a retired IRS agent who warned players of the need to report on their taxes all income.

Richard Levin, a spokesman for Major League Baseball, explained the purpose of that discussion: "We had reports that people were walking away with money and not reporting it. We wanted to make sure they knew this was against the law."

In February, Janszen had told Dowd — in a conversation not made public until months later — that not only had Rose bet regularly on baseball but he was obsessed with trying to raise money in cash so that he would not have to report it to the government.

Janszen described watching the Reds manager earn \$10,000 or more that he collected in cash.

"He used to complain about the promoters that tried to give him checks," Janszen said. He quoted Rose as saying in 1987 that the IRS was "onto him" and that he had been forced to report some money. "He said it was just a percentage of what he actually made, but it was enough to keep the IRS happy."

The March 15, 1989 edition of *USA Today* featured as its lead story the IRS warning on their taxes. The only reference to Rose: "Cincinnati Reds manager Pete Rose, who takes checks, says, 'Just because you have a briefcase full of cash doesn't mean you're out to cheat the government.'"

(Within weeks, *Sports Illustrated* reported that customs officials said,

Wagner told officials at a special meeting to discuss Rose's gambling that "Pete Rose's legs may get broken when his playing days are over."

One man with knowledge of the impact that reporters can make is Martin F. Dardis, who while an investigator for the Dade County prosecutor in 1972, provided Carl Bernstein with checks that established money was going from the Committee to Reelect the President to the Watergate burglars.

"I've found in my travels that sports-writers have a tendency to get awed by professional athletes," said Dardis, now a special correspondent for *Sports Illustrated*, who was one of the first to come up with information that Rose had bet on baseball.

"They travel with the team and they really don't want to write about them," Dardis said. "Just like in Pittsburgh, the guys in Cincinnati I think were aware of it and they didn't write about it. They knew he was a gambler, but never questioned why he was hanging around with all those

gym that Gioiosa was introduced to Ron Peters, the Franklin, Ohio restaurant owner who contends that he was Rose's major bookie.

By mid-1987, the gym's owner, Fry, was indicted for cocaine trafficking and had agreed to cooperate in the federal investigation. By November 1988, Janszen had been indicted and also agreed to cooperate. That same month Stenger was indicted; he agreed to plead guilty to cocaine distribution and income tax evasion and cooperate with federal authorities.

Yet none of these events caught the attention of the media.

After Rose was summoned to New York in February 1989, Dardis and others at the magazine began asking questions.

Initially, they had little company.

"When Ueberroth called Rose up to his office in New York in February,

A baseball writer: "... you're too busy; you have to write 60 to 70 inches a day on the beat." While there was no cover-up ... of Rose, ... "There's a disinterest, a lack of proficiency at that kind of reporting, even fright ..."

that when Rose returned from a November 1981 trip to Japan, he failed to declare \$47,197.54 in cash from the Mizuno sporting goods company, for which Rose does endorsements. Mizuno official Yoshizawa Tsunao told the magazine that Rose had "personally requested that he be paid in cash.")

Within days of the March 20 announcement of the baseball investigation, the magazine offered details of the probe, reporting that an attorney for Ron Peters who was a cafe owner in Franklin, Ohio, and Rose's principal bookmaker, had approached *Sports Illustrated* the previous week attempting, unsuccessfully, to sell his story.

His attorney, Alan Statman, had told the magazine that Peters had been approached by baseball officials, asking if they had information that Rose bet on baseball. "We said we can supply that information," Statman was quoted as saying.

Peters, it would turn out, also had approached other publications, including *The Cincinnati Enquirer* and *USA Today*, seeking money for his story; both also turned down the offer.

Rose, in the article, denied betting on baseball and denied knowing Peters though the magazine added, "three people told *SI* they have seen Rose" at Peters' cafe.

Indeed, the magazine went beyond that allegation. The same article quoted sources as saying that Paul Janszen also was involved in Rose's baseball betting.

The article also quoted Fry, the gym

owner, as saying that Tommy Gioiosa was regularly placing bets for Rose. It quoted Fry as saying that to his knowledge the bets did not involve baseball.

Soon, other media became involved. Many newspapers assigned nonsports writers to the story at this point.

The Dayton *Daily News* reported March 24 that investigators found betting slips in Peters' restaurant that led them to Rose. The newspaper said that Stenger, who was sentenced to prison that day, had led the officials to Peters.

Peters was indicted in early April and agreed to cooperate with federal authorities.

That same day, *The Cincinnati Post* broke its story on Rose's earlier betting.

One March 25, *The (Cleveland) Plain Dealer* reported that the gambling allegations against Rose originated from members of the cocaine-smuggling ring that included Janszen and Stenger.

The Dayton *Daily News* reported that Rose was so far in debt he had sold the bat with which he broke Ty Cobb's record for the most hits.

And the *New York Post*, in a story

other newspapers were unable to confirm, quoted a source as saying that Cincinnati police estimated that Rose was in debt to bookies of at least one-half million dollars. On March 26, a *Washington Post* story noted that Rose, in an interview with Cincinnati reporters, had denied that he was in financial trouble, saying he had "no idea" where such stories came from. He lashed out at *Sports Illustrated* in particular, saying, "They talked with four guys; two of them go to jail, the other says he's a bookie, and the other one's my friend; they didn't say nothing about him."

In that story, *The Post* quoted former teammates as raising questions about Rose's associations — he made as best friends people "from all strata of life," with nicknames "like Cadillac Charlie and Nick the Stranger." It also said that "one story in the Reds clubhouse" is that Rose was "reported to have bragged about betting on the underdog Dodgers in last year's World Series."

Rose was the cover of the April 3 issue of *Sports Illustrated* with the headline "Under Siege." In the story Rose was quoted as insisting that he "never placed illicit bets with bookies on any sport." He denied he had major gambling losses or evaded income taxes. Even so, the magazine said, former Gold's employees said Janszen and Peters both placed bets for Rose with Ron Peters. The story quoted a source "with access" to the gym's phone records as saying that numerous calls were made from the gym office to Peters' restaurant.

On April 5, the *Plain Dealer* and *The Cincinnati Post* both quoted from an Internal Revenue Service af-

"... I thought he was gumming up the locker room with a lot of people who didn't belong ... I just felt that Rose was the kind of guy who liked to have a lot of lackeys around."

fidavit that said a man code-named G-1 was wagering \$8,000 to \$16,000 on baseball games during several days in May, 1987. G-1 was identified by sources as Rose, the papers said. The affidavit had been filed in seeking a search warrant for Peters' home and business.

On April 7, the *Plain Dealer* reported that federal sources said that Rose was the subject of a federal grand jury investigation for possible gambling and tax evasion. The article appeared the day after Gioiosa was indicted for defrauding the government of earnings from a January 1987 winning ticket — by wrongly claiming the ticket was his when it really was owned by another, unnamed individual — and for cocaine trafficking.

The next day, *The Cincinnati Post* reported, based on anonymous sources, that the income tax fraud investigation of Rose involved allegations that he had been deliberately hiding his betting winnings from the government.

The *Dayton Daily News* reported that same day that anonymous authorities believed Rose was the secret owner of the winning racetrack ticket cashed in January 1987, by Gioiosa.

On April 9, the *Plain Dealer* reported that Janszen had told baseball investigators that Rose bet on baseball games, including those of the Reds. The article was published days after Janszen appeared for a sworn deposition with Dowd, in which he repeated many of the accusations made to Dowd in February.

On April 12, CBS news broadcast a report that the network had uncovered

"When Ueberroth called Rose up to his office . . . that was the tipoff," . . . " . . . every sports writer who covered Rose knew he liked to gamble. But nobody started digging . . . nobody took a look at the people he hung out with."

sources alleging that Rose had bet on his own team.

On April 13, *The Washington Post* ran a long story summarizing the developments to date: it cited a March 31 meeting where Ron Peters met with FBI and IRS agents.

It noted that despite Rose's denial that he bet on sporting events other than dogs and the track, a former bullpen catcher and former business associate of Rose's, Gary Waits, had spoken openly about Rose's football and basketball betting. It also quoted Rose's brother as saying he assumed Rose bet on sports — though such betting only is legal in Nevada.

The story said that federal officials had been interested in Rose's finances for three years, they had questioned Carolyn Rose about her former husband in early 1986.

On April 25, the *Plain Dealer*, *The New York Times* and both Cincinnati newspapers reported that federal officials had told a U.S. District Judge during a conference that they had been told by Peters that Rose made illegal bets that could be "in excess of \$1 million" over a two-year period. Quoting from a transcript made public one day earlier, the accounts

noted that the assistant U.S. attorney, Robert Brichler, said that the government's interest in Rose was not in his betting, but in income "that we feel has not been reported."

On April 30, the *Plain Dealer* reported that baseball investigators had traced a \$10,000 payment from Rose to Janszen, which was noted on the check as a "loan" and was deposited in the account of Janszen's attorney. Investigators were quoted as saying they had not found documents to support the claim that the check was a loan. Janszen, the newspaper noted, claimed that Rose owed him up to \$40,000 in gambling debts.

On May 9, *The Cincinnati Post* quoted Michael Fry as saying that he planned to tell a federal grand jury that Rose had fallen far behind in payments to bookmakers and knowingly associated with drug traffickers.

What is notable, reviewing those early articles, was they they were largely accurate accounts of what would later be shown to be the evidence accumulated against Rose. Many of the stories relied on sources, either through investigators or by talking to associates of Rose.

But if the stories did nothing more than follow in the steps of the official investigations, they successfully made the public aware of the case that was developing against Cincinnati's greatest sports hero.

Not all the sourced-stories appearing in this period were critical of Rose. Several critics contend *The Cincinnati Post*, among other publications, accepted too readily any information provided by Rose's supporters

A sports commentator: "People were really afraid, . . . about covering Pete. There were some sports writers who were close to the situation and who walked on eggshells."

during this period.

The April 30 *Plain Dealer* article on Janszen being paid a \$10,000 "loan" by Rose, for example, was published only after articles had begun appearing in *The Post*, attributing to sources information that the gambling accusations surfaced only after Janszen had unsuccessfully tried to blackmail Rose. (Rose would later make this same allegation to Dowd during a deposition).

Merlyn Shiverdecker, Janszen's attorney, contended that *Post* staff writer Al Salvato "should have been writing under the byline Reuven Katz or Robert Pitcairn," two of Rose's lawyers. "He was being spoonfed one side of the case — Rose's side."

The Enquirer, Cincinnati's dominant newspaper, was noticeably absent of stories about the major disclosures during this period. The June issue of *Cincinnati magazine* stressed the newspaper's failure to be in the forefront, recounting morning radio show hosts "reciting versions of the season's most popular joke: one Cincinnati says to another, 'Did you hear the latest about Pete?' 'No,' says the second, 'my Cleveland paper hasn't arrived yet.'" The article reported that editor George Blake's mother had called him, to find out why his paper was not covering the story.

Reporters say editor Blake, who has become a crusader in journalism, has set a policy against the use of anonymous sources. Under his policy, no story quoting sources may appear on the front page without his personal approval; anonymous sources may only be used in rare circumstances.

"*Enquirer* reporters understand our policy, so local stories with anonymous sources appear infrequently. We will continue to lobby within the newspaper industry for tougher standards elsewhere, too," he wrote on February 5, 1989, before the Rose issue even surfaced.

The *Dayton Daily News*, one of the papers early into the story, had reporters that went far beyond anonymous sources. Reporter Joel

Rutchick combed records at the county and federal courthouses, records suggesting that Rose had financial problems. Though the paper had several people digging through the records, Rutchick said, they did not encounter reporters from the Cincinnati papers.

Enquirer editor Blake wrote several columns defending his newspaper's handling of the matter.

On March 26, as the allegations first surfaced, Blake wrote that although "our coverage of this affair has been extensive, we have upheld our high standards. A review of our coverage shows we followed our usual policy on anonymous sources: quotes are to be attributed, speakers are named.

"While most of the information printed in *The Enquirer* was developed by our own reporters, we watched closely how others covered the story. It was disheartening."

Citing the first *Sports Illustrated* story and its reliance on sources, Blake wrote, "Say it ain't so, *Sports Illustrated*."

number of stories we could have written, but didn't, because we were uncomfortable with the credibility of the information we were receiving. Most now have been proven inaccurate."

There were some erroneous stories attributable to sources: The *Dayton Daily News*, for example, reported in March that Rose was likely to be suspended for at least a year, in a decision due out that Thursday. But at this point, while Dowd and his staff had talked to Janszen and begun assembling serious allegations, their final report was still more than one month away.

But many of the inaccuracies in the media came not from anonymous sources, but from on-the-record statements of Rose that later proved to be false.

Other Cincinnati media, largely stoked the flames of fans who refused to acknowledge that Rose could have done anything wrong by such commentators as WLW's Bob Trumpy, who hammered away at the disclosures as unbelievable because they

... Rose was so far in debt that he sold the bat with which he broke Ty Cobb's record for the most hits.

On July 2, after Dowd's report had been made public, Blake wrote, "We have covered the Pete Rose story carefully since news of baseball's investigation first surfaced. We have avoided anonymous sources, even missed stories that other newspapers wrote based on information from unnamed people.

"Did we harm our coverage by missing these stories? I think not. I have reviewed all the volumes of information released this past week, seen hundreds of his-word-against-mine allegations, second-hand quotes and flimsy proofs. There were a

came from sources.

Night after night, too, Rose received strong defense from former Cincinnati mayor Jerry Springer, a news anchor on WLWT-TV, the station that broadcasts the Reds games.

Springer not only is the anchor; he also does a nightly commentary for the station, a platform that served Rose well.

On March 21, after baseball first announced its allegations, Springer said of Rose betting on things other than baseball, "big deal. It's his money. He's not hurting anybody."

On March 24, he said that even if

“... There were a number of stories we could have written but didn’t, because we were uncomfortable with the credibility of the information... Most now have proven inaccurate.”

Rose was betting on baseball, “another part of me wonders why any of this is the baseball commissioner’s business anyway.” Absent evidence that Rose bet *against* the Reds or fixed games, Springer argued, “Who is this Peter Ueberroth or Bart Giamatti to tell us, from some office in New York, who we like as a manager of our hometown team?... It’s our team, our town, our game. And Pete’s done a helluva lot more for all three than any commissioner ever did.”

One month later, he said, “To see Bart Giamatti, whose credentials are that he once wrote poetry about baseball, pass judgment on Pete Rose, who is poetry on baseball... well, it’s at least mildly offensive.” On June 22, he told viewers that “maybe he [Giamatti] didn’t originally set out to ‘get Pete’ (as Pete’s most loyal fans suggest), but he sure needs him now, for his career (albeit a short one) is at stake... Simply put, to save his job, Giamatti’s gotta win.” The next night, he told viewers, “I know. I’m not being objective. I’m biased.”

Giamatti died suddenly of a heart attack on September 1, days after he suspended Rose. Springer said then that “Last week, Bart Giamatti took the heart out of Pete Rose by banishing him from the game that is his life. ‘Lifetime suspension,’ he ruled. Today, in the saddest of ironies, Bart Giamatti had his own heart removed... suspension from life... the 51-year-old commissioner of the game he loved... dead.

“I still think he was dead wrong on Pete,” Springer told his audience. “Now, he’s just dead.”

For other journalists, the personal attraction of Rose raised questions

about the appearance of partiality, at the very least.

Rose himself, in a sworn deposition with Dowd, said that “I’ve loaned a couple friends money that’s failed to pay me back.” One, he said, he did not want to name, because “He’s an editor of a big-time paper,” and “It could hurt him if it ever got out.”

Rose’s attorneys declined to name that editor publicly, though they said it was not an Ohio editor.

Then there is Hal Bodley, the baseball editor of *USA Today*, a publication that prides itself on its sports coverage. On April 6, a column that Bodley wrote, headlined, “Clouds Cover the Sunny Side of Rose,” was preceded by the disclaimer that the two men had been “close friends” for 15 years. Their wives were former housemates; Rose and his wife had been best man and matron of honor at the Bodleys’ wedding, the precedent noted.

In the column, Bodley wrote that Rose was a heavy gambler, but “told me emphatically he never has” bet on baseball.

“To me,” he wrote, “the investigation has brought one poignant point home.” Rose, he wrote, is “one of this

country’s greatest resources, and I’m not talking about baseball.”

The newspaper, despite its sport emphasis, had not been among the publications breaking major developments on Rose.

Bodley had written a March 21 story announcing the investigation, saying that Rose “acknowledges betting at horse and dog race tracks” but “denies betting on other sports activities” — a denial Rose himself later backed away from. He declined to comment for Bodley, saying, “If something happens, when something happens, I’ll talk about it then.”

That same day, the newspaper raised an issue in a sidebar, “Probe clouds Rose’s future,” that would be echoed time and again in other publications: How would the probe affect Rose’s Hall of Fame chances? Two days later, reporter Rachel Shuster wrote that Rose did not talk about gambling reports, but had little doubt that he would still be elected into the Hall of Fame.

A sidebar story quoted baseball writers who make the selections as saying that on-the-field contributions were what mattered. Such stories, it would seem, were grossly premature then, and remained premature both in June, after the Dowd report had been released, and August, when Rose was suspended. While they seemed to capture the fancy of many sports editors, the stories missed one critical fact: Rose remained under criminal investigation, a probe that could ultimately lead him to jail. Might voters react differently, if Rose was in prison when he became eligible for

“Who is this... Ueberroth or... Giamatti to tell us... who we like as manager of our hometown team?... It’s our team, our town, our game. And Pete’s done... more for all three than any commissioner ever did.”

their vote?

Meanwhile, the day after newspapers reported the baseball probe, Bodley had another lead story in the newspaper, this one featuring charges made by Rose's family in *GQ Magazine*. Bodley wrote, "If it isn't enough for Cincinnati Reds manager Pete Rose that the baseball commissioner's office is probing 'serious allegations' against him, now his ex-wife and kids from that marriage are kicking up dirt."

CBS News, as the allegations against Rose surfaced, made a major commitment to the story, sending a large team of reporters and producers to Cincinnati and elsewhere.

One of them, producer Laurie Singer, openly told other reporters that she believed Rose was innocent of the charges; and on Rose's birthday, Singer presented him with a cake.

Singer had developed a working relationship with Rose's lawyers that led her to receive a copy of the transcript of the conference in U.S. District Judge Carl Rubin's chambers, where prosecutors said that they were investigating Rose on income tax violations. That story did not appear on CBS News in the evening; the *Plain Dealer*, one of the newspapers to break the story, received its copy from another CBS employee at the network.

By late June, as Rose was trying desperately to have the case taken away from Giamatti, the focus of the criminal investigation — and the facts of the case — became less significant than the issue of Rose's lawsuit seeking to stop baseball from disciplining him.

(There were some exceptions, such as a *New York Times* story on June 22 saying that the FBI had betting sheets with Rose's fingerprints on them showing wagers in his handwriting on the Cincinnati Reds.)

On June 25, Hamilton County Common Pleas Judge Norbert Nadel issued a temporary restraining order, as requested by Rose, blocking baseball commissioner Giamatti from holding his hearing on the

matter. The decision appeared to have little to do with legal precedent: The overwhelming view of experts was that Nadel could only act once and if Giamatti had been shown to act improperly.

The Cincinnati Post the following day quoted a colleague of Nadel's, Judge William Mathews, as saying Nadel faced "a tough decision to make with the home-town crowd watching." He noted Rose had "a lot of followers out there who are also voters. That has to be part of the consideration."

The issue would seem particularly significant in Ohio, a state where voters had in 1987 rejected an effort to reform the court system by abolishing the election of judges.

Given the political context, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* went to the Bureau of Elections to scrutinize the contributors to Nadel's past campaigns. Although a mass of reporters had come to town and watched Nadel's hearing, only five looked up those records, but decided not to pursue the story, since the contributions were relatively minor.

that the contributions were legal, and had not affected Nadel's decision, others said the contributions showed the problem in a system of electing judges. "Obviously, it does raise the appearance of partiality," said law professor Jeffrey M. Shaman, an expert in judicial conduct. "You have to ask yourself why" the contributions are made. "The question answers itself. Attorneys want to garner support from judges."

The story was widely reprinted, most significantly by *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, whose own reporter had days before rejected the story. *The Enquirer* made the disclosure — by a Philadelphia newspaper — of information found in city campaign records, its lead story June 29, but trimmed from the story the reference to what Judge Mathews had said.

Almost immediately after Nadel ruled in Rose's favor, he was forced — by a state Supreme Court order — to release a copy of the entire Dowd report, and the exhibits to that report, which had been introduced as evidence during the hearing. The

"... People didn't want to believe bad things about him... they were too hard on his accusers and too sympathetic to Pete... It was like the media had their head buried in the sand."

The *Inquirer* story appeared on the front of the sports section on June 29 and noted that Nadel had accepted more than \$1,500 in contributions in his two most recent campaigns from attorneys in firms representing Rose. There were 26 contributions from those attorneys in all out of 690 total contributions the judge received in those campaigns.

And although the contributions were small in size, so were all contributions to Nadel.

Though Rose's attorneys insisted

Supreme Court acted on the request of the *Plain Dealer*, a request that was not joined by the Cincinnati media.

That report, and the exhibits, led to a considerable amount of publicity about the case against Rose, which turned out to be far more than the unsubstantiated testimony of convicts, as Rose's attorneys contended.

In one of the most creative efforts, NBC News studied the telephone records that were included as an exhibit to the report — and by so doing, were able to show telephone

calls to a man identified in New York as a bookmaker connected to the Mafia.

Meanwhile, during the hearing before Nadel, one local television reporter expressed surprise at a man who walked in with Rose's attorneys and sat near their table during the hearing. That man, said the reporter, was Jimmy Simon, a private detective with a questionable past.

Yet while local reporters raised questions in conversation about Simon, the local media never wrote about him; that duty was left to *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Plain Dealer*, which both produced July 12 articles.

Simon, it turned out, had been a former Cincinnati police vice officer who left the force at the same time he pleaded guilty to obstructing justice. Common Pleas Judge Mathews later expunged that guilty plea and wrote a letter of recommendation when Simon sought and received his private investigator's license.

But what made Simon's actions on behalf of Rose particularly interesting was his past efforts on behalf of Janszen, Rose's chief accuser. When Janszen first went to the federal authorities in March 1988, agreeing to cooperate and making his disclosures, Simon accompanied Janszen then and sat in on the interview. Thus, while he was present and heard Janszen's accusations in 1988 — almost a year before baseball heard those accusations — Simon now was working for Rose. It was, experts told both papers, an apparent conflict of interest.

