



# PRESS/POLITICS

News from the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy  
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

## Friends Join in Tribute to Marvin Kalb



*Ted Koppel, Natalie Jacobson, Marvin Kalb, Dean Joseph Nye*

On June 1st, 150 friends gathered at the Kennedy School to pay tribute to Marvin Kalb and his twelve years of leadership as director of the Shorenstein Center. A special panel discussion on "The State of Journalism" opened the celebration. Judy

Woodruff, CNN; Daniel Schorr, NPR; Ted Koppel, ABC News Nightline; E. J. Dionne, Jr., *Washington Post* and Brookings Institution; Martin Nisenholtz, New York Times Electronic Media Company; Natalie Jacobson, WCVB-TV; and Tom Patter-

son, Kennedy School, joined in a discussion moderated by Kalb. Discussing the pressures of commercialism and the impact of new technology, panelists were urged to formulate new journalism standards to reflect these enormous changes.

Cocktails and dinner followed the panel discussion. Hosted by Graham Allison, the former Kennedy School Dean who, twelve years ago, lured Marvin Kalb to the Shorenstein Center in the first place, tributes were delivered by Dean Joe Nye, Walter Shorenstein, Ted Koppel, Bernard Kalb, Fred Schauer and Dick Cavanagh.

July 1 will mark the first day of Kalb's new position, as executive director of the Shorenstein Center's Washington office. Tom Patterson will serve as acting director, while the search for a new director of the Shorenstein Center continues.

## KENNEDY SCHOOL ESTABLISHES KALB PROFESSORSHIP



*Nader Ansary, Marvin Kalb, Nina Ansary, Dean Joseph Nye*

In a surprise addition to the Kalb Tribute on June 1, Nina Ansary announced a gift by the Ansary Foundation to fund a chair in Kalb's name. The Marvin Kalb Professorship of Global Communications will provide for teaching and research on issues related to Kalb's distinguished career in journalism and scholarship, with an emphasis on the role of global communications and contemporary technology and its impact on policy and leadership. Ambassador Hushang Ansary, the Foundation's benefactor, has served on the Shorenstein Center's Advisory Board since its inception. His children, Nina and Nader, are President and Trustee of the Foundation, respectively. Kalb was delighted to learn of the new professorship. "I am deeply grateful to the Kennedy School for honoring me in this way. And I am deeply grateful to Ambassador Ansary for providing the financial support for this newly endowed chair." The chair represents the fifth endowed chair to be affiliated with the Shorenstein Center.

## A Letter From Marvin Kalb

By the time the next newsletter appears, the Shorenstein Center will (should) have a new Director. The process of selection at a university is always complicated, and it often takes too long. Still, if the selection is a good one, then it's worth the effort. I am confident that the new Director will prove to be an excellent leader of the Shorenstein Center, as it enters a new century of challenges in the field of press and politics.

For me, the past 12 years have been exciting, fruitful and surprising. When I arrived here, the Center was alliteratively promising—press, politics and public policy; but an empty vessel represented its accomplishments. Over the years the vessel has been filled with courses, programs, faculty, fellows and, very recently, a new Washington office, which I shall run as Executive Director starting on July 1, 1999. This is a rich mix of achievements and opportunities.

In June, 1987, shortly after assuming my new responsibilities as Director of the Shorenstein Center after a 30-year career as a network news correspondent, I was invited to speak to a group of diplomatic correspondents in Washington. What could I tell my former colleagues? "T's" came to mind—to be precise, five "T's." *Truth, Trust, Technology, Triviality, Till*. They are as valid for this valedictory as they were then.

**Truth**—Journalists are truth-tellers; they are not supposed to lie, be deceitful, underhanded, slippery, as they pursue and tell the news. Increasingly, television news magazines boast about their use of hidden cam-

eras, about trespassing and lying to gain admission to a story. That's wrong.

**Trust**—Journalists are losing the trust of the American people. They are no longer considered sentinels of the people but rather buddies of the establishment. Expected to speak truth to power, they pal around with people who buy the newspapers rather than the people who watch the news programs.

**Technology**—Once there were three networks; now there are many more, including cable operations that function 24-hours-a-day. Once major cities had a dozen newspapers; now most of them have one or two, associated with news conglomerates far more interested in their bottom lines than in public service. Finally, on top of talk-talk radio and television, the Internet has emerged as yet another force in the dissemination of information; the only trouble is no one is certain any longer about the reliability of the information. What are we to do?

**Triviality**—During the Cold War, journalists worried, as did the citizens they served, about the possibility of nuclear war. Now, with the end of the Cold War, we are all besieged by trivial pursuits ranging from Versace-style murders to Monica-style sexcapades. And there appears to be no brake on journalistic intrusion into the private lives of public officials. The more, the merrier. That too is wrong. Everyone is entitled to a degree of privacy.

