

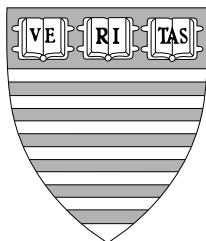
THE THEODORE H. WHITE LECTURE

WITH

JUDY WOODRUFF

Joan Shorenstein Center

PRESS • POLITICS



• PUBLIC POLICY •

Harvard University
John F. Kennedy School of Government

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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 Chungking 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White's *Making of the President* editions for 1964 and 1972, and *America in Search of Itself* remain vital historical documents on campaigns and the press.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 Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. The late 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 not, 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."



Judy Woodruff is CNN's prime anchor and senior correspondent. In addition to her daily reporting, she anchors "Inside Politics," the first news program in the nation devoted entirely to politics. She joined CNN in 1993 and co-anchors special coverage of political conventions, summits, and other major news events.

A thirty-year veteran of broadcast journalism, Ms. Woodruff embarked on her career as a reporter in 1970 covering the Georgia State Legislature with WAGA-TV, the CBS affiliate in Atlanta. After the 1976 presidential election, she initiated her work in Washington by covering the White House for NBC's "Today" and from 1977-82 was NBC News' White House correspondent covering both the Carter and Reagan administrations. Her book, *This is Judy Woodruff at the White House*, published in 1982, recounts her experiences as a journalist.

Judy Woodruff has held many vital posts within the world of

broadcast journalism. She has covered every national political convention and presidential campaign since 1976. In 1988, Woodruff moderated the vice presidential debate between Dan Quayle and Geraldine Ferraro. For CNN's "Election 2000" coverage, she moderated four presidential town hall meetings and debates.

Before joining CNN, Woodruff was the chief Washington correspondent for *The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* and anchored the award-winning weekly documentary series *Frontline with Judy Woodruff*.

Woodruff has received numerous awards for her work. In 1997, she won the News and Documentary Emmy Award for coverage of the bombing at the Atlanta Olympic Summer Games. In 1996, she and Bernard Shaw won the Cable ACE Award for Best Anchor Team for "Inside Politics." She won the Cable ACE Award for Best Newscaster, and in 1995, the Freedom Forum awarded Woodruff, and her husband, Al Hunt, executive Washington editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, the Allen H. Neuharth Award for Excellence in Journalism. In 1994, she won the first of the National Women's Hall of Fame President's 21st Century Award. Her work with PBS's *NewsHour* earned her the first Joan Shorenstein Barone Prize from the Washington Radio and Television Correspondents' Association.

Woodruff is a founding co-chair of the International Women's Media Foundation, an organization

dedicated to promoting and encouraging women in communication industries worldwide. She serves on the board of trustees of the Freedom Forum Newseum in Arlington, Virginia, the board of advisers for the John S. Knight Journalism Fellowships at Stanford University and on the board of

trustees for the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Urban Institute. She is a member of the Visiting Committee of the Kennedy School of Government. Woodruff earned a bachelor's degree from Duke University, where she is a trustee *emerita*.

THEODORE H. WHITE LECTURE

NOVEMBER 1, 2001

Dean Nye: Good evening. I'm Joe Nye, Dean of the Kennedy School, and it's my pleasure to welcome you this evening to the annual Theodore White Lecture on Press and Politics, that commemorates the life of the late reporter and historian. I must say that Teddy White, as he is affectionately known to many people, has an extraordinary background and career. He was a Harvard College graduate of 1934, on a newsboys' scholarship, and he went to China, where he was on a Sheldon Fellowship from Harvard, and watched the Japanese Bombing of Chungking, before the war.

During the war, he continued to cover East Asia for *Time* and returned to write *Thunder out of China*, which was a highly critical and important book. So that, in itself, would have been a sufficient career for most people. But he went on to essentially analyze his own country, and his work on the various books on the making of the American president, starting in 1960, but in '64 and '72, really became a new hallmark of American journalism as well as American history.

He was a member of the visiting committee of the Kennedy School before his death in 1986 and in that capacity, he helped with the planning for what became, eventually, the Shorenstein Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy. So the annual Teddy White lecture, or I should say the Theodore H. White Lecture on Press and Politics, has become something which is deeply cherished here in the Kennedy School. And we are particularly privileged this evening to have one of my favorite people in this world of the press to deliver the lecture. But unfortunately, the head of the Shorenstein Center, not the dean, gets the fun of introducing her so, for that, let me turn to our very distinguished, Pulitzer Prize-winning, head of the Joan Shorenstein Center on Press and Politics, Alex Jones.

(Applause)

Mr. Jones: Thank you, Joe.

I also want to welcome you on behalf of the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy to the night that we consider to be one of the very, very special nights of our whole year. The Theodore White lecture and the seminar that follows it tomorrow are an opportunity to listen to a journalist or political figure of great stature talk about an issue of great moment. Certainly, we have both of those tonight.

Before I get to Judy Woodruff, let me say how grateful we are at the Shorenstein Center to the White family and those of you who helped create and endow this lectureship. It was a lovely way and an appropriate way to memorialize Teddy White. He was a serious man who loved politics and journalism and his country and made an enormous contribution to all three.

When Walter Shorenstein agreed to endow the Shorenstein Center as a memorial to his daughter, Joan, he knew that he had a lot in common with Teddy White. He did, and so did she. Walter was not able to be with us tonight, but I know he would agree that the Shorenstein Center considers itself to be in the Teddy White tradition, and it's a lineage that we are very proud to claim.

Tomorrow morning, we're going to honor yet another Teddy White tradition, the joy and power of serious informed talk. The Theodore White seminar, which is part of this observance, will convene tomorrow at nine o'clock and all of you are cordially invited. Taking part in the conversation will be Judy Woodruff, our honored guest tonight, along with a distinguished panel. The point of departure for the seminar will be Judy Woodruff's lecture tonight but, by a longstanding tradition, the talk will range widely and you are all invited to come and take part.

Judy Woodruff. I must confess, right off the bat, that I am extremely fond of Judy Woodruff. She has that effect on people. One of the dirty secrets of our news business, and especially the big shot Washington news business, is that some journalists have egos the size of Montana. I know that comes as a shock to you. Judy Woodruff is one of the journalists who actually has justification for thinking of herself highly, of being what my father used to describe as a person who goes through life as a big "I," a little "you" person.

Really, and most remarkably, that is not at all who she is. True, she does sometimes brag about being married to someone who gets to appear each week on a television program, with the lovable Robert Novak. But even Judy's estimable husband, Al Hunt, who is here tonight with us, would allow, I think, that she is nicer than he is.

I've just called Judy Woodruff nice which, within the journalistic tribe, is almost as bad as calling her sweet. It suggests something less than tough, aggressive, determined. It also tends to leave out words like smart, stalwart, high principled, a rock, a pro; those are better words to describe Judy Woodruff.

I first came to know Judy when I was the Eugene Patterson Professor at Duke University, which is Judy's alma mater and where, typically, she is revered. She is spectacularly generous with the institutions that she cares for, including Duke, and I found that there was something of a legend about her from her years not long after her graduation when she was still relatively fresh to journalism. There is a story of how Judy got her start at a CBS affiliate in Atlanta, and then went to work for NBC, still based in Atlanta.

Because she was young, and therefore didn't know anything, when the 1976 presidential campaign took off, she was assigned to cover the local candidate for president, who everyone knew didn't have a chance, Jimmy Carter. This was really Teddy White country. Instead of a bus, she began

her political cutting teeth period on campaign planes. In those happier days, before cable television, Friday was the end of the week for both the candidate and the reporters who shadowed him.

After a week of campaigning and filing stories for the nightly news, the papers and so forth, on Friday afternoon, the campaign plane would head for home and it would be “Miller Time.” There would be a palpable sigh of relief. Shoes would come off, bottles would open, bull would begin to fly, and then people like Sam Donaldson, who was on the plane for ABC, would notice this earnest, young NBC correspondent in the back of the plane working. Not just working, working hard, but working on what? What was she doing?

She was reviewing her notes for the week, polishing her Sunday piece, planning for the week to come. It was enough to unnerve the ultimate cool of Sam Donaldson and to make him, and this is a word that was applied by someone who was there, absolutely paranoid. It took a long time for people to come to understand that Judy Woodruff always seems to be working. Note, I didn’t say she *is* always working, because she isn’t, that’s why she is such a beloved human being.

The campaign plane was nearly 30 years ago, but the person who worked while her colleagues kicked back, still distinguishes herself by her work ethic. In the words of one of the men who shared that plane with her and has followed her career, she was, and I’m quoting him: “focused, organized, disciplined, committed.” That has never changed. Listen to this, in her 30 year career as a broadcast journalist, she has won, among many, many honors, the Emmy for her role in CNN’s outstanding instant coverage of the Centennial Park Bombing. She has won the Cable Ace Award for best anchor along with Bernard Shaw, as well as a Cable Ace Award of her own as best newscaster.

She has been chosen repeatedly to fill jobs that require judgement and integrity and trust. For instance, she moderated the 1988 vice presidential debate and moderated four separate Republican presidential debates during the 2000 campaign. Indeed, politics has been her calling, journalistically. She was NBC News’ White House correspondent, covering both the Carter and Reagan administrations. She went to the MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour as chief Washington correspondent where she also anchored the award winning weekly documentary series “Frontline, with Judy Woodruff.”

She has now been at CNN for seven years as the cable news operation’s prime anchor and senior correspondent. She anchors “Inside Politics,” the nation’s first program devoted exclusively to politics and “World View,” a nightly program on international affairs. She is, in other words, ideally suited to the times and the challenges of those times.

Let me also say, before we hear from her, that she is one of the most trusted people in America for a good reason. The genuine decency that she radiates is truly there. She and her husband, Al, devote an enormous

amount of time to philanthropic and charitable causes while they also raise their three children. She is an epic multi-tasker.

Her topic this evening—"The Worst of Times, the Best of Times: Television News from O.J. to Osama." It is my great pleasure to introduce to you our Theodore H. White lecturer for 2001, Judy Woodruff.

(Applause)

Ms. Woodruff: Thank you, Alex. Actually, the person you described 30 years ago sounds fairly boring. I'm not sure I'd want to have spent much time with her on the campaign bus or in any activity thereafter.

I am really delighted to be here with all of you this evening. It is truly an awesome experience to give this lecture at this fabled academy and to join such exceptional company in the Theodore H. White Lecture series. And as is so often the case at this campus, there are many people here who merit some recognition. And to leave time for the real highlight of these sessions, which is of course your participation, I'm just going to cite a few.