Furthermore, Simon was actively approaching witnesses against Rose, seeking statements from them contradicting the statements that appeared in the evidence gathered by John Dowd.

The Cincinnati Enquirer never did use that story, but did run a front page story June 29, saying that Rose's attorneys were accusing Janszen of contacting witnesses, encouraging them to stick to what they had told Rose. Rose's attorney cited in

particular a conversation between Janszen and James Procter, a friend of his who told baseball officials that he once overheard Janszen taking baseball betting information from Rose.

Janszen did talk to Procter, but only after Simon had approached Procter, trying to get him to sign an affidavit that conflicted with what he told Dowd.

"In Cincinnati, I think the media as a whole gave Rose every benefit of the doubt and then some," said Janszen attorney Shiverdecker, a former prosecutor. "People didn't want to believe bad things about him. I think they were too hard on his accusers and too sympathetic to Pete. The media made such a hue and cry that anybody would make these allegations, when to some in the community," such as police, defense lawyers and bookies, "it was almost common knowledge. It was like the media had their head buried in the sand."

one's mind, the conversation was dropped. Rose was asked questions ranging from his response to the movie *Batman* to his view on which of his home runs he considered most memorable. Would reporters covering, say, Gary Hart in the midst of his troubles have dreamed of asking such questions and receiving such responses?

Some reporters involved in the coverage appear to have become too close to the Reds manager, and to have treated him with an abundance of deference. Would any major newspaper allow its city hall reporter to become the close friend with the mayor — and then write columns about the mayor's problems, even with a prelude disclosing those ties?

There were articles written on Rose that appeared to include little more than rumor — such as the March 26 *Washington Post* article, relating "one story in the Reds clubhouse." On the other hand, there were newspapers

Would reporters covering Gary Hart in the midst of his troubles have dreamed of asking such questions and receiving such responses?

A review of the coverage of this story raises many questions about how the press handled the actions of a sports legend. Early on, the press was either unwilling or unable to raise the questions appropriate to the allegations. Some lay it to an aversion to such reporting; others say reporters covering sports teams depend on access to produce their daily copy.

Consider a July 3 meeting in Philadelphia between the Reds and the Phillies. Veteran's Stadium was swarming with reporters wanting to hear from Rose. But when he made it clear before the game that he would not discuss the one topic on every-

such as *The Cincinnati Enquirer* that chose the other extreme — and missed important stories out of reluctance to use unnamed sources, however reliable.

Sports is not government, and the need for close scrutiny of sports actions is not the same. But at the same time, the days of the *Boys of Summer* are long past. If there are lessons to be learned from the case of Pete Rose, it is the need for the media to bring to sports coverage the same ethical and professional standards, and the same healthy skepticism, expected on any other beat. □

Hands Across the Sea — A Carrot Approach

Nicholas Daniloff

*The Vermont tour furthers glasnost; it may even smooth the way
for a new ice cream flavor — creamy "Karelian Crunch."*

At the request of Governor Madeleine Kunin, Nicholas Daniloff, Nieman Fellow '74, who had spent time in Lefortovo prison on a faked spying charge, escorted Soviet officials around Vermont so that they may meet the people, study agricultural methods, and view manufacturing plants. Mr. Daniloff, the former Moscow bureau chief of U.S. News & World Report, is a Vermont resident. (See Nieman Notes, page 62.)

Over the last year, the state of Vermont and a Soviet republic — the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic to be exact — have been developing plans to become sister states. Their courtship has raised questions: Why this relation in the first place? Why did Vermont choose Karelia? What's in it for either side? And why would the author of the Vermont-Karelia documents (also the author of this article), who was imprisoned by the Soviet secret police in 1986, on trumped-up charges, be assisting the process?

Many people were surprised by the liaison, and none more than President Kuzma Filatov of Karelia. I accompanied President Filatov and his five-member delegation around Vermont last fall. And I listened to him acknowledge to local audiences that the sister-state proposal came like a bolt from the blue when Governor Madeleine Kunin travelled to Karelia in December 1988.

"I was sitting at my desk in Petrozavodsk when suddenly Moscow rang," Filatov recalled on several occasions. "Someone from the Foreign Ministry was saying, 'The governor of an American state wants to visit you.' And I replied: 'Fine but when?' The voice from Moscow answered without hesitation: 'Tomorrow!' "

tractive woman is Madeleine Kunin, Governor of Vermont! The first woman governor I've ever seen. And her Secretary for Civil and Military Affairs is another woman, Liz Bankowski!"

The audiences, disarmed in one ingenious first strike, would roar. Filatov, 62, a high Communist Party

"... I imagined the governor of an American state would be a tall, strapping man with a protruding stomach, you know, the sort of cigar-chomping capitalist that our propaganda has traditionally churned out."

At this point the Vermont audiences inevitably broke out into gales of laughter and a broad smile spread across Filatov's face. His eyes were twinkling and he continued.

"Of course, I imagined the governor of an American state would be a tall, strapping man with a protruding stomach, you know, the sort of cigar-chomping capitalist that our propaganda has traditionally churned out."

At this point, the audience would tense, sensing another one-liner coming up; maybe a vicious one.

"Imagine my surprise when a group of people walk into my office the next day and I find out that the slight, at-

official, a native Karelian with three grandchildren, who once served as a diplomat in the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki, has captured the listeners. Sensing the good vibes, he would pour on charm, like any good, press-the-flesh politician.

Filatov speaks no English and had to work through an interpreter who clearly favored English over American, and the word "lady" over the noun "woman." It suited the president's style, and the Vermonters loved it.

Filatov savored the idea that Karelia and Vermont were courting and moving towards engagement, if not outright marriage. "We are the first

autonomous republic in the Soviet Union to develop a sister relationship with an equivalent American state," he would say, a touch of pride in his voice.

Actually, the courtship was not so easy. It had its ups and downs. The Greeley Foundation of Concord, Massachusetts (created to continue the work of Rev. Dana Greeley) was the marriage broker. And the first partner the Foundation fixed on, failed. Following up on President Reagan's 1985 agreement with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to expand people-to-people exchanges, the Greeley Foundation wanted to link Vermont with Estonia. But the United States government never recognized the forcible incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union. For Vermont to enter into partnership with Estonia would be a violation of U.S. national policy.

At this point, Dr. Gregory Guroff, Coordinator of the President's Initiative on U.S.-Soviet Exchanges, suggested Karelia might be a suitable counterpart. Karelia, with a population of 800,000, lies north of Leningrad along the Soviet-Finnish border. Like Vermont (population 500,000), Karelia is a land of lakes, birch forests, cows, and granite quarries.

Governor Kunin, a Democrat, liked the idea of a sister-state relationship but didn't know much about Karelia a year ago. Nevertheless, she accepted

"We were greeted so warmly, and with such sincerity!" . . . It was obvious we were entering a new era, a time when we could talk openly and honestly to one another. . . ."

Building bridges across the "cap-com" gap . . . is something Vermonters are proud of. . . . Vermont has spawned a host of organizations seeking better understanding with the Soviet Union.

the Foundation's invitation to journey to Moscow, Leningrad, and Petrozavodsk and see for herself.

"We were greeted so warmly, and with such sincerity!" she is fond of saying. "It was obvious we were entering a new era, a time when we could talk openly and honestly to one another. I happen to be one who believes we in the United States should do all we can to help Gorbachev rebuild the Soviet Union."

For Governor Kunin, the sister-state relationship opened up broad prospects going far beyond state level exchanges. She saw the possibility of a wide-ranging dialogue with a jurisdiction of the Soviet Union. More communication could contribute to exorcising old stereotypes and to better understanding. That could create another brick in a new structure of peaceful relations.

Building bridges across the "cap-com" gap, in any event, is something Vermonters are proud of. Although a small state, Vermont has spawned a host of organizations seeking better understanding with the Soviet Union. Bridges for Peace, a people-to-people exchange program, is headquartered in Norwich. The youth exchanges of Project Harmony are masterminded from Montpelier, Vermont's capital. The Experiment for International Living, which is reaching out for a Russian exchange, is located in Putney.

And there are others, like Beyond War and The Children's Art Exchange.

A sister-state relationship, solidified by official assurances from both sides, would throw an umbrella over all these private groups and develop new possibilities. It would encourage Karelian officials to open doors to visiting Vermonters, and get them access in official quarters where access in the past had been difficult if not impossible. And it would prove a stimulus to further dialogue.

From the Karelian side, the purpose became obvious. When I was working on arrangements for President Filatov's tour, I spoke occasionally with the Soviet Embassy in Washington. "Keep in mind," one official told me, "this delegation will be looking for economic opportunity, not cocktail chatter."

In the age of glasnost and perestroika, the republic of Karelia, like other Soviet provinces, is restructuring its economy. It is reaching out for know-how and new ideas. "Why should we reinvent the bicycle if we can get help from others on a mutually profitable basis?" President Filatov said over and over again.

What he had in mind became clear

Karelia's cows . . . produce about 8,000 pounds of milk a year. . . . Tall Oaks Farm Holstein cows produce up to 26,000 pounds of milk per year per cow. . . . If Karelian cows could make more milk, Karelia could produce more ice cream, it could export its excess to Leningrad. . . .



The friendship agreement between Vermont and Karelia is cemented via pen by Governor Kunin and President Filatov. Nicholas Daniloff, author of the Vermont - Karelia documents, explains the process to the Soviet official.

Photo by Toby Talbot

during four days in Vermont. Karelia's cows, for example, produce about 8,000 pounds of milk a year, a low yield compared to American standards. The Holstein cows at Tall Oaks Farm in Vernon, by contrast, produce up to 26,000 pounds of milk per year per cow. If Karelia could learn the secret of Tall Oaks' success, then theoretically, it could boost its own productivity.

If Karelian cows could make more milk, Karelia could produce more ice cream. And if Karelia could produce more ice cream, it could export its excess to Leningrad, the second largest city in the U.S.S.R. Under Gorbachev's new policies, Karelia (with Vermont's help) could make a profit, and plow that profit back into the lagging Karelian economy.

So it was not entirely accidental that Ben and Jerry's, one of the nation's ice cream manufacturers, became one of the prime targets for

President Filatov and his deputy premier for economic development, Lenian P. Kitsa. Along with Karelian vice president Vladislav Petukhov and deputy education minister Valentina Makara, we headed for Waterbury on the first full day in Vermont.

The delegation wanted to see if Ben and Jerry's was a monster factory or a relatively small operation. They were pleased to discover that the Waterbury plant was the latter, well within the capabilities of Karelia. Now Karelia and the Vermont ice-creamers are in the process of making arrangements for Ben and Jerry's to open a factory in Karelia. And, who knows, there may be further fallout. Deputy Premier Kitsa disclosed that Karelia has a cranberry surplus which might be good for a new B&J flavor. Jerry, at least, seemed intrigued that chocolate cookies, made in Karelia, might be turned into a new product named "Karelian Crunch."

Other bright ideas surfaced during the Karelians' tour of Vermont. Tony Clark, a cross-country skier and proprietor of Blueberry Hill Inn at Goshen, wondered if a skiing tour could be arranged. Clark has already visited Petrozavodsk and skied in the cross country marathon at Murmansk. "I'll look you up when next I come to Petrozsvosk," he told Filatov and deputy premier Kitsa. They squeezed his hand and smiled, on leaving the inn, as if the words could mean hard currency in their treasury.

Syl Stempel of Trout Unlimited, who attended a dinner at Blueberry Hill Inn in the Karelians' honor, was quick to make his pitch, too. Guiding Filatov to the inn's pond, he demonstrated a high tech rod with floating fishing line, bouyed by encapsulated air bubbles. Filatov made several practice casts, clearly hoping to land a big one, if not that very night, at least some time in the near future.

The strikes kept coming. How about importing Karelian handicrafts, carved toys, wooden plates and spoons, embroidered aprons? Could Karelian wood carvers produce some items especially for the Vermont market? Is it true, Vermont Liquors wondered, that Karelia has an excess of vodka made according to Peter-the-Great's original recipe?

The mood of the visitors and the Vermonters was uniformly high, and the talk was straight. And it seemed to me I was right in accepting Governor Kunin's invitation to assist the process between Karelia and Vermont. I had had some trepidations, of course: I had cautioned officials in Montpelier that there could be problems. Fifty years ago, Stalin provoked a war against Finland and swallowed 10 percent of Finland's territory under the Treaty of Moscow of 1940. Stalin was anxious to safeguard the security of Leningrad and for that reason he annexed all of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Most of the seized Finnish territory was incorporated into the Leningrad District, but some went into the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Although Finland has accepted this territorial cession,

I called at the estate of . . . Alexander Solzhenitsyn. [He] would not receive us, but Natalya Dmitrievna, his wife, met us in the driveway and chatted. She poured scorn on the [Vermont-Karelia] project. "Karelia," she said, "is a land built on the bones of the dead."

many conservatives in the United States continue to deplore Stalin's land grab.

That's not all, either. Scattered throughout Karelia, until quite recently, were a number of *GULAG* camps where thousands of political prisoners suffered and died. One of the most infamous of these was the Solovki penal colony on the Solovetsky Islands. After World War II, many amputees were unjustly secreted there so they would not be visible to society at large.

No doubt there have been other injustices over the years. Beginning in 1937, Moscow's aggressive russification policies all but wiped out the indigenous Karelian and Veps languages in Karelia.

Before embarking on my summer assignment as Vermont/Karelia consultant to Governor Kunin, I called at the Cavendish estate of the Nobel prize laureate Alexander Solzhenitsyn. I had with me a Soviet photographer friend who wanted to record the great writer at work. Solzhenitsyn would not receive us, but Natalya Dmitrievna, his wife, met us in the driveway and chatted. When the talk turned to Vermont/Karelia, she poured scorn on the project. "Karelia," she said, "is a land built on the bones of the dead."

I understand her outrage and her protest. As an American of Russian background, I know only too well that members of my family perished in the Russian civil war. I have been unjustly imprisoned for two weeks by the KGB in Moscow in 1986, in retaliation for the arrest in New York by the FBI of a Soviet agent, Gennadi Zakharov. I could take a no-talk-no-contact position, too. Nor do I argue with those who say the United States should maintain some leverage because the Soviet Union has not become suddenly benign or democratic.

But it seems to me we are at a crucial moment in Soviet-American relations. Decades of economic mismanagement are driving the Soviet Union to reexamine its most fundamental principles. Soviet

. . . we are at a crucial moment in Soviet-American relations. . . . Soviet leaders are in a mood to solicit advice, to discuss seriously, and to make major changes. . . . If we have complaints about the past, and not a few of us do, this is the time to voice those complaints; . . . to recognize and discuss those mistakes . . . and to move on.

leaders are in a mood to solicit advice, to discuss seriously, and to make major changes. If the Soviet economy is in crisis, this is the time to help individual jurisdictions improve their consumer economies before a major economic bailout is required.

If we want to see the Soviet Union become a more democratic society, and a more peaceable nation, this is the time to bring the Soviet Union more closely into contact with the rest of the world. If we have complaints about the past, and not a few of us do, this is the time to voice those complaints; this is the time for both of us — Americans and Soviets — to recognize and discuss those mistakes . . . and to move on.

In treating with the Soviet Union today, the United States will need both carrots and the sticks. Vermont and Karelia are cautiously dealing in carrots. The tricky part will be finding the right combination of both. □

There's Been a Change in the Newsroom

Lynda McDonnell

Families take precedence over exciting times — interesting people.

Journalism is often practiced as it is portrayed in the movies: An all-or-nothing career, sanctified by the First Amendment and akin to a religious vocation. Late hours, travel, deadlines, the unpredictability of news and intense competition within and without newsrooms make them a difficult master for parents who want to have supper with their kids or nurse them through the worst of the chicken pox.

Slowly but surely, however, the nation's newsrooms are making concessions to families. More often these days, journalists of both genders switch jobs, work part-time, turn down assignments or decline promotions in order to have more time with their families.

At the *St. Paul Pioneer Press & Dispatch*, for example, younger managers resist weekend management meetings. At *The Des Moines Register*, a male copy editor turned

down a promotion because it would have reduced his time with his young children.

But in journalism, as in most professions, it is more often women who curtail their careers to spend time with their children. Some newspapers are bending the rules in order to retain women who want neither the Superwoman's exhaustion and guilt nor the frustration of stagnating in professional backwaters or abandoning the newsroom altogether.

Courier-Journal in Louisville.

Any newsroom that wants more women in management has no choice but to accommodate family needs, said Nolan, who has studied the issue for the Associated Press Managing Editors group.

In 1985, editors at *The Washington Post* began allowing new mothers to work part-time. Currently, a dozen women reporters and editors hold part-time jobs. Part-time reporters include a political columnist and

"If you want to keep attracting people to this profession, you have to say 'We want you to have a family life, a life outside the office and we're going to help you do it,' ..."

Lynda McDonnell, *Nieman Fellow '80*, is on leave from the *St. Paul Pioneer Press & Dispatch*, where she was the business editor. Before this, she was the newspaper's economics writer and columnist. From 1974 to 1981, she worked for the *Minneapolis Tribune*. She and her husband Steve Brandt have two sons.



The solutions — part-time work, shared jobs, flexible schedules, a hiatus outside the newsroom — are largely *ad hoc* and experimental. But with more women in newsrooms, the demand for accommodations undoubtedly will grow. For better or worse, family issues are being felt in the newsroom.

"If you want to keep attracting people to this profession, you have to say 'We want you to have a family life, a life outside the office and we're going to help you do it,'" said Irene Nolan, managing editor of *The*

medical reporter as well as a copy editor, feature writers and general assignment reporters, positions where part-time jobs are more common.

Tom Wilkinson, assistant managing editor at *The Post*, said management is simply responding to a new reality: The rising number of women in newsrooms. The paper does not want to lose talented, experienced women when they have children.

"These are valuable people who will probably be the guts of the paper in the future and it behooves us to pay attention to them," he said.

Job-sharing among journalists is less common because it is hard to match people's talents. But in *The Post's* Tokyo bureau, the husband-wife team of Fred Hiatt and Margaret Shapiro share both the bureau chief's job and care of their two children. Margie and Bill Freivogels also share the care of their four children and the job of assistant Washington bureau chief for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

Some newspapers that have resisted modifying conventional work schedules are now taking another look. *The New York Times* discourages part-time schedules and has few people working them, according to senior editor Carolyn Lee. But she is reviewing the newsroom's personnel policies and studying such options as flexible schedules and shared jobs.

"Employers have to think about having some options and not penalizing people for choosing certain options over others," she said.

Is a Mommy Track emerging in newsrooms? That sort of question makes a nice headline. But the more important questions are more subtle: Does an employee voluntarily curtail her career for family reasons or is she pressured to do so? Does she condemn herself to newsroom grunt work by choosing a part-time schedule? Since few men reduce their hours when they become fathers, does a woman who works part-time permanently stunt her career?

The question about long-term effects is hardest to answer because

the industry has little experience with journalists who step off the fast track for a few years and then seek to get back on.

Short-term costs are easier to measure. Few newspapers pay for health insurance for part-time employees, according to Nolan. For single parents or those whose spouses do not have family health insurance, this makes part-time work prohibitively expensive. *The Washington Post* has addressed this problem by requiring part-time employees to pay 25 percent of the cost of benefits. The newspaper pays the full cost for full-time employees.

Meanwhile, the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* pays for full benefits for part-time workers but does not give them supervisory jobs.

And many newsrooms restrict part-timers to jobs as general assignment reporters, feature writers or copy editors. For some women, that sacrifice is too high. Nina Bernstein, [NF '84], chose not to reduce her hours at *The Milwaukee Journal* a decade ago when her two sons were young. To do so would have meant leaving her social services beat for a general assignment reporting job and a diet of weather and "the circus-comes-to-town" stories.

"It's a tense balance between what you want to do with your work and the time you want to spend with your kids," said Bernstein, who is now an investigative reporter for *Newsday*. "I wanted to write stories that would make a difference."

Instead of cutting her hours, Bernstein did what many working parents in newsrooms do: Sought ways to increase her flexibility. Because she worked for an afternoon paper and had a beat that produced more projects than deadline stories, she did not have to stay late many nights. She also worked Saturday nights in order to be home with her children one day during the week.

To ease the strain between the demands of newsrooms and the needs of young children, other journalists apply for fellowships, write books or take

... many newsrooms restrict part-timers to jobs as general assignment reporters, feature editors or copy editors. For some women that sacrifice is too high.

jobs as teachers or administrators.

Shortly after her daughter was born in 1987, Margaret Engel, [NF '79], took a leave from her reporting job at *The Washington Post* to become the director of the Alicia Patterson Foundation. The foundation awards \$25,000 grants to journalists who pursue independent reporting projects. Engel is expecting her second child in the spring of 1990 and *The Post* has extended her leave to 1991.

The foundation job offered Engel an escape from the pressure to stay at *The Post* each night until the 7:30 p.m. deadline. "Feeding your kid and putting your kid to bed are not things you want to cede to a babysitter," she explained.

Along with flexibility, the foundation post gave her a high-profile job in journalism that has enabled her to expand her knowledge of foreign affairs. In editing fellows' articles for the quarterly magazine, for example, she has learned about Haiti, El Salvador, and Hungary. She also has learned to do desktop publishing.

Engel works at home two days a week and in her Washington office three days. Because the job is defined as two-thirds time, she is able to do free-lance work during evenings and weekends, when her husband cares for their daughter.

How will the time outside the newsroom affect her career when she returns to *The Post*? "I think the jury is still out in terms of whether I'm off or on (the fast track)," she said. "I'm

Since few men reduce their hours when they become fathers, does a woman who works part-time permanently stunt her career?

just out of the picture."

For many journalists who choose temporary jobs outside the newsroom or part-time jobs inside it, the biggest worry is that they are permanently sidetracking their careers.

"In the minds of the part-time people, there's a concern over what they're trading off," acknowledged Susan Okie, a medical doctor who works three and a half days a week as a medical reporter for *The Washington Post*. She also is active in a group of *Post* women with young children that meets monthly.

Another *Post* reporter likens newsrooms to an escalator: "If you step off, it's very hard to get back on because you have to push somebody else off."

The Post has a full-time medical reporter who manages the beat when Okie is home with her children. Nonetheless, Okie acknowledged, "the hardest thing about the job" is her own competitiveness and the intense atmosphere of *The Post*.

Wilkinson said *The Post's* editors are looking for ways to reassure part-time workers that their career potential is not viewed differently because they work shorter hours. "These are very good people," he said, "and we are not interested in having them frustrated and angry."

