
NIEMAN REPORTS

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UNITED STATES

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of presidential election campaign

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K-9 squad investigation

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Sovietologists discuss American reporting
on the Soviet Union

CHILE

Visiting Latin American journalist describes
government crackdown on media

Norman Cherniss, 1926-1984

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CONSCIENCE AT THE CROSSROADS

Some psychology textbooks describe an experiment that exposes rats to increasingly intense blasts of air. At first they resist, then they become aggressive, and finally, when nothing they do alleviates the stress from the airhose assault, they turn into passive, docile, and completely immobile creatures.

For human beings, the daily dose of news may result in a similar behavior pattern. World events gust into our consciousness, and the redundancy of turmoil and violence is without let or hindrance.

The advent of television — now found more often in U.S. homes than inside plumbing — personalizes the statistics of suffering. The print press places in our hands fulsome accounts and photographs of what constitutes news. Technology puts every flood or famine on America's doorstep each morning; we learn about murder, assassinations, and military events with unprecedented speed and vividness.

Scientific advances in communication bring with them the powerful abstract of irony, but note that it masks a danger — i.e., the clearer we see the wounds or hear the cries, the stronger our instinct to turn away. Indifference can be a protection when journalists have done their job well; the dreadful repetition can numb humanity's social and moral conscience. Writers, readers, and viewers alike are subject to a stasis from the immediacy of so much misery, whether on the scale of killings in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination or the single item about a child's struggle against disease.

Fortunately, the stimulus/response formula is not absolute. There is the privilege of choice. To walk away from traumas is one option. It takes those who select that direction to a social vacuum; sterility offers no nourishment.

To find a compatible path and join in the melee is another choice. These vari-

ables have produced social activists such as Albert Schweitzer, Florence Nightingale, Jacob Riis, and Mother Teresa. When journalists crusade against injustice, a further irony occurs. In countries where the press is under seige, the best



efforts of reporters to inform the public about inequities engender more peril to the right to report, and constriction of the media is tightened another notch.

Nonetheless, engagement means commitment; action brings change; accomplishment nurtures worth. The individual's constructive response to invasions of decency and compassion remains valid.

In unrelated incidents eight years apart, a few men who had retained their sense of healthy outrage, appealed publicly to their fellow creatures to take issue with universal wrongs.

British lawyer Peter Benenson wrote an article in May 1961 for *The Observer*. He urged a beginning of peaceful and impartial work for the release of prisoners jailed for their religious and political beliefs. These men and women were the original "prisoners of conscience."

In less than a month after Benenson's piece was printed, more than a thousand people had come forward with offers of

assistance to the cause. Two months later, citizens from five countries had helped to organize the group now known as Amnesty International.

Today AI is a globally respected institution, with more than 500,000 members, supporters, and subscribers at work in more than 160 countries.

During the first twelve years, when it developed that journalists and writers were especially vulnerable to ill treatment and imprisonment by authoritarian regimes, Amnesty International created a new program, the Urgent Action Network, to enable people to make a quick response on behalf of cases of arbitrary arrests, disappearance, torture, or impending death. By mid-1981, members of the network had intervened for 214 arrested or abducted journalists in 35 countries. Letters and telegrams of protest from AI members brought about improved conditions, and sometimes release, in approximately half of the cases. However, one should be aware that these figures cover only the cases that are known.

In 1968, seven years after the founding of Amnesty International, two Soviet citizens wrote an open letter to the Western world and described in detail a judicial trial taking place in the Moscow City Court. Four of their fellow countrymen were being subjected to "a wild mockery" of the legal process in ways "unthinkable in the twentieth century."

The Times of London was one of the newspapers that printed the letter. Stephen Spender and other prominent Western intellectuals read it and reacted. Together they sent a signed telegram of support to the letterwriters in Eastern Europe. Thus began an exchange that was the genesis of Writers and Scholars International Ltd., the London-based group that came to publish the magazine, *Index on Censorship*. This 4,000-circulation periodical appears six times

continued on page 67



A Keyhole View: the Press and the Campaign

Murray Seeger

A veteran journalist focuses on the coverage of labor and politics; he sees through the glass darkly.

Lane Kirkland following testimony at Democratic Platform Hearings, June 11, 1984 (AFL-CIO News)

In Cleveland, where I learned the most about being a reporter, we called it the “up-one-side-of-the-mountain-down-the-other-school-of-journalism.” The reporters who engaged in this art form had to be equipped with exceedingly short memories, lack of historical perspective, and iron constitutions which enabled them to contradict themselves within a few weeks.

One of the rules James W. Collins, the legendary city editor of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, taught his troops was to beware of being too sure of their conclusions.

I thought about these lessons from my journalistic past as I watched the unfolding of the 1984 presidential election campaign. After thirty years of writing about politics from the outside, I watched the 1984 campaign unfold from the inside. This was a narrow perspective, to be sure; a sort of keyhole view since it came from the position of organized labor, specifically the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

I joined the AFL-CIO staff in January 1982, just in time to witness the federation's historic decision to endorse a candidate for the Democratic nomination before the party convention. As a newspaper junkie, I expected the campaign to be an exciting experience. It was, but it was also a revealing experience. I discovered failings of the press — print and electronic — far beyond what I had learned from three decades as a practitioner.

I am troubled by the ignorance, arrogance, and plain foolishness I found in dealing with reporters. I am appalled at the laziness, lack of curiosity or enterprise, and continued herd mentality of so many reporters.

Two phenomena particularly impressed me: the very deep impact television has made on all reporting in the last decade, and the mesmerizing effect public opinion polls now have on journalists. I missed the development of these trends because I spent the 1970's working in Europe.

My portion of this year's political merry-go-round started early in 1982, shortly after I crossed the street from the sunny reporter's side to the shady flack's side. Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, started things with an interview with Jack Germond and Jules Witcover, the columnists, where he said he was considering asking the AFL-CIO Executive Council to attempt a consensus endorsement of a Democratic presidential candidate before the 1984 convention.

The Executive Council, at its meeting in May 1982, discussed Kirkland's suggestion and went a step farther than he expected. The council voted unanimously to ask the federation's member unions to desist from any presidential endorsements until the federation, itself, explored the possibility of a unified position.

A few days later, David Broder wrote in *The Washington Post* that it was not clear that the AFL-CIO could find a consensus: "But the very existence of the Kirkland plan changes the dynamics of the Democratic contest in fundamental ways."

"No one can ignore — or discount — a pre-primary endorsement by the AFL-CIO," Broder went on. "Union members surely will not vote as robots for the endorsed candidate. But the endorsement carries with it not just blessings and good will, but money and propaganda and a ready-made campaign machine in every state."

The federation's endorsement convention, he continued,

would be "at least as important" as the Iowa Democratic caucuses or the New Hampshire primary, the first two hurdles in the 1984 race for the nomination.

"Candidates — and reporters — will have to learn as much about the internal dynamics of a big UAW local in Dearborn or AFSCME in New York City as they do about the characters in Black Hawk County, Iowa, or Dade County, Florida," Broder added.

The political expert noted that Senator Edward F. Kennedy and former Vice President Walter F. Mondale were the "main contenders" for the endorsement but that Senators John Glenn and Alan Cranston would have "leverage" on the decision because of the heavy union membership in their home states.

Oddly, few reporters paid heed to Broder's sound advice. A conventional wisdom developed that this endorsement was just a publicity gimmick to puff up the failing political prestige of the labor movement. Several reporters scoffed that the federation would never be able to decide between Mondale and Kennedy and that, therefore, we were engaged in an exercise in futility.

Reportorial interest picked up in August 1982 when the Executive Council interviewed two candidates, Glenn and Senator Gary Hart, in New York City. At that time, it was also learned that Victor Kamber, a public relations consultant with several union clients, had been hired by Cranston to "block" the endorsement for any other candidate. Germond and Witcover "explained" the reasoning in a November column:

"There already is talk of endorsing both Kennedy and Mondale, and that would mean no advantage for either in union money or manpower. And there is the possibility that other candidates might get enough support to deny anyone Big Labor's endorsement."

Since a split endorsement was exactly what Kirkland was trying to avoid, this item must have been inspired by sources less than well-informed. The entire strategy was to avoid the kind of split in the ranks labor suffered in 1980 when some unions supported Jimmy Carter for re-election and others wanted to dump him in favor of Kennedy.

This first wave of conventional conclusion-making ended abruptly in December when Kennedy took himself out of contention for the 1984 nomination. Suddenly, for reporters and the other Democratic contenders, labor's endorsement took on new meaning.

The new tack suggested that the endorsement would be a negative for the candidate who won it. "It is probably no coincidence that the warnings of the 'perils' of winning the AFL-CIO endorsement started coming shortly after Senator Ted Kennedy, one of labor's all-time favorites, announced that he would not seek the Democratic nomination next time around," Germond and Witcover wrote.

"But, with Kennedy out, the prospect that there will be an endorsement increases with Mondale, the favorite, as of now, to be the recipient. . . It's not surprising then that other 1984 aspirants might be questioning the endorsement's worth — while hoping to get it."

Senators Alan Cranston and Ernest F. Hollings met with

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Fred Sweets, *The Washington Post*

the Executive Council in Bal Harbour, Florida, in February 1983. Kirkland urged the union presidents to take wide soundings among their members before making any conclusions about candidates. The officers agreed to make no individual union endorsements before the next council meeting in May.

Former Florida Governor Reubin Askew appeared at that May meeting, but reportorial interest in the process was at a low ebb. Although the council meeting was held near the Baltimore airport, a 45-minute drive from Washington, only the hard-core labor reporters covered it. The negative theme was still playing.

"There is an opportunity for one of the Democratic contenders for President to seize the initiative in the current campaign for the nomination," Steven Stark, Carter's issues director in his 1976 campaign, suggested in a *New York Times* opposite-editorial page article.

"Although at first it might seem crazy, the candidate with the imagination and courage to declare that he won't seek organized labor's endorsement could propel himself to the nomination and the White House."

Of course, all the candidates in the running were seeking

the endorsement except Askew. But he, too, assured the Executive Council he wanted labor's support without a formal endorsement.

Stark was one of the first commentators to attach the term "special interest" to the labor movement, a theme which was to emerge more clearly as the campaign progressed. We were not without defenders, however.

"The AFL-CIO's decision to consider endorsement in the primary process has turned out to be a political ten-strike," Ben J. Wattenberg, the neo-conservative Democrat, wrote in *The Washington Post*. "Proof: a year ago it was said that labor's clout was gone; now, it's said labor has too much clout."

Leon G. Billings, former director of the Democratic senate campaign committee, put it this way in the *Post*: "Now, suddenly, someone has turned a page of the book of politics when I wasn't looking. Political columnists and former campaign managers tell me that working people, blacks and women, are not constituencies of the Democratic Party but special interests, and that concern for them makes a Democratic candidate a captive of special interests. . . . It is hogwash. . . ."

Robert Shogan of *The Los Angeles Times*, and pollster William Schneider put together a long analysis which thoroughly trashed the federation's program.

"Question: What presidential candidate wants the endorsement of an organization whose leadership's reputation for rectitude rates twenty-third among twenty-four occupations, ranking higher only than car salesmen?" they asked in *Public Opinion* in June. (The same article ran in *The Los Angeles Times*.)

"Answer: Walter Mondale. Also, in alphabetical order, Alan Cranston, John Glenn, Gary Hart and Ernest F. Hollings."

Of course, the data they quoted never asked how the public rated the president of the AFL-CIO, or other union leaders by name and union. They simply grouped all union leaders together, the great and the weak, the indicted and the most respected.

Shogan and Schneider acknowledged that 65 to 80 percent of the sample asked said labor's endorsement would not change their votes.

And they admitted that the public took a negative view of endorsements by 17 of 19 political action committees — only the environmentalist and consumer groups got positive ratings. They also agreed that unions have high public standing for what they do to improve the working lives of millions of Americans.

In the end, Shogan and Schneider concluded: "In simplest terms, most citizens think organized labor is fine as long as it stays in its place — the workplace."

Lou Harris, in a poll for *Business Week* published in 1984, pointed out that the low public esteem for union leaders has not changed in a decade. On the other hand, "Americans to an amazing degree have maintained a 'positive view' of unions, says Harris," *Business Week* reported.

Shogan and Schneider erred in their conclusion because they did not understand that the AFL-CIO's activity would be confined to the ranks of the membership of its 96 unions. In fact, federal law bars unions from using dues money to promote

candidates, parties or issues among the general public.

A legitimate question never answered was why the writers did not explore in the same detail the potential effects of endorsements by the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Rifle Association, National Association of Real Estate Boards, and other groups that generally work the right-wing of politics and which are generally seen by the public to be "special interests."

All of this research did not explain why each Democratic candidate asked to be heard by the AFL-CIO leadership. "It is not compulsory, you know," Lane Kirkland told reporters.

The negative idea had been planted, however, and it was to persist through the agonizing nomination struggle of the first half of 1984. At the same time, some reporters questioned labor's wisdom in favoring Mondale over the apparent strong position of Glenn in public opinion polls.

A New York Times/CBS survey published in July 1983 showed Mondale preferred by 34 percent of the Democrats and Glenn by 32 percent. Hart, at that time, got only 1 percent support.

At a meeting of the Democratic National Committee in Detroit that month, Mondale said he was offended by criticism of his labor support. "Since when is it a special interest to be for organized labor?" he asked. Glenn said he, too, was seeking labor's endorsement and thought, "It is not a kiss of death."

Alan Baron, the political analyst, told *The Wall Street Journal* that labor should not choose between candidates but should "be in more than one camp."

The news focus moved quickly to Boston in August 1983, when the Executive Council decided to set the date for making a formal presidential endorsement to coincide with the federation's biennial convention scheduled for October. Most observers had expected the endorsement to be made in December.

Reporters interpreted the decision as an indication that Mondale was the heavy favorite to be endorsed. However, the reporters continued to think that Glenn was the chief challenger when, in fact, only Cranston among the other hopefuls, had any support within the council.

A typical commentary was written by Don Campbell in *USA Today*: "There's no denying that the 23-6 vote by the AFL-CIO Executive Council to advance its endorsement of a candidate from December to October will give the recipient, presumably Mondale, an important organizational advantage.

"It could mean maybe \$20 million worth of help in voter identification and registration, computerized 'personal' communications from labor leaders, get-out-the-vote drives, etc."

That dollar estimate for the value of labor's campaign was plucked out of thin air by Glenn who happened to be campaigning in New England when the Council met. He had paid little attention to the endorsement's value until that meeting when he sent some staff members to express his belated interest. Glenn told reporters he was now going to take his case to the rank-and-file union members in order at least to make a showing at the endorsement meeting.

"Glenn aides were surprised and awed at an AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Boston last month, according

to several of them, when labor officials described the scope and sophistication of the grassroots political operation they have developed," Kathy Sawyer wrote in the *Post*. "We always knew it was important," said one Glenn operative, "but I don't think we ever anticipated how much it would be worth."

Reporters were enthralled by what they thought was strong popular support for Glenn in polls and by the likely effect of the release of the movie, *The Right Stuff*, about the original astronauts, including Glenn. No previous candidate ever received so much free publicity for doing nothing as Glenn did with that movie. Even before the premiere, political writers concluded it was a master stroke for building the former astronaut's public standing.

On October 1, the AFL-CIO General Board, casting votes representing 14.7 million union members, overwhelmingly recommended that Mondale receive the federation's endorsement. Glenn received 3.3 percent of the votes, Mondale 90.7, with the remainder cast for "no endorsement" or "abstained at this time."

The New York Times, the next day, published one of the oddest poll analyses of the season. It had found that among AFL-CIO union members, Mondale was preferred by 30 percent and Glenn by 27 percent.

"Seventy percent of the AFL-CIO members polled last week said the leadership had not sought their views on a presidential candidate, and 23 percent said they had been consulted," Joseph B. Treaster wrote.

If this were true, about 3.4 million union members had been asked about their political preferences before the endorsement was made. This would constitute one of the largest public opinion samples ever made. All the major pollsters, including those working for Times/CBS, base their conclusions on samples of about 1,500 individuals out of the entire U.S. population. Still, it was suggested that since 70 percent of union members had not been surveyed, somehow the AFL-CIO unions failed.

It turned out, of course, that it was the *Times* and CBS that failed. Their sample of union members had been extrapolated from a national population sample and, therefore, did not conform to the specific demographic profile of the labor movement.

The poll contacted only 162 union members of whom 81 were Democrats. From that sample, the *Times* and CBS drew a series of conclusions about the labor movement. The professional pollsters we conferred with called the Times/CBS work "shoddy."

Still, many reporters, notably Irving R. Levine of NBC, scoffed at the convention decision as unrepresentative. The fact that all of the major unions of the federation had conducted some kind of membership sampling, including professional polling and complete membership surveys, cut no ice with critics.

Frank Van Riper [NF '79], writing for the *New York Daily News*, referred to the Times/CBS poll as proof of Glenn's charges that the AFL-CIO endorsement would not pass the "smell test." "The poll seemed tailor-made for Glenn to charge



Gerald Martineau, *The Washington Post*

that Mondale was the handpicked choice of the labor bosses — a rap no Democrat wants these days if he expects to win a general election.”

The “kiss of death” theme was muted during the early winter except for an occasional barb thrown by Jesse Jackson. Blacks, Hispanics, and women “don’t have a snowball’s chance of being heard” by the federation’s leadership, he said in November. Naturally, Jackson did not recount that before the AFL-CIO meeting he, too, had met with Kirkland.

The AFL-CIO leader offered to call an extraordinary meeting of the Executive Council to hear Jackson before the convention. But Jackson said he had not yet decided if he were going to be a candidate.

By January, the autumn soar of Glenn had turned into a tailspin. The Times/CBS survey published in late January showed Glenn tied with Jackson with support of 14 percent of registered Democrats while Mondale had 44 percent. Hart ranked with the other candidates below 4 percent each.

Most interesting in that poll was the chart of Glenn’s standing from June 1983 to January 1984. This showed Glenn and Mondale in a virtual tie in June. In September, when *The Right Stuff* was taking up free space in all the press and on television, Glenn’s standing was falling.

Mondale’s position, meantime, took off simultaneously and rose sharply through the period when both the AFL-CIO and the independent National Education Association gave him their allegedly deadly caresses.

Shogan and Schneider wrote that the negative impact of the AFL-CIO endorsement “would be likely to increase considerably because of the big splash the endorsement would make in the press.” The decision did make a major splash, but the January polls indicated it was positive for the winning candidate in the eyes of the general public, and with union members.

Only a handful of reporters went into the field to determine if labor’s campaign could be seen in action. Kathy Sawyer of the *Post*, Harry Bernstein of *The Los Angeles Times*, and Howell Raines of *The New York Times* explored our organization most thoroughly, but most other reporters wrote or talked about labor without bothering to do original work; they simply reworked what they borrowed from others.

Through the entire caucus and primary campaign, this was the pattern. A few enterprising reporters would actually attend meetings we held across the country for local labor leaders; television crews showed special interest in seeing telephone banks in operation.

The Iowa caucuses drew big television names like Dan Rather of CBS and Tom Brokaw of NBC. Brokaw interviewed John Perkins, AFL-CIO political director, using questions prepared by a young producer, while Rather misrepresented labor’s telephone campaigning.

“There’s another whole campaign being waged on Mondale’s behalf, a campaign with a legally unlimited budget and no outside fiscal accountability,” he reported. “That campaign is being fought by organized labor. . . there’s no legal requirement to report how much was spent or where it went.”

Apparently, Rather never heard of the reports of “in-kind” spending for political campaigns which labor does report to the Federal Election Commission.

There was a flurry of excitement in Iowa, when Glenn charged that telephone banks were improperly operated for Mondale from union halls. William White, Glenn’s campaign manager, said he was going to make formal charges to the FEC. Reporters hardly noticed that no such charges were ever filed. Glenn was the first to make labor an issue but it did him little good in Iowa, where Mondale won handily.

From that first series of caucuses, a pattern for reporting about labor developed. When the federation and its affiliates performed well for their candidate, they got little media attention. When it appeared that labor had failed, it got all kinds of attention.

Germond and Broder talked about the Iowa results with Ken Bode and Bryant Gumble on the NBC *Today* show on February 21, the day after the caucuses, without discussing labor’s role.

Yet, as Sawyer reported in *The Washington Post*, NBC exit polls found that 75 percent of the union participants had voted for Mondale. Labor, in fact, produced 40 percent of Mondale’s strength in Iowa.

Broder, usually a cautious observer, told the television audi-

ence that George McGovern was "in a position to hurt Gary Hart" in New Hampshire and that some of Glenn's supporters would slide over to Senator Hollings.

"Well, Mondale doesn't have to take note of anybody," Germond said. "I mean, after all, he did win big and he beat his closest competition better than two to one. Mondale needs to keep the same kind of posture he's had, where he is above the fray a little bit."

This was the new conventional wisdom put down by the two best political analysts in journalism.

All through the campaign, television brought print journalists to the tube, apparently in the belief its own, highly-paid performers lacked credibility. From their perspective, writing journalists have found television to be a lucrative outside source of income as well as a great builder of reputations, egos, and speaking fees.

The writers learn quickly that to be successful on the visual medium they must perform to the extent of saying things differently from the way they would in print; taking positions that are controversial, drawing conclusions, and arguing with each other. Otherwise sensible writers will say outlandish things on television if for no other reason than to be invited back for another performance.

Morton Kondracke [NF '74] of *The New Republic*, who plays the "liberal" on televised verbfests, acknowledged the phenomenon in a conversation. "It doesn't make any difference; it is only television," he said.

The conventional wisdom about New Hampshire was enhanced on February 28, the day of the balloting, when the newest New York Times/CBS poll was printed, showing Mondale ahead of Hart and the other challengers by 50 points, "the most commanding lead ever recorded this early in a presidential nomination campaign by a non-incumbent," Hedrick Smith [NF '70] wrote.

Twenty-four hours later, the conventional wisdom had again been trashed. Hart, who used the anti-labor issue in attacking Mondale for making "too many promises to special interests," upset the prognosticators and won New Hampshire.

Looking back at all the pre-primary predictions, Richard Cohen of the *Post* wrote: "Fortunately, these stories now rest at the bottom of bird cages."

The New York Times/CBS exit poll showed that only six percent of the New Hampshire participants were union members, but labor was singled out as a major cause of Mondale's loss.

Overnight, the political momentum shifted. Germond and Broder both told the *Today* audience that the Colorado senator had just about knocked Mondale out of the race; it would be hard for Mondale to recover.

USA Today carried a headline, "Labor Muscle Won't Deliver Mondale the Nomination," over a story by Don Campbell which did not say that. Mondale's "constituency might be too narrow and too shallow," he wrote.

In the *Post*, Mark Shields explained: "Labor, to its credit, may be the last Democratic constituency that still imposes a call upon both the consciences and the checkbooks of party

members. Labor, to its credit, wants to spend more money to buy better public education.

"But labor is not fashionable; labor wears pinky rings too often, and dresses in suits that shine like aluminum. So, labor, which is easy to caricature, is available for cheap shots."

The shots came fast; *Newsweek*, which had paid little previous attention, decided after New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont went for Hart, labor's support "may be doing Mondale more harm than good."

Only a few reporters realized that Mondale's loss in Maine was actually more damaging to labor's campaign than the New Hampshire primary or Vermont popularity poll. Maine was a caucus state and far fewer union voters took part than had been expected. As a result of Maine and New Hampshire, the AFL-CIO changed strategy and tactics, but few reporters noticed.

"... Gary Hart is hard for unions to fight," Leonard Apar wrote in *The Wall Street Journal*. "Both the AFL-CIO and NEA have backed him in his Senate races."

While the media moved its attention to "Super Tuesday" — primaries in Massachusetts, Florida, Georgia, and Alabama — labor experimented with new techniques in Delaware and Oklahoma. In the smaller state, Mondale won big; in Oklahoma, an expected Hart sweep turned into a standoff. The results were heartening to labor strategists, but they accepted the sense that Hart's momentum had to be stopped in the South if Mondale's candidacy was to be resuscitated.

Ken Bode of NBC caught labor's odd situation in the South. "Organized labor is about as weak in the South as it is anywhere in the country, yet a South-wide poll taken last month shows that 60 percent of the people here still think the unions have too much influence." This was the new approach to the "kiss-of-death" argument; it is the opposite side of the argument which says unions are archaic — dinosaurs toddling off to extinction.

Lane Kirkland signaled the change in strategy for the nomination campaign in a little-noticed speech at an AFL-CIO regional conference in Miami shortly before Super Tuesday.

Through the first primaries and caucuses, labor had told its members that all eight Democrats were good men; that all were qualified to be president, but that Mondale was the clearly preferred candidate for working men and women.

Research by the American Federation of Teachers and the AFL-CIO found several instances where Hart had taken clear anti-labor positions in committees or "non-record" votes which would not go into his file kept by the Committee on Political Education (COPE). Thus, he could have a good voting record — more than 80 percent "right" — with COPE and still have enough red marks in his copy book to be vulnerable.

Most of all, Hart had decided he could be nominated by attacking labor as a special interest and by charging that labor leaders somehow did not represent the interests of their members. "The Democratic Party that was once the party of workers on the assembly lines of America is in danger of becoming the party of a handful of organized labor leaders in Washington," the Senator said in a typical statement.



James K. W. Atherton, *The Washington Post*

This line, adopted by the so-called neo-liberals, runs parallel to the argument used by Ronald Reagan in trying to split workers from their elected leaders. The neo-liberals take the arrogant position that they know what is best for workers, although they rarely consult with any.

Campaign coverage by March was in its worst phase when the traveling claques with each candidate moved across the political landscape like so many locusts. The reporters and television crews descended on meetings just minutes before the candidate was to speak, and they rushed out a few minutes after. They often did not know where they were; they saw the world through the windows of chartered buses.

Bernard Weinraub, in the *Times*, said Mondale had addressed 2,000 union "organizers" in Miami. I sent him a note saying that those were mostly real, live working folks in that hall; we wish we had 2,000 organizers in all of the southeast states, much less Dade County.

Mondale, campaigning better than ever before, did what

he had to do; he won Georgia and Alabama and renewed his own energy and the campaign's spirit.

The New York Times/CBS exit polls showed labor produced 16 percent of the voters in Georgia and 28 percent in Alabama. In Alabama, voters split about even (51 percent "yes," 41 percent "no") on the question, does labor have too much power? In Georgia, the vote was negative for labor by two-to-one, bearing out a personal impression that where unions are best known, they are least offensive.

Within the Georgia and Alabama results, there was evidence, largely overlooked by reporters, that Hart was not the barrier to Mondale's nomination, but that Jackson was.

Only 3 percent of Hart's supporters in Alabama and 5 percent in Georgia were black, while Mondale scored well with blacks in both states and Jackson led in that vote.

Reporters all through the campaign wrote about the Mondale-Hart contest as if it were one event and the Jackson campaign another. Actually, if Jackson had not been in the race, Hart's campaign would have ended early.

The media, in early spring, concentrated on the race-horse character of the campaign, emphasizing the popularity voting and paying little attention to the more important element of delegate selection. Reporters kept looking for that time when Mondale might quit. Similarly, they wanted to know when labor might start hedging its bets by making overtures to Hart.

In fact, the AFL-CIO never considered changing its course. The decision was to stay with Mondale as long as Mondale stayed the course. And, always, the selection of delegates was the prize. The only alternative suggested was a possible stalemated convention. With a maximum count of delegates, labor would be assured of a role in any event.

Irving R. Levine reminded the *Today* show audience that George Meany, Kirkland's predecessor as AFL-CIO president, never endorsed candidates before party conventions.

"The ultimate test of whether Kirkland and other union leaders are in step with their members will come in the big industrial states — Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania," he said. "If Hart gets the nomination, big labor will swallow its pride and kiss and make up, but Hart will owe Kirkland nothing which would prove that George Meany was right."

David Fink in *USA Today* returned to the question, "Can labor deliver?" With caucuses in Michigan and primaries approaching in Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania, he wrote, "Indications are that organized labor... can't and perhaps never could wield enormous election day clout."

Reporters tended to belittle the Michigan voting since it was done in open caucuses. They pointed out some of the meetings would actually be held in union halls.

Some writers showed their ignorance of unions by suggesting that union members would be intimidated by the presence of their elected officers and, therefore, unlikely to exercise their private choices. But, in union politics, the pressure works the other way — elected officers tend to bend with the pressure of their members, not the other way around.

The omnipresent polls confused reporters more than ever. After using polls as crutches to make up for their unwillingness

to do old-fashioned street reporting, reporters could not keep up with the wild swoops the so-called scientific measures took.

In two weeks, Mondale went from commanding 57 percent support in the New York Times/CBS poll to 31 percent. Hart went from 7 percent to 38 percent. "A comparable transformation of public opinion on any subject is hard to recall," Martin Plissner, executive political director for CBS News, observed. "Certainly, in the history of the polling of presidential preference, there is none."

Newsweek, among others, was caught going in the wrong direction in its pre-primary analysis of Illinois. "While it is not inconceivable that Mondale could resurrect his stumbling campaign in Illinois, it now appears far more likely — and, indeed, ironic — that a state synonymous with old organization policies may write its epitaph in election year 1984."

Wrong again. As they did all through 1984, the media underestimated Mondale as a campaigner. He made good use of Hart's stand as a "free trader," at a time when American jobs are being exported instead of American goods, and Hart's errors under pressure.

Mondale won big in Michigan and Illinois and went east with a new burst of enthusiasm and confidence. Despite the many doubters, Barry Cronin of the Chicago *Sun-Times* concluded: "Walter Mondale's victory in the Illinois Democratic primary gave new credence to big labor's ability to deliver for its endorsed candidate."

The real lesson that many reporters still had not learned was that in contests where only Democrats made the decisions, Mondale usually won. Hart's supporters, to a large extent, were people who did not declare their party preference and Republicans who wanted to influence the Democrats' choice. By the same token, within the Democratic Party, there is little resentment toward labor. What kind of Democratic Party would there be without strong labor participation?

This lesson was proved in both New York and Pennsylvania where, again, Mondale scored strong victories.

By the third week of March, Mondale was again leading in the polls. His standing continued to improve through April. Adam Clymer, on March 27, wrote in the *Times*: "The volatile nature of this year's Democratic electorate, demonstrated repeatedly in sharp swings in the closing days of primary races, was shown again in this poll." He then quoted Peter Hart, the Mondale pollster: "The shelf life of a survey in this election may be about 48 hours."

The New York primary, won by Mondale, reinforced the view that when labor did well, it was taken for granted. Hedrick Smith, analyzing for *The New York Times*, had explored labor's problem before "Super Tuesday," especially in Massachusetts where the unions failed Mondale. But when he wrote about the New York primary, he did not mention labor's role at all.

He concluded that the unemployment issue worked in Mondale's favor and that Jewish and female votes went for Mondale. He also mentioned that Mondale did better in primaries restricted to Democrats.

Yet, the poll Smith was analyzing showed that 40 percent

of the New York primary voters came from union households, a group larger than those who described themselves as Jewish or Catholic. Mondale carried 48 percent of that vote, Hart got 22 percent and Jackson 30 percent. The writers looking for Hart's white, upward-bound young professionals overlooked the evidence that many of those New Yorkers are union members.

At about this time, William Schneider returned to his theme that labor's political involvement was a negative for its chosen candidate. "What the evidence suggests is that it helps a Democratic candidate to be perceived as a supporter of labor," Schneider wrote in the *National Journal*. "But it does not help for labor to be perceived as a supporter of the candidate."

He then charted results in the early primaries without mentioning the substantial labor vote that Jackson was receiving. Jackson was still the "invisible man."

Although the election eve polls showed Mondale and Hart nearly even in Pennsylvania, the former vice president won the state by a large margin. Forty-four percent of the primary voters came from union households and Mondale got 52 percent of their votes. According to ABC exit polls, Jackson got 17 percent. Hart had 30 percent.

USA Today and *The Los Angeles Times* credited Mondale's win to the issue of unemployment; labor was hardly mentioned. Still, an analysis by Lucinda Fleeson [NF '85] of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* found: "By delivering the largest union turnout in the presidential campaign so far, organized labor proved that in Pennsylvania it still can be a powerful asset that effectively gets out the vote."

Looking back, it is clear that Pennsylvania was the real end to Hart's dream of winning the nomination through the primaries and caucuses. As Germond and Witcover wrote a few days later, Hart's position was now "downright desperate."

"Whatever opinion polls may show, it is extraordinarily difficult for Gary Hart to make the case he is stronger than Fritz Mondale when — in less than a month — he has lost to Mondale in Michigan, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania, four major industrial states that are by any reckoning requisite elements of any winning Democratic electoral-vote combination against Reagan in the fall."

At that breathing point, Kathy Sawyer in the *Post* concluded: "In the first round of Democratic presidential primary and caucus contests, organized labor's lift as a vote-producer ultimately outpulled its drag as an albatross of 'special interest' around the neck of its chosen candidate, Walter F. Mondale."

Mondale now had more than half of the delegates he needed for a first-ballot nomination. With Mondale again the front runner, Hart was under heavy pressure and the media microscope.