**Till**—The economic underpinning of journalism has profoundly changed in recent years. No longer do families own large



Marvin Kalb

news enterprises, except for the Sulzbergers of the *New York Times* and the Grahams of the *Washington Post*. Huge corporations own the newspapers and networks. The drive for maximum profit determines the content and quality of the news. Local news operations in Boston have profit margins larger than 40 percent, and they are striving for more. It is sad to add that they want higher profits not to produce better news but simply to boast of higher and higher margins.

The five "T's" remain an accurate barometer for measuring the health of American journalism. Each "T" represents a problem, a result or a challenge. In 1987, the situation was serious. In 1999, it is grave.

May I add a sixth "T"? *Tribute*; I would like to add a tribute to all the wonderful students, staff, and faculty who together have enriched my life and contributed to a wonderful and important research center in ways that are mysterious but vitally important to the health of democracy both here and abroad. Keep up the good fight, and good luck to you all.

## The Theodore H. White Lecture

David Broder, Pulitzer-Prize winning columnist and correspondent for the *Washington Post*, delivered the 1998 Theodore H. White Lecture at the Kennedy School on November 12, 1998. The speech, "Who Are We? What Are We Doing Here?" was a journalistic response to Admiral

Stockdale's memorable question during the 1992 vice-presidential debate. Broder discussed the current state of journalism, as we crept toward the impeachment of President Clinton. A seminar held the following day included panelists Elizabeth Arnold, NPR; Blair Clark, CBS News, retired;

Candy Crowley, CNN; Albert Hunt, *Wall Street Journal*; Michael Sandel, Harvard University; and Matthew Storrin, *Boston Globe*. The session was moderated by Marvin Kalb. A transcript is available on the Center's Web site.



*Walter Shorenstein and Graham Allison*



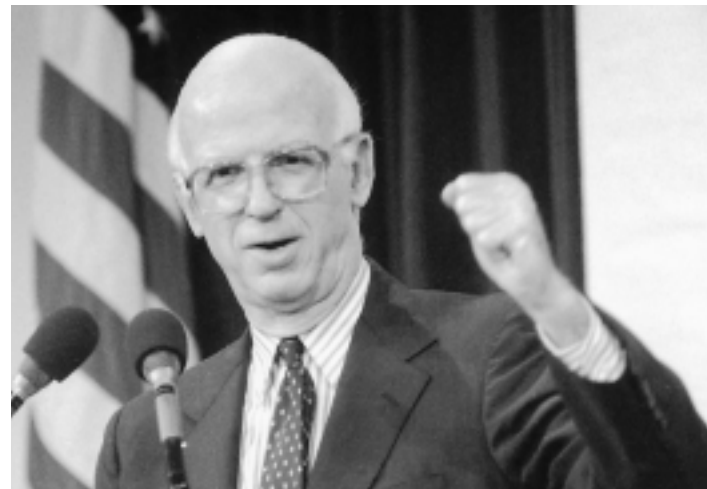
*Candy Crowley and David Broder*



*Elizabeth Arnold and Blair Clark*



*David Broder, Al Hunt and Walter Shorenstein*



*David Broder*



*Barrie Dunsmore and Candy Crowley*



*Lorie Conway, Martin Burcharth and Tom Patterson*

## 1998–1999 Events

Throughout the year, the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy presents lectures and discussions in a variety of formats. Most of the events, primarily for the Kennedy School and Harvard community, are open to the public. *Brown Bag Lunches*, informal sessions for the community, and *Roundtable Seminars for faculty and Fellows*, are held weekly throughout the school year.

### Brown Bag Lunches

"The Aftermath of Lies? An Imperfect President for an Imperfect People?" —James Carroll, author, columnist, *Boston Globe*. 9/22/98

"Journalists and Scandal: Watchdog or Junkyard Dog?" —Mark Jurkowitz, media writer, *Boston Globe*. 9/29/98

"Where are we in this impeachment madness?" —Marvin Kalb, Shorenstein Center. 10/6/98

"Spotlight on Kosovo" —Peter Lucas, *Boston Globe*. 10/13/98

"A View from the Eye of the Hurricane" —Frank Sesno, Washington bureau chief, CNN. 10/20/98

"A Foot in Each Camp: Print vs. Television" —Gloria Borger, *U.S. News & World Report*. 10/26/98

"Global Electronic Media and Foreign Policy" —Ralph Bogleiter, World Affairs Correspondent, CNN. 10/27/98

"From Titanic to Private Ryan to Geraldo: Pop Culture and the 1998 Elections" —Steven Stark, freelance journalist. 11/3/98

"Covering the Summit in a News 'Blackout': The Middle

East Peace Agreement" —Andrea Mitchell, NBC News. 11/9/98

"Images from the White House" —Diana Walker, White House photographer, *Time* magazine. 11/17/98

"Ken Starr and the Constitution" —Floyd Abrams, Attorney. 11/24/98

"Media and Government in Israel: Love and Hate" —Nachman Shai, director general of the Second Television and Radio Authority in Israel. 12/2/98