Part-timers' concern that out of sight is out of mind is not without cause, however. In the restless firmament of newsrooms, there are few holding patterns. If one's star is not rising, it may be falling. In many newsrooms, part-timers may be viewed as less serious, committed, and promotable than those who are working 40, 50 or 60 hours a week.

Alice Bonner's, [NF '78], experience is a case in point. Bonner, a single parent who recruits journalists for Gannett Newspapers, arranged to work four, 10-hour days when she came to *The Washington Post's* city desk as an assistant editor in 1982. Her peers worked five 10-hour days but Bonner wanted an extra day with her daughter, who has cerebral palsy and is now 10 years old.

By working Wednesday through Saturday, Bonner missed the Monday planning meetings and inherited such "non-coveted" tasks as editing religion columns. After two years, her boss asked her to leave the desk to make room for someone else.

"My superior's view of me started to change," Bonner said. "Not only was I not moving ahead, I was asked to take a job that was much lower . . . I was seen as an expendable person on the desk."

The job offer, proofreading agate for a neighborhood section, was withdrawn when several of Bonner's colleagues objected. In 1985, Bonner joined Gannett, where she normally works from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.

days a week. But managing editor Tim McGuire says the arrangements aren't working very well because the part-time editors do not have enough contact with their staffs.

Meanwhile, *The Courier-Journal* felt obliged to ask one assistant features editor to increase her work-week from four days to five. "Reporters weren't getting enough time with her and her boss was working seven days so she could work four," Nolan explained.

At the *Post-Tribune* in Gary, Indiana, features editor Bonnie Miller Rubin won management support for her request to leave each day at 3 p.m. after she returned from a three-month adoption leave. But her seven-person

Part-timers' concern that out of sight is out of mind is not without cause. . . . In the restless firmament of newsrooms, there are few holding patterns. If one's star is not rising, it may be falling.

The Post's Wilkinson declined to speak to the specifics of Bonner's experience. But he noted that 1985 was "the dawn of time as far as when this first surfaced." Since then, the paper has learned, "Unless you want to lose these people, you've got to accommodate the change."

More rare and difficult to arrange are part-time management jobs. Section editors, desk chiefs, and assistant city editors must plan coverage, edit stories, nurture reporters and copy editors, and attend a panoply of meetings. The work often cannot be done in 40 hours, much less 20 or 30.

Some newspapers that have experimented with part-time supervisory jobs have been unhappy with the results. The *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* has one assistant city editor working 7-hour days and an editor of community sections working three

staff objected so strenuously that she abandoned the part-time schedule after a few days.

"All they knew was that I was waltzing in here at 9 and waltzing out at 3," Rubin said. As an editor on a small paper with a small staff, Rubin could not offer promotions or bonuses to her people. "The only management tool I have is a lot of feedback from me." With her part-time schedule, she was not giving them enough.

Because of such difficulties, Carolyn Lee of *The New York Times* said managers easily can fall into the trap of not considering women with young children for management jobs.

"As someone who doesn't have family or whose family is grown, you assume certain considerations that the other might not share," she explained.

Nolan has seen the other side of the

coin. In recent years, she has asked three women in her newsroom to consider promotions to jobs as assistant city editors. Two of the three declined because of family responsibilities. Nolan filled all the jobs with white men — and was criticized by some women in the newsroom for doing so.

She believes that because management jobs are so demanding, job-sharing arrangements offer more potential than part-time work for accommodating mothers in management jobs.

Without some creative adaptations, she warned, newsrooms will lose skilled female managers who are in their 30's and 40's when they have their children. Rather than feel torn between their children and the long hours required by their jobs, many such women will leave the newsroom.

Most newsrooms can ill-afford such losses. According to a survey by Jean Gaddy Wilson at The University of Missouri, women hold only six percent of top media jobs and 25 percent of middle management jobs. But 53 percent of new reporters are women.

At present, newsroom personnel policies are evolving by trial and error.

The tension between families and newsroom careers will never be completely eliminated. "I'm constantly torn about it" . . . On one hand "I would hope we could be sensitive to the needs of young families." On the other, "Hell, I want my people to be here working their tails off."

Wilkinson of *The Washington Post* admits to having "a vague, uneasy feeling" that part-time schedules will become so popular that scheduling will become a headache and the newspaper's quality will be hurt. But with only 12 part-timers among 450 people in *The Post's* newsroom, "I just don't think we need to panic," he said.

At the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, the concern is more immediate. On the 51-person metro staff, 11 people have shifted to part-time hours. Three other newsroom employees have requested reduced hours.

McGuire believes his paper erred by being too liberal about part-time jobs. By approving virtually every request for reduced hours, the paper has encountered two problems, he said. Most part-time reporters work day hours and have been exempt from rotating evening and weekend shifts. The exemption has made full-time employees resentful. Moreover, since the newspaper allowed part-time employees to switch back to full-time whenever they wanted, managers were not free to hire people to cover the available hours.

As a result, editors found themselves "looking out and not having enough people to throw at something," he said. The newspaper now requires part-time employees to share rotating shifts. And from now on, employees will be allowed to work part-time for one year. After a year, they must return to full-time work or become permanent part-time workers with no right to return to full-time schedules.

"We will continue to encourage it," McGuire said, "but not keep adding to the pool so that you get an incredible number."

The tension between families and newsroom careers will never be completely eliminated. "I'm constantly torn about it," acknowledged Geneva Overholser, [NF '86], editor of *The Des Moines Register*. On one hand, "I would hope we could be sensitive to the needs of young families." On the other, "Hell, I want my people to be

here working their tails off."

But Overholser illustrates one encouraging, if small, trend: Women journalists who have achieved top posts despite the unconventional paths they took to the summit.

As a young journalist in the 1970's, Overholser left a newspaper job in Colorado to accompany her husband to Zaire and Paris, where he taught and she free-lanced for five years. She also gave birth to their first child.

When the family returned to the United States, Overholser spent a year as a Congressional Fellow, then sought a newspaper job. Most editors told her she wasn't sufficiently committed to her career and turned her down. But the editorial page editor in Des Moines was impressed with her unorthodox resume and hired her.

"It is still very difficult for women unless there are people in hiring positions who are interested in seeing what looks like a motley resume," she said.

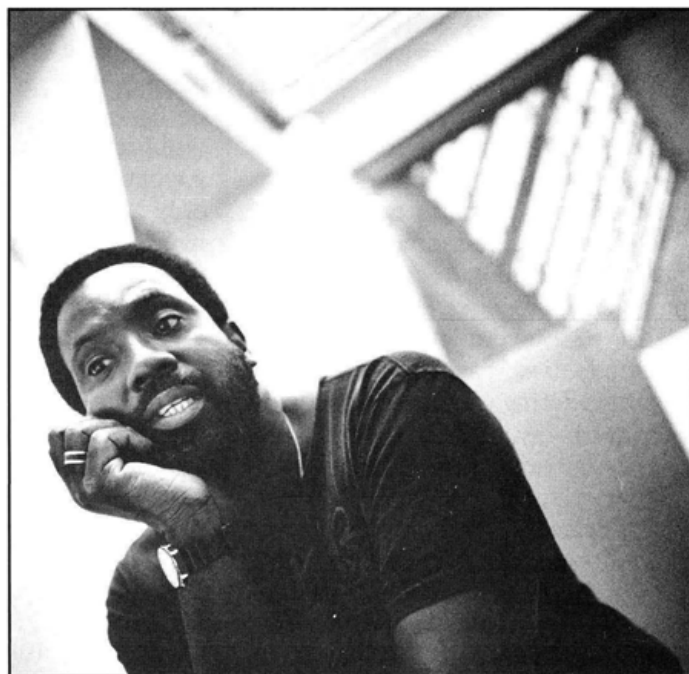
Overholser has been twice blessed by *The Register*. After her Nieman Fellowship, Overholser joined the editorial board of *The New York Times*. She returned to Des Moines as the paper's top editor late in 1988. Although her children are only 4 and

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There is no single answer to the tension between the delights and needs of children and the excitement and demands of newspapers. . . . newsroom managers are beginning to help with the balancing act. . . . they have no choice.

Photos From the Gallery of Eli Reed, Nieman Fellow '83

The photographer-journalist travels many miles each year photographing people and places that appear in periodicals with an international readership and in televised broadcasts viewed by millions. One still in this issue of Nieman Reports is from the NBC-TV program, "America's Children: Poorest in a Land of Plenty." Eli Reed's photos reflect compassion for the oppressed and an admirable curiosity about all subjects.



Eli Reed considering lights — position — subject.



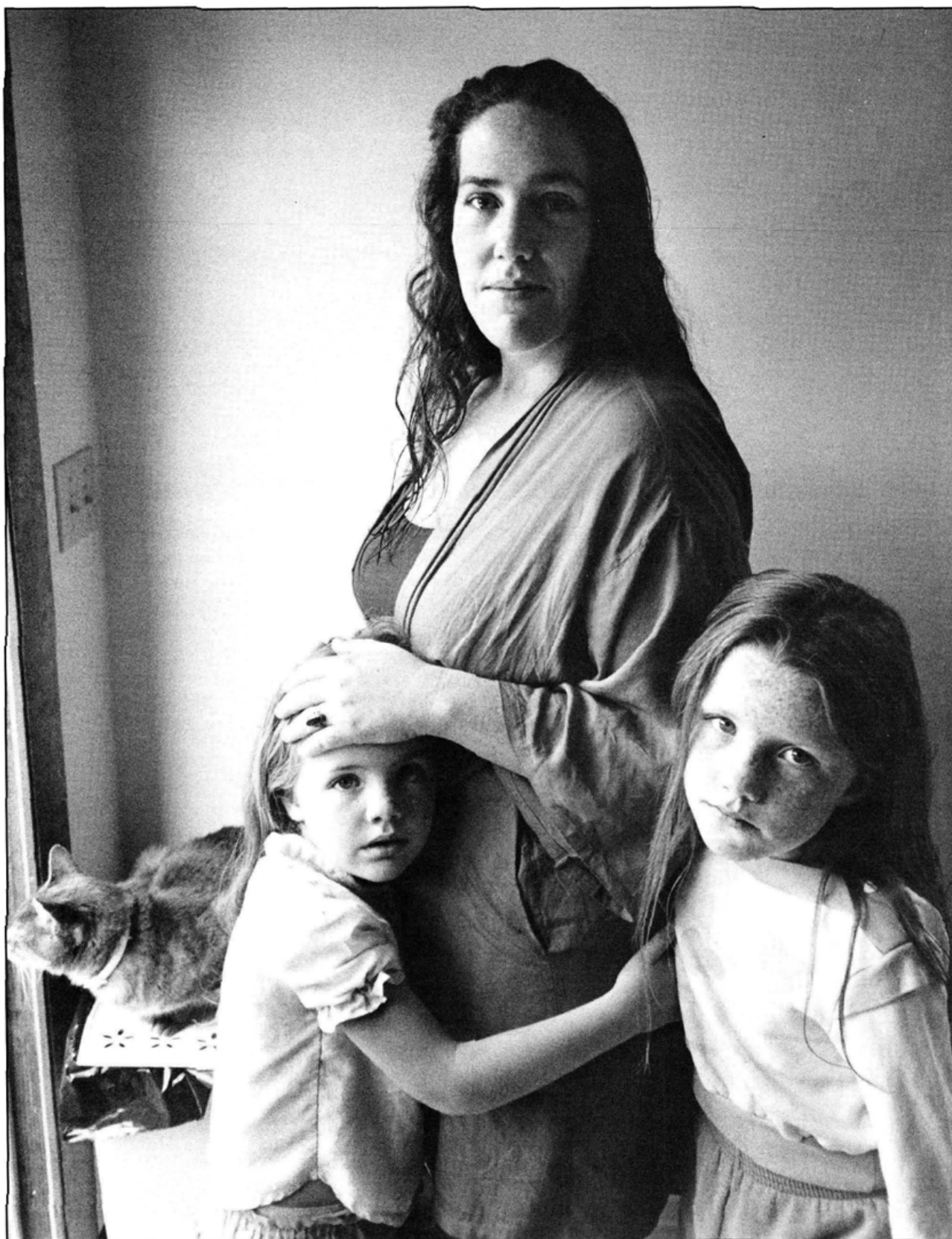
A little girl and her younger brother — Children of Poverty — peer through the screened door of their house in Louisiana. The girl's hair had been curled for the photo session, the boy's face was scrubbed. The photographer — Eli Reed — had left the house; he turned and saw the two peering faces; he snapped the shot.



Halston, the famous fashion designer in an undesigning moment with his favorite chair that he considers more art work than chair. It is photographed at such an angle that it resembles winged sculpture. Halston has designed for the famous, the theater, and for the wife of a president who wore a Halston signature — a pillbox — when she traveled on the hustings with her husband.



It is "Top Dog Night" at the celebrated Apollo Theater in Harlem. The performers are talented amateurs who have reached the finals. There are actor's agents in the audience. The entertainers go on stage as amateurs, but they might return back stage with contracts in their pockets.



In Boston, a single parent, her children and their cat, welcome a photo session — it makes the day different. The parent explains that it is not easy, in a city this size, to be caring for a family. Yes, she marches in peace parades and she marches for the homeless. And today, she has someone who listens.

The Media and Their Credibility Under Scrutiny

Chris Argyris

A Harvard Business School professor deplores the antagonism when press and politician meet.

Almost ten years ago James Thomson, then the curator of the Nieman program, and I wrote separate articles on how the journalists were shooting themselves in the foot and damaging the credibility of their profession. Thomson described the "Madonna - prostitute complex" often exhibited by journalists — on the one hand, invoking "First Amendment rights" or "freedom of the press" and on the other hand a tendency toward self-denigration and institutional self-abasement.

I reported a similar defensive reaction as a result of a study of a large newspaper as well as discussions and seminars with Nieman Fellows over a period of ten years.

One defense noted by Thomson and

myself was that when attacked by "outsiders," journalists circled the wagons and blamed the outsiders. They paid little attention as to how they contributed to the problem.

Now, ten years later, these defenses continue to thrive. The most recent example is the report by Bernard Kalb and Frederick Mayer on presidential news conferences. The blame is largely placed on the presidents. I believe that the bias was not intended nor was it recognized. It is this last that worries me because articles like mine can be dismissed by activating the "Madonna" feature of the complex.

First, I should like to explain my biases.

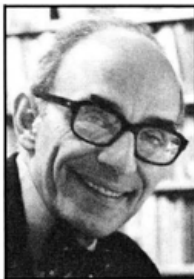
anti-learning and overly protective. That reasoning typically causes individuals to distort reality, to deny that they are doing so, to hold others responsible for the defensive world that is being created. It is difficult, under these conditions, to get at some semblance of truth.

Finally, since most individuals behave thusly when dealing with issues that can be, or are, embarrassing or threatening, they naturally create defensive routines to reinforce and reward the defensive reasoning or action. This becomes a natural part of everyday life.

The Kalb-Mayer Report on the Presidential News Conference: The

Defensive reasoning typically causes individuals to distort reality, to deny that they are doing so, to hold others responsible for the defensive world that is being created.

Chris Argyris is James Bryant Conant Professor at the Business School and the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University. He has been a special consultant to a number of government departments in the United States and also to several foreign governments. His newest book, *Overcoming Organizational Defenses*, will be published this coming year.



Research indicates that individuals and organizations have master programs to deal with embarrassment or threat — bypass and cover-up the bypass. Individuals use defensive reasoning when they create the bypass and cover-up routine. The reasoning is defensive because it is

report, I believe, exhibits defensive reasoning. It is unfairly biased against the presidents and their staff and unfairly protective of journalists. I also believe that the bias was *not* intended. Finally, I believe the defensive routines were instrumental in creating the bias *and* the

unawareness.

I accept as valid the description by Kalb and Mayer of the relationships between presidents and journalists. They suggest that, with the possible exception of President Kennedy, the news conferences could be characterized as having the following defensive patterns:

1. The presidents were fearful of making slips and errors; of being caught uninformed and thus possibly not in control. They were fearful of not projecting the image of being presidential.
2. The presidents dealt with these fears by making long introductory statements, by giving long answers, by acting as if they were answering the question when they were not, and by using a question to answer the question they wanted to answer, etc.
3. The journalists reacted to this with irritation and frustration. They tried to frame questions in ways that answering them could not be bypassed. They became adversarial, questioning motives, and appearing to distort or to divulge information that was uncomfortable to the President.
4. The presidents interpreted such behavior as evidence that the press intended to embarrass them, and so upped the ante of the threat of the presidential news conference. They again reacted in the same manner, plus developing a genuine mistrust of the motives of many journalists.
5. That irritated and frustrated the journalists; they responded by repeating and strengthening their adversarial actions.

Defensive patterns that become routine: This defensive pattern occurs where there is competitiveness and mistrust between the players.

Studies of these situations lead us to predict:

1. The mistrust and competitiveness will be reinforced

even more.

2. Presidents and journalists will become increasingly calculating on how to prevent the other from embarrassing and frustrating them.
3. The players, during the news conferences, will act as if the defensive behavior is not the case.
4. Both sides will become increasingly cynical; each side will hold the other responsible for the demise of the news conferences.
5. So, the defensive actions developed over the years become routine; they take on a life of their own, and they become increasingly unmanageable.

The report goes from the description of the relationships between presidents and journalists to recommending that the news conference be held twice a month during daytime hours and to six televised news conferences a year during the evening hours. But it completely bypassed what to do about the defensive routines even though the authors acknowledged their existence. For example, they recommend daytime conferences because a smaller viewing audience may reduce the defensive friction of both sides.

If this happens, then the journalists may well react to the continued lack of trust by placing most of the blame on the president and his staff. That is precisely what happened.

The Miller Commission on Presidential New Conferences described similar defensive routines. The report appears to hold both parties responsible. "All parties share some of the guilt. Too often . . . the president has appeared to many observers devious and distrusted in his relations with the reports. Some reporters, their numbers swelled in record proportions, have on occasion demonstrated more an instinct for the jugular than for journalism."

There is a curious defensive reasoning on the part of the journalists. In two reports, they describe the defensive routines as causes of the demise of the presidential news conferences. Yet, in neither case do they recommend ways to reduce adversarial roles. That leaves presidents and journalists "free" to continue their defensive behavior whenever they choose to do so. The puzzle is that the journalists know that presidents protect themselves by reducing the number of news conferences. Ken Thompson's admonition to the presidents is illustrative. He warns the presidents

Presidents are warned that news conferences are an important institution by which the press and public hold the president accountable for his policies. No similar admonition is given to the press.

At best, however, the defensive routines will be temporarily suppressed. Each side will continue to see the other as potentially threatening. The fears of the president and his staff would surface when they saw what the journalists wrote or televised after the day conferences.

that news conferences are an important institution by which the press and public hold the president accountable for his policies. No similar admonition is given to the press.

The logic reminds me of "tails you

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Press Freedom in China and the *World Economic Herald* Case

Hsiao Ching-chang and Yang Meirong

This paper was given by Hsiao Ching-chang, Nieman Fellow '85, and Yang Meirong at a conference held this past October at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. The meeting, titled "Voices of China: Politics and Journalism in China Today," was attended by scholars and journalists from the United States, China and Taiwan.

Conferees stressed such subjects as freedom of the press in China, and the United States' media coverage of that country. Other papers were given by Liu Binyan, Nieman Fellow '89, and Harrison Salisbury, retired foreign correspondent of The New York Times, who is the author of books about China.

Hsiao Ching-chang and Yang Meirong are with The China Times Center for Media and Social Studies at the University of Minnesota's School of Journalism and Mass Communication.

On April 24 this year, because number 439 of the Shanghai-based *World Economic Herald* published remarks made by the late former General Secretary Hu Yaobang's friends, colleagues, subordinates and public figures at a Beijing memorial meeting, the Shanghai municipal party committee banned the newspaper, and now closed it down. It was the first such action in forty years. Thus the event became well-known both overseas and in China, and an important component in demands for press freedom among the pro-democracy student movement.

The paper was banned for publishing remarks of Hu Yaobang, speaking of what he had done for people during his lifetime. On August 18 of this year, Xinhua News Agency disseminated a signed article, "The revised inside story of the *World Economic Herald* case," which claimed that the *Herald* was banned because these remarks were "really not sincere mourning, but actually were a pretext to provoke opposition to the Chinese Communist Party." To openly publish in opposition to the formal decisions and related rules of the Party Central Committee was wrong. Whether these remarks were

are recognized as unjust and discuss important political issues? Whether China's newspapers and magazines can maintain some independence, strive for some press freedom, perform to some degree a watchdog function?

The Chinese Communist Party always stresses "uniformity in public opinion," and has implemented several types of control over the media. Under this dictatorship of the proletariat, media have first responsibility to "unify public opinion" so that the people do not have "muddled thinking." Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, discussions of press

"... usually when we bring up press freedom, we encounter this jeer: 'What kind of press freedom do you want? Do you want bourgeois freedom or proletarian freedom? ... Do you want absolute freedom or relative freedom?' After these taunts you can't say anything. ..."

"not sincere," whether they were only "a pretext" to criticize the government can only be decided, if one had the opportunity to see that remarks made at the meeting came from people's hearts. This brings up an important question for people: Whether China's newspapers and magazines can openly criticize governmental actions which

freedom are simple strivings for bourgeois liberalization. These have become principles in journalistic work since the liberation of mainland China.

Under the guidance of these principles, most people don't discuss such issues as "newspapers' independence" and "watchdog role," which make up

press freedom. It's as a Communist veteran journalist said, "Although the constitution states that citizens have freedom of speech and freedom of publication, and doesn't state that this or that are not allowed, usually when we bring up press freedom, we encounter this jeer: 'What kind of press freedom do you want? Do you want bourgeois freedom or proletarian freedom? Do you want abstract freedom or concrete freedom? Do you want absolute freedom or relative freedom?' After these taunts, you can't say anything. Then in order to avoid suspicion of being bourgeois, no one mentions press freedom again."

But in the history of large-scale political campaigns in China, every one of the decisions and regulations, especially those which Mao Zedong had seen as "absolutely necessary" and "critical" to the Cultural Revolution, were afterward proved to be wrong, and to have caused great harm to the Chinese people. These lessons made honest newswriters, especially some veteran newspaper people, reflect upon whether news organizations should serve as the "tools" or "mouthpieces" of the party and the government. If the Chinese Communist Party's line, direction and policies are correct, then forget it; but if they were mistaken, then they could be abetting the situation, troubling the nation and the people. As part of the recent press reform, people have issued points of view about the "tools" and the "mouthpiece" role, about whether one can openly disagree with governmental decisions.