The Kennedy School, I'll start with that—is the symbol of excellence in public policy studies. I appreciate that even more fully as an alumna of Duke, which Alex mentioned. When we established our own public policy center, the Sanford Institute, there was only one gold standard to emulate, and that was the Kennedy School. How fitting that it was more than 40 years ago that Terry Sanford was the first prominent Southerner to embrace the presidential quest of John F. Kennedy, and how fitting that these two schools honor those two exceptional public servants who so inspired young people.

Your eminent Dean, Joe Nye, equally renowned in the halls of government and academe, is one of those rare experts who journalists call up to find out what we think. Thank you for that, Joe.

There is the director of the Shorenstein Center, Alex Jones. Not an easy job, Alex, succeeding the one and only Marvin Kalb.

Where are you, Marvin? Right there. Who gave birth and nourished the growth of this center. Thank you for being here. But Alex is building on that legacy, making the Shorenstein Center more exciting and more innovative. Alex has proven that he is a genuine populist. Why else would somebody leave the stratospheric environs of Duke University?

I also want to pay special tribute tonight to Kennedy School Fellow and lecturer, one of my former bosses, Rick Kaplan. There is no better television news producer anywhere, bar none, and you are very lucky indeed to have his unique knowledge of the inner workings of television network news. He has, after all, orchestrated the coverage of so many events that define our age. So thank you for everything you've done for ABC, CBS, for CNN, and now, for the Kennedy School.

Unlike some of your previous lecturers, Ben Bradlee, David Broder and Tom Brokaw, I was not a colleague of Theodore H. White, but he was an idol of mine. I first met him more than two decades ago during the New Hampshire primary. I was a young reporter, as Alex said, covering Jimmy

Carter. I remember the kindness. I remember the generosity, as well as the exuberance, whether it was at a campaign rally or at a breakfast table at the Wayfarer Hotel, that Teddy White always displayed to a young reporter in her twenties who, as Alex said, knew almost nothing. I was a freshman in high school in 1960 when *Making of the President, 1960* came out. It remains one of the most important books ever written about American politics. It inspired me and it inspired many of my contemporaries to go into journalism to cover politics.

I was a colleague and a dear friend of the namesake of this center, Joan Shorenstein Barone. When I was married, she and Michael threw a party for us. When we brought our first child home from the hospital, one of the first stops was Joan's. Her daughter was a few years older and Joan was a mentor on the frightening mysteries of motherhood, and combining career and family.

She was also a compass for so many women in television journalism in the 1970s and '80s. Joan had exceptional energy and vitality and, more than a decade and a half after her all too premature passing, what we remember most was her commitment, her passion for excellence, and her standards. In person, she was modest and self-effacing. Her CBS associate and my CNN colleague and friend, Bruce Morton, recalled to me, he said she had a "whim of iron" for all of that. I worked for a competitor, for NBC, but CBS was considered the crown jewel of television journalism, and Joan was one of the shining stars in that crown. I still miss her and I will never forget her special qualities.

Her father, Walter Shorenstein, couldn't be here physically this evening, but his presence is always felt. Walter's exceptional generosity created this center, but even more important has been his wisdom, his experience, his energy, passion and abiding devotion to this institution. Joan would be incredibly proud of her father and what he helped create.

When Alex Jones first asked me to speak tonight, I will confess I envisioned some lamentation about the state of my profession. I will confess also that as much as I was honored to be asked, I was really not looking forward to plowing over familiar ground. Even on September the 10th, I was still fending off the charmingly persistent Edie Holway's request for a speech title. Then two things happened. The next day joined December 7th and November 22nd as one of those dates that live in infamy and change us all.

A short while later, I called my friend, Steve Hess, for some advice about what I was going to talk about tonight, and he counseled, "For God's sake, don't try to be

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profound.” Talk about how you are covering the most important story of your lifetime, the tensions and the triumphs, the debates and the dilemmas. And certainly, the world has changed for everyone. I mean it’s hard to believe that it was almost a year ago today that while we were enjoying the greatest economic times of our lives, that Al Gore somehow persuaded 48 percent of Americans to vote for change.

(Laughter)

Ms. Woodruff: Tonight, I want to try to talk about the experience of covering this most important story that Steve Hess was referring to, of course. I believe that television, that journalism in general, and television journalism in particular, and especially my home, the Cable News Network,

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has risen brilliantly to the occasion.

Under very tough circumstances, I think we’ve provided information, insights and perspective that have served the country and the world well. People at every news organization I know have worked tirelessly, beyond the breaking point, and they’ve done it with skill, with perseverance and presence. We have all made mistakes, but in a story with such wide ranging uncertainties, there have been few. I’m going to return in just a moment to talk about the particulars, from a CNN vantage point.

Ironically, if the last 50 days have marked some of our finest hours, the backdrop, the period before that, was far different. From O.J., to Monica, to Gary Condit, the news business and television, especially 24 hour cable television news, was under withering criticism. David Halberstam said several years ago, during the Monica saga, that this was journalism’s worst moment in his lifetime, that television news was guilty of an abdication of responsibility.

Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, in their book *Warp Speed*, stated that a “true, reliable account of the day’s events has been undermined by what passes for continuous news.” And I would just say, as an aside, during the Monica Lewinsky story, I would note that these sins were also committed by a few of the most important newspapers in America, but that’s another subject.

In fact, there often emerged a Gresham’s Law of journalism, where if the bad doesn’t drive out the good, it at least sets the agenda for the public dialogue. Now this is frequently exacerbated, I believe, by the television pundits, the ubiquitous pundits, who parade as journalists but have never covered a police beat and never covered a state legislature. They’ve never paid their dues; the concept of accountability is alien. All that matters to them are attention and ratings.

A disturbing part of this, as David Broder said here at the Shorenstein Center a few years ago, is the thin line between journalists and political practitioners parading as journalists. "The media now elevate to the status of celebrities and embrace as journalists," Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel wrote, "the same spin doctors and dissemblers that once were paid to manipulate them." As Ben Bradlee told you a few years ago, spinning is another word for lying.

CNN is not immune when we talk about this. Pat Buchanan and Jesse Jackson, both of whom have their own shows on CNN, are interesting and provocative public figures, but they're not journalists. The problem with blurring this line between journalists and political practitioners, is that it confuses viewers and it only adds to public cynicism. What somebody labeled the argument culture has also aggravated one of the real bogus complaints about television and CNN, that there's an ideological bias.

I worked with Bernie Shaw for eight years and I don't have the foggiest idea for whom he voted, or even if he voted. In more than eight years at CNN, I've heard a lot of suggestions, many of them good, some of them not so good, but I've never heard one that was politically or ideologically motivated. Fox, one of our competitors, provides great, tough competition, but not because of ideology. It's because of first class journalists who work there like Brit Hume and, his bravado notwithstanding, shrewd executives like Roger Ailes.

The problem with this phony argument over ideology is that it camouflages the real issues. For example, too often all of us in television abdicate our responsibilities to focus on the superficial, or the salacious over the substantive. Crime has actually declined in America in recent years, but take a poll and in many places, most places, people will say crime is steadily rising. If they rely mainly on local television for their news and the steady staple is mayhem and violence, in most places it is, why should that surprise us?

More alarming is that politics, the electoral process, the lifeblood of a free society, is now seen as a turn off. I think that would astound Teddy White. In the 1998 race for governor of California, the leading television station in the top five markets in that state made millions of dollars off of candidate advertising, but that Fall, according to a survey by the University of Southern California, those same stations devoted less than one-third of one percent of their news air time to the gubernatorial race.

Now, much of this undeniably reflects the dominance of the bottom line in journalism. We are part of a business. Profits have always mattered; initially, it was an important consideration. In recent years, it's too often appeared to be the only, or the dominant, consideration. Nowhere has this been more glaring than in the draconian reduction in international news coverage. Several decades ago, foreign correspondents were a signature element of network television journalism. Each network had 15 to 20 foreign bureaus. Today, they have less than half that.

Over the past seven weeks, much attention has been paid to the culture, and the mores, and the attitudes of the Muslim world, and yet the major networks, which still draw the largest audiences, are almost invisible in the Islamic world.

Last year, the networks, by one reliable calculation, ran one-third as many stories from abroad as they did a decade earlier. ABC, with Peter Jennings, one of the legendary foreign correspondents who once anchored their evening news out of London, has cut its foreign bureaus from 17 to seven over the last decade and a half. And I don't mean to single out ABC, this is the picture across the board of the broadcast networks.

Over the past seven weeks, much attention has been paid to the culture, and the mores, and the attitudes of the Muslim world, and yet the major networks, which still draw the largest audiences, are almost invisible in the Islamic world. None of them had a bureau with a full-time correspondent in Cairo or Islamabad before September the 11th. Even today, I find it astounding that none of the three commercial broadcast networks have a full-time correspondent in Beijing.

So at the same time that we report expansively about the global village or, conversely, we talk about the clash of cultures, American television news is primarily crisis-driven. You know, in journalism we talk about stories that are (we like to call them "my eyes glaze over," or MEGOs)—the importance of the balance of payments, for example. Suppose two months ago, a top television correspondent proposed the following extended pieces for television coverage or specials.

Kashmir: the bitter struggle between two second-tier powers with different religions and with nuclear weapons.

Cairo: the political and cultural center of the Arab world where in grassroots mosques and madrassahs, anti-American hatred is spewed daily.

Poverty: in the age of global affluence, there are 2.5 billion people subsisting on less than \$1 a day.

Terror: the potential global reach of bioterrorism.

All of them would have been considered MEGOs. Then, September the 11th. Television news responded immediately and comprehensively. The commercial networks preempted programming for the entire day and big chunks of the days to follow. Commercials were suspended on the cable outlets. ABC, CBS and NBC were magnificent. Tom Brokaw, Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, the people, the names, that are so familiar to us, with their calm confidence, their consummate professionalism, they took their place with the Cronkites, and the Huntleys and the Brinkleys of an earlier era.

The new element here was cable or the continuous news cycle. As an anchor person for CNN, that's what I want to talk to you about tonight. As you all know, at CNN, the salad days, as we like to call them, of no cable competition, such as we enjoyed during the Gulf War ten years ago, had vanished. We were under a ratings assault from FOX and MSNBC. The bottom line, never insignificant, took on even more importance.

