

# THE THEODORE H. WHITE LECTURE

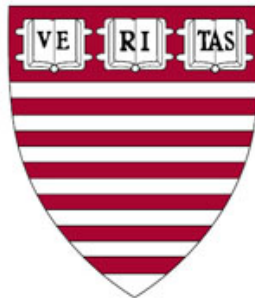
WITH

REVEREND JESSE L. JACKSON

Joan Shorenstein Center  

---

PRESS • POLITICS



• PUBLIC POLICY •

---

Harvard University  
John F. Kennedy School of Government

1996

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

History of the Theodore H. White Lecture .....	3
Biography of Rev. Jesse L. Jackson.....	4
Welcoming Remarks by Dean Joseph S. Nye .....	5
Introduction by Marvin Kalb.....	5
The 1996 Theodore H. White Lecture on Press and Politics “Challenge 2000” by Rev. Jesse L. Jackson.....	6
The 1996 Theodore H. White Seminar on Press and Politics.....	23
Jill Abramson, <i>The Wall Street Journal</i>	
Robert Entman, North Carolina State University	
Derrick Jackson, <i>The Boston Globe</i>	
Julianne Malveaux, Syndicated Columnist	
Carole Simpson, ABC News	
Ronald Walters, University of Maryland	
Bob Zelnick, ABC News	
Moderated by Marvin Kalb	



The Theodore H. White Lecture on Press and Politics commemorates the life of the late reporter and historian who created the style and set the standard for contemporary political journalism and campaign coverage.

White, who began his journalism career delivering the *Boston Post*, entered Harvard College in 1932 on a newsboy's scholarship. He studied Chinese history and Oriental languages. In 1939, he witnessed the bombing of Peking while freelance reporting on a Sheldon Fellowship, and later explained, "Three thousand human beings died; once I'd seen that I knew I wasn't going home to be a professor."

During the war, White covered East Asia for *Time* and returned to write *Thunder Out of China*, a controversial critique of the American-supported Nationalist Chinese government. For the next two decades, he contributed to numerous periodicals and magazines, published two books on the Second World War and even wrote fiction.

A lifelong student of American political leadership, White in 1959 sought support for a 20-year research project, a retrospective of presidential campaigns. After being advised to drop such an academic exercise by fellow reporters, he took to the campaign trail and, relegated to the "zoo plane" changed the course of American political journalism with *The Making of the President 1960*.

White's *Making of the President* editions for 1964 and 1972, and *America in Search of Itself* remain vital historical documents on campaigns and the press.

Before his death in 1986, Theodore White also served on the Kennedy School's Visiting Committee, where he was one of the early architects of what has become the Joan Shorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. Blair Clark, former senior vice president of CBS who chaired the committee to establish this lectureship, asked, "Did Teddy White ever find the history he spent his life searching for? Well, of course no, he would have laughed at such pretension. But he came close, very close, didn't he? And he never quit the strenuous search for the elusive reality, and for its meaning in our lives."

REVEREND JESSE LOUIS JACKSON is a leading American political figure who has played a major role in drives for peace, racial and gender equality, and economic and social justice. Born in 1941, in Greenville, South Carolina, he attended the University of Illinois and subsequently transferred to North Carolina A & T State University. Reverend Jackson attended the Chicago Theological Seminary until he joined Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights crusade where he became an aide to Dr. King. In 1966, he was appointed director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Chicago-based Operation Breadbasket. He was ordained a Baptist minister in 1968. In 1971, Reverend Jackson became founding president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity, later changed to People United to Serve Humanity) a national civil rights organization seeking political, educational and economic opportunities for disadvantaged and minority communities. In 1986, Reverend Jackson founded the National Rainbow Coalition, a national political group which merged with Operation PUSH to form Rainbow Push Action Network in 1996.

Jackson's two Democratic presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988 broke new ground in American politics, mobilizing millions to register and to engage in the political process. Garnering nearly a third of the primary vote in 1988, his candidacy paved the way for black candidates to run for office on the national level. Jackson has traveled widely, developing his national political base and working for human rights and economic justice in countries such as South Africa, Namibia and Angola. In diplomatic efforts, as a private citizen, Jackson helped to secure the release from Syria of a captured Navy lieutenant in 1984 and to bring hostages out of Kuwait and Iraq in 1990. In 1990, Reverend Jackson was elected to the post known as "statehood senator" a position created to advocate statehood for Washington, D. C.

A major component of Reverend Jackson's work has been to encourage American youth to raise personal goals and self esteem while striving for excellence in education, taking responsibility for their own lives, and combating drug use. In addition, he has played an active role in the labor movement, organizing workers and mediating labor disputes. He has been on the Gallup List of Ten Men Most Respected by Americans for 10 years.

Reverend Jackson resides in Washington, D.C. with his wife, Jacqueline Lavinia Brown. They have five children. He is the author of two books, *Keep Hope Alive* and *Straight From the Heart* and is the recipient of more than 40 honorary degrees.

**THEODORE H. WHITE LECTURE**  
**NOVEMBER 14, 1996**

**Dean Nye:** Good evening. I am Joe Nye, Dean of the Kennedy School. And on behalf of the Joan Shorenstein Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy at the Kennedy School, it is my pleasure to welcome you tonight for the seventh annual Theodore H. White Lecture on Press and Politics. Like other endowed lectures at the Kennedy School, the Theodore White Lecture acknowledges and commemorates excellence, in this case the excellence demonstrated by the life and career of Teddy White. I should say that it also represents the type of issue which the Kennedy School is most concerned about, issues which not only relate to academic excellence but also how that academic excellence can make a contribution to our national issues of public policy.

Many people cite the beginning of Teddy White's career in journalism as 1939, when he was a freelance reporter from China, while there on a Sheldon Traveling Fellowship, from Harvard. But others say he really began when he was a paperboy for *The Boston Post*. In fact, it was a scholarship specifically for newsboys, which took Teddy White from Boston Latin to Harvard College in 1932.

While at Harvard he studied Chinese history and Asian languages and graduated summa cum laude in 1938. The following year found him in China where he witnessed the Japanese bombing of Beijing. His earlier plan of returning home after his fellowship to teach Chinese, was abandoned. As he described the experience: "Three thousand human beings died; once I'd seen that I knew I wasn't going home to be a professor."

Following his return after the war, Teddy White contributed to numerous magazines and periodicals, wrote two books on World War III and two works of fiction. And in 1959, he returned to the project for which he is perhaps best known: *The Making of the President 1960*, a chronicle of John F. Kennedy's campaign, which won him national fame and a Pulitzer Prize. Marked by the book's success, he wrote similar accounts of the presidential races of '64, '68 and '72, and in doing so, he is credited with having taught a generation of Americans how their politics worked, and having transformed and energized American political reporting.

Teddy White served on the Visiting Committee at the Kennedy School here, where he was greatly treasured and was involved in the formation of what has become the Shorenstein Center. When this self-described storyteller of elections died in 1986, the world lost an exuberant and vital voice in political journalism.

Now it is my pleasure to introduce to you the person who has developed and built the Shorenstein Center on Press and Politics into the successful institution it now is, the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Press and Politics here at the Kennedy School, Marvin Kalb. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** It's my pleasure tonight to introduce the seventh Theodore White Lecturer. This endowed series, named after one of America's fashioning public policy.

Nine years ago, in this Forum, I did a PBS series called "Candidates '88," 12 hour-long interviews with seven Democrats and five Republicans running for president. Only one candidate refused to take part in the series, George Bush, and, as I recall, he won the election. (Laughter)

I have yet to find any clear connection between his victory and his refusal, as a Yale man, to visit the Kennedy School, which he described at the time as a "liberal boutique." (Laughter)

The first candidate to appear (and it was a spectacular appearance) was the Reverend Jesse Jackson, then making his second run for the highest office in the land. During the 1984 presidential campaign, Jackson had won 3.5 million votes and registered over a

million new voters. In 1988, he won twice as many votes (seven million) and registered twice as many voters (more than two million). As we know, he did not win enough votes to get the nomination either time; but he became a major force in the Democratic Party, and still is. And he moved his agenda for racial, social and economic justice to the forefront of his party's concerns and the nation's conscience.

Reverend Jackson has devoted his life to this agenda of conscience. For more than 30 years, his name has been inextricably interwoven in America's struggle for civil rights. He was an aide to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., present in Memphis on April 4, 1968, when Dr. King was murdered. According to Andrew Young, another aide to King, the scene was awful and bloody. "I can still see Jesse going over, leaning down, placing his palms flat in that pool of blood, and then wiping it down the front of his shirt." Young then went on to say, "We Baptists, you know, we believe there is power in the blood."

There has certainly been power in Jesse Jackson's crusade from that moment on. He once said, "The public world is my home." And so it has been. Jackson has led hundreds, if not thousands, of demonstrations in causes both noble and highly controversial. And there is one cause from which he has never wandered, his determination, springing from roots deeply moral and personal, to challenge young people to stay away from drugs, to complete their educations, to rise from the ghetto as valued and worthy members of society, to, "be somebody," as he has put it. Long before Ronald Reagan pushed the political theme of "family values," Jackson had been preaching this work-and-family message of social conservatism.

He has been described by scholars and biographers as a "populist politician" and a "moral evangelist," dedicated to what he himself has called, "the least of us."

Jesse Louis Jackson was born 55 years ago in Greenville, South Carolina. He attended the University of Illinois and the Chicago Theological Seminary. He was graduated from North Carolina A & T State University. He founded Operation PUSH and then the National Rainbow Coalition, now merged into the Rainbow PUSH Action Network. He is the author of two books, *Keep Hope Alive* and *Straight From the Heart*. He is married and has five children, one of whom is a Democratic Congressman from Chicago.

Racism, religious prejudice, bigotry, bias, they are all the unfinished business of American democracy, and the Theodore H. White Lecturer for 1996, one of the finest orators of our time, has devoted his immense energy to helping eradicate these persistent problems.

Ladies and gentlemen, join me in welcoming the Reverend Jesse Jackson. (Applause)

**Rev. Jackson:** Let me express my sincere thanks, Mr. Kalb, to you for such a kind and generous and thorough introduction, and for our kinship across the years and for our relationship with this institution and this lecture series.

You, Dean, I take you up on your challenge to come spend a week at Harvard to work through some ideas with students and faculty.

To you, Mr. Shorenstein, for whom this program is named and for your thoughts and ideas and for your integrity and for your investment in our youth, and for your sense of conscience. I want you to stand. Give Mr. Shorenstein a big hand. (Applause)

And for the more enlightened activist among us, our economist hero, John Kenneth Galbraith. Why don't you stand please. (Applause)

A call to service. The responsibility to greatness. Leadership for the 21st Century should not be about polls. It must not be about popularity. It has to be about solving problems for people. Dr. King used to say: "Vanity asks, is it popular? Politics asks, will it world Morality asks, is it right?" We need to use Dr. King's test to approach the problems of the coming century.

The presidential campaign we just concluded was mostly about little issues, personality, morality, 20-year-old land deals, tobacco, donations from people with Asian surnames. These are not the issues that will affect your children. Our elections should be about important issues, themes that affect people's lives. You have just witnessed the best election that money could buy, one-and-a-half billion dollars. We must detoxify our democracy to regain our honor.

Real leadership would be debating a different set of issues, the end of the Cold War, the dismantling of the arms race and our conversion to a peacetime economy. Life in the canyon, where welfare and crime have replaced jobs and families and hope. The increasing polarization of wealth in our land, where one percent of the richest Americans earn as much as the bottom 95 percent, the worst inequality since the 1920s. The jail-industrial complex, the fastest growing industry in urban America. The special interest money that dominates and constricts our politics — and that decided most of the close races at the very end last week. Investment and trade policy and the rise of the Pacific Rim.

Rebuilding and reinvesting in urban America. The shield that corporate America hides behind to perpetuate gender and race bias and worker inequality. Mitsubishi, Chevron, Texaco, the auto industry, beverage industry, mass media conglomerates, NAFTA and GATT without labor at the table. These are big issues, issues that affect you and affect your children and the future of our nation.

America's future is not a contest between the *Saturday Evening Post* nostalgia of Russell, Kansas in the 1920s versus the childhood memories of Hope, Arkansas, or even Hot Springs, Arkansas, in the 1950s. (Laughter)

America's future looks more like Atlanta 1996, our Olympic team. America's future is multi-cultural, multi-lingual, it must be schools and not jails. It is young women breaking through glass ceilings to leadership roles. It is rebuilding America from the bottom up not just the top down. It is broadening our democracy to include all our people, not just those that can afford to write a thousand dollar check. Also that one half of our people don't even bother to vote.

Half of all people are Asian, half of them are Chinese. One-eighth of the human race is African, one-fourth of them is Nigerian. There are a billion people in India, twice more than the U.S and the Russian republics combined. We are a great and a God-blessed nation, but we are just six percent of the world's population. English is a great language, but a minority language in this hemisphere, two-thirds of our neighbors speak Spanish in the main and some Portuguese. We represent six percent, the Russian republics six percent. When Clinton and Mr. Yeltsin meet, that is one-eighth of the human race, that is a minority meeting. (Laughter)

Most people in the world today are yellow, brown, black, non-Christian, poor, female, young and don't speak English.

Thus, how absurd it is to vote for NAFTA and GATT one day, and campaign on English-only the next day.

America's future must be a big tent. What is the American Dream? One big tent and under that one big tent, equal protection under the law, equal opportunity, equal access and fair share. That was Dr. King's dream, it is this generation's task, to expand the big tent of America to include all of those who have been historically locked out.

Originally, only white male landowners could vote. Those that wrote the American Constitution had democratic dreams, but were warped by aristocratic culture and could not live above their aristocratic conditioning. The tent must expand, it had to include white males without land, a challenge of class, it had to include African descendants who were brought to this nation as slaves, had to expand to include women, a question of

gender. And thus, at the very founding of our country, there is this matter of classism, sexism and racism. Isaiah Ebbetts said, "A nation born in sin and shaped in inequity." Thus, it is our burden, in each succeeding generation, to make this a more perfect union, to work until we heal that crack in the Liberty Bell that it might be a true sound of justice and hope.

The history of America has been a gradual and uneven extension of democracy to all of its people. There were, and still are, starts and stops. In 1863, Lincoln had the Emancipation Proclamation, followed by the end of slavery and reconstruction. By 1896, 33 years later, the first reconstruction was over, ended by Tim Crow and *Plessy v. Ferguson* and retreating conservative black leadership in 1895.

1896. White sheets, burning churches and defacing synagogues. Blue suits restricting and resisting reconstruction legislation. And black robes cutting back on representation. White sheets, blue suits, black robes, in lock step in ideology, distinguished by their uniforms.

1996. White sheets, burning churches, defacing synagogues. Blue suits rejecting reconstruction legislation. Black robes restricting representation. This is a critical year, 1996, 33 years after the march on Washington.

Six decades of apartheid followed. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954, put America back on the path to a one big tent America.

Until Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, there was this burden of walking on buses. The sign above the driver's head said, "colored seat from the rear, whites seat from the front." She broke the law. Dr. King said to her, "Better that we walk in dignity than ride in shame." They broke the law to make America better.

Until four students in Greensboro, North Carolina, North Carolina A & T, they sat down to get hamburgers, they got handcuffs. Threatened with school expulsion they chose dignity over dollars and degrees.

Until in 1963, Dr. King led the march on Washington, demanding that America cash the check it had promised.

Until Birmingham in 1963, forced the politicians to pass the public accommodations law. In Selma in 1965, the right to vote. An energized people expanded the tent to make America better.

What is this dream? This equal protection under the law, equal opportunity, equal access and fair share? There are those under the tent and others are in the margins. Those who are in the margins, who marched to open the doors, extend the tent, even the playing field, they paid big dues, they have been killed at the gate. Lincoln was killed for trying to open the door, said to be a betrayer. Labor leaders killed at the gate. The Kennedys killed at the gate. Dr. King killed at the gate. Those who would dare open up the gate and even the playing field have met violent reaction at the gate. But they determined the dream was worth marching for, litigating for, even dying for. We sit here tonight in the wake of that dream.

Some have sought to march in the doors and faced resistance, others have chosen to stay in the marches, even glorify the marches. They don't want us, we don't want them. We've got self-pride, we've got self-love. We don't need to be under the tent with them. And they speak of desegregation and integration pejoratively, really it is a cowardly cop-out from demanding fair share. Those who never marched, never voted, somehow accept the benefits of those who do. They sometimes call it cultural nationalism.

I submit to you, wearing kente cloth and some other paraphernalia made in Taiwan does not make one a relevant fighter in this struggle. There must be the burden of demanding that the tent open, the roof be extended, the playing field being evened. We have a right to be at Harvard or Yale, or *The Post* or *The Times*, we have a right to all of the



gifts, opportunities, challenges and burdens our nation has to offer. There are some who get in, from the prerogatives of those who died to open the door, and try to lock others out, it's the Clarence Thomas syndrome. (Laughter)

Your generation must turn away from the meanness of Pat Buchanan and Pete Wilson, who are trying to close the gates to the American dream. Your generation must fight to open the doors to the tent, extend the roof and even the playing field.