"The Role of the Media vis a vis the Internet" —Thomas Middelhoff, Bertelsmann, Inc. 12/7/98

"Public Opinion in Russia" —John Marttila, Marttila Communications Group. 12/8/98



David Talbot, *Salon magazine*

"Ten Things the Media Is Doing Right" —David Nyhan, *Boston Globe*. 2/9/99

"Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death" —Susan Moeller, Brandeis University. 2/10/99

"Public Press, Private Lives" —Deborah Mathis, Gannett News Service. 2/16/99

"Journalists, Child Soldiers and Mercenary Armies" —Elizabeth Rubin, contributing editor, *Harper's* magazine. 2/23/99



Deborah Mathis, *Gannett News Service*

"How the Politician Deals with Today's Press" —Senator David Pryor. (D-Arkansas, 1979–96). 3/2/99

"Violence, Free Speech and the Media" —Sissela Bok, writer and philosopher. 3/9/99

"The Kosovo Crisis" —Noel Malcolm, former chief political columnist, *Daily Telegraph*; former political editor and foreign editor, *The Spectator*. 3/16/99

"Israel's Upcoming Election" —David Makovsky, diplomatic correspondent, *Ha'aretz*; special correspondent, *U.S. News & World Report*. 3/17/99

"Revolving Door: From Politics to Journalism to Politics and Back" —Bill Press, CNN's *Crossfire*. 3/24/99

"Religion and Politics: Does the Press Get It Right?" —James Wallis, editor, *Sojourner*. 4/13/99

"The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics and the Triumph of Anglo-America" —Kevin Phillips, editor-publisher, *The American Political Report*. 4/20/99

"Against the Tide —One Woman's Political Struggle" —Harriet Keyserling, former representative, South Carolina House of Representatives. Co-sponsored with the Women and Public Policy Program. 4/22/99



**Frank Sesno, CNN**

"New Frontiers, New Media"  
—David Talbot, *Salon* magazine.  
4/27/99

"All Errors Are My Brother's"  
—Marvin Kalb, director, Shorenstein Center and Bernard Kalb, co-host, CNN's Reliable Sources. 5/4/99

"Was the Golden Age of Journalism So Golden?" —Evan Thomas, Assistant Managing Editor, *Newsweek*. 5/12/99

"Issues in Journalistic Ethics"  
—Alex Jones, professor, Duke University. 6/1/99

"A View From Afar: The Press Is Not as Bad as You Folks Think" —Michael Gartner, editor, Ames (Iowa) *Tribune*. 6/8/99

"Washington Reporting: The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly"  
—Ken Bode, Dean, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University. 6/9/99

### Research Roundtable Seminars

"Trust in Government, Trust in the Media; Is There a Connection?" —Stephen Bennett, University of Cincinnati. 9/28/98

"Campaign Spending, the Media and Voters" —Stephen Ansolabehere, MIT. 10/5/98

"The Internet and Political Power" —Richard Davis, Brigham Young University. 10/19/98

"Rousseau Meets Opinion Research: Re-introducing the General Will" —Susan Herbst, Northwestern University. 10/26/98

"The Backdoor and the Backlash: Campaign Finance and the Politicization of Chinese Americans" —Taeku Lee, Kennedy School of Government. 11/2/98

"The Decline of Foreign Press Coverage" —Jonathan Randal, *Washington Post*. 11/9/98

"An Emerging Dynamic: State-Media Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa" —Sean Jacobs, Institute for Democracy, South Africa. 11/16/98



**Harriet Keyserling, columnist and politician**

"Should American Journalism Make Us Americans?" —Jim Sleeper, 11/23/98

"White House Daily Information Sessions: The Gaggle for the Briefing" —Martha Kumar, Towson University. 11/30/98

"Coverage of Belarus by the International and National Press" —Kate Ivanova, Minsk State Linguistic University. 12/7/98

"The Role of Journalists in Comparative Perspective" —Wolfgang Donsbach, Dresden University of Technology. 2/22/99

"The Dynamics of Political News Frames: A Longitudinal Analysis of Television Presidential News" —Matthew R. Kerbel, Villanova University. 3/1/99

"On Message: The Impact of Campaign Communications in Britain" —Pippa Norris, Shorenstein Center. 3/8/99

"The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?" —Matthew McCubbins, University of California, San Diego. 3/15/99

"Editorial Doves and Hard News Hawks: The Media and Peace" —Gadi Wolfsfeld, U.S. Institute of Peace; Hebrew University. 3/22/99

"Our President/Their Scandal: The Role of the British Press in Covering the Clinton Scandals" —Michael Goldfarb, National Public Radio. 4/5/99

"Speechwriting, Speechmaking and the Press: The Kennedy Administration" —Thomas Benson, Pennsylvania State University. 4/12/99

"The Saigon Correspondents: Who Were They?" —William Hammond, U.S. Army Center of Military History. 4/19/99

"State into Public: The Reform of Public Television in Central and Eastern Europe" —Alina Pippidi-Mungiu, Romanian National School of Politics and Administration. 4/26/99

"Bad News is News: The Birth of New Journalism in China" —Xiguang Li, Xinhua News Agency. 5/3/99

## Spring 1999 Courses

*Courses taught by Shorenstein Center faculty included the following, available to all Kennedy School students.*

The year-long **Research Seminar in Press, Politics and Public Policy**, led by Phil Sharp and Keith Reeves, examined selected topics in the field of press, politics and public policy. Students conducted individual, original and in-depth research and wrote a major paper.