Dramatic changes were in the offing, some of them were good. We were bringing in anchors, new anchors like Aaron Brown from ABC, Paula Zahn from FOX, and the elevation of the veteran, respected newsman, Walter Isaacson, to become chairman of the CNN news group. Other changes that were being discussed, more troubling. The *New York Times*, among others, reported that CNN was planning to dramatically cut back on foreign bureaus and move to more entertaining or softer news in order to regain our lost ground.

Much of that rationale collapsed shortly after the twin towers and the west side of the Pentagon did. The last seven weeks have, as Walter Isaacson noted, helped us regain our focus. He told the *New York Times* it has restored our true mission, hard reporting and smart analysis, and to cover international news in a serious way.

From the inception, from the outset of this crisis, leaders and opinion makers turned to CNN. Not only did CNN have 31 foreign bureaus before September 11th, but alone among the television networks that day, CNN already had an experienced correspondent, Nic Robertson, in Kabul. He was there to cover the trial of two American aid workers.

We had satellite capability. We had a video phone already in place. Today, almost two months into this story, we have 75 people, at last count, this was as of about a week ago, working for us in the region, in Central Asia and the Middle East, 40 of them in Pakistan alone. It's no overstatement to say, I think, our coverage has been very strong. In a total hard news environment, we've been aggressive, and I think we've been creative. We have made mistakes, yes. In the first few days, I think all of us in television probably reran that video of the airplane slamming into the Trade Center more than we should have.

On September the 11th, CNN reported that there was a truck full of explosives on one of the bridges leading out of Manhattan. Our sources were three different police officials, but they were wrong. When the government started to release the names, a few days later, of the hijackers, we put two names out that were mistakes. One of the men we named was dead. And on the first day of the bombing, a few weeks ago, we misidentified some of our weapons systems. There have been other mistakes, but as soon as we realized them, we corrected them and our goal, of course, is not to make mistakes.

When journalism functions at its best, as the late *Washington Post* publisher, Phil Graham, declared, it is a rough first draft of history. It is an

impossible task though to always function at your best when you are reporting on a story 24 hours a day. It is, I think, instructive in trying to convey truth, to remember the wisdom of Albert Camus who said there is no truth, there are only truths.

Where was I on September the 11th, that morning? Well, I was at home, reading the newspapers, no television or radio on, so I could finish with the editorials that day. I walked out the door just about 9:00, a few minutes after, turned on the car radio, on NPR, and I heard breaking news about an airplane running into the Trade Center. I called my researcher on the car phone just as she was trying to call me. She told me it was two planes. I drove like crazy. I called Sid Bedingfield, who is our vice president for news. He told me to rush to the set.

I was on the air from about 10:30 that morning until almost 6:30 that evening. Much of it is a blur, but there are moments that stand out: seeing the ghastly pictures of the planes hitting the Trade Center; watching the towers collapse in those monstrous clouds of smoke; seeing the supposedly invincible Pentagon with a gash in its side; the moment when we were told the United States Capitol was being evacuated; and then when we learned the President of the United States was flying to military bases in Louisiana and Nebraska, rather than returning to Washington.

As the enormity of what had happened began to sink in, as we replayed the video of the towers coming down, I remember being speechless. Normally, that is the cardinal sin in television, but this time it was the only appropriate thing to do. The next afternoon, I remember as our correspondent, Elizabeth Cohen, interviewed the brother of a woman who was missing at the Trade Center, and this was just one of dozens and dozens of interviews like this, Elizabeth became emotional listening to this woman's story, and when she threw it back to me in the studio, I was in tears.

So, CNN, how did we do? Well, we've gotten critical acclaim and we picked up a lot of viewers. Opinion makers, we're told, in Washington, and New York, and Cairo and Moscow, and I mean Egypt and Russia, not Illinois or Idaho, are watching CNN. Why? Well, first, tradition. We're only a little more than two decades old, but CNN is synonymous with important, big news stories.

That's what Ted Turner envisioned and, during my eight years, Tom Johnson, the man who hired me, Rick Kaplan and now Walter Isaacson have cared deeply about that tradition, that responsibility. Our advantage may diminish during normal news times, we may get beaten occasionally on the Gary Condit stories, but we remain, I think, the gold standard at this point, when there's big news. The week the bombing started, our ratings went up again.

Number two, we have not cut back on foreign bureaus. We were better situated than anybody to cover this story, and I would start with the incomparable Christiane Amanpour, who has just done unparalleled

reporting throughout her career, never finer, I think, than what she has been doing for us out of Pakistan.

(Applause)

Ms. Woodruff: Thank you. This is going to sound like I'm patting CNN on the back, and that is what I'm doing, but bear with me, forgive me, there's a reason.

Nic Robertson, whom I just mentioned, was one of only a few Western reporters, and probably the most experienced, to be inside Afghanistan when September 11th happened. He stayed in the country for several days, under threat, until one morning, at 2:00 A.M. in Atlanta, our head of international news gathering, a man named Eason Jordan, got a call from Nic saying that the Taliban had told him if he stayed one more hour, he was going to be dismembered.

Eason told Nic to do what he felt comfortable doing.

(Laughter)

Ms. Woodruff: These are Eason's words. I said, Eason, what did you say to him?

Well, Nic ended up staying a few more days, he figured out a way to pull that off, until the Taliban actually ordered him out of the country. Since then, he has primarily been right across the border in Pakistan, until a couple of days ago. About two weeks ago he was allowed to go in on sort of a quick journalist tour in the northern part of the country but just now, just two days ago, he was permitted back into Taliban-controlled Afghanistan.

What you should know is that he is supported by that cast of 75, including at least five people stationed for us throughout Afghanistan serving as our eyes and ears. I can't give you their names because I'm not even given their names. It's being very closely held, but those are the people we rely on for information. To the best of our ability, we tell you what the bomb damage is, what is the casualty situation, how much damage has been done and so forth. All of this has been indispensable overseas, and I'm just giving you a quick slice of it.

Equally impressive has been the commitment on the home front. I'm going to name a lot of our correspondents because I think every one of them has just been stupendous in what they've done. John King, Kelly Wallace, Major Garrett at the White House, Jamie McIntyre or Bob Franken at the Pentagon, Andrea Koppel at the State Department, Kate Snow and Jon Karl on Capitol Hill, Eileen O'Conner and Kelli Arena on the investigation, and I'm leaving many people out. We have focused day after day on solid, reliable reporting.

So it's an important story. I think it's given us an important advantage over the competition who, I think, still rely more at times on pundits than they do on reporters. I want to tell you I'm not biased against pundits because I'm married to one. They have a role to play.

But seriously, in moments of crisis or big stories, I think Americans are more interested in facts than being told what they should think.

(Laughter)

Ms. Woodruff: But seriously, in moments of crisis or big stories, I think Americans are more interested in facts than being told what they should think. And when they turn to a news organization for information, that's what they're looking for, and there's still appropriate times for "Capital Gang" and their competition. (Al's giving me the evil eye.)

To be sure, we've relied on and we've used former military leaders who are now consultants, especially ex-NATO commander, General Wesley Clark. We've relied

heavily on former retired Air Force general, Don Shepperd, two people whose perspective and experience, among some others, has just been invaluable. Every day there are tough calls. With controlled information, how much to accept of the Pentagon's version of the war? How much emphasis to give the inevitable civilian casualties in any bombing campaign? How do you fairly cover the Commander-in-Chief without being a cheerleader or a carping critic?

Almost everyone is now nervous, at least we are in Washington, with coverage of the domestic threat. How do we convey real terror without making people feel tense unnecessarily? It turned out to be a lot more difficult than most of us appreciated. Consider, for a moment, that you're a news executive or an anchor and it's October the 17th, two days after the anthrax threat hit the office of Senator Tom Daschle, five days after Tom Brokaw's assistant contracted anthrax, and the United States Secretary of Health and Human Services, Tommy Thompson, has tried to reassure everyone that everything's under control. Senator Bill Frist, a surgeon from Tennessee said that same day, we were under-prepared for any threat.

The House of Representatives decided to adjourn for five days. The Senate decided to stay in session while closing its office buildings. Dick Gephardt, the House Democratic leader, said the anthrax found in Tom Daschle's office was weapons-grade. House Speaker, Dennis Hastert, talked about anthrax sweeping through the ventilation systems in Congress, potentially affecting hundreds of people. But the official declaration from the CDC and others was that it was only garden-variety anthrax.

The threats were at a minimum, we were told, and basically the government was saying we don't know enough to comment at all. HHS officials weren't commenting on

This is a phenomenon nobody anticipated, a terrorist organization living out of remote caves with Madison Avenue media savvy.

the record, and all the FBI would say is that it's investigating the situation.

All right, you tell me, what's the story line? What's your lead? Did television and CNN sometimes give out conflicting messages that day? You bet we did. Was it avoidable? I don't see how. It would be wrong for us to sensationalize any of these points of view, but it's equally unrealistic to ask us to ignore these contradictions and conflicts, some of them very understandable under the circumstances.

When it comes to war coverage, there are equally challenging, different issues, few tougher than how to cover Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda or, as the president puts it, "the forces of evil." This is a phenomenon nobody anticipated, a terrorist organization living out of remote caves with Madison Avenue media savvy. The first big test was Bin Laden's videotaped message on Al Jazeera, the Arab television network everybody knows about now, the same night the United States began the air campaign against the Taliban. CNN, which had an exclusive contract with Al Jazeera, immediately ran the tape unedited, as did the other networks.

But when a second tape surfaced, two days later, White House National Security Advisor, Condoleeza Rice, called the network chiefs and suggested that we think carefully about airing comments from the enemy that could contain a hidden message to a terrorist network. There was never a request, per se, and there was, I know, virtually no debate inside CNN about what was the right thing to do. I was told, in fact, there were already discussions before her call came in, from the night before when that tape was first made available, questions about whether we should be airing it in its entirety or in any form, for that matter.

Everybody on CNN's sixth floor in Atlanta, which is where the executives are, agreed. So decisions were taken separately at CNN, and FOX, ABC, CBS and NBC to be more cautious about airing these tapes. All of us decided not to run, at least for that moment, any more Al Qaeda statements in their entirety. In the case of CNN, we said that great care would be used before we aired any of their statements at all.

What about what Dr. Rice talked about? What about her message? Clearly, it was something with merit, something we would pay attention to. We had run the first bin Laden statement, instantaneously, without giving it a lot of thought, but I would defend the airing of that first tape. It was extraordinary news to see and hear the man thought to be responsible for the greatest act of terrorism every perpetrated on America. But to repeatedly air these tapes, I think, would give many of us pause, to give a mass murderer a run of our airwaves is something that makes us all feel, I think, at the very least, troubled.