They felt that the media, within the scope of the law and regulations, ought to have relative independence and the right to freedom, to carry out the supervisory function for the masses. It is essential for other newspapers to reflect the voices of many different kinds of people, to report truthfully, to fulfill the function of being the people's "mouthpiece," to uphold the people's right to know, their right to understand, their rights to participate in

and their rights to advise the government. The *World Economic Herald* and its editor-in-chief Qin Benli, however, were not the only ones among China's newspapers and news people who wanted to practice this kind of thinking, they were just in the vanguard.

The *World Economic Herald* is a young newspaper. It has lasted just under nine years. Within those nine years it became the kind of newspaper that attracts attention at home and abroad, because of Qin Benli's management.

cized." The editorial said *Wen Hui Bao's* every action was to carry out "bourgeois liberalization." Qin was relieved of his position, demoted and purged out of the press. During the Cultural Revolution, Qin again was persecuted and confined for about two years. Although he suffered, Qin Benli remained unshaken in his confidence and enthusiasm for journalism.

After the overthrow of the Gang of Four, Qin Benli planned to resume his press career. In 1980, when the *World Economic Herald* was first considered, conditions were very difficult,

In China, . . . bringing up the political side of things in the newspaper is risky. China's leaders do not like to hear disagreement and do not respect public opinion.

Qin Benli is a veteran journalist, 71 years old now. At the beginning of the 1950's, he had held positions at Shanghai's *Liberation Daily* and Beijing's *People's Daily*. In the fall of 1956, he went to Shanghai's *Wen Hui Bao* and became the Party secretary and the executive deputy editor-in-chief. This was during Mao Zedong's policy directive to "let one hundred flowers bloom, one hundred schools of thought contend." Qin Benli saw newspapers as organs for societal discussion, and *Wen Hui Bao* was a newspaper which served an intellectual readership, and provided opportunity for expression of differing opinion, opening up free discussion. At this time this newspaper was one of the most unique journals in China, with its popularity surpassing that of China's national Communist Party organ, *People's Daily*.

Yet this period didn't last long. After the "Anti-Rightist" campaign began in 1957, Mao Zedong wrote for *People's Daily*, "The *Wen Hui Bao's* Bourgeois Leaning Must be Criti-

there was no money, no staff, not the least bit of material needs. But using prepaid 20,000 yuan advertising funds, he found seven old newspaper people, most of whom had already retired, borrowed an office, bought some desks and chairs, and began to put out a newspaper.

Unofficial newspapers on the Chinese mainland map had disappeared by the beginning of the 1950s. Qin Benli and his colleagues recognized the good tradition of unofficial newspapers and advanced the idea that the *Herald* would become a newspaper featuring a strong private voice, not the voice of an official paper. If they wanted to become a mouthpiece, then they ought to be the mouthpiece for reform, the mouthpiece for the people; they ought to be courageous and knowledgeable, and dramatically depict every voice in a range of differing opinions, and "help China understand the world, and the world understand China."

When the *Herald* first began

publishing, it was an eight-page biweekly tabloid; in 1981, it became a weekly and later expanded; by 1986 it was 16 pages. From the start, the paper featured simplified reports on economics. In the first half year, they concentrated on reporting about Chinese-style modernization and China's economic development. Their economic reporting was looked at from a broad perspective; they often took world economics as background and did wide-ranging comparisons. When reporting about world conditions they would develop predictions, retrospectives, and prospects. In 1983, they increased their reporting of essays, opinion pieces and proposals by Chinese and foreign experts, and by scholars involved with reforming the economic system.

Qin Benli felt that covering economics was not enough, they must also add reporting on important political aspects as well, because most economic issues are political issues. Since 1983, the *Herald* added reporting on the many subjects that have a connection to economics. While reporting on these issues, they would treat new problems, new thinking, new points of view, speaking the truth, supporting differing viewpoints and letting the readers decide whether they are correct or not. Readers supported this method.

In China, however, bringing up the political side of things in the newspaper is risky. China's leaders do not like to hear disagreement and do not respect public opinion. Often when newspapers accurately expose some serious political and social malpractices, their life doesn't go well.

To counter this, Qin Benli chose the ping-pong tactic of playing the edge of the table; the ball always goes along the line, almost out of bounds, but it's still a good hit. He showed that one could still conceive of broadening reporting in order to promote China's journalism.

In the latter half of 1986, the *Herald* covered many problems on China's

political reforms. Their perspective was that economic reforms would make progress only if political reforms were carried out. In October of that year, they published a series of letters to the editor on all phases of opinions about the government. The heading was in big characters — "Open Government: The Future of World Political Development." In November, they followed this by publishing such things as, "We must promote the process of political democratization, or we will not be able to open the way to modernization;" a piece in which Fang Lizhi wrote about China's greatest tragedy that "Intellectuals are not recognized as the guiding power behind social progress." An article examining "Law and Liberty" followed, and a discussion, written by Su Shaozhi and others, titled "A Re-examination of Socialism" was published.

now show their readers their method of operations? To explain themselves openly would cause trouble, but Qin Benli thought of a clever solution. At a meeting Deng Xiaoping spoke to the president of Gabon about China's internal situation. He said, "Anyway, we'll do everything the same as we did in the past." In the February 23 issue of the year's *Herald*, that sentence was a banner headline, implying that the *Herald* would remain the same, still following past practices. In China, sometimes when newspapers want to express a certain meaning, they can only beat around the bush. In the end, the then General Secretary Zhao Ziyang spoke in support of this newspaper and helped it survive the crisis.

In 1988, the *Herald* again showed a new face. In February, they discussed the problem of "admission to global citizenship" which attracted atten-

Because the *Herald* again published "grating words" the chief of propaganda ministry thought of . . . ways to restrict the paper's reporters . . . these journalists could neither participate nor interview at the . . . conference commemorating . . . the Eleventh Central Committee's Third Plenum . . .

These letters, reports and essays elicited a favorable response from the readers, but those in charge did not want to hear it, it was seen as unacceptably dissident. Criticisms followed: "You are an economic newspaper, why have you become a 'political newspaper'?" "Politics is the concern of the Central Government, what do you think you're doing?"

After the student demonstrations in late 1986, and the forced resignation of Hu Yaobang in early 1987, the pressure on the *Herald* became greater and greater. How could they

tion. Using statistics and facts to demonstrate that China's per capita income makes it among the poorest and most economically backward countries in the world, and if it didn't carry out bold reforms, the country was in danger of being excluded from global citizenship. And in the spring, they published many essays and reports about political reform. Among these, Xia Yan's discussions attracted the most attention from the outside world.

On June 20, 1988, Xia Yan proposed

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Covering South Africa: Issues Facing Journalists

Danny Schechter

Student uprisings should not be equated with civil rights movements.

South Africa was once among the hottest and most desirable high profile news assignments. In the days before the media restrictions made the job more difficult, covering that country frequently guaranteed a page one story or regular access to the nightly television news. It was "the place to be."

The place seems to imprint itself on those who come to interpret it for others. "No story I had ever covered, no place I have ever been had gripped me as wholly and as intensely as South Africa," says *New York Times* editor Joseph Lelyveld, one of a number of American reporters to win the Pulitzer Prize for writing about apartheid.

Journalists acknowledge the need for in-depth background information. The ruthlessness of the regime, the crazy quilt of apartheid laws and practices, the mix of ethnic groups and political intrigue, and the unseen but

influential backstage role of powerful multinational corporations are all pieces of the puzzle in a society that is anything but monolithic and static.

In South Africa, an elaborate labyrinth of government-imposed media restrictions acts as a tool of state intervention in news management. They were designed to intimidate and "chill" free reporting. Censorship, and its first cousin, self-censorship has been the natural by-product. Improving news coverage will require a willingness to be critical and self-critical about ways in which skilled and sincere reporters may become messengers of mistakes and misinformation.

America does not exactly jibe with crowded out of the way townships constructed along apartheid lines. Thus, the choice of language can become a problem even in a country where English is a common tongue.

A larger issue involves the framing of "the South Africa story" itself. American journalists frequently compare the uprising there to the civil rights movement of the 60's in the American South — a comparison that misses the significant differences between racial segregation in a democratic society and apartheid in a racist state.

Such an analogy also misses other key distinctions and differences.

American newspapers referred to Soweto as a suburb of Johannesburg. The term may have been geographically correct, but contextually inexact. Soweto is a crowded township constructed along apartheid lines.

Danny Schechter, Nieman Fellow '78, is executive producer of Globalvision Inc., an international production company based in New York that produces "South Africa Now," a weekly television news magazine about Southern Africa. Previously, Mr. Schechter was with ABC News 20/20 for eight years.



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In 1976, in the aftermath of the student uprisings, leading American newspapers routinely referred to the sprawling Soweto township as a "suburb" of Johannesburg, using a term that may have been geographically correct but contextually quite inexact. The image of a suburb in

Archbishop Tutu is not Martin Luther King Jr., even though the archbishop subscribes to non-violence. The civil rights movement here fought discrimination in a framework of guaranteed rights; the mass democratic movement there works against a setup that totally excludes blacks. Each move-

ment reflects a very different type of society and social change agenda. One is a minority rights movement; the other a majority rights/liberation struggle. One was about reform; the other about power.

Even the pictures of violent confrontation that made such a good TV story in 1986 could be misleading in presenting the images of South Africa's "revolution." It was often the least organized members of the black community — youth and students — who fought the police in the streets, making it appear that an insurrection was near. But when a state of emergency stopped the violence by detaining upwards of thirty thousand people, many television editors decided that the revolution was over — as if a militant labor movement, and well-organized church and community groups meant nothing.

Reports about "black on black" violence in South Africa often create similar mystifications. The stories on this subject frequently missed the political as opposed to racial character of that violence. Violence by or against black appointed officials or fighting between activists of the United Democratic Front and "warlords" working with the ethnically identified Zulu Inkatha movement stem from *ideological* differences — not racial or tribal problems. Many other examples can be cited, although the overall drop of coverage in recent years has tended to quiet any emerging debate over the quality and content of the reporting.

One TV news organization, based in New York, recently launched a weekly television newsmagazine — called "South Africa Now" — specializing in covering news of that region. The program seeks to prod the networks to increase and upgrade their own coverage. It argues and demonstrates that the story can be told — with the help of local journalists on the scene. In the course of interviewing foreign journalists who cover the region, African reporters, and activists, a number of key issues emerged. They are:

Racial bias: Most foreign journalists in South Africa tend to be white and well integrated into English speaking white culture. They live in the cities, and often live well. They rarely speak African languages, including Afrikaans, and have little familiarity with the country's cultural styles. They tend to rely more on government sources, reports in leading "white" newspapers, and established experts than in hard nosed reporting. They often lack familiarity with South Africa's alternative media and the black press. As a result, coverage can be skewed and racially biased — even without intending to be.

Dissecting apartheid: Apartheid is more than a system of racial domination. It is a framework for economic exploitation and ethnic manipulation. Apartheid needs to be reported as a labor system as well as a device for preserving racial privilege. Government talk of "reforms" have to be analyzed in that context.

Issues of class need to be as firmly covered as are questions of race. For example, despite South Africa's position as the wealthiest country on the continent, fully 65 percent of the black population lives below the government's own "Minimum Living Level" status. Many live in rural areas and the so-called "homelands" where they are rarely reported on by urban based journalists. There are occasional features profiling people from different walks of life, but there may be too many features on the effects of apartheid on individuals; far too few on the institutions and power structures that perpetuate oppression.

Covering the liberation movement: This movement inside South Africa is much more than the work of a few well-known and frequently quoted religious leaders. There is the mass democratic movement — a coalition of hundreds of civic, church, youth and community groups, driven by a dynamic labor movement. The most effective indigenous leadership is often at the grass roots level or on the factory floor. Yet these leaders are

The most effective leadership is often at the grass roots level or on the factory floor. Yet these leaders are rarely sought out by a press mesmerized by celebrities.

rarely sought out by a press mesmerized by celebrities. Winnie Mandela for example seems to live on page one; The United Democratic Front leader Albertina Sisulu*, a political heroine of perhaps greater status, is rarely covered at all. Even her July 1989 visit with George Bush in the White House was downplayed in the United States where she could be interviewed, whereas in South Africa, her restrictions prevent her from talking to the press at all.

The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa needs to be explained in terms of its own structure and strategy. It deserves more coverage in terms of its political programs and vision. For example, millions of people worldwide know of Poland's Solidarity union — how many really know about the Coalition of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU)?

The African National Congress approaches a government in exile with many voices and programs, yet is still too often covered in a stereotyped way. Nelson Mandela, its imprisoned leader, is frequently covered as a "celebrity" rather than as a leader with a specific political position. The ANC's external leadership,

*[Albertina Sisulu is the wife of Walter Sisulu who was recently released from a life sentence in a South African jail. Their son is Zwelakhe Sisulu, Nieman Fellow '85, publisher of The New Nation, who was detained by the South African government and then released.]

based in Lusaka, Zambia, has many competent yet undercover leaders whose influence inside South Africa is widely known. Yet, few correspondents take the trouble of regularly soliciting comments from that leadership or seem aware of the role they play.

It is also time to stop designating the ANC in terms of its international support (i.e. "The Soviet-backed ANC"), a description that feeds into Pretoria's desire to label the movement as part of a terrorist-communist conspiracy. Other organized forces in the black community deserve coverage as well, from the black consciousness movements, the Pan African Congress (PAC) and Inkatha, the tribal movement led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Swaziland.

Covering the South African economy and labor: That economy has been fueled with billions in foreign trade and investment. The country cannot be covered without close attention being paid to the role and strategy of major transnational corporations and the international banks. Who are these companies? How big is their investment, loan, or trade stake? What are their profits there? How do they exercise influence? What are they like as employers? What is their relationship to apartheid structures? These are all questions worth asking and investigating. Sophistication is needed to integrate economic or business analysis into the more generic coverage of apartheid.

The labor movement, representing millions of workers, deserves more coverage as well. COSATU and leaders like Elijah Bariah, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Jay Naidoo have a deep understanding of the industries they are fighting and the needs of their members.

Apartheid is not just a domestic South African issue. The country's economy was built to tap the migrant labor and markets of its neighbors. A regional perspective is needed. The devastating surrogate wars South Africa is fighting in Angola and

Mozambique, and the multi-billion dollar impact that South Africa's campaign of destabilization is having in the front line States cannot be ignored.

Reporting on Namibia: Namibia is Africa's last colony — its transition to independence is a key but under-reported story. On April 1, 1989, the United Nations Plan for insuring free and fair elections and self-rule got underway. On that same day, fighting erupted, with the South Africans charging that the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the country's principal liberation group, was "invading" its own country in violation of international agreements.

The world media dutifully reported the story as "framed" by Pretoria's military briefers and press spokesmen. Few reporters for the international press were actually on the scene of the fighting in the country's north and most filed from the capital of Windhoek hundreds of miles away. Only one, David Beresford for the *Guardian* in England, even bothered to read the agreement that SWAPO

first reported by London's *Sunday Telegraph* suggesting that SWAPO soldiers were massacred by South African trained forces. This story was published on page one of the South African and Namibian press, and picked up world wide. The story was offered to American network news programs. None reported it. "We have already done Namibia," was the response from a producer on a well-known public television news show.

Finding new sources: There is still too much reliance in the media on using official sources, whether in London, Pretoria, or Johannesburg. These sources are hardly disinterested parties. For example, some years back, the South African government leaked word that P.W. Botha was about to make a major speech promising significant changes in apartheid. Those leaks stoked headlines worldwide. But when the speech itself was a regurgitation of old formulas, the "insider-fed" stories looked silly.

A similar blunder occurred on page one of *The New York Times* with a

The story [on Namibia] was offered to American network news programs. None reported it. "We have already done Namibia," said a producer on a well-known public television news show.

supposedly violated, reporting that they were not a signatory. Virtually none scrutinized the UN's readiness to implement their own plan on the ground, or its willingness to let South African troops have a field day mowing down SWAPO guerillas who by all accounts were seeking to surrender to international peacekeeping forces. The UN's performance was considered a scandal by Namibia advocates at the UN in New York and by African leaders, but was hardly examined by the media.

"South Africa Now" used a story

headline reporting that peace in Angola had been agreed on. The story was attributed to high level State Department sources. All of the parties to the negotiations, the Angolans, the Cubans, and even the South Africans said the story was not true, that there were still serious disagreements among the parties. The Cubans and Angolans even held an unusual press conference in New York the next day to dispute the *Times* account. The newspaper did not cover it and issued no retraction

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Helena Luczywo, Lyons Award Recipient, Discusses "Revolutionary Change" in Her Country

Dorothy Wickenden, Nieman Fellow '89, introduced Helena Luczywo at the awards ceremony held in the garden of Lippmann House this past September. Ms. Wickenden, managing editor of The New Republic, headed the committee of Nieman Fellows '89 who chose the Polish journalist to receive the 1989 Louis M. Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism.

In her introduction, Ms. Wickenden quoted a colleague of Ms. Luczywo who wrote to the NF committee:

"There is no other independent journalist in Poland whose influence both on the activity of the underground press and its organization has been so important."

The Polish journalist is an editor of Gazeta Wyborcza, an independent daily newspaper published in Warsaw with a circulation throughout Poland.

I am very grateful for this award, and greatly honored. This is a cliché — but I think this award is for thousands of people who kept SOLIDARITY underground publications and SOLIDARITY itself alive for seven long years. It was a hard job because few people really believed that we would succeed, and even fewer believed that we would have such a success.

SOLIDARITY is legal again, and more — Poland has the first non-communist government in 40 years. I would call that a success, but not victory, because what we have now is only a beginning, though a spectacular beginning.

Where are we now — we Poles, we Polish journalists?



Helena Luczywo speaks to her audience about Polish underground publications, the present legality of SOLIDARITY, and Western media coverage of her country. With her on the terrace of Lippmann House are Bill Kovach, Nieman Foundation Curator, Mrs. Louis M. Lyons (Totty), and Dorothy Wickenden.

Jane Reed/Harvard University

Poland and Polish democracy is like a baby. American democracy is 200 years old, it is mature; to a considerable degree, it is predictable.

In Poland, anything can happen. The change we are facing is huge. A totally new system — of economy, of social life, of political institutions — is being formed. It is a revolutionary change. Everything can grow out of Poland. It may be beautiful, but it may also be ugly. So it is like a baby — you cannot really predict what kind of an adult will grow out of it.

We love this baby, and yet as journalists, we should objectively report on it. Otherwise, we would spoil it.

I would like to add a few words about Western media coverage of Poland. There is a lot of it and we are

grateful because we need Western interest and Western assistance. However, I often find the image of Poles in the Western press, and particularly in the American press, astonishing.

The Polish people are presented either as some outlandish heroes sacrificing everything in their fight for freedom or as a gang of anti-Semites, as in the recent coverage of the Auschwitz convent problem. And of course, like any other nation, Poles are both this and that. Some are heroes, others are anti-Semitic, others are neither.

So, I would like to end this speech with the quotation from Poland's greatest living poet — the Nobel Prize Winner Czeslaw Milosz: "The true enemy of man is generalization." □

Soviet Journalist — Vladimir Voina — Joins Nieman Fellows Class of '90

Vladimir Voina, an editor of *USA Magazine* in Moscow, is now at Harvard University as a Nieman Fellow.

Mr. Voina, who is chief of the economics, politics and ideology department of *USA Magazine*, is the first Soviet journalist to receive appointment as a Nieman Fellow.

"The appointment of a Soviet journalist provides an opportunity for the 1989-90 Nieman class to learn firsthand of the impact, opportunities and problems created by the new information policies in the Soviet Union," said Bill Kovach, Nieman Curator who invited

Mr. Voina to join the class.

The 53-year-old journalist has been described by American correspondents who are familiar with his work in the Soviet Union as "a glasnost man before glasnost became the party line." He has had a long career of publishing well-documented articles which exposed weaknesses in the Soviet system and introducing new and novel ideas, such as the need for a consumer movement in the Soviet Union.

In addition to his newspaper and magazine articles, Mr. Voina is author of several books, including *Underground Railroad Conductor Harriett Tubman*,

Who Will Help Willy Loman?, *International Organization of Consumer Unions*, and *Operation Marketing*. He has also translated several books into Russian, including *American Dreams: Lost and Found* by Studs Terkel.

At Harvard, Mr. Voina is reading and sampling courses as broadly as time and energy permit in order, as he says, "to study the other side of the moon." He is also honing his skills as a journalist with the help of his Nieman classmates.

Mr. Voina's fellowship is supported, in part, by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. □

South Africa: Issues Facing Journalists

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or "correction." When "South Africa Now" asked reporter Robert Pear why, he said he "stood by his account." Four days later, *The Times* reported in its low circulation Saturday edition, on the last page of the first section, that the Cubans and Angolans said there was no agreement. The story made no reference to the newspaper's own prominently positioned inaccurate page one story a week earlier.

All of these issues are meaningless if news organizations are not committed to covering Southern Africa. Network bureaus routinely admit that they prepare TV stories that are put

"on the shelf in New York" and never broadcast. In print, South Africa seems to be sinking down a shrinking news hole for foreign stories. Add to this Pretoria's press restrictions and the result has been an overall reduction in coverage. In the words of a 1988 study commissioned by the Canadian government, South Africa's restrictions have been largely effective in driving "protest, violence and human rights violations in South Africa off the television newscasts of the western world." The only way this situation can be overcome is for journalists, editors, and news managers to

resist the subtle and not so subtle pressures or "environment" that devalues coverage from the region with the often heard rationalization that viewers or readers "aren't interested."

Native journalists inside the country who face imprisonment and reprisal deserve support from their overseas colleagues. Foreign journalists need to become more assertive. They often play by the rules for fear of expulsion. When the media restrictions were first announced, journalist organizations protested,

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Press Freedom in China and the *World Economic Herald* Case

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that, since the founding of New China, and after three big mistakes in handling education, the legal system, and the population, the key issues China faced — even more important than price reform — were unwise tendencies in party style and incomplete reforms. He said inflation was not the most worrisome thing, what was more worrisome was bureaucratism, official profiteering and corruption. Without reform in the political system, without openness in public opinions, things cannot work; moreover, one could not say that liberty, equality and fraternity were capitalist things.