"But now the media-induced euphoria that once propelled Hart's candidacy has been replaced by growing voter skepticism about who and what he is," Patricia O'Brien [NF '74] and Robert D. Shaw, Jr., wrote for the Knight-Ridder newspapers.

The labor issue in the campaign shifted direction as reporters learned of the existence of committees formed to promote the candidacies of individual delegate candidates. These com-



Frank Johnston, *The Washington Post*

mittees were created originally to help union members contest other delegate candidates. Of course, the labor delegates were Mondale delegates.

While he attacked the delegate committee set-up, Hart also tried to make gestures toward union members in the remaining state contests. He visited a closed steel mill in Youngstown and criticized Mondale's economic industrial policy plank and repeated his earlier denunciations of federal government guarantees which helped the Chrysler Corporation regain economic health.

Hart faced a new disaster in Texas, one of those western states that were to save his campaign. But after a few days of campaigning, in which he repeated his attacks on labor, Hart decided to invest the greater portion of his time in Indiana and Ohio.

Mondale took the opposite tack and invested energy and time heavily in Texas. The result was another win for him. Here, the New York Times/CBS exit poll found that 23 percent of the participants came from union households. They provided Mondale with 31 percent of his support, and Jackson 21 percent of his. The labor vote was 13 percent of Hart's total.

Still, analyses of the caucuses gave more credit to Hispanic-Americans — about 10 percent of the participants — than the labor vote. Hispanics provided Mondale with 17 percent of

his support. Of course, since there are many Hispanic-American union members, the numbers include duplicates.

"In recent weeks, Hart's attacks on labor union financing of the Mondale delegate committees have intensified," Plissner wrote. "The state of Texas, which does not have a heavily unionized population, seemed ideal for this tactic. However, it did not help him to win . . ."

Buried in the poll results was an interesting result on the inevitable question, do unions have too much power? Of Texas Democrats, 48 percent said "no" and 46 percent, "yes."

In analyzing the Ohio results for the *Times*, Hedrick Smith had to discard his unemployment factor since Hart won in a state that had seemed natural for Mondale. Smith pointed out that "well over half" of the voters in the Ohio Democratic primary thought unions had too much power, and that this indicated the different nature of the state from its industrial neighbors.

Actually, the final polls showed 53 percent of Ohioans took that position compared to 51 percent of the Pennsylvanians polled and 49 percent of the Illini. That was hardly a difference since the margin of error was 4 percent.

The real difference between Ohio and Pennsylvania was that Ohio permits independents to take part in its primary. In Ohio, 72 percent of those polled said they were Democrats and 24 percent declared themselves independents. In Pennsylvania, 80 percent of the participants said they were Democrats and only 16 percent said they were independents.

The nomination fight ended, mercifully, and the summing-up began. Howell Raines in *The New York Times*:

"And while few doubted the importance of the AFL-CIO endorsement, perhaps no one suspected its absolute indispensability. Labor deserves the major credit for engineering the massive turnout of union and elderly voters that helped Mr. Mondale overcome the drain on this electoral base caused by the Reverend Jesse Jackson's ability to capture huge majorities among black voters."

In *The Los Angeles Times*, Harry Bernstein: "Most political observers agree with the unions that they were the single most important force in Mondale's campaign."

The Los Angeles Times was schizophrenic about labor's role in the campaign. Robert Shogan, who had concluded with William Schneider that the labor campaign would hurt Mondale, hardly mentioned the AFL-CIO in his reporting. Anticipating the convention, he and Sara Fritz acknowledged that the federation's "organizational help was a key factor in many Mondale primary victories. . ."

In the same paper, Schneider, the pollster, barely mentioned the unions in his summation of the campaign. Perhaps he saw what the New York Times/CBS poll found in its June national survey. Asked what they did not like about Mondale, only 2 percent — all whites — responded that he was "close to unions." The same percentage, including blacks, said his closeness to unions was one of the things they liked about Mondale.

Asked what they considered to be "special interest groups," 11 percent said unions, an increase from 8 percent who answered the same way in February. Business, which was seen

by 12 percent as a special interest in February, slipped to 9 percent in June. Minorities went from 10 to 15 percent in the same period. The campaign had apparently heightened sensitivity to the term.

Still, after all the attacks on Mondale, and on labor, in June roughly the same percent of voters thought he was "too attached" to special interests (34 percent) as in February (33 percent). Ronald Reagan, in the view of the same sample, was "too attached" to special interests by 40 percent in June compared with 38 percent in February.

Andrew Mollison, of the Cox Newspapers, made an analysis of ABC exit polls and concluded that Mondale received 44 percent of the votes from union households, Hart 28 percent and Jackson 18 percent. "Mondale's 16-point advantage among union families offset Hart's 12-point advantage among the more numerous non-union families," he wrote.

The Times/CBS summation gave Mondale 45 percent of all union household votes. This survey also showed that in all the primaries, union voters amounted to a third of the participants although they are 25 percent of the total population.

For the AFL-CIO, the long campaign produced the results it sought: the nomination of Mondale, a record number of union delegates to the convention, a new unity within the movement, and added respect, however grudging, for its campaign efforts.

In San Francisco, however, the labor presence drew only modest attention from the media. The fact that we did what we set out to do became a non-story.

Lane Kirkland gave a speech to a labor dinner just before the convention opened and only a handful of reporters covered it. He led a parade down Market Street and addressed some 250,000 trade unionists on the Sunday before the opening. Only local reporters covered the march or interviewed Kirkland.

On Monday, the opening convention day, the AFL-CIO held a caucus for its delegates and alternates. We announced it would be open for coverage, but only writing journalists appeared. One television crew from Jacksonville, Florida, wandered in, found some Floridians, and left without knowing it had scored a video scoop.

The lesson, of course, is that television lives on staged events; it is not interested in news for its own sake. After Kirkland turned down invitations to visit the network anchor booths, television's interest in labor waned. The AFL-CIO operated a full network of whips and sector leaders and all the other paraphernalia common to floor operations at a convention, but only a few reporters showed any interest.

There were several printed observations about labor's "low profile." Some writers noted the discreet behavior of labor's delegates — no funny hats, colorful jackets, no fist fights. But most reporters covered the convention action from television screens in the hall; when labor did not appear on the screens, the writers accepted that as evidence that labor did not exist at the convention.

In spite of all the earlier journalist thumbsucking, labor did not develop as an issue in the first half of the fall election campaign. Commentators, instead, found the two parties fight-

ing over the workers' votes.

Ronald Reagan did not attack Walter Mondale for seeking and receiving labor support. Instead, the Republicans did their best to create the impression that they were the workers' friends. Reagan made some of his earliest appearances in the campaign in front of blue-collar audiences.

The GOP strategists sought desperately to win the endorsement of the one major labor organization that had not supported the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. George Bush was dispatched to Columbus to accept the strong backing of Jackie Presser, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Other Republican union officers were importuned to endorse Reagan-Bush, both to discount the AFL-CIO support for Mondale-Ferraro and to make it possible for the GOP to argue that it had labor support. The fact that some of the endorsements came from "paper locals," unions with hardly any members, made no difference.

Privately, most reporters I talked with were chagrined how badly they had called the 1984 spring campaign. Still, they repeated many of the same errors in the beginning of the fall campaign.

Reporters continued to use polls as current facts and projections for the future instead of "snapshots in time," as the pollsters themselves say. They were distracted by minutiae of the campaign — personalities and such things as seats on airplanes.

They demanded and received responses from Mondale and Ferraro that were not matched by Reagan and Bush on accessibility and financial accountability.

While speculating about the success of the campaign managers at staging "media events," reporters allowed themselves to be used as stage extras in the events. Herd journalism — in which a few reporters set a pattern and others follow — dominated the coverage.

Reporters continued their long ignorance of economics. Even so careful a writer as Broder referred in late September to the atmosphere of "burgeoning economic growth" as helping the Reagan campaign. This, a few days after the government announced economic growth had slowed by 50 percent during the past six months and when unemployment had rested at a high 7.5 percent for four months.

Part of the problem is that so many of the reporters covering the major stories are younger than those who covered the same assignment years ago. The new reporters are better educated than their predecessors, but they do not know as much; they are excellent at communicating information, but they lack historical background and experience.

Because there are so few major newspapers now, the writing reporters on the assignment have less competition than before. The major networks still use *The New York Times* for setting their evening news budgets, but the *Times* and other papers make sure they report what television has shown the home audiences even when that view is badly skewed.

Perhaps, most troubling of all is the feeling that newspapers are becoming a class media, edited and written by upper-middle class individuals for an audience that is largely upper-middle class or higher. □

K-9 Justice, Philadelphia Style

David Lee Preston

It's a frightening thing in society when a protective mechanism like a K-9 squad becomes a threat, and dogbites make headlines.

Returning to the newsroom of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in June 1983 after completing a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University, reporter William K. Marimow was interested in writing about "The Making of a Police Officer."

In the autumn, Marimow asked Philadelphia Police Commissioner Gregore J. Sambor for permission to attend the city's policy academy.

But that project was not to be. On November 29, 1983, Marimow still was waiting to hear from Sambor about the request, when he received a telephone call that diverted his attention to another aspect of the police department — its K-9 dog squad. For the next several months, Marimow would be concerned with little else.

A handful of the K-9 unit's 125 officers allegedly were ordering their dogs to attack innocent, unarmed citizens without justification. The specially trained German shepherds had been used by the department since 1962, primarily to aid in deterring downtown crime after dark.

From January through March, Marimow pursued the allegations. He tracked down victims and witnesses of K-9 attacks, pored over court testimony and

medical records, and traced cases through the criminal-justice system.

On April 15, the *Inquirer* published a powerful, lengthy story in which Marimow chronicled nine such attacks. His account was backed by three sidebars and a hard-hitting editorial on the subject.

That opened the floodgates. Marimow then began receiving one report after another of alarming K-9 episodes, and the newspaper made a commitment to publish his documented accounts. The stories showed a pattern of both unwarranted attacks on command by a small group of K-9 handlers, and accidental attacks by K-9 dogs. Both types of attacks left the city vulnerable to expensive civil litigation.

By mid-October, six months after the first story appeared and almost a year after the initial telephone tip, the *Inquirer* had published more than 40 articles and 11 editorials about the Philadelphia K-9 squad. And still the issue showed no signs of leaving the headlines.

Eugene L. Roberts Jr. [NF '61], executive editor of the *Inquirer*, compared the experience to traveling on an ocean liner.

"Every story brought four new incidents, and at some point it was like once you've gotten on the cruise boat and get to the middle of the ocean, you've sort

of got to go to the end of the cruise," Roberts said. "You can't leave the reader with the impression that this is the end of the police dog matter, when in fact it is not.

"And the truth is, neither Bill nor I nor anyone else connected with the story had any idea that it was going to end up with the kind of dimensions we know today. As much of a cliché as it is, it grew and grew and grew."

The controversy engendered by the publication of the stories was measured in scores of letters and telephone calls to Marimow and the *Inquirer* from average readers and public officials.

Most public reaction to the stories' publication was favorable, and official response was swift. Hours after reading the first article, Mayor Wilson Goode ordered a probe into the incidents. And within a day, the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's office also had begun investigating.

Soon, twelve police officers were removed from dog-patrol duty, and Mayor Goode ordered the files from an internal police department investigation turned over to the district attorney's office for a probe of fifteen cases. Legislation was introduced in the state Senate that would create a year's moratorium on the use of K-9 dogs in Philadelphia.

Sambor issued the police department's first directive on the use of K-9 dogs after alleged abuses began appearing in the *Inquirer*. But the police commissioner was not among those who congratulated the newspaper.

"One of the impacts of the series is that it has lessened the public's confidence in the ability of the K-9 team to do their job. . .," Sambor lamented in a mid-October interview for *Nieman Re-*

David Lee Preston, a reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, is writing a book about how his late mother survived the Nazi Holocaust by hiding in a Polish sewer for fourteen months.



ports. "In addition, it has reduced to some degree the morale and the *esprit de corps* of the officers doing K-9 work."

Still, even Sambor admitted that the articles had given the police department "further incentive to move faster on [the problem]."

Marimow, 37, and a seasoned investigative reporter, already knew an extensive network of experienced law enforcement officials. He and reporter Jonathan Neumann had shared a Pulitzer Prize for public service, and other national awards, for their 1977 series on Philadelphia police violence.

Here, then, is how one relentless reporter and his newspaper provided the citizens of Philadelphia with vital information about some police officers who were paid to protect them — but who instead were unleashing canine terror.

The caller on that November day last year was a law-enforcement official who had been a source for Marimow during previous investigative projects. Now he was telling Marimow that a Philadelphia police K-9 officer was using a dog to administer curbstone justice.

Marimow went ahead and documented the most egregious case to which the caller referred. But he did not have a list of all arrests made by the officer so he was unable to determine whether a pattern of abuse existed.

It was sheer coincidence that in December, a Philadelphia attorney phoned Marimow and said that two young lawyers, Peter and Sarah Solmssen, had been on their way home the previous Friday night, December 17, when they had seen a police dog biting the leg of a handcuffed youth who was lying motionless outside a downtown club.

Marimow called the couple, who said they did not know the name of the victim but remembered the time, location, and car numbers.

Through the public defender's office, Marimow was able to obtain the 17-year old victim's name, Joseph Loftus; the name of his attorney, Nino Tinari; a skeleton framework of the case, and the last name of the officer, Oechslin.



Steve Raynor in hospital bed following K-9 attack. Nick Kelsh, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

Marimow, a former court reporter at the *Inquirer*, already knew Tinari as the defense attorney in a murder trial he had covered in 1976. Tinari provided Marimow with background on the Loftus case.

Now Marimow was getting the impression that there might be a big story in the K-9 squad. What happened next solidified that impression.

Early in the morning of January 2, someone called the city desk and asked to speak with an investigative reporter. Marimow, who attributes his habit of rising early solely to his two young children, was one of the few reporters in the newsroom. He took the call.

The caller, John Fackelman, 44, told the following story:

He and three friends had traveled into Philadelphia by train from New Jersey the previous day, New Year's Day, to see the Mummers' Parade. Two of the friends had to be at work at a New Jersey bar at 9 p.m., so at 7:30 p.m. they went into a downtown subway concourse to take the same train home.

One of the four men had to urinate, and left the other three to find an obscure alcove of the concourse. While

waiting, Fackelman heard someone shout, "What the hell do you think you're doing?"

When he wheeled around to see what was happening, a dog grabbed him by the arm of his leather coat. One of his friends, Steve Raynor, 25, said something sarcastic to the handler, and the next thing that Fackelman knew, the dog had attacked Raynor.

Raynor ended up being mauled by two dogs. Brought to Hahnemann Hospital, about two blocks from the *Inquirer*, he lay handcuffed to his bed awaiting arraignment. Marimow waited until Raynor had been arraigned and his police guard had departed, then went to the hospital to see him.

"After I looked at his legs, I knew in my heart and mind that there was going to be some kind of story about K-9 in the paper," Marimow said. "He had puncture wounds, more than I could count, up and down both legs; a four-inch square chunk of flesh totally gone, just gouged out of his leg."

Raynor was charged with assaulting police officer Andrew Goldenberg. A copy of the official police report, obtained by Marimow, lists both Goldenberg and Raymond Oechslin as the arresting officers. The police reports said Goldenberg's dog Blitzen and Oechslin's dog King had both bitten Raynor.

At this point, Marimow was aware of two incidents, two weeks apart, involving the same officer and dog. As Marimow was to learn, Oechslin was involved in 22 attacks from September 1981 to May 1984, ranking second highest in the K-9 unit.

In December, Acel Moore [NF '80], an associate editor of the *Inquirer*, told Marimow that the son of a family friend had been attacked by a K-9 dog without provocation. The attack took place, Moore said, in the early-morning hours of June 1, 1983, after the man, Matthew Horace, 21, had come downtown to celebrate the 76ers' NBA championship. Marimow was surprised when Moore told him that Horace had not been arrested.

"Almost always, when someone is injured in a police contact, the officers will file some charges — however petty

— to rationalize or justify the injuries,” Marimow said. “Experienced prosecutors and defense attorneys call that process ‘cover charges.’”

Marimow went to interview Horace at Delaware State College in Dover, where he was a student and football player.

“He’s the kind of guy who’ll probably end up as a law enforcement official,” Marimow said. “He had spent the summer working in the U.S. Marshal’s office. A very upstanding young man.”

Meanwhile, Steve Raynor had retained attorney Holly Maguigan, who worked in a law firm with several lawyers Marimow knew. Marimow called Maguigan and they discussed the Raynor case.

Maguigan said that another Philadelphia lawyer, Beverly K. Thompson, had a K-9 case dating to May 1980, and had received a considerable amount of information from the city during the discovery process in the federal civil case of her client, Joseph Halbherr, 25.

Marimow contacted Thompson, who showed him two significant documents: a deposition given by then-Police Commissioner Morton Solomon, equating the use of a dog for an attack to the use of a gun; and a list of 46 bite attacks by Philadelphia police dogs from July 1, 1982 to June 30, 1983.

The former police commissioner said in the deposition that dogs should be used only if the officer’s life or that of another person is in mortal danger, or to apprehend a fleeing felon. Solomon’s deposition gave Marimow a criterion with which to judge the attacks he was learning about.

In response to Thompson’s request for all K-9 attacks in a three- to four-year period, the city had provided the list of 46 “recorded dog bites” covering just a one-year period.

Thompson also told Marimow that James Wilson, an attorney with whom she shared an office, also had a K-9 case. Wilson’s client was Irvin Sheard, 34, who had been attacked by Officer Daniel Bechtel’s dog, Macho, in February 1982; Sheard had been charged with a variety of criminal violations and was acquitted of everything.

Maguigan also had a K-9 case involv-

ing Kenneth Donald Curtis, 35, who was attacked by Macho on September 12, 1982.

One night in February, Marimow showed the list of 46 attacks to the *Inquirer’s* metropolitan editor, Steve Sep-low.

“As we were looking at it, Sep-low noticed an attack September 12, 1982, on a person named Jones, by Bechtel’s dog, Macho. I thought it must be a misprint, because I knew that Curtis had been attacked that day by that dog.”



Evan Blumer in hospital bed, after he was attacked accidentally by a K-9 dog whose handler was giving Blumer street directions. Photo supplied to The Philadelphia Inquirer

So Marimow went to the court files. The Jones case had been put into a program for non-violent first-time offenders — and the record had been expunged.

But with the assistance of an *Inquirer* police reporter, Marimow obtained the police department’s “incident report” on the attack. The report showed not only that the name had not been a misprint — but that Jones was a 34-year old woman named Veronica, who had been attacked 90 minutes before Curtis.

Marimow was astounded.

“It is rare, in my experience, for a woman to be a victim of police violence, whether warranted or unwarranted,” he said. “This was striking. Because Bechtel had been involved in two incidents in the

same night within 90 minutes of each other, I felt that there might really be something wrong there.”

Marimow ran Bechtel’s name through a list of defendants in the common-pleas and federal courts. He discovered that Bechtel had been the officer in a case outside the Whispers discotheque in July 1981 — the same place at which Curtis had been attacked in September 1982.

The July 1981 case had been the subject of an arbitration hearing. Three lawyers had awarded \$9,742 to Mark Sadler, 30. Marimow interviewed the chairman of the arbitration panel, Mary McNeill Zell, whom he quoted as saying that “my feeling was that Bechtel was out of control,” and that “there’s absolutely no question about it: that boy was not doing anything wrong.”

What Marimow found impressive about the Sadler case was that three women who had been entering the discotheque when the attack took place — none of whom knew Sadler — came to testify in his defense when he was on trial for allegedly attacking Bechtel. Sadler was acquitted of the charge, but the three women returned to testify at his arbitration hearing.

Matthew Horace, the student in Delaware, did not know the name of the police officer whose dog had attacked him. But Horace had scrawled a badge number on a piece of paper. Through Marimow’s contacts at Philadelphia police headquarters, it was possible to match the number with a name.

“You can imagine my surprise when Badge No. 7386 turned out to be Daniel Bechtel,” Marimow said.

As he developed a list of K-9 officers’ names, Marimow wanted to know whether any of the officers had been involved in other cases in the criminal-justice system. His contacts were good enough to provide him with their own K-9 information.

Taking the list he had obtained from Beverly Thompson of attacks in fiscal year 1983, and comparing it with the cases he had gathered and the additional ones he now had obtained, Marimow realized that the city had drastically understated the number of attacks.

Marimow found Veronica Jones on

the list, but not Don Curtis or Matthew Horace. The list also lacked all the cases Marimow had obtained from the public defender's office.

"So if you want to look at this in its worst light," Marimow said, "the city had presented false evidence in a federal court case."

As Marimow was to report, either the city had no way of knowing how many attacks K-9 teams were responsible for, or the city intentionally had misled a federal court in a civil case.

By late February, Marimow decided that he had gathered enough evidence to report that a small group of officers had allowed their dogs to attack unarmed and legally innocent men and women; that these people were being scarred for life, both physically and emotionally; that they were being charged with crimes and that often the charges didn't stick; that some of the victims were suing the city and that this was costing taxpayers a large sum of money.

From February 27 to March 1, the reporter sat at his video display terminal in the *Inquirer* newsroom.

"I just sat there for about 12 hours a day and wrote a summary of what I had, and then began writing vignettes of about 30 to 40 inches on the individual cases," he recalled.

Steve Seplow, the *Inquirer's* metropolitan editor, recalled his own excitement over the story.

"The stuff was so powerful we knew we had a hell of a story," Seplow said. "We didn't know where it was going to lead."

"It's my philosophy that if you've done your work well, there is no reason not to be absolutely straightforward with the person you're writing about," Marimow said. "I know that there are a lot of people in journalism who disagree with me, but this is just my preference."

And so, on March 1, Marimow took a list of questions to Captain John McLees, public information officer for the Philadelphia police department.

"I essentially presented what was then, and is now, a plot outline of my story," Marimow said. "I didn't hold anything back."

The list asked for the police investiga-

tion reports on each of the nine cases that Marimow would be writing about, and asked how many attacks had taken place, year by year since 1981.

Marimow asked permission to interview each officer; where K-9 officers were deployed in the city; how many civilian complaints had been received, in specific references to K-9 officers; what guidelines governed the use of K-9 dogs in the city.

"I wanted to make 100 percent sure that (McLees) knew I was giving it to him straight, and that the *Inquirer* was playing it straight," Marimow said. "I felt that this would be the most effective way of getting information from him."

But McLees turned down the request. He said the police department could not discuss cases that were in pending litigation.

Marimow sent letters by certified mail to each officer whom he planned to name in print. A one-paragraph letter, dated March 6, was typical:

"Dear Officer Bechtel: I am in the process of researching a story on the K-9 unit and plan to write about the arrests of Kenneth Curtis on 9-12-82; Veronica Jones on 9-12-82; Mark Sadler on 7-4-81; and Irvin Sheard on 2-8-82. In addition, I plan to write about Matthew Horace, who was hospitalized with a dog bite wound on 6-1-82. I would like to interview you about those cases."

Marimow signed his name and provided his office telephone number.

"The reason I did it this way is because in the past I found that when you call an officer at home, the officers are more resentful and more concerned about how you got their home phone numbers than being willing to talk," he said.

He followed up the letters with phone calls to the officers at work, identifying himself and saying that he wanted to talk to them about specific arrests.

"I wanted to make sure that they knew I was anxious to get the other side of the story, not just paying lip service," he said.

None of the officers responded to the letters or calls.

Marimow then obtained the investigation reports through his own sources in the criminal-justice system.

And so, when the result of Marimow's work appeared in the *Inquirer* on Sunday, April 15, "We were able, in each and every case — except for Matt Horace, where there was no arrest — to give the public the full other side of the story," Marimow said. "And that's something I'm really happy with."

The copyrighted story, headlined "Roughing Up Philadelphia: The police K-9 cases," presented the nine compelling accounts of abuse. The article was meticulously reported, quoting victims, witnesses, lawyers, and police reports, and retelling in detail the efforts Marimow had made in vain to obtain the officers' versions.

Marimow reported that "a hard core of errant K-9 police officers, and their dogs, is out of control" and that the police department "has made no attempt to hold these men, or their colleagues, to any sort of written guidelines or standard procedures spelling out when to attack and when to hold back.

"Nor has the department shown any interest in monitoring the performance of its 125-member K-9 unit or trying to keep track of unjustified attacks by dogs," he wrote.

Marimow quoted Anthony Taff, who founded the Philadelphia K-9 unit, as disavowing the way in which the dogs currently are trained.

Taff told Marimow that K-9 dogs should attack only when an officer's or a citizen's life is in grave danger or to apprehend a fleeing felon. After the person is apprehended, however, the dog is to let go, circling the suspect and barking until the officer arrives to make the arrest.

In his effort to be scrupulously fair, the reporter wrote: "This is not to say that most of the officers and most of the dogs in the K-9 unit are menaces to public safety. They are not. . ."

The article began inside a box in the center of the front page, and jumped to almost four full inside pages. Featured prominently were these graphics: a police department memorandum of recorded dog bites; and photos of victims Raynor, Jones, Sheard, and Horace, and of officers Oechslin and Goldenberg on patrol with K-9 dogs.



department memorandum of recorded dog bites; and photos of victims Raynor, Jones, Sheard, and Horace, and of officers Oechslin and Goldenberg on patrol with K-9 dogs.

Ron Patel, the newspaper's Sunday editor, said the *Inquirer* traditionally had used the front-page box technique to signal a major investigative story.

But this was no ordinary Sunday. The city's police department, ravaged by federal investigations of corruption, had seen its recently appointed deputy commissioner resign under the heat of an FBI probe — and Mayor Wilson Goode had just appointed a successor.

So the editors were faced with a decision on how to play the breaking story of the appointment — with a sidebar on the corruption probe — on a day when they already had decided to run Marimow's K-9 exposé. Would this be perceived as overkill regarding the police department? Should the paper hold the K-9 story another week?

The decision was made to run all three stories on the front page; a story, co-written by Marimow, detailing the background behind the FBI's corruption probe, was positioned in the lower right-hand corner of the page.

"The intent there was to create an impression on the page that *The Philadelphia Inquirer* was not trying to take on the police department and sort of hit 'em when they were down," Patel said.

He said he would have held the K-9 series another week if Marimow had not already sent out the letters seeking responses to the allegations in the story.

"The police were already aware of our interest in the K-9 matter," Patel said. "We felt that we might lose the story by waiting, that they might create a smokescreen or alter the situation so our story would no longer be valid."

Two days later, across the top of the front page, the *Inquirer* ran a story by Marimow and Russell Cooke reporting that Goode was ordering the city's managing director to investigate each K-9

Officer Raymond Oechslin and his K-9 dog, King, riding a city railway car in April.

Larry C. Price, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

case detailed in Sunday's article. The mayor said that he was concerned, and that he would formulate and implement a directive to spell out for the first time the conditions under which a police dog could attack someone.

On Thursday, another Marimow story was printed across the top of the front page: "FBI and U.S. Attorney investigating K-9 attack cases."

The original article had made its impact. Investigations had begun. And now the calls were pouring in from readers for whom the K-9 attacks sounded all too familiar.

That Thursday, April 19, Marimow received a phone call from Evan Blumer, 26, a Ph.D. candidate in animal behavior who was employed at the Philadelphia Zoo. Blumer said he had been the victim of an accidental attack by a K-9 dog in August 1982, that he had not been charged with a crime, and that the city had paid him \$15,000 to settle his lawsuit.

Blumer, who had a German shepherd named Puppy, said he planned to attend veterinary school in the fall.

"I was lucky," Blumer told Marimow. "The main reason I'm calling is that I thought there were some very inept officers in the city, and Officer Alullo was about as unhelpful to me as possible."

Blumer, who had moved to the city in June, had stopped his car to ask K-9 Officer Joseph R. Alullo for directions. Blumer told Marimow that as he stood talking with the officer near Blumer's 1972 red Toyota, "I saw his face just go blank. I heard him yell, 'No, Thor, No!'"

"I was really impressed by the fact that Blumer had not been arrested, that he seemed to be an articulate, straightforward person, and that the city had settled his suit so expeditiously," Marimow said. "So I asked him if I could come right over."

At the zoo, Blumer told Marimow in detail about his K-9 confrontation. Marimow then asked whether they could go to Blumer's house in the city's Germantown section to examine Blumer's files, which included full-color pictures of what he looked like at the time he was

mauled.

"Given the fact that the case had been settled, and there were never any criminal charges against Blumer, and that he was clearly not someone from a criminal background, I knew that I'd be writing about him," Marimow said. "I didn't know how quickly."

Seplow, who Marimow said "has an avaricious appetite for a good story," became excited over the case, "and the next morning, Friday morning, about 8 A.M., I was writing the Evan Blumer story."

Because Blumer believed that the attack was accidental, Marimow wanted to get the police officer's version.

"Since we decided to run (the Blumer story) on Sunday, I had to finish up my reporting Thursday and Friday, which meant that I wasn't going to be able to send a letter to Officer Alullo," Marimow said.

So Marimow telephoned the officer at his workplace in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. Alullo gave Marimow his version of the incident, making it possible to tell the Evan Blumer story "not only from the standpoint of the civilian victim but also from the standpoint of the horrified police officer," Marimow said.

Marimow wrote: "In an instant, Thor had leaped out the front window of Alullo's police jeep, streaked 50 yards and sunk his teeth deeply into the inside of Blumer's left thigh. When the momentum of Thor's attack swung Blumer and the German shepherd around, Thor bit into Blumer's right forearm. The bites left puncture wounds that today, 20 months later, can still be seen in nine distinct scars on his arm."

The story was published on Sunday, April 22 — one week after the initial K-9 story. Alullo was quoted in the second paragraph: "It was no intentional thing on my part. It's almost like having a car accident."

In the ensuing weeks, the *Inquirer* was to publish articles by Marimow about: a man who was mauled by K-9 dogs while handcuffed; a man who had been attacked while in Philadelphia to see a movie, and was not charged with any crime; an attack by a K-9 on the infant son of its handler; and, another civil suit

that was filed in federal court against Officer Bechtel.

On June 14, Marimow reported that the city had prepared new data for a civil suit, showing that 358 K-9 attacks on citizens had occurred since September 1981 — triple the annual rate of attacks estimated in his original story. Two officers accounted for 50 of the attacks, Marimow now reported, and 70 of the 125 K-9 teams had either one attack or none.

Marimow said that this new information "really reinforced the original story that I wrote, which said that this was a hard core, a small group."

Marimow obtained a copy of the report of the police department's Internal Affairs Bureau investigation. The bureau, a group of senior police officials, is responsible for investigating allegations of police misconduct. After Marimow wrote about the contents of the report, he wrote an analysis which was headlined "What the police report does not say."

"What really struck me about the Internal Affairs Bureau report was that even in cases where the attacks had been witnessed by people who didn't know either the victims or the police, the bureau chose to ignore the testimony or the accounts of the independent or third-party witnesses.

"Now, it's my experience that when you have two totally different versions of the same incident, that by far the most credible and believable information comes from people with no axe to grind and no job to defend. If you're a person who's been attacked by a police dog, you're going to want to portray the events in the best possible light for yourself, since you've been charged with a crime, most likely.

"If you're a police officer, and your dog has mauled someone under questionable circumstances, then you're going to want to defend that action to the hilt. But a third party with no criminal charges against him, and no need to defend the police officer's action, is inherently credible. And it really struck me that police investigators who are sup-



Officer Andrew Goldenberg patrolling a subway concourse with his K-9 dog, Blitzen.

Akira Suwa, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

posed to be dispassionate had totally ignored the independent witnesses.”

Someone in the police department told Marimow that several K-9 officers were willing to talk on the record, but not for attribution, about some fundamental problems in the way the training had been set up and the way supervisory control was being exercised.

“These officers felt that my stories were on the money, and that they could be a catalyst to really improve and professionalize certain aspects of the K-9 corps of Philadelphia,” Marimow said.

His executive editor, Gene Roberts, said that Marimow “is one of these re-

porters who knows how to build confidence with people. I think as people talked to Bill, and as he wrote, his honesty and integrity came through, and that brought forward more people. And I think the word got around just how accurate, reliable, and thorough he was.

“Significantly, several policemen were so convinced of his fairness and the balance in his articles, that they themselves cooperated fully.”

“There were police officers who talked to Bill Marimow who did not talk to the police,” Sambor said.

Early in July, Marimow went to the home of a K-9 officer and spent about four hours talking about the officer’s career and about the K-9 unit.

“We were talking about these (state Senate) public hearings that had been held the previous week, and I was asking about the distinction between sentry dogs and patrol dogs,” Marimow recalled. (Testimony at the hearing from canine trainers pointed out that some of Philadelphia’s police dogs were acting as sentry dogs, trained for use in war to attack and hold on at all costs, to let go only when their air supply was cut off. A patrol dog is supposed to release on a verbal command.) “In the course of this conversation, he told me that he knew that one of the dogs that I’d written about would not release unless choked, and he knew that for a fact.”

“I asked him how he knew, and he

said that he'd been in a training session not too long ago with that particular dog, and that he had observed his handler choking the dog until it couldn't breathe, before the dog would release."