The current policy that we have articulated is to be selective, to take it on a case by case basis. I think that that is good journalism. Still, all of this is not without elements of the slippery slope. The government wants to control information, they have tried to do that in several instances. Now that's not unique to the Bush crowd; during the Clinton administration,

sources tell me it was commonplace for the NSC head Sandy Berger to wake up a top justice or CIA official at 5:00 in the morning to complain about national security leaks in the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*. Those leaks and this adversarial relationship sometimes make governing more difficult, but press critics, I believe, are usually not persuasive in claiming they have produced real dangers to national security.

Another tough call for CNN arose with the invitation from Al Jazeera to CNN to submit questions to bin Laden. Some of my bosses debated for

**. . . this is the most
restricted war
coverage in memory**

five days before they decided to go ahead and give a list of six questions to an intermediary. Now, critics charge that this violated CNN's policy. In fact, there was a very heated debate about this within the company. This would violate CNN's policy not to submit written questions in advance. There would be no ability to follow up. What would emerge, likely, would not be honest answers but some sort of demagogic

propaganda. Would CNN be a tool of a mass murderer?

But I believe most of this misses the point. There was a vigorous debate inside CNN and I think we were right to submit the questions. If he chooses to answer, we'll look at it, we'll control what, when and whether to air anything that he chooses to say. And I should say now, it's been three weeks and we haven't heard from him, so a lot of people are questioning whether he's ever going to produce those answers.

This tension between the media and the government is not going to lessen in the weeks and the months ahead of us. Public opinion will invariably, in the short run at least, be on the side of secrecy. Look at the public opinion polls. People want the press not to ask too many questions, not to reveal too much. We should always listen to the government, but we need to be very, very careful about agreeing to any requests or conditions on how to conduct our business, should that arise. News people can perform that job much better than the government.

To cover this war, we have incredible technology overseas. We have the video phone, it's the latest, must-have device. It was first rolled out by CNN when that US spy plane went down in China last April. After that, it was on every network's shopping list. The reporter and the camera crew can send pictures via a little satellite telephone or even a regular phone, whatever they can plug in. But typically, out in the field like that, it would be a satellite phone. They don't need something much bigger. Portability. They can get whatever is happening on the air right away.

And back here at home, we have all the bells and whistles that make understanding the war a little easier. We've got that wonderful three dimensional map on the floor on Atlanta that my colleague, Joie Chen, has been walking and crawling around on in our studio. And we've got visual

graphics of B-2 bombers going across the Atlantic, much like a video arcade. But having the technology, the satellites and the video phones, doesn't matter unless we have the access.

And contributing to those tensions that I mentioned a moment ago, is a fact that this is the most restricted war coverage in memory. During the Gulf War, the American commander, General Schwarzkopf, briefed the press almost every day. This time, the commander, General Tommy Franks, has rarely made himself available. Not only have we not been allowed to accompany any of the ground operations so far, and granted that there's only been a few, but we're also excluded from the Kitty Hawk, where most of the American special operations forces are now stationed.

It's worth remembering that over two dozen American correspondents accompanied the allied invasion on D-Day, and most of them were informed of those plans ahead of time. Secretary Rumsfeld has vowed always to tell the truth, but he quoted, with approval, what Churchill said that in war time, "truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies." By canceling the Pentagon briefing certain days, and repeatedly suggesting that leaks are endangering American forces, the defense secretary, I think, has put the press on notice that they believe this is a different time. But I think that this move contrasts with the realities of how the press has operated in the last month.

That story in the *Washington Post* on October the 19th reporting that the ground war was starting in Afghanistan, after which Don Rumsfeld suggested some leakers were endangering national security, it didn't specify the nature or the location of any operation. In fact, the Pentagon didn't even raise any objections to the story or the information before it was published. Moreover, there have been countless examples over the last few weeks of news organizations voluntarily withholding stories that the government thought posed problems.

CNN is still doing that. There has not been one instance where such a request was ignored. Under extraordinary circumstances, and there haven't been very many requests, in fact, (I know of one but I don't want to rule out others), where this request was ignored. Already, CNN and other organizations are thinking about what we do when there is more intense ground action in Afghanistan, but the Pentagon refuses to let reporters cover it.

I guarantee you, and this states the obvious, no one at CNN wants to jeopardize a single service man or woman, but the public, with some understandable limits, has a right to know how this war is really going, and not just through the vested filter of our government.

With no government intervention at all, there have been moments when we've held back. Our congressional reporter, Jonathan Karl, had at least three good sources tell him about the anthrax letter mailed to Tom Daschle. But because of the implications of the story, and because his sources were other senators, frankly, and not from Daschle's office himself,

we decided to wait for yet more confirmation before running with it. And while we were waiting and working on it, President Bush, of course, made the announcement himself.

. . . find a way to provide a more regular focus on the quality and the quantity of international coverage. Make it harder for anybody to go back to the mindset that prevailed on September the 10th.

This is not about the convenience of journalists or about scoops, it is about trust and it's about credibility. The infamous credibility gap of the Vietnam War was not, as some people said, because government was too open or provided too much information. It was because government was too selective with the facts, only wishing to stress the good news, not willing to tell Americans the truth. Ultimately, the formulators of that policy, as we know, paid an enormous price.

The stakes are no different today. As the *Washington Post's* Bob Woodward wrote the other day, the public will lose trust in government if it jeopardizes the central component of that trust, and that is being honest and straight. I strongly believe that Americans, after the horror of September the 11th, will have a great deal of patience, will

understand that there are inevitable setbacks, and that the road to success is full of not just hurdles but a few detours, if policy makers are honest and straight.

I have no idea how this conflict is going to evolve. President Bush has warned that it's going to take a long time, but I urge this great Shorenstein Center to step up its role in studying and analyzing the press in how we fulfill our responsibilities. In particular, I urge you, and I know you are doing this in some ways already, to find a way to provide a more regular focus on the quality and the quantity of international coverage. Make it harder for anybody to go back to the mindset that prevailed on September the 10th.

Find a way, also, to more thoughtfully explore how television and newspaper executives make some of these very tough decisions, in much the same way presidential decision making is studied. And I know that some of this, as I said, is already underway. The Shorenstein Center in Washington, which Marvin heads, linked up with the Brookings Institution this week and are already sponsoring regular panel discussions about the media and the war.

In closing, I am asked frequently about what happens after the passions of the moment subside and what's television news and CNN going to look like then? Well, clearly, the economic and the corporate pressures that existed on September the 10th are still going to be there. Bottom lines and concepts that are arcane to most of us, like EBITDA margins, which stands

for Earnings Before Interest, Taxes, Dividends and Appreciation, will still weigh heavily. Now that may mean significant changes, joint operating agreements with CNN and one of the major broadcast networks, or “60 Minutes” Don Hewitt’s suggestion that the regular routine stories be pooled by all of the television outlets, freeing up resources for the news divisions to do other original and entrepreneurial stories.

Maybe we’ll return to the Gary Condit. Sex and power will always be with us. Maybe the hyperventilators will reign supreme again on television, and foreign correspondents will be a disappearing breed. I don’t want to believe that. I know what happened September the 11th remains grotesque, almost beyond words. That someone could hate Americans so much, sends chills down our spines. We have absorbed impressions that won’t quickly, if ever, fade.

At the same time, September the 11th is a reminder of what a complicated world we live in and the extraordinary importance of information and the news media in that environment. It has, as my boss, AOL Time Warner CEO Jerry Levin said, clarified our priorities and simplified our focus. I doubt that any of us will be the same again. My friend, Bob Merry, who’s the chairman of *Congressional Quarterly* and the biographer of Joe Alsop, says that the 20th Century ended in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of Communism, but the 21st Century didn’t actually begin until September 11th. None of us is confident of what lies ahead.

Whatever the context, television needs to look for far more interesting and creative ways to present the news. That’s not incompatible with quality journalism. Today’s *New York Times*, compared to 20 years ago, features livelier writing, intersecting whole sections on home, and science, and health, and dining, and the fine arts and technology, a far more extensive use of graphics, and the old gray lady even has color. But the *Times* never compromised its mission of journalistic excellence and is a more interesting and a better newspaper.

For all that our country suffered on September the 11th, and for all the uncertainty to come, perhaps one of the good things to come out of these dark days will be a lasting renewal of purpose for television news, where most of us get our news and information. Just as the *New York Times* never compromised, I want to believe that, 20 years from now, the same will be said of television news in general and, I trust, of CNN in particular.

Thank you very much.

(Applause)

Mr. Jones: Judy Woodruff once famously said about her time at the MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour, we dare to be boring. Well tonight you were not boring.

Judy has agreed to answer some questions. If you would, please identify yourself and ask your question pointedly and briefly. Thank you.

Ms. Cooper: Hi. My name is Caroline Cooper. I am an East Asian Studies graduate student.

I'm wondering if you could tell me a little bit about who the 75 people are who are supporting CNN's coverage from Afghanistan. Are they producing material that is really grounded and based in the social and political situation as it is accurate to Afghanistan?

And also, how these tactics that you are employing at CNN today, have shifted, perhaps, in comparison to what was going on when you covered Tiananmen Square or the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Ms. Woodruff: That's a very good question and one that requires, I think, a little more time than we probably have tonight. Who are these 75 people? They are correspondents, the people you see on the air. They are the producers who help them pull their stories together. They are some researchers. They are certainly camera crews, people who operate cameras and do sound, technical people. Some of them are people who are support, who do research or drivers.

It's as if you take a news bureau and it's writ large across the region, and they are spread out, and their responsibilities may change. Somebody may be on the air one day and they may be producing the next, or somebody may be doing research one day and driving the next. So the responsibilities are shifting in an ever changing environment.

Do they all have Ph.D.s in Asian history and do they know the intricacies of the Afghan political and economic and social system? No. But they are all on a fast learning curve, just as all of us are, after September the 11th. A lot of people didn't know that the capital of Afghanistan was Kabul. So we are all having to learn very, very fast.

How does it compare with when we covered Tiananmen? We have more people, we're willing to put more resources out there and the technology, as I tried to suggest, is an advance over what it was then.

Does it mean we always do a better job? No. I mean sometimes you get it wrong, sometimes the technology fails you. But by and large, I think the American people are better served by more information rather than less, and by more people trying to do a good job.

Mr. Wallner: Hi. My name is George Wallner and I'm a graduate of the Kennedy School.