**Creating Legislation: Congress and the Press**, was taught by Alan Simpson, now serving as director of the Institute of Politics. Simpson introduced students to the mechanics of getting legislation created and signed into law. Emphasis was given to exploring the human dynamic involved in making legislation—the contentious process of reconciling a multitude of differing and extreme viewpoints.

Bob Blendon and Keith Reeves taught **Public Opinion, Polling and Public Policy** as a hands-on experience. The course looked at how polls, as a tool for measuring public opinion, can be used to improve election campaigns, public policy decision-making, and media coverage. It exposed students to the current range of polling in electoral politics and on public policy, affirmative action, and welfare policy.

Robert Blendon also taught **Political Analysis and Strategy for U.S. Health Policy**. The



*Richard Parker*

course offered political and analytical insights into understanding U.S. health-policymaking and developing strategies that influence health policy outcomes.

Thomas Patterson taught two sections of one module in the core curriculum. **Political Action Skills** provided instruction in three areas: persuasive communication, organizing, and negotiation and bargaining. It focused on techniques and practical applications.

Richard Parker taught **Religion, Politics, and Public Policy**. The course examined the extent and shape of American religious beliefs today and how they continue to arise in law, politics, economics, the press, public morality and social policy. Students discussed their own sense of belief and faith and, in examining case studies, explored the appropriate role of religion in modern public life.

**Gender, Movement Politics and Public Policy** was taught by Anna Greenberg. Students examined the influence of grassroots politics, feminist social movements and women's organizations in particular, focusing on the policy making process and policy outcomes. Theoretical and political considerations were applied to a number of policy areas including reproduction, workplace, education, women in the military and social welfare policy.

Taeku Lee's course on **Race, Public Opinion, and Public Policy** examined the origins of racial and ethnic tensions in the public's attitudes about racial groups, political values, and public policies. It not only asks why race-based group differences in public opinion persist, but also seeks out the historical origins for policy debates today on issues such as affirmative action, welfare reform, immigration policy, crime prevention, racial redistricting, and electoral politics.

## Donsbach Serves as First International Lombard Professor



*Wolfgang Donsbach*

Wolfgang Donsbach was the Visiting Lombard Professor for the Spring 1999 semester. He was the first occupant of the chair from outside of the United States. A well-known scholar of international political communications, Donsbach taught a seminar on “Journalists and the Political Process” and enhanced the Center with his intelligence, enthusiasm and collegial spirit.

Donsbach is a professor of communication and director of the department of communication at the Dresden University of Technology. His research interests are primarily in the study of political communication, particularly the role of journalists in a comparative perspective. He also has done extensive research on people’s exposure to political news. Donsbach received his Ph.D. from the University of Mainz, Germany. In 1989–90 he was a fellow at the Center for Media Studies at Columbia University, and in 1990, a visiting professor at Syracuse University. He was president of the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR, 1995–96) and division chairman of Political Communication in the International Communication Association (ICA, 1996–98). He is the author of several books and many articles.

The Laurence M. Lombard Visiting Professorship was established by the family and friends of Mr. Lombard, a director of the Dow Jones Company for 28 years. It is designed to help build a substantial body of knowledge about how the intersection of press and politics influences public policy.

Pippa Norris taught **Democracy and Democratization**, a course which examines the concept of “democracy” in terms of competition, participation and the civil and political rights. The course takes a broadly comparative perspective, looking at both established and emerging democracies from all regions of the world.

Visiting Lombard Professor Wolfgang Donsbach taught a new course on **Journalists and the Political Process**. The course focused on the impact of the news media and journalists on the political process in the U.S. and in comparison to other

countries. The objective was to make students sensitive to the role that journalism plays in democracies, to help them understand how news decisions are made, and to inform them about how news values have changed over time. The course began by examining different notions of the role that the news media can play in a democracy. It identified factors influencing journalists, news decisions in the political realm and how news content relates to the real world and to public opinion. Questions included journalistic values, press-politics relations, editorial structures in newsrooms, or the objectives of the media organizations. In a more

general perspective, the course explored changes in news and news systems and how these changes are affecting the political process.