In the campaign just passed, the word liberal was distorted, it has been since Nixon and Agnew and especially since Ronald Reagan. They strive to destroy their opposition calling them liberals. The word liberal, to everyone except Senator Paul Wells tone of Minnesota, is an epithet worse than terrorist, or kitty-killer or school-lunch-cutter. (Laughter)

It's a distortion. It's anti-historical. America is a liberal idea. America is not a conservative idea, America is a liberal idea. America is a generous idea. (Applause)

The idea that you could build a nation from the rejected stones of other countries, your poor, your tired, your huddled masses, your excess, your rejected, your illiterate, your down and out, your desperate. And the price of admission is that you yearn to breathe free, not an SAT test. (Laughter)

The price of admission, yearn to breathe free. That's a liberal idea. Everybody is created equal, without advantages of aristocracy or blue blood, we all have one blood, an assumption of one God, one hope, one lifeline; it's a liberal idea. Prince Charles would have to earn his way in America. (Laughter)

He is the beneficiary of a conservative idea. You cannot go from log cabin to the White House and Russell, Kansas to the White House and Arkansas to the White House, and peanut planter to the White House unless there be a liberal idea of openness and opportunity, based upon the work ethic, character and trust. Washington, Jefferson, Paine, Adams, revolutionaries, liberators. The Tories were the conservatives. The abolitionists were liberators. Slaveholders, plantation owners, the conservatives. They have their tradition.

Those that demanded women's suffrage, they were the liberators; those that opposed it were the conservatives. Those who sat down at the auto plant gates in Flint, Michigan, who built the country's labor union, the liberals, the liberators. Those who believed and still believe that the owners should get to run the corporations unchallenged are the conservatives.

Those who stood with Dr. King, the liberators. Those who stood on the other side, those who blocked school doors, many are now running the country, the conservatives, the reactionaries.

Jesus was a liberal. A liberator, an emancipator. Feed the hungry just because they are hungry. Clothe the naked just because their bodies are exposed. Heal the sick without a medical card just because they are sick. Forgive sinners, redeem those who have been banished, let them back in, it's a liberal idea. Would an oppressed people look for a conservative emancipator? It's a contradiction in terms. (Applause)

Jesus was a liberator, Herod was the conservative. Moses, the liberator, organized a union— (Laughter)

—an economic boycott and a demonstration at Canaan. Moses was the liberator, the Pharaoh the conservative. Which side are you on?

Your generation must not be fooled by the misuse of labels. Generosity and compassion are not bygone ideas, they are the basis of America. And they must not be cast aside by those who would steal our history for their own political purposes, those who would dare be academic or intellectual or moral or media, must not surrender to such perverse labels and distortion of our own history as a nation.

The big issues. Why is this important? Because your generation has big issues to debate and to decide. Real issues, not labels.

Life in the Canyon. Chicago. The ballpark, the house that Jordan built and Rodman decorated, the United Center, right south, Comiskey Park, two publicly financed buildings, privately owned. Cook County Jail. Between these three mountains used to be Sunbeam, International Harvester, Zenith, the stockyards, now they are all gone. So, where there once was industry and jobs and schools, tax base and hope, there is now welfare and despair, crime and broken hearts.

Life in the canyon. Disgrace the mothers, label the despaired fathers, lock up the children, I'll save America. Between these two mountains, the canyon. Life in the canyon. Hope in the canyon. Making dried bones live in the canyon. It is America's challenge tonight.

Trade and investment policy. Mr. Dole said, two weeks ago, when he was tired, sinking, desperate. He was driving back and forth to work every day, driving day after day after day, saw some unemployed black men on North Capitol, it broke him up so, full of tears. I need to end affirmative action because I am hurting for these black men on the corner. (Laughter)

First of all, Bob Dole does not drive anywhere, he rides to work every day in a chauffeur-driven limousine, two telephones in the back and tinted windows, so as not to be seen by the public. Looking out of tinted windows, he does not know what color they were in the first place. (Laughter)

Next, if they are unemployed they need more help, not less. If they are unemployed black men on the corner then they are not taking white men's jobs. So, if black men don't have those jobs and white men don't, where did the jobs go? The jobs that used to live in the canyon, those jobs did not leave because of affirmative action, the jobs did not go from white to black or brown, from male to female, New England to Roxbury; where did the jobs go?

They went overseas, chasing cheap labor. They first went to Taiwan and Korea, now even to Mexico, now they are in Indonesia and Burma. They'll soon be in China. Oppressed labor earns 50 cents a day. Our workers cannot compete with 50 cents a day, nor should they have to. We must level the playing field.

I went to Indonesia a few months ago and saw 6,000 women making Nike and Reebok tennis shoes. Thirty cents an hour, \$2.40 a day. Not a single one of them had on a pair of shoes. They could not afford to buy the shoes they were making. They could not watch the Olympics open that day; though they make the televisions there, they cannot afford the television. Two hundred fifty thousand Nike workers in Indonesia, 6,000 in America. They make them there, they sell them here. Profits up, wages down, workers busted.

Where did the jobs go? Ten dollars to make a pair of shoes there, a hundred dollars back here. They focus all the attention on Mr. Riady and some contributor out of Indonesia. But the man who took me around, Mr. Poppahan, is in jail tonight on a charge of treason, for trying to organize a labor union. A charge punishable by death. We couldn't better our journeys to look for Mr. Poppahan in jail. Ms. Megalardi, who is facing interrogation, as loyal opposition. The same *Newsweek* that put Riady's picture on the cover, distorted looking Asian, yellow peril, lackey, had herpes, there is an Asian coming to get us.

Why was there such silence at that Asian bashing by the media?

When Murdoch was giving money to Gingrich for some half a book— (Laughter)

—he was not even an American citizen at that time. No one chased him or tried to intimidate his ethnic roots, and should not have. Or these sugar producers down here in Florida, Cuban exiles, but who are Spanish citizens, to avoid paying their state taxes.

They contributed to both campaigns, nobody chased them down. One week, it's the Latinos, next week it's Asian, next week it's blacks.

Yellow peril, black peril, racism excused by the media. In fact, *Newsweek* participated in it, contributed to it, they went down the names of the rolls, looking for, if your name was Wong or Kim or an Asian surname, they called their houses. *Wall Street Journal* called their houses. Where are you from? How long have you really been here? Where did your money really come from?

Between this imaginary black man that Dole saw on the corner that broke his heart, and chasing down all these Asians, offer conclusions like, this campaign was amazingly free of race baiting. When Dole talked about the imaginary black man, what was he talking about? Between Watergate and the Senate, you don't pass North Capitol, that proves he wasn't driving. (Laughter)

Wish I could get a witness.

Now, they are protesting in Indonesia, they are about to take these jobs, the Nike jobs and Reebok jobs and GM jobs to China, where they will be making 50 cents a day, less than seven cents an hour. Prison labor. Indonesia and China both have got most favored nation trade status, it will be eventually worked out in time.

We should have been discussing trade and investment policy. Work not welfare. Of course that is true. You would win that vote nine to one, among the poorest people.

That is no new or novel idea. The subtext of the welfare debate, however, is race.

Three points. Most poor people are not on welfare, repeat this, say, most poor people are not on welfare. Say this, most poor people are not on welfare. Some are at Harvard. (Laughter)

Most poor people are not on welfare. They work every day. They are out here picketing tonight, the secretaries here. They change beds in your dormitories, they work every day. They catch the early bus and raise other people's children, they work every day. They cut grass in Brookline, they work every day. They chop chickens and get carpal tunnel syndrome and can't bend their wrists, they work every day. They clean toilets, they work every day. They drive cabs, they work every day. They cook children's food in school, they work every day. They work in hospitals, they wipe the bodies of the sick, cool their scorching fever, empty slop jars, bed pans, no job beneath them. But yet when they get sick they cannot afford to lie in the bed they make up every day, they don't have health insurance. And they are sold to us as unworthy, undeserving.

One day, Dole fell off of a stage. (Laughter)

That's not funny, because that's not my point. Anybody can make a slip and fall, there could be a weak banister, as in that case. I thought the press by focusing on Dole, some were doing something silly, looking for a story. A man fell because the banister was weak. The real deal is, if he had gotten hurt, a public servant, government servant, who never made, legally, more than \$240,000 dollars in 40 years, for a 10-million dollar foundation, by the way. (Laughter)

If he had gotten hurt, Dole would have had access to the best medical care America has to offer. Well, if that is good enough for Dole it's good enough for your grandmother and my grandmother and grandfather. If it's good enough for the public servants who are the results of our vote, it is good enough for his people.

Welfare. Most poor people are not on welfare, they work every day. Most poor folks are not black or brown, they are white, they are female, and two-thirds are children. If you cover its face, and de-racialize welfare, you take away the right wing's theme.

Roosevelt got through social legislation because poverty had a white face on it. You could not race bait Social Security away. Poverty had a white face. What are the dynamics of that?

John Kennedy held up a black baby in his arms in Harlem, in 1960. People said, well, this guy from Boston, Harvard, talked funny— (Laughter)

He's just trying to get Adam Powell's vote, I mean, that's what politicians have to do. It's nothing but a photo-op and he is trying to get Adam Powell's vote. Robert Kennedy held up a white baby in his arms in West Virginia. And that baby's belly was bloated and that baby's nose was running and exposed. When white America saw the white baby's belly in West Virginia, the war on poverty came out of Appalachia, not out of Harlem.

And the picture out of Appalachia came after the picture that came out of Harlem, which means that we who would fight to change public policy must skillfully avoid allowing the oppressors to marginalize race and not fight for the moral center, which affects what is defined as national policy.

Roosevelt dealt with poverty and it had a white face. If you whiten its face you lighten its load, you change the character of the debate.

The Jail-Industrial complex. Make it national, cost effective. Chicago, 14,000 inmates, 80 percent tested drug positive, 90 percent high school dropouts, 92 percent functionally illiterate, a 75 percent recidivist rate. Since the zone of crisis is that predictable, why not focus on the zone of crisis? We know that 90 percent of those in jail are high school dropouts, 92 percent are functionally illiterate, a 75 percent recidivist rate,

And yet, there are 14,000: 9,000 in jail, 5,000 on the streets with ankle braces on and 700 treatment beds. So, they come out of jail sicker and slicker, conditioned to recycle their pain, each time becoming more dangerous. We need some thinkers in this process. Well, but you know we have got to do something to the blacks because they commit all that crime, because I saw it on television.

African Americans are 12 percent of the population, 55 percent of the jail population. Well, they just commit so much crime. Well, let's look at that for a minute. Eighty-five percent of rural arrests are white. Seventy-four percent of urban arrests are white. Fifty-five percent of those in jail are black. What is wrong with this picture? Five grams of crack cocaine, five years mandatory. Five hundred grams of powder, probation. Crack comes from powder. The source gets probation, the victim gets jail. A hundred to one ratio. If I were paranoid, I would think it was because the source was hooked up with the CIA, but I'm not paranoid. (Laughter)

But somehow, the source gets probation? Well, another way. Forty-five thousand worth of marijuana, that's the campus drug. (Laughter)

Five years. And they don't raid this campus, that's for Roxbury, they don't raid this campus. Eight thousand worth of powder, five years. Twenty-nine dollars worth of crack, five years. The U. S. Citizens Commission calls that racist and wrong. We need to tell some truth about crime.

Affirmative action. Why didn't the press touch his black man on the corner syndrome? Why didn't the press see that as his Willie Horton? Why didn't he have to wrassle with that for the last six days of that campaign? Is the press so warped in the culture of it that they couldn't see it? Was it jumping in the pool, as opposed to into the pool? Could it not see it?

If all them, ABC, CBS, NBC, Fox, all of them are white, and when they do the debate at Hartford, the candidates are white, the interrogators are white males, is it all distorted by marginalized culture? I mean, that's a lot to not be seen. Maybe the story is an untold story? I'm concerned about this, affirmative action? Why could Dole get away with the black male thing? Because that has been the story told in the media. Black people are not

the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action, nor the majority. Neither primary nor majority.

When the press uses words like preference and quotas and reverse discrimination it is designed to go at whites. And the press says this over and over again, goading. Yesterday, in *USA Today*, "Jackson, black leader, calls for a boycott of Texaco." They would never say, "Gore, white leader says—" (Applause)

They will never say, "Gingrich or Clinton or Dole, white leader says—." It's like a double subject. My blackness is self-evident. So, if you say, Jackson, black, you are not describing, you are defining and confining, and then maligning. Media, making judgments.

Blacks are not the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action, not a majority. Most beneficiaries are women, Title 9. White women and women of various hues, plus people of color, plus the disabled, thus, affirmative action is a majority, not a minority issue. There is no race bait in it. The media has to make it race bait. Well, white males are 35 percent of the workforce, 35 percent. Suppose women and people of color didn't work, white men couldn't do all the work? (Laughter)

If women and people of color were not trained, we would have to import labor, then we would be talking about brain drain.

Talk to me somebody? (Laughter)

They say, but white males are angry. Angry? I'd say white males are mostly educated and too rational to be that tricked. White males are 35 percent of the workforce; are 85 percent of tenured professors angry about that? (Applause)

Eighty percent of the U.S. Congress angry about that? Ninety percent of the U.S. Senate angry about that? Ninety-four percent of all school superintendents angry about that? Ninety-five percent of all police superintendents angry about that? Owners of every football, basketball, baseball, hockey franchise except two angry about that? Are every Coca-Cola and Pepsi Cola franchise owner except two angry about that? Are a hundred percent of all U. S. presidents angry about that? (Applause)

What is the basis for anger? We have turned tax consumers into tax payers and revenue generators. Affirmative action has turned tax consumers into tax payers and revenue generators?

Prop. 209? What is missing in this discussion, as I prepare to close? Prop. 209, the Justice Department was missing. And you know what, you didn't have the media ask, where is the Justice Department? I asked some journalists tonight and today, name for me the chairman of the EEOC; of the Office of Contract Compliance? It is as if they don't exist. On the contrary, you would think Eleanor Holmes Norton was a cabinet slot, there was some commitment at that time for EEOC and Contract Compliance to be on the aggressive, they became deterrents to Texaco and Avis and this kind of racism, sexism abounds. But now they are silent.

You know, in Prop. 209, in California, that school system is the 14th largest contractor with our government. The Los Alamos Energy Project is University of California. If you do not break the cycle of race patterns you violate Title 6. If you break the patterns of sex in education, you violate Title 9. Since they ran that referendum on state's rights versus federal rights in California — if that had been Mississippi or Alabama, we would have jumped on it, media. It was California, so it was politically hot. The fact is, if Bob Jones could not get money for discrimination neither can the University of California.

The Justice Department is focusing on jails and police and crack. Almost no word about inclusion and fairness. What must we do as we go into this century that makes real sense for us?

I make this appeal to you tonight and I close. We have six trillion dollars in public and private pension funds. We could take five percent of that, which is 300 billion dollars, and, using the workers money, with some guarantee, some security, build an American investment, an American development bank, reinvest in our infrastructure, put America back to work. People like Felix Rohatyn and I, we've worked on this for an amount of years now.

There must be some way to put America back to work and not just put America away? There must be some challenge that we accept this night, to say voting does matter, people do matter, real problems can be solved. We can wipe out poverty in our nation. We can wipe out malnutrition without wiping out the malnourished. We can lift the wages and let people work their way out of welfare. We can stop race baiting. We can stop soldiers from raping women. We can change the atmosphere of hostility. We can drive away the drugs and bring in hope and drop the dope. We can make America better.

You who inherit the burden of making this a more perfect union must not be observers, you must be activists. You are not our future, you are our right now. And just for this unbroken continuity, you can decide tonight to make this the last campaign that money bought. You can decide right now to focus on corporate welfare and those who have the most, not just negative threatening incentives for those who have the least.

You can decide right now to build bridges, to tear down walls, to live together as brothers and sisters, not die apart as fools. You can decide right now, only one big tent, America. Under that tent, there is hope and there is healing. Shared responsibility and shared joy.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** Reverend Jackson, thank you very very much indeed. There is an opportunity now to ask some questions and I'm going to quickly rush and take advantage of my position as moderator here and ask the first question. You have been involved in the civil rights movement for decades. How, in your judgment, has the press covered the civil rights movement? Has it been a force for good? Has it been a force that has held up the movement or advanced it? What is your judgment?

**Rev. Jackson:** One might say, in the '60s, that what those who held the cotton curtain up had was darkness. And when the darkness was illuminated, just looking at dogs bite people, looking at rural shacks and poverty, looking at the black/white signs of apartheid; exposing that was help enough. That was called liberal, just putting a camera on a black and white sign, just showing a dog biting a child, just showing people picking up debris from a bombed church. So the press, by simply exposing the ugliness of apartheid, became an asset, not so much an ally, but an asset because people could see the good and evil and chose the good once they saw it.