And I'm wondering if you could comment on how CNN is talking about handling the story of the thousand-plus suspects that have been rounded up by the FBI, and are being held secretly, with no information being released to the press.

Ms. Woodruff: Well, we have reported on that almost daily. I know I have heard it mentioned in our coverage. Frankly, the Justice Department is not giving any information about them. All the reporters can do is ask, they can go around and try to get information. But as you can imagine and as I'm sure all of you can imagine, this is not something that they're sharing easily. They feel that it's entirely within their right to hold these people, and I'm sure the days are going to come when we are going to call into question some of these decisions that they've made.

It's hard for us to believe that every single one of the thousand has done something that warrants their being held for days and days, weeks and weeks and even months. But in this climate that we are in, at war, it's very difficult to challenge. We are asking questions, but short of storming the jails and the federal prison system and so forth, I don't know how we get more information. But we keep asking, as we should, and as we'll continue to do.

Mr. Mahl: My name is Matias Mahl. I'm a second year student. I'm at the Harvard Business School.

I have a question regarding the cutback in foreign bureaus that you mentioned before. Now, the networks would typically argue that this is because people are less and less interested in foreign news. So when you argue that there should be a renewed interest from the networks and from the TV stations in foreign bureaus and foreign correspondents, how do you reconcile that with this perceived disinterest? How would you make people interested in foreign news again?

Ms. Woodruff: Figure out a way to make it interesting. I mean the stories that I cited for you, if they had been proposed on September the 10th, Kashmir, bio-terrorism, it's incumbent on us in a time when the attention of Americans is divided in so many places, to figure out a way to make these stories interesting. Now, does that mean that you should be fed a steady diet on CNN or any other channel of this kind of information? No. But there should be places you know you can turn to, at certain times of the day, for example, an hour a day, or a day of the week, or five days of the week. For me, more is better in this arena.

I don't think it's asking too much to set aside a half hour or an hour. You know, my friend, Rick Kaplan, and I have had discussions about this. We won't debate it here in front of all of you, but there are different ways of doing it. There are some who say you ought to sprinkle international coverage throughout the day. There are others that say people ought to have a reliable place they know they can turn to at 3:00 in the afternoon or 9:00 at night and get international news.

I just think we have to accept that responsibility and we have to put money into that coverage. It's expensive to keep these bureaus open year round and to pay for correspondents and producers and crews to be there, much more expensive than it is for the newspapers, and even the newspapers have cut back in these bureaus. There are very few American newspapers that now have the bureaus overseas that they used to. But we have to look upon this as a priority. Ten percent of the people now living in the United States were born somewhere else.

If the United States is the world, we have a stake in the world. A fraction of the world's population speaks English. We are living in a planet that has shrunk. We are now dealing with a story that is overwhelming some of us because the information is coming out so fast and so thick every day, we can barely keep up with it. And I think it's incumbent on all

of us in the news business to figure out a way to carry out that responsibility, to keep people informed. If we don't do it, who's going to? It's our responsibility to make it interesting.

Mr. Bordi: Good evening. My name is Ahmad Bordi, I'm a graduate student here at the Kennedy School.

Building on the point of the bottom line that you mentioned a while back, AOL/Time Warner recently announced several changes in the way news is being presented at CNN. And we have seen the box shrink to be at three-quarters on the right side, and we have seen them as NBC style graphs, actresses being hired as anchors, pop music being added in the background, all that stuff.

So, it seems to me that there is a clear distinction being made between presenters and journalists. And as a veteran at this institution, CNN, how do you deal with this transition, being both a journalist and a presenter?

Ms. Woodruff: I think that there is a distinction made at CNN between the presenters at "Headline News" who are basically readers, for the most part. They're not asked to interpret stories or to react to breaking news, if you will. And the anchors at the CNN domestic channel, where the anchors are frequently asked to deal with news that is coming in, and particularly in the last two months, as you can imagine, where the news is changing all the time. I think there's a distinction made.

I will say, in defense of Andrea Thompson, the woman you're mentioning, acting was her career for a number of years, but she then made a very serious decision to go into journalism. She worked at it, she put in some important time at a television station in Albuquerque, I believe, and CNN hired her. Part of television is presentation, and if you can't figure out a way to get people to watch you, it doesn't matter how good your information is, it doesn't matter how great your reporting is.

What we've got to always figure out is a way to find a balance between, making it interesting and compelling, making people want to watch you, but also spend the effort and money to cover the news. So that you're giving people their meat and vegetables and fruit and not just dessert.

Ms. Gotshalk: Hi. My name is Britt Gotshalk and I'm a junior at the George Washington University, and a former intern at CNN.

My question applies to a talk that Dan Rather had with Marvin Kalb at the National Press Club a couple of weeks ago. And one of the questions Mr. Rather got from the audience was that there is a lot of international news that the journalists try to put out there and it's just simply not being received.

Ms. Woodruff: I'm sorry. National or international?

Mr. Gotshalk: International news. And the audience member asked Mr. Rather, how do you deal with that, and what kind of obligation do Americans have? And Mr. Rather responded that sometimes international news just simply isn't received by an American audience, and he said that Americans have an obligation as well. How would you respond to that?

Ms. Woodruff: I think that's true. What I was saying in answer to his question is we have an obligation to make it interesting. In fact, there's some responsibility too on the part of the citizens to know more about the world that we live in. We could all stand around and talk about the American educational system and whether we are teaching our children in grammar school and on up, enough about the rest of the world. Are they getting an education that prepares them to deal with a world that is complicated and is going to call on them to make decisions that affect more than just their neighborhood or their city?

So there are all sorts of players in this equation. I can't have much of an effect on the educational system. But I can have some effect, I'd like to think, on the television news business, and I think there's a lot more that we can do. But I think Dan is right. You can make it interesting, you can make it compelling, but if people refuse to watch or they'd rather watch something else, you can only do so much. But I do think people will come, you can bring them, you can draw them.

Ms. Simpson: My name is Erin Simpson. I'm a first year student down the street at the Department of Government.

You had mentioned this evening the difference between pundits and journalists. I've heard Molly Ivins make a similar distinction. She talks about how nothing gives you an idea of the complexity of the truth more than in covering a five car pile-up on a Texas highway.

And I was wondering if you could broaden your statement as to what distinguishes the journalists from the pundits, in terms of not just what the delivery is, in terms of it's kind of more exciting to watch pundits sometimes argue with each other, as opposed to journalists cover the news, but what the questions they ask and how they come about the answers to them.

Ms. Woodruff: What's a journalist? It can almost come to the point where anybody who puts a label on their jacket and gets a press pass is a journalist. In fact, the good journalists, the people who have paid their dues, the people I was talking about, are people who spent a few months and a few years covering, if it's politics, covering city hall, covering a state legislature maybe. Or maybe they've been in Washington, they've covered Capitol Hill for a while. They've spent some time at it.

They know what it's like to hound a source for information and get turned down; to have to get a story confirmed by two or three or more people before going with it, and they've had to write on deadline and all of these things. As you know, we don't get inducted into some special fraternity or sorority to practice journalism. We come at it from many, many different directions. People who are good at covering the business and economic stories are people

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who have spent some time doing that. Maybe they have a degree in economics.

I distinguish that from pundits because in a sense these are people who just landed in a television studio one day because they can talk well. Not all of them, and I'm not going to name any names, I'm going to leave that up to you. But yes, it's colorful, yes, it's heat; is it always light? Not necessarily. My main point though tonight is the blurring of the line. The public, in seeing this argument culture that's grown up, begins to assume that journalists have as thin a background, if you will, as the pundits do.

And they expect us to have opinions about everything when that's not our job at all. Our job is to report and to put stories in context when appropriate, but not to give you our personal opinions. And I think that line has been crossed time and again to the point that journalism has changed dramatically in this country.

Mr. Bullter: Hi. I'm Benjamin Bullter, a graduate student in real estate.

What I wanted to ask you is to draw on your political background of reporting and what are the things you've noticed most, or what are the things that have struck you most about the bipartisan nature of politics, post September 11th. What is legitimate bipartisanship and how do you feel the battlefield of hardball political confrontation has been changed as a result of this?

Ms. Woodruff: Well, I'll just give you the most immediate example that comes to mind and that is Alex mentioned that I have anchored a program. I did co-anchor with Bernie Shaw for almost eight years, and then Bernie retired in late February of this year and since then I was doing it on my own; that show was on the air through September the 10th. Since then, the feeling has been that politics has been, in the partisan sense, superseded and I agree with it wholeheartedly by what's happened and what we're doing, that we are engaged in the war, that we are dealing with the terror threat here at home.

Politics as we covered it before, where practically everything was seen through the prism of here's what the Democrats think and here's what the Republicans think, has not completely fallen away but has faded somewhat. Now, having said that, are there issues where we're seeing a partisan divide? Absolutely. You're looking at it right now in the aviation security bill and the debate on that right up until tonight, and I don't even know what the result was. Does anybody know what the vote was? It was while we were having dinner, I guess.

But there you saw it. You see Democrats who were in favor of the screeners at the airport being all government employees and the Republicans, by and large, on the other side. So you're starting to see partisan politics creep back in. It hasn't gone away permanently. But I do think, for the foreseeable future, what we are doing as a country in fighting this war and in standing up to this unseen enemy, has made the squabbles, and the

arguments and a lot of the meat and potatoes of a program like “Inside Politics,” pale by comparison.

There’s still politics going on. People are still having discussions. The president still wants a stimulus bill. The Democrats don’t agree. But somehow, it hasn’t risen, I think, to the level that it was before. Is it going to come back? Absolutely it’s going to come back, but not right now, and I don’t see it in the near, immediate future.

Ms. Brown: Hi. My name’s Heather Brown. I’m a first year student here at the Kennedy School. I’m originally from Philadelphia.

And I was wondering if I could just get your thoughts on Walter Isaacson’s memo to CNN foreign correspondents about balance in wartime coverage. Did you think that it was appropriate and did you think it was necessary to issue that memo?

Ms. Woodruff: Yes, Walter Isaacson is the chairman of the CNN news group. As it became clear that our CNN correspondent, Nic Robertson, was going to be part of a small group of journalists who were taken into Afghanistan by the Taliban and allowed to see certain sites that they controlled, we knew those were going to be the ground rules. The rules were going to be you can say what you want, but we’re going to tell you what you can see.