**Experts, Expertise and Public Policy** was taught by the triumvirate of Professors Frederick Schauer, William Clark, and Sheila Jasanoff. The course explored the nature of expertise, and the processes and institutions through which it is used in making and legitimating public policy. It considered the status and use of expertise from a variety of substantive areas, including the law, natural sciences, and economics.

## Spring 1999 Fellows

The Shorenstein Center selected five Fellows for the Spring 1999 term. All have worked long hours on their chosen topics and presented their early findings at a Shorenstein Research Roundtable Seminar. Brief biographies and soundbites from their papers appear below.

**THOMAS BENSON** is the Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Rhetoric at Pennsylvania State University



**Thomas Benson**

where he teaches courses in rhetorical theory and criticism, political communication, presidential rhetoric and media criticism.

His research at the Shorenstein Center focused on "Speechwriting, Speechmaking and the Press: The Kennedy Administration."

"In its coverage of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the press accepted President Kennedy's assumption of responsibility as a sign of character and it accepted the idea that the invasion had lessons to teach as an indication that, even if Kennedy had made a mistake, he was capable of learning from it. Although the theme of ulterior motives was clearly available to the press in April 1961, it was largely avoided. But the rhetorical foundation of the ulterior motive theme was being laid. The press had a well-developed vocabulary

of appearance vs. reality, actions vs. motives, words as the sign of inner states, and the personalization of the presidency. In the case of the Bay of Pigs invasion, this vocabulary was employed largely to support the President as the personification of the interests of the United States. All of these themes, which were employed to convey positive news about President Kennedy, were readily available to have their valence changed from positive to negative when Vietnam and Watergate undermined trust in presidential leadership."

**MICHAEL GOLDFARB** was the London Bureau Chief for National Public Radio until February, 1999. He has been filing for NPR's foreign desk since



**Michael Goldfarb**

1991 on British politics, the monarchy, Northern Ireland, European culture, and the conflicts in Bosnia and Iraqi Kurdistan.

Goldfarb's research is titled, "Our President/Their Scandal: The Role of the British Press in Keeping the Clinton Scandals Alive."

"Why should the British press play the active role it has in the uncovering of the Clinton scandals? I believe the answer lies in the evolution of the political media establishment in Britain and the U.S. In recent decades there has been a remarkable coming together of this establishment. At a time when the political center of gravity in the

U.S. has shifted away from the Northeast to the south and west and Britain finds itself being pulled inexorably towards a Europe with a single currency, it is remarkable that the think tanks for the Democrats and Republicans, Labour and Conservative Parties, the media consultants who serve them and the journalists who cover them have converged in the middle of the Atlantic sharing information, techniques and sources."

**WILLIAM HAMMOND** is a senior historian at the U.S. Army Center of Military History. He is the author of *Reporting Vietnam: Media and Military at War*. Hammond's paper explores the question, "Who Were the Saigon Correspondents?"

"It was relatively rare for a reporter from a mainstream news organization to spend extended



**William Hammond**

periods in the field because the war did not lend itself to that kind of reporting. There was no front line in Vietnam and therefore no way

that a reporter could be certain that action would occur. A journalist could spend days in the field and not encounter combat. It was not good for his employers, who spent great sums maintaining him in Vietnam, or for the future of his career . . . they congregated in Saigon, where all of the news finally came to rest."



**XIGUANG LI** is a prize-winning journalist in China, where he reports on a range of stories for the Xinhua News Agency. He is



**Xiguang Li**

the author of two books, *Demonizing China* and *How Bad is China?* His research project is "Great Sound Makes No

Noise: Creeping Freedoms in the Chinese Press."

"Many Chinese journalists and intellectuals assume that the society will eventually have to liberalize. The biggest threat to their personal freedoms, many say, would be a souring of Chinese-American relations that might strengthen conservative forces here. It may be true that social evolution, propelled by economic and technical change, will eventually bring a free and democratic China, though there is no sign this will happen any time soon. People must understand that the role of the Communist Party is written into the Constitution. . . . And the press cannot violate these cardinal principles."

**ALINA MUNGIU-PIPPIDI** is a psychiatrist and holds a Ph.D. in social psychology. After the fall of Ceausescu, she left medicine and became a full-time



**Alina Mungiu-Pippidi**

journalist and political author. She was editor-in-chief of the national news weekly and news director of

Romanian public television. She is professor of political psychology at the National School of Politics and Administration. Her paper is called, "State into Public: The Reform of State TV in Central and Eastern Europe."

"Our model can be reduced to the idea that public television should be competitive and that it can be competitive and retain its role and identity unless these are so broadly defined they become an unbearable burden. Furthermore I doubt any good

television can be made today in total disregard of competition. The most impressive television I saw in my life was the competition between BBC and ITN on the night of the 1997 British elections. Had BBC been alone in the market I have no doubt their performance would have been good, but not extraordinary as was the case. The European all-news channel, Euronews, was a terrible channel despite resources invested in it when it was a pure public channel, heavily protected by member states who were also its only shareholders: once ITN took up its management and 49 percent of its shares, competition with CNN became a principal target, and Euronews started to do live coverage and improve its programs. Good television is competitive television, and European states that are partners in Euronews implicitly admitted public companies must be run as private companies when entrusting the channel's management to ITN."