Essentially, however, the weekend that the babies were born, Dr. Higginbottom in Birmingham, the media focused on the four babies who got killed and because people saw it, people wanted to do something about it. Among other things, it was on the front pages of the papers in Russia, so it embarrassed us. It embarrassed us that the people of the world saw this as the American image. But on that same weekend, black babies were dying at an eight to one ratio of infant mortality.

There was almost no interest in covering that eight to one infant mortality rate, which was the institutional, not so glamorous if you will, racism.

So, while the press tends to cover that which is very obvious, compared to the superficial, yes. But going behind the argument, showing people process and not results. So, if Americans are facing downsizing, which is not in this debate, downsizing, outsourcing, those who lost 6,000 Sunbeam jobs yesterday, those jobs did not go to affirmative action. Where did those jobs go? To some guy who brags about cutting 6,000,

getting a hundred million dollars, saying, that's the way life is. He was not a black person, or woman, or Latino person or Asian person.

So, the media has not done a good job of putting the profound changes we now feel, in context. All of you are wearing these 10 dollar pair of Nike shoes, 30 cents an hour. Those jobs did not go from New England to Roxbury, they went from New England to Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia and now are on the way to China, that's where those jobs went. So, we must have some context of real pain without having the race bait and Asian bashing and engaging in the kind of ugliness that we now see.

I'm convinced that most Americans saw the debates. That is why I regret Ross Perot was not in on the debates, I think if the man gets 20 million votes and another million signatures and 30 million dollars from the government, he should be on the stage. And if he had been on the stage and the media had not marginalized him as absurd, then there would have been more debate about where the jobs really went. And what really is the source of economic anxiety for many working class people. The media has not done a good job on that and that becomes part of its challenge to open up, to expand its lenses.

I was at ABC yesterday, talking with a top official, and I said to him, you know, you go into the green room here and there are 19 pictures, one black, he is the weatherman.

This morning, Cardinal Bernardin died, a great man, a great man in Chicago, a great and noble person. And ABC trotted out three of its kind of religious people that it uses to interpret religious affairs. There was a rabbi, a Catholic priest and a white Protestant. Now, Dr. Sam Proctor is in New York, Dr. Forbes from Riverside Church is in New York, why must all the religious interpreters at ABC News be white preachers? They ain't the three best in New York. (Laughter)

Why is it after every primary, all the analysts are white? There is not one analyst, in New Hampshire, in New York. So the media has not done a good job of keeping up and it can't be too critical because if it ever reverses and it lands back on its own newsroom it would be hypocritical to press the case. Because some of the most segregated places in America are the newsrooms. Not to mention that core of eight or 10 who call the shots. I just said something, didn't I? It's one thing to show a sprinkling of color in columnists here and there, but once we get that 4:00 editorial meeting, yeah, that is almost all white men in that room and on their best day, they cannot see enough of America to be representative. They need more oxygen in that room. (Laughter)

They need broader views in that room. It will make everybody better because you can set the scene more. An all white newsroom is basketball without Michael Jordan. (Laughter)

It's singing without Aretha Franklin. Next? (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** Professor Galbraith, I know that you must have a question. You couldn't have been sitting there this long without thinking up at least one question.

**Rev. Jackson:** Give a speech. (Laughter)

**Prof. Galbraith:** You must have known I had a question because I told you I had one. (Laughter)

I'm proud to be here with an old friend. I'm proud also to be here remembering Teddy White, who was my student, I had him for his first course in economics. You will understand what that course did for him. (Laughter)

**Prof. Galbraith:** But I have another serious problem which I must bring up to you. I came over tonight, drove over, and I deliberately went by a Texaco station without going in, partly of course because I didn't need gas. (Laughter)

Partly because I wanted to propose to you a reform that somehow you omitted tonight. Why not have all executives in Fortune 500 companies, wear secret recording devices? It seems to me that would meet much more seriously one of your problems,

than even the boycott. I present that to you in the most serious possible mood.

(Applause)

**Rev. Jackson:** If all 500 of them had on listening devices we would have color television, it would make for exciting television. (Laughter)

Well, we are boycotting Texaco, thank you for that lead in. (Applause)

This isn't about Texaco. Again, I saw, on the network news: "Today, Texaco is under fire; Blacks outraged over what was said on the tapes." Well, the disparaging remarks were about blacks and Jews, about Hanukkah and Kwanzaa. Texaco has faced lawsuits from women who won the suits. So, women are angry with Texaco, Jews are withdrawing stock, blacks are humiliated, and so it is blacks and Jews and women and environmentalists that are upset with Texaco. And now that they have been caught shredding files, the government might also be upset with Texaco. (Laughter)

So why limit that to black rage, as if we have got some pathological problem? People of conscience are upset with Texaco. We know that since Texaco does business with the Energy Department and since the Office of Contract Compliance has given them three bad reviews, Justice should have moved on Texaco. Justice has not moved yet on Texaco.

In the meantime, as we begin this Saturday to march at Texaco stations around the country, number one, the same as we begin to seek to divest stock from Texaco, number two. And number three, as we now do a cross check on the board of directors and on the boards they serve on, we are going to expose their kinship with their other companies.

We want Texaco to settle the lawsuit filed by the workers, A; and put forth a plan of goals, targets and timetables to change the culture within Texaco and open up economic and employment opportunities. And there must be a process whereby women and people of color can enter and grow without intimidation or threat. We are going to boycott and withdraw stock until that takes place.

And just as Texaco is targeted, it will not stop with Texaco. I think, Dr. Galbraith, just as we had to make Montgomery the focus and Birmingham the focus on public accommodations, and Selma on the voting rights, we must now put a renewed focus on the private sector. We have focused so much on government, and what our votes will do, who is reelected as president has nothing to do with Avis, it has nothing to do with the fact that of all the Coke franchises only one is black owned. There will not be any fundamental economic change without a completely different focus in our struggle. Budweiser, two franchises. Pepsi-Cola got one after we boycotted one out of Coke.

Ten thousand five hundred foreign imports, 21 African-Americans. Lexus, zero dealerships. Mercedes Benz, zero dealerships. Twenty-two thousand five hundred auto dealerships, Ford, Buick, Chrysler, 500 black and brown. Five of every six jobs, and real wealth, is in the private sector. All we get from that is their own advertised definition of who they are. We know Nike by ballplayers, we don't know Nike by Indonesian sweatshops.

So, behind the ads of these private sector forces represent the real challenge and real opportunity. And I submit to you that while it is Texaco today, we will not stop with Texaco. It's Texaco, it's Avis, it is whole industries that exclude. And we challenge them to open up or face economic withdrawal. (Applause)

**Ms. Miller:** My name is Mona Miller, I'm a student at the Kennedy School. I would like to thank you for your remarks, for those of us studying for an economics exam tomorrow, you help us remember our higher purpose for being here.

Where you stand tonight, two weeks ago Ralph Reed, the executive director of the Christian Coalition, stood and quoted extensively from Martin Luther King Jr. and John F. Kennedy and Jesus, to advocate for a conservative cause. I think this has spread a lot of debate within our school, both about the increasingly visible role of the conservative



right, religious right, and the role of religion in public life. And as the Good Reverend and a political leader, I wonder if you would comment on both those issues?

**Rev. Jackson:** First of all, know that he speaks as a politician, not as a theologian, that is point one. He is not a theologian, nor a reverend, he is a politician, using the word Christian.

A Jesus born under a death warrant to a teenage mother engaged to Joseph, who had to walk or ride a donkey 35 miles, without the right to vote, denied access to the inn, born in the stable; one born under that condition would not be conservative. (Laughter)

He would tend to be a change agent. (Laughter)

That Jesus challenged established religion for its moral arguments not rooted to substance and change and the government itself. Born under a death warrant and finally killed by the government, an act of capital punishment. And if you will, with politicians wiping their hands saying, why don't you all vote on it? They voted to kill him. Which is what happens when democracy is distorted and corrupted. So, the politicians washed their hands of him and the people said, "crucify him," that was the voice vote, "kill him, kill him, kill him." They were wrong and he was right.

In Dr. King's letter from the Birmingham jail, it was written to the predecessor of the Christian Coalition, it was the white, right-wing church ladies who said, "You have no reason to be in Birmingham, you are disturbing the peace." The Birmingham letter was written to the white church because those would not stand to bring down the cotton curtain of segregation. And they justified a Christianity behind the cotton curtain. So, the Christian Coalition is predictably, consistently for the Jesse Helmses and the Strom Thurmonds and the Orrin Hatches. It is a right-wing political organization.

Now, the use of Dr. King's quotes is of course audacious and bold. But it is a text out of context with a pretext and it is consistently, using Dr. King out of context. So, must submit to you that we must define character by how we treat the least of these. They never fight for workers who want livable wages. They never fight the companies for health care for all God's children. They never fight the right to lift public education for the masses, just a choice for a few. Judge those trees by the fruit they bear. By and large, they represent barren fig trees.

I said to Falwell, a couple of years ago, I said, why don't we at least agree to cause a march on Washington for full employment? A march for full employment, black and white alike. It sounded good to him, but he thought his constituents might rebel. He knew it made sense. Why can't we at least agree on a common agenda for full employment, as the alternative to welfare? Work, as a family value, can't we agree to that? No, because there are politics, their politics are not with that kind of comprehensive care.

They chose Cedras over Aristide. They chose a military over a democracy. They chose Buthelezi over Mandela. They chose a policy in the Middle East that made no sense and made no progress. So, if you look at their record, there is no healing, expansion, inclusion and redemption in it.

**Question:** Reverend Jackson, I am a woman of color, and whether I like it or not, I can't escape the racial issues. So, thank you very much for being here tonight.

My question is about spirituality because I believe that that is the source of our human power to deal with the anger and the pain in our society. Could you please comment about the power imbalance that is occurring on the part of the oppressors in our society, the type of lacking in spirituality that the oppressors might be facing and the type of compassion we might be feeling for these people as well?

**Rev. Jackson:** The great challenge of the oppressed is to turn pain into power and not to allow the pain to dry up your spirit and make you bitter rather than better. For once

you are bitter and your spirit dries up, you cannot compete and be wholesome. There is more power in forgiving than retreating. There is more power in reaching out than in withdrawing. And it takes tremendous spirituality to do that.

There are those today who want to separate spirit from body, which is how you create a ghost and a cadaver. (Laughter)

You need spirit in the body and people whose spirits are renewed keep fighting back and keep offering more. As I shared with someone I was talking to earlier tonight, talking about my father in World War II, there were so many times he could have given up, but his dream, because that is an aspect of spirit, to have the capacity to dream beyond your circumstances, to dream beyond your predicament.

If you were, I wish I could use a better example, running toward the end zone with a football and someone fouls you and you stop to fight them back, you would give the others time to gang tackle you, you would never score. You must have the capacity to absorb the blow and keep moving. And that requires a lot of inner strength, to absorb the blows and keep moving. It's like, if you can't take it, you can't make it.

The strength of Jesus was, he was not on the cross kicking and cussing and threatening. He had the strength to say, they are beating me today because they don't understand, I see that it is not the one with the hammers and nails, it is a government that is ordering them to do this. And we will not be free until we change powers and principalities, not just flesh and blood. So, he didn't even get hung up on those guys with the hammers, he saw something bigger than that.

How can I put this? Mandela is essentially this awesome figure to us because of an indomitable spirit. He out-suffered his opposition, that is real soul for us. That is real soul for us, to have the capacity to out-suffer your opposition.

Another level. If someone were to say to you tonight, I have a heavyweight champ, a heavyweight, he can be the best fighter in the world, he can take one blow and knock a hole through a wall, he has this awesome power. And as an amateur, you might say, well, that is easy, he can be the champion. Some might say, but can he take a blow? Because life is not just how hard you can hit but how much you can take and stay on your feet. It requires a certain strength of will to stay on your feet.

And that is why I say, in this environment, in this multi-cultural environment, sometimes hostile environment, you must have a kind of spiritual insulation, not isolation because you are retreating, but an insulation where you can absorb the insults without being insulted. Where you can get the C and you know you should have got the B, and say, my time will come, I will outlast you. (Laughter)

And there is a certain joy in having that sense of oneself. A part of Joseph's problem in the Bible was that here was a Jewish guy, who was a minority, with majority dreams. His own daddy got angry at him for dreaming beyond his circumstances, "Shut up, boy, you are going to get hurt dreaming that way." His own brothers tried to kill him, they became jealous of him and threatened by him. But his strength was, even though he was put in a pit and the others put in jail, his spirit was bigger than his circumstance.

And to me, that is authentic spirituality, when your spirit is bigger than your jail cell, bigger than your hole. There is that expansiveness within you, that will to go on. And that comes from some sense of inward strength and determination. That's how I survive in this difficult world at the realm that I function at. Because if I accepted somebody else's dream, he says, "You would be a good congressman." I know that. (Laughter)

My son is that. I would be a good president, too. (Applause)

And a good Secretary of State too.

And I have evidence that it is real and not just chasing air. Those that would dare be Secretary of State, I don't know where they were when I brought Goodman back from

Syria and our government said it couldn't be done. I don't know where they were when I brought Americans back from Cuba and our government said we shouldn't talk to the man who held them. I don't know where they were when I brought folks out of Kuwait and Iraq, that were afraid to look Saddam Hussein in the face.

I don't know where they were when I said the no-talk policy didn't make sense in the Middle East. Kissinger said it was, I said it was wrong; I was right. I prevailed, Kissinger lost, the ideal debate. I said free Mandela, Kissinger said, geopolitically it is not in our interests to get caught up in ANC. So, Kissinger was wrong in South Africa, he was wrong in the Middle East.

At some point in time, if you do enough of that, you ought to become a world authority on foreign policy. Now, the point at which society says, we know you did those things but ah, you don't have the right profile to do that. That's where you could become angry or bitter or retreat, only your spirit keeps you defying the odds and going on anyhow. So, now that I have done that, some say, well, why don't we take Colin Powell, we'll take Doug Wilder. Where did the idea come from? One whose spirit broke the barrier.

And that is your burden here at Harvard. You come here knowing you face odds, but keep on breaking those odds and eventually you will win. (Applause)

**Ms. Bell:** Good evening, Reverend Jackson, it has been an honor to hear you speak tonight. My name is Cheryl Bell and I am one of the Kennedy School Black Student Caucus co-chairs, I am also a second-year public policy student here.

I have a very simple question, but I think to a lot of us it is incredibly important. You spoke on Proposition 209 and you spoke on Texaco, but what are your ideas for a collective response to Florida?

**Rev. Jackson:** St. Petersburg? Well, A, we have been in touch with leaders there, it's St. Pete and Pittsburgh, where blacks were shot down or killed and those who did it have been set free by some form of rationalization. Well, one response, I said to a group of young people after the Rodney King explosion, 55 blacks had been killed, I said we should register and vote, register in big numbers if we are going to do something. So the young people cheered.

The cheers died down and one young man said, "Hell, brother, we're going to get on down." I said, get down, meaning what? "We are going to get down." I said, what are you going to do? "We ain't taking this no more, we ain't with the voting, we're going to get on down." I said, you ought to vote, he said, "We're going to get on down." I said get down means you're going to go out to Simi Valley where they freed those guys. "I'll go anywhere, I'm going to get on down."

I said, but you'll still have to vote. I said, does getting down mean that you would be in that jury box and an 11-to-1 vote, and you would hang that jury? "I ain't scared, I ain't going to compromise, I'll fight back." I said, why don't you vote? "I ain't with the voting thing." I said, you understand that only registered voters can serve on the jury. He said, "Oh?" (Laughter)

Now, I'm saying that one way to begin to change this is that when registered voters serve on juries and elect judges and district attorneys, they begin to have power. That is different than reacting to not having that power. I mean, there are short-term reactions, like we are upset and therefore we erupt and then it's over after two or three days and several people are hurt, killed or put in jail.

But we now have the power to begin to affect the judicial process. And only registered voters can be in that jury box, which is awfully powerful, if you are sitting in that stand facing life or death. Jurors, judges and DA's and state reps, with power shifting back to the states now, for example. Having folks in the more high visibility jobs

like congress and senate and president, you are more likely to see a juror, a judge, a state rep. or DA than you are to see a congressman or president.

I hope we can begin to look at politics bottom up and not just top down. Many of our youth, for example, are facing hostile juries because their peers are not registered and therefore are not on the juries.

So, I hope that we will on the one hand, if you see further erupting as it is, we need to pull out the Kerner Commission report again. Because it is not just St. Pete, you know, it's St. Pete, it's Pittsburgh, it's Avis, it's Texaco, it's Mitsubishi, that's the pattern. And there must no longer be silence from the Justice Department or the White House on such a devastating pattern.

**Ms. Green:** Thank you so much. My name is Lareitha Green and I am from Mineral Springs, Arkansas, but I am a second-year student here at the Kennedy School.

**Rev. Jackson:** How close is Mineral Springs to Hope?

**Ms. Green:** Mineral Springs and Hope are 30 miles apart; but I am from Mineral Springs, that is my home. (Laughter)

Now, for me, the question I have for you is, would you consider possibly diversifying your employment portfolio by adding Mayor Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, from Washington, D.C.?