Then came what Marimow later described as "one of those magical moments in reporting."

Marimow asked, innocently, "Well, how many of the dogs in the unit behave like sentry dogs?"

"When I asked the question, he gave me one of these looks which basically communicated to me, 'You're not going to believe what I have to tell you.'"

And the officer said: "Almost all of them."

Leaning toward a conservative estimate, Marimow wrote on July 5 that at least one-quarter of the city's police dogs will not obey a verbal command to terminate an attack and instead must be choked off by their handlers.

Trainers told Marimow that some of the K-9 trainers subordinated obedience to aggression. Dogs trained for public service are not supposed to be taught to attack, but Marimow was told of one exercise designed to strengthen a dog's bite in which a trainer had a K-9 officer sheathe his arm in a leather sleeve covered with canvas. The dog was ordered to bite the arm and to hold on until he drew blood — through the leather.

In his April 15 story, Marimow reported that one officer told him the dogs were trained to hold on indefinitely in this manner: "They have a burlap bag tied to a rope and suspended from a tree on a pulley system. The dog is taught to hang on to that bag while the trainer raises it higher and higher. They pull on that rope and they teach the dog to hold on and hold on and keep holding. . . . I had one dog [in training] who would hold on and pass out holding the guy's arm. He would forget to breathe."

Marimow said he tried to keep unnamed sources to a minimum in the stories. But in the July 5 article, he attributed the information to "interviews with active and former K-9 officers and other knowledgeable Philadelphia police officers."

He said the active K-9 officers spoke

to him strictly on a not-for-attribution basis because they feared reprisals.

But in an effort to minimize his use of unnamed sources, Marimow asked two leaders of the Guardian Civil League, an organization of black police officers, to talk to the same people and then speak on the record about some of the things that Marimow himself had heard from the same sources.

"In that way, I was able to name specific people who were confirming exactly what the unnamed officers were saying to me," he said.

State Senator Milton Street was publicly investigating the K-9 issue, and on July 12 he toured the K-9 kennels with several high-ranking police officers and Marimow.

"That was the first time I'd seen the dogs at close range," Marimow said. "And I was amazed, walking through the steel-fenced kennels in which the dogs are housed, how large (the dogs) were and really how ferocious they were."

As the men walked through the corridor between the two sets of kennels, the dogs leaped against the fence, barking and baring their teeth. Anthony Taff, the founder of the K-9 unit, had told Marimow that well-trained dogs for public service should never behave in that manner unless their handlers give them an instruction to agitate them. The tour reinforced Marimow's belief that Taff knew what he was talking about.

The tour also enabled Marimow to establish a rapport with Police Lieutenant Frank Aitken, the commanding officer of the K-9 unit. In four lengthy conversations, Aitken admitted to the fallibility of the K-9 unit.

"I found Aitken to be surprisingly genial and surprisingly informative," Marimow said. "And I feel that I used that rapport in a constructive way to write stories that gave the public not only the story based on questionable attacks but the perceptions of the top K-9 guy in the police department."

In a story published on the day Aitken retired, Marimow quoted him as saying that "a very small number" of K-9 officers might have mishandled their dogs.

In late July, an attorney told Marimow that a client named Misho Singleton Jr., 35, had been awarded \$10,760 by an arbitration panel of three lawyers in a K-9 attack case. The attorney told Marimow that in the incident the dog also had attacked its handler.

From the court file, Marimow learned that the officer involved was assigned to a detail guarding Mayor Goode's house. And he remembered that back in April, when he began writing the stories, a former public defender had called him about a K-9 case involving the same officer. As it turned out, the two cases had occurred nine days apart in September 1982 — and the officer's dog, Rebel, had attacked the officer in both incidents.

Although Marimow felt that "the enterprise phase" of the K-9 story was waning, he still wanted to provide a convincing example of one of the points in his original story: that some K-9 dogs attacked their handlers and other officers.

That led to the July 26 story, "K-9 twice attacked its handler."

On August 8, Marimow reported that Police Commissioner Sambor was permanently removing from the K-9 unit five officers that he had written about, and seven others were going to remain on non-K-9 work until it had been determined whether they broke any laws in the attack cases.

The following day, Goode held a press conference to say that he was referring fifteen cases to the district attorney's office, to determine whether K-9 officers had committed any crimes.

In the second paragraph of the story, Marimow pointed out that District Attorney Ed Rendell was deferring to the FBI and would not conduct an investigation of the K-9 cases.

"So Goode's action was really a wash," Marimow said. "Nothing was going to happen, because Ed Rendell was not going to do anything, period."

In September, Joseph Halbherr, one of the subjects of the original story, settled his civil suit in federal court for \$95,000.

"Even though the city denied it, it was clear that the administration was really



Trainer Donald Laken (left) and state Senator Milton Street look on as a trained dog attacks Laken's daughter, Pam, who is wearing a protective leather sleeve. The simulated attack took place in June in the Philadelphia City Council chambers, during a public hearing of the Senate Committee on Urban Affairs and Housing. The committee, chaired by Street, is investigating reports in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* of allegedly unjustified attacks on civilians by a small group of Philadelphia police K-9 teams.

William F. Steinmetz, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

accepting responsibility in these questionable attack cases," Marimow said.

In reviewing the records, Marimow realized that the officer in this case, Stephen Gubicza, had been the defendant in five previously settled civil cases — and that including the Halbherr case, his conduct had cost taxpayers \$127,350. And more cases still were pending.

James Naughton, the *Inquirer's* associate managing editor/news, said the settlement in the Halbherr case may not have been as large had it not been for the *Inquirer's* articles.

"Anytime a citizen accuses the authorities of wrongdoing, it's difficult to prove that case singlehandedly, because there is a presumption that we have to support the authorities in an orderly society," Naughton said. "These stories may have

indirectly lent credence to the complaints of victims, at a time they were pressing those complaints in court. That wasn't the stories' purpose, but that's one of their effects."

The *Inquirer's* editorials on the K-9 subject have been consistently tough. On August 10, the same day Marimow reported that Mayor Goode was calling for a criminal probe by the district attorney's office, the newspaper's lead editorial was headlined, "Goode and the K-9 Unit: Sloughing responsibility."

The mayor was "passing the buck," the editorial stated. Goode was sending "a message that every police officer, right or wrong, is right."

Edwin Guthman [NF '51], editor of the *Inquirer*, defended the editorial stance.

"We're not trying to be the neighborhood scold, but it was the kind of news staff enterprise reporting that demands support by the paper editorially. Certainly, it was our responsibility (to) prod the mayor to take some action.

"I thought that it was one of those issues, coming early in his administration, in which he could put his stamp of authority on the police," Guthman said. "I felt he should have moved much quicker than he did and with much more firmness. I think he lost an opportunity there."

Roberts, the executive editor, said that Marimow documented "case after case after case of average, ordinary private

citizens, going about their daily business, and suddenly finding a police dog tearing away at them.”

“That’s a very frightening thing in society, to have a protective mechanism pose a threat,” Naughton said. He said the newspaper would have been derelict if it had not published the stories, which reinforced “a belief that one of the most fundamentally important things you can do in a free society is let people know systemic problems.”

Gene Foreman, managing editor of the *Inquirer*, said the K-9 issue is “of governing importance to people in the city” and that the newspaper felt an obligation “to inform the people about a situation that everybody in the city ought to be concerned about.”

Foreman said the stories and their aftermath represent a classic demonstration of the virtues of the First Amendment.

“We are able, in our system of government, to bring out facts that the government itself would not have wanted us to bring out,” he said. “It is a public service that would not have been possible in a country that did not have that kind of freedom of the press.”

And Roberts said the *Inquirer* was exercising “the right and duty to report on the public’s business to the public.”

Even Police Commissioner Sambor said, “I would be the first one to stand behind the journalistic search for truth and accuracy and presentation of the problem.”

And Holly Maguigan, the Philadelphia lawyer who provided Marimow with two crucial documents early in his investigation, said the *Inquirer*’s relentless pursuit of the K-9 story gave her a new appreciation for the power of the press in American society.

“What was very impressive was the compilation of facts,” Maguigan said. “That was stark and startling. For those of us who had some inkling of the abuses, the contribution of the series was the absolute clear demonstration that the city had information that they chose not to act on until the series was published.”

Marimow said the stories allowed the public to decide whether the rewards of having a K-9 unit outweigh the risks of

accidental or unwarranted attacks.

“I think the most important thing a reporter does is to give readers information of governing importance that helps them make informed decisions about how their elected officials are performing,” Marimow said. “That’s what the First Amendment is all about.”

“I think these stories are really right over the plate in terms of what the First Amendment is supposed to do. They’ve shown what this specialized unit — which was set up to search buildings, detect drugs, and serve as kind of visible deterrent to crime in Center City — has evolved into over the last 22 years.”

In evaluating the information, Marimow said, he looked for several factors. If the attack victim was accused of having a weapon, Marimow immediately discarded the case, “not because I inherently believed that the person committed the crime, but my gut feeling is that when a police officer sees a person with a gun or with a knife, it’s a much different situation than when you’re dealing with some unarmed pedestrian in a non-confrontational situation.”

Thus, after reviewing the records from 20 K-9 attack cases that occurred between May 1980 and January 1984, nine were selected for further investigation and presentation in the initial article.

Despite all that he uncovered, Marimow said he believes that K-9 dogs are

useful in drug detection, bomb detection, building searches, and body searches. And despite his familiarity with police brutality, he said, evidence of it still startles him.

“Honestly, I am surprised every time I see a situation where there’s strong evidence that a police officer violated the law by using unnecessary violence,” Marimow said. “And the reason that I’m surprised is that police officers, in my experience, are trained and re-trained to use restraint.”

Sambor said the articles were “not totally fair, not totally objective,” but he was unable to cite specific instances.

“I didn’t say I found any fault with the articles at all,” he added. “It’s not my job to sit in judgment of Bill Marimow. His job is play a watchdog, not an attack dog.”

Marimow, for his part, is convinced that he did everything he could to present a fair picture when the story seemed to gather momentum in several directions almost daily.

Would he have tried to get a story into the paper if he had been aware of only one questionable K-9 incident?

“If the one case was the Raynor case, I would have lobbied to get that into the paper,” he said. “I knew what he had been accused of, from the police reports; I had seen his body with my own eyes; he had three witnesses; I had him polygraphed by a neutral person, and I was convinced that what Raynor told me was true.”

“I guess the question in my mind after seeing Steve Raynor was: Are there enough facts available to warrant a major story, which might document a pattern of questionable attacks, or am I simply going to be writing about two or three isolated incidents?”

“It was after I got the list of attacks from the Halbherr civil case and realized that Bechtell and Macho had been involved in two incidents within 90 minutes of each other — one involving a woman — that I sensed this was going to be a larger story.”

“On balance, I’ve really never been involved in a story that has developed so spontaneously. And it’s been a very, very fulfilling experience.” □



William K. Marimow at his desk in the *Inquirer* newsroom.

Gerald S. Williams, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

Social Conditions Inside the Soviet Union



In September the Russian Research Center and the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University co-sponsored a day and evening of orientation for journalists interested in the Soviet Union. Nearly one hundred newspeople from the Boston area and beyond — some from out of state — participated in the program.

A transcript of the early afternoon session, "Social Conditions Inside the Soviet Union," appears here, lightly edited.

Marshall I. Goldman, Associate Director of the Russian Research Center, and Professor of Economics, Wellesley College, was moderator of the panel. Stephen F. Cohen is Professor of Soviet Politics and History at Princeton University; David Powell is a Fellow at the Russian Research Center; Misha Tsytkin is also a Fellow at the Russian Research Center.

Soviet State and Society as Reflected in the American Media

STEPHEN F. COHEN

In recent years the quality of American newspaper coverage of the Soviet Union has been as bad as I can remember. Too much of it is one-dimensional, distorted, and factually wrong.

Here, I think, is the prevailing image of the Soviet Union that emerges nowadays in the American media: It's a crisis-ridden, decaying system composed of a stagnant, inefficient economy; corrupt bureaucratic elite; a sick, cynical, and restive society; and an aging inept political leadership that cannot change or make policy, only manipulate it.

Part of this picture is true, but on the whole, it is a crudely distorted caricature without context, without complex realities,

without balance. It reminds me of those well-known Soviet press descriptions of American life based solely on accounts of unemployment, drug addiction, street crime, and political corruption. But it is this generally distorted American media image that contributes greatly to the plethora of misleading news stories and commentary on specific Soviet development.

Before I make that indictment more precise, let me try to win you over with three brief explanations. First of all, in twenty minutes, I cannot possibly note all the important exceptions to this generalization. And there are important exceptions. That is, I do exaggerate somewhat, partly in order to provoke a discussion. Secondly, I don't rule out the possibility that we Sovietologists have sometimes misled you journalists and thus contributed to inadequate media coverage. And thirdly, I want to say that probably as much as any academic here, I have a personal interest in journalism. Once, I wanted to be a journalist. Indeed, seven years ago, I was offered the opportunity to go to Moscow for a major American newspaper as its correspondent. I declined, and sometimes I regret my decision. Indeed, I still have the journalist bug. I do a monthly column on Soviet affairs, partly to see if I can do better than you do. Some people think I don't.

Hoping that I've now gained your sympathy, let me get on with the indictment. Most American media coverage of the Soviet Union focuses on one of three aspects of the system: Soviet leaders, or what I call media leaderology; Soviet policy and policy-making; and relations between the Soviet party-state and the society below.

Let me start with leaders and media leaderology. American coverage of Soviet leaders has been intense since Brezhnev's death in November 1982, because there's been a constant process of leadership succession ever since. That coverage has been very bad — uninformed, wildly speculative, and unself-critically contradictory. Consider, for example, the following: Most American press accounts predicted that Chernenko would be Brezhnev's successor because he was Brezhnev's favorite and he controlled the allegedly all-powerful party apparatus. There-

fore, according to the media, there would be no policy changes. When the victor turned out to be Andropov, the media did a complete turnabout. It explained that a powerful KGB-military alliance had rebelled against a weak party apparatus in search of a strong man, who was Andropov. Therefore, the media now concluded, there would be policy changes. Some commentators even announced that the KGB was running the country. Then, despite clear signs that the man was gravely ill by the summer of 1983, the media continued to interpret every political development inside the Soviet Union as further evidence of Andropov's growing power and strongman role in the system, on the false assumption that every Soviet leader must be, or quickly become, a dictator. The media, therefore, was completely surprised again when Chernenko, aged and once passed over, turned out to be Andropov's successor. Most American commentators had predicted another strongman, including some alleged candidates who in fact lacked essential qualifications to become the General Secretary.

Now that Chernenko is the Soviet leader, the media has a new explanation. According to most commentators, the Soviet Union has no leader today. Chernenko is said to be weak — a figurehead — and power has suddenly been dispersed to lesser officials, such as Gromyko.

The problem with these analyses is that they are contradictory. Where today, for example, is the KGB? Where is the military's clamor for a strong leader? Where is the allegedly weak party apparatus? My point is not that you people guessed wrong about the next Soviet leader; so did many Sovietologists. My point is that media coverage of Soviet leaders lacks any sense of the actual leadership system that has evolved over the last three decades. It's a system of balances and checks on personal power. It's a system where several institutions and political bosses, on and outside of the Politburo play crucial roles. It's a system in which many powerful groups seem not to want a truly strong leader. And it's a system where a top leader needs several years — at least five — to consolidate any real power. If American journalists had noted any of these important features of the Soviet leadership system, they could not possibly have written or broadcast much of what has appeared in the last two or three years.

Let me give you a recent example. Last week NBC News did a television story from Moscow on Chernenko's alleged successors. It presented as the leading candidates Gorbachev, Romanov, Gromyko, Ustinov, Aliev, and Tikhonov. Only two of the six actually sit on both the Politburo and the Secretariat, which is a prerequisite for becoming General Secretary. Incidentally, the chances of Aliev becoming General Secretary are probably less than Jesse Jackson's chances of becoming president of the United States. He isn't a Russian, or even a Slav.

Media coverage of Soviet policy, foreign and domestic, has not been much better. Virtually all commentary on the possibility of change in foreign policy is tied to the alleged personal quirks or personalities of this or that Soviet leader. You will recall, for example, the media's brief fixation with Andropov's alleged closet Westernism and liberalism. You're familiar with Chernenko's current media image as a dullard, who can have

no new idea. And today the media tells us that bad Soviet-American relations are due largely to Gromyko's sour disposition.

I would be among the last to minimize the role of personality in political leadership. But this kind of media analysis trivializes the policy-making process in the Soviet Union. What the media fails to understand is that a real policy-making process exists in the Soviet Union, and that it is much larger than any one Politburo leader. In recent years, that policy-making process has come to involve hundreds, and maybe even thousands, of high Soviet officials — an entire political or policy class, to which the supreme leadership, the Politburo, is beholden. And within that policy class, there exist many different groups, vested interests, perspectives, and even different Soviet ideologies. That is, within that policy class, there exist long-standing, deep-rooted, fundamental conflicts over policy. The most interesting to me is the current conflict over economic change. But let me use instead the example of Soviet policy toward the United States, because it is the subject of so much media discussion today.

Most American media analysis assumes that Soviet policy towards the United States is highly manipulative or tactical. That it can be turned on or off, made soft or hard, depending on whether the Soviet leadership wants to influence American elections, or European opinion, or whatever else. But viewed in the real context of the Soviet policy elite and process, that is a superficial analysis. Policy toward the United States has been the subject of fierce controversy inside Soviet policy circles for many years, a hotly disputed issue between advocates of détente and proponents of Cold War. The dramatic upsurge of cold war attitudes in Moscow today, which some of you have reported, isn't simply manipulated. It reflects an important upsurge in the political fortunes of the Soviet cold war lobby, and a major defeat for the Soviet détente lobby. Or to put this differently, even a pro-détente Soviet leader would today have a very difficult time implementing a détente policy towards the United States because of opposition within the Soviet policy elite. I don't think our media understands this policy process in the Soviet system. And thus our commentators don't understand that American policy itself influences the outcome of these struggles within the high Soviet elite.

Finally, there is the larger media subject of the relationship between the Soviet state and Soviet society. About every twenty years, there seems to be a new American popular or media myth about the Soviet Union. Nowadays, it's the myth that the Soviet system is crisis-ridden and thus unstable. Or as Flora Lewis put it in *The New York Times*, since 1917, and I quote, "The Soviet system has had one great success in building military power and has failed its promises in everything else." In recent years, the American media has focused increasingly on evidence of the system's alleged failures, crises, and instability. Problems associated with the economy, dissidents, corruption, alcoholism, abortion, mortality rates, popular indifference to Marxism-Leninism, and the rest. As a result, the dominant media image is of a wholly coercive relationship between Soviet state and society, of a surly, restive population made deferential

mainly by police state repression, as symbolized by the unequal struggle between the KGB and the dwindling band of political dissidents.

I think that, in fact, the Soviet system is very stable. In my judgment, our media asks the wrong question, while ignoring the truly interesting question and thus the interesting features of the Soviet system. Why is this system, with its many real problems, so stable? Every long-lived system, no matter how repressive it is, has some kind of social contract, some kind of understood agreement, between the state and its citizens. Does such a social contract exist in the Soviet Union? Our media implies that it does not, because the Soviet government has "failed its promises" to the Soviet people. That judgment, which is crucial to our understanding, is, in my opinion, wrong.

What is the consensual social contract in the Soviet Union, between ruled and rulers? To put it differently, what is the message of "communism" inside the Soviet Union? What are the domestic promises of Soviet communism? They are not Marxist in the old millennial sense. They are, instead, five more early promises that the Soviet government has made to its people in modern times. Let me be specific.

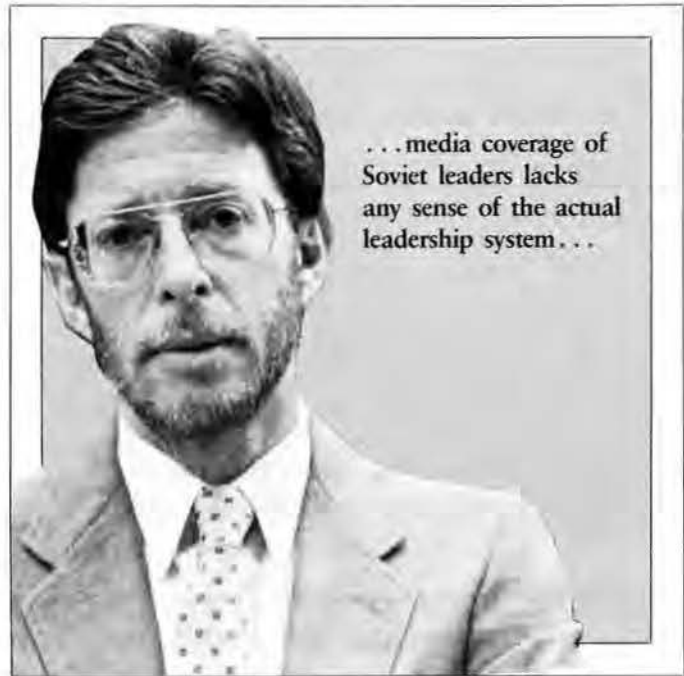
First, the government has promised the people national security — or, 1941 will never happen again. Second, it has promised some popular form of state nationalism. Third, it has promised law-and-order safeguards against internal disorder and anarchy. Fourth, it has promised cradle-to-grave welfarism. And fifth, it has promised that each generation will lead a better material life than the previous one.

Has the Soviet Union really failed in these promises? Well, some of the promises are certainly underfulfilled. Some appeal mainly to Russians and not to other ethnic groups in the nation, and some of these promises are now creating new expectations and problems.

But I would say, on balance, that the Soviet government, in its own clumsy way, has fulfilled most of these promises over the years. It has overfulfilled its pledges of national security and law-and-order. It has made nationalism and patriotism major themes of what it calls communism, or Marxism-Leninism today. It has created a crude but truly cradle-to-grave welfare system, from free health care and education to pensions. And until now, each Soviet generation has lived a better material life than its predecessor.

These popular achievements are, I think, the real cohesive features of the Soviet system that enable it to lumber along, despite great social problems, and to do so without the terroristic suppression that existed in the Soviet Union only thirty years ago. But these essential features of the Soviet system are so lacking in American media coverage that most Americans don't even know they exist. As a result, too many Americans, including our own president, seem to think that if we only try hard enough, we can bring the system down, or to its knees. And that is a dangerous fallacy.

Let me conclude with a question — let us say that I'm right. Why, then, is American media coverage of the Soviet Union so inadequate? I don't know the full explanation. All I can do is suggest some partial explanations. Partly, ironically, it's be-



... media coverage of Soviet leaders lacks any sense of the actual leadership system...

cause in recent years, the Soviet Union has become more open and candid about its own problems. It has produced more information about those problems. And therefore, we say, Hey, look at this! We focus on these revelations, and thus we obscure the achievements that the Soviet government has always boasted about. So, to a certain extent, the problem is actually a function of greater information. On the other hand, on the level of leadership and policy-making, the problem is partly a lack of information, because the political system remains so secretive.

Partly, though, I think it is the old American media habit: when in doubt, always assume that the Soviet Union is wrong or guilty. Don't give them any benefit of the doubt because they lie so much. This media habit is reinforced, I think, by a persistent anxiety on the part of many journalists, and many academics, that they might appear to be too soft on the Soviet system; that they may get a reputation for being insufficiently hard-headed about Soviet reality. And this in turn prevails in the United States where there are no powerful groups that lobby the media for a different kind of coverage. That is, there are no pro-Soviet lobbies in the United States that force the media to give more balanced coverage, as is the case today with China.

Partly, alas, the problem is also the media's tendency to echo the prevailing tone of American politics and particularly, the White House. Too many of the Reagan Administration's contentions about the Soviet system, for example, are thoughtlessly parroted by the media today. For example, that the system is in crisis; or that if the Soviet Union had a real leader, we would have had an arms control agreement long ago.

And partly, I think, the problem is that the American media lacks a professional corps of Sovietologists. This differs, incidentally, from your Soviet counterparts. Soviet journalists who cover America do it more or less for life, as a profession. They're trained as Americanists, and they work either in Canada,

America, or England. For better or worse we lack a professional corps of Sovietological journalists in the United States. Most journalists who cover the Soviet Union, even correspondents who go there, are amateurs. Some of them become very good, others learn very little.

But the harshest thing I want to say is that the main problem may be that the American media is lazy. Very few journalists seem to bother to read much serious literature about the Soviet Union, to inform themselves. That may be my harshest indictment: There is a vast discrepancy between the importance you attach to covering the Soviet Union, and your apparent lack of effort to become truly informed about the Soviet Union. Conferences such as this one will help somewhat. But in the end, over the long haul, editors and journalists must educate themselves, if for no other reason, so that they can decide whether we Sovietologists, myself included, have told you the truth here today. □

Alcoholism, Religion, the Youth and the Elderly

DAVID POWELL

I feel somewhat awkward, speaking after Steve. It's the first time I've met him, and he's very articulate, speaks very fast, packs a lot of content, and I disagree with much of what he said. I would say that I'm prepared to throw away my prepared text, except I don't have a prepared text, so I won't throw it away. But I will adjust slightly what I was going to say, and I hope that in questions and answers, we can explore more fully some of the questions that Steve raised. They're all, I think, of crucial importance.

What I'd like to do is to suggest a reason for believing that there *are* crises or emerging crises in the Soviet Union and to look, in particular, at Soviet society. My concerns, as you can see from the title that Marshall gave me, are, more or less, everything you always wanted to know about the Soviet Union and were always afraid to ask. I'm supposed to examine cradle-to-grave social problems.

I think there are two basic ways of looking at the Soviet Union or at Soviet society, and trying to assess whether or not it's in crisis. One is to have a long-term perspective, and the other is to look at more immediate, more recent developments. Over the long term, since 1917, I think the Soviet regime has been responsible for some extraordinary achievements. Taking a group of very disparate peoples, from the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth century and bringing them into modernity; improving the public health, welfare, safety, perhaps morality as well, taking people and providing them with modern sanitary, hygienic care, increasing their life expectancy, educating those who had not had access to educational facilities, providing

women with an opportunity to join the main stream of life. The authorities have been responsible for some really extraordinary achievements.

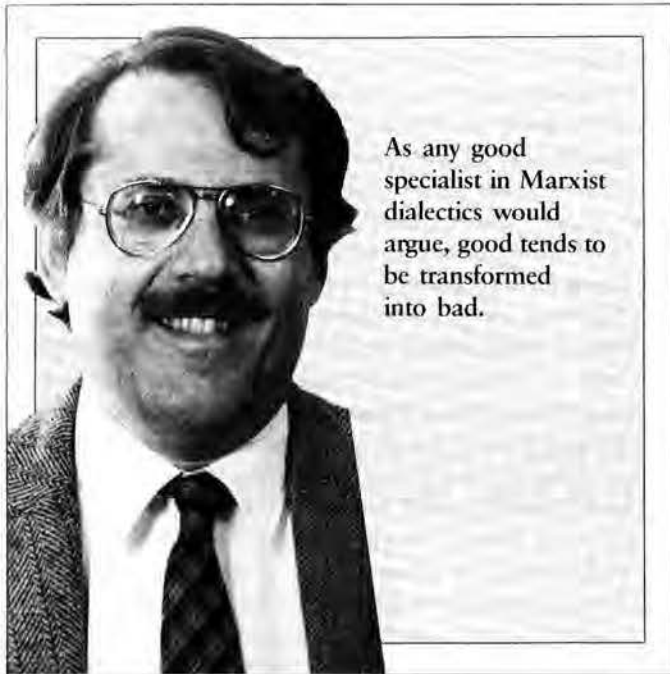
However, as seems to be true in all aspects of life, diminishing marginal utility seems to have set in somewhere along the way. And over the past decade or decade and a half, depending on what area you look at, each of these achievements is brought into question. The rate of economic growth has been declining and has been declining very substantially. The rate of increase in labor productivity has been declining and declining very substantially. Life expectancy of the citizenry, which had been going up steadily, has begun to decline. The rate of infant mortality, which had been declining for most of the Soviet regime's existence, has begun to go up.

There *are* problems, and I think they are very severe ones. What I'll try to do is to start with the little tiny tots and work my way up to the time when they get to be my age, perhaps a little bit beyond, when they reach an advanced state of decrepitude. I'll look at the youth and elderly and en route touch on religion, ethnicity, alcoholism, drug abuse, delinquency, and some of the other good things in life.

The final Russian census, carried out in 1913, just before the war, shows that men had a life expectancy of 31, while women had a life expectancy of 33. Those are terribly damning figures, and I think the czarist regime deserves every bit of the condemnation that it received. Over the six and a fraction decades of Soviet power, life expectancy increased, and it increased very dramatically. The rate at which it increased slowed up, but it continued to increase, until the end of the 1960's. It went up as high as 74 for women, 66 for men, and then held steady and then went down by a point, then went down by another point. These are figures published in something called the Narodnoe Khoziaistvo SSSR (USSR National Economy), which is a statistical compendium that comes out once every year. It's in Russian, but the tables are very easy to read. They use the same kinds of numbers that we do, and for those of you who need statistical materials, the Narodnoe Khoziaistvo is a very, very useful source.

In any event, they published figures on life expectancy, and every year the same impressive secular trend was visible. Suddenly there was no upward move, and then there was a slight downward move, and then suddenly the page on which those entries had appeared, disappeared from the statistical annual. The last published figures showed men with a life expectancy of 64; for women, the number was 74. The same pattern can be seen with infant mortality. In the pre-revolutionary period, the statistics were largely unavailable, and those that were available were highly questionable. But roughly one out of every four babies died before reaching their first birthday. Scholars usually measure infant mortality by looking at the number of deaths per thousand live births, so in Russia before the Revolution, there were approximately 250 deaths for a thousand live births — deaths within the first year of life.

That's not just a third world or fourth world level; it's twelfth world, or thirtieth world. Those are terribly terribly harsh figures, and as the Soviet regime strengthened its power



As any good specialist in Marxist dialectics would argue, good tends to be transformed into bad.

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and began to introduce modern medicine and education, and remove superstition from people's lives, the rate of infant mortality declined, and declined very substantially. At the beginning of the 1970's, it went down as low as 22.9 per thousand live births; it began to go up, then go up a little bit more, reaching a peak of 27.9 per thousand live births in the early 1970's. Then that page, too, was deleted from the Soviet statistical handbook. It has not reappeared, nor has the life expectancy table reappeared; perhaps they're hiding the good news, but I suspect that's not true. I presume these developments are at least as troublesome to the authorities now, as they were when the pages began to find their way out of the statistical handbook.

So there *has* been something of a health crisis. Other evidence, in addition to the reduction in life expectancy and the increase of infant mortality, is the enormous number of articles dealing with public health problems. I'm most interested in the problem of alcoholism, having as a spectator spent much of the last twenty years studying alcohol abuse in the Soviet Union. The Soviet press discusses it much more widely. Soviet figures, some provided by the Soviets, some, so to speak, distilled by Western analysts and thus made more meaningful, suggest that the USSR, of all the countries for which data are available, has the highest rate of increase of alcohol consumption of any country in the world. In terms of per capita consumption, the USSR does not rank first.

Different studies have suggested that Iceland, or Portugal, or — most often — France, has the highest rate of alcohol consumption. But the Soviets are making prodigious efforts to close the gap. If you could imagine something like (if you'll forgive another pun) a world cup, the Soviet Union has moved from twelfth or thirteenth place a decade or so ago to sixth place today. Figures on this are very difficult to come by, be-

cause a third of the alcohol consumption in the USSR is from illicitly produced alcoholic beverages, moonshine of one kind or another. But they definitely drink a lot, and they're drinking much more.

According to thousands and thousands of articles which appear in the popular press, as well as in medical and law journals, the incidence of alcohol abuse and anti-social behavior associated with alcohol abuse have increased dramatically. They're particularly worried about the relationship between alcohol consumption by women, especially pregnant women, and the increased incidence of infant mortality and various kinds of birth defects. It's a very tragic set of associations which are familiar to everybody who has done any reading in this field, but it recently has become a quite traumatic issue within the USSR.

Let me now turn to people after they get a little older (assuming that they don't succumb to infant mortality and do manage to get past that first year). One of the real achievements of the Soviet system is that they have provided day-care facilities for so many children. The authorities are anxious to get more people into the labor force and so are motivated by selfish economic considerations. But they hope, at the same time, to help women to be just like men, to have jobs — to have some family responsibilities as well as participating in the labor force. The rate of increase of the percent of age-eligible who are in day-care centers has been declining, but at the present time, a little bit more than half of all kids who are eligible for day-care are in such facilities. The proportion of those in the cities who are in pre-school institutions is about twice that in the rural areas; in general, though, roughly half are in day-care centers.

When they get a little bit older, when they get to be age 7, the children all go to school. (There's just been an education reform; soon children will be starting school at age 6.) Here, too, one sees an extraordinary achievement in social conditions within the USSR. There is virtually universal literacy; everybody goes to school; just about everybody goes and finishes high school.