In the Soviet Union, consciousness formation was moving faster than in China; their *glasnost* was much more far-reaching than in China. The Soviets criticized Stalin very severely, but in China, who dared publicly criticize Mao Zedong? It was said that after Deng Xiaoping knew of what Xia Yan said, he stated, "To be precise, we will not criticize Mao Zedong." But Xia Yan is an old Communist party member, older than Deng, and so was protected.

The *Herald* continued to publish a series of trenchant writings on subjects affecting society. In the exchange between Yan Jiaqi and Wen Yuankai published in December 1988, the writers specifically brought up the need to guard against unjust governmental conduct and further altercations among top leaders. Every person concerned about China's future cannot permit irrational political behavior to provoke a societal shake-up in China and in the rest of the world. For disorderly politics to move toward orderly politics, the media should speak bluntly, and change "people's democratic dictatorship" to

"people's participatory democracy." Make the people the custodians of their own public affairs, and so guarantee that reform does not stall because of other groups.

Because the *Herald* again published "grating words" the chief of propaganda ministry thought of some ways to restrict the paper's reporters. For example these journalists could neither participate nor interview at the theoretical conference commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Eleventh Central Committee's Third Plenum, held in Beijing in December 1988, or at the March 1989 National People's Congress and National People's Political Consultative Conference, also held in Beijing. But that didn't stop the *Herald* from commenting on these maneuvers.

For example, in regard to the conference in March, the *Herald* published an article by the economic expert Qian Jiaju criticizing Li Peng's "Report on the Work of the Government," stating that Li Peng's paper did not seek truth from facts, and did not scientifically analyze the mistaken reasoning behind 1988's price reforms; when the government tried to suppress inflation, they simply used a string of administrative orders to stabilize prices. The *Herald* had already published Su Shaozhi's pointed criticisms delivered at the theoretical conference. Su saw the two most important theoretical questions of the past decade — "eliminating spiritual pollution" and "opposing bourgeois liberalization" as attempts to produce "uniform public opinion" and "uniform theory" (about which further discussion is not allowed), and as a denial of the current crisis of socialism. This article enraged the propaganda ministry, which ordered that no

newspaper reprint it. Zhao Ziyang said that Qin Benli, editor-in-chief of the *Herald*, had "made a serious mistake and must be dealt with sternly." Finally, Deng Xiaoping declared that they should not further entangle things, and only then did the situation begin to subside.

Shanghai's *World Economic Herald* essays on China's current political and economic reforms demonstrated that press freedom and openness had made progress. If China's leadership could listen to the opinions offered in that newspaper, this year's student demonstrations probably would have never occurred. But looking at the whole situation — including the banning of the *Herald*, and China's regulations of intellectuals and journalists — then the accomplishments in journalism during the past ten years do not mean much. China may revert to a period where the people's voices are stifled and those long-discredited sayings of the Cultural Revolution, and the rigid essays in the Yao Wenyuan style will be picked up out of the rubbish heap and used against the people.

In the last editions of the *Herald* on May 1 and 8, 1989, two articles were published, "We Need an Environment of Liberty in which We May Speak the Truth" and "Without Press Freedom, Stability Cannot Exist." On May 4, Beijing journalists were taking to the streets to shout slogans such as "we must speak the truth," and "don't force us to lie." Now these bright aspirations have been suppressed, but I still believe that Chinese journalists' struggle, their striving for the freedom to speak the truth, cannot be stopped! □

"Against the Wind"

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bility to report and analyze it in depth. Investigative reporting is, almost by definition, adversarial and serves an important societal function of cleansing and renewal. Nevertheless, television interview shows and most of what's in the morning paper are rarely investigative. They stress conflict — sometimes for its entertainment value.

What I am suggesting is not that conflict-laden reporting be ended — that simply will not happen — but that meaningful amounts of time and space also be given to covering the resolution of conflict — not *instead of* but *in addition to* the normal fare of strife.

Having once made my living as an investigative journalist who specialized in pointing out flaws and wrongdoing, I can say from my own personal experience that alternatives do exist. I am currently creator and series producer of a ten-part series on public television, called "Search for Common Ground." The idea is to explore today's most contentious public policy issues within a framework of searching for common ground. Some of the titles in the series are "What's the Common Ground on Abortion?", "What's the Common Ground on Gun Control?", and "What's the Common Ground Between the US and USSR on Human Rights?"

The series does not ignore the conflict, which is usually immense. In fact, a central part of each program requires the guests to answer the question: What is the fundamental disagreement? But unlike most news programs, whose purpose is to sharpen the audience's understanding of the conflict, this series asks the guests to look beyond their disagreements to see whether they can find some common ground.

The program on "What's the Common Ground on Abortion" showed that, at a minimum, the format is not boring. The guests were

Kate Michelman, Executive Director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, and Dr. John Willke, President of the National Right to Life Committee. These two leaders of the "Pro-Choice" and "Pro-Life" movements have appeared together many times.

Normally, they — and people like them — are used by the media to "balance" a piece. They are pros. They know that they must quickly and cleanly present their views and that they will be invited back if they are perceived to be "lively" — which often translates into further polarizing the debate. As a former producer of ABC's "Nightline" told me recently, if potential guests are suspected of wanting to find common ground, they simply are not invited to appear on the program.

On the "Search for Common Ground" program, Michelman and Willke still fiercely disagreed over the basic question: Is abortion a woman's right or is it murder? But that was only the starting point, and the program moved on to the next question, which is almost never asked: Given your massive disagreement, are there areas in which you still might agree?

... unlike most news programs, whose purpose is to sharpen the audience's understanding of the conflict, this series asks the guests to look beyond their disagreements to see whether they can find common ground.

Many were found. They agreed that neither side wants abortions to occur; that unwanted pregnancies should be discouraged; that promoting birth control was a point of common ground between many "pro-lifers" and "pro-choicers" (but not these two); and that they even could work together on efforts to promote adoption and reduce infant mortality rates. While none of these agreements gets at the core difference — whether, in the end a woman should be able to choose to have an abortion — they do suggest that the demand could be reduced for a significant percentage of the 1.5 million abortions that take place in the United States every year. If that were to happen, the argument over abortion would be much less polarized and have a less negative impact on the national political debate.

"It looked," noted WGBH anchorman Christopher Lydon about the program, "almost as if you had given them a pill. . . . By the end of the conversation, the body language and voice tones have all softened and the disarmed warriors are actually rushing to rack up points of agreement."

Rest assured that no pharmaceutical products were used. However, a different set of questions was asked, and, consequently, a different set of answers emerged.

If the format were widely extended, it could lead to a reframing of the way Americans think about and act on issues like abortion. Instead of highlighting perpetual conflict, the series communicates to viewers a belief that resolution is possible.

The media as a whole could also reflect a similar perspective. □

A best-selling author and winner of the I.R.E. 1980 Best Investigative Book Award, John Marks is Executive Director of Common Ground Productions and Search for Common Ground in Washington.

Washington Journalism

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"They tend to be in their late twenties when I hire them, started in a small town, covered a state legislature and have the hots to cover Washington. Most are married, have wives who work even after the children arrive, enjoy the hell out of their jobs and aim to cover national affairs. And most manage it after three or four years.

"They have big egos, like all good news people I have known, and are quick to judgement about the people they cover. But they remain observers, don't get close to the participants, and do their best to give the people of Kokomo (yes, that's one of our papers) a faithful and accurate account of what Congress and the administration is up to."

modest house or apartment, no aspirations for private school for the kids, or a beach house." A large number of very good regional reporters work for low wages at the States News Service "turning out reams of stuff every day that bears directly on readers' concerns where they live," McDowell noted.

Lars-Erik Nelson wrote, "Nobody in my bureau, including me, makes as much as a four-star general, a Montgomery County school superintendent, or a master Oldsmobile mechanic. You'd be amazed at what they take home."

Stanley Karnow said, "I don't think it's a matter of journalists becoming an income elite. After all, Izzy Stone was always relatively comfortable. The real

nalism is still struggling financially and professionally. I worry about the message they get from the top names in Washington journalism. Fame and fortune have not helped the quality of reporting from the capital, nor the political analysis. In a somber piece on "the brain dead politics of 1989" author Kevin Phillips commented that "cerebral atrophy also means to afflict the nation's opinion-molding elites. The pundits are not providing great insights, and the pollsters help nurture Washington's paralyzing ambiguities."

This is not the golden age of Washington journalism. □

Newsroom

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11, Overholser felt the opportunity to run a paper was too good to pass up. Moreover, as a teacher, her husband is able to be home with their children during evenings, school holidays, and summers. Overholser can work long hours without fearing that her children are being neglected.

The Courier-Journal's Nolan, who is now 42, had her two children when she was in her early 20s. She believes it's easier for women to juggle kids and jobs when they are starting a career than when they have achieved high-level posts that require 14-hour days.

Another option is to adapt promotion policies to accommodate working parents who seek management jobs when they are 45 or 50 instead of when they are 30 or 35.

There is no single answer to the tension between the delights and needs of children and the excitement and demands of newspapers. Even parents who have maneuvered a tenuous balance often feel ambivalence about what they have given up in one sphere or the other. But newsroom managers are beginning to help with the balancing act. As Nolan acknowledged, they have no choice. □

James Doyle: . . . like my own staffs, much of the underclass of Washington journalism is still struggling financially and professionally. I worry about the message they get from the top names in Washington journalism. Fame and fortune have not helped the quality of reporting from the capital . . .

Charles McDowell of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* wrote, as did others, that most of the Washington press corps "has a standard of living far below that of doctors, lawyers and the strata of commerce that we went to college with. My hunch is that most Washington reporters are paid at the level of small-college faculty, school principals and minor executives in small city businesses When you look at the ordinary staffers in the average Washington bureau you find a working spouse, a tight budget, a

danger is the feeling of self-importance among many reporters.

"In 1971 when I returned home after years abroad, the national editor of *The Washington Post* said to me: 'There are twenty five members of the *Post* national staff and twenty five members of *The New York Times* Washington bureau and we are the most powerful people in America! What hubris!'"

Hubris is what I'm talking about. I agree that, like my own staff, much of the underclass of Washington jour-

THE BOOKSHELF

Political Campaigns Embrace TV

From Whistle Stop to Sound Bite: Four Decades of Politics and Television

Sig Mickelson, Praeger Publishers, a Division of Greenwood Press, Inc. 1989. Hardcover, \$37.85
Paperback, \$14.85

by Peter A. Brown

Sig Mickelson provides a bit of history about the growth of television's role in American politics to a baby boomer who grew up on TV and whose profession has been dominated by the camera's eye for his professional lifetime.

It's interesting, but probably won't make me feel much better the next time I am trampled by large cameramen chasing a candidate to know that 35 years ago TV was the stepchild in political campaigns.

But more importantly, this book offers little new to the discussion about the state of American politics entering the 1990's other than to add its voice to those who are fed up with the current way things are done.

It is also unlikely that anyone who would bother to read the book is not already aware of the problems the author identifies.

Mickelson, a former CBS News executive who got in on the ground floor during the late 40's and early 50's when television was getting its start, is among those disillusioned by television's increasing role in political campaigns. Partly because he had such high hopes that the medium could be used to transform the political process for the better.

Without doubt, political campaigns

are now directed towards TV. Print journalists in presidential campaigns find themselves with little clout, and the influence they do have stems from their ability to write stories that TV can read and copy.

Most campaigns' non-personnel costs are spent on TV ads in all but local races. And even local candidates are finding that cable TV is an effective vehicle. Candidates' schedules are arranged to produce the kind of pictures that will get them on the evening news.

Mickelson's complaint is that this imperative has led to the deterioration of American politics. That in order to utilize the power of TV requires simplistic campaigning that rewards style over substance. He argues that television has been more than a willing partner in this transformation.

"Television is responsible for the most profound changes in campaigning in the latter half of the twentieth century. The campaign has been remade to television's specifications. Television created sound bites, campaign managers exploited them. Television searched out color back-grounds for news stories. Campaign organizations made a specialty of meeting their requirements and even exceeding them in their search for dramatic stage settings for making statements or evoking emotional responses and leaving impressions."

He's probably on target. But so what.

Mickelson, obviously a man of integrity and knowledge, makes the same mistake as my father, a former congressional candidate, who yearns for the days when technology didn't

stand between politicians and voters: He fails to understand that times change and so do people. Politics, above all, is about those two things. You can't put the genie back in the bottle as much as many of us would like.

Whether or not Judge Green would break up Ma Bell if he had the chance to do it all over again is irrelevant. Just as telephone deregulation was caused by large forces responding to the basic ground rules of American life, so too have electronic campaigns evolved. And they are here to stay.

As his title implies, candidates no longer travel the country by train to reach voters, they use jets because it's more efficient. The same is true about reaching the hearts and minds of voters. Technology has found a way to do that more efficiently also.

Books, such as this one, must decide on their mission. If it's to explain how we got to where we are, then Mickelson has done a pretty good job.

But if explaining how things were is his prime intent, then the book probably can look forward to a rather limited audience.

If, however, the author is interested in looking at the interaction between the media and American politics as it enters a new decade — as I assume is the case — the book has a ways to go.

Mickelson's premise is that because campaigns are now dominated by visual images and tight sound bites, the American people are badly served.

As we are finding out more and more, people make their political decisions based not on issues, but on values and symbols. Take the issue of crime. Voters don't support a candidate because of his or her mastery of the complex nature of the problem.

Most seem to support candidates whose "tough on crime" values may be symbolized by support of the death penalty. It may be that the candidate

who backs capital punishment may also have enough position papers to choke a horse, but that isn't germane to large numbers of voters.

Television is especially suited for dealing with symbols and values rather than complex issues. But I don't think voters, even in the days when politicians spoke to voters on street corners, ever dealt in great depth with issues. Then, voters made their choices in large part based on the party they believed shared their values, or what they could learn about the candidate's values from newspaper stories.

Most voters make up their minds about candidates well before the fall campaign when television provides an orgy of coverage and makes a bundle of money selling huge numbers of 30-second and 60-second spots to candidates.

Although there is certainly TV news coverage and some commercials before Labor Day, it doesn't have the audience penetration that occurs after Labor Day.

Those viewers who are still vacillating are generally less well-educated, poorer, less committed to a party or a set ideology. This means they aren't greatly interested in complex issues. They are considered late deciders.

From what I gather Mickelson wants to change the political process to cut down on what he sees as the corrosive influence of television, he might as well give up.

What Mickelson could do is use his intricate knowledge of TV news departments and offer sensible suggestions.

And on that count the book fails. He offers little in the way of realistic advice about how programs can be better.

It's foolish to think the industry would make real sacrifices — it's not in their best interest to do so. In that way, this whole question is similar to politics: People and institutions do things because of their own perceived self-interest.

Books castigating political pro-

grams should come up with sound ideas for bettering the industry. This book faults TV, but does not offer effective ideas for change. □

Peter A. Brown, Nieman Fellow '82, is the chief political writer for Scripps Howard News Service.

Readers and Reporters — Heed This Message

Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics

Robert M. Entman. Oxford
University Press, 1989. \$22.95

by Hale Champion

Too often obscured by the academic trappings of this treatise on the appalling and interdependent failures of our politics, our press and the rest of us as their audience, is a lot of good, even important stuff.

On the basis of his introduction and some of the passages scattered through the remainder of the book, Robert Entman is a perceptive observer who more often than not thinks hard and carefully about what he sees. Unfortunately, he is also a pie-card social scientist whose academic status depends on adherence to most of the conventional requirements of his peers and their guild. Despite a promised effort to make his work "accessible to laymen," the result requires a corresponding effort few laymen are likely to undertake. One still has to strain to see past the interruptions of so-called empirical data and awkward model constructs which are the usual tickets for admission to what is ironically known as "the literature" of political science. Sometimes one wonders whether such a classic as Richard Neustadt's *Presidential Power*, which is wonderfully lacking in such tickets, would be acceptable for tenure purposes these days.

That's another subject for another day, but an important one. Too many

of the offerings of the best young minds, working on the most important political and governmental subjects, are being lost in "the literature" and losing any real chance of timely influence on public thought and debate as a consequence.

If you should compare the likely audience of *Democracy Without Citizens* as an Oxford University Press offering with that of a Farrar Straus Giroux tradebook such as Mark Hertsgaard's *On Bended Knee, the Press and the Reagan Presidency*, you'd understand the nature of the problem. Hertsgaard, who is basically a Johnny-one-note, got a lot of media attention. I doubt Entman, who has much greater insight, will.

What is the Entman message which deserves a better audience than it will get? To quote him "...to become sophisticated citizens, Americans would need high-quality, independent journalism; but news organizations, to stay in business while producing such journalism, would need an audience of sophisticated citizens. Understanding this vicious cycle of interdependence reveals that the inadequacies of journalism and democracy are the 'fault' neither of the media nor of the public. Rather they are the product of a process, of a close and undissolvable interrelationship among the media, their messages, their elite news sources, and the mass audience."

Hertsgaard and his readers, please note. The press has its deficiencies and it does often get too cozy with some elites, if not others, but the biggest problem is neither the press nor its

sources. Most of the media yearns to do better. But the audience is both beginning and end, both egg and chicken. It decides what it will buy, read, watch and listen to — and it usually will get what it is ready to buy. It also decides what political behavior it will accept and reward, or refuse and penalize, and, just as important, what it wants to know about that behavior and is willing to pay the media to discover and report on that behavior.

Mr. Entman's idea about how to deal with the lack of paying audience support, giving public subsidies to newspapers actually published by the two major parties, is probably the most naive suggestion in the book, but I guess he felt he had to come up with something. And it is hard to think of any similar substitute solution that is less naive. I certainly am not about to propose one.

Mr. Entman tends to be much more sophisticated as an observer than as a problem-solver, especially in discussing the pathology of press inadequacies. After discussing journalism's often discussed "evaluation biases" coming out of the imperfections of the marketplace for ideas, he turns to those which come from the economic marketplace, calling them "production biases."

These he identifies as simplification, personalization, and symbolization. With but a few exceptions he finds these are the characteristic requirements to produce news that succeeds in economic competition with entertainment in winning audience attention and financial support.

The simplification bias, he argues, "leads the media to generate more copy on stories that are simple to report — convenient, inexpensive and safe, rather than inconvenient, risky and costly." Just like entertainment, as witness the movie sequels all around us. Further, he rightly points out, "journalism conveys a simple message more readily and accurately than a complicated one" and "it deems simple messages more access-

ible and attractive to audiences." Unlike his book. He also worries about how the simplification bias strips the context from ideas or actions in news stories.

Second among production biases comes personalization — the tendency "to explain events by reference to the actions of individuals rather than institutional, historical, or other abstract forces." This, he notes, lends drama (soap opera?) and provides a concrete narrative framework (cement?).

Third is symbolization. Journalism, he tells those of us who have just been overcome by flag burnings, Willie Horton, and ACLU membership, "welcomes symbols that condense widely shared, familiar meanings and carry broad political connotations." Underlying this journalistic fondness for such symbols, he asserts, is "the assumption that audiences easily grasp such symbols and enjoy the pleasure of recognition they afford."

The resulting problem as Entman sees it is that the production biases are conducive to stereotypes, "hence journalism seems often to search for and emphasize information that confirms stereotypes." Yes, indeed.

Here's another sample of Entman's excellent eye-mind coordination, this time on the negative effects of economic competition in the media (after previous discussion of positive effects): "... competition may lead more to imitation than differentiation; depending on the tastes of potential readers, duplication may be the most rational marketing strategy. Beyond this, the drive to attract readers may produce investigations of bogus scandals, hounding of public officials for minor trespasses and jealousies — even sabotage — among reporters on the same beat. Reporters may spend their competitive energies on childish oneupsmanship, with each staff determined to mine the final nugget of trivia before its rival." In other words, bad reporting drives out good. Welcome to the current state of the media in the Boston metropolitan area.

Entman spends far too much time on fairness doctrine disputes without offering anything new or different, thereby missing an opportunity that I suggest he or some other analyst in this area pursue with real vigor. From my observation, the real fairness problem will not be resolved by "equal time" or other such concepts, but a fundamental change in what is regarded as objective behavior by journalists. In wanting to offer informed comment and yet appear non-partisan or unbiased, journalists and commentators of all media and persuasions have found the put-down to be the most useful all-purpose tool. By frequently depicting the politicians and officials of all persuasions as appropriate objects of contempt or scorn, as fools, clowns and knaves, as unworthy of public trust or even civil tolerance, as even more prone to error than the rest of humanity, they have made not only the public, but themselves feel wonderfully superior and freed themselves of any requirement to choose, to determine what is bogus and what is genuine. I don't think it would take a lot of content analysis to provide the evidence that this is the most important fairness problem for anybody who wants to contribute to an understanding of "media and the decay of American politics."

Nonetheless, Mr. Entman's larger message is the right one, just as Pogo's was. The prime enemy is not the press, nor even the wily manipulators in our political and governmental systems. It is us, a society which is failing itself badly, and the future disastrously, and for which better communication and better information are the great missing links. They will come only if we provide a better, more involved audience for them, one that pays both dollars and attention.

Entman concludes that "some sort of external shock might upset the gridlocked relationship of media, elites and audiences, strengthen the public's desire for accountability journalism, and enhance the media's ability to provide it."

I suspect that shock can only be a

shock of recognition, a shared recognition that changing citizens' behavior is the key to improving the performances of the press and the politician. □

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Let Us Now Praise the Story of Alabama Families Redux

And Their Children After Them: The Legacy of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*: James Agee, Walker Evans, and the Rise and Fall of Cotton in the South

Dale Maharidge and Michael Williamson. Pantheon, 1989. \$24.95

by Michael Connor

This is chiefly a book about Alabama — its cotton farmers, history and rural conditions, according to the Library of Congress taxonomy.

Part of the subtitle hints the same: . . . *The Rise and Fall of Cotton in the South*. To a Northerner, it sounds distant and provincial, like grits.

But Dale Maharidge's *And Their Children After Them* transcends regional boundaries. Consider some of the themes.

A common thread links: the civil rights movement; the defeated army of men who occupied northern black ghettos, living in "hopeless despair, drained of all drive by constant rejection"; the removal of American Indians from land that even the U.S. Supreme Court said was theirs by treaty; the persistence of poverty through generations; the will to endure it, and the occasional, redemptive human love that offers release from it. And more.

The thread is cotton.

Maharidge, (NF '88), and photographer Michael Williamson, both journalists for *The Sacramento Bee*,

skillfully construct their themes on the foundation laid by James Agee and Walker Evans in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.

Agee, on assignment from *Fortune* magazine, lived among three tenant families in Alabama in 1936. *Fortune* rejected Agee's article, which he then published as a book in 1941. Ignored or reviled at first, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* finally won acclaim a few years after Agee's death in 1955. Evans' photographs, referred to as "Book One" in Agee's text, remain vivid portraits of rural America in the Depression.