**Rev. Jackson:** No. (Laughter)

First of all, while I was living in Washington — my family has moved back to Chicago now — I chose to run for statehood senator because, of all the industrial countries, only our capitol is under congressional occupation. More people live in Washington than Vermont, Delaware, North Dakota, Wyoming, and Hawaii. We pay more taxes than 10 states, that have 20 senators. More taxes per capita than 49 states and yet no right to vote.

The people of our nation's capitol have no right that congress is bound to respect. If the people in Moscow were not allowed to vote we would challenge the authority of that democracy, or the validity of that democracy. Panama City, Mexico City, Paris; every capitol has enfranchised people of that city. We are operating on some ancient notion that people there cannot vote.

And so, being a mayor under a congress controlled by Gingrich would not be a situation where you could get very much progress. And that is one reason why I chose not to do it. I chose rather to fight to liberate the capital, rather than serve under the assumption of occupation. That's why I didn't do it. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** It is my pleasure Reverend Jackson, to present this to you as a small token of the evening: "This honors the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, for his distinguished leadership on behalf of peace, racial and gender equality and economic and social justice, on the occasion of the delivery of the Seventh Annual Teddy White Lecture." (Applause)

**Rev. Jackson:** Thank you very much. I've been trying to get a degree from here for a long time, thank you very much.

Let me say this, because I thought this point was missed and ultimately must be discussed and I think it should not be discussed in the bye and bye.

It is, I thought, one of the great missed moments for American journalism, the Million Man March, in the sense that the media was caught up in what I would call the herd journalism. The herd came with a shepherd and the herd was beautiful and calm. And let's analyze whether we like or don't like the shepherd.

And by focusing on the herd and shepherd — in that instance Farrakhan — the opportunity was missed to discuss why people really came. There was no focus really, by the media, on why blacks from Harvard, who now work on Wall Street would come? Why would the established ministers of big Christian churches bring two and three buses

from across the country? Why would professors from here and Howard and Yale attend? What was that really about? Was it about a herd and a shepherd? Or really was it about pain?

Was it organized by Stuart who shot his wife in the belly here and said an imaginary black man did it? And the police went looking for him up in Roxbury, and he didn't exist. Was it about the woman who killed her two babies in South Carolina and said an imaginary black man did it? The police went looking for a man who didn't exist? Was it about redlining? Was it about half of all black babies born in poverty? And those who are born on a slippery slope downward tend to keep sliding into early crib death, or drop out of school, or end up in drugs or death or anti-social behavior?

What was really moving a million people to come to the seat of their government and say, we need help? And the same week that the march took place, the next day, when the government reopened, because it didn't close for the million, it closed because it was Monday. The next day, with the welfare bill, and all the hostile rhetoric with the black subtext. The next day, in the congress, was the Medicare cut debate. The next debate that week was the three strikes law.

In some sense because the march focused on spirituality and not on public policy, it in fact was a massive conservative disciplined effort. There were some that thought that just showing the sheer dignity of blacks was enough to change public policy, it was not the history of the way you change public policy. We had fewer people marching in Montgomery but it was aimed at public policy. And fewer marched in Selma, but it was aimed at public policy and about one-fourth that number who marched on Washington were aimed at public policy. So, a spiritual march got a spiritual result, we felt better. It was a good feeling, it was an awesome feeling, I was there. A spiritual march got a spiritual result and public policy marches get public policy results.

The boycott of Texaco is not spiritual, it's an economic boycott and there will be economic results. But I thought there was yet another opportunity. Blacks are the Kurds, we can see Saddam's Kurds, those who are marginalized. We cannot see our own Kurds. We cannot see, Roxbury is our West Bank, within our own situation. And I guess my appeal — I see so many powerful media people here — is to try to see beyond the condition tunnel. There is a whole lot of story out here and there is a lot of opportunity in the untold stories to make America better.

My last one, I thought this summer that what was missed about the Olympics story was that they closed down the tour area, if you go on over by Dr. King's grave site. The Olympics did not come to Atlanta because of the rich business guy who took a year off from work, who got the trophy. The Olympics came to Atlanta because of Dr. King. The Olympics couldn't have come behind the cotton curtain, once the cotton curtain came down then we could get the Dallas Cowboys and the Atlanta Braves.

When I was a kid growing up, my father played semi-pro baseball. You had two baseball teams in Atlanta, the Atlanta Crackers and the Atlanta Black Crackers. Seriously. My home town, a textile town, the Greenville Spinners and the Greenville Black Spinners, Birmingham Barons and Birmingham Black Barons, that was the southern breakdown. We were the black side of whatever the white situation was. You could not have professional teams in that south. You could not have the Olympics in that south or in South Africa.

So really, the Olympics was a massive victory for the civil rights movement. It was not because some rich people went to Japan and did something great. Andy Young's visibility in Japan and Dr. King lay buried there, and Maynard Jackson as mayor, that brought the Olympics to Atlanta.

I was talking to some construction workers there and they were arguing about affirmative action and quotas, should blacks have 40 percent of the jobs, stuff like that. I said, if the cotton curtain had not come down you would have zero jobs. The Olympics could not have come to a segregated Atlanta. It could not go to an apartheid South Africa.

And yet somehow, the interpretation of it, if it had been the way I am laying it out, even whites would have said, that movement thing wasn't so bad after all. Whites could have said, we gained something from that struggle. Whites still feel they are losing because their wives can work, because of affirmative action even if their wives got the job, it is seen as black. Their wives are now pilots and astronauts. So long as it is laced with the race bait we can't seem to see.

I remain hopeful that the media, I don't know of another institution which is as free, or intellectually capable to redefine the American dream and the American struggle. It will not come from Capitol Hill, it will not come from the White House. Not unless the media broadens its lenses and we see something different will we behave differently and make America better. Scribes and journalists have awesome power and I urge you to use that power that we might see the American dream and then pursue it and achieve it.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** Reverend Jackson, thank you very, very much for being with us.

Good night.

**THEODORE H. WHITE SEMINAR**  
**NOVEMBER 15, 1996**

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you and good morning, ladies and gentlemen. The Theodore H. White Lectureship comes in two parts. The first part, I assume, all of you heard last night. A rather spectacular performance, by the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

And this morning, as we have done in the past, and what I hope to do today, is to continue by picking up some of the major themes of the speech last night. And then, to go beyond those themes, as a matter of fact, to incorporate the views of the seven panelists who are here today, all of whom, in different ways, have tried to address the issue of the coverage of racial issues in the United States. More broadly speaking, diversity.

And let me run around with an introduction of each one of our panelists, put that behind us. And then, let me ask the first question. And I would ask all of the panelists, starting with Jill, on my right, to give a minute or so response to that opening question. And then, we'll pick it up from there.

Jill Abramson, to my right, is the Deputy Washington Bureau Chief for *The Wall Street Journal*. She helps supervise 40 reporters and editors and helps to direct the newspaper's coverage of Washington and national policy.

Before joining *The Wall Street Journal*, in 1988, Abramson was the editor of *Legal Times*, a weekly newspaper covering legal issues in Washington. She is co-author, with Jane Mayer, of a book called *Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas*, published in November, 1994. She's a graduate of Harvard, has written many articles for *The New Yorker*, *New York Times Magazine*, *The New Republic*, among others.

To my right, is Robert Entman, who is a professor and interim head of communication, at North Carolina State University, Adjunct Professor of Public Policy, at the University of North Carolina. He holds his Ph.D. from Yale and an M.P.P. from the University of California, at Berkeley.

He teaches courses in mass communication and politics and telecommunications policy. He's the author of *Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics*, which was published back in 1989. And he's currently working on two books. One of them is called *Television: Race and the Urban Community*. And the other is *Projections of Power: Media and the National Defense*.

To my immediate right is Carole Simpson, who is the anchor of "World News Sunday" and a senior correspondent for ABC News, in Washington. During the '92 presidential campaign, she served as moderator for the first ever presidential debate featuring a town-meeting format. She is a graduate of the University of Michigan, and began her broadcasting career in Chicago at the NBC station, WMAQ TV. She was a reporter and weekend anchor in those jobs. She joined ABC in '82 and she has won many, many awards. And before beginning a career in broadcasting, she was a journalism instructor at Northwestern's Medill School.

Ronald Walters, to my immediate left, is a professor in the Afro-American Studies Program, Department of Government and Politics, Senior Fellow, at the Center for Political Leadership, at the University of Maryland, in College Park. Walters has received his B.A. from Fiske University and both his M.A. and Ph.D. from American University. He's the author of four books and many, many articles. And in 1984, he was deputy campaign manager for issues, of the Jackson run for the presidency. And in 1988 was a consultant for Jackson, as well.

Derrick Jackson, two down to my left, is a columnist for *The Boston Globe*, Assistant Professor of Journalism at Simmons College. Before joining *The Boston Globe*, in '88,

Jackson was a reporter at *Newsday*, in New York. He won the 1986 Columbia University Meyer Berger Award, for coverage of New York City. He's also a three-time winner of the National Association of Black Journalists prize in commentary.

Julianne Malveaux, to his left. Julianne Malveaux is an economist, a writer, a syndicated columnist, whose column has appeared nationally, since 1990, under the King's Features syndicate. Until May of 1996, she was host and executive producer of a radio program, called the "Julianne Malveaux Show," Washington-based, produced by her company, Last Word Productions. I think she was too outspoken for them and they kicked her off or something.

She's co-editor of the book, *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*, and is author of a collection of columns entitled *Sex, Lies and Stereotypes: Perspectives of a Mad Economist*.

And Bob Zelnick, to my left, is a Washington-based correspondent for ABC News. He reports on a variety of stories, primarily these days for "ABC Morning News." He's a Marine Corps veteran. He practiced law in New York City and Washington, before entering journalism. And he entered ABC News in 1977, as an investigative reporter. He has worked in a variety of different positions. He received his B.S. from Cornell and his law degree from the University of Virginia Law School.

Now, with those introductions behind us, I would like to phrase the opening question in the following way. Last night, Reverend Jackson spoke about many, many things. And trying, as he always does, to bring all of the strands together at the end, he struck an epiphany, it seemed, when he said, very strongly, that the leadership for the transformation of America, as he sees it, is not going to come from the White House and is not going to come from Congress. Reverend Jackson believes it's going to come from the media.

And starting with Jill Abramson, I would like to ask all of us to go right around here, one after another, a minute or so in length.

How does that projection strike you, based on your own experience and judgment?

**Ms. Abramson:** It strikes me as true, and it scares me at the same time. It strikes me as true, because the media plays the most powerful role now and will continue to, in shaping people's perception of our society and the changes it's undergoing. And I think, if leadership means helping people understand the changes in society, analyzing those changes, shedding light, getting at the real truth, then that's, I think, a very laudable goal and responsibility that the media has.

What scares me is that we, in the media, are not really accountable to anyone. We're not elected by the voters. I mean, at least President Clinton and members of Congress actually go back to their districts, and in order to get votes and be re-elected, they go and interact with people back home. And at least, in some form, really listen. And they are held accountable. We are not. So, the idea of us, the media, becoming all powerful in the future is also a bit scary to me, because of that.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, very much. Bob Entman?

**Mr. Entman:** I guess I would directly disagree with that. If that's a prediction. I'm not sure if it's a prediction, or a hope. But I'm actually writing a book that argues that the media are one of the primary institutions blocking positive change in race relations. Let me take just two examples of the many Mr. Jackson gave.

The distortion in reporting affirmative action, leaving out that women, white women in particular, are probably the primary beneficiaries. The framing of the Texaco controversy as black rage. What about the slur on Jews and so forth. Why does this happen? I won't argue that blacks are the designated carriers of rage in our culture. They



are the symbols of the dark, the impure, the polluted, the dangerous. And this comes across in all media genres, not just news. But it certainly does come across in news.

And as a result, the possibility, what really Jackson was talking about last night, was building social capital, which is a phrase I assume is familiar around here. That is trust and empathy across racial lines. That's what he was talking about. But the media purvey these cultural symbols that do the opposite. They tear down social trust, undermine empathy. And I have a lot of examples I could give and maybe they'll come out, during the discussion.

**Ms. Simpson:** I disagree, too, Jill. Let me, first of all, tell you my perspective. I'm not an academic. My basis for my perceptions of what's going on in this country are based on my myriad travels across the United States. I'm a national correspondent for ABC News and cover social problems, so I am in contact with ordinary people. Also, as an anchor for "World News Sunday," on ABC, my voicemail every Monday morning is filled with comments from the public. So, I have instant feedback on what people feel about the news, what they want to see, what they don't like and all those kinds of things.

I don't think the leadership is going to come from the media, because the public lumps everything as the media. This is my mantra. I'm so tired of going around and hearing the media bashing and being accused, at ABC News, of being the same as "Hard Copy," or "Entertainment Tonight," or *The National Enquirer*. We all have become the media. And the public makes no distinctions between those of us who are trying to do a responsible job in informing the public of what's going on.

**Mr. Kalb:** Why is that important?

**Ms. Simpson:** Why is what important?

**Mr. Kalb:** Why is that important that the public doesn't draw that distinction?

**Ms. Simpson:** Because there's media and there's media. There's good media, that tries to be responsible, that follows codes of ethics, that tries to be accurate, fair, responsible, objective, which I would say happens at ABC News. And there are those other programs that are interested in ratings and the sensational and the bizarre. And those are the things that are attracting the attention.

What is the most comprehensive newscast on the air today? McNeil/Lehrer. Need I tell you what their ratings are? But you want to compare that to "Oprah," or to "Ricki Lake," or to some of these other programs, "Hard Copy." Do you want to look at the ratings? So, I turn it back on the public. The public is going to have to demand. The leadership has got to come from the people. It's got to spur the White House. It has got to spur its representatives.

I don't have any answers, as to how you accomplish that. I don't know if it's children having media literacy classes in school. But people are not reading newspapers. Our network newscasts are going down with the proliferation of information outlets. People are seeing less and less of those of us who are trying to do a good job, or read *The Wall Street Journal*. The readership of women in newspapers has dropped 26 percent.

So, we have a real problem with getting people to look at the responsible media and to be informed, an informed electorate. And I'm not sure what the answer is. Perhaps, we can get some answers today.

**Mr. Walters:** Well, I think I also disagree with that statement. Because the media really is process. And before, I think, quite recently, there was a competition for authoritative voices, through which the media would be a filter. Now, it is true that the media itself has become increasingly some of those authoritative voices in public affairs, I would say, to the chagrin of some of our professors. But yes, more and more, these are the people who are called upon for "expert analysis" in the media people.

Nevertheless, I still believe that the media is not going to do that job, as long as it is tied to things like corporate capital. I think that it's very difficult for the media to be free enough, to be real and dynamic leaders, as long as there is sort of a bottom-line orientation that James Fallows talks about. It doesn't give it the kind of freedom that you really need for leadership.

And as long as it plays to a public and the kind of ideas inherent in the public — racial stereotypes were mentioned — one of the most powerful ideas that Reverend Jackson talked about, I think, at the very end of his statement was the extent to which the American public has not yet taken ownership of the fruits of the civil rights movement. And for me, I stayed up wondering about that. Because it's certainly true that when you look at many of these great movements and great questions that have helped to liberate more than half of the American population, why is it that the megaphone of the media still conceives of these as "black" issues.

So, yes, the media is an impediment. And if you think about why, you think about the reflective role of the media, in terms of giving back to the public its feelings. And so, it's very difficult to lead from that perspective, at least, lead in progressive directions.

**Mr. Jackson:** I would say that it's impossible, literally impossible, to consider the idea of the media changing anything, until there is an all out dealing with attitudes, from cradle to grave, in this country. For instance, in 1990, the National Opinion Research Center did a survey that found that 53 percent of white Americans rate African-Americans as less intelligent. And 62 percent rate African-Americans as more lazy. And that's reflected.

A child study in Pennsylvania and Minnesota, found that white children, white middle class children in the suburbs, almost four out of five white children associate cleanliness with white people and three-quarters associate dirtiness with black people. So, when you have those kinds of baseline attitudes, that creates a problem. There's no reason to think that the media, which is mostly run by white males, is somehow invulnerable to those kinds of attitudes. And I think it's reflected in the notion of the idea that, carrying Bob Entman's comments a step further, I've written that black people, in fact, into the next century, wear the mark of the beast, from the media.

I think a good example, although obviously a controversial example, which would probably take up a whole other session, is the idea that far much more media attention has been spent on the negativity and obviously bad statements by Farrakhan, or Khalid Muhammed and other labeled black anti-semitics than the rantings of Bob Grant, G. Gordon Liddy, who won a national talk host award for his wonderful comments. Shock jocks, like Stern, and people like Oliver North, who despite doing what everybody would think would be wrong things, was rewarded with radio shows and a lot of popularity in the elections.

So, I don't think asking the media to change, in and of itself, is asking for someone to separate itself from reality. And changing reality, without its own re-education.