But because of demographic developments (partially attributable to the fast pace of urbanization, partially attributable to losses in the war, to the purges and to various aspects of the health crisis), the Soviet Union has been experiencing a labor shortage. For the next decade or so, it will continue to experience a very terrible labor shortage. I presume that this whole question will be explored during the other session this afternoon; what's relevant here is that with fewer people available to enter the labor force, the Soviets have to alter their educational system and place less emphasis on education for education's sake, as well as education at the highest level. They plan to increase dramatically — to double — the proportion of the population who will not be allowed to go on to higher education. They need bodies for the labor force, for manual labor: there has just been a reform, introduced as of September 1 this year, which will be implemented fully over the next several years. The end result will be a much greater emphasis on practical, labor-oriented activities for children while

they're in school, during the summer and immediately after finishing school. A much larger percentage of kids, double the previous proportion, will be going to specialized secondary technical education schools, for vocational training rather than for conventional academic training. There's going to be a different tracking system.

There's one other issue that I should touch on if I'm to deal with Soviet society, and that is the question of ethnicity and nationalities. In the USSR, as you know, Russians comprise only about half of the population. (According to the recent population census, 52.4 percent of the whole population, roughly half, are ethnic Russians.) But Russians and Ukrainians and White Russians (Byelorussians) have managed to achieve something very close to zero population growth. The non-Russian minorities are growing at a rapid rate; the Estonians and the Latvians are not, but the so-called Moslem groups, that is the Uzbeks, the Kirgiz, the Tadzhiks, Turkmen, Bashkirs, Tatars, Zaerbaidzhanis, etc., are growing very rapidly, by 2-3 percent. Tadzhiks are increasing especially rapidly — the most recent figures show a growth rate of 3.7 percent per year. Almost all of the net increment to the labor force will be coming from non-Russians, and these are people whose knowledge of Russian, skill levels, and interest in mobility are really not very impressive. All this is going to add to the problems that the Soviet economy is already confronting.

Nationality, ethnicity, is also related to the question of religion. There has been a broad, secular trend in the Soviet Union since 1917 — partly from terror, partly from persuasion or propaganda, and partly because of the general overall secularization of life which has accompanied higher educational levels and urbanization, industrialization, and modernization. There's been a very sharp reduction in the incidence of religious belief, and a much sharper reduction in the incidence of church attendance. What's important is that religiousness and ethnicity tend to be related to one another in certain areas of the country; this, in turn, gives rise to another major social problem. Here I'm thinking primarily of Central Asia and the Moslem groups. What is a Moslem? Somebody with a certain religion, but also someone from certain ethnic stock. I'm also thinking of the western part of the Soviet Union, especially Lithuania, the western Ukraine, and western Byelorussia, where religion and nationalism have fused in a way that is not compatible with the objectives the Party has set for Soviet society.

Okay, moving on to the last group: once they get to be old enough to drink, they all drink. Virtually every study that's ever been done in the Soviet Union suggests that most of the population drinks, at least on occasion — a large percentage of the people drink more than occasionally. Most of the studies that have been done have involved male, Russian, urban workers, a sample that is not representative of the country as a whole. The results of these studies, therefore, are somewhat misleading. My favorite survey is one that was done in Moscow, involving a thousand blue collar workers at a major factory. The pollsters asked, Do you drink? Drink often? Regularly, etc. There were a thousand people in the sample, and 997 of them said, Yes, I drink, and drink regularly. The other 3 were in

the hospital, or had just been released from the hospital, having been treated for alcoholism.

Drinking, of course, is associated with a score of serious economic and social problems, including infant mortality, on-the-job accidents, automobile accidents, divorce, child abuse, and various other public health problems. Virtually anything that's bad in society can be linked, and should be linked in the USSR, to the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages.

Assuming they make it through the alcoholic stage (or through an alcoholic fog) and they get to be older, they become another kind of problem for the Soviet system. As any good specialist in Marxist dialectics would argue, good tends to be transformed into bad. Because the authorities have brought about an extension of life expectancy, there are a lot more people now who are in the post-productive age group. The Soviet Union is regarded by the World Health Organization, as well as by other U.N. organizations, as an "old" society. At the present time, 17 percent of the population is of pension age. It's nice to be of pension age; having just reached it myself, I appreciate the fact that you no longer have to labor, you can sit and enjoy yourself. But being old turns out to be a great social burden. We're experiencing that in the United States with all the programs of federally-funded and state-funded medical assistance. The Soviet Union does have, as Steve pointed out, cradle-to-grave social security, but it has become very expensive.

In the recent past, as a larger percentage of the population has moved into this post-productive age bracket, the proportion of people who are consumers rather than producers has increased. Thus, they become a liability rather than an asset to the economy. The Soviet authorities have found it difficult to deal with this; they've gone through lots of changes in the official approach to older people. At the present time, the emphasis is on trying to get older people back into the work force or, if possible, have them not even leave the work force. Roughly one out of every three people of retirement age continues to work now, a circumstance that is extremely useful in view of the labor shortage.

The USSR has a low rate of population growth, about 0.9 percent a year, and last year the figure was 0.89 percent. With so few people coming into the labor force, with a disproportionate number of those coming in being of non-Russian and even non-Slavic stock, the government tries to keep Russians and other Slavs in the labor force. They've done that by keeping pensions low, which means that people approaching pension age often are obliged to stay on in the work force. They require additional money, and their families need them as additional breadwinners. This is not to paint a purely Hobbesian picture: The life of the elderly in the USSR is not solitary, poor, nasty, brutish or short. Quite the contrary. I think theirs is a much fuller life than the elderly enjoy in the United States.

I should close by emphasizing that all of the social problems have their analogs in the United States; America is hardly a society in which alcohol abuse is absent, in which child abuse, infant mortality, and so on, are absent, in which the elderly are treated with respect and affection. But something has been happening in the USSR with respect to all of these trends that

I have talked about. As national income has been increasing at a slower rate, as defense expenditures have come to represent a larger percent of the total budget and total national income, as a larger proportion of the population is either in the hospital because they're drinking too much or have been banged on the head by somebody else who drank too much, as more people have entered the post-productive age bracket, as a larger number of people are born with physical, psychological, or both kinds of liabilities, the system is in deeper and deeper trouble. If it is not in crisis, at least it is approaching crisis, and is suffering from some very, very substantial difficulties. □

News Coverage of the Soviet Union from the Perspective of a Former Soviet Citizen

MISHA TSYPKIN

I have good news and bad news. The good news is that I'm personally more or less satisfied with the coverage of the Soviet Union I extract from American newspapers and television. The bad news is that I'm much more of an easy customer from that point of view than an average American reader or television watcher should be. I often need just a bare mention of a fact of something that happened in the Soviet Union, and I can start building up context from my personal experience of 26 years of life there, my professional involvement in Soviet studies, and just from reading the Soviet press regularly. It's clear that an average American consumer of what the media produces cannot do the same, and I think here we have some problems.

When a Western journalist goes to the Soviet Union, he has to function in a highly organized environment which tries to sell its point of view, sometimes subtly, sometimes not so subtly. Now this is a normal governmental technique and anybody who covers the local city hall is aware of this bureaucratic tactic of selling one's point of view. The problem in the Soviet Union is that a journalist lacks the tools that are available in this society for dealing with such attempts of manipulation. The Soviet government has a monopoly on information; journalists often lack knowledge of the Soviet system and Soviet history. There are no friendly and reliable "leakers" in the Soviet government, and on top of it, journalists are frequently linguistically isolated because they don't know Russian.

During the last several years, the Soviet government has been attempting to increase isolation of Western journalists by conducting a mass media campaign, accusing reporters of being spies, and recently by passing two unprecedented laws, one on the so-called workplace secrets, and another on aiding foreigners. Both laws are subject to such vague interpretation that any contact between a Western reporter and a citizen can be treated as a criminal offense, if authorities choose to treat it

as such.

Now, the Soviets are very well aware that journalists like to write stories, something based on human experience, on contacts, and they try to organize the environment around journalists by trying to supply those contacts, to channel the human experience, the personal experiences of journalists in the direction they want to go. There is nothing fatal in this and there are antidotes to such things and I have to agree with Stephen Cohen that they mostly involve hard work.

First of all, it's absolutely necessary to learn Russian because otherwise you lose spontaneity of contact. You cannot really scan the press at the rate you need; you become, what's the worst, dependent on interpreters who are supplied, as we know, by the KGB, and who are frequently more of a barrier than a help in contacts of journalists with people.

The second thing is that one should not limit scanning the Soviet press to *Pravda*, *Isvetia*, and a couple of other central newspapers, however important they are. Because of the newspaper format, and because of very strict censorship of central newspapers, you just don't get a lot of information there. If you go to the Russian Research Center library and look at the number of thick journals, like *Problems of Philosophy*, *Problems of Economics*, *Planned Economy*, *Military Herald*, *Socialist Legality*, you see that they contain a lot more open and detailed discussions of what's happening in the Soviet Union, and these are the *real* stories, and not how Chernenko sneezed this morning.

Just to give you an example of how important it is to look at those journals: At the end of 1982, the *Problems of Philosophy* published an article which sounded an alarm that the Polish example could spread over other communist systems, that the party can, theoretically, lose contact with the masses. It's their terminology, but it's pretty clear it's a very sharp polemic. Then there was a rebuff in *Pravda*, saying there are no inherent contradictions in socialist societies. Of course, the importance of the rebuff was lost because, apparently, the journalists didn't know whom *Pravda* was rebuffing. I would like to emphasize that it was not somebody writing in the *Problems of Philosophy* but apparently somebody in the party leadership was standing behind that article. Then again, a year afterwards, *Problems of Philosophy* came up with the conclusion of the discussion, saying it was very fruitful, very useful, that this article was discussed at several top Soviet think tanks, that it was interesting and important. I'm not going to give some clear interpretation of it, but it is something that should have been noted and it was not.

Then, of course, one should know Soviet history. Soviet officials push their version of history; and they know it, at least they know a version that's convenient to them. If you want to be confident, you have to know history because it doesn't hurt to catch Soviet officials once in a while, when they distort historical facts.

If you do all those things, and if you're not afraid of your visa being revoked, or your car tires being slashed, you can really report successfully, and behave in the good aggressive fashion of American journalists.

...it's absolutely
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learn Russian...



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I would like to give an example of how becoming dependent on the environment the Soviets create for you can be responsible for filing a poor story that really doesn't mean anything. This was a program broadcast recently by one of the networks. It dealt with the roots of militarism in Soviet society, and with why the Soviets are so obsessed with military security. The arguments ran as follows: Russians had always been invaded — by the Mongols, by the French, by the Japanese, by the Germans. They lost twenty million people in World War II — Soviet people treasure peace above everything else, but they also equate it with military security — and the whole thing ended with a scene of school children dressed in paramilitary uniforms and marching around with dummy submachine guns. Is it true? Well, on the one hand, if you look at it superficially, it is true. But if you start scratching the story a little bit, you would discover there are all kinds of questions that should have been asked.

First, why this love for martyrdom? Why all of this going back to the Mongol invasion? After all, the Russians, until the end of the eighteenth century, didn't think much about the Mongols until the West Europeans — trying to understand why the Russians were so different, why they didn't want to become civilized — came up with this idea that the Mongols damaged the Russians. The Russians bought this explanation and got into the habit of explaining anything that's wrong with them by the Mongol invasion, which is an absurdity. It's as absurd as it would be for the British to explain their social problems by the trauma of the Norman conquest.

Russian history is different from American history because of the multitude of wars and plagues and suffering, but it's very much in the mainstream of European history where states had warred and invaded each other for centuries. For instance, France had been invaded by the Germans three times, and de-

feated in a most humiliating fashion, in the course of less than a hundred years. Nevertheless, nothing so radical has happened with the French. Very often the wars in which Russia suffered were the result of a faulty or aggressive policy on the part of its leaders. In World War I innocent Russia was not invaded by Germany; it was the Czar and the cabinet, who, despite the fact that the Germans begged them to stay out of war and not to mobilize, proceeded with their mobilization and were partially responsible for unleashing World War I.

And if you look for truly unprovoked attacks on Russia in the twentieth century, there was the attack by Poland in 1920 and the attack by Nazi Germany in 1941. It is also to be remembered that despite Russian lamentations, as a result of all those wars, they became the greatest land empire in world history. You win some, you lose some.

Again, the question of losses in World War II, which were staggering. But do complaints about those losses indicate that the Russians have become so concerned with the absolute value of human life? I'll doubt that, because the losses that were suffered as a result of Stalin's policies were on a par with what happened during World War II, and we don't hear much lamentation over the fate of those who perished in the labor camps.

Then, again, the responsibility for incredible losses in World War II must be shared by the Soviet leadership, by Stalin, who's now being rehabilitated in the Soviet Union. His inept leadership prior to the war is something that's now being erased from the memory of the people.

As for the school children in paramilitary uniforms, there's another interesting detail to that. If you look at Soviet history, military training for schoolchildren existed before Hitler came and took twenty million Soviet lives. Another interesting thing is that the "military patriotic upbringing" for young people was not introduced in 1946 — it was introduced around 1970, at the same time that détente was developing. The further away the Soviets get from their war experiences, the more intent they are on keeping the trauma alive.

Going back to this television program, when they went around and interviewed Soviet people, everybody says, We don't want war. What does that mean that the Soviet people say they don't want war? The policy is not made by those people, and it would be a logical question to ask: Well, if they don't want war, what do they do about their sons being sent to Afghanistan where all kinds of unpleasant things might happen to them? I think if you pose such questions, you can show that Soviet reality is really complicated, that things are dubious, ambiguous, difficult, and unfortunately, it's frequently not done. If I have several more minutes, I'll just try to come up with other things that upset me about reporting.

First of all, I think, one should call a spade a spade. Sometimes journalists become euphemistic or just name things wrong. Calling Chernenko, Andropov, Brezhnev, Presidents of the Soviet Union is complete nonsense. They're not presidents of anything. They're Chairmen of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and moreover, their power didn't, as you probably all know, flow from that august job. Their power is that they have been or were general secretaries of the central committee of

the Communist Party. I see no reason except for unworthy economy of space in calling them "president." I think it confuses people: here's a president of the United States, and the Soviets have their president; once they get together, things will be hunky-dory. It is a wrong thing to do.

Then the reference to KGB as secret police. KGB are not secret. They operate absolutely openly, well, as openly as any other Soviet institution. Actually, their activities have been documented better than the activities of, let us say, the ministry of agriculture, because we know pretty well what they're doing. Their true name is political police, because their job is to nip in the bud any opposition, however minuscule it is. There is nothing secret about KGB. If you go to any city down the Volga, the first building you see on the shores is a big KGB headquarters. They don't hide.

Another target of mine is the *genre* of interview-in-the-street. If I had the misfortune of still living in Moscow, and were approached by a correspondent of Independent Network News, who would be asking me what I think about Andropov's death, I'd first of all start thinking about my own life. It just doesn't make sense to say: "The Soviet people think . . ." What you get on those tapes is what they say, *not* what they think. Maybe they think it, maybe they don't, so the whole business of interviews is usually an exercise in futility. It just doesn't mean anything, what those people say.

Secondly, it really doesn't make sense to try to know what the Soviet man in the street thinks if you want to understand Soviet politics. Soviet political decisions are made by a small elite, or relatively small. It's thirteen people or two thousand people, but it's still small, and they will, once they make a decision, organize public support for it, and the people will know what to say. If any of you have watched interviews with Soviet POWs in Afghanistan, it's very interesting how they switch from the usual formula of denouncing American imperialism — they simply substitute Soviet imperialism for it. The Soviet people are much smarter than you might suspect; they really know how to survive, ideologically, in any environment. So, the people, if they are confronted by a journalist, know what to say.

When a foreigner comes with a camera and a mike to you, that's a danger signal, and you mobilize all the survival instincts. It's something I was on the receiving end of several times. A visit by a foreigner to some institution is usually a big hassle which you don't want because there's a tremendous organizational effort of not letting anything go wrong. People really want to get rid of those people who interview them, they don't want to go on the record. Privately, they might tell you something, but not on the record.

Well, of course, there are important areas of life that cannot be covered because of secrecy. Let's say the portrayal of the KGB in the press is that of a huge organization which does nothing but battle two dozen dissidents. They do it, but KGB is a very important social institution, and, if I started discussing things that they do everyday, it would be another story, and I only have five minutes to go. So I'll discuss it later with anybody who wants to talk about this gruesome subject.

Yet another failure, or near failure, has been to cover the Soviet situation with regard to food supplies. I knew, that since 1978, many cities in Russia had food rationing, but it was never reported; it was really not prominent in the American media until Andrew Nagozski of *Newsweek* went to some towns which are not normally visited by reporters, and reported what he saw there and got promptly booted out of the Soviet Union for it. I think his reports were really excellent and made a difference. He is a courageous reporter.

I want to make sort of a last warning before my time runs out. Most of the mistakes, the gross mistakes, gross inadequacies, are committed not by journalists stationed in Moscow, but by journalists who come on a short-term assignment and succumb to the sort of eyewitness syndrome: They want to come up with an article after ten days in Moscow. Of course, it's very tempting, but in the several days you spend in Moscow, there is no time to learn your way around, to develop techniques for dealing with Soviet officialdom, for learning Russian, and for becoming sufficiently well acquainted with Soviet history and politics.

However admirable Hedrick Smith's book is, it's not enough for learning what you need to know to report from the Soviet Union, and several days are not enough. Unfortunately, the journalists who succumb to this eyewitness syndrome come up with worthless reports, full of meaningless stereotypes, like Russians love their children; Russians love blue jeans; Russians want peace; Russians are intensely patriotic, etc. You can go to Springfield, Massachusetts, and come up with the same things about Americans. I think really that one should resist the temptation of writing these kinds of stories in Moscow. It's something that should really be resisted because it doesn't help anybody; it doesn't help reputations of newspapers, or television networks, or journalists; it doesn't help the reader, either. □

Q & A

Question: How does the average Soviet citizen learn about the West in general and how accurate is their information?

Tsyarkin: It's a very difficult question because there is no such thing as an average Soviet citizen; it's a country with different peoples, different social strata, so if you talk about a Moscovite, that's one thing. If you talk about a peasant who lives a hundred miles away in a village, that's a completely different story. It has been well documented that many Soviet citizens listen to Russian broadcasts of foreign radio stations like the Voice of America, BBC, and Radio Liberty. What they make out of it is very difficult to determine. A Soviet citizen may be skeptical of what his government says, but since he cannot know that other governments do not lie, he probably is skeptical of everything he hears. In a way, he is the eternal skeptical Russian peasant who doesn't believe anybody very much. It's very diffi-

cult when you live in the Soviet Union to imagine life in the West, and of course the volume and the intensity of Soviet anti-Western propaganda has increased and it does have its effects.

I'll just give you an example of how Soviet propaganda works. I did a consulting project for the U.S. government interviewing former Soviet servicemen, who were in the Army and the Navy, and I would ask them the question: What are the results of political indoctrination? And they would start saying that they were sound asleep during political indoctrination sessions. But once you start getting deeper, it turns out the general stereotypes — the most prominent of them that of Russia surrounded by enemies who can attack at any minute — stays somewhere. You know, that's one of the unfortunate things that our media do not reproduce very frequently — what the Soviets say about the United States — because it would, I think, be an amusing picture.

Still, your question is very general. I really wouldn't dare to generalize. If you speak about Moscow intelligentsia, take the case of British historian and peace activist, E. P. Thompson, who went to Moscow and came back terrified because he said all those intellectuals sound like Reagan. So you have one mood in that group. If you talk to a highly skilled blue collar worker, there is another mood there; these are the people from whom I have heard very critical remarks, not anti-Soviet, but anti-Communist Party remarks. They are really smart and they have a deep suspicion that the worker in the West makes more money. And of course, you have the guy who just moved to the city from the village, and he's still trying to find his way between the liquor store and the shack where he lives, and he probably doesn't care about the West, one way or another.

If you go deep into Russia, people really don't care about the West and what they hear; there are probably some stereotypes that are stuck in their minds. I think it was a Chinese sage, centuries ago who said: "How do I know what I think unless I can say it out loud?" I think that's the problem with Soviet citizens: you talk to people and they change their opinions in the course of a five-minute conversation because they really never thought them out.

Incidentally, the problem with those in the Soviet government is that they don't know what their citizens think, and that makes them always insecure. The KGB conduct polls of public opinion, secretly, but people in the Soviet Union are so used to masquerade, and tell pleasing things, that those methods cannot be relied upon.

Another thing I wanted to add is that we should not imagine political debates in the Soviet Union in the way they go here as a head-on collision of opinions. I have discovered a great cultural difference between the Soviet Union and the United States. In this country it's acceptable to sit down and air your differences and then go away with a consensus. In Russia, it would be a classical show of force, who gets whom. Once you come to a state where you really collide, one of you walks away a victor, the other, a victim. When we speak about Soviet leaders maneuvering at the top with different opinions, we have to realize that they do it very carefully, very slowly, with aides running around, whose job probably is to smooth differences

before anything comes up for discussion at the Politburo because they don't want their bosses upset, and the result is probably that positions that collide are not that clear-cut.

Another thing I wanted to add, that's a little bit in contradiction of what Steve said, that probably my knowledge of life in the Soviet Union indicates the game they play is not the game of ideas, but the game of power, and people become anti-détente or pro-détente, to a large degree, if they see any profit in it for themselves. It's a rather general thing about politicians anywhere, but for the Soviet politicians, it's particularly true, because the stakes of losing are so tremendously high. You don't, if you lose, retire and establish a presidential library, you sit in a dacha surrounded by German shepherds.

Question: Please tell what stories you would like to see coming from Moscow that aren't coming. Misha, do you want to start?

Tsytkin: Well, I would like to see more stories of social conditions and the economy which are seriously researched. I would like somebody to repeat the feat of Andrew Nagozski of going and looking at what's happening in provincial Russia, because Moscow is not Russia. Moscow is to Russia what New York City is to America. Very few people go and see the real Russia. I saw the real Russia several times and it was quite depressing.

Powell: I was trying desperately, as Misha was answering, to think of ways of framing an answer. I think it's not a question of different topics: my own preference would be to see the same kinds of topics explored more thoroughly — that is, not to accept unquestioningly what one hears from a Soviet source.

Investigative journalists in the United States, when put in a Soviet environment, I think, suddenly become children. At least some of them do; the best ones don't. There's obviously a lack of access to information; there are risks that go along with being a journalist in the USSR which just don't exist here, even in some American city or state with a really cruel, harsh environment. Still you can ask questions here and not be concerned about having your tires slashed or fear being asked to leave the country. But if you do, for example, go and talk about religion, whether you go with Billy Graham or you just go in to visit the friendly neighborhood mosque or synagogue or church, explore more fully what it is that you hear — in particular, the fact that there are churches, all of which have registered with the authorities. I would stop and say, what do you mean, register with authorities? The Soviet Constitution stipulates that there be separation of church and state. How do you have separation of church and state if churches have to register in order to be able to function? This seems to be an issue which just doesn't get explored.

If you are being briefed by the head of the Soviet Women's Committee, or some similar institution, and she tells you about the wonders of life among Soviet women, including the fact that something like 68 percent of all doctors are women, stop and say, Ah? Is medicine as prestigious and remunerative a profession in the USSR as it is in the United States? We have a sense of what it means to be a doctor, but it's very different

in the USSR. Even among doctors, looking at just the ordinary URACH (a low level doctor), and comparing them with the chief of service in a particular hospital or minister or deputy minister, some official in the health system, women go onto the endangered species list.

I would also like to have people look at the role of women in politics. If women have been liberated, and if women comprise a majority (54 percent) of the Soviet population, how do you account for the fact that they are only 27 percent of the party membership? That is, they are only represented by half as many as they should be. How do you account for the fact that out of 319 people on the Central Committee, only 8 (or 2½ percent) are female? How do you account for the fact that in the Politburo throughout all of Soviet history, since 1917, there's been just one woman. That doesn't sound like equality, and I think American journalists don't ask questions about that.

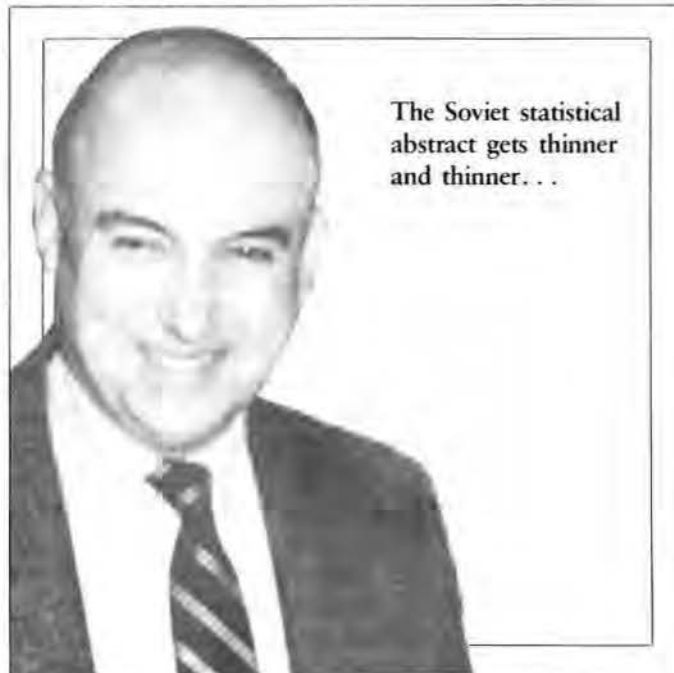
There is rich literature available in the United States — some, unfortunately rather turgid; but some written very clearly — which should be consulted beforehand. Furthermore, questions should be planned in advance, and then challenge whoever it is who is doing the briefing, just as though it were a mayor or press secretary or somebody like that.

Cohen: I don't know that there are specific stories that have not been written. I think that if I were going — and I once had to think about this because I thought maybe I was going — I would make up a list for myself, before I left, of the prevailing American stereotypes of the Soviet system. I'd keep my eyes open when I got there, and periodically I'd ask if these stereotypes are accurate depictions of Soviet reality. If nothing else, that approach might alert you to things you weren't looking for. Seeing realities is sometimes a question of looking for them, or not looking for them.

The second thing I would do is read the very best books that have been written by American correspondents who served in Moscow, including David Shipler's book. I would ask, for example, what stories was Shipler covering that are no longer being covered? And should they be? I mean ongoing stories. I'm aware of the fact that an American journalist in Moscow has to fulfill editorial demands early in the morning, because of the time difference. Suddenly, the editor wants something on this or that nonsense, and a lot of time is taken chasing it down.

But the stuff you can do on your own, the stories you can generate on your own, ought to grow out of trying to go against stereotypes or picking up on stories that were dropped. But it is the context that I was trying to emphasize in my talk — that you must understand fundamentals, that there is a Soviet policy process; that this cradle-to-grave welfare system is something new and important for recent generations of Soviet people; that in the living memory of a 60-year old Soviet citizen, once there was famine, once pensions were meaningless, once there was no place to live; that these things are part of the living history of many people in the Soviet Union.

If you understand such things, you won't make so many



The Soviet statistical abstract gets thinner and thinner. . .

mistakes; you won't say that Ustinov or Gromyko might well be the next General Secretary. You won't look foolish, you will identify the real candidates. When there are reforms in the school system, you will understand that the future of social classes is involved, and that this is a long-standing issue. When you read in the paper that the prices of certain goods have been increased, but the prices of others decreased, you will understand the social context, that such price changes are directed at certain social classes and groups. That is the context, and it is critically important.

I'd like to make one other remark, in response to the question asked, Do Soviet citizens understand the United States? The real question may be, Which citizenry reads its own media about the other country most critically? I mean, do our readers learn more from our media about the Soviet Union, or do Soviet readers learn more from theirs? There's a famous Soviet anecdote that answers this question. As you know, *Pravda* constantly reports that the American people are on the edge of the abyss. The anecdote is built around the fictitious Radio Armenia. Dear Radio Armenia, Is it true as *Pravda* said today, that the American people are on the edge of the abyss? Says Radio Armenia, "It is absolutely true. The American people are on the edge of the abyss. They are standing there, looking down to see how we live."

Marshall Goldman: I could add some other thoughts to that. Right now, one of the big issues in the United States is abortion. I think it might be interesting to do a story about Soviet abortion because abortions play such an important role in Soviet life, and similarly, abortions are now an issue in the United States. You can ask questions — what's a current issue in the United States, and sometimes, you can get a parallel response.

I would also be interested in situations where the conditions

are not parallel. There's an interesting difference in the United States and the Soviet Union. In the United States, those of us who aren't divorced tend to be close to our spouses; we seldom have other very close friends, closer than our spouses. That's partly because we're a more mobile society; we're changing around. But in the Soviet Union, my impression is that you're more likely to be close to a childhood, college, high school, whatever it is, buddy, female or male, than you are to your spouse. You know one of the things that Steve Cohen said is that the society is solid and has survived. One of the ways it's survived is because you confide in your friend for support, and that is a different thing than confiding in a spouse.

I would also be interested in what's happened to all those camp inmates who were imprisoned by Stalin. They were suddenly released on society in the 1950's. What are they doing? How do they view life? That may not be easy, you know, Misha Tsyptin would say, there go the antennae, here comes a foreign correspondent and he is going to ask me those questions that can only mean trouble. But that would be one of the things that clearly would be fascinating for Americans to hear. How can the former prisoners accept what's going on. Do they bear any resentment?

One of the things that fascinated me was some of the things that Kevin Kloze and David Sater did as they went down into one of the coal mines. It was an unofficial trip. They went with a coal miner, not a bureaucrat. Now, you don't do that without getting into trouble, but there is an aspect of life out there that's quite remarkable, if we can tap it. Maybe I should ask the panel to respond to such suggestions, because one of the points Steve Cohen made is that there's more information available now about the Soviet Union. They're talking more about their problems than they did before.

Now, maybe it's my age, but I can remember as a graduate student, really learning most of what I did about the Soviet Union from their own discussions about their problems. My sense is it's not a new thing. If you paid attention to one of the things that David Powell said, you will remember that closing off the data about mortality, about life expectancy, was a hint of a good story. I can also tell you that in economics too, we have less data to work with now than we had five years ago. The Soviet statistical abstract gets thinner and thinner; fortunately they still talk about their problems, but they're unrolling all their linen in a way that's different from what it was in the 1950's.

Cohen: The frame of reference, the reason the question came to my mind is, for example, why does the media today view the Soviet Union as a crisis-ridden system, whereas when Sputnik was launched in 1957, the media depicted an iron-powerful system? What has happened to change the American media image so radically, from one extreme to another?

Question: What is the role of public opinion in the Soviet system?

Powell: I could start. There is no such thing as public opinion

in the Soviet Union as we know it in the United States. Quite clearly, there are institutes: Starting twenty years ago *Komsomolskaia Pravda* established an institute of public opinion which published half a dozen polls, all of which revealed that 99.9 percent of the population believed A or B or C. It was essentially like Soviet elections.

But then in the mid-1960's, in some republics and then at the national level, a series of institutes were set up which dealt seriously with public opinion. And about thirteen or fourteen years ago, a journal was established called *Sociological Research* (*Sotsiologizheskie Issledovaniia*), which does make an effort to explore public opinion on a variety of issues.

In general, though, the more interesting the issue, the less likely it is to be explored, and if it is explored, the more likely it is that it will be explored only in a small group, in a town, in a work collective, in a factory, etc. It's very difficult to get global, all-Union statistics on anything.

There is, however, a very different way of ascertaining what the state of public opinion is, and I think this is something which the authorities have done for 65 years. Party officials, trade union officials, and others, Agitprop officials, have as part of their responsibility not only to transmit policy decisions and information from the top down to lower levels, but also to get a sense of what public opinion is, what is perceived as bothersome, what people are enthusiastic about, what their aspirations are, whether they're more concerned about housing or food, or marital difficulties or whatever the issue is. That information does get sifted out.

There are also public opinion surveys, some of which appear, but many of which are available for government use only. Some of them are mentioned in the press, and some are described more fully, but only in personal conversation with Soviet sociologists. The government and party officials do have information about public opinion, and they share some of it with their citizens. They also share only some of it with us in rotten bourgeois democracies.

Question: Do the authorities respond to public opinion?

Powell: My sense is, yes, they do respond to it but very slowly. There is a Marxist concept which describes a lag of changes in consciousness behind changes in material reality. There are also lags in changes in material reality behind changes in consciousness. There is an official effort to try to deal with problems whether they be housing or day-care facilities or schools or infrastructure or whatever. Whatever public opinion is exercised about, it is very hard to say that there is a one-to-one correlation between identification of problems and introduction of policy changes. But you certainly can see in the literature a set of questions being asked, you can see a set of problems being identified in articles and in *Pravda* editorials, and then you can see where the money has been going. This has been acutely true, I think, in the field of agriculture and food availability. It just hasn't been very successful.

Goldman: Thank you all very much. □

USSR and USA: A Journalistic Exchange

Watson Sims

The role of the press is crucial in establishing understanding and trust between the two super powers.