Williamson's photographs and Maharidge's text reveal that, for many, the Depression never lifted.

As a chronicle of the fates of the 22 characters visited by Agee, their 116 children and grandchildren, their virtual bondage to the cotton tenant system, and the larger social consequences of that system's decline, Maharidge's account is rich in human detail. He even adds a fourth family — a black family — and chronicles its members' lives in alternation with the three white families. Agee's editors expressly wanted white subjects for the *Fortune* article. In that sense, Maharidge gives a fuller account than Agee was permitted.

As a meditation on the conduct of journalists, who bore like weevils into private lives and then make them public, the book is timely. Janet Malcolm's recent pieces in *The New Yorker* roused a torrent of debate on the same issue.

As a labor of basic research tools and tactics — even crawling on "hands and knees for two days" through thick brush — the book is a veritable instruction manual for reporters in how to look, listen and, literally, dig.

It is only in his treatment of Agee himself that Maharidge falters.

Humanness abounds in Maharidge's book. It is the quality that exalts those people, lifts them above the impoverished fate to which they seem consigned.

Agee, too, exalted his subjects, and seemed determined to redeem them.

"Beethoven said a thing as rash and noble as the best of his work," Agee wrote, "By my memory, he said, 'He who understands my music can never know unhappiness again.' I believe it. And I would be a liar and a coward and one of your safe world if I should fear to say the same words of my best perception, and of my best intention."

And so he hurtles forward with an intensity at times poetic, religious, musical, rebellious, seemingly bent on achieving the same rash assertion.

Maharidge's ambition is more modest. He observes, records:

In bed, Maggie Louise communicates with her deaf husband "by speaking soundlessly with her mouth against his bare arm — and by the movement of her lips he understood what she was saying."

Or: "While he is gone, Parvin taps her hand to a rock tune on the jukebox. She says Hubbard forbids her to listen to rock music. When he returns, she stops tapping."

Or: "George Gudger died on December 27, 1959, in the time of year when the withered, brown, and beaten stalks born of the seeds he had put into the earth the preceding spring were plowed deep beneath the frost-covered ground, and the land he last farmed waited for a fresh season, a tractor driven by another man, the green lines of new cotton, new life, a new decade, the return of another August sun and another field of white to be gathered."

A few score dirt-poor, pseudony-

mous characters may seem unlikely protagonists to hold a reader's interest for more than 250 pages, but Maharidge's keen eye and ear bring them sharply into focus, and render their tales irresistible.

Prodigious research helped. Maharidge and Williamson made several trips to Alabama over three years, interviewed countless people, retrieved books from the debris of abandoned school floors, searched public documents for genealogical data, studied diaries, sifting through the generations like miners panning for gold.

Often, they found it. From a letter found in an old farmhouse comes language like this: "I have made a smile on a northern peach."

Yet the mere act of observing troubles Maharidge. He notes that Agee described himself and Evans as "spies," and suggests Agee "sometimes felt he was a figurative rapist."

"And now we were returning to the scene of the crime, so to speak, coconspirators in the eyes of some, not just to inquire of the deed but to demand seconds, reopening old memories of private things they'd been induced to yield to Agee, probing new ones."

It is a theme to which Maharidge often returns. "They were living anonymous lives," he writes of one of the family's survivors. "To uncover people who had run from their identities could not easily be defended as an act of innocence."

Such questions go unresolved: "There is no role in this volume to properly explore the role of journalism — indeed, there could be an entire book written on the subject in relation to these families."

But with respect to Agee's intrusion into these lives, Maharidge seems to tilt the balance between writer and subject in favor of the families. The case of Clair Bell is an example.

On page 40, Maharidge describes the scene of four-year-old Clair Bell Ricketts playing a game of tag with her siblings and Agee and Evans. One of the latter, "it is not clear who," accidentally knocked her down,

putting her in a coma when her head struck a rock, Maharidge writes. He adds snappishly that this was "an event that Agee's literature verite did not encompass."

But then the picture begins to fuzz: "That it had indeed occurred came out in an interview fifty years later with someone who was there that day."

Who was that someone? It's unclear. On page 173 we get a clue. With the

tone of a prosecutor reaching the climax in his summation to jury, Maharidge again mentions the Clair Bell incident, and writes, "Then we learned the secrets." He says that she was in a coma six weeks, not six months, as Agee suggested in his book, and that Agee failed to alter his text to report that she had recovered.

"We cannot now hear Agee's side of this," he writes, "but there is Clair Bell's recollection of the incident."

The Media and Their Credibility

continued from page 32

lose/heads I win". The journalists seem to feel justified in holding others responsible for their defensive activities.

Some Niemans may claim that they have to be tough because, as one put it, "The bastards lie to protect themselves." Of course they do. The question is to what extent are the media partially responsible for causing the lying?

During my studies of the State Department, I observed sessions where the foreign service officers wrote their reports to minimize the probability of some reporter getting that department in trouble. The point that I am making is that both sides were doing a complete cover-up.

Both presidents and press have something to learn about the defensive reasoning they use; about their behavior that makes each other defensive; about the "skillful unawareness" that blinds them to their share of the responsibility for the defensive routines.

The knowledge and technology for learning is available. The recommendation is that the presidential staff and White House journalists give it a try.

I am aware that the media's role is to report in order to reveal what is being hidden. I want the media to

remain tough and to persevere. I do not want this increasing mistrust of the media to continue — it will weaken the profession. I am aware that whatever methods are used to produce a less defensive world between the media and the White House should be done in such a way that it will not be seen as a sell out by the media. I believe that the initiative should come from journalists because of the First Amendment. But I ask — what is the likelihood that the press will be free if it is based on the idea that their defensive stands should be protected by the Constitution while others have not that protection? □

Both presidents and press have something to learn about the defensive reasoning they use; about the behavior which makes each other defensive

And the recollection follows — including her description of the accident in which she says: “One of them — I forget which one — ran between my hands and sister Paralee. I fell down . . .”

If others witnessed the incident, none is summoned to support the fifty-year-old recollections of a fifty-four-year-old woman. Yet, by page 258, in the listing of main characters, Clair Bell is identified as the person “almost killed in an accident caused by Agee.” No longer even any mention that it might have been Evans who “caused” the accident.

If I were the defense, I’d move to dismiss; if I were the judge, I’d grant the motion.

Other individuals’ recollections are placed in opposition to Agee. “But in fact, Gallatin had pointed Agee in their direction . . .” is a “fact” included in a self-serving tale told by someone who disliked Agee. Why “But in fact . . .”? Why not “Gallatin says . . .”?

Elsewhere, with no attribution, Maharidge says that Agee “crashed his car nearby, in either a quasi-suicidal frenzy or a subconsciously planned accident.”

No such leaps are made with the

Gudger, Ricketts, Woods or Gaines clans (the three families that Agee wrote about and the black family whose experiences Maharidge adds).

Perhaps the extended time he spent among the families forged a stronger bond between Maharidge and “their children after them” than to the self-destructive writer with a fondness for booze and woman.

It seems regrettable that this book, which does so much to enlarge these obscure lives, diminishes the man whose extraordinary work is what drew Maharidge to these people.

However, Agee, good or bad, is not essential to the success of *And Their Children After Them*. It is the families who count. And Maharidge renders them with beauty and mystery, without romanticizing the ruin of their homes and dreams.

When it was warmth these souls needed, cotton did not provide it. Maharidge stayed with his subjects long enough to describe how, instead, human love did. □

Michael Connor, Nieman Fellow '89, is the managing editor of The Post Standard in Syracuse, New York.

producer found the lawyer’s arguments less than persuasive and the story was broadcast as planned. Neither the lawyer nor his client were heard from and the story led to changes in the charity’s advertising as well as in its leadership.

So what? The system worked. The journalists did their job as society’s self-appointed watchdogs. The bad guys were caught squirming in the network news spotlight. Unremarkable in every way, one might say, except that the lawyer had once been an important official in the Kennedy Administration. The producer always wondered if the lawyer had learned to threaten TV journalists in their legitimate pursuit of a news story back in the days when he was a high level member of the White House staff.

John F. Kennedy was, after all, a first class manipulator of the press as well as the first president to openly court journalists as friends and to understand the dynamics of public opinion formation. Kennedy had seen, following his first campaign debate with Richard Nixon in 1960, the immense power of television, as the political professionals say, “to move the needle” of public opinion.

After what most observers thought was a smashing performance in his joint appearance with Nixon, crowds turned out to mob Kennedy at his campaign stops; to treat him as fans might treat a movie star. He never quite matched in his subsequent debates with Nixon, his performance in the first broadcast, but as he later said, the debates were crucial to his electoral victory.

Politicians have had a love-hate relationship with broadcasters ever since the days when radio first appeared on the national scene. They knew instinctively, it seems, that broadcasters with virtually unlimited access to the public could be their best friends or their worst enemies. They knew that once public discourse became truly public, i.e. available to anyone who wanted to listen, not only to the reporters in the gallery at the Capitol or the state houses, that

Mind Freed, Emotions Touched, and YOU are There

The Battle to Control Broadcast News: Who Owns the First Amendment?

Hugh Carter Donahue, The MIT Press, 1989. \$19.95

by Ed Fouhy

A few years ago a network news division’s prime time magazine program undertook an investigation of a well-known charity. Tipped by disgruntled former employees of the charity that its advertising, both print and broadcast, was misleading, the

network Hawkshaws had little trouble turning up evidence that the ex-employees were right and furthermore, that the charity was under investigation by law enforcement officials in several states.

A few days before the story went on the air, a famous lawyer from one of New York’s most prestigious law firms called the program’s executive producer and asked that the story not be broadcast. He attacked the motives of the network’s sources and murmured elliptically about the close ties between the charity’s top officials and the network’s board of directors. The

politics would be changed forever.

Broadcasting, they realized quickly, has two characteristics the press does not have; it appeals to the emotions more than to the intellect and it nullifies geography. It takes us to the scene of the news; puts us face-to-face with the newsmaker. Both of those qualities make it downright threatening to politicians.

If the voters are looking over their shoulders when they debate or vote on legislation, television might have two effects: one, it might get more people interested in politics and two, it might encourage potential challengers. A recently heard response by office seekers asked by journalists to name their motive for running is, "I started to watch a lot of C-SPAN. . . ."

But regulating free speech, for that is what Congress was flirting with when it undertook to regulate broadcasting, could be quickly struck down by the courts as unconstitutional. Ever resourceful, even in the 'Twenties, Congress found willing partners in broadcasters who welcomed licensing and curbs on their free speech rights in exchange for government guarantees of their property rights at a time when the airwaves were chaotic; when the multiplicity of signals in the spectrum threatened to drown out stations. Their cooperation led to the landmark Radio Act of 1927 with its equal time provisions.

In effect broadcasters traded their free speech rights for a system of regulation and licensing that allowed their industry to flourish. Other curbs, including the misnamed Fairness Doctrine, now mercifully dead, were built on the foundation laid down in 1927.

Some day a historian will write a book about the long running quarrel between government and broadcasters over control of the airwaves. That is obviously what Hugh Carter Donahue started out to do in his *The Battle to Control Broadcast News: Who Owns the First Amendment?* Unfortunately he settles for a good deal less. He gives us just a glimpse of the protagonists in the fascinating struggle to regulate

broadcasters. One of the major players, he tells us, was the Navy Department which wanted to nationalize the broadcasting system of the day.

After whetting our appetites for more on this intriguing and little-known battle, he goes on to other things. Like so many scholars he sees political battles primarily in institutional not human terms. Rarely is there a public policy struggle fought in Washington that turns only on the merits of the issue or the strength of public opinion on this side or that. Policy battles are not fought by bloodless institutions but by lively and vigorous human beings who are largely absent from the pages of Donahue's book.

Donahue's treatment of the tug of war politicians and broadcasters have waged ever since the radio spectrum was perceived as valuable, is a useful primer, but most of the tales he tells we have heard before. University of Texas law professor Lucas Powe's recent *American Broadcasting and the First Amendment*, for example, was a more thorough discussion of the legal struggles that have shaped televised political dialogue and enriched members of Washington's legal fraternity and provided the walnut paneling and marble conference tables in the M Street offices of what is known as the Communications Bar.

Donahue's prose is generally readable although there are some startling turns of phrase. For example, President Nixon is "a cloven footed chief executive." ". . . 1950's television antiquated commentators like [Edward R.] Murrow . . ." (emphasis mine). There are small but annoying errors of fact. He misspells Satchel Paige's name and misstates Larry Grossman's position at NBC — he was president of NBC News not president of the network.

Donahue is on familiar ground in his discussion of television documentaries. Unfortunately, he stays there. He was a documentarian himself before joining the journalism faculty at Ohio State University. His prefer-

ence for the independent filmmaker over the network producer is all too evident in his breathtaking assertion that the day of the independent passed in 1958 when Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly's "See It Now" television series was canceled.

To assert, as he does, that they were more vigorous journalists because they were independent of CBS's news division, regardless of the merit of that dubious argument, is to ignore the facts. Both men had been CBS employees, subject to the standards of its news division, throughout the life of the "See It Now" series.

Donahue travels well-trodden paths in his discussion of the Murrow-Friendly "See It Now" broadcast on Senator Joseph McCarthy, and other controversial programs: CBS's "Hunger in America," "The Selling of the Pentagon," and most recently, "The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception," as well as NBC's "Pensions: The Broken Promises." All have been the subject of exhaustive journalistic examination. The Vietnam broadcast which led to a law suit by former Vietnam commander General William Westmoreland, has been chronicled in at least two recent books.

Donahue is too quick to absolve the producers of "The Selling of the Pentagon" and "The Uncounted Enemy" of responsibility for what was clearly sloppy journalism in both instances. And his argument that independently produced documentaries would be more revealing of candidates than network produced documentaries, fails to take into account the devastating impact of CBS News's "Teddy" documentary that revealed the shallowness of Senator Edward Kennedy's bid for the presidency on the eve of his announcement in 1980.

An extensive examination of presidential campaign debates and their crucial role in the recent politics of the nation is central to Donahue's thesis that "candidate-centered organizations, not the broadcasters, are the Franksteins of modern American politics." His summary of

the 1988 debates is useful for those who might not have followed every twist and turn of last year's presidential campaign. A careful reader of any newspaper with pretensions to quality or any regular viewer of a network newscast will find nothing new. The reader in search of fresh information or insightful analysis will be disappointed.

For most readers, Donahue's study simply sets the dinner table. Some of his dishes, like his excellent history of the Fairness Doctrine, are tasty. But

for the most part the menu is familiar and the chef doesn't recommend any particular entree. □

Ed Fouhy has been a network news producer and news executive for 23 years. In 1988, he was a Fellow at Harvard University's Institute of Politics. Later, that same year, he was the executive producer of the presidential debates. At the present time he is an independent television producer and documentarian based in Washington, D.C.

A Drug, Controlled by a Deadly Underworld, Infiltrates All Sectors of Society

Kings of Cocaine: Inside the Medellín Cartel — An Astonishing True Story of Murder, Money and International Corruption

Guy Gugliotta and Jeff Leen.
Simon & Schuster, 1989. \$19.95

by Thomas Morgan III

Surely, we should have seen it coming. Cocaine, once the seductive drug of the hip, the wealthy or the powerful, was neat, easy to transport, and so simple to use. Who would have imagined cocaine would one day take hold, ruin so many lives and confound government efforts to control the gangsters who produce and sell it?

After more than a decade, drug-trafficking now exacts a toll in society that is staggering. To date, more than six million Americans use cocaine regularly, and millions more use it as a recreational drug. A generation of young cocaine and crack addicts have given birth to babies who are themselves addicted. Teenagers and young adults who should be learning skills are employed instead as runners and dealers, lured to fast money and crack

addiction.

In New York City, whole families have been gunned down mercilessly to settle scores in a vendetta waged by competing cocaine drug lords. The body counts of young men and women killed during turf battles among dealers are rising not only in New York but Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami and in the nation's capital, Washington, D.C.

Other cities, such as Seattle, Denver, Cleveland and Atlanta are beginning to see their own drug problem unfold quickly as the violence that stems from it moves from urban slums to comfortable suburbs. Empty vials of crack, the cocaine derivative, commonly litter sidewalks around some public elementary schools like confetti after a street festival. It is a sure sign that cocaine and crack dealers, driven by easy money, have infiltrated every sector of society, especially the most vulnerable.

Against this backdrop, a book, *Kings of Cocaine*, by Guy Gugliotta, [NF '83], and Jeff Leen, reporters for *The Miami Herald*, offers insight into the growth of cocaine trafficking in the United States, the violence that

has ensued, and the troubles in stopping the drug trade that lie ahead for law enforcement, politicians and the public.

Rising unexpectedly like a sudden summer rainstorm, the effects of cocaine trafficking have left the nation perplexed, wondering how our society has reached this point, and what can be done about it. The Reagan administration's "Just Say No" campaign and President Bush's "War on Drugs" have made little dent in the growing problem in the United States. Colombia, the tiny Latin American country where cocaine from Peru and Bolivia is refined and processed, has had even less success.

With painstaking precision based on firsthand reporting and sources from within what would become known as the Medellín Cartel based in Colombia, the authors, award-winning investigative reporters, chronicle the evolution of the cocaine trade into a sinister, violent multi-billion dollar criminal enterprise operating distribution webs not only in the United States, but around the world. They uncover a seedy underworld of personal greed, unprincipled quests for power, and political intrigue with the deft, dramatic touch of the best mystery writers.

In less than a decade, according to the book's authors, Medellín cartel leaders would control more than half of the world's cocaine, as much as 50 tons of it destined for the United States. The principals among them were Jorge Luis Ochoa Vasquez, Pablo Escobar Gaviria, Carlos Lehder Rivas, and Jose Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha. They are hardly household names, but are well known to U.S. and Colombian law enforcement officials who have sought to bring them to trial for cocaine distribution crimes without success.

These cocaine gangsters, operating independently and collectively to move the drugs abroad, would come to virtually rule Colombia by the early 1980's by assassination, bribery and infiltration into the country's political system. The violence of their

drug dealing activities in Colombia has been felt in the United States also as smaller gangs, the retailers, fight for drug selling turf here.

But in the early 1980's, Colombia's top political leadership was reluctant to believe the cartel was so powerful until the brutal killing of Justice Minister Rodrigo Lara Bonilla in 1984.

"At seven p.m. on April 30, Byron Velasquez and Carlos Mario headed into traffic to look for a white Mercedes-Benz limousine," begins a passage in the *Kings of Cocaine* about Justice Minister Bonilla's murder. "It was just dusk when they spotted the Mercedes. Traffic was fairly heavy, but Velasquez and Carlos Mario were riding a new Yamaha motorcycle and had no difficulty weaving in and out of traffic. Velasquez kicked the throttle and swooped down on the limousine, tucking in easily just behind of the right rear fender. He eased off until the bike held position so that the two vehicles seemed frozen in space while the rest of the world whooshed by.

"They had a nice angle and all the time they needed," the book continues. "Carlos Mario removed the MAC-10 (submachine gun) from his jacket, pointed it at the shadow in the backseat of the Mercedes, and pulled the trigger. He emptied the magazine in about two seconds. Rodrigo Lara Bonilla was pronounced dead at Shaio (cq) Clinic at 7:40 p.m., April 30, 1984. He'd taken three .45 caliber slugs in the head, two in the chest, one in the neck and one in the arm."

As the story of drug dealing and intrigue unfolds, unanswered questions arise about the involvement of Reagan administration supported Nicaraguan contras in drug trafficking, the U.S. government's knowledge about Panamanian military dictator General Manuel Noriega's role in protecting the Medellin cartel's operations and cocaine shipments through Panama, and alleged money laundering payoffs by cartel leaders to Bahamian Prime Minister Lynden O. Pindling and other Bahamian officials.

The book also raises questions

about the internal bumbling and competition among the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and the Justice Department.

Twice in 1988, for example, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee conducted hearings on international cocaine trafficking, calling former U.S. diplomats, military officers, former confidants of Noriega and others involved in the drug trade to testify about drug trafficking. What Senate leaders heard was troubling indeed, the book reveals.

"Stopping drug trafficking into the United States has been a secondary U.S. foreign policy objective," said Democratic Senator John Kerry, chairman of the hearings. "It has been sacrificed repeatedly for other political goals."

According to the authors of the *Kings of Cocaine*, "The Medellin cartel was marching across Central America, infecting governments far more readily than communism ever had. The hearings in Congress demonstrated that the United States had no coherent policy that examined the effects of drug trafficking on important questions of U.S. national security. Before the Panama incident, the Reagan administration had noticed the Medellin cartel only once, during the Nicaraguan case. The administration had sacrificed a ground breaking drug investigation on that occasion and now, four years later, had to confront the same group of criminals in Panama. Now those criminals had put in jeopardy one of the most important U.S. bilateral relationships in Latin America."

Already, major cocaine drug traffickers have assassinated one of Colombia's justice ministers, more than thirty judges, a dozen of them Supreme Court Judges, the antidrug police commander and numerous other public officials and journalists in the traffickers' campaign of intimidation and control.

Former Colombian Minister of Justice, Monica de Greiff, who resigned in September after death threats from

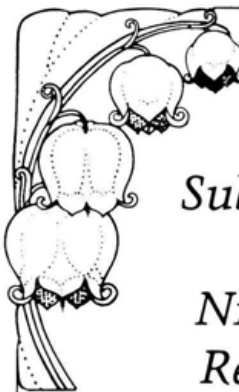
cocaine traffickers, told the 1990 Nieman class at Harvard University in October that at present, the Colombian government cannot handle the country's drug barons, and without international assistance, particularly from the United States, the situation in Colombia is hopeless.

"People are being threatened by violence," said Minister de Greiff, now living in Miami with her family. "Life in Colombia is tough enough. People are scared to even mention narcotrafficking at all."

In one 1986 federal indictment of six cartel leaders, U.S. law enforcement officials charged that the Medellin cartel produced 58 tons of cocaine in a seven year period ending in 1985. And that amount was only what law enforcement officials could document. To date, none of the cartel's principals have been brought to justice. The violence and drug dependency they brought to Colombia and every major city in the United States continues to escalate.