**Ms. Malveaux:** I think that Reverend Jackson was issuing a challenge, more than anything else, to what he saw as the assembled media in the audience. I don't think that the media has the capacity for leadership. It's an extension of and a reaction to our extremely corrupt society. I think, when you listen to what Reverend Jackson has said, he really talked a lot about economic populism. And I think that that's something important to consider in the context of the media. The media does not talk about — and I will use the media collectively, Carole, because whether it's ABC News or "Hard Copy," the fact is that economic issues are not correctly analyzed by the media.

So that you end up with the racial rage around the economics of fear and terrorism when people ought to really be angry at the way our economic system is replicating

certain relations. I mean, people should be angry that a senator went to the floor of Congress and said that his \$135,000 salary was low income. When the average American earns \$40,000 a year. When the average African-American earns \$23,000 a year. I mean, a lot of people would like to have his low income.

People should be somewhat angry that affirmative action has been perceived as us taking their jobs. Well, the jobs have not, as Reverend Jackson said, gone from whites to blacks. They've gone out of the country. But the media refuses to deal with that kind of economic breakdown, because when you begin to do that, you hear people on the right talking about sowing the seeds of class divisiveness. But the divisiveness is that 60 percent of the American people have stagnant wages. That the employment cost index has been about the same for the past two years. Which means that wages have, essentially, risen a tiny little bit, while benefits have eroded.

And Reverend Jackson has always talked about those kinds of connections, with the Imperial Foods, in North Carolina, with the Texaco case, this is really about economics, as well, in terms of the failure.

And Derrick, your column this morning was great, about Texaco. The failure of folks to promote and the culture that essentially elevates one group of people over the other.

So, until the media is willing to deal with some of these economic issues, I think we have a problem. The evidence that I put forward, about some of this, is that we don't have labor reporters anymore. Twenty years ago, the top 25 papers in the country had labor reporters. Now, I don't think there's anyone whose beat is labor.

**Ms. Abramson:** That's wrong.

**Ms. Malveaux:** Oh, I'm sorry. *The Wall Street Journal* has somebody. Okay. I apologize. But you're probably the only one. *The L.A. Times* doesn't have anybody. I don't think *The New York Times* has a full timer, I mean, people have labor and something else. But you had people whose beat was fully covering labor. You had people whose beat was fully covering consumer issues.

So, let me just end with one little note. I just found that Bill Bennett got a million dollars to study values again. It's some commission to try to figure out why the American people are angry. I mean, the thing that gets me about this is that people want to talk about civility and incivility, but they refuse to talk about economic incivility. And the media, particularly this notion of having some classless America, refuses to talk about that kind of economic incivility that exists. And I think that's why the media can't be leaders.

**Mr. Zelnick:** Well, Marvin, I have always maintained that the media is not monolithic. And that is one of many reasons why it is unsuited to the task that we were invited to play last night. I'm not sure that America, or American society, is in need of transformation, as opposed to evolution, improvement, reform, et cetera. So, on both counts, I would respectfully demur.

I also think that, just listening to my colleagues articulate the different voices within the media, everything from Bob Grant to Carole Simpson's Sunday evening show, suggests that it's a far too diverse institution to be the instrument of leadership and change. Although, it is and will remain a very important mirror on society.

Now, I'm going to violate one instruction, Marvin, you told me somehow in this answer to plug my book. I can't think of any possible connection between the question and the book. So—

**Mr. Kalb:** We don't have to worry about the connection.

**Ms. Simpson:** We'll get to your book, Bob Zelnick.

**Ms. Malveaux:** Can we trash your book?

**Mr. Zelnick:** You're welcome to. I should have also added that it's very reinforcing to see my former colleague, Barrie Dunsmore, over there. Because in, I think, 17 or 18 years, we were so in accord on most foreign policy issues that by the end of our period together, we'd barely mention a subject, grunt twice and move on to the next one. And I did not anticipate that to be the case with my fellow panelists this morning.

**Mr. Kalb:** Six of the seven panelists say that the media is not going to be able to perform this job, even if it wanted to. It's just not structured in that way. But Jill, in her affirmative response, said, twice, it scares me. And I would like to get into that a little bit more. And ask the rest of the panelists to join in.

What is it about the "media" that scares you?

**Ms. Abramson:** I guess what scares me about it is people's sense of community has lessened. And the things that get people out and together have somewhat frayed, as we approach the end of our century. People's visions of reality, of their own lives, are often shaped by simply sitting and watching television.

So, that gives the people who create the images, that dominate many, many people's lives, immense, awesome power. And I think that's somewhat frightening.

**Mr. Kalb:** And that, married to the idea of no accountability?

**Ms. Abramson:** Of no accountability. That no one elected us to anything. It's a very haphazard process that brings us all to our various perches of punditry. No one can summarily fire us, except the corporate chieftains who—

**Ms. Simpson:** Yes, they can.

**Ms. Abramson:** You think the public can—

**Ms. Simpson:** The public can vote. And they do vote, by switching channels, or not buying, or not tasting, or not trying. So, I think we can be fired, if we're not doing the job that the public wants, the advertisers want. I have to admit that is a factor.

**Ms. Abramson:** Well then, I'd wonder if the public has that power, why the turnover is so slight. Why the same voices have remained dominant over an incredible stretch of time. I mean, much more so than in political life even.

**Ms. Malveaux:** Carole, I don't think the public has that power at all. I mean, in extreme cases, I mean extremely extreme cases. I mean, Bob Grant was finally booted. Not because people were outraged at the venom in his remarks, but because the corporate leadership changed where he was.

The public has a lot less power than I think we'd like it to, because when you look at the way that a number of conversations are put together, I mean, first of all, you've got absolute silence on the left. You have these conversations that range from moderate to far right. And people say this is the American political spectrum.

You have the media-aided rise of the black right wing. And these folks represent, you know, at best, 12 percent of the African-American population. But if you see them paired with other pundits, it's as if it's a 50/50 kind of thing. I don't think the public has a lot of power. I think it's corporate power, pure and simple, that reflects some people's vision of America.

**Mr. Kalb:** Let me ask the two professors, Walters and Entman, whether in their studies they see confirmation of the concentration of enormous power in the media. Is this different from what existed before? And in your view, how is that power being used?

**Mr. Walters:** Well, certainly, I think that you do have tremendous concentration of power in the media. And it is, as I said, drifting to a sort of process, where you have anchors, for example, and producers making very critical decisions about what the public, millions and millions of people, ought to consume.

I would simply observe that that process is far too important for any anchor, without calling anybody's name, any producer, any small group of people, as Jesse Jackson said last night, in a room, mostly white males, to sit around, 10, 12 people, and decide what is important.

**Mr. Kalb:** On a practical basis, when you're putting a news show together and you're putting the "ABC World News Tonight" out, that's a nightly program. Who's going to make that decision, if not the executive producer, the anchorman and the senior producer?

**Mr. Walters:** At least, I think, there ought to be an effort to have, as Bill Clinton said, the people in the room look like America. There ought to be a vetting process, which says, is this really the view that's accurate? There is a constant struggle for legitimacy, in which we have this notion of democracy that the voices that we hear constitute sort of a cafeteria smorgasbord of opinion. That somehow, magically, they're all equal. It's not true.

And I think, therefore, the burden of responsibility falls on those people, now with a powerful megaphone, to get the process right. And we don't have it right.

**Mr. Entman:** I think the problem is that we're involved in a vicious circle. And let me try to identify what it is. It's probably the case that the audience does have some power over the media. And the reason there isn't much turnover is that the public is more or less satisfied with what they have, or that they are not aware of the alternatives.

Now, the vicious cycle goes like this. Jackson says we have to put a white face on poverty, in order to talk about it. Well, the media put a black face on poverty, therefore, politicians, political leaders, who set the media's agenda, don't talk about poverty. Therefore, there isn't much coverage of poverty. And we don't address the issue. And I think that's how this works. And that's why the media really cannot lead by themselves.

What they're actually doing is reflecting the leadership's agenda. And the leadership's agenda, in part, is set by what the media cover and how they cover it. And they're staying away, for example, from talking about poverty, because the media have put the black face on poverty. And blacks become a symbol of poverty and so forth.

**Mr. Walters:** But that's not true, that the media doesn't talk about poverty. And this is where I'm talking about sophistication. Because they are talking about poverty, except that they're using the synonyms of welfare to talk about poverty. I mean, there's a robust discussion going on about it.

**Mr. Entman:** I meant to say they're not talking about poverty as a political issue that we have an obligation to talk about and try to solve.

**Mr. Walters:** Straightforward. I agree with you, certainly.

**Mr. Entman:** In codes, of course, they're talking about poverty every day on the local news.

**Mr. Walters:** Absolutely.

**Mr. Entman:** There's an enormous amount of information about poverty, which all says it's a threat and it's black.

**Mr. Walters:** And whose responsibility is it, then, to dissemble that discussion?

**Mr. Zelnick:** It seems easy for outsiders to simplify the process of how a particular show gets constructed every day. It is not two or three people sitting in a room making arbitrary decisions. Although, having been at the other end of those decisions, they sometimes seem arbitrary.

There is a great deal of input from correspondents, from correspondents at many different locations. Correspondents representing different races, obviously, genders. At ABC, for example, the executive producer of "World News Tonight" is female. The Washington bureau chief is female. The deputy Washington bureau chief is a black

female. I think there is a good deal of input there. And I think that there are many, many interest groups in the country that have great access to senior officials, producers, executives, in terms of lobbying for a point of view, or a social problem, or one thing or another that's important.

The second thing that I would say is that while much of the critique this morning is going to come from left of center, most of the surveys that have been done of members of the national media, both newspaper and network television, reflect an orientation that is decidedly left of center of where the majority of the American people are coming from. And in fact, it's no accident that the greatest proliferation of programming in the past several years has been among right wing and right of center talk shows and talk show hosts, because that is a viewpoint that has been essentially ignored, or given short shrift by the national media.

**Mr. Walters:** You mean, Ronald Reagan's point of view?

**Mr. Kalb:** Carole.

**Ms. Simpson:** I have to talk.

**Mr. Kalb:** Carole Simpson has to talk. And then, Derrick Jackson has to talk.

**Ms. Malveaux:** I have to talk.

**Mr. Kalb:** And Julianne has to talk.

**Ms. Simpson:** Bob Zelnick is my next door neighbor. I'll plug his book. It's called *Backfire*. And it is — what is the subtitle?

**Mr. Zelnick:** *A Reporter's Look at Affirmative Action*.

**Ms. Simpson:** But it is an attack on affirmative action.

**Mr. Zelnick:** It is an attack on race preferences, written into—

**Ms. Simpson:** We've done this before.

**Mr. Zelnick:** —written into the law, or administrative practice, and enforced by the coercive power of government.

**Ms. Simpson:** Okay. Did all of you get that?

**Mr. Zelnick:** It is not an assault on broadening pools, on targeted recruiting, on anything of the sort.

**Ms. Simpson:** Excuse me, everybody. He has a line in his book, which says: "Affirmative action does not work." None of this qualification of coerced government whatever. It says: "Affirmative action does not work." And I take issue with that.

First of all, he tells you about the women that we have at ABC News. That executive producer of "World News Tonight" has been in that job since January. The black female, who is the deputy bureau chief, has been in that job since July, of this year. And the bureau chief has been bureau chief for two years. So, we're not talking about a long era of female input into the news making — decision making — process, at ABC News.

Now, one of the things that I think is so important that Jesse talked about, and it's true at ABC News, if you go to our editorial meeting, it is all white. You will look around that room at all of the executive producers and senior producers of the broadcasts at ABC News, and women have made progress, but it is all white. There is no Hispanic representation. There is no Asian representation. There is no Native American representation. In the news product that we put on the air every night, saying, hey, folks, this is what ABC thinks you ought to know about what happened in the world today.

Now, Bob Zelnick would not have ABC reach out and add to that editorial process Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, because he is opposed to affirmative action. That he does not see that it is in the interest of our news division, which is increasingly covering a blacker and browner America, to have those perspectives represented.

Let me just tell you one story about Selena's death. You know, the Tejana musician that was murdered, 23 years old. I was working on a Sunday. The news comes over the

wire. Selena has been murdered. And we're all going, who's Selena? And they're going, she's the queen of Tejana music, in Texas. None of us sat around there and had any idea of who this was.

So, we were going to ignore the story for the newscast that day. There was no one there to tell us, this is really big. As the day wore on, people were gathering in San Antonio, Texas. People were gathering in Los Angeles, at the Coliseum. There were 20,000 people crying, mourning her death. We had no idea. I mean, that really hit home to me about the importance of having these varying points of view, that she was huge.

And there wasn't anybody sitting at that rim at New York City, because there are no Hispanic people part of our process to tell us, this is a story. Now, I can do that, as an African-American. And as part of the input on my broadcast, I can say, we really ought to do this.

When Betty Shabazz and Louis Farrakhan meet at the Apollo Theater and Farrakhan gives Betty Shabazz a bunch of money, this is a story. This needs to be on the broadcast. So, I can have that input. But if we don't have these varying points of view, I think it's a disservice to the public. And I think what Bob Zelnick argues for is what will make things worse for the media and worse for the American people, by not opening it up to these differing points of view, because somebody didn't get 1600 on the SAT test.

**Mr. Zelnick:** There was a distinct mischaracterization. Number one, of what I said in the book and number two, of my position. I do say, affirmative action doesn't work. I said it in the context of a chapter on affirmative action in employment, that started with quotes from the White House's own economists, cited repeatedly in their affirmative action report. And I will mention the economists, also, James Heckman, of the University of Chicago; Mr. Leonard, of the University of California at Berkeley, among many others.

And what they found, and I will stand on this and let anybody who has any academic information to the contrary challenge it, is that, number one, during a 10 year period following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there was, on a national scale a material closing of the wage rate gap between blacks and whites. On closer inspection, all of it occurred in the South, because of the breaking down of the Jim Crow regime there and the opening of certain industries and certain jobs to blacks, which had previously been totally closed.

None of it was the result of affirmative action in any other section of the country. Between 1974 and 1990, there was no further narrowing of the wage gap. There was no further narrowing of the unemployment gap, between blacks and whites. What's more, Mr. Leonard did a great deal of industry by industry analysis of employment. And he compared the regulated to the unregulated sector. Those which were subject to regulation by the OFCCP, and those which were not. And he found a very marginal difference in the number of blacks employed, between 1974 and 1980. And nothing, no difference at all, after that.

So, the only conclusion that one could reasonably reach in the employment area, was that this 25-year, this generation regime of affirmative action had negligible impact. And as far as ABC is concerned, you ought to know better. Because I was the deputy bureau chief in the later 70's and early 80's and I hired blacks.

One of your corporate vice presidents now, Glenwood Branch, is somebody that I hired. Cathy Moore, who was pining away for an opportunity to do research, is somebody that I put in research. I have never, ever suggested that ABC, or any other organization, ought not to reach out to blacks and other minorities and other points of view. What I am against is race preferences written into law, enforced by the coercive power of government.

**Mr. Kalb:** I don't want us to get detoured here into a discussion only of affirmative action, which I can see is so easy to do. I would like us, to use the jargon of press/politics, to stay on message, if we can. In other words, to try to figure out ways in which the press, the media, broadly speaking, play this role in race relations, in the coverage of the civil rights movement.

**Mr. Jackson:** Affirmative action is a perfect example of the total collapse of media responsibility. Throughout all the years of covering affirmative action, if you carefully look at the rising white anger, mostly white male anger, but actually now it is confirmed, white female anger, or confusion in Proposition 209, because white women did vote in the majority for Prop. 209, you will find almost no facts. For all the right wing, all the conservative think tanks that are out there, there are virtually no statistics to support the notion that black people have "taken jobs from white people," thereby, inducing white anger.

I think newspapers and television stations have done a terrible disservice to the debate by not pointing that out. There are many studies. A couple of them, most notably, Martin Karnoy, of Stanford University, who's written a whole book on the notion that when government intervenes, or steps up its vigilance on job fairness, that opportunities for African Americans increase. Martin Karnoy was almost never quoted in the mainstream media as an example.

The rage of white males has been quoted *ad nauseam*, with no justification for their anger. They get to say what they get to say and it becomes gospel and that's it. And my colleagues, and I will be specific, white columnists, never challenge this. For example, in the affirmative action debate, almost no mainstream media that I am aware of has pointed out the fact that white males remain vastly over represented, in all value job categories. And I guess for the sake of elitism here, I will say, beyond garbage worker. Value construction trades aren't up. White males remain vastly over represented in holding jobs.

White women, issues of pay equity, as I'm sure all of us are aware of, aside for the moment of this particular discussion, white females have now matched their share of the population, in most value job categories. And I understand there's a whole set of flaws with that, in terms of the glass ceiling. So, please, accept that I understand that.

African-American women are only at one — at parity, population wise, in only one job category. And that's sort of a social works kind of thing. African-American males are not close to anything, in terms of value job categories. And so, but this was not reported, as a day in, day out counterpoint to the day in, day out reporting of white male anger. White male anger, which, I think, ironically got its biggest play, or one of its biggest plays when President Clinton said we should care about white male anger in a speech he gave in California.