## Fellowship Applications

Applications are encouraged for Shorenstein Center resident Fellowships from experienced journalists and scholars in the area of press/politics. Fellows conduct research and write a paper on a topic of mutual interest, and participate fully in all Center events and activities. For more information and an application, please contact Edie Holway at (617) 495-8209.

## Goldsmith Awards

November 1st is the submissions deadline for the Goldsmith Prize for Investigative Reporting and the Goldsmith Book Prize. Applications for the Goldsmith Research Awards are accepted throughout the year. Please call (617) 495-1329 for further information.

## Excerpts From Lesley Stahl's Remarks at the Goldsmith Awards Ceremony

"What disturbs me is that the public today now thinks of the media as one big salad bowl and in the bowl we have John Hockenberry, we have Rush Limbaugh, we have Robert Novak, we have Patrick Buchanan (he is a politician, he's running for president, he's the media) and then you have the mainstream press. And the public now sees us all as one thing and they don't trust us, they think we're all opinionated, they think every time we go on television we are out there pushing a point of view. And it is because the reporters are going on the same shows as the politicians and the opinionaters, if there is such a word. . . .

"One thing that has intrigued me . . . has been Hillary Clinton's game face that she has worn throughout the scandal.



*Lesley Stahl and Dean Nye*

And in fact, let's include the president's game face in this discussion. I'm talking about how they have both smiled their way through everything that has been thrown at them.

"And I say smiled, and I call it a game face or a mask because



*Lesley Stahl*

Dale Bumpers, former Senator from Arkansas, went on the Senate floor and said that the scandal has decimated the Clinton family and that the president was distressed at the effect it was having on Hillary and yet they still smiled.

"Now of course I'm telling you this on a day when the *New York Post*, and I brought it just in case you didn't see today's *Post*, has a story called "Chillary." Have you seen this? "Chillary." The *New York Post* says the reason Hillary Clinton didn't go to Latin America with the President was because she refused to stay in the same room with him and if she got her own room it would come out in the press and she just didn't want to have the controversy.

"But really the reason I'm showing it to you is I thought Hillary had never taken off her game face and here the *New York Post* has found, I think, the one time the game face wasn't

there. She is so furious at him she looks like she's going to hit him, you can see it, and he's going to hit her back. But forget that for a minute because mainly we saw the smile.

"Now I have a theory about what those faces that the Clintons wore throughout this past two years, what these faces said to us, what the subliminal message was . . . they said 'we're not distressed, we're not guilt ridden, we're not agonized, so why should you be?' And it had the effect, I think, or at least contributed to a minimizing, a diminishing of the scandal in our eyes. Because I do think, when we see pictures on television that we get a reaction, a gut reaction to them. We don't always think up here what they mean, but we get a sense of them in our stomachs."

## Miami Herald Wins Goldsmith Prize for Investigative Reporting



**Miami Herald reporters accept the Goldsmith Investigative Reporting Prize. Andrés Viglucci, Joseph Tanfani, Manny Garcia, Dan Keating**

On March 11, Dan Keating accepted the \$25,000 Goldsmith Prize for Investigative Reporting on behalf of a team of reporters



**Alix Freedman, Will Englund and Lesley Stahl**

at the *Miami Herald*. "We would like to say that we have completely cleaned up Miami, but maybe that will have to be another year." In keeping with the original intent behind the Prize, the *Miami Herald* won their prize for a series of stories on "Dirty Votes: The Race for Miami Mayor," which had a direct impact on public policy. Police arrested nearly 40 people, based on the investigation by the *Miami Herald*.

"The *Miami Herald* deserves the honor for its dogged and determined reporting of the fraud and corruption in the most recent Miami elections," said

Marvin Kalb, director of the Shorenstein Center. "This is the second time the *Miami Herald* has won a Goldsmith Prize, and it deserves it."

The other finalists for the Prize for Investigative Reporting were: William Allen, Kim Bell and Andrew Skolnick of the *St.*

*Louis Post-Dispatch*

for "Health Care Behind Bars;" Will Englund and Gary Cohn of the *Baltimore Sun* for "The

Shipbreakers;" Alix Freedman of the *Wall Street Journal* for "Population Bomb;" Bart Gellman of the *Washington Post* for "Shell Games: The Search for Iraq's Hidden Weapons;" and Michael Isikoff of *Newsweek* for "President Clinton and the Monica Lewinsky Scandal."