What the *Kings of Cocaine* show us in graphic detail, is that more than additional troops, weapons, and intelligence operations are needed to stem the drug tide. The book leaves us unsettled with no easy answers, and no quick fixes. □

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(See page 59)

Britain's Prime Minister, "Highly Professional and Frequently Ruthless" Wins Elections

Mrs. Thatcher's Revolution: The Ending of the Socialist Era

Peter Jenkins. Harvard University Press, 1988. Hardcover \$25, softcover \$12.95

by Bernard D. Nossiter

After the accidental death of David Watt of the *Financial Times*, Peter Jenkins became the pre-eminent political columnist of Britain's national dailies. Literate, numerate and thoughtful, one source of his strength, like Watt, lies in a deep understanding of American politics. This gives him a scale to distinguish substance from surface, especially necessary in political journalism. Jenkins' own politics are a hair left of center like those of his fine new paper, the *Independent*. Both are remarkably free from cant and adept at spotting the narrow self-interest that drives nearly all politicians nearly all the time.

Jenkins' book is a superb almanac of the last sixteen or so years in British politics. If you want to know what David Owen thought of David Steel during their uneasy political marriage ("no high regard . . . ruthless . . . treacherous . . .") or why Arthur Scargill lost the great miners strike against Margaret Thatcher (he failed to poll the miners and so was beaten by the unbroken output from the Nottinghamshire pits), Jenkins is your man. He is very good on the Falklands, an absurd war for the ultimately indefensible that made Britons feel good and won Thatcher a second term. Jenkins is blunt about one consequence of the Thatcher revolution he mostly applauds, a rise

of one-third more of those living at or below the poverty line. Now the total number is eight million Britons living in such standards.

But like many reporters, Jenkins is less persuasive when he tries to make facts cohere, attempts the larger interpretations. Newspapermen typically engage the here and now; the longer view makes them uncomfortable. It is painful to reread old editorials or leaders. "A week is a long time in politics," said Harold Wilson. The daily cycle depletes most journalists.

Jenkins begins with a thesis that was common in Britain in the 1970's. It holds that the British economy and morals were in a state of precipitous decline. Decadence could be measured by the morals, sexual preferences, and street theater of the young, by the slower growth of Britain's gross national product compared with West Germany and others. Unions, selfishly proclaiming I'm Alright Jack, insisted on bloated pay scales and overmanned factories. The Labour Party, captive of the union leaders, pandered to this dread force, plunged the nation into terrifying inflation.

The thesis of decline found an exit ramp in 1979. Thanks to its own folly, the strike-ridden Winter of Discontent with garbage piled in the streets, Labour was beaten. In power, Thatcher, highly professional and frequently ruthless, turned things around. The unions are crushed. The rot has stopped. Inflation has been reduced, although it still runs over 8 percent. Decline has been halted, although Jenkins argues it could resume unless Thatcher abandons her primitive hostility towards state support for education. Above all, socialism "would seem to be pretty

effectively dead." Thatcher is St. George and Boadicea, a formidable woman entitled to grudging respect from small liberals as well as men of property.

All this is plausible. But it ignores or suppresses an inconvenient fact. There is far more reason to believe that Britain, enjoying a golden age after the war, was not in decline. Economic growth was faster than it had been in the heyday of 19th century capitalism. The welfare state which Thatcher has left largely untouched, ensured that there was far less material misery than in any previous era. British mastery in the arts— theater, novel, television, films, pop music, dress — was the envy of the civilized world. Along with banking, insurance, and tourism, these services earned the foreign exchange that Britain had been compelled to surrender to the newly industrialized who now labored in Satanic mills to produce steel, autos and ships. More Britons enjoy pleasanter ways of making a living.

To be sure, the British growth rate, impressive as it was in historical terms, was slower than West Germany's. This was hardly surprising and had little to do with decadence. Allied victors endowed the defeated with undervalued currencies to promote export-led growth, probably more important than Marshall aid. The Germans still raise their productivity by shifting unproductive peasants to factories, a process Britain completed in the last century. Finally, the war gave Germans new plant and equipment; the old structures were finally destroyed although the earlier bombing raids had increased their output.

Jenkins is careful. He rightly insists that the decline of which he speaks is relative, relative to other nations, that in fact well-being rose all during the period of so-called decline. However, he asserts that when "relative decline results in an incapacity to sustain production and living standards, decline becomes absolute." But there is no reason for

relative decline to become so perverse and Jenkins wisely drops it at that. The point is this: a Briton moving from a rookery to a council house, from a bike to a motor bike, is in no way diminished by a German worker's house and garden or small Volkswagen. The Briton eats absolute not relative amounts of bread. Each extra slice increases his well being and it is not reduced by a foreigner consuming two for his one.

(As it happens, Jenkins and I once had this out before the Foreign Correspondents Association in London. We convinced each other only of our mutual stubbornness.)

Britain's decline in the 1970's, paving the way for Thatcher, was the stagflation in which all the West was caught. An underfinanced war in Vietnam spread inflation far and wide; two sharp increases in oil prices simultaneously deepened inflation and deflation for consuming nations. A global drought drove up food prices. All suffered and nobody performed well. Perhaps the most astonishing stance against interest was taken by those wicked British unions who, to save the Labour government, agreed to an incomes policy holding wages below prices for several years. The rank and file destroyed this in their discontented winter.

What Thatcher did was precisely what her friend Ronald Reagan did. She decided inflation was the central problem and deliberately ran a whopping recession to tame it. She threw men and plants out of work to slow price increases. She created slump by a stiff Keynesian increase in taxes and kept money easy so that a cheap pound could spur exports. In the United States, Reagan followed Carter's lead and blessed the extraordinarily tight money of Paul Volcker and his Federal Reserve. Reagan wanted fiscal ease to cut taxes for those in his class and buy arms to frighten Russians.

This was the heart of the Thatcher-Reagan revolution. They discovered that more voters feared higher prices than unemployment and would

tolerate a reserve army of the unemployed. Both leaders tore up the postwar pledge, implicit in Britain, explicit in the 1946 Act in the United States, to maintain high or full employment. Unemployment now became the great stabilizer, weakening unions, holding down costs. Workers became noticeably more deferential. Unions make concessions instead of demands and have lost economic and political importance. Thatcher has kept unemployment in Britain near 8 percent. The official level of 6.3 percent at the end of the summer drastically understates the fact by slicing workers from the labor force.

Jenkins does not slight these matters. He is far too good a reporter, has too strong a sense of relevance for that. But his belief in a British decline before Thatcher leads him to some eccentric conclusions.

Jenkins is thorough, however, in describing the other dimension of Thatcher's revolution, the extraordinary redistribution of income. Quite simply, the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. As in the United States, this was done through deep tax cuts for the best off, more unemployment for the poor. It was a remarkable achievement for Thatcher and Reagan. Until they came along, all the evidence suggested that this could not be done, that relative income shares were stable. Change was thought possible only in wartime and then the poor gain at the expense of the rich. Thatcher and Reagan have stood modern economic history on its head.

Jenkins is peculiarly British when he talks of Thatcher "ending . . . the socialist ear." As if there had ever been socialism in Britain, a system under which the means of production are owned by the state or the people. Britain, like Western Europe and North America, was and remains a bastion of capitalism. Most of the means of production in manufacturing and distribution and much of the means in services are privately owned. Prices for their output is set in markets of

varying degrees of imperfect competition, not by fiat. This is true in Sweden, West Germany and Canada and is unchanged by differences in welfare. Jenkins believes that "Socialism survive (s) in the small neutralist countries of Scandinavia," an inaccurate and parochial view of affairs in Denmark and Norway, NATO members, as well as Sweden.

To be sure, there are unending debates in Britain over whether natural monopolies like water, transport, communications, and power should be run by bureaucrats reporting to a ministry or to shareholders, which is to say no one. Some obsolete British industries like steel or autos have been salvaged by nationalization under Labour, then freed by Tories. But Jenkins rightly says the differences for consumers are small. Reporters know that the nationalized British telephones of twenty years ago were better than the awful French. But now the independent British service badly trails the rejuvenated, publicly owned French system. Nationalized Swiss trains run better than private British rail. None of this has much to do with socialism.

Indeed, Jenkins acknowledges that Harold Wilson would never have implemented Labour's more grandiose nationalization schemes. In sum, socialism wasn't killed by Thatcher because it never lived. For Britons socialism doesn't mean a transformation of property rights. It means no more than the contents of the Labour Party manifesto.

In one critical sector, however, Thatcher's denationalization has had prime political importance and Jenkins draws attention to it. She has shrewdly encouraged workers to buy their council houses, public housing, at subsidized prices. She converted renters to owners and won a significant new bloc of Tory votes. This is her greatest political innovation. As a result, Labour's share of the skilled worker vote has plunged from 49 percent in 1974 to 34 percent in 1987.

Politics, after all, is about winning elections and Thatcher is good at it.

"Power was her game," Jenkins writes. Economic abstractions like growth rates or relative decline are not central but means to her ends. Whatever Labour is for, she means to beat it at the polls and does so with striking regularity. Thanks to Jenkins, we have the materials for a sound assessment of Thatcher and the inner nature of her revolution. □

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Visionaries Out — Profits In

The Press

Ellis Cose. William Morrow & Co., 1989. \$22.95

by Ted Stanton

Ellis Cose sees the change in the newspaper business this way: Once run largely on ego and emotion, now with the "hard-nosed calculations of investment capital."

The change worries him. The veteran newspaperman sees potential benefits, but fears a narrowing of vision, too.

Newspaper leaders such as *The New York Times*, striving for Wall Street's favors, have been forced to prove that great newspapers can be profitable, he says, and that putting out a great paper may even enhance profitability. The attributes of outstanding metropolitan papers, such as in-depth, investigative pieces, elegant writing, and an overall sophistication in news coverage help lure affluent readers for whom advertisers gladly pay premium rates.

But the danger is that even high-quality journalism "is not necessarily journalism that reflects the full complexity of a community."

He builds his case by giving us a condensed, somewhat dispassionate look at five of the industry giants, *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post* and the two big chains, Gannett and Knight-Ridder. Together they sell one-fourth of all the papers bought in the United States

every day. The profiles won't offer much new for those who follow newspapers closely. However, they provide a useful picture for less specialized readers, and the changes he sees merit public attention.

There are major differences among the five companies, but also similarities that grow more striking as the narrative moves along. For each there has been explosive growth in profits, expansion through sale of shares to the public, control by dominant families, and an ongoing tug of loyalties and priorities among the news people and the business people. Now long-time leaders in each organization are stepping aside for the next generation. It's an appropriate moment to take stock.

Cose's work inevitably will be compared with *The Powers That Be*, an often over-written but vivid account of the same three papers, plus Time, Inc., and CBS, done a decade ago by David Halberstam. In terms of compelling detail and a feel for all the larger-than-life people who built these institutions, Halberstam is the clear winner.

But the aim of *The Press* is different. A quarter-century ago the men and Kay Graham at *The Post*, who would reshape the five organizations made significant steps up the ladder, and the companies for the first time began to move into the public domain, selling their stock. The changes started then have had a significant impact in the 1980's, and Cose details that well. Selling stock to the public has practically compelled them, Cose says, to buy into

other markets. Expansion beyond the newspaper business has accelerated the rise of the corporate culture at each, and that has "affected the content of the papers at least as strongly as it did their organization."

Cose warns that journalists now work in an environment less tolerant of "oddballs and erratic visionaries, brilliant though they may be." He sees more collaboration and the taking of fewer risks. He sees papers increasingly striving to identify markets and tailor the paper to serve them. That can alter the way papers cover the news, not always for the better.

Los Angeles Times president Dave Laventhol at least recognizes the problem. The daily newspaper "is largely a middle-class publication," he says, but editors must not "define society totally by the people who read us. If we did that, we would be neglecting fairly important parts of our society."

The brisk Cose prose will move readers through the background material quickly, but it has drawbacks. The main players are generally drawn without much warmth or intimacy. And in covering so much ground in 355 pages, he touches only glancingly on many major events in the corporate lives of each organization. The Watergate saga and the Pentagon Papers story are good examples, each summed up in a couple of pages.

Shortcomings get short shrift. All five companies have been criticized over the years, yet the book describes organizations that have moved ahead almost unwaveringly, editors and owners who almost never err. It's hard to argue with their profit gains in the past decade, for example, but not everyone believes that Abe Rosenthal's *New York Times* and Ben Bradlee's *Washington Post* have been all they could have been.

As head of a journalism institute at Berkeley, Cose has received funds from all the organizations, and he's worked for Knight-Ridder's *Detroit Free Press* and Gannett's *USA Today*. The book is not an "authorized account," but don't look for hard hitting.

Yet his concerns are valid. He

reminds papers that their responsibility to the public is arguably as great as to their shareholders. While he thinks many editors recognize this, and he's impressed by how demanding on themselves editors can be, he also notes "how uncomfortably they endeavor to serve two masters — commercialism and conscience — that do not always agree."

Knight-Ridder's John Knight is supposed to have once said, "There is no

higher title than editor." Editors have vision, Cose says, managers have numbers and "good newspapers demand both." Cose fears too many editors now believe there's no higher title than manager. □

Ted Stanton was a newspaper reporter and editor for 27 years. Since 1982, he has headed the University of Houston's journalism program.

A Debate that has Raged for Seven Decades Loses no Momentum

Congress Shall Make No Law: Oliver Wendell Holmes, the First Amendment, and Judicial Decision Making

Jeremy Cohen. Foreword by
Everette E. Dennis. Iowa State
University Press/Ames, 1989. \$21.95

by Fredric Tulsky

The American entry into World War I led to a patriotic frenzy marked by extreme intolerance of dissent, as various accounts of the period make clear.

The postmaster general, armed with power under a new Espionage Act that made it illegal to even attempt to cause disloyalty or refusal to be drafted, impounded the mail of radical organizations and refused to permit such publications to be mailed. Newspapers were shut down.

Hundreds of thousands of people were arrested, and the arrests were not limited to subversives. Roger Baldwin, a wealthy Harvard graduate, named in 1915 as one of the 10 most influential citizens of St. Louis (and later the founder of the ACLU), was jailed as a conscientious objector in 1918. A law was passed in Nebraska making it a crime to teach German

in public schools.

The frenzy lasted beyond the end of the draft. Laws were passed outlawing the display of Red flags. On one night in 1920, the government arrested 4,000 people accused of being communists.

Amidst this backdrop, the United States Supreme Court in 1919 for the first time considered the question of how much protection the First Amendment offered to political dissenters. The issue was presented in four separate cases, heard within a week of each other in January 1919. One was dismissed on technical grounds. The other three led to the March 1919 opinions by Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes that represent the earliest movement by the Court toward establishing modern First Amendment doctrine. The Court did not, by modern standards, acquit itself well: In each, the convictions were upheld by unanimous votes.

One of those cases involved the prosecution of Charles Schenck and Elizabeth Baer, who were arrested in 1917 at the headquarters of the Philadelphia Socialist Party. Their arrest was based on a leaflet encouraging resistance to the draft that was being distributed. Their case, *United States v. Schenck*, is one of the most

frequently cited in American history; it was there that Holmes first established the "clear and present" danger formula, noting through his example of a man falsely shouting fire in a crowded theatre, that not all speech is protected.

Within eight months, Holmes and Justice Louis Brandeis began dissenting from later court decisions that continued to reject the First Amendment as a defense. Indeed, it was Holmes' stirring dissent in the *Abrams* case — a prosecution of defendants who circulated leaflets opposing U.S. involvement in the Russian revolution — that has lasted as a landmark. Holmes still relied on the "clear and present danger" standard, but this time, clearly recognized that political speech demanded heightened protection.

The early trilogy has long been a matter of discussion and debate among First Amendment scholars, a debate that continues today.

The three opinions drew sharp criticism from such scholars of the era as Professor Ernst Freund. But other civil libertarians — including Zechariah Chafee Jr. — maintained that Holmes had established a libertarian First Amendment standard by articulating the clear and present danger test in *Schenck* — a view that became widely accepted.

More recently, revisionist scholars consider the original trilogy far more restrictive than the dissent in *Abrams*, raising questions about what made Holmes initially support such restrictiveness and then so quickly to shift.

To what extent was his own war-time experience — Holmes was seriously wounded twice in the Civil War — a factor in his willingness to restrict speech during war, as Felix Frankfurter suggests? To what extent did Holmes alter his view based on pressure from Judge Learned Hand, who, as professor Gerald Gunther has noted, had urged in correspondence that Holmes offer more protection for speech, as Hand himself had done in a 1917 case?

Was Chafee intentionally overstating, from the outset, the libertarian side of the "clear and present danger" test, as Professor David Rabbin suggests?

The decisions remain fascinating to First Amendment scholars, even if they no longer remain the law. In *Congress Shall Make No Law: Oliver Wendell Holmes, the First Amendment and Judicial Decision Making*, Professor Jeremy Cohen examines the *Schenck* case from the point of view of Holmes' legal background that led to the decision.

In the foreword, Gannett Center director Everette E. Dennis states that "Cohen breaks new ground" and "demolishes previous interpretations as he concludes that *Schenck* was not essentially a First Amendment case." Unfortunately, the book does not live up to that billing.

Indeed, Dennis correctly states, in a nutshell, the premise from which Cohen operates. "Because *Schenck* contained easily identifiable free speech issues," Cohen writes, "have we assumed too quickly that it is a First Amendment case?" Cohen finds a parallel in the 1980 Supreme Court case of Frank Snepp, a former CIA agent, who submitted a book detailing the actions of the CIA during the Vietnam War without first submitting it to the agency for prior approval. Though Snepp raised the First Amendment as his defense, the Court disposed of the case with an unsigned order that Snepp had no constitutional claim, since he had long before signed an employment contract agreeing to pre-publication review by the agency. That case, contends Cohen, should not be criticized for its First Amendment considerations: "There were no First Amendment interpretations, and alternative explanations, such as contract law, are needed to explain what happened."

Similarly, in the *Schenck* case, Cohen finds that Holmes gives short shrift to the First Amendment and, in fact, treats the case as a simple criminal case. Fair enough. But Cohen contends that *Schenck* and

Snepp are not First Amendment cases, because they were not decided on the basis of the First Amendment. This is far too simplistic a thesis:

The First Amendment prohibits laws abridging freedom of speech. If that Amendment decides the cases, *Schenck* wins. Given that *Schenck* lost, it is not a shocking revelation that the First Amendment did not decide the outcome of the case. But the case only becomes a criminal law case once Holmes decided that the First Amendment did *not* apply. That issue, alone, makes *Schenck* a First Amendment case.

Indeed, Holmes wrote in the opinion that *Schenck's* challenge to the prosecution case "only impairs the seriousness of the real defense," the First Amendment.

And while Holmes did dismiss that defense, the opinion is significant because it marked Holmes' acknowledgement that the First Amendment may apply to more than just prior restraint cases, as traditional legal theory held.

Even with that recognition, the three opinions written by Holmes would be viewed with horror if they were decided today. Another of the three cases was the appeal of Eugene V. Debs, the socialist leader who received a 10-year jail term for having given a speech in Canton, Ohio, during which he said, "I have been accused of obstructing the war. I admit it. Gentlemen, I abhor war. I would oppose the war if I stood alone."

Debs would receive almost 900,000 votes in the 1920 presidential contest, despite his imprisonment. As Professor Harry Ralven Jr. noted, "To put the case in modern context, it is somewhat as though George McGovern had been sent to prison for his criticism of the war."

Cohen suggests that one reason for the outcome in *Schenck* was that the defense attorneys "presented weak arguments," noting they "substituted political rhetoric and generalities for substantive legal doctrine and established precedent." This criticism, however, is problematic.

For one thing, the attorneys were not arguing a case based on precedent; to the contrary, they were urging the judges to stake out, for the first time, a new area of protection. And even if they did not do so convincingly, Cohen ignores here the fact that the case was argued not in a vacuum, but within one week of Debs' case which, as Professor Rabban has noted, contained "by far the most extensive discussions of the First Amendment among all the briefs filed in the Supreme Court during the preceding generation." Yet Holmes dismissed Debs' defense by saying, merely, that the First Amendment issue had been "disposed of" in *Schenck* one week earlier.

How could this be? How could Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose "clear and present danger" came to be considered protective of First Amendment values, have so cavalierly responded to the cases? Legitimate questions, and Cohen correctly notes the influence Holmes' own jurisprudence plays.

In fact, Cohen's elaborate examination of Holmes' past cases — a major focus of the book — is illuminating. He demonstrates that the decision in *Schenck* was perfectly in keeping with Holmes' approach to the law. Holmes, noted Cohen, consistently supported the concept of upholding majority will, as expressed through the legislative process.

Sheldon Novick, in a new biography of Holmes, conceded that Holmes' jurisprudence may seem defective today: "It seemed incredible to Ernst Freund and perhaps to more recent critics that Holmes should insist on treating Eugene Debs as if he were the defendant in an attempted robbery case . . . But that is what Holmes thought his duty as a judge required him." □

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Savor the Names — From Justice Douglas to Texas Guinan — But All Overshadowed by Chancellor Hutchins

Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins

Harry S. Ashmore. Little, Brown And Company, 1989. \$27.50

by Sander Vanocur

This biography of Robert Maynard Hutchins by his friend and colleague, Harry S. Ashmore, [NF '41], is a testimonial to the three greatest sins disturbers of the peace confront when they challenge the conventional wisdom.

They are: Being right. Being right prematurely. Being right prematurely when you are very young.

Consider what slings and arrows Daniel Patrick Moynihan suffered when he wrote his report on the plight of the black family in 1965. He waited more than twenty years for vindication.

Consider the abuse that a small band of young reporters — David Halberstam, Neil Sheehan, Malcolm Browne and the late Charles Mohr — suffered from government officials and more than a few of their own colleagues for being prematurely right about the war in Vietnam.

When he was very young, Hutchins enjoyed a kind of magical life. Dean of the Yale Law School at 28, President of the University of Chicago at 30. Friends like Thornton Wilder, Mortimer Adler, William O. Douglas.

When he tempted Douglas away from Columbia, Douglas, reared in Washington state, later recalled being told by Hutchins: "He told me he had summoned the Yale faculty to a nine

o'clock meeting and they elected me to the faculty. My first question to him was almost insulting: 'Where is Yale?' I was so ignorant of the East that I actually didn't know where the university was."

Worse than hiring a westerner who couldn't locate New Haven, Hutchins proposed the introduction of legal realism into the study of law, as "an attempt to train our men to discover the actual operation of the law rather than to memorize its rules." Take that the case study method of teaching law. Take that Wigmore's five volumes on the law of evidence. It was fun. It was heretical. But it was not permanent. And legal realism had faded by the early 40's.