So, in combining the two, Marvin, I think it's a perfect example of a debate, which was allowed to fester, that the media itself fired up, with virtually no reporting of where is the statistical basis for this anger. If you're going to argue anything at all, based on the statistics, what the media should be reporting — I don't say this to be divisive with women — but if one were going to be doing a series of articles about this debate, that was a divisive debate, one would talk about white women and white men.

Because, for instance, in the legal profession, the eight percent drop white males have had over the last 15 some odd years, in the legal profession, has been made up by a seven percent gain by white women. Which means for people of color, obviously, that the jobs still remain with white people. And the media's failure to deal with that, I think, is a great example.



**Mr. Entman:** Well, there are many things I could say, but one of them is this white anger is largely an invention of the media. What was not reported is that in 1995, when this issue hit its height, every poll I could find showed 70 percent or more of white Americans in favor of the principle of affirmative action. Seventy percent, or more.

**Mr. Kalb:** When was this?

**Mr. Entman:** Throughout 1995. Every poll you can find. The principle of affirmative action. Now, if you ask, are you in favor of preferences? No. Quotas? No. But the principle of affirmative action was, in fact, is, in fact, a majority preference. Even among white males, we're talking about 60 percent. White males saying, yeah, they favor affirmative action, as long as it doesn't involve quotas and preferences.

Now, if you believe that affirmative action has to do that, then it becomes complicated. But the point is that empirically speaking, the media don't really have very good evidence to say that this is widespread white anger. So, where do they get it from? Well, they get it from the kinds of practices that they use to construct their stories. And what happens is you get an interesting symbol, like this movement in California, and you go and you want good visuals. So, you get some white people yelling at a meeting at black people and black people yelling back. Thus, that's where you get this image.

And *Newsweek* was one of the real sinners in this. You may remember the cover, which said, "Black Rage," or "White rage, Black anger." I have the exact quote. It showed a black fist against a white fist. Now, that's distorting. And it was an issue that was heavily about affirmative action.

That's distorting in two ways. Number one, as I say, the rage isn't there. By the way, the polls also show that there is not an overwhelming concern with the affirmative action issue among black Americans either. And a majority of black Americans reject preferences and quotas, too. Okay? So, it's a distortion in that sense, that this anger thing doesn't exist.

And number two, as I guess we've already said, why are we symbolizing this as blacks against whites, if white women are the primary beneficiaries and many other kinds of beneficiaries? That's the kind of thing, I think, where the media are, as I say, contributing to the undermining of social capital and our ability to deal with the issue itself.

**Ms. Malveaux:** When Bob Zelnick started talking, the comment that I'd actually honed in on was his notion about the media being so left-leaning, which I happen to disagree with. I mean, as long as you have corporate interests, you simply don't have a left-leaning media. The question is, what is left? I mean, again, if you look at issues of economic populism, you clearly do not see a media interest in that in covering the concentration of capital, or in any of that.

But as he continued to talk, obviously, there's a whole set of other things that one might deal with, even as one stays on message. (Laughter)

And Marvin, I think that the reason why this affirmative action issue becomes such a lightning rod is because of the role that the media played in, essentially, sensationalizing. And I remember a *U.S. News/World Report* cover that said, "No Whites Need Apply," in like 38-point print. Well, they didn't get that from anywhere. It was a total, complete and clear distortion.

Where does the white male anger come from? Angry white boys in newsrooms, who are looking very closely at some of their African-American and female colleagues get promotions they think they ought to have. And whenever this issue of affirmative action is reduced to the personal, my daughter versus your daughter, my job versus your job, we can all get very angry.

The other thing you mentioned, Bob, that if anyone had any "academic information to the contrary," you would challenge it, well, as a Ph.D. economist, I think I have a little academic information to the contrary, regarding your studies. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies produced a piece on affirmative action and its costs and benefits. Papers by Barbara Bergman from the University of Maryland, by Margaret Simms and by others talked about not only the minimal cost, but the great benefits that we've gotten from affirmative action.

John Leonard's work, which I'm extremely familiar with, does show, "a negligible, but not a zero increase." Negligible, but not zero. And when you look at the occupational transformation of America, the fact that in 1940, 70 percent of all black women were maids, that by 1970, that number had reduced to six percent. That was about a number of things, including affirmative action. The movement was fully from black women into government jobs, low level clerical jobs. And you can literally trace that out. And there are a number of studies that essentially deal with that.

The media plays a very big role in race relations in issues like affirmative action, because they tend to treat African-American people as invisible, inferior, or exceptional. Invisible in that, in a bunch of stories, we just don't show up. People buying houses, you don't have black folks buying houses, according to some of these stories. So, you just see people buying houses, they're all white, they're all smiling. According to some newspapers, we don't even die. I mean, our obits don't get there. We just become the angels who flew.

It becomes quite amusing, when you look at some of the folks. You're like, well, where is their obit? *The New York Times* ran Toni Cade Bombara's obit, like, about a month after she died. For many African-American women, she was quite a shero, someone who had written extensively. And it's like how did it take them a month to figure this one out?

The inferior part is the constant battering of this welfare, poor, drug image. And then, the exceptional is that whenever you see some African-American doing something, it's despite affirmative action. It's very much the story is, oh, gee, this is an exceptional black person. And if they can do it, what's wrong with the rest of you all?

And it seems to me that that's why what Carole says is so correct about the input at these meetings, at editorial board and other kinds of meetings. You need people there to bust a number of the stereotypes. And to have challenges. And I think that this exchange between Carole and Bob is extremely healthy. I'd love to see it on the air. (Applause)

**Mr. Zelnick:** It was on the air, with Chris Edley, on "Nightline" a week and a half ago.

**Ms. Malveaux:** I just want the two of you. I want those two fists.

**Mr. Walters:** Well, one of the things that I think is a good innovation in the media is the rise of so-called opinion analysts. People who didn't just cover the news, but who had something to say about the news. And with respect to this particular issue, I would have expected that the opinion analysts would have gotten some of this right.

I just published a law journal article, called "The Politics of Concept Appropriation," which I tried to point out that if you look at the way in which civil rights, beyond affirmative action, but the whole realm of civil rights concepts have been reinterpreted to advantage people now on the right. And the opinion analysts have not picked it up. For example, they have not challenged a whole series of concepts, civil rights itself.

We have the California Civil Rights Initiative bill. What is that? People should have attacked that, really, as not being civil rights. So that the burden of definition, which one would have expected, esteemed journalists and others, to pick up and say, well, this isn't right. That's something that people invented. We don't hear those voices.

The same thing with things like racial preferences that Bob Zelnick did. What is the extent of real racial preferences in affirmative action? And when one looks at that, I mean, there was a study done by the federal government. They found only, what, .06 percent of all of the 262 affirmative action programs were what they call wrong, or reverse discrimination. That's another one, reverse discrimination. To what extent does it exist?

Discrimination itself, there are people in Washington who are saying discrimination is really equal to affirmative action. Well, is that really true? Is discrimination at the heart of it? At least the discrimination, as we know it. It seems to me that that ought to be attacked.

The wholesale reinterpretation of the 14th Amendment, by the Supreme Court, has not been addressed by the media. And yet, we are now in a period where people are doing it. People talk about *Plessy v. Ferguson*. There is a wholesale reinterpretation of it. And the media really is part of that reinterpretation.

Now, this is interesting to me. Because when you look at the major newspapers of record, *The New York Times* probably is where it was 10, 15 years ago. But certainly, *The Washington Post* has added far more conservative voices than it did 10 years ago. And it's very difficult, if you are a liberal, to even get an op-ed piece into many of these papers now. Whereas, 10, 15 years ago, sure, you could do it.

But the newspapers have changed. And that's one of the reasons why I don't think you're going to get any fundamental leadership coming out of them, because they follow the bottom line. They follow the news trends, they feed them back and they fuel them. Now, you can't get progressive leadership coming from that direction.

**Mr. Kalb:** There are two points here that I feel have to be made. One has been made in a number of different ways. And Ron just said it again, about the bottom line. There is no question that the bottom line is important in anything having to do with making money and capitalism. True enough. That's one model of journalism.

The other model that I covered, for many, many years, was the one that existed in the Soviet Union, which represented government control over the media. There was no bottom line interest there. It was an ideological bottom line that determined what it is that, in effect, set the line for the entire news industry.

So, I don't know exactly where we're going to be at the end of the day, by simply criticizing the fact that newspapers and television networks want to make money. Of course they want to make money. Universities want to make money, too.

**Mr. Walters:** But I just suggested that, in terms of the newspapers actually following public opinion, we have the rise of a very conservative ideology. And the newspapers have bought into it. So, it would really move.

**Mr. Kalb:** There are movements. No question about that. The other point is about the rise of opinion analysts really compounds the problem that Carole Simpson discussed, at the very beginning, when she said everything is the media. So that we have lost our capacity to distinguish between news and the rest of those folks, who also are called members of the media.

Jill Abramson, very patiently waiting.

**Ms. Abramson:** Right. Certainly, working for a newspaper that's not famously liberal in its voice, I guess, again, just trying to get back to our first theme about leadership is that something certainly reflected in the panel is that the media thrives on conflict. And at its worst, it's symbolized in a cover, like the one you described where you have a black and white fist coming at each other.

But we feed on stories involving conflict, mainly. Which I think, again, is why it scares me to think of us leading. Because I think what the country is yearning for is some degree of consensus and resolution. Highlighting conflict is kind of the opposite of that.

And I also think that our discussion, by being so dominated by affirmative action, is missing something broader. Which is that there has been real anger in the country and dissatisfaction, I think, among people of all races. And what a lot of that anger has had to do with is declining wages, whether you're black, white, or Hispanic, or anything else.

And that what was simplistically described as white male rage was really the anger of people who had their wages and personal economies stagnating for a long period of time, after having expectations built, during the post World War II period of expanding economies and everybody's boat lifting on a rising tide. And I just think that it's way more than affirmative action and black and white. A lot of the rage and anger in the country had to do with personal economics and wage were the winners, or white women, or whatever. It goes beyond that.

**Mr. Entman:** Isn't it interesting that the media, though, framed it, sort of displaced it and projected it onto a black-white conflict. So much less coverage of the wage stagnation-

**Ms. Abramson:** Maybe it's because, you know, I speak from where I work. I don't feel like that's a story that *The Wall Street Journal* missed. I really don't.

**Mr. Entman:** I agree with that.

**Mr. Kalb:** Bob Zelnick, Derrick and then, I would like to invite all of you. Because I don't want there to be too much anger arising from any of you. (Laughter)

**Mr. Zelnick:** A couple of points. Again, I feel that I have to respond to several different colleagues, who've made points. Mr. Entman has a rather ingenious way of coming at the subject. He says the media misrepresents the true feelings of Americans, about affirmative action, because they support the principles of affirmative action, but oppose the principles of preference, on the basis of race, or gender, or whatever, or ethnicity.

Well, in point of fact, the central issue in the affirmative action debate is race preferences. The things that have come to the court are set asides by the state, or by the federal government, contractual set asides, which are barred, sheltered from whites, or white males, as the case may be. Racially gerrymandered districts are a second category. Third category are preferences for minorities and admission at state educational institutions.

The proposition on the ballot in California did not deal with affirmative action in industry, or for that matter, in government. It dealt with race, gender and religious preferences. This was not missed by the media. In fact, if there was nothing that was covered more relentlessly by the media, both columnists and news accounts, it was the potential impact on females. In fact, that is what the advocates, the opponents of 209, tried to shift this debate into.

Something very remarkable, though, about the voters of California. These people who were deceived by the media, who didn't know what they were doing. They voted 54 percent against race preferences. The same voters of California voted overwhelmingly for President Clinton. The same voters of California voted to put a Democratic Assembly back in power in Sacramento. The same voters of California replaced a couple of Republican members of the House, including Dornan, with Democrats.

So, it seems to me we are, on the one hand, misrepresenting the actual work of the press out in California. Number two, we are slighting the sophistication of the people of California. And number three, we're misstating the issue, which has never been benign forms of affirmative action, but which has been, as I repeat and as I said from the

beginning, race preferences written into law, or administrative practice enforced by the coercive power of government. That was the issue.

**Ms. Simpson:** Excuse me! Would Texaco, without some mandatory compliance regulation, would we think that Texaco is being fair to its minority employees?

**Mr. Zelnick:** Texaco, to the best of my knowledge — and I haven't followed every nuance of the case, but if Texaco is as guilty as would appear, Texaco is guilty of violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And it was caught doing that, by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, whose responsibility it is to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Nothing to do with affirmative action. Nothing to do with race preferences. It had to do with blatant, old-fashioned racial discrimination, which runs contrary to our law and contrary to the public opinion of a vast majority of people in this country, including myself.

**Ms. Malveaux:** But, Bob, the reason why you have affirmative action is because so many people continue to break the law and continue to have old fashioned racial discrimination. Excuse me, Marvin.

**Mr. Kalb:** No, no. I couldn't possibly stop you if I wanted to. (Laughter)

We've got about 45 minutes left. There is a lot more to say. And if we continue to dig deeper into one subject, we're going to miss many others.

Derrick, please. And then, Bob, you wanted to respond. And then, anyone who would like to ask a question.

**Mr. Jackson:** I'm just a mild-mannered reporter, just bidding my time. (Laughter)

**Mr. Kalb:** Then, you're fired. (Laughter)

**Mr. Jackson:** I do have to respond, very briefly, to a couple of things Bob just said. The sophistication of the California voters should be redefined, by his terms, it's the sophistication of white California voters. Seventy-seven percent of African-Americans voted against Prop. 209. Seventy percent of Latino voters voted against Prop. 209. Fifty-four percent of Asians, who were thought to be a toss-up, voted against 209. So, this really clearly was a racial split. And based on who decided what this issue meant to them, along the lines of race, this had more to do with that than any truth telling by the media.

Second is the idea that, Jill, you were saying that the media thrives on conflict. The problem I guess I have, you know, it's definitely true with the general form. But the question is, is what kind of conflict will the media focus on that tells a truth about the United States?

For instance, and I'll be as brief as I can, Marvin, is the idea that affirmative action still is a great example of this because white male rage was allowed to go unchallenged in the reporting. Whereas, over the last 10 years, you've had major settlements in racial discrimination suits. California Edison, 11.2 million dollars of settlements. Our great protectors of the law of the United States, the ATF, the FBI, the INS and other federal organizations have all had to settle major racial harassment and discrimination lawsuits.

And I guess I will just ask an open question. How many, contrary to the many white commentators who have leapt on the affirmative action issue and said it is time to end affirmative action, how many white commentators have added all these racial settlements - now, I'm not talking about accusations. I'm talking about settlements. Proven discrimination. How many white columnists, commentators, opinion makers, who are sitting in boardrooms at ABC, *The Boston Globe*, *The New York Times*, wherever, have added this up and said, my God, we really do have a problem here.

**Mr. Kalb:** It's a very good question and it's a good topic for some research.

Bob, you wanted to respond. And then, we'll go to the audience.

**Mr. Entman:** I just want to say that Bob's discussion there just reenacted the critique of the media, the stuff that I was studying and talking about. That is, yes, people are against preferences, but it's a much more nuanced thing. Because, as he says, people reelected Clinton, who stood up and defended affirmative action, without quotas and preferences. And elected all kinds of Democrats. And the failure of the wedge issue of affirmative action is demonstrable in California and, I think, throughout the country.

Which goes to my point of the media's distortion of the complexity and nuance of public opinion and the inaccurate elevation of rage as the only component. That's what I was saying.

The other thing I just have to say, because it's a reiteration, the media reflect what leaders are talking about. The media may be able to put something on the agenda one day, but they cannot keep it on the agenda so it penetrates the public's consciousness, by themselves. It has to be an interaction. We're in a vicious circle, where the media create disincentives to the leaders to putting the kinds of things we're talking about on the agenda, in a nuanced and sympathetic way.

**Mr. Kalb:** Carole Simpson talked, at the very beginning, about the ultimate power of people, to determine what it is they want to read and see and hear.

Okay, to the audience. And the first hand I saw was Richard Sobel.

**Mr. Sobel:** I want to give a little historical perspective on this, because what I see is a second period of reconstruction, being followed by a period of reaction. And *Plessy v. Ferguson* was, in many ways, the embodiment of that. *Plessy v. Ferguson* is the court decision, in 1896, which Jesse Jackson mentioned last night, which basically said separate, but equal, is fine. And it wasn't until *Brown v. Board of Education* that that was reversed.

And I'm very concerned that the debate against affirmative action will lead in that direction. But I'm not sure it's going to. And I think there's an important principle underneath it.

Let me address, very quickly, some points. First is, as Jesse Jackson mentioned, other people have mentioned, the face of poverty is white, the face of welfare is white. Why doesn't the media report that? Second question is, as Bob Entman mentioned, there is a lot of public support for the principle of equality in this country, Why doesn't the media report that? These are things that can be done.