In addition, the \$5,000 Goldsmith Book Prize was awarded to James Hamilton, assistant professor of public policy and economics at Duke University, for *Channeling Violence: The Economic Market for Violent Television Programming* (Princeton University Press, 1998). The Prize is awarded to the book that best attempts to improve the quality of government



**James Hamilton**

or politics through an examination of the press and politics in the formation of public policy.

The Goldsmith Awards Program also grants monetary awards for post-graduate research on the intersection of press and politics. This year, fourteen people were given Goldsmith Research Awards.

In addition to these monetary prizes, the Goldsmith Program also presents the Goldsmith Career Award for Excellence in Journalism, which was given this year to Lesley Stahl, co-editor of "60 Minutes" and a CBS News correspondent. Stahl gave the keynote address at the Goldsmith Awards Ceremony in March.

The annual Goldsmith Awards Program receives financial support from the Goldsmith-Greenfield Foundation.



**Trustees of the Goldsmith-Greenfield Foundation present gift to Marvin Kalb, "Creator of the Goldsmith Awards"**

## Faculty News

**Anna Greenberg** has been selected as a Visiting Scholar by the Pew Research Center on the People and the Press in Washington, DC for the spring of 2000.

Greenberg's article, "Public Opinion Makes Better Sense Without the Opinion Makers," was published in the May 14, 1999 issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

**Maxine Isaacs** has been appointed Vice-Chair of the Visiting Committee of the Maryland School of Public Affairs.

**Keith Reeves** has accepted a new position at Swarthmore College. He has been appointed associate professor of political science and public policy and will lead the college's new research center initiative on social change, politics and public policy.

**Marvin Kalb's** discussion paper, "The Rise of the 'New News': A Case Study of Two Root Causes of the Modern Scandal Coverage," provoked considerable interest. Professor Kalb appeared twice on the *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* to discuss the paper. Frank Rich used the paper as the basis for his column on October 28, 1998 in the *New York Times*.

**Robert Blendon** and his colleagues published an article on "The 60s and the 90s: Americans'

political, moral and religious values then and now" in the *Brookings Review*, Spring 1999.

**Pippa Norris** has published two new books. *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-term Perspective* (eds. Geoffrey Evans and Pippa Norris) was published by Sage in the spring of 1999. Drawing upon the 1997 British Election Study, and the series of ten BES surveys since 1964, *Critical Elections* brings together leading scholars to analyze new patterns of party competition; assess the case for the emergence of new social alignments; and examines the impact of left-right ideology, the key issues of Europe and devolution and the rise of "new politics."

*On Message: Communicating the Campaign* (eds. Pippa Norris, John Curtice, David Sanders, Margaret Scammell and Holli Semetko) was published by Sage in April of 1999. Dennis Kavanagh at the University of Liverpool called *On Message* "the most innovative and comprehensive study of the effects of communications on British voting. It is the definitive guide to the new trends in campaign voting and the media."

Stanton Professor **Frederick Schauer**, in his second year as Academic Dean of the Kennedy School, reports attending 4,369 meetings. In his spare time, he has given lectures on art and the law at the annual meeting of the Association of American Law



**Fred Schauer**

Schools; on legal formalism at the University of Chicago Law School; on the incentives of judges at the University of Florida Law School; and on law and globalization at a Kennedy School symposium in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Schauer also delivered the James A. Moffat Lecture in Ethics at Princeton University on "Obedience to the Law, Obedience to the Courts, and the Obligations of Citizenship." He also delivered a paper on "Can Public Figures Have Private Lives?" to the Social Philosophy and Policy Center Conference on Privacy in Palo Alto, California. The paper will be published in *Social Philosophy and Policy*.

A new book, *Rules and Reasoning: Essays in Honour of Fred Schauer*, has just been released by Hart Publishing. Linda Meyer edited the collection.

[www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol](http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/presspol)

As part of the Kennedy School's new look for its site on the World Wide Web, the Shorenstein Center's site was redesigned as well. New features include a "news window" on the front page, downloadable research and discussion pages, an easy-to-submit Fellowship application form, and plenty of new information previously unavailable on the Web.

## Money, Markets and The News

The Shorenstein Center held its first conference at the Washington site on March 19, 1999.

*“Money, Markets and the News”* focused on how, and how well, newspapers, magazines and television have covered the recent radical changes in financial institutions. Three panels responded to three separate papers written by Shorenstein Center Senior Fellow Richard Parker; Robert Litan, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution; and Jeff Madrick, editor of Challenge



**Kathleen Day,**  
Washington Post

magazine. Franklin Raines, chairman and CEO of Fannie Mae, gave the luncheon address, and Secretary of the Treasury Robert Rubin gave the keynote address.

**An excerpt from remarks made by one of the panelists, Diana Henriques of the New York Times, appears below:**

“This nation has not experienced a revolution. It has in fact experienced a coup. Never before in this century has business, with a capital B, wielded so much unquestioned, unchallenged power in American society. Now to be sure, business

was very powerful at the turn of the century.