There was a lot of thinking in our news organization, as I’m sure there was at others, about how do you, assuming they take us in and they show us civilian casualties, how do we present that in a balanced way to the American people without looking like we’re just a tool of the Taliban. And I think Walter, who is my boss, in an effort to anticipate what that would look like, put out some guidance saying we’ve got to remember that as we present this, and as you introduce Nic Robertson’s piece, which is what the anchors and the other correspondents are involved in doing, that you remind the audience that you’re only getting part of the story, that you’re seeing behind the lines with the Taliban and just to keep that in perspective.

We’re all struggling with this, there haven’t been any easy, easy answers that I’m aware of since September the 11th. I mean every day, practically, has presented another scenario where we’ve had to make a judgement call, and this is brand new territory; we haven’t been here before. And I’ve heard the criticism. Some have said, well, you shouldn’t do that. You ought to say, let the American people digest the whole thing. Sure, they’re capable of digesting it, just as they are capable of digesting a 30 minute long diatribe from Osama bin Laden. But are we completely comfortable, as a news organization, airing that time and time again and putting these pictures on of whatever civilian casualties there may be behind enemy lines without any context?

I think that it was well considered on his part to say to all of us, let’s put some context in there. But again, this is virgin territory. We haven’t done this before. I mean none of us was around in World War II and that’s

the closest equivalent to what we're doing right now. We are at war, unlike even Vietnam, which I wasn't around to cover either. It is in a profoundly different time and we're only beginning to consider some of these questions that you have raised tonight.

Thank you very much. I've really, really enjoyed being here. Thank you.
(Applause)

THEODORE H. WHITE SEMINAR

NOVEMBER 2, 2001

Mr. Jones: Good morning. I'm Alex Jones. I'm director of the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy and I want to welcome you all here to the Theodore White Seminar for the year 2001. I'm very pleased to have this group assembled on this particular morning. This is a time of great crisis, I think, not just for the nation but for the world, and we have some people on this panel this morning who are capable of addressing this kind of dilemma we are all in at its, I think, most profound level.

The panel is going to speak in turn. Their point of departure will be a response to Judy's lecture last night, but they are certainly not limited to that, and we will be addressing, in a larger sense, the situation as it exists now, especially the role of the media in that. We're going to begin with Sissela Bok.

Sissela Bok is a writer and philosopher. She has also been a Fellow at the Shorenstein Center, I'm glad to say. She was a professor of philosophy at Brandeis, now a Senior Visiting Fellow at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies. But I think that Sissela Bok is most respected and has an almost unique place in intellectual life in this country as a genuine moral authority, and someone who has really set out to do the extremely difficult task of setting moral standards.

Her book, *Lying: A Moral Choice in a Private and Public Life*, is an astonishing and confounding book. I've used it in my courses and I can tell you it's quite an experience. If you haven't read it, I urge you to. She won the George Orwell Award and the Melcher Book Award for that. To give you a sense of what Sissela Bok's mind is like, she has other books with titles like *Secrets* and *Mayhem*. So we've got lying, secrets and mayhem, what that may tell you, I don't know, but it means that she is willing to tackle some nasty ones.

She is also a former member of the Pulitzer Prize Board. I think she has a very deep understanding of the way and the difficulties, the confounding choices, often, that journalists face.

Sissela Bok.

Ms. Bok: Well, thank you very much. I just want to say that I think Judy Woodruff's talk yesterday was quite remarkable. We all lived through the moment of, and the days after, September 11, and most of us were so stunned we wouldn't have been able to pull ourselves together in any way. And yet most of us also, I believe, probably saw her doing just that, namely, having to be talking about it even as the rest of us hardly knew what to say.

I know most of you must have had the same experience, but I know that I was in Italy in the little town of Monteroso in a tiny little bed and

breakfast. This was on the coast of Italy, and I didn't even know how to turn on the television much less find CNN, but somebody helped me. And there she was. And I thought, at the time, how difficult it must be right then and there to be dealing with this horror.

And yet, I do find that her talk helps us even more. She really gives us a kind of front line report of how it did feel and how people experienced the duty to speak about what was happening and all the conflicts that naturally arose, some of which had to do with secrecy or with possible lying as she suggests and very often, also indeed, with mayhem. So I thought I

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would just pick up on a few of the points that she made and then end by raising one question about the role of a journalist as an insider in today's corporate media world.

Now, first of all, the first point I want to take up is that Judy Woodruff refers to Secretary Rumsfeld quoting Churchill's observation that, in wartime, "truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies." Now, I don't think I saw that always before, but I'll look into that.

But I do know that Churchill was speaking not to the British public, not to the world public, but he was speaking to Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin at Tehran in 1943. They were discussing how to disguise from Hitler and others the D-Day operations

And Churchill was asking how can we best protect the truth about the allied plans for D-Day when countless lives were at stake, of course, and maybe the entire war itself, if that had failed. So he had set up a bureau to plan a number of stratagems to deceive Hitler, so called LCS, London Controlling Section. And those agents in the LCS formed the bodyguard of lies. They were not only a bodyguard for layers of lies and secrets that the Germans sought to penetrate, but very much also a bodyguard for the lives and the very bodies of those who were risking their lives and would otherwise be sacrificed at D-Day.

So this was lying in self-defense, and lying in self-defense in war is often thought especially excusable, and I think few people would question the allied policy of deceiving the Germans about D-Day. But in many military strategies, of course, there are no immediate risks of that kind to individual human beings, and lying to enemies and lying for the sake of national security often turns out to justify also lying to the home public and therefore, to the media, and this does enormous damage to trust.

President Eisenhower's greatest regret, he told the reporter, David Kraslow, was "the lie we told about the U-2," and for many Americans, this was a watershed moment with respect to trust in the government. So the greatest risk then is of sort of an expanding set of practices. All we

have to do is think of President Nixon lying for what he thought was national security, or Col. North and his cohorts. Col. North, who said lying does not come easy to me. We all had to weigh in the balance the difference between lies and lives. Well, this was the most unreflective statement, if you really look at the arguments, and the lives and the lies that he engaged in.

But now we are in a situation again of national self-defense, but I do believe that an announced policy about a bodyguard of lies carries great risks here as well. Who is going to believe what public officials say if we know that this is some kind of policy? We didn't even know about it in the past, but now apparently we do. What are we even to think, for instance, about the news today about those four bridges in California being threatened? Is that perhaps some kind of message being sent to our enemies? What kind of truth is involved here if there is such a bodyguard of lies?

We also have to think that the adversaries themselves think that they have a truth that requires a bodyguard of lies and indeed of secrecy, as we saw on September 11. So I think we have to be very careful about that notion of a bodyguard of lies. I don't think the media should allow that to pass unnoticed. I think we really need to ask, all the time, how can we trust our government? Exactly what do they mean with respect to lying, not only to the enemies but perhaps to the American public? What boundaries do they draw? What exceptional circumstances do they see when that might be all right?

The second point I want to take up is Judy Woodruff's point, which I think is absolutely right, that crime is declining in the United States, but many people don't know that and certainly people don't know it abroad. Indeed, when I was writing my book, *Mayhem*, I would often ask people at an audience like this, people who included very knowledgeable human beings involved, perhaps, in national defense, in the peace movement, in the CIA, in the media, I asked them to name the three most violent societies in the world, the three societies with the highest levels of homicide.

And to my amazement, most of them would place the United States among the top three, and often at the top. Now of course, this couldn't be farther from the truth. At the time, and unfortunately still today, the three countries, Russia, South Africa and Colombia were many times higher than the United States on those scales. Indeed, most developing countries have higher levels of homicide. But then we have to ask why should this be?

Judy Woodruff also points to the levels of indulgence in mayhem on television and in the press. There is a so-called mayhem index which measures the proportion of the news that's devoted to scandal, natural catastrophes and war, and that index has been very high indeed, often in the local news as we know, for instance, here in Boston.

But there's something else also that conveys not only to the United States but to the world how violent we are. There's much, much, much

more violence in the media than in real life, but there is also the entertainment world itself. And a Swedish professor of film and literature just came out with an article about the possibility that this attack on September 11 may have been partly inspired by certain movies such as *Independence Day* and *True Lies*, where skyscrapers are very much involved, where there are vehicles moving around, crashing into skyscrapers, and where there are, indeed, some people willing to commit suicide to defeat the enemy.

And his view is that we hear so much about people hating America, but quite apart from that, there are many people who are convinced that America is much more violent than it really is. So this is, I think, a point that's very important to stress.

And finally, my question, and this has to do with being part of a media empire, really, which involves not only news but also very much entertainment and films sent to the entire world. And what I want to ask is, Judy Woodruff has rightly pointed out how careful one has to be to seem objective in the newscasting, but what about internal debates within CNN or within the larger media empire? Is there perhaps a way of soft-peddling questions about the mayhem index or the entertainment violence marketed abroad to so many countries? Is there perhaps a kind of don't ask, don't tell policy in reverse?

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Namely, if we, the reporters, and many on the staff in CNN, or Time Warner or what have you, if we don't ask you too many questions about your marketing

strategies, for instance, about whether CNN is bundled in a package sold to different countries with very violent movies, if we don't ask you too many questions, you won't have to give us too many answers. So that's my question. But again, I want to say how much I appreciated this talk; it's a rare lecture indeed.

Mr. Jones: Thank you, Sissela.

Our procedure this morning is going to be to let all of our panelists speak and then Judy will respond. Our next speaker is Ramindar Singh. Ramindar is a Shorenstein Fellow this year. He's a 30 year career journalist, war correspondent, defense affairs analyst, pundit and has had many, many hats. He also was Nieman Fellow in 1981, '82, here at Harvard. He's the former editor of the *Times of India* and the *Sunday Times of India*. The *Sunday Times of India* has a circulation of, I think, two million. Is that correct?

In other words, he has been the editor of one of the English language newspaper juggernauts in this world. And I think that, certainly in the context of today, his understanding of the differences between the Ameri-

can media and the media in South Asia is something that I hope that he is going to address this morning. That's the project that he's working on while he is here as a Shorenstein Fellow.

Ramindar is also someone who has been, following the events since he arrived, and he arrived shortly before September the 11th, with of course great personal interest. He is, as you would see, a Sikh and he is therefore one who, in this country, would be singled out as identifiable as someone who is, theoretically anyway, could be taken for Islamic. He has been living here in Cambridge during this entire time. How that will inform his remarks this morning, I don't know but I want you to be aware that that is part of the man.

Ramindar Singh.

Mr. Singh: Thank you, Alex.