Third thing that I thought Jesse Jackson mentioned last night, which was absolutely wonderful, was the Olympics were in Atlanta, because of the success of the civil rights movement. Atlanta could never have held an Olympics, if it was still a segregated Jim Crow South. A lot of the benefits of affirmative action occur to all of us. Why doesn't the media report that?

Race is not a black and white issue, with a black emphasis. There are a lot of benefits that we, as white people, as everybody have gotten from affirmative action. Why doesn't the media report that?

But I think a lot of white people, and I think a lot of Americans, are very open to the idea that we should no longer discriminate in this society. Atlanta is a success of anti-discrimination. That's what *Brown v. Board of Education* did. That's what the civil rights acts, of 1964 and 1968, did.

But this is a very different question from the question which I think Bob Zelnick is raising, which is affirmative preferences, which exclude certain people from groups and focus on other people in groups. The question, I think, can be raised is, if the anti-discrimination laws, as with Texaco, and other questions were enforced, would we have a color blind society. Do we need affirmative action? And the real political question is, will this country sustain affirmative action?

The country believes in the principle of equality of opportunity. That's the principle I think that we can build on. The problem with the principle of preferences is that people see reverse discrimination, whether it's there, or not. And it is backed up, as Bob Zelnick says, by the courts.

Let me just make one more point. As some people have said, the things that I've asked why doesn't the media report are not as sexy, not as conflict driven, but probably would inform a debate much better. I go with Bob Entman. I think that the news is indexed to what politicians are talking about. That's where I think the responsibility ought to be. But newspapers do have editorial power.

Why are not newspapers consistently editorializing on this? And reporters have the opportunity to raise these fairness issues, the white face of poverty, the principles of affirmative action. This is where I think the media can make a difference.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, very much.

Julianne, you get to answer that question, that complex set of questions.

**Ms. Malveaux:** I want to pick up on what you said by looking at Texaco and the opportunity that it provides us with. It provides us with an opportunity for white people, who essentially decry racism, to do something about it. To boycott Texaco, as many people have said. But the question is, do white people really decry racism with the same intensity that African-American people and other people who have been on the receiving end of it, do.

As you talked, I was struck by the difference. And I think this is a story that the media might pick up on. The difference in the tone of race relations in the United States and in South Africa. The difference in this whole racial reconciliation tone that South Africa has somehow taken.

The problem in this United States is that there has never been acknowledgment, ever, actual acknowledgment of what is wrong. That slavery was wrong. No one is asking, necessarily, for cash reparations, but it is absolutely untenable that on the Washington Mall, you've got the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, this memorial, that memorial, the Holocaust Museum, but no mention, whatsoever, of the millions of black folks who died to build this country.

So, to me, at some level, it is not surprising that young whites in a vacuum say, well, I did not oppress you. I just got here. We were immigrants. You know, these sort of a-contextual, a-historical kind of statements, because this is a piece of our history that we buried. It's a piece of our history that we don't want to talk about. And until we talk about it, I think we will have permanently fractured race relations.

And you can't sort of say color blind. I also don't think color blind makes sense. I mean, I don't care what's happened. I'm a black person. And I'm going to stay that way, for a very long time, I hope. And I don't want to be seen as anything but a very loud-mouthed, very good economist, but, also, as an African-American woman. I don't think that a color blind society is our goal. A fair society is our goal. But one that also embraces and attempts to correct our history.

**Mr. Neuman:** I teach media economics and media technology. And for the last 10 years, I've been predicting that the critical mass necessary for a 24-hour African-American news channel and a nationally distributed African-American oriented newspaper are viable. Yet, I don't see either of those entities in existence. How come?

**Ms. Malveaux:** There's a paper called *Our World News* that I think the Wall Street Journal Corporation has something to do with. And it's based out of Baltimore. I think it's going to debut some time in the spring. In terms of the 24-hour — I mean, I really couldn't answer the other. I know that Black Entertainment Television is about entertainment and there is very little news.

I'd love to see a 24-hour black-oriented news type thing. But I would also love to see the majority media deal with black issues in a more responsible way. I just edited a book for the National Council of Negro Women, called *Voices of Vision: African American Women on the Issues*. And I got in a big fight with the people who were doing the press, who said, every black woman should have this book. I was like, no, every American should have this book.

Because, in some ways, our issues are your issues. You have to know about them. If we talk about a 24-hour black news channel, will that let CNN, ABC, CBS and Fox off the hook? I hope not.

**Mr. Jackson:** Also, it avoids some of the stuff that Bob has researched over the years. No matter how many black stations you might have, or black newspapers, one of the things that we deal with in the mainstream media is the fact that, as Bob has pointed out in one of his studies, that doesn't change the idea that nine out of 14 minutes out of per average television broadcasts deals with violence. And, as his studies have shown, have black people in adversely negative positioning in those newscasts, compared with white people who've done the same crimes?

**Ms. Abramson:** Something that worries me, when you think about, now, the array of different cable channels that we're confronted with, it represents kind of Bakanization of the media. That's what was different when I was growing up is that the nightly news on the networks was an opportunity to have a national conversation. I think that that, in a way, gave the media more of a capacity to lead than we do today.

Because visions that Reverend Jackson talked about last night, of people being bitten by dogs, or during the Vietnam War, of children running burning down the streets of Saigon were something that everybody, because we were all watching the same programs, watched and then collectively, national opinion was changed.

And I think, while on the one hand it would be very interesting to have an all-black news channel and I'd certainly want to watch what was on it, that it's the opposite of that national conversation that the nightly news used to be. So, I think it cuts both ways.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you. Does anyone want to respond? Yes, please.

**From the Floor:** I want to pick up on what Julianne said earlier. A couple of years ago, *The Wall Street Journal* did an amazing series about the lowest kind of employment groups. One of them was about chicken cutters and pluckers and another was about these people who sit all day, filing cards for insurance claims. And I forget what the third one was. But it was a staggering series about what really goes on and the working conditions of the most low-level working-class people, both white and black and other groups.

I thought that that was going to be picked up, not only by policy makers, but it would have made such sensational television images and stories. And it just dropped dead.

**Ms. Abramson:** It won a Pulitzer Prize.

**From the Floor:** Yeah, but the public doesn't know anything about it. And the public, the grand public, whatever it is, and the policy makers and the politicians, it just simply lay there. And that was a very extraordinary series and extraordinary exposure of issues of economic populism. But none of the broad media picked it up. And it would have had great visuals. Maybe it still could be picked up, Carole.

But I would love to know, for instance, in North Carolina I think it was, where the chicken pluckers and cutters and eviscerators were, I'll bet you that that factory or whatever it is had both, black and white in it. I would love to know what the relationships are in that place, between those poor blacks and those poor whites, under those working conditions. I mean, these are work conditions, economic issues, economic



populism issues that aren't being talked about at all. And I think that would really be a fascinating thing for the media to take on.

**Ms. Simpson:** One thing that you should be aware of is this new phenomenon in the media, and I don't know to what degree the newspapers use it, but we have focus groups. We showed them. We had one recently in New Jersey. And we took a bunch of scientifically selected viewers and sat them down and showed them copies of "ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings" and got their reactions to it. And we are determining our news by what the people say they want to see.

**Mr. Kalb:** Is that good?

**Ms. Simpson:** Well, to one degree, it is, because we now have this Solutions segment on "ABC World News Tonight with Peter Jennings." And one of the things the public said was we are so tired of hearing about problems. I don't want to watch the news, because it's nothing but negative stuff and things like that. So, we have instituted what was the American agenda, but looking at places and problems that are being solved around the country, so that people have some hope when they watch it.

But when you talk about why didn't we cover that kind of story, you should keep in mind that we are in this ratings game and this bottom-line game, having to respond to what the public tells us they want. And they wanted O.J. They don't want Bosnia. The number of people that are not interested in foreign news — and the networks have responded by shutting down. We just shut down our Johannesburg bureau for ABC News.

And we're responding to the public. We want to know more about what affects me. Bosnia does not affect me. Rwanda does not affect me, unless American troops are going. So, you must keep in mind that that's part of the problem, that we are responding. That's why I go back to my initial point, that the public is going to have to provide the leadership here.

**Mr. Kalb:** Ron, you had a quick comment and Kay Fanning would be next.

**Mr. Walters:** I just wanted to pick up, because I feel like a cop sometimes, looking at these focus group results. Because the focus groups, sometimes, are so small that they really don't give you a good scientific result. And I think that, because newspapers are using focus groups more and more, there is a real danger there, unless they take care to make sure that the people who are putting them together are a scientifically respectable firm. But even if you do that, you still get some skewed results.

The final thing I would say is we've just come out of an election. And we have always, especially African-American scholars, have had a war with the press. One of the reasons is that trying to get a fair reflection of what the public wants and what it says is very difficult, if you come from a minority community. Primarily because the polling very seldom oversamples minority opinion.

What they do is they do this. They'll take a poll, a national poll, of 1,200 Americans. Ten percent of that is 120 African-Americans. And then, they will attempt to make a statement about what African-Americans feel on the basis of that 120. You can't do it.

So, what we try to suggest to them is, please, if you're going to take a poll, oversample the minorities. So that when you make a statement about the sub-sample, it's credible. But a lot of the news organizations simply don't do that. So, it's very difficult and it's very dangerous to take what many of these polls say about those particular groups.

**Mr. Kalb:** We're having this discussion at a university, so I have to point out that a great deal of scholarship is also now based upon focus groups and polling data.

**Mr. Walters:** Yes, that's right.

**Mr. Kalb:** Kay Fanning?

**Ms. Fanning:** It seems to me that a big part of the problem here is the media's problem with any form of complexity. I hate to mention the words affirmative action again, but I'll do it, very briefly. It seems to me that the debate about affirmative action has not been properly explained to people.

That there is the point that Bob Zelnick is making, about the legal aspects of so-called preference. I happen to be very strongly in favor of affirmative action, I may say. But that there is a difference between debating affirmative action as a legal preferential kind of a system and being a cop-out. That we no longer do diversity and reach out to make our newsrooms, if you will, rainbow colored.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has, for many years, been working on trying to make a year 2000 goal of making the newsrooms of America's newspapers reflect the same diversity that is in the actual population. It has fallen far short of that. But I would point out that in the years since that effort has been going on that the percentage of non-whites in newsrooms has just about doubled, since that effort.

So, there has been a calculated voluntary effort to reach out and diversify and to celebrate pluralism in this country. And I think it would be a tragedy if the debate over the legal aspects of affirmative action got translated into, well, now we don't have to reach out anymore; now we don't have to diversify. And that element of complexity seems to be missing, not so much from newspapers, I think it's from television. We think in the newsrooms that if we've done it once, oh, we did that.

But the fact of the matter is doing it once isn't enough. You have to go back and back and back and explain to the public what these very difficult issues are. And not resort to the fists on the cover, which, I think, has aggravated the situation terribly.

**Mr. Kalb:** Jill, let me ask you a question, based on what Kay Fanning has just raised. In your position, when you have to hire people, to what extent is the concept of affirmative action part of your deliberation?

**Ms. Abramson:** It's a big part of the deliberation, because actually, the top management of *The Wall Street Journal* gives managers — part of your job evaluation is based, not only on the people you hire, but the people you go and seek and interview for jobs. So when we have an opening, it's one of the first things we think about. Is there an opportunity here to find the best person, but also, to diversify?

A concern that I have is just like this panel has been meticulously put together to be, or at least have the appearance of diversity in both, gender and race —

**Mr. Kalb:** Had you noticed?

**Ms. Abramson:** Yes. It has. But that, actually, in terms of reflecting the country, it is just like my newsroom, at *The Wall Street Journal*, not at all diverse in a certain way, in that most of us all have advanced degrees and quite comfortable lives. And that part of — Carole, when you were saying no one knew who Selena was, it's also a class thing.

It's that elite people don't listen to Selena. Yes, she had a primarily Hispanic following, but it also probably was a lower-class following.

And that, when we make our news decisions, sometimes it isn't so simple to have, you know, more women and greater racial diversity. That if you all come from Harvard, or a similar milieu, your decisions may not be as diverse as you think. I appreciate the importance of race and gender issues, but I think we're slighting economic differences here.

**Ms. Malveaux:** Jill, class is important, but one might argue that you coming from Harvard and me coming from Harvard are two extremely different things, in terms of generations of being in the middle class and other things like that.

**Ms. Abramson:** I guess I suspect maybe that isn't so. Because my father didn't go to college. So, maybe it's not as different as you suspect.

**Ms. Malveaux:** I think that when you look at the African-American community and the Latino communities, in particular, what you do find with middle class folks is a fair amount of class fungibility, that the Ph.D. has a cousin who's a drug dealer, or user. And a relative who is on public assistance, or something like that. I think that that's possibly less true of whites. But I think the class issue and the age issue, I think who was over 25?

**Ms. Murray:** Good morning. My name is Megan Murray. I'm an undergraduate, here at the college. I am interested in your impression of the role of the media in the 1950s and 1960s and how it affected the course of events.

In particular, it seems to me that the beatings of marchers at Selma and the televised dogs and hosings of children at Birmingham led to the '64 Civil Rights Act and the '65 Voting Rights Act.

**Mr. Walters:** That was a very good question, because it tells me something about the cycles of ideology and the American public and how the press often follows those cycles and reflects those cycles. This happened to be a cycle where there was relative breakout of liberality among the press. They were attempting to cover this as a southern story.

There was quite a bit of conflict, really, in the press, because the editors, southern editors, for example, were saying to the northern editors that, hey, you guys are really not telling the story of racism in your own back yard. You're coming down here and covering our racism, as though it were the only racism in America.

And yet, the northern press were all over anything that moved in the south, to the point where they missed talking about the civil rights movement in the Midwest. Almost totally missed by the press. Because they were covering it as a civil rights, as a southern story. And I think many of them were identifying with it, trying to identify with it.

So, yes, it's very important that, when you look at the activity of the press in that period, that they tried to reflect the politics of that age. And to act as sort of a megaphone for events that were occurring at that point. Now, though, final point is that now, though, we're in a period where it seems as though the press is following the conservative tenets of this age, at a time when we still have the necessity to have, I think, a liberal view of America.

Jesse Jackson talked last night about the liberal legacy. Let's not forget that. Because this country is a liberal project. And yet, if you have a press, which is a megaphone for deep seated conservative sentiments, we are now at a period of profound conflict in the social order. And the press is part of that.

**Mr. Kalb:** Bob Zelnick, then Governor Sullivan and this gentleman, right here.

**Mr. Zelnick:** Well I think that the coverage of the civil rights era in the south had a profound effect upon the development of legislation and the speed with which the system of segregation was dismantled. I think it gets back to comments about the ability of the press to cover simple things, as opposed to the more complex relationships among and between the races in the north, bringing in economic conditions and the like.

I think that the press in the civil rights era not only affected the outcome of the struggle, but also affected the press's own view of itself and what it was about. In fact, I think if we look at the press today, or in recent years, and try to go back and see the events that shaped us and made us what we are, I think the civil rights era, the Vietnam War and Watergate, combined, had that cumulative effect.

There's one other point that I feel compelled to make. And that is, if I had to put my finger on a single thing, at this point in time, that is retarding and restricting and debilitating minorities, particularly blacks, from finding their rightful place in this economy, it is the deterioration of black families, particularly in the inner cities.

And no less an expert on this subject than William Julius Wilson, formerly of Chicago, now at Harvard, mentioned something which I think goes to the heart of this

discussion today. He recalled the Moynihan report of the 1960s, which identified this problem at a time when it was a fraction as acute as it is today, with 75, 80 percent of kids in the inner cities being born out of wedlock, raised by a single parent, et cetera.

And he mentioned the tyranny of those who receive this information and said, even considering it, even addressing it, is inherently racist, particularly in the context of the society as it existed at the time. And according to Wilson, this problem went unaddressed, unmentioned upon, unanalyzed, for the better part of two decades. So, I think that, again, I represent probably a minority voice on this panel, but I would say that there is danger in conformity to the views and edicts of the left, as much as there is to ignoring the sins of society in general.

**Mr. Kalb:** Bob, thank you, so very much, for raising this issue. You've kept us right on target. There are about 35 people who would like to ask questions and about 90 on the panel who would like to respond to that. And I'm going to arbitrarily say, please, forgive me, but no. And I'm going to stick with Governor Sullivan, this gentlemen here, and then you. Please.

**Gov. Sullivan:** We started this conversation about leadership of the press. And Jill said she was scared. And then, she promptly got trampled, because she said there may be some leadership in the press. I don't know whether to be scared or discouraged, in hearing you say you are not structured to lead. It's the same thing I've heard politicians say. How do you lead, until you hear from the public? And when you step out, then you get cut off.

And maybe the most discouraging thing was Carole's comment that the news is now based on focus groups. The Contract for America was based on polls and focus groups. Political campaigns have been based on polls and focus groups. Marketing and advertising is based on polls and focus groups. Now, news coverage is based on polls and focus groups. And can anyone contend that in any of those areas, we have enhanced quality or increased substance, as a result? And if we are going to continue that in every institution in this country, we're into a spiral that means we might just as well all abdicate leadership.