For all their skills of communication at home, the media of America and the Soviet Union are tongue-tied in communicating with each other. Difference of language is only the beginning of the problem, for media of the super-powers serve different masters, observe different codes of behavior and travel far different paths to inform their respective audiences.

In areas of supreme importance there are similarities. There is mutual distrust of each other's philosophy, and people of both media share dreams of peace and fear of war. People of both media are patriotic, although patriotism commands a far different price between them. In the Soviet Union, information is a tool and a weapon, to be used and controlled no less carefully than a lathe or a gun. Soviet journalists are agents of the state, and correspondents in the Soviet Union face the same restrictions as government agents. Such controls are alien to the United States, where the press is free and one of its functions is to be watchdog of the government. Controversy often arises when the two journalistic styles brush against each other.

One subject of journalistic controversy is restriction of U.S. correspondents in the Soviet Union. The United States responds on a tit-for-tat basis, and each side thus limits both the number of correspondents admitted and their freedom to travel after they are admitted. This restricts the flow of information in both

directions, and what the American and Soviet publics know of each other is thus shared by data gathered from a limited base.

Such information as correspondents can gather is forwarded to editors in their respective countries, there to be assembled and placed before the public. That is where the popular image each nation holds of the other usually begins and ends, for rarely do leaders of their respective media have contact with each other.

Since Russia became the world's first communist state in 1917, only three exchanges have taken place between the American Society of Newspaper Editors, whose members include more than 900 editors of daily newspapers, and the USSR Union of Journalists, which represents 80,000 workers in the Soviet media.

The first exchange was in 1962, when fourteen American editors spent three weeks traveling 8,000 miles in the Soviet Union. They saw model farms but found much that was backward in the Soviet economy. They interviewed Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev and complained that both questions and answers were distorted in the Soviet media. But positive notes also were sounded.

"What impressed all of us was the friendliness of the people and the gracious hospitality of our hosts," wrote an ASNE editor. "The average Soviet citizen is frightened to death that war will come, and he doesn't want it."

In 1969 the Union of Journalists proposed another exchange. The secretary of the Union of Journalists stressed that it should be purely an exchange of reporting missions, with no discussion of newspaper problems, as "we have nothing to exchange in that area." An eleven-member ASNE delegation subsequently spent sixteen days traveling 12,000 miles in the Soviet Union. A member of the delegation later wrote: "While we found much that was dreary, annoying or inefficient, all of us were impressed with the progress that Russia seemed to have made. Things looked better than we expected."

A delegation of Soviet editors came to America in 1970 and also found things better than expected. The president of

Watson Sims, Nieman Fellow '53, is editor of The Home News, New Brunswick, New Jersey. As vice chairman of the ASNE International Communications Committee, he was negotiator for the exchange with the Union of Journalists, and a member of the U.S. delegation.



ASNE later reported to his members: "I have seen two of the stories published in Russia as a result of the visit. I thought them excellent. There were the usual cracks about imperialism and capitalistic decadence, but they got the point about American hustle, efficiency and managerial skill."

A third exchange was being discussed when Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in 1979. The idea was abandoned after the United States withdrew from the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. In February 1983, the Union of Journalists inquired whether ASNE was still interested. The ASNE board of directors responded favorably, and, as vice chairman for international communications, I was assigned to negotiate a new exchange. The format on which we agreed was simple. The delegations would consist of approximately twelve members, each of which would visit the other country for ten days. Nine days would be used to gather information, the tenth day for a conference of delegations to discuss problems of mutual interest. Each side would seek to arrange appointments desired by the other.

Leading off, the Union of Journalists asked for interviews with eleven Americans, including presidential candidates Walter Mondale and Gary Hart, Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, National Security adviser Robert McFarlane, House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill and pollster Louis Harris. They also sought visits to *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, and to ABC and CBS Television News. They suggested two topics for discussion at a meeting with the ASNE delegation at Princeton, New Jersey, on July 4:

1. What is to be done to stabilize Soviet-American relations in the interest of both nations and peace all over the world?
2. What is the role of the press in achieving understanding and trust between the United States and the Soviet Union?

It was by far the most high-powered delegation of Soviet journalists ever to visit the United States. Three of the nine men who came from Moscow not only held high positions in the official media but also were members of the central committee of the Communist Party. The delegation leader was Genrikh Borovik, secretary of the Writer's League of the Soviet Union, well-known playwright and a leading commentator on Moscow television. Also in the delegation were the deputy minister for state radio and television and the chief of the capitalist countries department of *Pravda*, the Soviet Union's largest newspaper.

Arranging interviews for Soviet journalists in Washington was not easy. The usual reaction was "What do they want and who are they?" with occasional challenges of "Are they KGB?" (Soviet experts said at least three were.) Reading names from the delegation list did not always provide reassurance.

Weinberger's office regretted in March that the secretary would be out of the country for all three days the Soviet delegation was to visit Washington in May. When the Soviet visit was rescheduled for June, Weinberger's office still could not work in an appointment. Nor could Mondale, Hart, Baker, or O'Neill.

But Secretary Shultz found an hour for the visitors in May, and still agreed to a half-hour interview when they were delayed



until June. National Security officials arranged a briefing with Ambassador Jack Matlock, and said McFarlane probably would appear at the meeting. *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, ABC, CBS, Time-Life, and publisher Malcolm Forbes agreed to entertain the visitors. All told, nine of the fifteen engagements requested were confirmed before the delegation arrived on June 25.

Coming through the ramp from their airliner at LaGuardia Airport, the group appeared ruffled and red-eyed after the long flight from Moscow via Montreal. Borovik, a stocky, brown-haired man with a charismatic smile, acknowledged they were tired and glad for the opportunity to go directly to their hotel for the night. On arriving in Washington the next day, most of the group went directly to a meeting with Senator Edward Zorinski (D-Neb.). Borovik and two others went first to the Soviet Embassy, planning to rejoin the group at lunch. We were well into the main course when Borovik arrived with a startling message. Leaning close while others talked, he said, "We want to cancel the meeting with Mr. Shultz."

With exaggerated sarcasm, he added: "Mr. Shultz says the Soviet Union supports terrorism. We don't want to frighten him by having terrorists come into his office."

On the day the delegation left Moscow, Shultz had made a speech on terrorism in which he said "The Soviet Union uses terrorist groups for their own purposes, and the goal is always the same — to weaken liberal democracy and undermine world stability." Later I learned the speech almost caused cancellation of the exchange. The Kremlin made its final decision, to have them cancel the meeting with Shultz, after the delegation had departed from Moscow.

Cancellation of the Shultz interview astonished not only the State Department, but ASNE representatives, including president Richard D. Smyser, who had come from Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to greet the visitors. Borovik and his colleagues stressed that they intended a specific reaction to Shultz' speech, which should not influence relations between ASNE and the Union of Journalists. They were surprised by ASNE embarrassment for having been the vehicle through which the rebuff was delivered, and eager to continue with the rest of the program.

The U.S. government, however, had other ideas. The briefing with White House officials was canceled, the Republican National Committee withdrew an invitation to visit its campaign headquarters, and gaps appeared wherever Republicans had been listed in the schedule. On the first night in Washington, it appeared the entire exchange might fall apart, but some replacements were found and gradually the program was reassembled. Of more than a half dozen leading Republicans who were asked to receive the visitors, only Representative Dick Cheney of Wyoming would do so. Among Democrats, a meeting was scheduled with Representative Thomas Foley (D-Wash.), the House majority whip, as well as Senator Zorinski.



There was a pattern to the interviews. Each opened with a visitor expressing grave fears over relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and asking whether the interview subject felt similar concern. The answer was always yes, but then came brisk disagreement as to who was responsible for tensions and how they could be removed. The interview with Cheney was particularly sharp. When the visitors assailed President Reagan for referring to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire," Cheney criticized the Soviet Union for invading Afghanistan and shooting down a Korean airliner. The visitors were left fuming when, after 90 minutes of heated exchange, Cheney terminated the interview.

Before leaving Washington, the visitors also toured *The Washington Post*, *USA Today* and the Washington bureau of The Associated Press, chatting with the editors at each organization. On the fourth day the group returned to New York for a quiet weekend before meeting with Lou Harris and editors of *The New York Times*, CBS and ABC Television News.

When the luncheon at *The New York Times* was opened to questions, Aleksandr Yevstafyev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television, spoke first for the visitors: "*The New York Times* is considered the most intelligent newspaper in the United States. Do your readers not understand that deployment of Pershing missiles in Western Europe have increased, not decreased, the danger of war?"

"Is that a question or a statement?" asked Managing Editor Seymour Topping.

"It is a question," said Yevstafyev. "We would like an answer."

"Our newspaper is divided into areas dealing with news and opinion," said Topping. "Since this is a matter of opinion, I shall refer your question to Max Frankel, who heads our department dealing with opinions."

"I definitely do not think we are closer to war, but we are both in danger of being overtaken by our engineers," said Frankel. "If we could only find a time when weapons would stop growing for a year or two, we might find a formula for peace."

"But wouldn't it be better to have a freeze of all nuclear weapons?" asked Vladimir Mikhailov, chief editor of the capitalist countries department of *Pravda*.

"I have never been impressed by arguments for a freeze," said Frankel. "Freezes create as many problems as they solve."

"Every solution to a problem causes new problems," said Borovik. "How could a freeze be worse than what we have now?"

At the *Times*, as at meetings at *The Washington Post*, *Time* magazine, ABC and CBS, the visitors propounded official Soviet views on informing the public but found little agreement from their hosts.

At the Fourth of July conference with twelve ASNE representatives, the Soviet delegation functioned as a team, while

the Americans spoke as individuals who had scarcely compared notes. Although each side cited specific instances in charging the other with suppressing or distorting news, the discussions remained generally calm and the atmosphere friendly.

The most heated exchange came when ASNE President Dick Smyser expressed sympathy for dissident physicist Andre Sakharov. Borovik said Sakharov had been confined for breaking Soviet laws, then launched into a denunciation of prostitution and child pornography in America. The two sides agreed on the need to avoid war and achieve better understanding but found little in common on how the press should contribute to this purpose.

A major complaint by the visitors was that the American media provide little information about the Soviet Union.

"It is not important how a system works but the result it brings," said Borovik. "Unfortunately, the result here is that the average U.S. citizen knows a hundred times less than Soviet citizens know about the United States."

Earl Foell, editor-in-chief of *The Christian Science Monitor*, insisted that how the system works is important.

"We believe a free press is worth the price," said Foell. "Truth catches up with error, and a responsible press exposes an irresponsible press. I have covered governments from City Hall in Boston to the State Department in Washington. I know that governments always try to give the impression that they make no mistakes."

The conference ended with an exchange of gifts and handshakes, but no joint statement.

The return visit started on a different note when the ASNE delegation asked to bring along spouses. This made the exchange not only a comparison of contrasting journalism styles but also an adventure in family living for the Americans and their hosts. For the spouses, there were visits to museums filled with treasures of the czars, shopping trips to stores relatively empty of temptation, and sightseeing tours in Leningrad, Moscow, and Kiev.

For the editors, there was a busy schedule to be followed but few headlines to be made. Although interviews were requested with President Chernenko and others, no member of the Politburo received the Americans. They met instead with lower level officials who spent much time scolding President Reagan and American policies in general.

The official reticence may have been due to the American proclivity for asking tough questions. Although invited by Ivan Zubkov, vice chairman of the Union of Journalists, to "talk of things that unite us, not things that divide us," the visitors persistently raised thorny subjects.

Smyser, as ASNE president, repeatedly but unsuccessfully pressed the delegation's wish for an interview with Sakharov. Creed Black of the *Lexington Herald-Leader* usually asked about Soviet activities in Afghanistan. Dave Lawrence of the *Detroit Free Press* wondered why dissent was stifled in a country which had been largely shaped by Lenin, himself a notable dissident. Such questions made for tense press confer-

ences in a society where journalists are generally respectful, if not reverent, of official policy.

When delegations from the two sides met in Moscow, they could do little more than revisit ground that had been covered at Princeton, but this time there were new players on the Soviet side. The prominent journalists who visited the United States apparently shared the reluctance of Politburo officials to spar with the Americans, and of the nineteen-member Soviet delegation at Moscow, only one had been at Princeton. Opening the conference, Zubkov said the exchange had been a good beginning and the delegations should now identify things they had in common. It quickly became clear that the answer was, few.

"You are apples and we are oranges," said Smyser. "We both call ourselves journalists but we have very different understandings of the term. It might have been better for you to have had an exchange with spokesmen for the White House or the State Department."

"Your press is not as free as you think," countered Zubkov. "Because you criticize President Reagan, will he build fewer rockets? The Soviet press is more free than the American press because we serve only the people."

It was fortunate, Zubkov declared, that the Americans had not obtained interviews they had sought with dissidents.

"Had you met with (poet Roy) Medvedev you can imagine what improper things he might have told you," Zubkov said. "You would have felt bound to publish those things and matters would have been made worse between us."

The relationship between news and consequences was strongly debated. The Americans held that stories should be judged on importance, not their impact on policies. They noted that questions raised in the Soviet Union on Afghanistan and the plight of dissidents were similar to questions that had been raised in America on Watergate and Vietnam. The Soviets applauded application of this philosophy to the American government but declared it improper for their own.

"Why should we criticize the Soviet government for its policies of peace?" asked Zubkov. Outside the conference, some Soviet journalists acknowledged that their function not only requires respect for Soviet policies but also participation in exposing weaknesses of capitalism.

"If a Soviet correspondent sees a beggar in America, he makes it seem very important," a member of the delegation told me privately.

Reporting in *Pravda* on his visit to Washington, Vladimir Mikhailov had written that homeless people abound in the nation's capital and offered this as another failure of capitalism. Such stories are standard fare in the Soviet media.

Differences between the media also were dramatized by attitudes toward reporting the health of national leaders. When President Reagan underwent his 1984 physical examination, the U.S. media not only reported that a benign polyp was found in his colon, but described differences among physicians as to whether the polyp should be removed. But while viewers of Soviet television may see that Chernenko has difficulty breathing, they are left to wonder why.

"A person's health is very private in the Soviet Union," said

Gennady Shishkin, first deputy director general of the official agency Tass. "We don't discuss personal matters such as health, and it is against the law to do so."

After a day of professional sparring mixed with expressions of personal good will, the meeting adjourned with the delegations poles apart on the most basic definitions of journalism's purpose. An impartial debating judge probably would have ruled that there was no winner and no loser, with each side championing arguments that the other found alien and unacceptable.

Yet some gains were counted on both sides. Each delegation had received at least a fleeting glimpse of a strange, vast, and complicated country. For both sides, there had been an opportunity to observe the impact of the Cold War on correspondents in the field. Executives normally tied to editorial offices had the opportunity for personal judgments on such matters as general friendliness of peoples for each other (each side found warmth at the grass roots level), the role of dissent in the Soviet Union, and the real or imagined decay of capitalism in America.

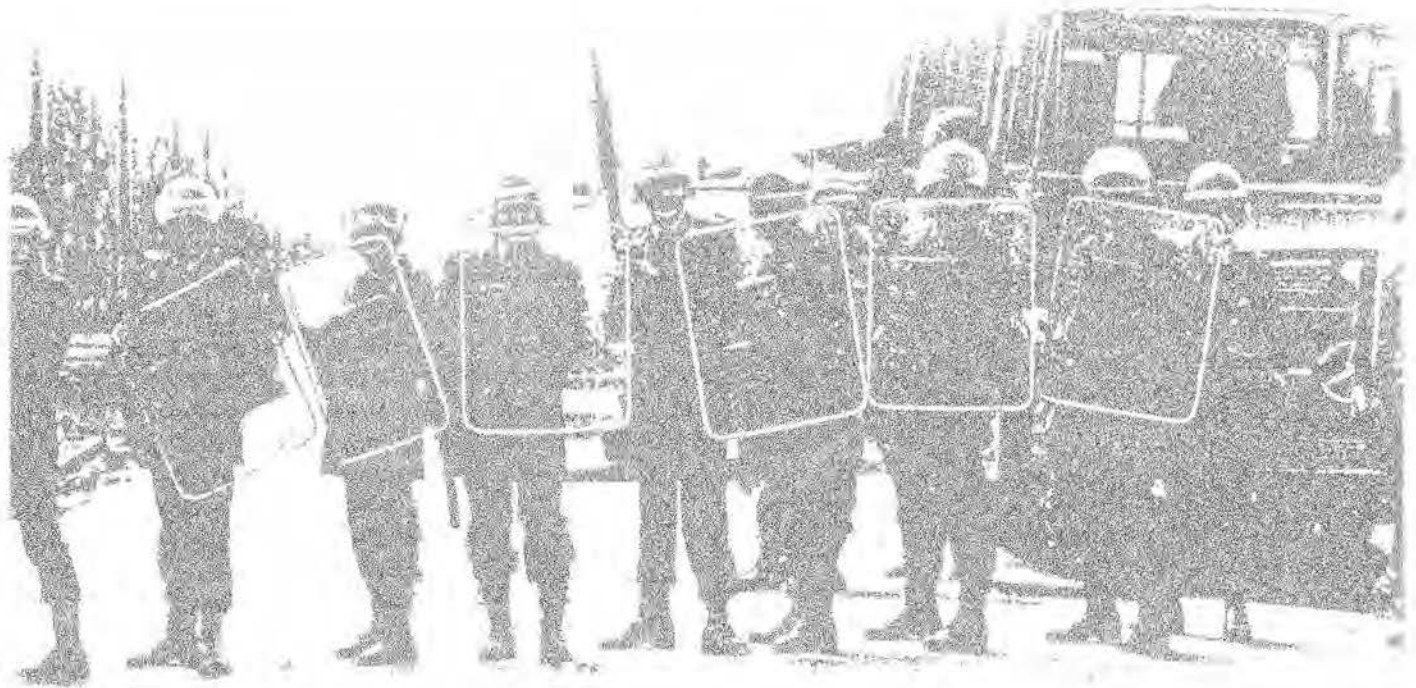
As the conference ended, it was clear that whatever gains in understanding it had achieved were small. Communications executives of very different cultures had sampled each other's worlds and found more to deplore than to praise, and, meeting at the conference table, had largely failed to communicate with each other. Whatever one side presented as clear and compelling logic was rejected as unsound or inapplicable by the other side. The greatest change may have been in comprehending why the world's superpowers so often misunderstand each other.

Yet, some other benefits were noted. The attempt at dialogue had at least extracted editorial executives from their boardrooms and given them an opportunity to make personal judgments on such issues as dissent in the Soviet Union, prevalence of beggars in Washington, and the general level of appreciation or apprehension with which their respective peoples regard each other. They had witnessed at firsthand the impact of the Cold War on correspondents in the field and on the flow of information in America and the Soviet Union.

Given the vastness of differences in philosophy and politics, it may have been inevitable that only the most fundamental of messages could have been transmitted between the sides. This view was expressed at the end of the Princeton conference by Mikhail Nenashev, editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper *Sovietskaya Roosia*.

"Never mind Secretary Shultz," said Nenashev. "We have met many kind and friendly people who have increased our knowledge. It is not necessary for the American people to know everything about the Soviet Union, but at least they should know the most important thing: the Soviet people do not want war."

Amid the perils of a nuclear age, both sides conceded that even such a modest achievement of communication had been worthwhile. With specific details to be negotiated in each case, the journalists agreed to hold more exchanges in the future. □



Chile: Between the Headlines

The Nieman Foundation honored Chilean journalist Maria Olivia Mönckeberg of Analisis magazine at a dinner in October at the Harvard Faculty Club.

Nieman Curator Howard Simons welcomed her with the introductory comments that appear here. Her response has been translated from Spanish by Jennifer Schirmer and Samuel Valenzuela.

HOWARD SIMONS

Tonight is a special night. This is so because tonight we honor a colleague upon whom the Nieman class of 1984 bestowed the Louis M. Lyons Award; an award established by the Class of 1964 to recognize conscience and integrity in journalism. Louis Lyons had a conscience. Louis Lyons had integrity. And he raised several generations of us to go forth from this academic institution and do battle to preserve conscience and integrity in journalism. We are his legacy.

I often go forth to scream the alarm

that the First Amendment is in danger; being assaulted by obscene persons who would trample upon the free press. I rail and I rant. I point to those dastardly judges who would close pretrial hearings or seal court records. I accuse the Supreme Court of generating a chilling effect upon our craft. I transform myself into a banshee at the first warning sign of prior restraint and I yell "Outrageous" at the Pentagon's crude attempt at censorship in Grenada. And I quote a favorite judge here and there such as Hugo Black who once said:

In the First Amendment the Founding Fathers gave the free press the protection it must have to fulfill its essential role in our democracy. The press was to serve the governed, not the governors. The government's power to censor the press was abolished so that the press would ever remain free to censure the government and inform the people. Only a free and unrestrained press can effectively expose deception in government.

I still will rant and rave and become a banshee and quote right-thinking jus-

tices and judges, but the luxury of freedom can be a procaine to concern and numb our very notion of liberty.

I, for one, do not know what it is to work and to report and to edit in a dictatorship. Few of us who work only in the United States do. With very rare exception our presses are safe; our kneecaps and lives are safe; our distribution is safe; our newsprint supply is safe; only our consciences and integrity are in constant jeopardy. Few, if any of us, are hounded and harassed; thwarted and tortured; badgered, beaten, or banned.

Journalists in Chile live under a permanent and constant threat of jail, of censorship, of closure of the whole journal. . . . Besides this, one becomes accustomed to living daily with direct and indirect threats and insults over the telephone and on the street. There are various kinds of repression, and some strange things happen during a day which, taken together, make one anxious.

For example, last year during the protests and after one of my articles had just been published — which one I don't remember — a man at the win-

dow of my bedroom threatened me. Threats have been made against my children, and at one point, the police called under the guise of a reporter to ask my oldest child the time my five children went and returned from school everyday.

One evening in 1981, when I returned home alone and opened the carport gate, a man threatened me with a pistol not to report the things I report. During the more recent protests, there have been insults over the telephone every fifteen minutes all night long. But who can one complain to? No one. One takes precautions and builds up defense mechanisms while you keep on working.

What I have just quoted is the voice of Maria Olivia Mönckeberg, editor of the Chilean magazine *Analisis*, during an interview last April when she was notified that she had won the Louis Lyons Award. Maria Olivia is a journalist of great conscience and great integrity, and more. She is a journalist of extraordinary courage who continues to report and to write and to edit in spite of scare

tactics and the violent anti-press actions of a military dictatorship. Maria Olivia and her colleagues and her magazine continue to report the foibles and failures of an authoritarian regime. In that same interview last April, Maria Olivia said she believes that reporters in such circumstances have "a moral obligation to report the truth of this repression and to be witness to these human rights violations. My children beg me not to go out in the mornings, or to at least be less critical, but I feel it is something I must do."

MARIA OLIVIA MÖNCKEBERG

Dear friends and colleagues: Please accept my apologies because I will speak in Spanish, since my English is not very good. First let me express my most profound and sincere appreciation to the Nieman Foundation and to the Nieman Fellows for having given me the Lyons Award and for making it possible for me to be

here with you. But I do not wish to merely express my personal appreciation. I also want to convey the gratitude of *Analisis* magazine, of its editor, Juan Pablo Cárdenas, of its board of directors, and of its journalists, who have all felt this honor as their own.

We received the Louis Lyons Award last May at a time when the Chilean government was stepping up its repression against the liberty of expression, curtailing independent sources of news. Receiving the award has undoubtedly been a great source of inspiration for us, one that renews our strength. It helps us to continue down the difficult road of a journalism committed to the truth and to essential human values under the harsh military dictatorship that has ruled Chile for the last eleven years.

The news of this award was surprising and disconcerting for the censors. As you can easily understand, it is very uncomfortable for a government that wants to silence our voice and to "exterminate" our publications — a term it has used more than once — to know that our work deserves the recognition of an institution as prestigious as the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University.

As soon as we received the award, all our colleagues, especially those who work for the other democratic magazines, joined us in celebrating this special honor. For this reason, I also want to convey to you their appreciation, as well as that of the *Colegio de Periodistas*, the most important association of Chilean journalists, which has recently worked tirelessly to defend journalists and the liberty of expression. Yes, my friends, this award does help us in our work, in our constant struggle to tell the truth, to report what happens in Chile, to voice the people's problems, what they think, what they feel, what they want.

From the very beginning, the Chilean dictatorship tried to silence every kind of free expression. It closed the Congress, outlawed political parties, destroyed labor unions and other social organizations, intervened in the universities, and eliminated more than forty publications in the country. Since that time, more than 600 journalists have been unemployed, and about 300 suffer exile.

Maria Olivia Mönckeberg specializes in covering labor and economic issues. She is one of the most respected reporters in the opposition media. A Christian Democrat, she was among a group of students at Santiago's Catholic University who strongly opposed the socialist government of Salvador Allende. After the 1973 coup, she became prominent early on in the circle of journalists who have continually resisted military rule.

Mönckeberg is a member of the group that founded the weekly magazine *Hoy*, the first mainstream opposition publication, and still the leader of the opposition press. While on *Hoy's* staff, she was one of the first to write in detail about the massive accumulation of foreign loans, insider trading practices, and other irregularities by the huge financial and industrial conglomerates that sprang up overnight under the military's rigid "free market" economic policies. She was denounced and even threatened at the time, and her stories were watered down by frightened editors. However, she was proved to be right in January 1983, when the two largest groups collapsed, taking much of Chile's deregulated banking system with them and spelling the failure of the government's economic system.

At *Analisis* magazine she has stood out with her detailed coverage of the conflicts of opposition labor unions with the government.

Freedom of expression in Chile has been severely restricted, and the mass media have become a major political tool for the government.

POR SU LIBERACION: Chile se moviliza

- A pesar de la campaña del terror previa, la Protesta Nacional del 4 y 5 de septiembre se concretó con una adhesión masiva de todos los sectores sociales y políticos chilenos.
- La respuesta del Gobierno fue la de siempre: reprimir. Bajo balas anónimas cayeron nueve personas, incluido el sacerdote francés André Jarlan.

Patricia Collyer C.

Sin planificarse, el corazón de Santiago se convirtió en el centro simbólico de la Protesta de septiembre. Allí comenzó y allí culminó un día que ha caracterizado estos once años. Porque el martes 4 fue allí, en la Plaza de Armas —lo que tuvo su réplica en las plazas de armas del país entero— donde se reunieron todas las fuerzas convocadas para dar inicio formal a la Protesta. Frente a la Catedral estuvieron también todas las dirigencias políticas, un rasgo nuevo que cambió —en medio de la represión— la Canción Nacional. Y que también allí, cuatro días más tarde, donde esta jornada casi semanal congregó a miles de personas que se volaron a juntar para despedir a una de sus víctimas, el sacerdote francés André Jarlan.

Los actos fueron cualitativa y cuantitativamente distintos. Y tal vez sea la diferencia es la que más movilizó al país, a pesar de los esfuerzos en contrario del Gobierno. Es decir, entre el 4 y el 7 hubo un cambio en las pautas del juego. Como se comentó, el que el día 4 saliera con un centro de Santiago marcado por el terror y la "Protesta Nacional" por los periodistas, fue Prezado a cambio, cuando se vio el rostro de la tarde, las miras se volvieron a la ciudad leñada de un público por no decir de país. Eso se repitió el 4 y 5, la oposición había reaccionado el sábado de la canción "Justicia por la Vida" y luego vino el lunes 28, la "Marcha del hambre", el 30, el mitin del Frente Nacional Democrático de la Agrupación de Profesores de la Universidad de Chile de Derecho de la Universidad de Chile en la Plaza de Armas. Estos dos últimos actos fueron violentamente reprimidos y ello dio la pauta de como "señala la mano" en una Protesta que rompía claramente el movimiento desde el 27 de marzo pasado.

COMO SIEMPRE: REPRESION

La forma de actuar del Gobierno se prevía desde el mismo anuncio de la Protesta. Hasta amenazas de que el país había sido invadido por una población marginal provocó un rayado que decía "El Sendero Luminoso llegó vestido de verde" y terror previo. Pero el país respondió a la convocatoria de "sin represión, no hay combates" que hizo el "Comando Nacional" que incluye a la Alianza Democrática, el MDP, el Bloque Socialista, el Comando Nacional de Trabajadores y todos los organismos sociales, políticos y culturales de la Oposición. Por ello, en la semana del 4 al 7 de septiembre, el Gobierno debió actuar "con abierta y a veces pueril actuación" al campo de los hechos generados por la Oposición.

La violencia indiscriminada comenzó el mismo 4 en la mañana, durante el acto de la Plaza de Armas.

Those who do have work must endure censorship, self-censorship, permanent tension, the constant possibility of being fired, and even threats to their lives.

Throughout these years, the government has used all means at its disposal to disseminate only the official truth. Through direct and indirect controls of the mass media, the government has tried to produce only the information it wants the people to have, and it has even tried to change the way Chileans think. Television, in particular, is completely under official control. The only channel that broadcasts to every corner of the country is operated directly by the government. The other two channels, which reach only the main cities, are nominally under university control; but since the universities are intervened by the government, the channels, of course, inform only what the authorities want.

The exceptions to this pattern of government control are two radio stations and the magazines which are published weekly or bi-weekly. The latter have managed to emerge and to continue only by making extraordinary efforts to overcome all kinds of obstacles. They have virtually no advertisers, either because of fear or because of the economic crisis. The constant threats under which these publications operate have been especially acute since 1980; that year's new constitution includes an article that expressly forbids the publication of new magazines and newspapers without the express authorization of the government. Naturally, this authorization is the privilege of those who are unconditionally supporting the regime.

The publication of *Analisis* was made possible, beginning in 1977, by the sponsorship of an organization of the Catholic Church, the Academy of Christian Humanism. The Academy was created by the former Archbishop of Santiago, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, in order to provide institutional support to academics who were fired by the universities after these were intervened by the government. As time went by, *Analisis* grew into an exclusively journalistic magazine designed to report truthfully on national affairs and to provide a forum for the different sectors in opposition to the

regime.

Last year, with the change of Santiago's Archbishop, we had to become independent of the church. From that moment on, the persecution of the government against us intensified noticeably. During the last eighteen months, Juan Pablo Cárdenas, our editor, has been imprisoned twice: in September 1983 for 32 days, and 18 days again last April. In both cases, he was arrested due to government accusations against him before the courts, and in both cases the latter have cleared him of all the charges. With each imprisonment, the authorities have searched the headquarters of our magazine and confiscated all copies of what were then our latest issues.

Last April, a military decree subjected *Analisis* and three other opposition magazines to censorship for a six-week period. We had to send all our originals to a government office which cleared them for public circulation. This not only limited our right to inform, but also caused delays, since the government retained our

materials for more than a week; consequently, we could not publish the magazine according to its regular schedule. To these vexations were added new police searches of our premises, and the press that prints our magazine was subjected to a climate of terror in an effort to dissuade it from publishing us. In the end — i.e., last May — we also won this battle against censorship before the courts; but the verdict was reached after a month and a half of litigation, once the moral and economic damage was already done.

The government has also changed pre-existing laws to suit its purposes. For instance, it was also last May that it modified the "publicity abuses" law, increasing drastically the penalties for those who infringe upon it.

Furthermore, just this last month of September we suffered the full weight of a new attack by the government, the effects of which we are still living under. On the one hand, the authorities began new legal proceedings against three mag-

azines, *Analisis*, *Cauce* and *ASPI*. As a result, both editors and journalists have had to make new declarations before the courts. These new prosecutions led once again to police searches of our premises and the confiscation of the most recent issues of our magazines.

This time, however, the government in addition took a new step which is completely unprecedented in the history of Chilean journalism — and perhaps even of the world. Through a September 8 military ordinance, the general who is the top commander of the Santiago State of Emergency Zone, prohibited the publication of any images in *Analisis*, *Cauce*, *ASPI*, and *Fortín Mapocho*. This means that these magazines were prevented from printing photographs, caricatures, drawings, or any kind of illustration. The objective of this surprising decision — taken as it was three days after the September 3-4 national protest — was simply to prevent the public from seeing what the anti-government demonstrations, as well as the police repression, had been like. Obviously, this created a new form of censorship which seeks to undermine both the morale and the economic viability of the affected publications. Since that ordinance, our publications have been issued with large blank spaces. While we searched for new ways to counteract this arbitrary measure, we appealed to the courts, which should very shortly — in other words, after a month of deliberation — issue a decision.

However, even if we win yet another legal battle, the obvious question is which new form of censorship will yet be devised. We do not know. But we do know that the government will continue to seek new ways of silencing us, or that it will at least try to make our work more difficult — work which takes place in the context of a dictatorship which cannot tolerate the moral strength of the truth. Decrees, military ordinances, laws, the prosecutions, are all added to other less subtle forms of repression such as the blows of policemen's clubs when covering a protest demonstration, the drenchings by water cannon, the arrest when reporting unrest in the streets, and the direct or anonymous threats. All of

these are presently part of our daily lives, almost part of our work.

But one thing is clear. As the economic, social and political problems which the Pinochet regime faces become more acute, it is very clearly the government's fear of a press which reflects the real situation of the country. For this reason, the authorities try through various means to silence us.