I think I appreciated Judy Woodruff's talk last night, particularly her spelling out the difficult role that a journalist has at a time like this. And the exemplary manner in which many of the journalists that I read in the American press, and I see on American TV, have performed their jobs, Judy Woodruff not excluded. But we all know it's a difficult task. It brings out the best, and sometimes the worst, in journalists. And we all know what a great job the American media has done.

Permit me, if you would Judy, to point out some of what I think have been maybe the shortcomings of American coverage of September 11th and subsequent events. I do not mean to preach to the American media about how they should do their jobs. This is an individual's point of view of what he would have liked, having been here at this moment, to see. These are issues that I would have liked to see addressed in the American media because I think they have long lasting impact and have the potential to create greater catastrophes and maybe further trouble in the rest of the world.

One of the things that has struck me about the coverage in the American press, and that's TV and print included, is that not enough hard questions have been asked when nearly seven weeks have passed after the main event. I can understand an American journalist feeling exceedingly patriotic, nationalistic about the events and giving the government a chance to get its teeth into the problem and to try to solve it.

But as Marvin Kalb very aptly said a couple of days ago at a seminar at the Shorenstein Center, the fact that you, as a national, are involved in the sentiment of the occasion and the emotions of the occasion, do you, for that reason, draw back? I mean, to put it crassly, do you withdraw your

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claws and not look at things critically, stop being skeptical? And Marvin, I think, answered that question very well. He said that the nature of the journalist's job has not changed even though America may be attacked.

Marvin, do I paraphrase you correctly?

So one feeling I've had is that not enough hard questions have been asked and the most glaring example, to my mind, is the fact that the complete intelligence failure leading up to the September 11th events has almost been glossed over. I say almost, it's been raised in dribs and drabs, there have been references here and there. But has there been any serious follow-up of what the responsibility of the intelligence agencies was, what they could have done, what they did not do, and if they did not do it, why are they still around?

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In a less perfect democracy, people at the intelligence agencies would have been removed within a week of the event. I'm not saying that is the only way to have done it but, as an individual, if you ask me, if these were the people at the helm before September 11th when

Not enough questions have been raised about the behavior and the actions of America's unsavory allies, . . .

dozens of hijackers or potential hijackers were going in and out of the country, checking in and out of hotels, using credit cards, taking flying lessons and how to fly only straight and level; if all of this was missed, would I feel comfortable if the same kind of people are at the helm when you've got as great a threat facing American today, which is anthrax? And maybe tomorrow it could be a nuclear weapon. Does nationalism demand that these people be protected for their failures? I don't know. This is a question that the American administration would have to ask

itself; I can only pose it.

Not enough questions have been raised about the behavior and the actions of America's unsavory allies, for example, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. It took a month after the event for the first really serious doubts about what the Saudis were saying to be voiced in the American press, and these were voiced by Thomas Friedman in the *New York Times*. The lack of Saudi action to stop the outflow of funds for bin Laden's organization, the fact that nine of the 19 hijackers were Saudi nationals, this was known early on after the event, but the Saudi embassy in Washington kept putting out denials that these so-called Saudi nationals were operating on stolen identities.

That has ultimately proved to be false, those denials were false, those nine people were Saudi nationals. But does that raise any questions about America's relations with Saudi Arabia? The other example is Pakistan. Now I know I run the danger here, being Indian, of being instantly labeled anti-Pakistan. But please, the reason I raise these questions is far deeper, the intent is different. There has been not enough examination in the American press and on American TV, of some of the strange events that have been unfolding in Pakistan. And considering that there are hoards of American journalists based today in Pakistan and in the region, I think there should have been some attempt to tie these threads together, threads that are there, they are visible.

Let me rate a sequence of events of what has happened in Pakistan. Shortly after September 11th, there was a mysterious fire in the Pakistani Army headquarters in Islamabad at which an unknown number of files were destroyed. A little after that, the chief of the Pakistani intelligence agency was sacked and two other senior army generals, the vice chief and the deputy chief of army staff, were removed from their positions.

About two weeks ago, lost in a single column, about a three inch news item, a single column report on the pages of the *Boston Globe* was a report that three Pakistani nuclear scientists who had been at the apex of the organization of their nuclear program had been arrested by the government. Nobody followed this up. Nobody saw the significance of what this could have been. It's only on October 26th when Seymour Hersch published a long article about how American and Israeli commandos were supposedly undergoing joint training, with the intention of taking out Pakistani nuclear weapons in case they fell into fundamentalist hands in the event of a coup, which displaced General Pervez Musharraf.

Only then did this matter come into public debate to some extent in the United States. Now, while this is happening, we all know reports have been appearing about Osama bin Laden's effort and Al Qaeda's effort in the past few years to get his hands on some kind of fissionable material. Maybe not a ready weapon, but radioactive material which could be used to spread contamination, radioactive contamination. And three days ago, the International Atomic Energy Agency had invited nuclear experts from around the world for a meeting to discuss safeguards on radioactive materials.

And the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is based in Vienna, I think, issued a warning which said that terrorists may use radioactive sources to incite panic or cause civilian deaths. This was two days before the eve of Halloween warning put out by the FBI. Now I'm not saying that there is a thread connecting all of these events, there may be, there may not be. But as a journalist who tends to think often in conspiratorial terms, and in situations like this, sometimes that helps. One has to examine whether there is a connection and if there is a connection, what it means for America, what it means for South Asia and what it means for the rest of the world.

I don't see that being done and I find that a glaring lapse, maybe a gap in the American coverage. We are covering the events, per se, with great detail but the ramifications of those events, the implications of some of the moves being made by some of the parties are by and large being left untouched.

We are covering the events, per se, with great detail but the ramifications of those events, the implications of some of the moves being made by some of the parties are by and large being left untouched.

A second point I'd like to raise is that—as I said, we are covering the event intensively, but there is not enough looking forward as to what could be the implications of what is happening today. When I've been seeing CNN and other network channels putting out images of refugees by the thousands streaming across the border from Afghanistan into Pakistan, some into Uzbekistan, and interspersed with these images are images of the carpet bombardment of parts of Afghanistan, in my mind, as a journalist, it raises a very basic question. Which is, if the Taliban are under such concentrated bombardment, what are they likely to do? What would they be likely to do? I think they would probably sneak across the border into Pakistan masquerading as refugees, probably lie low for a while and then resume their jihad from their new location.

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I would suspect that the attack on a Protestant church which killed 19 Pakistani Christians could be connected with the new influx of jihadies who arrived in Pakistan. Pakistan is already a society which is violence-prone in the extreme, and you inject into that society a bunch of people who, for possibly the major part of their adult lives, have done nothing but wage a war against some kind of enemy or perceived enemy or the other.

You inject them into a society which is already full of arms, violence-prone to begin with, what are you likely to get? And to complicate that situation, you have a government in Pakistan today which prefers to call what is happening in the neighboring Indian state of Kashmir a jihad and a freedom strug-

gle. And you have people from Pakistan coming into Kashmir and creating trouble there. Now, if there are, let's imagine, ten, twelve thousand Taliban in Pakistan, I would suspect they would sneak into Kashmir. They've already been coming. Nearly one-third of the militants who have been killed by the security forces in Kashmir over the past ten years have been Afghan nationals. Some among them have been Saudi nationals, some have been Somalis, all trained at Al Qaeda camps.

India has been facing the operations of the Al Qaeda for the past seven, eight years. As a person who comes from India and who lives in the north of that country, I'm concerned about what is happening in Afghanistan today. You may solve the problem as it exists in Afghanistan at the moment, but we should be careful that we do not create another problem close by in the region, which could have very serious repercussions.

Now, please remember that the violence in Kashmir almost coincided with the withdrawal of the Russians from Afghanistan. For the Taliban who were there, some were fighting within the country, some moved out to find better pastures, if that's what you want to call it. So the question I'm raising is, having seen what happened in Afghanistan in the '90s, are we, as journalists, even looking at the danger of what the war in Afghanistan today could bring in its wake tomorrow? Or will we wait for that to happen and then cover it as the new disaster of the day, sometime in the future?

Mr. Jones: Thank you, Ramindar. Thank you very much. Very interesting.

Our next speaker will be William L. Nash, Bill Nash. Bill Nash is a major general in the United States Army, retired. He was a Lombard Lecturer at the Shorenstein Center. He's a Senior Fellow, and director of the Center for Preventive Action at the Council on Foreign Relations. I think what he actually is is a very thoughtful soldier. He began his military career as a platoon leader in Vietnam, he has seen action, and activity and engagement at the highest level in Desert Storm, in Bosnia, in Kosovo.

He was commander of Task Force Eagle, a multi-national division that was enforcing the Dayton Peace Accord. Before we began this morning, he was talking about the very peculiar experience he had in dealing with a group of soldiers from 12 different nations, which is what he was running, and quite effectively. There is also another thread that runs through his resume, rather remarkably, and that's the word peace. He is the Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Fund for Peace's Regional Responses to Internal War program. He has been focused, in his military career in many ways, on trying to make a peace.

Bill Nash.

Mr. Nash: Thank you, Alex.

Last night you said we were going to have a serious minded talk today and to be included in that, for me, is a great honor and good fun as well.

Marvin, thanks for getting me involved with this place a couple of years

ago. When Edie called, I said yes, and then asked her when it was. So it's great to be here.

Unfortunately, flying up on the airplane yesterday, I became concerned that I would be put in a position this morning to defend all actions of the American government in the last 100 years with respect to military media relations and the like, and I refuse to do that. The fact of the matter is there are people that ought to hear what we're going to talk about today and are talking about, A, are not here and B, I'm not sure they'd listen if they were. Nevertheless, I'm going to talk about a couple of things for your consideration.

I don't know how to describe the challenges our nation is facing right now. They're extraordinary, they're very complicated, there are severe consequences for doing the wrong thing. There are not necessarily good consequences for doing the right thing in all cases. At the very least, it's an unusual degree of difficulty. Judy, last night, talked about the wide ranging uncertainties the world of journalism faced in covering this story. She acknowledged mistakes have been made. She said it was hard to do this 24 hours a day and that all were struggling in the new territory that we're facing.

That is all true and I agree, and to cover this story, to try to do it right, is very difficult. But I would ask you to consider how hard it is to do the operation, how hard it must be to delve into the unknown for those wide ranging uncertainties that the government faces. It is very, very difficult and as we look at that, we need to always understand that. I would tell you that, in my mind, we're suffering from many of our actions and

behaviors of the past. Normally I would describe them as sins of the past, with respect to foreign relations, relations with a number of places in the world, and it's very hard to fix all those things now.