**Franklin Raines, Fannie Mae**

But its power was balanced by reformers like Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, the progressive movement, the trust busters and the muckrakers.

And yes, business was powerful at the dawn of the military industrial complex in the 1950s, when you had what I believe is the largest peacetime expansion of defense spending in this nation’s history. But big business, with capital B’s, sat across the table from big labor under the watchful eye of big government.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the power of business, the actions of business, were fiercely questioned by a strong consumer advocacy movement, by implacable public interest legal organizations, and the dawning of the new environmental movement. Today the voice of labor has been reduced to a whisper. The consumer advocates are scattered, fragmented and underfunded. Government as a regulator has become an anathema. Regulation itself is a dirty word.

And big business stands alone on the stage, free at last from any meaningful counter-vailing power of a social or political nature except for, guess who? Us.

As a result, business now dominates the world we cover, our values, our priorities, our agenda, our allocation of resources, to a degree that would have been unthinkable just two generations ago. Whether a journalist today covers sports, health care, prisons and criminal justice, the environment, the performing arts, city hall, public schools, business is there making deals and making money, setting the agenda and, all too often, writing the rules.

Now some journalists, what was your term, paleojournalists, some of us paleojournalists think that it is the duty of a free



**Diana Henriques, New York Times**

press to speak truth to power. If that is the case, some of our most important general interest journalists are speaking to an empty room. The power is in the room next door, in the business pages, where, unfortunately, the

*Continued on page 14*

## Money, Markets and the News, from page 13

traditions of speaking truths to power are far less understood by the media and far more difficult to do.

It is, after all, much to Kathleen Day's dismay, a world without sunshine laws, without open public meeting laws, where whistle blowers are rare and the law is far less hospitable than *Times v. Sullivan*.

And that brings us to what I think is the heart of our problem. While it is certainly true that those journalists who cover business all too often are appallingly ambivalent about the traditional watchdog responsibilities of the fourth estate, it is also true that those journalists who are passionately committed and familiar with our watchdog mission are also appallingly ignorant about business.

Like Ted Koppel, they think financial stories are boring, unless they are decked out with celebrity businessmen and big money gossip. Managing editors, who have, as far as I can tell, unlimited tolerance for arcane stories about congressional redistricting, will dismiss stories about the implications of new electronic stock trading systems as far too complicated.

I submit there is no form of ignorance more widely tolerated in American newspapers than ignorance about business and finance. Ambitious political reporters would never admit to their editors under sodium penitential that they do not know the difference between football and

baseball and have never heard of Mark McGuire. Ambitious sports reporters would never admit in their worst drunken stupor that they don't know the difference between Congress and the Supreme Court, and they have never heard of Janet Reno.

Everywhere in my newsroom and in your newsrooms we meet ambitious journalists who freely admit that they do not know the difference between a stock and a bond and have never heard of George Soros. All too frequently, these journalists are not reporters; they are senior editors.

I know it is fashionable for hardworking journalists to indulge in regular bouts of self-flagellation, and they bring us together for these wonderful activities to do that. And we surely share some of the blame for failing to make business news as lucid, as compelling, as exciting as it deserves to be.

But perhaps we should put just a little bit of the blame for the deficiencies in the coverage of business on the heads of the senior executives and editors of our publications and our television news operations. No reporter in any field can single-handedly command the Page One space or the prime-time news minutes or the generous resources that are necessary to pursue in-depth stories. We rely on our editors. I have been blessed with some good ones.

But we rely on our editors to recognize the importance of the areas we cover, to take an avid

interest in them, not just an obligatory interest, and to give us the space and the money that we need to cover them adequately.



**Robert Rubin**

So let's do a little self-analysis here. The business journalists I know are all avid readers of general interest news. I even read the sports section. But I will bet you hard cash that many, if not most of us, work in newsrooms where few of the editors and virtually none of the reporters working outside the business section actually read their own paper's business sections regularly and with genuine interest.

Business may dominate the American agenda at every corner, in every molecule, but they still think business is boring. That, I think, is the root and branch of our problem. And until the leadership of our profession wakes up to the real role and importance of business in American life, foot soldiers advocating better quality business journalism will be fighting a battle that I don't think we can win."

## Kalb Fund Established



To pay tribute and properly honor his years of service, the Kennedy School is establishing the Marvin Kalb Fund for Press and Politics, a permanent endowment fund at the Shorenstein Center. The Kalb Fund will allow Marvin's presence to continue at the Kennedy School in perpetuity by providing support for the Shorenstein Center to continue innovative research, conferences, symposia, outreach, publications, and new initiatives in keeping with his spirit of professionalism and excellence. Annual earnings from the Fund will support specific projects at the discretion of the Director of the Shorenstein Center. For additional information, please contact Nancy Palmer at (617) 495-8714.

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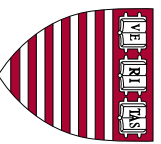
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