But the country in 1984 is not the same as it was in 1973, when the military put an end to Chile's democratic regime. Today the government faces growing difficulties from generalized unrest and discontent. It can presently hardly sustain a people who have been mobilizing massively since last year in order to demand a democratic system of government. It also faces a people that have begun to understand in a deep sense the value of the freedom of expression. As a result, we journalists are not alone in Chile. When the authorities try to silence us, we are supported by the students, the professionals, the unions, the women's organizations, the lower-class neighborhood associations, the human rights groups, the political parties, and so on.

Just this last September 23, all kinds of social and political organizations that oppose the government subscribed to a solemn commitment to actively uphold the freedom of expression at an official ceremony organized by the *Colegio de Periodistas*. At the same time, hundreds of people stopped by the *Colegio's* Santiago headquarters in order to look at an exhibit of all the photographs that had been censored.

You can therefore well understand the

importance of the Lyons Award for us in Chile today. It has really been received as a heartening sign for all of us who believe in, and struggle for, democracy. It has helped us reaffirm our conviction that we are not mistaken, that the road we have taken is the correct one. To the Nieman Foundation, and to all of you, I reiterate my deepest gratitude. □

NOTE: The following information, dated November 4, was conveyed to the editors of *NR* shortly after Maria Olivia Mönckeberg visited Harvard University:

The Court of Appeals in the Second Appeal (*segunda instancia*) has ruled in favor of allowing the publication of images, and the case will now go to the Supreme Court. Although there has yet to be a decision, and although a new decree (*bando*) was put into place while Maria Olivia was in the United States, which forbids any photos or information printed regarding "terrorist acts" and activities of the "national slowdown" (*paro nacional*), *Analisis*, along with the journals *Cauce* and *ASPI*, will publish photos in their next issue (which will appear November 5). "Even though it is a risk, we believe it is important to do so."

During the national slowdown [October 29-30], in which the major cities were completely closed, the journalist working in place of Maria Olivia for *Analisis* was detained by the police for thirty hours and then released after protests by the major journals. *Analisis* has decided to publish once a week now because of the increasing need of people for immediate information in Chile.

Analisis was one of six opposition publications banned by the military government of Chile on November 8, according to a Reuters dispatch published in *The New York Times* just as this issue of *Nieman Reports* went to press.

After the decree, police swept Santiago newsstands, requisitioning all copies of the banned publications, Reuters reported. The government also "censored all news in other print media and on broadcast outlets about politics and terrorism and ordered a ban on almost all private meetings without government permission."

Objective Reporting on Southern Africa

H. E. Jose Luis Cabaco

The reality of life in Mozambique usually escapes the reporting of foreign correspondents there.

May I congratulate the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars and the African-American Institute for having provided this opportunity for us, people from Southern Africa and the United States media, to meet and discuss frankly some of the problems we share in our day-to-day work. It is an honor for my country and myself to speak before such a distinguished audience.

I have been invited to present an African view of impediments to objective reporting in Southern Africa. I am sure we will all agree that it is the man-made problems which mainly concern us at this gathering, and it is in this area that I would like to raise some points.

In the first place, we in Africa should acknowledge our weaknesses and shortcomings. My own work has brought me into contact with many American journalists, so I know what *they* consider to be some of the impediments to objective reporting in our part of the world: failure to get reporters to the scene of the story; withholding of information by officials; lack of statistics; slowness in providing facts. These are just a few of the problems frequently mentioned.

There are historical reasons for many of these obstacles. We are economically underdeveloped which means our communications systems are poor and the flow of information is slow. We have emerged from colonial rule relatively recently and this fact has a profound effect on the media. Under colonial rule, journalism was mainly done by and for foreigners. We entered independence without an indigenous press corps, without a tradition of journalism. We had to start virtually from

scratch, and this explains why our media are still weak. This becomes an impediment for American reporters, accustomed to gleaning vast amounts of information from professionally excellent newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting organizations.

In addition, it is only since independence that countries in our region have started to organize a flow of information from the place where the majority of our people live: the countryside. The colonial media were not interested in rural people, unless they had some picturesque customs, so again we had to start from scratch — in an absolutely crucial area for newsgatherers.

Then there is the problem of persuading officials to talk,



H. E. Jose Luis Cabaco is Minister of Information of the People's Republic of Mozambique. He gave the above address in September at a conference on "Impediments to Objective Reporting about Southern Africa: American and African Points of View." Co-sponsored by the African-American Institute and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, the gathering was held in Washington, D.C.

A Little Berlin Wall

DANA BULLEN

To say only that the Kadoma Declaration adopted by information ministers of Southern Africa's "front-line" states appeals to foreign news organizations to base correspondents in these countries overlooks a great deal.

Its main thrust is to bar reporters from these countries.

The policy statement was approved July 31, 1983, in Kadoma, Zimbabwe, by the information ministers of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, and Botswana. (Botswana later withdrew its support.)

In addition to urging location of regional bureaus in their countries, the information ministers were quoted as stating they had "decided that foreign correspondents accredited to South Africa and those reporting to regional bureaus in South Africa will not be allowed, in principle, to work in the front-line states anymore."

"A correspondent banned in one front-line state is deemed banned in all front-line states," the Kadoma statement said. In an immediate follow-up, Zimbabwe, the next day, ordered a three-man BBC television team to leave the country under the new rule.

Justin Nyoka, a spokesman for Zimbabwe, said the phrase, "in principle," was inserted in the ban to allow "front-line" states to invite correspondents located in South Africa considered "favorable to us."

This reveals one aim: to obtain "favorable" coverage — and exclude everyone else. It should be no surprise that information ministers crave slanted news, if it's slanted their way.

But the basic thrust of the Kadoma Declaration — barring reporters from entering adjacent countries — goes beyond this.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Thus, the Kadoma Declaration flies straight in the face of what some call the "First Amendment of the world." It is plainly hostile to a free flow of information, and I suspect realities of regional coverage will prevent wide observance.

It's true, the situation in Southern Africa is not good.

According to Freedom House, both print and broadcast media are "generally not free" in Mozambique, Angola, and Tanzania. Broadcasting is "generally not free" in Zambia and Zimbabwe, but the written press is rated "partly free." In South Africa, there is no lack of ingenuity in the search for ways to try to harness the press. It is to the great credit of journalists there that they have fought valiantly against this.

Improvement won't come by shutting borders to reporters, by erecting little Berlin Walls against ideas. In its main purpose, the Kadoma Declaration points in exactly the wrong direction. □

Dana Bullen, Nieman Fellow '67, is executive director of the World Press Freedom Committee.

either on or off the record. It is important to remember that whereas a U.S. government department may have a dozen officials competent to brief the press on a given topic, in our countries there may be only one. If he is not there, or if his usually heavy time schedule doesn't allow, you don't get your interview. Again, this is a problem of underdevelopment, lack of cadres. Shortage of qualified staff and absence of tradition of a solid state apparatus lead to a degree of inefficiency and to bureaucratism. Although Africa has not the monopoly of bureaucratism, we are perfectly aware that we are prominent members of the club. We all know how much this affects our work as media people. These and many more similar problems

are real impediments for objective reporting not only by foreign journalists but often by our own journalists. Of course they can be solved and considerable progress has already been achieved in our region.

But there are also impediments to objective reporting in Southern Africa by Americans which can only be solved by Americans. A very important one is related to the way the Southern Africa correspondent networks are traditionally structured and organized. For the great majority of the international media, the center for collecting news on all countries of Southern Africa and its diffusion is located in the very heart of the *apartheid* regime, in Johannesburg or Pretoria.

For historical, political, economic, and technical reasons, South Africa has been able to promote itself as a "news center" for the whole region. The big Western news agencies, newspapers, and broadcasting organizations have traditionally had their regional headquarters in Johannesburg. The South African regime uses, obviously, this situation to provide the Western correspondents with a great deal of propaganda not only about *apartheid* itself but mainly against the independent nations of the region. When these correspondents have visited our countries, we have observed that their articles tend to be colored by their constant exposure to the regime's view of the world and to the white South African community influence. Many reporters will hardly admit this, but I repeat that it is our observation.

Another impediment is the simple fact that if a reporter is not on the spot, he cannot evaluate what is news and what is not. Very often someone else will decide for him — usually his editor at home. So it is not only a problem of South African influence. A reporter based, for example, in Zimbabwe may find two or three interesting stories a week, stories which say something about the reality of life in Zimbabwe. If he is not based in that country, but merely a visitor, he will go only for "the big story of the day," which may be a true story but does not give an accurate and objective picture of what life is like in Zimbabwe.

For this reason the Kadoma Declaration of the Front Line States appeals to foreign news organizations to *base* correspondents in our countries to cover *our* reality. We are very encouraged by the fact that some correspondents have already been appointed to our countries.

The problem of objectivity may also go beyond reporting and newsgathering. A reporter's work, no matter how objective it may be, is frequently reshaped by editors at headquarters. Editors in the U.S., for example, have their own views of what is interesting or comprehensible to their readers or listeners. I believe that, in spite of the important changes due to the elimination of institutional racism, the racial feelings within U.S. society are still an obstacle to a clear understanding of the Southern Africa problem. This fact generates a market approach on the selection of news and subjects. Thus, excepting some of the larger American newspapers, a few news agencies, and some public, private and religious groups, the information concerning our region is sensationalist, superficial, and generally influenced by South African propaganda. The objective report filed by the man on the spot is often changed by an editor whose eye is on market considerations. This in turn may influence the reporter who will try the next time to present a story in a form acceptable to his editor.

Another classic example is the way in which Southern Africa problems are packaged as aspects of the Cold War, as being problems arising and mainly related to the East-West confrontation. Some editors will say that U.S. readers and listeners are accustomed to having problems presented that way, that it is for the benefit of the common reader, so that's the way it is dished up, today and tomorrow.

I am not going to elaborate on other issues that many of

you are daily confronted with, such as the influence of interest groups and lobbying which, however, are major obstacles to objectivity.

I would now like to turn to what I think is a more fundamental impediment to objective American reporting in Southern Africa: the gap between our cultures. The cultural gap involves more than the difference of cultures. There is also a difference in the harmony of development. This is the great trap for our countries. Societies which are advanced today, developed — economically, technically, and scientifically — in stages, and at each stage there was a parallel development of their form of government, their legislation, their civic behavior, and their values. Our societies, which were kept at a low stage of economic, technical, and scientific development, are today expected, because of the great advances that have been made in communications, to have a pattern of life and behavior which is the same as yours. The reality is that we are judged on any aspect of our life according to your points of reference. There are no easy ways of resolving this contradiction. But we are aware that it exists and are seeking solutions day by day. We think it is important that you also should be aware of the problem.

Let us start from a concrete situation. My country, Mozambique, is becoming more and more familiar with the characteristics of American journalists. There was a time when we could not claim this familiarity, because few journalists from the United States visited Mozambique. American interest in the country has grown, however, especially after the Lancaster House agreement on Zimbabwe's independence, in which Mozambique played a part. Since this agreement, there have been eighty reporting trips to Mozambique by American journalists. That works out to an average of one journalist every two and a half weeks over a four and a half year period. We are very happy about this growing interest in our country, and we hope that the number of visits will increase in the coming years.

Most of the American reporters who have been in Mozambique in recent years have worked very hard to produce good, professional pieces of journalism. Most of them have tried honestly to produce objective journalism. But to us it appears inadequate. We feel that much of the reporting about countries in our region falls short of explaining the African reality to a wider public. There is a problem of interpretation of events and situations, which, I believe, is basically a cultural problem.

What we are concerned about are underlying concepts which color an American reporter's view of Southern Africa and which consequently lead to a presentation of reality which may look very objective to the reporter but does not look very objective to the African who is being written about.

So wide is the cultural gulf that frequently an American reporter in Southern Africa will come up with the wrong answers because he has posed the wrong questions. And he does so, not necessarily because of any ill will, but because the society around him, his education, his country's historic

Covering New Nations

JAY ROSS

The Lancaster House agreement and the Kadoma Declaration, referred to by Mozambican Information Minister Jose Luis Cabaco in his speech to the African-American Institute conference on press coverage of Southern Africa, had a major impact on how the Western press covers the area.

The three-month long Lancaster House conference, held in London during the fall of 1979, brought about an agreement among the warring factions in Rhodesia and led to the election of a black government in the new nation of Zimbabwe.

The independence of Zimbabwe, ending fourteen years of illegal white-minority rule of the former British colony, was a landmark event for black Africa and brought a major upsurge in American and European press coverage of Southern Africa. The independence of Zimbabwe was regarded as the last hurdle for majority rule in black Africa before tackling the overriding issue, South Africa, and the press swarmed to the newly independent nation to chronicle its progress.

That coverage became significantly more difficult last year as a result of the Kadoma Declaration under which six black African nations severely limited access to their countries by reporters in white-ruled South Africa where most regional correspondents are based. Few, if any, Western publications are willing to incur the expense of stationing two staff correspondents in such close proximity and sacrifice coverage of much of the rest of the continent.

More than 100 regional correspondents are based in South Africa, so first-hand coverage of the six

“front-line” nations has suffered.

In the case of Zimbabwe, the decline in coverage was most likely the intention of the government, which has been subject to close scrutiny and criticism by the Western press over its repression of dissident guerrillas and their alleged civilian supporters.

The Kadoma Declaration had a loophole, saying that “foreign correspondents accredited to South Africa and those reporting to regional bureaus in South Africa will not be allowed, in principle, to work in the front-line states any more.”

Zambia, Botswana, and lately Mozambique have admitted reporters from South Africa. Angola has a history of allowing in few reporters from anywhere, while correspondents generally report on Tanzania, the other front-line country, from Nairobi, Kenya, the major regional base other than Johannesburg for covering Africa.

Zimbabwe, the country correspondents most want to cover, has used the Kadoma Declaration most rigorously to prevent such coverage. In general, it has only allowed reporters in from South Africa for set-piece events which the government wants covered, such as the recent congress of the ruling party.

When the declaration was announced last year, a Zimbabwean government spokesman told reporters, “We want a total information disengagement from South Africa.” The policy, he said, would be applied immediately and “very, very firmly.” □

Jay Ross, former assistant national news editor of The Washington Post, has joined the staff of the International Herald-Tribune in Paris, France, as copy editor.

traditions and values, his lifestyle, have not prepared him to confront the totally different African cultural reality.

One problem is the distorted image of Africa which has developed in the West, and which is accepted by many people. A good example of this image is the notorious Citicorp advertisement, depicting Maputo city as a jungle, where savages with spears present a threat to the civilized white man. The picture bears no relation to reality. But it corresponds to the image which exists in the subconscious of millions of people and reinforces this image.

In a society accustomed to this kind of portrayal of the majority-ruled countries of Southern Africa, it is not difficult for the enemies of our freedom and independence to plant lies

and disinformation. I know that many American reporters and editors pride themselves on being able to see beyond the kind of stupidity I have just mentioned. But the stereotypes are there, in the minds of people, including journalists, who look at Africa in one way and America and Europe in another way.

Let me give you one more example: I cannot remember a newspaper report saying that the Red Brigades terrorists were carrying out military operations over the whole of Italy or that discussions between the Red Brigades and the Italian government had begun. In the last few weeks you have seen or heard many reports in the press, and on radio and television saying that the Mozambican government has been negotiating with the armed bandits that some in the American press choose to

describe as a "resistance movement." These negotiations, which your press tells me involve "power sharing," are not surprising, because the bandits operate in areas in all of Mozambique's ten provinces, as we are repeatedly told.

Back to the Italian terrorists. They did have negotiations with members of the Italian government. And they had contacts even with personalities linked to the Vatican. And they operated in every major Italian city.

Mozambique's government never had any negotiation with the bandits. Mozambican ministers have denied these propaganda stories time and time again. I don't remember that any Italian minister ever had to deny that the Italian government was discussing power sharing with the Red Brigades, because the press — and I'm talking about the U.S. press — never asked.

In the mind of the journalist from the U.S., one of these power sharing scenarios was conceivable, the other was not. There is no objectivity in the approach, so there can be no objectivity in the results.

The crimes of the Italian terrorists never reached the level of the horrors and massacres committed by the bandits in my country. But for the American newspaper-reading public, the Red Brigades are a monstrosity. For that same public, the bandits in Mozambique who murder, mutilate, torture, and burn people alive, who rob and destroy their food and property, who perpetrate the most hideous crimes which I do not consider appropriate to describe on this occasion, can be conceived as people with whom it would be perfectly natural to have dialogue, power sharing. They even are given visas to come and make public speeches in this country. This is a result of the cultural gap and the consequent preconceived ideas that this gap nourishes in the subconscious.

I am perfectly aware of the fact that this is a two-way gap, but the advantage you have on the field of mass media provides us with much more information produced by you about your reality than you receive from us about our own reality. I am not trying to tell the American journalist what to do. I am

simply offering a few thoughts for reflection. These thoughts are a result of a long debate concerning the problems of information within our own country. There, too, we have a cultural gap. The press is urban; most of the population is rural. The city reporter goes to the rural areas to see what is going on, then returns and writes with a city mind. His report then goes back from the capital to the rural areas on radio and in the newspapers, after having passed through this urban filter. I suppose some people might consider that to be objective. We think it is not. Very often our journalist tends to see and report about the things that went wrong and is unable to see and report about the daily struggle, the enormous efforts, and the important achievements of the rural communities. We in Mozambique are taking steps to try to resolve this problem, and eventually we will be able to discuss this.

I believe it is a must for all of us to begin to look for ways to bridge our different cultures and our different stages of development. Our American colleagues can play an important role in this effort so that the picture they give of our region to the world does more justice to their profession and to our reality.

The democratic traditions of U.S. journalism, the feeling among you that the pursuit of truth is a journalist's duty, make me believe this is possible. The very fact that this gathering is taking place in Washington, D.C., is itself a hopeful sign. I would like to thank the organizers for having taken this initiative, and express the hope that the dialogue between us will continue, and will become increasingly fruitful. □



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A New Definition for News

James Brann



The press covers what is familiar. What if it is the unfamiliar that does us in?

We may need a new definition of what constitutes news, for the media have blown or ignored many of the major stories of the past quarter century. In the post-Grenada concern over the public's low level of confidence in the media, it may be useful to consider whether America's editors are performing their jobs with reasonable efficiency and in a rational manner.

Why did it take most editors so many months to grasp the importance of Watergate — or so many years to understand the validity of the concerns of America's blacks and to print them? Rachel Carson told us — in a bestselling book in 1962 — of the dangers of widely-used chemicals to humans, animals, and the environment. Yet it took the nation's editors nearly twenty more years to realize this was an important story. New York City nearly went broke in the early 1970's — a story that should have been reported half a dozen years earlier, but received little attention or play until the disaster stage. The same is true for the devastation of our continental water supplies, the PBB (polybrominated biphenyl) disaster in Michigan, acid rain, and for too long, Vietnam.

When new Love Canals appear — as in Woburn, Massachusetts, and Naugatuck, Connecticut — why is it so difficult for concerned residents to get the media to examine their terri-

A former newspaperman, James Brann is an associate professor of journalism at Boston University, and former chairman of its journalism department. He also has consulted widely and his work has been published in national magazines.



fyng situations? Why did it take years (in both cases) of complaining and demonstrating and pleading?

Most of the above stories were ignored or received little attention until they had grown into disasters which threatened to overwhelm segments of our society. Yet all were important and obvious and available long before some of them became media fads.

And most of the media failed to recognize that the Nixon Justice Department, employing brilliantly innovative tactics and building upon the legacy of its Democratic predecessors, had constructed the legal machinery necessary to operate a police state — a way to imprison opponents without trial.

For the benefit of younger readers who feel that they saw extensive coverage of Watergate and Vietnam, I should pause to mention what middle-aged journalists realize. Most of the American media ignored or condensed or buried Woodward and Bernstein's investigations until early 1973, months after the 1972 presidential elections. In late 1972, I often flew out of Washington to other major cities. I would frequently read a major Watergate revelation in *The Washington Post* on the plane. Upon arriving in Atlanta and other cities, I would find the story in other newspapers chopped and buried on page 41, when used at all.

How *Time's* New York office butchered its Saigon correspondents' copy has been well described by David Halberstam in *The Powers That Be*. And a somewhat similar tension existed between *Newsweek's* Saigon office and its New York editors.

Halberstam observes in his book: "If the war had been fought along the lines it wanted, if ARVN had only been as strong, and the other side as illegitimate, as *Time's* New York editors wanted, then its reporting would have been very accurate. Unfortunately, what took place in the field and what New York wanted to take place were very different."

And no one should have to be reminded how difficult it was for America's black citizens to get their concerns discussed in the media until they employed violence and dramatic non-violence. It is a failure that lingers today in the coverage of most major cities.

The Detroit media (and most of the national press) were tardy in recognizing the drama and significance of PBB poisoning of vast areas of Michigan farmland. Books on the subject attribute this in part to the urban press and its lack of understanding of rural issues, and in part to mental damage suffered by farmers exposed to PBB poisoning and the resultant feeling by urban reporters that these guys were not very bright or were somewhat flaky.

The failure of editors to recognize major stories is a subject that is not much discussed outside of reporters' taverns. It is a serious situation — the media's failure to recognize and report on issues until they have passed the point where a focusing of public attention might help prevent the unraveling of the fabric of modern civilization.

We live in a complex and rapidly changing society. Events such as the deterioration of water supplies affect our lives with increasing speed. Our society no longer has the luxury of waiting until major issues reach the stature of media fads before

receiving adequate coverage.

The press covers what is familiar. What if it is the unfamiliar that does us in?

The problem lies not only with the yardstick that we use to define news; it is also a conceptual difficulty. In his book, *Without Fear or Favor*, Harrison Salisbury describes the trouble *The New York Times* had in conceptualizing the Watergate story. It did not fit easily into a category, being part police beat, part high-level political reporting and at times, it fell through the cracks at the *Times* Washington bureau. (And the *Times* did a helluva lot better with it than other papers, with the exception of *The Washington Post*).

Newspapers, except for *The Providence Journal*, encounter a similar conceptual problem with one of the most frightening stories of our time — toxic waste. National polls have shown repeatedly that Americans are terrified by toxic waste and want it cleaned up, regardless of the cost to taxpayers. Yet editors continue to treat it as a one- or two-shot story or one-series topic. Rhode Island is a small and toxic waste-laden state and *Providence Journal* editors have long provided front-page and continuity to stories dealing with chemical poisoning of water supplies.

The poisoning of our continent is clearly a major and continuing story. And it is not treated as such. It is difficult to understand toxic waste and Temik and ethylene dibromide (EDB) pollution (though not that difficult) and their dangers do not easily fit accustomed categories.

Suppose that it were easily understood by all editors that the ruining of the continent was an important story, as important as a Lebanon or the New Hampshire primary.

For example, suppose that all of your state's water were pure today. And suppose that tonight, the Russians sent a satellite over the reservoirs and broadcast into them the chemicals that are now present from toxic waste and road salt and farm pesticide runoff. All American editors would recognize that as a major story and some would be calling for a declaration of war. Yet, because those poisons and road salt were added to the water gradually over four decades, this is not considered a major continuing story under our present system of news judgment.

Last year on CBS, Bill Moyers interviewed a former Mafia toxic waste dumper. Stricken with remorse (possibly intensified by a federal investigation), he led Moyers and the cameras underneath thruway bridges in the Meadowlands and neighboring areas of New Jersey to view scores of rotting drums that his men had deposited after being paid huge sums by Ford plants to dispose of them legally. And he told Moyers that similar sites existed throughout the industrial United States.

So the Russians didn't do this and it didn't happen overnight. But is the situation any less severe, or terrifying, or newsworthy? Some of those drums were rusty as hell and disgorging their contents into the groundwater.

The drums could be coped with if the Russians or the Iranians had put them there. They could be coped with now — across the nation — if the media hammered away steadily at public officials, demanding that these poisons be picked up

and disposed of properly.

The life of a politician is a difficult one. The temptation to leave complex and expensive problems — such as toxic waste disposal and clean-up — for one's successor is immense. Public officials will spend money on long-range studies and leave the actual dirt-moving to the future, unless the press forces them to act now. (Much of New York City's financial problem was due to past mayors promising huge pensions to city employees in lieu of salary raises.) If the Russians had poisoned the harbor in New Bedford, Massachusetts, with polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), we would not have had eight years of costly studies of the problem. The media would have forced the state and federal governments to start moving sludge within weeks.

Bluntly put: our elected political leaders are not going to do an effective job of cleaning up and policing the poisons in our food, soil, water, and air without continual bludgeoning from the media. A successful effort is simply too damned expensive for the normal processes of government to undertake — in the absence of massive prodding.

At a party a couple of years ago, I discussed my theories concerning the inept performance of the press with David Jones, the national editor of *The New York Times*. Both my pitch and his reception may have been somewhat dulled by alcoholic refreshment, but I told him of my experience as a young reporter in Pennsylvania in the early 1960's assigned to do a series on the impending centennial of the Battle of Gettysburg.

I spent weeks in the State Library in Harrisburg poring over accounts of the Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania. The newspapers from that day were in surprisingly good condition, with only a moderate yellowing. The editors, although aware of Confederate raiding parties near Chambersburg, had buried the stories, instead concentrating on local political bickering over paving contracts and lengthy front page editorials on the arrest by the army of Ohio Senator Clement Vallandigham. He had made an anti-war speech; it was a dandy story that seemed to drop out of sight after Gettysburg. In defense of long-deceased editors, I should add that considerable Copperhead* sentiment existed in central Pennsylvania during those pre-Gettysburg days and there was substantial anti-Lincoln feeling. Still, an invasion is an invasion.

I mentioned to Jones that a recent story carried by the *Times* was a helluva lot more important than the newspaper had treated it. The New York State Health Department warned duck hunters not to eat their kills, or at least not more than one a month, because the birds were laden with polychlorinated biphenyls.

I predicted that a century from now, if New York State is a chemical-laden wasteland, scholars and smart-ass young journalists will say that you guys blew news judgment every bit as badly as the Harrisburg editors in 1863.

"If the ducks are poisoned with PCBs," I pressed, "how

*A Northerner who sympathized with the South during the U.S. Civil War.

about pheasants and deer? If you run a newspaper in a state that is so poisoned that its wild animals are unfit to eat, that's a major story and should be a continuing and hammering one. And what about domestic animals? Shouldn't you have your guys check out the cows and pigs? And crops? Does this stuff get into crops? You guys treated that as an interesting news release from the state health department. Maybe you should have treated it like World War III."

Jones, a tactful man when cornered at a party, was receptive to my complaint.** He conceded that environmental stories are often inadequately covered. And he returned to the discussion (voluntarily) a couple of times during the evening. I had brought up a problem that clearly had weighed heavily with him in recent years. But, he asked, when you read the Michael Brown book on Love Canal and the *New Yorker* pieces on nuclear waste, what can you do? Where do you turn?

I took his question to mean: How does a major newspaper get a news peg on this stuff before it hits the fan and/or how does it sustain coverage once the fact of disaster or danger has been reported in detail?

I believe that there is a way to do it right, today. And I'm grateful to Dave Jones for asking the question.

We need a new definition of what constitutes news. American newspapers and television, shackled to an outmoded and inadequate definition, have largely failed to describe or even to recognize some of the major problems of our time until they have threatened to overwhelm twentieth-century American civilization.

Arnold Toynbee has written that cultures fail because they rarely contain within themselves the mechanisms for critical review. If we continue with our present system of defining news, we risk an increasingly ill-informed electorate. And speeding technology may irrevocably damage essential ingredients for the sustenance of life such as pure water, arable soil, clean air (and we should not forget the injection of cancer-causing elements into beer, but that environmental concern was extremely well-covered).

Today American journalism employs a yardstick (developed late in the nineteenth century) that is widely accepted as having the force of natural law. Essentially, this agreement-among-editors says that crime, war, government, and familiar disasters (as opposed to unfamiliar ones) and some business and social and foreign matters are news.

The yardstick is functional and should result in a well-

informed citizenry, so far as it goes. But it leaves a substantial gap when confronted with the unfamiliar — such as the stirrings of black Americans in the 1950's, New York's dramatically eroding fiscal base in the 1960's, and early 70's. PBBs and PCBs, malformed fish off the East Coast, Watergate, the deterioration of our continental water supplies, the ruining of the Rhine and the Mediterranean, the expropriation of American jobs by foreign industry, etc.

With my proposed new yardstick, the health and welfare of readers and viewers would be a prime news concern, on the humanitarian theory that if the readers and viewers die off or give birth to retarded progeny, there will be few consumers to purchase newspapers or the products advertised therein or on electronic newscasts.

In theory, editors driving to work every morning ask themselves: Have I properly allocated my reporting staff so that we will be aware of every crime and fire and disaster in our circulation area today and can then choose which are worthy of inclusion in our news columns and broadcasts? And have I properly allocated staff to watch the major elected and appointed public officials?

The yardstick needs to be extended. The editor should also ask: Is the health and safety of my readers reasonably secure? And reportorial resources should be allocated accordingly. I am suggesting a sort of anthropologist's yardstick. Any anthropologist from the twenty-first century would undoubtedly be fascinated and astonished that the poisoning of wells and reservoirs in New Hampshire and the Commonwealth was not considered a major news event. (Wells in thirty-two Massachusetts cities and towns have been closed in the last two years due to chemical contamination.) We are carbon-based animals and require a daily intake of sweet water. It would seem to a future observer that potable water should be the first order of priority for our civilization, and that the deterioration of water supplies — especially that caused by human malfeasance or stupidity — certainly should have been a major story.

Both *The Boston Globe* and *The Herald-American* (now, the *Boston Herald*) came late (a decade or two) to the deterioration of New England's water supplies and still treat them as an interesting, but occasional, phenomenon when new developments occur.

Deterioration of a region's water supplies is a major story and as important as news about a governor caught with his hand in the till. (*Newsweek* carried a cover story in 1981 on the deterioration of the nation's water supplies. It should have run at least a decade earlier, but the magazine was still ahead of many others.)

Newspapers do not have to wait until the Environmental Protection Agency or a state office announces (as in 1983) that Florida's oranges and groundwater are contaminated with Temik and so are Maine's potatoes. Or that the breakfast cereal on our grocery shelves may contain traces of EDB. The press could easily move ahead of the environmental agencies, which usually act with glacial speed anyhow. There are scores of scientists who have studied such contamination for years and who would be delighted to function as consultants to the

**Since our conversation and some subsequent correspondence, the *Times* has considerably improved its coverage of environmental issues, particularly in the Times Beach, Missouri, case and I like to believe that the improvement was due in part to my prodding — though the *Times* has still not done well with the Naugatuck, Connecticut, Laurel Park dump, which may be the most interesting in the nation because the bad stuff was put there on purpose, with residents protesting while it was going on. Most other toxic dumps appear to have resulted from accident or ignorance or were done by stealth years ago. In Naugatuck, the dumping is still going on, five days a week in broad daylight, despite EPA objections and the discovery of dioxin.



I asked a neighbor who is an international water engineer: Suppose President Reagan called you in tomorrow and said, "I want you to save our continental water tables. I'll give you whatever budget you need and the best people and we'll pass any laws or regulations you want."

"Can you do it? Can it be done?"

My neighbor looked into his coffee for a moment, then replied:

"Yeah. But it would step on a lot of toes, a lot of important toes, guys who can give big campaign contributions. But yes, it could be done, now."

"What do you mean, now?" I asked.

"In six to ten years, it'll be too late."

media. One of the most interesting is Robert F. Mobbs, M.D., of Wilmington, Massachusetts, who is convinced that every American carries identifiable agricultural chemicals manufactured by Dow and Monsanto.

The media would employ such consultants if, God forbid, the Russians or the PLO had poisoned our food. But because it happened gradually and was difficult to understand, the press waits until the EPA or a state environmental agency says: "Hey, your readers' health is endangered!"

The press doesn't need to wait. Rachel Carson told us most of it. Newspapers could employ their own experts or prod universities to test supermarket produce in their circulation areas for chemical residues. And publish the findings. (It is standard practice at some supermarkets to spray fruits and vegetables with insecticide at night to discourage garbage flies. Considering the generous federal limits on pesticide residues and the paucity of government inspection of produce — except for milk — it is unlikely that this extra dose of poison just prior to retail sale is necessary.)

As a first step toward determining what is important news, the media might consider establishing a think-tank-clearinghouse (without government money), possibly in Reston, Virginia, or at the new Gannett Center at Columbia University, to mediate newsroom disputes about the significance of stories. This national clearinghouse, staffed by journalists on sabbatical, would attempt to spot developing future Watergates and urban and rural disasters, fiscal and environmental and societal issues. And the clearinghouse could function as referee in newsroom disputes.

A reporter who believed that his desk was ignoring a major story would have the option of requesting an opinion from the national think-tank-clearinghouse. The opinion would go to

the reporter and to management, and would, of course, be only advisory. However, if an editor compiled a ten-year record of ignoring a dozen major stories, this might lead to a reduction in his city room influence or a kick upstairs.