There is a combination of responsibilities. Don't let your structure or bottom line or conflict-driven philosophy run us into a bottomless society. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** Carole Simpson.

**Ms. Simpson:** I agree with you wholeheartedly and that's why I think it is important that those of us that are in the media assume leadership roles, which I have tried to do at ABC News. There is a women's group and a minority group. I serve on both of those. And informally we are like a watchdog at ABC News. We discovered that there was black clip reel.

For those of you that don't know television, often, when you're building a spot at the last minute and you need some pictures to go with your story, you might be doing a story about poverty or something like that. And we have clip reels with housing construction and policemen. And there was the black clip reel. And on the black clip reel were welfare mothers, pregnant teenagers, drug gangs being handcuffed and picked up by police. We had people in welfare lines.

There were no black doctors. There were no black schoolteachers. There were no black colleges represented there. There were no black businessmen. And so, those of us inside ABC News said wait a minute. What is this about?

We have tried to get "Nightline" to have more guests, not go to the same usual suspects which were 87 percent white males, to comment on the news of the day. We have been involved in getting Cokie Roberts on "This Week with David Brinkley."

So, there are those of us working in the media that are trying to provide those leadership roles so that we are not, despite what the focus groups say, and they say we're sick of hearing stories about the underclass. I don't want to see another story about public housing projects. The public doesn't want to see it. Doesn't want to be bothered with that. We've dealt with that. There are those of us who will argue within the organization that we must cover those stories.

So, that's why I'm very concerned about the young people coming into my business. And working with the young people that do come in about the responsibility that we do have to be those voices of what I went into journalism for and that was to inform the public and operate in the public interest.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, Carole, thank you.

**Mr. Rogers:** Good morning everyone. My name is Brian Rogers and I am a first-year student here at the Kennedy School. And I am not anti-media. But I do have three concerns.

First, I feel that the media diverts attention from what is really going on in America. I believe that is a result of politicians being involved in the process too much. And I also feel that two messages are sent on a regular basis. The first is, no matter how bad you are doing, you could be doing worse. And the second one is, this world would be better off without black people.

Now yesterday I watched the "Today" show and the first five stories were the following. The first was about Cardinal Bernardin. The second was about blacks rioting in St. Petersburg. The third was about the Johnny Gammage case. The fourth was about Goma, Zaire. And the fifth was about O.J. Now what message are you sending?

**Mr. Kalb:** What message do you think is being sent?

**Mr. Rogers:** Well, as I said, I mean, you could be doing worse and black people, they're the ones that are causing the problems in our world.

And I would like to take issue with what you said, Ms. Simpson, about what people want. I do believe that what people want sometimes isn't always best. And so, we really should take a good look at that. And I do agree with you, when you said that there needs to be more diversity. But also, not only should there be more diversity, those people should have some power, okay.

And isn't journalism about objectivity? I mean, I think there should be some balance there. And the last thing that I would like to say is that I recently wrote a piece about my reaction to the Texaco incident and some of my experiences as a black male in corporate America and I would like to share them with you, particularly, Mr. Zelnick, because I want you to be more sensitive about these types of issues, because I'm very well educated. I have an MBA and I'm well travelled and I'm well read. And I still experience discrimination and racism every day. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, for your comment. Yes, please.

**Mr. Foxtree:** Thank you. My name is Opah Foxtree and I'm an unemployed graduate of U-Mass, Amherst.

And there seems to be something that has been vaguely touched upon, that I'd like to articulate. And that is that there seems to be a pervasive view that what people want is somehow derived independently of a social context.

So, considering that, it seemed kind of meaningless to use focus groups to decide what to broadcast, if you recognize that there is this complicated feedback process and socialization going on with the media and with TV. So, if cause is effect and effect is cause, then to talk about the deterioration of the black family, leading to the economic crisis among black Americans, why isn't it the other way around?

And an additional thing I'd like to comment on has to do with how we define fairness. So, everything seems to be in all this discussion about affirmative action basically how white Americans are supposedly harmed by it. But what about other policies that have a net result of preferences for white people like admissions preferences for the children of alumni, which I think goes on at this university.

If we imagine that Massachusetts is 15 percent black and maybe perhaps 10 percent of the tax revenue comes from black wage earners, is it fair that only two percent of U-Mass, Amherst should be black? Isn't there then some net redistribution of wealth from people of color to white people?

**Mr. Kalb:** I think your point is there .

Julianne, do you want to answer that briefly?

**Ms. Malveaux:** Well, I want to comment, yes, I do. His comment about the black family allows me to get back into— (Laughter)

**Mr. Kalb:** No, no. I'm not going to let you do it. We've got four minutes.

**Ms. Malveaux:** The only thing that I would like to say is that the Wilson assertion that the breakdown of the African-American family is the cause of the current economic condition has also been challenged by lots of people.

Marvin, I respect you greatly, but in the context—

**Mr. Kalb:** And I love you dearly, but we've got to end. (Laughter)

**Ms. Malveaux:** I don't think that it's reasonable at a university to allow something I consider fairly irresponsible and scurrilous notion to be thrown out there, without allowing there to be some response. And the response is that, look, what Bill Wilson has also said is that the jobs have been pulled out.

I think this is how many of our "racial perceptions" are dealt with. There was a CBS piece, "The Black Family" in 1986, where it said the black family was disappearing. I got so alarmed I called my dad and asked him was he going to become extraterrestrial. He's like, you know, where you going? What we're really talking about is differences in family formation and we really ought to be able to deal with some of that.

And I apologize.

**Mr. Kalb:** Not at this seminar. But that's fine. I agree with you. And I'm sure that Professor Wilson would be delighted to engage in a discussion with you. At least, I'm sure he would.

Now, we've got about four minutes left and let's get the questions and try to get some answers.

**Mr. Egleston:** Yes, my name is York Egleston, graduate of Harvard College, '92. Graduate of Harvard Business School, '96. I guess, classmate of Ms. Simpson's daughter. And I was actually also in Professor Walters seminar, during my time as an undergrad, as well.

Can other people up there, besides Ms. Simpson, give me other signs or symbols of people within organizations where effort's being made to police some of the efforts that are coming about? Because at the end of the day, even if you diversify, you still will not be able to get all the opinions in that one room and be able to get the news out in a timely manner.

**Mr. Kalb:** Before there is an answer, I would like to hear the other question. And I will consider this the final question. And then, I'm going to ask the panel to just, starting with Jill again, and go right around as a final comment of 30 seconds, please, each.

**Ms. Lazarus:** I'm Allison Lazarus. I'm a South African, visiting your country for a year. I come with a lot of hope and a lot of gusto, to this session. And having been here for approximately two to three months, I had my sense of activism revitalized by Jesse Jackson last night.

And I must say that I'm a little disappointed at the composition of your panel. I see that you have people here, all from mainstream media. I ask media people here, do you have a progressive press? Do you have an alternative press?

In South Africa, we had no access to the television and we had no access to newspapers. So, we went about developing what was called the alternative, or the progressive press, in which we made no bones about the fact that we believe that there is no such thing as objectivity in the media. We clearly took a line and we involved people in the making of news, in the writing of news and in the distribution of news.

And I see here people with a great deal of skill. And perhaps, you are pessimistic about Jesse Jackson's challenge to you, because you see yourself remaining in the mainstream media. Perhaps, the challenge for you is to get out. Use your skills, get out and develop the progressive press. Are you prepared to do that? How far can you go with it? I don't know the conditions here in this country. Is a progressive press possible in this country?

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, very much. That's an interesting question. Why don't we reverse the order on our 30 seconds. That'll excite everybody.

Bob Zelnick, you go first. This your final comment.

**Mr. Zelnick:** I think the quest for diversity is a valid one. I think there have been strides made in what you term and what certainly is the mainstream press. I don't think that that is the only avenue for development. When I look ahead, I think there will be a thousand flowers blooming, both, to the left and the right of the mainstream press, with many more opportunities to reach out and converse and gain input from the American people, in general and specific groups.

And I think that's a wholesome development. I think it is changing the quality of the discussion. I think it will continue to do so in the future. And I think, rather than trying to change something which is not easily changeable, I think that is the way this beast is going.

**Ms. Malveaux:** I'd first like to answer your question about those of us who are part of the alternative press, because I consider myself that way. I do get a little mainstream play, as a syndicated columnist. But I also own a production company and produce my own vehicles for media. I also write for the Black press. I think that there are lots of us, especially in the African-American community, who do attempt to both, Ron Walters writes a syndicated column for NNPA. So, a number of us do attempt to do that.

The alternative press, I think, is powerful in the United States, but it's singing to the choir. And that's the problem. Our role and our goal is not simply to talk to and inform each other. I mean, we continue to polarize and fracture ourselves if we simply say, well, progressive people are going to talk to progressive people and the white Aryan resistance is going to talk to the white Aryan resistance. Somehow, there has to be a different kind of conversation, if we think that we're going to change the way that race relations happen in this country.

Du Bois said, in 1894, that the problem of the 20th century would be the problem of the color line. And what we really run the risk of doing, and I think that the media has been a full co-conspirator in it, is taking 20th century problems into the 21st century, because people have been unwilling, by and large, to challenge themselves. People have been willing to simply make decisions out of this place of comfort and not say, let's try something else.

**Mr. Jackson:** I would just respond with the person from South Africa, that when you are in a situation where you're in the numerical minority, as in this country, it is incumbent upon people to fight for spots and fight for positions of alternative voice,

within the mainstream. And that's absolutely critical. I actually did work for a black newspaper, when I was a teenager. And that was a wonderful experience.

But the problems of this country are so fundamental, it is absolutely critical that the so-called mainstream media be aggressive in allowing, or letting the voices of the alternatives get through. And I'm asked that question quite a bit, when I'm doing talks and whatnot. And it's a tough thing, because sometimes, no matter how assertive you may think you were on a certain day, some people in the community look at you still as a tool of the oppressor. It's actually a fairly lonely role, often, for those who fight. I know Carole's been very outspoken over the years, being in the top level press.

And you are a product of your time. And I consider myself a product of a beneficiary of the civil rights movement, a beneficiary of affirmative action, who, by the way, is not afraid to say that affirmative action is a preference, at the moment, to rectify something, a bad past preference, over preference. Once upon a time, I've dreamed about, I still, you know, every now and then have a dream. I want to be part of a black *USA Today*. A daily vehicle that gets information to black people.

But, you know, you're still a product of your time. And in that view, I've come up through a path that has led me to a mainstream paper. Luckily, an influential one. And as I have been told by mentors, both, black and white, when you get a soapbox, don't give it up. (Laughter)

**Mr. Jackson:** Here, I want to agree, to some extent, with Bob Zelnick's point about the proliferation of news sources. I think that that's one of the things that might, I think, deal with my concern. And that is a question of accuracy. Last week, there were two conferences in Washington, D.C. One at Howard University, the other University of Maryland. Both of them dealing with the question of the new technology, communications technology, and the African-American community. Going through preparation of my own remarks, the proliferation of black news groups, Web sites, all the rest of it.

I was, quite frankly, at the end of it, encouraged by the fact that there does seem to be an alternative burgeoning out there, which people can access facts. And that's very important, because if we only deal sort of with mainstream media, we get, especially in this period, caught up, I think, in the lack of interpretation of many things we need interpreted.

Bob mentioned one of them, having to do with Moynihan. Well, our concern with Moynihan was that he located the problems of the black family, in a so-called culture of poverty thesis. That is to say, he located the problem within the black family itself, rather than where Julianne talked about. And there is a question here of accuracy, which has to be addressed.

But having said that, I think that there is a problem, also, with those young blacks, especially who are in the media, that we have worked hard to try to get there. Now, some news organizations will hire blacks, that's true. But then, they will deny them the right to be advocates. I remember running into Jill Nelson and talking to her about this problem. Of course, everybody knows about her book, but she expanded on it graphically. And the problem is that a lot of times, people simply have to conform.

I remember in the late 1960s carrying a picket sign out in front of the NBC affiliate in Washington, D.C., a group we had there, called Justice Within the Media. Now that resulted, of course, in a long line of black people being hired by that affiliate. But the other day, I was sitting there, watching a new, young, black female anchorwoman, talking in very glowing terms about Tarzan. And I said to myself, you know, what was all that about?



So, here, 25 years later, we've come full circle. So, I think that, you know, rather than just hiring people, they ought to also give them a voice, give them a leadership capacity, like some of the people around this table have exercised all this time.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you. Thank you, very much. Carole Simpson.

**Ms. Simpson:** Were we supposed to answer those two questions, or can I say something totally unrelated?

**Mr. Kalb:** Totally unrelated, if you wish.

**Ms. Simpson:** Okay, it's my final word. I want to respond to the frequent reference to liberal bias and left-leaning news media. For 30 years, I've been a reporter. And when you're a reporter, your job is to listen to both sides. You go to that person and then, you get the other side. I think that makes you, as a reporter, somebody who's open. You've heard both sides. You can see how this guy has felt, this guy's position. You can see that guy's position. And you go ahead and report the story, accurately representing both sides.

So, this whole thing about how is the media so liberal, when you do spend your time and spend so much of your life listening to all kinds of people and both sides of issues, then you do tend to take the more open for change, for progress, or something like that. And I just wanted to make that as my last point, because I keep hearing 87 percent of reporters in Washington voted for Bill Clinton. The press is so liberal and the press is — but it's the nature of our work, I think, that, to some degree, makes that happen.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, Carole. Bob Entman.

**Mr. Entman:** Well, this is related to what you said and what the second to the last question talked about, as far as diversity in the newsroom. If the press were so liberal, why would we find some of the other patterns that we talked about on the panel today?

The question of diversity, in Chicago, there was another one of these demonstrations. And they hired a Black station manager to run WBBM. And actually, he was then promoted to run all of the CBS-owned and -operated stations. In my studies of anti-Black stereotyping, WBBM was the worst, on many measures, was the worst, as it was being run by this Black station manager.

That suggests there's something else going on. Several other structural factors that make this a much more complicated story than merely getting more representation of different hues in the newsroom, even at the highest level in that particular case.

And I asked him, I talked to this guy and I really liked him, why is this? And he said, 'Look, every morning I get the ratings from overnight. Either I can get fired, or I can try to keep my ratings up.' And there really isn't much other choice. And by the way, he's not in that job anymore.

The other thing I just wanted to say is, to break into this vicious cycle of the dependence of the media on the leadership and the leadership's being influenced by what's in the media and their fear of the public and so forth, one thing the media can do is, and this relates to Gov. Sullivan's remark, diminish the cynicism with which they approach leaders.

So, when Bill Clinton actually had the courage and yes, of course, the political calculation, to stand up and say, no, I'm not going to respond to this hysteria about affirmative action, I'm going to try to reform it, make it better, eliminate the real abuses, the framing of that was pretty much, "well, of course, he has to do that to keep the black vote" and so on and so forth. A little bit of a benefit of the doubt to leadership might embolden them to start addressing these issues and break that cycle of silence and negativity. (Applause)

**Mr. Kalb:** Jill Abramson.

**Ms. Abramson:** Last fast word here is I just think the challenge to the media, as we move into the next century, is pretty simple. It's for all of us who work as journalists to continue to try and report the news, without fear of favor. It's an old saying from the 20th century that I think we all have a commitment to.

And yes, it gets harder. Yes, with a Balkanized media, it's difficult to do that. But I think, despite even the conflict and sometimes rancor that pervades it, that that's the challenge. That's leadership. That's what people in this business have to continue to do, to the best of their ability.

**Mr. Kalb:** Thank you, Jill.

Just, I think, three concluding thoughts. One is that ever since I've been at the Shorenstein Center, which is now almost 10 years, this subject has been on our agenda. And we've been talking about it a lot. And we try to act it out, as well.

And I'm very proud of the fact that the Center has this kind of agenda. And I'm very proud of the fact that we were able to invite the Reverend Jackson and that he had the time to be here with us last night. And that we could focus on this issue, yet again. Because we've got to come back and continue to talk about it. And there may be a difference, here and there. I don't think it's a difference on fundamental philosophical issues. I think it's a difference on how to continue to improve. And I think that we're all basically involved in that process, whether journalists or at the scholarly end of things.

And Governor Sullivan talked about individual responsibility. And I think Jill just ended on that theme, as well, that it does require guts at a certain point, to say something different from the mob and to go in a direction that the focus group tells you may be prejudicial to your continued political survival, sir.

I mean, these are the kind of things that each individual is going to have to face, in his or her own way. And I think it was Julianne who said that you have to challenge yourself. And that you have to challenge yourself on these issues, because they're very difficult issues, very difficult issues.

In areas where, in a white suburban community, when a black family moves in, there is no doubt that there is a chill in the community. And people are saying to themselves, now, wait a second, I'm a nice guy, why am I concerned about all this? But the concern is there. And I don't know how this all gets resolved, but one way is to continue the conversation. And I hope that we have been successful at doing that.

And thank you all, for participating. We very much appreciate your time. Thank you, very much. (Applause)