It was to be the same at the University of Chicago, where he was to spend twenty years, first as president, then as chancellor.

Before he went out to Chicago he wrote to Adler, who had refused an earlier offer to come to Yale: "There's going to be no university in the world like Chicago, and besides, we could have a hell of a good time there."

And a good time they did have, at least for a while. Adler, influenced by John Erskine's General Honors course during his junior and senior years at Columbia, convinced Hutchins that reading and discussing the great classics could become the basis of a new Liberal Arts curriculum.

Together, they taught a small seminar, General Honors 100, a Socratic dialogue, limited to twenty freshmen. It also attracted visiting celebrities, among them Katherine Cornell, Gertrude Stein, Orson

Welles, Ethel Barrymore, Lillian Gish, and Westbrook Pegler. When Hutchins asked Pegler what he thought of the discussion, he replied: "I don't know. I fell off the sled at the first turn."

Adler so infuriated Gertrude Stein that she whacked him on the head. As she departed, her companion, Alice B. Toklas, said: "This has been a wonderful evening. Gertrude has said things tonight it will take her years to understand."

To teach English, Hutchins brought from Lawrenceville, Thornton Wilder, his classmate at Oberlin and Yale, who had just published his second novel, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. Thornton became a big celebrity on and off campus. Texas Guinan, seated atop a piano, introduced Wilder to her nightclub audience, saying she had read his book and had "cried and cried."

For Hutchins, it was more tears than laughter in trying to implement his New Plan, in essence, as Ashmore puts it: "Securing for the college a faculty wholly devoted to general education." And this Hutchins deemed to be a minimum essential if Chicago was to take the lead in restoring the Liberal Arts to their once-dominant position in undergraduate education. But his attempts yielded no permanent change and when he died in 1977, columnist Nicholas von Hoffman wrote: "Hutchins' work at the University of Chicago has been totally dismantled."

Nor did his attempts to improve journalism have much lasting effect. Based on my own personal relations with him, I think he probably liked journalists, but was not so taken with them that he could resist taking pot shots. David Broder recalled for Ashmore the following incident when he met Hutchins: "When Hutchins walked in unexpectedly, the Dean politely identified his visitor: 'You know Dave Broder, the editor of the *Maroon*.' Hutchins raised an eyebrow and replied: 'Can't you put him to work doing something useful, like washing windows?'"

But he knew the press was important. In a speech to the ASNE on

April 18, 1930, entitled, "The Press and Education," Hutchins said: "Of course, the greatest aggregation of educational foundations is the press itself. We all take our opinions from the newspapers. Indeed, I notice that in spite of the frightful lies you have printed about me I still believe everything you print about other people . . . sixteen years of formal classroom education is nothing compared to a lifetime of education through the press."

Years later, his old friend Henry Luce talked to Hutchins about the need for an independent study of the press. In 1944, TIME, Inc. approved a grant of \$200,000 to the University of Chicago for a commission on Freedom of the Press to be chaired by Hutchins.

When the study was completed in 1947, Luce, unhappy with Hutchins' final draft, refused to put up the money for the publication of *A Free and Responsible Press*. Hutchins turned to his friend, Bill Benton, who paid for its publication by the University of Chicago Press.

Reading its findings more than 40 years later is very much like Yogi Berra's line: "It's *deja vu* all over again." The report said, among other things, that the press emphasized the sensational rather than the significant. Said Hutchins: "The result is not a continued story of the life of a people, but a series of vignettes, made to seem more significant than they really are." But the Commission warned against governmental intrusion, saying: "We do not believe that the fundamental problems of the press will be solved by more laws or by governmental action." Instead, it recommended the establishment of a permanent commission, created by private donations, which would monitor, on an annual basis, the performance of the press.

The response was predictable, with the press either suppressing or distorting criticism of itself by anyone but itself. Or as Louis M. Lyons, Nieman Fellow '39, then Nieman Curator, put it in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*: "No other institution could have been so criticized by so dis-

tinguished a group as Chancellor Hutchins' commission without having its indictment land on the front page." Even *The New York Times*, which gave the report three-and-a-half columns, buried it on page 24. Speaking again to the ASNE in 1955, Hutchins told the editors: "All over the country you attacked the report. I hope you will read it sometime. But I fear you won't."

By 1955 Hutchins had long been gone from the University of Chicago. In late 1950 he became associated with Paul Hoffman at the Ford Foundation in Pasadena, California. Divorced from his artistic but unsettled first wife, Maude, and happily remarried to Vesta Orlick, Hutchins, at 51, appeared ready to settle for a different role as disturber of the peace, a kind of lion in Indian summer.

It was not to be. At the Ford Foundation and later at its offshoot, the Fund for the Republic, he incurred the wrath of Henry Ford II. But he managed to establish the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California, as the sole activity of the Fund for the Republic.

It was there that Ashmore joined him in 1959, remaining close to him as Hutchins, along with some old friends such as former New Dealer Rex Tugwell and some other prominent academics — most honorable, a few not — continued to explore the unfinished agenda of American

democracy.

The Center fell apart before his death, in part, because Hutchins, like other great men, did not adequately arrange for a suitable successor. The man chosen, Malcolm Moos, President of the University of Minnesota, proved a disaster. And before his death in 1977, Hutchins' last attempt to put together the "Community of Scholars" he had envisioned in Chicago had ended in failure.

Does this mean Hutchins' life was a failure? Some critics of Ashmore's biography will say it was. I think not. Hutchins was in the great tradition of American radicals and reformers, albeit in a well-tailored single-breasted suit — all three buttons always buttoned. He rattled the doors of at least two of the most important and perhaps most self-satisfied citadels of conventional wisdom — higher education and journalism. And if he did not prevail, at least he made some people angry and even more important, he made some people think. Not a bad epitaph. Not a bad life. □

Sander Vanocur is senior correspondent for ABC News and anchor for ABC News' "Business World," a weekly business program on network television. He has covered international summit conferences in Paris, Toronto, Tokyo, and Venice, and in several domestic locations. He has also covered presidential elections and the State Department.

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Television & Ethics: A Bibliography

Thomas W. Cooper. G.K. Hall &
Co. A Division of MacMillan, Inc.

The Critics' Canon: Standards of Theatrical Reviewing in America

Richard H. Palmer.
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The First Amendment — The Challenge of New Technology

Edited by Sig Mickelson with
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The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, Sixth Edition

Michael Emery, Edwin Emery.
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Andrew Delbanco.
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Tocqueville And The Two Democracies

Jean-Claude Lamberti. Translated
by Arthur Goldhammer.
Harvard University Press.

Transnational Media and Third World Development: The Structure and Impact of Imperialism

William H. Meyer.
Greenwood Press.

South Africa

continued from page 40

and a very few journalists found themselves singled out for expulsion. Several years later, fewer vows of resistance were heard. News organizations "adjusted." This is a dangerous precedent — and has already been seized on by other countries — Israel and China, for example — to impose similar restraints on reporting.

These issues are by no means exhaustive — or the only ones. They do however define a need for reporters to burrow more deeply beneath the surface. We need more probing that goes beyond the who-what-where, point and shoot syndrome that makes for uninformed coverage. We need to put the spotlight on the "men in the shadows," the underlying forces influencing events.

Most journalists try to organize their work around finding "The Facts." Yes, facts are important — but facts in themselves can easily become "factoids," stripped of meaning and context unless they are connected to each other in a coherent manner. South Africa has been called one of the moral crises of our time. Its leaders are being judged by how they respond — and so is the press. □

Network bureaus admit that they prepare TV stories that are put "on the shelf in New York" and never broadcast. In print, South Africa seems to be sinking down a shrinking news hole for foreign stories.

NIEMAN NOTES



There are phrases, sentences, in fact entire paragraphs that we have wished we had either said or wrote. We do not mean that we are intrigued with the pared-down sentences of minimalists, or that we yearn to emulate the glorious descriptions of faraway places that Bruce Chatwin wrote of — both much beyond our powers.

We are thinking more of author John Buchan and what he has to say about the adventures of his heroes: intrepid souls called Richard Hannay and Ludovick Arbuthnot (family and friends call him "Sandy").

Thus, in Buchan's *Greenmantle*: It was during World War I when both officers were doing a bit of intelligence work in Turkey and came up against a German agent — Madam von Einem — who had the misfortune, but the great good taste, to excessively admire Ludovick Arbuthnot (Madam von Einem stood no chance of ever calling him "Sandy"). But he spurned her.

This is what happened:

She tore off one of her gauntlets and hurled it in his face. Implacable hate looked out of her eyes. "I have done with you," she cried. "You have scorned me, but you have dug your own grave."

Minutes later, Ludovick Arbuthnot (even we do not dare the undue intimacy of calling him "Sandy") sees that the tide of battle has turned, and says as cannons roared and shells fell —

"Oh, well done our side."

For us, it is the last sentence that especially hits home. And we are sanguine

enough to think that we may have an opportunity to use it on a kinder, and gentler occasion — perhaps at the next soft-ball game between the Niemans '90 and the Crimsons. We can but hope.

—1939—

IRVING DILLIARD made a journey to the West Coast for two important reasons. He attended the 75th anniversary convocation of his college fraternity, *Alpha Kappa Lambda*, at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the senior past national president of AKL. Mr. Dilliard was accompanied by his grandson, Mark Schusky, who is in his junior year in high school. Mark is doing a coast-to-coast journey looking over colleges and universities before making that vital decision of where to apply.

—1948—

CARL W. LARSEN joined two friends — all staff members of that famous World War II newspaper, *The Stars and Stripes*, at the Rancho Bernardo Press Club in California. They had gathered to celebrate Ken Zumwalt's recently published book, *The Stars and Stripes: World War II & the Early Years*. Ralph Bing was the third member attending the reunion.

Mr. Larsen was news editor on the Northern Ireland edition of the GI paper. He also worked on the London edition and was managing editor of the Paris and Liege edition of the paper.

The three World War II buddies recalled many events, but what Carl Larsen especially remembered was the comradeship of those working on the newspaper and how "we prided ourselves on our independence and objectivity." The *Rancho Bernardo Journal* carried a six-column story of the reunion in its October 5 issue of the newspaper.

—1956—

The retirement plans of HARRY N. PRESS read more like the start of a busy career. He has retired from his position as managing director of the John S. Knight Fellowships at Stanford University — he

was with that program for 23 years — but he is continuing his association with the University. Mr. Press will do free-lance editing and writing, mainly for Stanford. He is editor of the Stanford sports quarterly, and he will also continue to write sports for the alumni newspaper — *The Stanford Observer*. He will continue as volunteer editor for the quarterly publication of the Stanford Historical Society. He has been editor of the publication for 20 years.

Travel is part of the retirement itinerary. In September he and his wife, Martha, returned from a trip to the Scandinavian countries and England.

On the domestic front, Mr. and Mrs. Press have become more than proficient amateurs in lawn bowling — perhaps retirement will allow both equal time for that game.

—1964—

ROY REED had a front page piece in the September 24, 1989 issue of *The New York Times* Book Review Section on university and college publishing houses. Professor Reed, who teaches journalism at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, extolled their role and upbraided "the conglomerates that fill the airport book stands."

He pointed out that the thriving publishing industry among university presses reveals more diversity than does "the constricted coastal ribbon that runs between Boston and Washington." Professor Reed mentions titles and authors of stories about the rich diversity of this land that would never receive a glance from editors of vast publishing corporations.

Professor Reed, who had covered the regional South for *The New York Times*, is writing a book about Orval E. Faubus, the former governor of Arkansas, whose name, unfortunately, was a household word in 1957. The University of Arkansas Press will publish the book.

—1970—

This may lead to even greater political heights — J. BARLOW HERGET won a more than fair-size victory, in fact it was

overwhelming, over his opponent and "snagged the southwest Raleigh seat [on the City Council] with a solid 73.2 percent of the vote" according to the November 9 issue of *The News and Observer* in Raleigh, North Carolina. According to the newspaper, a celebration was held at Mr. Herget's home, and in his jubilation he gave the University of Arkansas cheer — "Soooooooooooo pig!" And added, "That's politics, man!"

In 1970, Mr. Herget wrote editorials for the Raleigh newspaper. Later, he left journalism to work for the state and then for private industry. He has been an active member of a number of public service committees working with school groups and for the Boy Scouts. Mr. Herget is a writer and co-owner of a stationery store.

—1974—

Before starting his professorial duties at Northeastern University, Boston, NICHOLAS DANILOFF escorted a delegation of Soviet officials to Vermont. The officials, all from Karelia, a province bordering Finland, were here to foster cultural and commercial ties with the New England state. The four officials and their interpreter included Kuzma F. Filatov, the President of Karelia.

The Soviets were especially interested in visiting a farm in Southern Vermont noted for its Holsteins; they hoped to increase the production of milk in their province by observing American methods.

Before leaving the United States, President Filatov expressed surprise and pleasure in the interest Americans displayed about his country. He also noted "how tidy and picked-up everything looked in Vermont." (To find out how *this* glasnost happened, see page 20 for Mr. Danilo's story.)

—1981—

DOUG MARLETTE, *Newsday* editorial cartoonist and originator of "Kudzu," wrote the introduction to the 265-page paperback book, *Phi Beta Pogo*, published by Simon & Schuster. The book is about the career of the late Walt Kelly and is illustrated. It includes comments about every daily "Pogo" starting from 1953. The book is edited by Walt Kelly's widow, Selby, and Bill Crouch, Jr. Creators Syndicate handles Mr. Marlette's editorial cartoons.

—1983—

ELI REED, "numerous awards"-winning photographer-journalist whose writings also receive much acclaim, did the still photos for the television broadcast of "America's Children: Poorest in a Land of Plenty." The program, aired in May on NBC-TV, was a production of The National Council of Churches. For this documentary, Mr. Reed traveled through several states filming and speaking with indigent adults and children.

The script was narrated by Maya Angelou, author of screenplays, a collection of poetry, musical scores, and books — including the best-seller — *I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings* — an autobiographical account of her own childhood and youth.

Mr. Reed's photos have appeared in books, national and international magazines, and newspapers. Last year, W.W. Norton published his book, titled *Beirut, City of Regrets*. That volume included not only Mr. Reed's photos, but also an essay and a poem written by him. A forthcoming book, will include an essay and photos on *Black America*. It will be published by W.W. Norton. Mr. Reed is a photographer with Magnum Photos, Inc. (A representation of Mr. Reed's photos start on page 28).

—1986—

Samantha Jane Lumley, weighing seven pounds, fourteen ounces, arrived on September 2, 1989, and was welcomed by her mother, LYNN EMMERMAN LUMLEY, and her father, Tim Lumley. Her photograph arrived at Lippmann House a few weeks later and the staff gathered to admire Samantha's shock of titian-tinged hair, and several in the group insisted that she was smiling. Ms. Lumley has been doing free-lance writing for *Time* magazine.

—1987—

This past autumn, a card with the message — Greetings from London — arrived from MARITES DANGUILAN-VITUG. She is a student for the academic year at the London School of Economics. She wrote: "Classes at the LSE start September 28. In the meantime, I'm enjoying myself." And what she is particularly enjoying is the sightseeing — especially that view on the postcard: the Houses of Parliament overshadowed by Big Ben.

Before leaving for London, Ms. Danguilan-Vitug was a writer at the Phillipines Center for Investigative Journalism.

—1988—

Managing Editor ROBERT HITT III wrote a vivid description of Hurricane Hugo and its affect on his newspaper, *The State*, Columbia, South Carolina, for the September 30th issue of *Editor & Publisher*.

He explained that his paper's new production plant is fed by "main transmission lines" that never lost power. However, Hugo did slow production for about three hours. An Extra, the first in 21 years, was given free to refugees from the storm. By supplying cots in the city room, the newspaper sheltered journalists "from all over South Carolina," explained Mr. Hitt.

DENNIS PATHER, editor of *Post Natal*, Durban, South Africa, was named the recipient of the Percy Qoboza Award at the 14th Annual Convention of the National Association of Black Journalists.

Mr. Qoboza, Niemen Fellow '76 died January 17, 1988, on his fiftieth birthday. He had been editor of several newspapers in South Africa.

Mr. Pather wrote the story of Percy Qoboza's life and death; it appeared in the Spring 1988 issue of *Nieman Reports*.

—1989—

CONSTANCE CASEY, the former book editor of the *San Jose Mercury News* in California, is now the book critic and roaming cultural reporter for that newspaper. Her assignment entails a weekly critical column on books and features about authors. Writing and interviewing will now take precedence over "the paper-work" that piles up on the desk of every editor.

The Nieman Fellows '89 recall — and fondly — the farewell lunch, held in the latter part of last May, when Ms. Casey did a professional caliber tap dance after only eight weeks of lessons that she had taken in the spring. During the long New England winter the Californian limbered up and prepared for the rigors of tap dancing by going ice-skating.

LIU BINYAN has joined the faculty of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. He was appointed distinguished writer in residence at the New England college.

In the October 2 issue of *The New Republic*. Mr. Liu wrote an article about the

student uprising for democracy in Beijing's Tiananmen Square titled "Deng's Pyrrhic Victory." The Chinese scholar considered "the uprising was the greatest show of democratic force in over 40 years of communist rule . . ." in his country.

ROSNAH MAJID, on her return to her newspaper, *Utusan Melayu*, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, has been transferred to a new assignment. Before leaving for Cambridge to become a Nieman Fellow, Ms. Majid was on the political desk and wrote about politics for nine years. Now she is heading the economic section of her newspaper. She says she welcomes the challenge "to improve our economic pages . . . I will meet a different set of faces."

—1990—

A wee tee shirt was delivered to Mary Jean Harwood who was born on Monday, October 16, weighing six pounds-fifteen ounces. Her mother, Frankie Blackburn, and her father, JOHN HARWOOD, are pleased with everything about her, including the way she looks in a Nieman tee shirt. Mary Jean's father is the political editor in the Washington bureau of the *St. Petersburg Times*.

The library at Lippmann House has been enriched with the shelved books of two sitting Nieman Fellows — YOSSEI MELMAN and KATUTAMI YAMAZAKI.

Mr. Melman's book, *The Master Terrorist: The True Story of Abu-Nidal*, has been published in a number of languages and has had wide readership in several countries including France, England, Norway, and, of course, in the United States. The book is published in both hard and soft covers. In a *New York Times* book review, it was stated that "It all reads like a top-secret briefing from an intelligence agency . . . [He] seems to have access to much information originating in the Middle East."

Mr. Melman is the diplomatic correspondent for *Davar*, Tel Aviv, Israel.

Mr. Yamazaki's book, *Discovery: U.S. Congress*, illustrated, and published in the Japanese language, uncovers the inner and outer workings of that political body. The Nieman Fellow thoughtfully provided a manuscript, written in English, that is a précis of the material in his book.

Some books, especially on politics and foreign affairs, are described as "eye-openers." It is an apt description of *Discovery*. Many members, and the

activities of both Houses are dissected, and the importance of a savvy Congressional staff is explained. The role Congressional wives play in the political advancement of their husbands is also noted. The English manuscript is a translation from a series of articles that appeared in the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, Tokyo. Mr. Yamazaki is a senior staff writer for that publication.

This past September, THOMAS MORGAN III was elected president of the National Association of Black Journalists. Mr. Morgan, who is a reporter for *The New York Times*, had been treasurer of NABJ since 1983.

In a column for that organization's newspaper — the *NABJ JOURNAL* — Mr. Morgan proposed several programs that he hoped would be accomplished during his tenure, including "greater outreach to Third World journalists and to students on college campuses and in high schools."

He also urged members to get involved in the activities of the NABJ local chapters by volunteering as "part-time journalism instructors, mentors or just caring adults."

Other Nieman Fellows who hold office in NABJ are CALLIE CROSSLEY, NF '83, vice president/broadcast, who is with ABC News, and CARMEN FIELDS, NF '86, of WGBH-TV/Boston, who is director of the organization's Region I, which includes all of the New England States.

In October, JUAN O. TAMAYO was presented with Marquette University's By-Line Award at a ceremony sponsored by the University's College of Communication, Journalism and Performing Arts. The Award was established in 1946 to recognize alumni who have distinguished themselves in journalism careers.

A copper printing plate with the by-line of the honored alumnus was presented to Mr. Tamayo at a reception and lunch sponsored by the Marquette University Journalism Alumni Association.

In his address to the Association, Mr. Tamayo, a foreign correspondent for *The Miami Herald*, urged a greater interest in foreign affairs by Americans. There is, he said, far too little knowledge about the rest of the world — a world that is growing increasingly smaller. The Nieman Fellow stated that the United States is no longer strong enough to be isolationist and ignorant.

Mr. Tamayo closed his remarks with a plea for Americans to consider foreign affairs with a much greater concern and a much deeper interest.

The correspondent's last foreign post before coming to Harvard University was

in the Middle East. He, his wife, Grace, and his son, Marc, were based in Jerusalem.

Random Note

Nieman Fellows who have been recipients of the Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award include Irving Dilliard, NF '39; Clark R. Mollenhoff, NF '50; Louis M. Lyons, NF '39, who has also served as Nieman Foundation Curator, 1939-1964; Edwin A. Lahey, NF '39; Jack C. Landau, NF '68, who shared the award with Clayton Kirkpatrick; Anthony Lewis, NF '58, John Kifner, NF '72, and Eugene Roberts, NF '62, the 1989 award recipient.

The present Lovejoy Selection Committee includes Bill Kovach, NF '89, Curator of the Nieman Foundation. Dwight Sargent, NF '51, Curator of the Nieman Foundation, 1964-1972, is among the *Emeriti* Committee Members.

HOAXES AND EMBROIDERY Stirring Speech

In 1747 the *General Advertiser* in London published a story that was quickly picked up by newspapers in the American colonies. It told of Polly Baker, a New Englander who was being prosecuted for giving birth to an illegitimate child — her fifth such offense. She protested to the judges that she was simply obeying "the first and great command of nature, and of nature's God, 'increase and multiply.'" How, she wondered, could it be a crime "to add to the number of the King's subjects in a new country that really wants people?" Furthermore, she argued, the law against illegitimate births had had "horrid consequences," increasing the rates of abortion and infanticide. For the "public disgrace" she had endured in the repeated prosecutions, Baker concluded, she should be honored with a statue, not punished with a whipping and a fine. Captivated by the speech, the judges acquitted her, and the next day one of them married her.

Thirty years later the truth came out: Polly Baker and her widely reprinted 1100-word speech were the inventions of Benjamin Franklin, who was trying to show how society unjustly punished women in the name of morality.

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It is no wonder that this polymath is most everyone's favorite statesman.

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