It is not difficult for experienced reporters to spot issues that require public scrutiny. What's tough is convincing editors to allocate space and reportorial resources to unfamiliar issues. Those reporters with a proven record in identifying critical issues could be granted fellowships to the think-tank-clearinghouse. Most city rooms contain such journalists. Ian McNett, now a Washington consultant, pressed for air and water pollution stories at *The National Observer* back in 1962, and by 1963, he was writing them on the Perth Amboy (N.J.) *Evening News*. Not many reporters were writing about poor air and water in those days and McNett's series is cited in several books. (Why did it take the guys at *Newsweek* nineteen years longer than McNett to discover that the nation's lousy water was a major story?) Most newsrooms have their McNetts, reporters with a proven record of prescience, those who pleaded to write stories on the coming oil shortage prior to 1973, or the ethics of keeping patients alive on machines back in the 1960's, or Central America before it exploded, or the near crisis produced in the past decade by millions of fathers defaulting on court-ordered child support payments, or the elimination of American jobs by foreign industry.

It would not be difficult to identify such journalists and provide them with a year of research and travel funds to examine our civilization. The think-tank-clearinghouse could produce reports informing editors of critical present and future issues and explain why these are important and who are reliable sources on the subject.

Is there any hope of improved recognition of major news stories while most of the editors who ignored Woodward and Bernstein's reports prior to the 1972 election are still in positions of authority?

Should those editors with a lifetime record of failure to notice race, Watergate, municipal fiscal crises, and toxic waste be sacked tomorrow? Such wholesale dismissals seem unlikely and unrealistic. And redemption may be a possibility for most.

One move toward a more responsible and responsive media would be the installation of better-read men and women in positions of authority in newsrooms. Any editor who hasn't read Stalin's autobiography and Ronald Steel's biography of Lippmann and Schlesinger's Roosevelt books and who has not at least skimmed Nixon's autobiography and some Howard Mumford Jones and a book or two on nuclear bombs and on computers should probably be demoted on grounds of not keeping up. A perusal of such books would provide an indication of at least minimal effort toward understanding the twentieth century. (Such a standard would almost certainly decimate the ranks of television journalists, thus opening high-salaried slots for thousands of print reporters.)

The existing yardstick doesn't even perform well on good old-fashioned political news if politicians depart from conventional patterns. In the early 1970's, the Nixon Administration seized far more power than is provided by the Constitution and

constructed the framework for a police state — with little sustained attention from the media. American citizens were imprisoned without trial in a dozen cities and the media paid little attention until the Daniel Ellsberg case produced the dramatic jailing of Harvard assistant professor Samuel Popkin.

Looking back with some historical perspective, events that seemed serious and troubling then, appear ghastly. It is chilling to contemplate what might have happened to the nation if Watergate guard Frank Wills hadn't discovered the taped door.

For nearly three years prior to Watergate, the Nixon Justice Department was harassing and wiretapping real and imagined enemies and imprisoning — without trial — anti-war activists, members of the Catholic Left, New Left, and suspected IRA gun-runners. There was widespread use of *agents provocateurs* and paid informers by the FBI and the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. And there was systematic misuse of federal grand juries as information gathering mechanisms for the FBI and Internal Security Division attorneys.

These enterprises resulted in landmark legal decisions containing some of the strongest language ever directed by the judicial branch of the government against the executive.

During this period, there was intensive federal grand jury activity in a dozen cities — often with the same attorneys from the Division of Internal Security repeatedly locking up American citizens for refusing to answer such questions as:

“Name everyone who has visited your house for the past two years and tell what they talked about.”

Across the nation — New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Los Angeles — a network of young lawyers became Constitutional experts and participated in these cases long before the big league Ellsberg and Berrigan cases came to public attention.

Yet most of the media remained oblivious throughout this unprecedented legal warfare. There were brilliant editorials in the big newspapers when pieces of this activity would surface at the Supreme Court and be proscribed even by judges appointed by Nixon. And when a particularly dramatic bit would surface in the lower courts, the press sometimes reacted sharply. Commented *The New York Times* in 1972 after it was revealed that the FBI, through an informer-*provocateur*, had financed a raid on Camden, New Jersey, draft files by Catholic activists:

... Instituting revolutionary acts as a means of entrapping dissidents and possibly whipping up popular anger against them is a standard tactic of totalitarian states seeking to justify repressive policies. It has no place in the law enforcement arsenal of a democratic society.

That's powerful language for a serious and evenhanded newspaper to use against the federal government. There were similar editorials in the summer of 1972 when major decisions were handed down against widespread domestic wire-tapping by the Justice Department. Yet, throughout this ever increasing and ever more visible use of police-state tactics, the media continued to treat each new case or revelation as a separate item to be described and commented on for a day, then dropped and forgotten — until another federal maneuver surfaced.

Every experienced newspaper reporter tells marvelous anecdotes concerning editors' misjudgments on good stories (such as the time a *Boston Globe* reporter learned from the late Cardinal Cushing that Jackie Kennedy was considering marriage to a Greek shipping magnate, and *Globe* editors, certain that they were Kennedy experts, would not run it until the *Herald-American* scooped them). Misjudgments on day-to-day stories will continue to happen in any enterprise run by human beings. My concern is with the media's massive and long-term misjudgments on major societal issues in recent years.

It is obvious, looking back a decade, that such activities and the grand jury imprisonments were (and continue to be) much greater offenses against the Constitution and the public weal than Watergate. But they were not as easy to understand.

The Nation, in its January 3, 1972 issue, tied much of the repression arsenal together brilliantly — describing a nationwide movement to put down dissent. And the underground press repeatedly pointed out the similarity of techniques, government attorneys, legal briefs, and the omnipresence of Guy L. Goodwin, chief of the Internal Security Division's special litigation section, but perhaps the alternative newspapers had cried “wolf!” too often to be believed generally.

The legal battles resulting from the governmental surveillance and misuse of federal grand juries were fascinating — with the anti-war activists and the Catholic Left and assorted hippie radicals arguing as strict constructionists of the Constitution. Attorneys for the protesters argued that the Founding Fathers were all too familiar with unchecked governmental spying and that the Fourth Amendment (“The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures. . .”) had been designed expressly to prevent the elaborate surveillance activity being carried out by the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department.

Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian argued for an expanded and interpretive reading of the Constitution. Early in 1972, prior to Watergate, he told the Supreme Court that the presidential authority for warrantless wiretaps was contained “not in any one clause, but may be gleaned from a reading of the Constitution as a whole.”

The speeches of John Mitchell and Mardian, then head of the Division of Internal Security, should have provided a clear tipoff to any reasonably awake managing editor that a totalitarian mentality was in control at the Justice Department. A continual stream of rather scary philosophy was coming out of Washington and this should have alerted editors even remotely familiar with the debates over the drafting of the Constitution.

“Never in our history has this country been confronted with

so many revolutionary elements determined to destroy by force the Government and the society it stands for," former Attorney General John N. Mitchell told the Virginia Bar Association in June of 1971. "These 'domestic' forces are ideologically and in many instances directly connected with foreign interests."

In a speech to the Kentucky Bar Association, he said, "You cannot separate foreign from domestic threats to the government. . . but if it were possible, I would say that experience has shown greater danger from the so-called domestic variety. Either we have a constitutional government that can defend itself against illegal attack, or in the last analysis we have anarchy."

Mardian frequently pointed out in speeches that the Constitution requires the president to swear that he will preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. "It does not," observed Mardian, "say that he will 'preserve, protect, and defend' it only against aliens."

At times the Constitution-is-not-a-suicide-pact philosophy of the Justice Department briefs alarmed federal judges and justices. Ruling in a Michigan bombing and wiretapping case against the administration's current claim to "inherent" and somewhat obscurely defined powers, Federal Judge Damon J. Keith commented in 1971:

It is strange, indeed, that in this case the traditional power of a sovereign like King George III should be invoked on behalf of an American President to defeat one of the fundamental freedoms for which the founders of this country overthrew King George's reign.

It is obvious now, and was clear then, that there were enough dramatic events, enough sensational departures from tradition and the legal principles of the United States (even apart from the Pentagon Papers) that the media should have awakened and conducted its own Watergate-type investigations long before the Liddy crew broke into the Democratic National Committee offices. For example, the Guy Goodwin grand juries — across the nation — were flagrant departures from legal tradition and featured an articulation of executive branch powers so sweeping that the press should have been alerted.

The June 1, 1973, *New York Times* reported that the Senate Watergate Committee was investigating the Justice Department's campaign against radicals. "This could overshadow everything else," one senate source told *Times* reporter John Kifner [NF '72].

The Karen Duncan case was illustrative of the way the Internal Security Division's special litigations section functioned during the early 1970's.

Duncan, an anti-war activist in suburban Los Angeles, spent more than three months as a federal prisoner in Arizona for refusing before a federal grand jury to answer such broad-ranging questions as:

•Describe all of the occasions on which you traveled outside Los Angeles in 1969, 1970, and 1971, when you went, and with whom. What was the purpose of the trip? What mode of transportation did you use and what activities did you engage in?

•Please tell the grand jury every demonstration, riot or disorder that you have been to. When was it? Where was it? How did you get there? What conversations did you have with people while you were there?

Duncan was neither charged nor convicted of a crime, yet she was jailed. She was freed from harassment only when the Justice Department became busy with Watergate. She was a highly active anti-war activist and she had friends who may or may not have transported some dynamite across state lines, but if the feds wanted to lock her up, they should have charged her, tried her and then imprisoned her if they got a conviction. That's the American way.

The jailings of Duncan and others like her should have caused American editors to question such actions.

"Hey, wait. This can't be happening. Americans aren't put in prison for refusing to answer questions like, Name everyone who has visited your home for the past two years and what they talked about.

"That just isn't done. It is against our heritage and our Constitution and against the most basic principles of the Founding Fathers. What are those guys in the Justice Department trying to do? Put three good reporters on that place and find out what is happening."

Duncan had immunity thrust upon her but still refused to answer the government's questions because she was convinced that the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department was trying to weave together an elaborate national conspiracy of anti-war dissenters.

Federal grand jury abuses — imprisoning people for refusing to answer questions — continued through the Ford, Carter and Reagan administrations, but on a more refined and smaller basis, without the large and efficient strike teams geared up to perform on a national scale. And without imprisoning any more Harvard professors. Targets in recent years have been unpleasant people who evoke little sympathy from the media — Puerto Rican bombers, radical bank robbers, Mafia guys.

And there has still been no clear-cut U.S. Supreme Court test of this dramatic federal seizure of authority. This technique, this novel departure from traditional American values, cries out for a sustained and penetrating examination by the media, a job that should have been performed prior to Watergate. A think-tank-clearinghouse — run by experienced newspeople — might be a first step toward avoiding such a misjudgment of news values in the future.

Next time we may not be rescued by a Watergate. We may not have the opportunity to look back and recognize that a police state apparatus was constructed and the media all but ignored it.

We cannot count forever upon a Frank Wills to appear when we need him. □



Professionalism and Civility

Thornton F. Bradshaw

The reporting of news is everybody's business.

It is an honor to be chosen to speak to this distinguished group of scribes, reporters, evening stars, and dependents. I am a dependent, a news maven, dependent on you for my daily sustenance.

In my job, I get letters. Most of them do not fill my day with sunshine — like Exhibit A.

Sometimes I get nice letters which I keep in my pocket and touch occasionally, like prayer beads. See Exhibit B.

Now that's a good story, isn't it? A wonderful human interest item for a slow news day. The trouble is that it's not true. There's no 9-year old boy by the name of Thornton Reynard in San Francisco. Before releasing the letters to the press, we decided to get in touch with the boy and his parents to make sure we were not invading their privacy. We discovered that no one by the name of Reynard lived at the return address on the letter. We also discovered that similar, fraudulent letters had been sent to other men with unusual first names. We had violated the first rule of journalism: never overcheck a good story. We had asked one too many questions and the story had evaporated on us. I had to take the letter out of my pocket.

Thornton F. Bradshaw is Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of RCA Corporation, of which NBC is a part. He was the guest speaker in June at the 1984 Gerald Loeb Awards banquet in New York City. The text of his remarks appears above. Given by the Graduate School of Management, the University of California, Los Angeles, the Loeb Awards are for the recognition of distinguished business and financial reporting.



Before coming to RCA, Bradshaw was chairman of The Observer (London) following its purchase by the Atlantic Richfield Corporation (ARCO). He has just completed a term as a member of the Board of Overseers, Harvard University.

Unfortunately, as good reporters are aware, non-stories continue to get into print because too few questions have been asked. For instance, President Carter's widely reported difficulty in getting into a restaurant in Boston without his jacket and tie. Of course, the failing is not limited to the journalistic side of the line. Major corporations take out ads about the press and television that could not pass any reasonable test of fact and objectivity in the news columns. Accuracy In Media puts out newsletters that border on the libelous. And Reed Irvine, President of AIM, harangues me at RCA's annual meeting with a mishmash of half-truth and conspiracy theory about NBC — how the Communists have taken over the newsroom. Now there's an idea for a Loeb Award entry — how a handful of obsessed publicity-seekers have stolen the annual meeting from America's shareholders. If only these grinchers were polite!

And that leads me to what I want to talk about tonight — civility and reporting the news. William Paley once said, "Reporting the news objectively is not impossible; but it is very difficult." The difficult becomes closer to the impossible when each party involved is sure that the other party is moved by base motives. The news is seen as being tainted, biased. The readers are suspicious, preconditioned. The newsmakers are sure that what they do will not be fairly reported, so they try to influence the press. The circle widens, getting further away from the core of objective reporting.

What is needed is more professionalism and more civility — civility in the sense of listening to, and respecting, the many voices of a vast and sprawling democracy and a diverse world. Civility also means keeping the noise level down.

My credentials are not particularly impressive, considering the kinds of people who have talked about the subject. I am not a professional. Put me at the scene of an accident and you won't get a very accurate report. But I have had some experience:

- as a media target — an oil man in the 1970's.
- as an advisor to government.
- as a chairman of a good newspaper.
- as an overseer of a television network.



Dear Mr. Bradshaw


Does NBC want to profit from AIDS, V.D., drug abuse, mental illness and suicide? You're planning a new TV "comedy" series glamorizing homosexuality. Everyone knows that lifestyle is filled with disease and self-destructive behavior. **HOMOSEXUALITY KILLS!** I'll keep boycotting all NBC TV/radio shows, RCA products and Hertz car rentals until you stop making shows that lead America's children into homosexuality.

14/85
Signature *Joseph P. Howell*
5708 WILLOWCREST AVE
No. Hollywood, CALIF. 91605

WASHINGTON United States
FIRST CLASS

Mr. Thornton Bradshaw
NBC/RCA
635 Park Avenue
New York, New York
10021

Exhibit A

 ME

Dear Mr. Bradshaw,
My name is Thornton and I am 9. I hate my name because kids at school joke about it. Its worse than mumps. You are the only other Thornton I ever heard of. Where did you get your name from? My ~~teacher~~ teacher told me about you. I hope that is O.K. Will you be my friend? I sure need one with my dumb name.

your friend,
Thornton Reynard

P.S. What do your friends call you? Did you ever get so mad you wanted to punch somebody?

NBC | 50 Rockefeller Plaza | New York, NY 10020 | Tel: (212) 621-6330

T. F. Bradshaw
October 7, 1983

Dear Thornton:

No one calls me Thornton so I have never had to punch anyone in the nose. Anyway, I was always afraid that I would get punched back. Everyone calls me Brad.

Why don't you ask people to call you Ray, which is the first part of your last name? You might spell it Key, which in Spanish means King. If you do, don't tell anybody because kings are not very popular these days.

Thornton was my grandmother's family name and she was very proud of it. I am proud of it, too, but as I said before, everyone calls me Brad.

Best wishes.

T. F. Bradshaw


 me

Exhibit B

Anyway, news reporting is everybody's business so I shall tiptoe through the minefields.

First, political bias. There is a widespread feeling among men and women in business that journalists are biased against them and that they let their bias creep into their stories. Perhaps the greatest source of this feeling was the widely misunderstood poll of 240 leading print and broadcast journalists conducted

by Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman in 1979 and 1980. The poll disclosed that more than 80 percent of the journalists had voted for the Democratic candidate in each of the presidential elections of 1964, 1968, 1972, and 1976.

What did not get much attention was the fine print in the poll — the journalists' responses to the detailed economic questions. Seventy percent of the journalists felt that private

enterprise was fair to workers. Sixty-three percent thought that less regulation of business would be good for the country. Eighty-six percent agreed that persons with more ability should earn more money. And eighty-eight percent opposed government ownership of big corporations. Hardly radicalism.

As to the journalists, 80-percent, pro-Democratic voting record, I would judge that at least that proportion of my business colleagues voted for the Republican candidate in those elections. Does that mean that executives make business decisions to promote the Republican Party? I doubt it. They make those decisions to increase the profits of their companies and their shareholders, to generate funds for investment and the creation of jobs, to advance their careers and enhance their bonuses, to expand their reputations and get favorable mention in the press.

Do journalists act differently? I doubt it. Journalists make news decisions on the basis of what is important and what is interesting, on what will get them on the front page or in the nightly news, on what will sell newspapers and improve the ratings, on what will enhance their reputations, their careers and their salaries.

I do not mean to suggest that political bias — conscious or unconscious — never clouds news judgment. I do mean to suggest that a corrective process of compensation is often at work, sometimes to the disadvantage of Democrats. I think Jody Powell is correct when he observes that Jimmy Carter got rougher treatment from the press than has Ronald Reagan. Charm goes a long way, even with journalists, and it can work to the advantage of Democrats as well as Republicans, as my college classmate Jack Kennedy abundantly demonstrated.

If political bias is not a real issue, what then accounts for the growing public suspicious of the press and television? Arrogance may be a problem.

I agree with what Larry Grossman, the new president of NBC News, recently told the network's affiliates:

...there are too many occasions in which some of us in television news are guilty of arrogance, of showing off, and of intruding unnecessarily and offensively into private lives. On occasion those of us in news have a tendency to act as if we are beyond honest criticism, and above the people we cover and the audiences we serve.

We must take care not to hold up the First Amendment as a shield for our own inadequacies. The news is a privileged profession, but it is not a priesthood. We need more self-examination, more self-criticism, more awareness of our weaknesses and our deficiencies. . . .

We must do everything we can to reestablish public trust not only for our own success. . . we must also reestablish public trust for the sake of the health and the vitality of our democratic society, whose very existence depends on a responsible and fair press.

Good words and a good start. But how do we stay on our side of the fence — the professional side — and not climb over to the beckoning green of the pundit? Not easily. As one of our best newspeople said, "When a reporter is assigned to a

night court, he comes out with a sharpened sense of the inadequacies of our society and its institutions" — and I would add — he wants to tell people what he has learned.

One thing we might all do is recognize that the world is now so complex that no individual has the experience, knowledge, and education to cover a reporter's waterfront. A bit of humility is in order. Even when we concentrate on an area such as business, there is no way an individual can become knowledgeable about the many facets of what is poured into the daily business pages. I readily admit I cannot understand many of the diverse businesses that are grouped under the RCA sign — from semiconductors to network broadcasting to car rentals. But I am getting fairly close to voluntary retirement, and I can afford to admit inadequacy.

What else? I would recommend that the press and television seize upon the rising appetite for hard news — as reflected strongly in recent polls — to reestablish public confidence in journalistic objectivity. Although investigative and interpretative reporting serve a purpose, sometimes an essential purpose, the pendulum may have swung too far, creating the impression that journalists are more advocates than observers. We would all be served by a return to stricter, traditional standards of factual reporting.

What else? I think we can take practical action to defuse the popular notion that the press and television are hostile to our major institutions, business, government, perhaps the country itself. I am not arguing for a restraint on aggressive reporting of the ills of our society. I am arguing for looking more closely, more critically, at other societies, our political adversaries, and our economic competitors. I recognize that it is difficult for American journalists to get at the facts in countries in which freedom of the press, as we know it, exists not at all or in attenuated form. But I do believe that we must broaden the scope of our reporting if the American people are to understand the challenges which confront them in an increasingly interrelated world, and if they are to form a balanced judgment of the relative strengths of our own institutions. All politics is local politics, particularly in an election year; but all news is not local news.

Most of all, I believe the journalistic community should be more open and more candid in confessing its failings and in ventilating its difficulties. Too often, front page whoppers are corrected on the inside, below the fold; evening news bloopers are amended in bland corrections dissolving into the commercial. We should be more direct with our readers and our viewers. Confession is good for the soul and in the long run, I am convinced, it is good for circulation and good for ratings.

I am aware of the old newsroom axiom that readers are not interested in a reporter's problems. It was not a bad axiom for a simpler and more trusting time. But I don't think it works any longer. Journalists, particularly television journalists, have become celebrities and they command large salaries, much larger than those of most readers and viewers. In the news columns and on the air, these journalists come across as supremely self-confident and in total command of the facts.

Not surprisingly, they tend to be taken at face value and assumed, when in error, to be wilfully so.

If the press and television are to preserve their credibility, the public has to be educated to the immense difficulties in reporting the news — how complicated the issues have become, how hard it is for even the most expert reporters to get to the bottom of things, how demanding it is to put the facts together under the pressure of deadlines, how elusive and misleading are the special interests involved.

As a businessman with some first-hand knowledge of government, I can assure you that most non-journalists — even the most sophisticated — have only the slimmest of understanding of a journalist's problems. Business executives and government officials are accustomed to easy access to large quantities of information prepared by expert staffs. The information may not be relevant; it may not be needed; but they get it. It is hard for them to understand how difficult it is to be out there groping in the dark.

Some important business people have only the crudest of notions of how the system works. When I was chairman of *The Observer* in London at the time of the parliamentary elections in 1979, the editor informed me that the editorial board had decided to endorse the Labour Party for re-election. My personal view was that Labour had run its course and that Britain needed a change, specifically, that it needed Mrs. Thatcher. I argued my case to the editor and reminded him that if *The Observer* went for Labour, it would be alone among the serious papers in London. When he persevered, I told him to go ahead, he was the editor. In the American tradition, and certainly in the British tradition, I might have asserted my prerogative as the owner and publisher. But ARCO had bought the paper to save it, not to make it appear to be the tool of big oil.

Shortly after the endorsement was printed, I received a letter of protest from an important British businessman. He enclosed a bundle of clippings of the many ads his company had placed in *The Observer*. His letter was to the point: "Dear Brad — What the hell did you buy the paper for?"

The answer — though there was no sense in giving it to that particular advertiser — was to preserve *The Observer's* independence.

Shortly thereafter, I had the opportunity to demonstrate the point from the opposite end of the political spectrum. As the paper was being put to bed one Saturday night, the editor informed me that the craft unions had stopped the presses and were vowing not to continue unless we agreed to yank a story on labor violence in a bitter strike. I refused and it looked for a while as if a great paper was on the verge of being killed by its own employees. Finally, the editor worked out a compromise under which the unions bought a small ad stating their position on the strike. The presses rolled and *The Observer* survived.

My experience on *The Observer* and most recently my association with NBC have reinforced a longstanding feeling that businessmen are their own worst enemies in dealing with the press. For too long, their attitude was to shut the door and

keep the press out. Tell them as little as possible and hope they'd go away.

In the early 1970's I accepted an invitation to appear on the Dick Cavett show for a whole hour to discuss the energy problem with Barry Commoner and Ralph Nader. What a wonderful opportunity to tell the story! At the end of the hour I emerged battered, bloodied and defeated. I asked the producer why I had been chosen. He said, "You weren't. You were the sixth oil company president we asked."

This closed-door attitude has not had good results for the executives of this country. A stereotype has developed that business is solely dedicated to the bottom line, justifying anything — be it to shut down communities and throw people out of work or to foul rivers and streams — in the mad pursuit of profit. Well, very little of that is true — at least in the businesses that I observe — but it is the presumed reality against which we must operate.

I ran into that reality in the early 1970's as part of the effort to persuade the American people that an oil crisis was upon us. We in the oil business lacked the credibility with the press to carry the argument.

I remember meeting with the chief of the Washington bureau of a great newspaper in about 1971. I poured out everything I knew about the impending oil crisis, told him why I thought it was a national issue, why I thought it would inhibit our foreign policy for years to come and eventually would create more havoc than the fascist and communist dictators. He said he believed my story, but that every solution I offered would enrich the oil companies. It would never sell.

It didn't sell for many years. One reason, aside from the suspicion of self-interest, was that there were virtually no reporters with the background to understand the problem. Eventually, the message got through — although it may have to be learned again when the current glut is no more. But much valuable time and momentum was lost. Business was principally to blame. But the press bore a share of the responsibility. There was a time, as you well know, when few self-respecting reporters wanted to cover business. Business reporting was the Siberia of journalism. Political reporting and foreign correspondence were the Elysian Fields.

Like it or not, however, business is a dominant — perhaps *the* dominant — institution of our society. Our system cannot function well if business does not function well. And business cannot function well, in an increasingly interdependent economic and political system, unless the American people understand and support greater cooperation between business and government. And the people will not understand unless there is a knowledgeable and responsible business press to educate them.

So it comes back to professionalism and civility — professionalism so that the raw material of our history can be known; civility so that people can hear it.

The Gerald Loeb Awards and the high quality of the recipients here tonight give me confidence that the press will be up to the task. Congratulations to all of you. I have been honored to be included among your company. □

THE BOOKSHELF

Are There Videopolitics in the House?

Congressional Television: A Legislative History

Ronald Garay. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1984, \$27.95

by Fred Barnes

In the summer of 1984, Representative Jack F. Kemp of New York was on a speechmaking trip when he was hailed by a passerby who recognized him and wanted to chat for a few minutes. Kemp was obliging, but it turned out that it wasn't the politician or his supply-side economic philosophy that the person was interested in discussing. Rather, it was another Republican congressman. "Do you know Bob Walker?" the passerby asked, with reverence.

Bob Walker? Until a few years ago, he was an obscure congressman, with strong conservative leanings, from rural Pennsylvania. His chief notoriety came from being the only congressman whose brother played in the professional National Basketball Association — Wally Walker. But nowadays all across the country, Bob Walker is an identifiable political personality in millions of households. And the reason is simple. Walker, along with a handful of other aggressive young GOP conservatives in the House of Representatives, has learned how to exploit the gavel-to-gavel television coverage of daily proceedings on the House floor. He is one of the C-SPAN Boys, famous because his speeches to an empty House are broadcast over the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network.

The point here is not that television has transformed the House of Representatives into something fundamentally different from what it was before floor speeches and debates first were televised

in 1979; that hasn't happened. Nor has television changed politics nearly as much as is normally alleged. If it had, untelegenic figures like Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter would never have become president. But television has had an impact, especially on the House, and it isn't exactly what was predicted. Nor is it necessarily a step in the right direction.

The sudden prominence of Walker suggests one effect, namely that the televising of House proceedings, even when it is done only by a small cable network, has created a new pocket of influence in Congress — the C-SPAN Boys. Without television, the dozen or so young conservatives in the group would be figures of no consequence. But C-SPAN has given them a vehicle to reach millions, including President Reagan. "The White House staff protects him from us by sending him upstairs, and he watches us on television," Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia told *The New Republic*. "It saves us cab fare."

Their C-SPAN-created notoriety has drastically increased the visibility and clout inside the Republican Party of Walker, Gingrich & Company. One tangible result of this was the role they were given in the drafting of the 1984 Republican platform. Gingrich and Representative Vin Weber of Minnesota, among others, were on the platform committee, and they exerted outsized influence. More than that, they dominated the press coverage of the platform drafting by their accessibility to reporters. And

they got exactly the kind of platform that they wanted, fervently free-market in its economic orientation and strongly supportive of the conservative position on such social issues as abortion, voluntary school prayer, and busing.

What has been produced, largely thanks to television, is an important new wing of the Republican Party, one likely to be fielding a presidential candidate of its own in the GOP primaries one of these years. That may not happen in 1988 — most of the C-SPAN Boys are disciples of Kemp and would probably back him for the presidential nomination — but it will come no later than 1992. One of the rules of television is that politicians who are on television a great deal start thinking about the White House. And only one House member was on television in 1984 more than Gingrich — Geraldine Ferraro.

One of the House leaders most wary of bringing television into the chamber was Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts. And his worst fears have already been realized, at least so far as he personally is concerned. In their speeches aimed at the C-SPAN audience, the young conservatives take particular delight in baiting O'Neill and other Democratic liberals. One day in the spring of 1984, Gingrich delivered a harsh attack on his liberal foes, suggesting they were weak-kneed in the face of communism. O'Neill was furious, and a few days later he ordered the television cameras to scan the House gallery to show that practically no other House members were around when the C-SPAN platoon took the floor. Then, he rose to denounce the Gingrich attack as "the lowest thing that I have ever seen in my thirty-two years in the House."

While this fusillade may have made O'Neill feel better, the C-SPAN Boys were delighted, too. The attack meant that they had arrived, and it showed that their goading had gotten to O'Neill. Further, O'Neill suffered the embarrass-

ment of having his speech declared out of order, since it was a personal attack in violation of House rules. In short, the entire episode was a boost for the C-SPAN Boys and a humiliating experience for O'Neill, all the result, whether direct or indirect, of the decision by the House to allow the proceedings to be televised.

I am not suggesting here that the C-SPAN Boys have done anything wrong. They just happen to have spotted a ripe political opportunity before anyone else and seized on it. Rather, I would simply argue against the knee-jerk idea that the more of public affairs that is televised, the better. In truth, when television was unleashed on the House, nobody knew what would develop beyond the certainty that grandstanding on the House floor would increase. If what has resulted is an improvement on the past, that is merely a coincidence.

Other members of Congress in addition to O'Neill were leery of the role television might play. And Ronald Garay, an assistant professor of journalism at Louisiana State University, fully lays out their qualms in his brief, interesting account of how television intruded into congressional affairs. First, committee hearings were made available for television, then the proceedings on the House floor were. Now, the pressure continues for Senate debates to be televised, if only to allow senators to regain the pre-eminent position in Washington politics that they lost when television came to the House floor.

Two of the more cogent observers of television coverage of Congress are Senator Russell Long of Louisiana and Professor Michael Robinson of George Washington University. Long is an unswerving foe of televised Senate proceedings, and he rejects the argument that television might prompt senators to improve the quality of their speeches. "The greatest surplus commodity we have in the Congress," he said, "are speeches that need never have been made, speeches that fail to improve on silence." Besides, senators won't address their colleagues, he said; they'll try to use television to reach their constituents back home.

For his part, Robinson has formulated his First Law and Second Law of Video-

politics. Both have been borne out by the experience of televised proceedings in the House. The first holds that "television alters the behavior of institutions in direct proportion to the amount of coverage provided or allowed; the greater the coverage, the more conspicuous the changes." The second states that "television alters the popularly perceived importance of coverage provided — the greater the coverage, the more important the institution and its members appear to be." Quite clearly, television has changed the behavior of Walker, Gingrich & Company, as well as O'Neill. And it has also given the sparsely attended proceedings on the House floor an importance that they never had.

The rule that ought to be remembered when considering more television coverage of public affairs is this: what television touches, it automatically hypes. The routine event, once given full treatment on cable or network television, becomes swollen with false significance. It also becomes a stylized event, largely stripped of spontaneity. That didn't used to be the case of congressional debates, but it is now in the House. And the Senate may follow.

One measure of television's impact on politics is the sad state of presidential debates. Television has made them into another cheap drama for viewers. Political fads are created by the debates and just as swiftly exorcised. In 1984, the debates were touted as the most important events in the campaign. Were they? In the first one, President Reagan talked in halting fashion and looked old and tired. Hence the age issue arose. In the second debate, he talked more coherently and looked chipper. Hence the age issue evaporated. But in fact, nothing had really happened, except that Reagan had tossed off a bad performance and a good one. The campaign was brought to a halt for a month to accommodate the debates, but they produced little heat, no light, and lots of idle talk about who stumbled and who didn't. Is this what folks expected when televised debates were first proposed? I doubt it. But then I doubt that the television proponents had any idea at all what they were getting the country into. □

Fred Barnes, Nieman Fellow '78, is national political reporter for the Baltimore Sun.

California's Chandler Dynasty

The Life and Times of Los Angeles

Marshall Berges. Atheneum, New York, 1984, \$17.95

by Mary Ellen Leary

Newspaper editors will find rewards in reading Marshall Berges' new book, *The Life and Times of Los Angeles*, and reporters also will benefit. The latter will find a strong impetus to seek a job on the space-generous, well-edited Los Angeles mega-press. Editors will find useful trade secrets.

The book brings up-to-date the story of *The Los Angeles Times* and its zoom from a Hollywood scandal sheet and

Republican Party Machiavelli to a respected and financially successful newspaper in the same years that saw so many publication giants wither.

Early periods of tempestuous growth for *The Los Angeles Times* were in step with the phenomenal growth of the city. Others have chronicled the epochs of publishers Harrison Gray Otis, 1882-1917; his son-in-law Harry Chandler, 1917-1944; grandson Norman Chandler, 1944-1960. If you missed such reading, this book covers the bases, though it is

not as stylistically rich as, say, David Halberstam's *The Powers That Be*, or as thoroughly documented as Carey McWilliams' historically important accounts.

Berges' aim is to relate the latest and most refreshing period in the journalistic dynasty, the publisher years of Otis Chandler, from his taking up the reins in 1960 at the age of 32 to 1980 when he moved on to be editor-in-chief and chairman, leaving publisher responsibilities to Tom Johnson. The latter is a Lyndon B. Johnson protégé whose talents impressed Otis and have served the *Times* well. But Otis remains the dominant figure in the paper's sustained development.

The present-day creative and hard-driving editors of *The Los Angeles Times*, the columnists, the variety in sections and departments, the standards of abundant, detailed, and balanced reporting, the attention to business news, regional news, and to independent coverage of international news — all of this is in place today through decisions made by Otis Chandler. But that he knew enough to make them is due to his father, Norman. The same week that Otis was mustered out of the Air Force in 1953, his father gave him new orders: a seven-year training period at the paper, step-by-step through every department.

In his first years at the helm, Otis Chandler recognized the competition all the American press faced from radio, television, and news magazines not only in news coverage but also and most critically, in advertising revenue. Yet this was the period when he set the *Times* on its course towards top quality. That route necessitated increasing expenses for the editorial production on a scale never before attempted by the *Times* nor, probably, in so short a span, by any other newspaper.

No details are offered about the impact of this decision on the Chandler fortune, the huge landholdings, the El Tejon ranch, the family investments, whether in start-up contributions or the ultimate financial rewards. Although Otis does remark that his family disagreed "endlessly" with his editorial policies, "they never disagreed with the

financial results."

How did Otis Chandler go after income to underwrite his aspirations for the editorial department? On a blackboard in his office he kept figures of costs versus earnings from classified ads, display ads, street sales, home circulation, the tally of stops and starts, and each departmental expense — not monthly, not weekly, but daily. (I have worked on a newspaper that went belly-up largely for lack of just such careful bookkeeping, so I have a keen sense of the editorial department's need for business support and promotional assistance.) Attention to market research, to the newest technological improvements, constant watchfulness for efficiency — this was the base on which Otis built the *Times*' editorial improvement. This section, together with discussion of personnel policies, is of almost textbook quality.

But, unfortunately, the book is one-dimensional. It does not, as it seems to promise in its title, reach out to the life of the Los Angeles community nor does it adequately cover the editorial life of the *Times*. Its author is a specialist in biographical sketches, having done cover profiles of Ronald Reagan, John Kennedy, Dag Hammarskjöld, and others for *Time* magazine. In this volume he hones in close to Otis Chandler as person and prime mover at the paper. Omitted is perspective on the *Times*' impact on its home community or on the state of California, as well as insight into major reportorial achievements or editorial direction.

Also, the Otis record suffers from uncritical praise. Not that the paper's history doesn't rate applause for its turnabout from the swaggering, politically domineering, but parochial journalism of Los Angeles' self-satisfied 1920's to today's conscientious, careful, and creative newspaper of world importance.

But a reader yearns for background on important changes in editorial direction. One example, evident to every Californian, is the transformation of the paper's arch conservatism to moderate Republicanism. Another is the relinquishment of editorial dominance in party politics by withdrawal from endorsements in major

state and national contests.

Berges quotes from an internal memo Otis sent to his father, asserting that newspapers today cannot "wall off" large segments of the community because they hold differing points of view. "A metropolitan newspaper cannot survive as the voice of a small minority. . . . If we demonstrate an automatic political bias in favor of a particular cause or group, we thereby relinquish our most important asset — the integrity and credibility of the *Times* . . ."

This policy had a dramatic and immediate consequence for the 1974 gubernatorial contest. At a crucial time, it deprived the Republican candidate, Houston Flournoy, of anticipated backing against his novice Democratic rival, Jerry Brown. Neither at this point nor subsequently do we learn from Berges what effect this non-endorsement policy has had on the state or on the paper's readership. A journalistic innovation, it is too important for the brief and often anecdotal references accorded it.

Similarly, the paper's retreat from a vehement conservative position to a careful objectivity provokes questions. The change occurred at a time when Southern Californian Ronald Reagan and many of his Los Angeles team were leading the nation to the far right. Berges devotes about two pages to the *Times*' development of a five-part series exposing the Birch Society, despite Chandler family members' involvement in it. But he fails to convey the powerful reach that the far-right, hate-mongering organization had on public life in California. It was a bulwark for Nixon; it defeated the able Republican Senator Thomas Kuchel; it seeded the "impeach Earl Warren" movement, and planted on California for eight years a State Superintendent of Public Instruction who was a radical conservative. How did it happen, one yearns to know, that in the course of such a trend the *Times* grew purposefully moderate?

Another facet of the internal history of this newspaper is its relationship to organized labor. The present status gets no illumination. It was initially, as Berges says, "the fountainhead of anti-union sentiment in booming Los Angeles."

Because of the tragic 1910 bombing of the *Times*' plant, which took twenty lives and sent the union activists, the McNamara brothers, to prison, the *Times* for decades has symbolized resistance to labor organization. What of today? Berges makes only peripheral references.

The author quotes Otis in early efforts at forcing profits: "We set a policy that encouraged workers to cooperate with the installation and use of new equipment. On many papers the unions fight bitterly against labor-saving devices, but we told our employees in effect: 'Look, we are not going to terminate any permanent, full-time people. . . . our permanent employees (if replaced by machinery) will be retrained to other crafts. . . .'"

Whether any unions at all are recognized at the *Times*, how they are fended off (higher than scale pay?), and whether it is true, as the quote above suggests, that the absence of unions accounts significantly for the *Times*' success — all are questions that remain unanswered.

The author loses another opportunity for pointing out the paper's editorial significance when he notes briefly, almost casually, the death last year of *Times* reporter Dial Torgerson in cross fire at the Honduras-Nicaraguan border. But Berges tells nothing of the fresh and informative reporting Torgerson and others had been doing among El Salvador and Nicaraguan peasants which made the *Times* a leader in Latin American coverage. Nor did he analyze the paper's editorial approach to the administration's policy in that part of the world. One wonders also what the *Times*' role was when the educational crisis in Los Angeles spurred the nationwide resistance to busing.

Nonetheless, journalist-readers will enjoy the anecdotal accounts of various specialists, columnists, and editors and their part in the operation of such a high-powered plant. For instance, Art Seidenbaum was hired to write about culture. He says: "The emphasis on culture rapidly became more and more sociological and less and less artistic because the *Times* itself was growing so quickly under Otis. That is, instead of one art critic, there were soon two. In-

stead of one drama critic, two or three. Jazz had been one of my passions, but all of a sudden there was a jazz critic. Suddenly there was also a writer specializing in higher education. . . ." As the staff enlarged, Seidenbaum found his field narrowing.

Robert Scheer's account of developing a story about Mexican border immigration problems suggests both the patience of his editors and the amplitude of their purse. After an immense amount of work, travel, interviewing, research, study, he finally did the writing at home because he was more comfortable there.

One pioneering venture began with Otis' proposal for a media critic who would report on the press, television, advertising — the gamut of today's communications world. David Shaw has

developed fascinating news in this field, at times irking many writers on his own paper. At one point in his column he even pondered on editorial policies supporting water development in the state which he suggested might well favor the Chandler family farms. Otis shrugged off complaints.

Good reading is in this volume. almost mandatory for those interested in how to balance a major newspaper's accounts. However, there are aspects of *The Life and Times of Los Angeles* left untold. They are waiting, no doubt, for another book. □

Mary Ellen Leary, Nieman Fellow '46, is a contributing editor to the Pacific News Service.

Miscues for Mirth

Humorous Illustration and Cartooning

Roy Paul Nelson. Prentice-Hall Inc., New Jersey. A Spectrum Book. 1984, \$12.95 (paperback)

by Ron Javers

In the land of the serious, the funny man — or woman — is sovereign. And with things getting seriouser and seriouser every day, it's no wonder we pay men and women like Joan Rivers and Eddie Murphy such big money for a few laughs. Show me the newspaper wire editor who's not on the lookout for "brighteners" to run along with the day's bombings and body counts or the editorial page editor who's not looking for Art Buchwald, Andy Rooney, Arthur Hoppe & Company's copy to lighten the load of misery, contention and angst on the op-ed page, and I'll show you a couple of stuffed shirts who aren't really trying. Most of us in the word-and-picture business do try, with some regularity, to find and print the humorous or the offbeat, the column or drawing that

makes the reader pause and ponder, "Life may well be nasty, brutish and short, but have you heard the one about. . ."

The trouble with being funny in such a serious world is that it isn't easy. One person's yuk is another's yawn — especially when it comes to the world of cartoons and illustrations. How many of you out there subscribe to the *New Yorker* magazine? Raise your hands. Ah, good, a large number. Now. How many of you *read* the damned thing? How many have been able to figure out all those short stories that seem to end right in the middle? Ah, not so many hands. Now. How many of you who subscribe to the *New Yorker* regularly leaf through and look at the cartoons? Great show of hands. These, after all, are some of the funniest cartoons in the upper-middle-class world. How many of you know that the *New Yorker* employs one of the

funniest men in the upper-middle-class world just to see that the right captions go with the right cartoons? Not so many. The funny man's name is Peter DeVries. You've doubtless read some of his very funny books, but the little-known fact remains that for thirty years, winter and summer, DeVries has been showing up at the *New Yorker* offices two days each week to write, read, and edit cartoon captions, and in this capacity he has probably brought more laughter to the lives of the upper-middle class than any other editor or publisher in America.

Humor is such an abiding and important topic that whole books have been written attempting to explain why one line or picture evokes a smile or a laugh while another does not. Unfortunately, the book under review, *Humorous Illustrations and Cartooning*, is not one of them. It is not very humorous or very clever or even very useful. It is, instead, one of those books concocted by publishers and journalism professors who have managed to hypnotize each other into believing that the world awaits their work. In seeking the widest possible waiting world the author and publisher of this volume say on the cover that it is aimed at "editors, advertisers, and artists," three constituencies that on first glance, would seem to have very little in common. On deeper consideration, the glance becomes confirmed belief. I had my own misgivings corroborated when I showed this book to a respected magazine art director. The art director wrote this memo to me:

"An illustrator came in to see me with his portfolio the other day. I really failed to understand what his work was all about. Somehow, I had the same feeling with this book. The illustrator seemed to be in his mid- to late-40s and he was dressed like a struggling office supply salesman. His work has been published in many notable magazines, but his portfolio presentation of his work would be an embarrassment to a recent graduate of any respectable art school. There was no method, no real care in his presentation. He had a bunch of drawings, tear-sheets, and Xeroxes pasted up on boards. I couldn't relate to the man or

to his work.

"I asked a colleague who had studied at the Rhode Island School of Design what he thought of the illustrator's work. He, too, felt as though he was missing something. Could it be that we both missed the Golden Era of Cartoon Illustration and no one told us about it? Does that era still linger on or is there a good reason why no one told us about it?

"My colleague is a talented illustrator and his drawings are very funny. But he couldn't understand what this book was trying to do. I couldn't understand what it is trying to do, nor do I think the majority of illustrations in the book are funny. The design is bad. According to the bio on the back cover, the author has written numerous books on design and is a design consultant. What does he

know that I don't? How come I don't get it?"

I told my art director, who is very serious about his own often very funny work, not to worry because I didn't see the purpose of this book either — unless it could in some way give guidance to a high school student who may be interested in a career as an illustrator. People already in the business, at almost any level, likely have gone beyond the rather elementary nature of the material here. The only funny thing about this book is how it got published in the first place. □

Ron Javers, Nieman Fellow '76, is editor-in-chief of Metrocorp, which publishes Philadelphia magazine, Boston magazine, and Manhattan, inc.

Books received for review at Lippmann House

The Kennedy Crises: The Press, the Presidency, and Foreign Policy by Montague Kern, Patricia W. Levering, and Ralph B. Levering. The University of North Carolina Press

A Writer's Guide to Word Processors by Shirley Biagi. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

The Elements of Editing: A Modern Guide for Editors and Journalists by Arthur Plotnik. Macmillan Publishing Company

Understanding Television Production by Frank Jezzi. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

The Black Book of Polish Censorship translated and edited by Jane Leftwich Curry. Random House, Inc.

As Good as Any: Foreign Correspondence on American Radio, 1930-1940 by David H. Hosley. Greenwood Press

Right Brain — Write on!: Overcoming Writer's Block and Achieving Your Creative Potential by William L. (Bill) Downey. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Technical Writing for Beginners by Winston Smock. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

The Chilling Effect in TV News: Intimidation by the Nixon White House by Marilyn A. Lashner. Praeger

Groping for Ethics in Journalism by H. Eugene Goodwin. Iowa State University Press

The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Fifth Edition) by Edwin Emery and Michael Emery. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Understanding New Media: Trends and Issues in Electronic Distribution of Information edited by Benjamin M. Compaine. Ballinger Publishing Company

The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I by Alfred E. Cornebise. Greenwood Press

Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising by Kathleen Hall Jamieson. Oxford University Press

The Rights of Free Men: An Essential Guide to Civil Liberties by Alan Barth, edited by James E. Clayton. Alfred A. Knopf

Norman Cherniss, 1926-1984

Norman A. Cherniss, executive editor of *The Press-Enterprise* and a journalist who won national respect, died on October 3, 1984, of a heart attack. He was 58.

Journalists from around the United States and friends in Riverside lauded Mr. Cherniss as a champion of high standards of journalism and the legal rights of the press. They spoke sadly of the death of the small, pipe-smoking man who used his dry sense of humor to make serious points about journalism, the profession that consumed his life.

"He was recognized by editors all across the country for his remarkable candor and his tremendous integrity because he was straightforward in exposing the flaws in what we do," said John Seigenthaler, editorial director of *USA Today* and editor and publisher of the *Tennessean* in Nashville.

"He had an ability to say what he believed with compelling logic and devastating satire that made what he said all the more difficult to ignore. He stood for what was the best in American journalism even though he came from a smaller newspaper in terms of circulation."

During Mr. Cherniss' thirty-one years at *The Press-Enterprise*, the last thirteen as executive editor, the newspaper achieved a number of successes and won a number of honors. It won the Pulitzer Prize for Meritorious Public Service in 1968. Last January, it won a landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision establishing the public's constitutional right to attend criminal trial proceedings.

"*The Press-Enterprise* has suffered a monumental loss," said Howard H. Hays, Jr., *Press-Enterprise* editor and publisher, who hired Mr. Cherniss.

"Norman Cherniss was an inspired editor. His talents were so unique and so totally committed to journalism that he established a national reputation from a paper of modest size.

Contributions in lieu of floral tributes may be made to the First Amendment Fund of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Donations to the fund may be sent in care of The Press-Enterprise, Box 792, Riverside, CA 92502.

"His mark is all over *The Press-Enterprise*, and wherever it appears it's a mark of quality," Hays said. "Going on without him will not be easy, but we're thankful for his example and the tradition he established."

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Mr. Cherniss was born in Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he went to work as a sportswriter for a community newspaper when he was 15. He graduated from the State University of Iowa in 1950. While in college, he wrote editorials for the *Des Moines Register and Tribune*. For two years after graduating he was editorial writer for the *Evansville (Ind.) Courier* before coming to Riverside.

He practiced his craft in Riverside County, but his interest in journalism took him around the United States. He was a Haynes fellow at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1960-61. He was a visiting professor in residence at the Columbia School of Journalism in 1969-70 and guest lecturer for journalism courses at the University of Southern California and U.C.L.A.

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There are many editors in the United States who are known for zealous defense of the First Amendment right of a free press.

Norman A. Cherniss was among them. But he carried additional baggage;

he insisted that the press should be just as zealously responsible in the way it exercised that right.

Reporters who worked on stories under Mr. Cherniss' direction knew what that sensitivity to responsible journalism entailed. There always seemed to be one more phone call to make, one more document to search out, one more attempt to elicit a reply from a reluctant subject of an accusation.

Besides his administrative duties, he remained active writing and editing editorials. He worked until the evening of his death.

—Excerpted from article by Bob Pratte, *Press-Enterprise* staff writer.

PRESS-ENTERPRISE EDITORIAL PAGE
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1984

Norman Cherniss, journalist

Ordinarily when a significant event happened at the newspaper, it was assumed that Norman Cherniss would write the editorial. He was that kind of editor, a writing editor, and, when it came to editorial writing, he was better at it than anyone else hereabouts.

His death was sudden — and it wasn't. He had had heart trouble for some years and his friends and associates were regularly telling him, and each other, that he ought to take care of himself.

Norman Cherniss left much to this newspaper, more than we can completely summarize or perhaps fully understand at this time. He didn't leave his own editorial obituary, though.

It can be said that he could not abide triteness, one of the most damning words in his vocabulary. And he could not stand over-statement: With him, something was never "the best;" he'd say that it "wasn't the worst."

So he might have said that he was not the worst executive editor the paper has ever had — he and those around him wryly knowing he was the only executive editor the paper ever had. And he might not have objected to it being said this newspaper is diminished today. He could have said that because it's true.

The news columns today will report perhaps the first major story this newspaper has published in years in which he has not had a direct hand in reviewing: Those columns will tell of his thirty-one years with *The Press-Enterprise*, coming here as an editorial writer in 1953, serving as editor of the editorial page (a title, and a job, he retained to the end) and, since 1971 as executive editor.

News and newspapers were the professional centers of his life — newspapers in all shapes, sizes and degrees of quality. But it was *this* newspaper which was *his* newspaper. It was his newspaper in the sense that he thought that all those who worked for the newspaper should think of it as *their* newspaper.

He had numerous opportunities to go elsewhere. He chose to stay in Riverside because of the newspaper to which he gave his loyalty, and because of the community and its people. He liked Riverside. Something of his Iowa background was always with him, and he traveled extensively around the country, but, without a trace of boosterism in him, he held Riverside in deep affection.

In large measure because of his associations and associates nationally, his reputation in journalism and other circles, this newspaper in Riverside has enjoyed a prominence beyond its circulation size or area. Often, Riversiders who traveled in these circles would come home and comment how well regarded Norman Cherniss was where they went. And each sounded as if he and she were reporting back something new.

He could have had another career in academia or the law and probably distinguished himself equally. He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, where he studied constitutional law. The law, and particularly the Supreme Court, remained important to him. He was proud

of the part he played in the court's landmark decision this year on opening jury selection to the public.

A number of people will remember him in a number of ways. No doubt the most common reference will be to his wit and his professionalism — and his intelligence. There were, too, his high standards and his kindness. He was the sort of person that many people would try to be around.

For his interests were as extensive as his personal library. Sports and movies, music and quotes, history and television, food and politics. He was an interesting man.

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Let him write the conclusion to this editorial. It is taken from a commencement speech he gave four years ago to the School of Journalism, U.C. Berkeley, "Whatever Happened to Journalism?"

In that conversational style which was his even when writing, he tries to tell the graduates that it's not all journalism out there in the world of journalism — he cites the time he spends on a department coffee fund increasingly in arrears — and ends talking about his contemporaries and — we think — about himself:

"This is your day, of course, *your* commencement, but cheered as I ordinarily am by the bright-eyed, the young and coming, I think I'll break with tradition here and pay special respect to the practitioners. I'm talking about the genuinely seasoned journalists who — normal skepticism and old and new burdens and 'distractions' notwithstanding — keep their zest, their enthusiasm for what they're doing, their profession, their craft, their calling. And though — whatever it is — they have 'been there before,' continue to perform and produce, unawed by the new challenge. 'Whatever their commitment to the tried and true, they're willing to explore the bold and the new.'

"I can explain it, I think, by borrowing again, this time from some anonymous person's description of life in the French court under one of the Louis: It may not be the best life, but it spoils you for any-

thing else. For those who belong in it, I think that's true of journalism."

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Howard Simons on Cherniss

Norman Cherniss and I were Nieman Fellows in 1958-59. We remained close friends from that time to the sad day in early October when he died. There was not a better friend. There was not a better journalist. There was not a funnier person.

Dan Bernstein, a young reporter on Norman's *Riverside* (Calif.) *Press-Enterprise*, kindly sent me a note and the obituary and editorial and "a copy of Norman's employment application which was filled out (apparently under duress) about ten years after he signed on with the *Press-Enterprise*."

The application is vintage Cherniss. Where Norman had to fill out the "Typing" portion of the application, he listed his speed as "lightening." [sic] For military service, he listed U.S. Navy. "What branch of Service," asked the application. "Worst," said Norman. For his previous employment he gave the following reasons for leaving the four jobs he held prior to joining the *Press-Enterprise*:

Employer #1 — "hatred, misunderstanding and education"

Employer #2 — "hatred and misunderstanding"

Employer #3 — "misunderstanding"

Employer #4 — "hatred"

And, he ended his application with these comments:

"Having gone to all this bother, I still wonder if it is worth it. Especially since I do not yet consider myself a permanent employee. I assume the personnel manager does not yet consider himself a permanent employee either. I rather hope things do not work out for him."

On October 3, 1984, things did not work out for Norman. His death is an intolerable loss.

—H.S.

News from Lippmann House

Two additional journalists from overseas have been appointed Nieman Fellows for the academic year 1984-85. They are:

Ching-Chang Hsiao, 58, special reporter with *Wen Hui Daily*, Shanghai. Hsiao holds a degree in law from Nanking University. At Harvard, he will concentrate on the development of arts and literature of China.

His Nieman Fellowship is partially supported by the Asia Foundation.

Vicente Verdu, 37, editor-in-chief/Opinion Pages, *El Pais*, Madrid, Spain. Verdu holds degrees from Escuela Periodismo in Mass Media Communication and Macroeconomics. He will undertake a project at Harvard to consider the changes that technology in the United States has brought about in the everyday life of people in this country and in Spain.

Verdu is the twelfth European journalist to be appointed a Nieman Fellow under sponsorship of the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

The Chinese and the Spanish journalist joined the Nieman Class of 1985 in September. The appointments of their twelve American colleagues and five from other nations were announced earlier in June. The foreign countries represented in the class also include New Zealand, South Africa, France, Denmark, and Canada. □

James C. Thomson Jr., Curator of the Nieman Foundation since 1972, resigned to join the faculty of Boston University as Professor of International Relations, Journalism, and History. His new appointment became effective September 1, 1984.

Thomson is serving as director of the Institute for Democratic Communica-

tion, founded at the College of Communication in 1973 to bring practitioners and critics of journalism together to consider First Amendment issues.

He also will run a monthly graduate student colloquium on current topics relating to journalism, and plans to teach courses in East Asian history and journalistic practice in addition to his administrative duties.

Beginning in January 1985, he will offer, through the School of Journalism, a comprehensive course reviewing American coverage of the Chinese Revolution and Vietnam War — a course designed to make a generation of young Americans aware of profound influences and policy decisions still felt throughout society.

Along with his Boston University professorship, Thomson remains an officer of Harvard University as Associate in the

John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research.

A noted expert in East Asian history and specifically modern China, Thomson has served as special assistant to the Under Secretary and Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs and staff member of the National Security Council during the Kennedy-Johnson years. He won an Emmy Award in 1972 for his role as a consultant and commentator on President Nixon's China trip for ABC television, and his articles have appeared in numerous magazines, newspapers and scholarly journals. His 1968 prize-winning *Atlantic* essay, "How Could Vietnam Happen?" appears in numerous anthologies.

Thomson is the author of *While China Faced West* (1969) and, most recently, co-author of *Sentimental Imperialists* (1981).

Conscience at the Crossroads

continued from page 4

a year and reports on the persecution of writers and journalists, and prints the work of banned writers.

"Briefing Papers," issued by the organization approximately every month, are urgent one-page reports on the harassment, arrest, detention, and disappearance of journalists and writers the world over.

Commitment, then, is the antidote to indifference. In this issue of *Nieman Reports* we introduce committed writers.

Murray Seeger documents his charge that the U.S. coverage of the presidential campaign was poor and inaccurate.

David Lee Preston describes his colleague's investigation of police dog use

in Philadelphia.

James Brann points to major stories missed by the press.

Thornton Bradshaw says that business corporations and the media need to understand each other.

Jose Luis Cabaco of Mozambique pleads for objective and informed reporting on his country.

Sovietologists in a panel discussion echo his sentiments but with regard to the Soviet Union.

Watson Sims tells of an exchange visit between editors from the U.S. and the USSR.

Chilean journalist Maria Olivia Mönckeberg brings fresh news about the Pinochet regime and its containment of the press.

Detachment is not in these pages, and there's not a frailty in the lot.

—T.B.K.L.

NIEMAN NOTES

This batch of Nieman Notes seems to include a high proportion of wedding and baby announcements. Proliferation of the clan is both our salvation and our comfort. We anticipate that before too long, the next trend will be the presence of second-generation Niemans. Agnes and Lucius should be pleased.

— 1955 —

ARCH PARSONS writes: "To update your records — I'm working part-time as a copy editor for the Baltimore *Sun* — about four days a week as sort of utility infielder: main news business and sports desks; assistant national editor and assistant foreign editor, and occasionally makeup (only one of these, of course, on any given day). The rest of the time, when I'm not loafing, I work on a couple of personal writing projects that are best left vague until and unless they produce something publishable. I came back to the East last year after a couple of years as a visiting professor of journalism at Michigan State University, to which I fled after *The Washington Star* folded."

ANTHONY LEWIS and Margaret Hilary Marshall were married September 23 in a ceremony at Land's End, the home of Dr. and Mrs. Calvin H. Plimpton, in Osterville, Massachusetts, on Cape Cod. Dr. Plimpton is the newly elected president of the American University of Beirut.

The bride, who will retain her name, is a partner in the Boston law firm of Csaplak and Bok. The groom is a columnist for *The New York Times*, a visiting Lecturer on Law at the Harvard Law School, and the James Madison Lecturer at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

The *New Yorker* of November 5, 1984, carries an article by Lewis, "Annals of Law: The Sullivan Case."

— 1959 —

NORMAN CHERNISS, executive editor of *The Press-Enterprise* (Riverside, California), suffered a fatal heart attack on October 3, 1984. See page 65.

— 1962 —

EUGENE ROBERTS, executive editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, in October headed a panel on libel that was the key session at the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association's annual convention in Boca Raton. He warned the members about the increasing tendency of public officials to use libel suits to further their own political aims. There is a trend, he added, for some private foundations to encourage litigation by offering legal and financial assistance to public figures suing the media. New strategies are needed to combat the problem, he said, and suggested that publishers develop a "cadre of expert witnesses who are credible" in explaining newspaper editorial operations to libel trial jurors.

— 1970 —

WALLACE TERRY, Gannett Professor of Journalism at Howard University, Washington, D.C., is the author of *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans*. Published in September by Random House, the book is the subject of a half-hour PBS documentary on *Say Brother* on November 8, featuring an interview with the author, as well as discussions with local veterans.

— 1971 —

MICHAEL KIRKHORN wrote in October: "I've taken a job (on leave of absence from the University of Kentucky School of Journalism) as editor and writer for this company's two magazines. My wife Judith works here as a training manager. We're a couple of floors apart in one of those office compounds AT&T built in this pretty countryside when it moved much of its activity from the city a decade or so ago.

"I'm still working on a book about journalism — a sort of anthropological study of what I call the journalistic identity. . . . and I wrote a long piece on Walter Lippmann for the newspaper journalists' volume of the *Dictionary of American Literary Biography* which recently was published by Gale. I find

that career endlessly interesting; I wish Steel had not beaten me to the biography."

— 1973 —

WAYNE GREENHAW wrote in September: "As you can see, I am now editor and publisher of *Alabama* magazine, also part-owner, etcetera, which includes washing dishes and waxing floors. We are doing a strong job with the magazine, which is 48 years old and going strong. We have doubled the circulation in the past seven months and look forward to a successful 1985.

"I also have a new book out. *Flying High: Inside Big-Time Drug Smuggling* was published this month by Dodd, Mead, and it too is going great guns. I just got back from a publicity trip through Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, then down to Atlanta and Miami. Whew!

"Sally is still enjoying being a judge. She is doing a super job at it, and the attorneys all seem to think she is very fair and good at dealing out justice."

— 1975 —

EUGENE PELL, who has served since last year as deputy director of the Voice of America, has been named associate director of the U.S. Information Agency in charge of broadcasting, the White House announced in October.

Pell is a former correspondent for WCVB-TV in Boston, and for NBC News.

— 1979 —

KATHERINE (KAT) HARTING and Robin Travers announce the birth of Owen Harting Travers on September 9, 1984. He weighed 8 lbs. 6 ozs.

Most recently his mother was a producer for the PBS series *On the Money*; his father was the builder of the 120-foot sailing schooner *Massachusetts*, under the auspices of the New England Historic Seaport. The family makes their home in suburban Boston.

— 1980 —

BISTRA LANKOVA is the new Reading Room Assistant in the Harvard Theatre Collection. Most recently she worked as literary coordinator-dramaturge for the Playwrights' Platform, Boston, and as a researcher for the Milman Parry Collection at Harvard University.

JUDITH STOIA, managing editor of *Chronicle* news magazine on Metromedia's WCVB-TV in Boston, has been made executive producer of specials and special products. She will continue as managing editor of *Chronicle*, a post she has held since its debut in 1982, and will advise on the selection of topics and content.

— 1981 —

FLEUR DE VILLIERS, political correspondent and columnist for *The Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, returned to Harvard University in October. She spoke about new developments in Southern Africa at the Business School and at the Center for International Affairs. She arrived after two weeks in Germany where she had been visiting at the invitation of the German government to speak with policy makers, academics, and institutions. Following her brief stay in Cambridge, she traveled to Washington, D.C., and spoke at Georgetown University, at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and at an open forum at the Department of State. As the final leg of her journey, she boarded the presidential plane to cover the national elections.

— 1982 —

JOHANNA NEUMAN of Gannett News Service writes that she has been "named number two White House correspondent for Gannett and *USA Today*." She adds, "Hopefully this will vindicate the members of the selection committee who voted for me. In any event, it should be fun."

— 1983 —

KARL IDSVOOG, formerly a segment producer for NBC's short-lived news magazine show, *First Camera*, in Washington, D.C., has set up a video production and broadcast consulting business in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, in partnership with

Kathy Appel, his wife, and Randy Larsen, their long-time friend. The name of the company is Direct Video Marketing, and the three partners produce tailor-made video messages to help sell a product or service.

Their address is DVM (Direct Video Marketing), P. O. Box 745, 493 South Street, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin 53147.

News has come from Susan and BRUCE STANNARD in Australia on the birth of their first child, Georgia Louise, on August 20, 1984. She weighed 8 lbs.; her mother writes, "We have the most beautiful baby daughter. She has a mass of dark brown hair and really lives up to the saying, 'Monday's child is fair of face.'"

Her father is the author, most recently, of *Ben Lexcen: The Man, The Keel and The Cup*, published by Faber and Faber. The book describes international ocean racing and the drama of the America's Cup competition in 1983 when Australia's vessel, *Australia II*, with its winged keel defeated America's boat, *Liberty*.

— 1984 —

PAUL KNOX, former news editor of *The Globe* in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, has been made a foreign affairs reporter for that newspaper.

RANDOM NOTES

In a simple double-ring ceremony in the Oxnam Chapel of Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C., MOLLY SINCLAIR ('78) and JAMES McCARTNEY ('65) were wed on September 8.

The bride is consumer affairs reporter for *The Washington Post*; the groom is in the Washington bureau of Knight-Ridder Newspapers, Inc.

Among the wedding guests were JONATHAN YARDLEY ('69) and his wife Sue Hart. He is a book reviewer on the staff of *The Washington Post*; she is in charge of public relations for Johns Hopkins University.

The McCartneys made a detour on their wedding trip to Michigan to visit Sandra and KEN FREED, Molly's Nieman classmate and a *Los Angeles Times*' foreign correspondent.

The McCartney's new address: 4456 Springdale Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

* * *

According to our records, this is the second instance of a marriage between Nieman Fellows. The first, in 1982, was the wedding of Ellen Goodman ('74) and Robert Levey ('69); both are employed by *The Boston Globe*.

* * *

Nieman Fellows were well represented during the presidential and vice-presidential debates that were nationally televised in October. FRED BARNES ('78) was one of three journalists questioning presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale on October 7; JACK WHITE ('77) was one of four journalists on the panel to question vice presidential candidates George Bush and Geraldine Ferraro on October 11; and HENRY TREWHITT ('54) and MORTON KONDRACKE ('74) were two of four panelists for the October 21 program on the presidential debate.

Barnes is national political reporter for the *Baltimore Sun*; White is with Time-Life News Service; Trewhitt is diplomatic correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*; and Kondracke is executive editor of *The New Republic*.



For reasons of safekeeping, as well as limitation of space, the files from the first twenty-five years of the Nieman Fellowships have been prepared for permanent residency in the Harvard Archives at Pusey Library.

A stack of forty boxes dominates the corner of an upstairs office here, as the historic material awaits transport out of Lippmann House. Up to this time, dossiers of the approximately 400 Niemans (the Classes of 1939 through 1964) have been lodged in this office, and already it seems hollow without them.

Now they go off for a life of their own, but we will have access. At any rate, the permanency of a climate-controlled atmosphere — among friends forever — is more than the rest of us may be able to anticipate. Pax.

—T.B.K.I.—



The frolic architecture of snow.

—R.E. Emerson



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