Ramindar points out the issues of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. It is very hard for us to fix Saudi Arabia right now. It is very hard for us to do the things we need to do with respect to Saudi Arabia and Pakistan as we focus on certain other priorities that, in common judgement, seem more important right now. That's not to say that we should not be

looking at the day after tomorrow, because the priorities you set out for what we must do today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow must include the issues that Ramindar talked about and many more. Many more.

At the same time there is bombing and physical war, there is also the information war that is going on around the world, and I would just say we're doing better, in my view, in the physical war than we are in the

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the information war.**

information war. That too is a difficult complicated fight and in fact at the very least, there are two levels being addressed. There's the audience that the United States is addressing and there's the audience that the Osama bin Laden group at large is addressing. How you portray to the world, to all those audiences, the righteousness of your actions, the reasonableness of your behavior and the proficiency of your arms is a very hard sell and it's complicated.

Ramindar commented there to Judy that maybe they haven't asked enough hard questions. I will tell you, when you're standing at the lectern, the questions do seem hard enough, but I agree that we need to look at many other issues. I think in addition to the list that Ramindar had, I would like to see more coverage of the roots, the consequences in the future of US actions with respect to the Israel-Palestine issue—if we don't come to grips with that. Many people argue that Osama bin Laden does not list that as one of his top priorities; whether that is true or not, many of the supporters of Osama bin Laden do list that as one of their top priorities and reasons for supporting him.

I must say a word about operational security, and this is where the conflict with the government and the media world comes about the most. As a soldier, the burden of responsibility you feel, and this is not without regard to any political influence, the degree of responsibility you feel for the welfare of your soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines is an overwhelming burden that a commander feels every day. And oh, by the way, we want that. We want every one of our military leaders and the civilian leaders of our military armed forces to feel that overwhelming burden. An overwhelming burden sometimes causes people to act unreasonably in the pursuit of that objective and we should be conscious of that. I think there's less conspiracy and just more intensity with respect to need.

The other thing, the hardest thing, that we're facing today in fighting this war is that of intelligence. Every time I'm asked by a reporter, what's the most important thing? The most important thing is intelligence—knowing the enemy, knowing where the enemy is, knowing what's next and all that. The full ramifications of tactical operational and strategic intelligence is an overwhelming requirement. And as you face that, and also denial of your capacities and intentions from the enemy, is an equal part of that intelligence effort.

The problem that's faced is you never know what's important to the enemy. You never know which piece of the puzzle he does not have. So, as you try to protect your own information while gathering theirs, you are sometimes all too consuming in your protection because you don't know

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what he doesn't know. You always assume he knows too much and so you're trying to protect everything, everything possible, and trying to keep that last puzzle piece to close the picture.

The alternative to lying, the alternative to spin, I would say, are two: one, limitation on what you say; and two, not saying anything. Now, I wish we would have more capacity to not say anything and I wish we had more capacity to be more modest in our pronouncements. But what happens is that with the push for information, with the 24 hour news cycle, it is very hard to keep quiet. It is very, very hard. Now at some levels you can be very clever and divert folks, but at the Pentagon briefing or at the White House briefing, it's really hard to divert and you fall into this cycle of either spinning or trying to form that bodyguard of lies.

I agree that that is a very dangerous precedent. There is no question about that. I would tell you another alternative was proposed by a Navy admiral in World War II. He claimed media policy should be to either ignore, or better yet lock up, all the journalists and just tell them who won when it was over.

(Laughter)

Mr. Nash: The military and the media will always face the issues of access, timeliness and security review. We've seen the access issue in spades in our last several engagements, those in Kosovo in particular, and then now.

I thought we had gotten over the timeliness confrontation but I understand that there was some videotape from the first night of the bombing, that there were helicopter problems and they didn't get the tape off the aircraft carrier back to Bahrain for transmission and—I don't know if that was your network or not, Judy—but there was great consternation. I'm sure egos were bruised and producers had their hair on fire, for the most part. And then the issues of security rule review.

I think I'll stop there at this point except to comment that I have been impressed in the last seven weeks, despite some of the disagreements I have with the coverage or issues I'd like to see covered more. I don't know how many journalists I've talked to in the last seven weeks, two months, but I would just say to you that I have been very impressed with the thoughtfulness of the questions and the earnestness with which they have sought information because it is, in fact, the manifestation of that going into the unknown and dealing with the uncertainty. So I am very pleased with that. At the same time, trying to take a most complicated, uncertain situation and reduce it to simplicity has been most difficult and challenging both in asking questions and giving answers.

Thank you, Alex.

Mr. Jones: Thank you Bill. Thank you very much.

Our final speaker this morning will be Roy Mottahedeh who is a New Yorker, a graduate from Harvard, one of the first people to receive a MacArthur Prize and, also, he is a holder of the Guggenheim Fellowship.

He is a specialist in the areas of Islamic history and civilization, something that I think, until September the 11th, all of us were infinitely more ignorant of than we are even now, and certainly our ignorance is still profound.

He is now the Gurney Professor of History at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard. His books include *The Mantle of the Prophet, Religion and Politics in Iran*.

Roy.

Mr. Mottahedeh: Thank you very much.

First of all, I wanted to say that I think that the sense of fairness, the desire for fairness on the part of the media and on the part of the American public has been palpable about issues of Muslims. And as a New Yorker, I'm very proud of this, as an American. I guess we've had at least 800 hate crimes, and 800 probably represents something like 8,000 if you go with unreported hate crimes. And the media has been an important voice in protecting American Muslims, I really feel that's true and I think they are to be congratulated.

However, there are certain things that just don't get through in reporting. First of all, on September 12th, since I do occasionally write and speak about the modern Middle East, although I'm a specialist in the medieval period, one of the major networks called me up. I won't name the network, and they said, how are the Muslim masses reacting? Of course, I was in my basement studying, where we don't have masses much of any race, or something. And I think this is an endless, an absolutely endless struggle to explain and that is that people should not reify or essentialize Islam.

Sam Huntington, who maybe some years ago had a slight tendency towards essentializing civilizations, in a very good interview with the *Times* recently said the Muslim world, when you look at its particularly unusual geographical spread, is more likely to be diverse than is the slightly more compact world of the Hindus or the Buddhist world, and so on and so forth. And I think that's absolutely true. I have the title of Professor of Islamic History but I don't believe there is such a thing as the Islamic world.

There are societies of Muslims. There is no Islamic world. I mean you saw with what pain the United States got from the Organization of Islamic Conference, a vote. That's almost the first time the Organization of Islamic Conference, or any pan-Islamic organization, has ever done anything

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except to maybe condemn what was happening to the Muslims in Bosnia. The Muslims do not have an international presence.

Along with that is something that just doesn't get across and that is, I mean I don't blame CNN or Judy for this at all, but it does come across in everybody's reporting and that is that there is absolutely no religious structure in Islam. In that way, it's very much like Judaism. A Rabbi is anybody whom a group of people choose to call a Rabbi. And, similarly, while states appoint usually quite learned and decent gents as grand muftis and things like that, Muslims are free to lead and very few are obliged to follow.

During the first World War, the British prevailed on the Muslims in India to declare a jihad against the Ottoman Empire, and of course the Ottoman Sultan, himself, declared a jihad, as a member of the Central Powers, against the British and French. The word jihad, the word fatwa, all these words that have become such frequently used buzz words, they mean practically nothing. Anybody can issue a fatwa, your neighbor, a butcher who knows a few verses of the Koran can issue a fatwa. Fatwa is an opinion. A jihad is, I don't know what to say. In Iran, they now have an office for the jihad of rebuilding, reconstruction.

These words have struck terror in the American public and there's been terrible confusion about it because we keep looking for a church-like structure in the Islamic world. There is no church, there is no highest authority. Muslims, yes, are a community of sentiment. To some extent, they are concerned about the persecution of Muslims in Bosnia and so on and so forth when the Bosnian war was at its hottest and so forth. But, it has no structure, there is no authoritative voice. I don't know how to get that across. That may be a good thing, it may be a bad thing, but everybody is looking for an authoritative Muslim voice. You're not going to find it.

I wanted to say you correctly said last night that the American public has too little patience for good foreign reporting and I noticed, traveling a fair amount, how much now CNN, for East Asia and so on and so forth, has more foreign news news content, at least as far as I can understand, which is interesting to me. I mean there obviously are audiences which will take a larger amount of foreign news content than the United States will. Ours is particularly parochial. But I think that you correctly said that CNN needs improving in that respect. To my sort of lay observation, that seems to be the case.

I do feel that the world leader still, in the English language, is the BBC. I have to confess. When I go home, I look at the CNN page and I very quickly turn to the BBC page because the BBC people, what they do in regional broadcasting, first of all, they have much closer contact with the British equivalent that does foreign broadcasts, a foreign broadcast transcript. It is somehow part of Bush House's operation that the foreign broadcast summary of stuff all gets to the editorial people, who do area specialties in the BBC.

Roger Hardy is someone who does the Middle East; I happen to know he is a very good analyst in Middle Eastern affairs. And the highlights of the stuff that they're getting is fed to him right away. I don't know if the structure exists maybe inside of CNN, but they're just more aware of what the headlines and everything in foreign newspapers are. I mean that's the impression I get. Anyway, I won't go on about the BBC. They seem to have something.

Let me say, you did not mention one of the jewels in CNN's crown and that's a wonderful page for teachers on the net. CNN, For Your Information, which I think is a really fine site; it still is developing. It's sometimes call Student CNN. I think maybe one should more call it deep CNN. There are some aspects of it. I just caught it last night and took two things off the net from that. One was after a very good interview with Ivan Haddad, a fine expert on Muslim Americans. They have advice to the teacher on how to use this interview and they said—how does Islam compare to Christianity and Judaism? I think that's a very un-useful question. Ask students to create graphic organizers to compare the three religions, etcetera, etcetera.

Similarly, there was a piece—and here I have to confess, I was asked to appear as a person who would be talked to online by CNN and I turned them down. There was a very good piece by Stephen Kinzer, a respected reporter from the Middle East. It has a terrible title, "Differences Between Western and Islamic Cultures." And believe me, lots of American Muslims are no different, not significantly different from anybody around this table.

So that's, again, the pull of this reification, and let me say some of it comes from the Muslim side. We in America understand what it is to say something is constitutional or unconstitutional, it has an emotive meaning. I can remember having some marginal involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, going down south and seeing billboards that said that *Brown vs. Board of Education* was unconstitutional, because we in America call anything that seems to be against the real spirit of our country unconstitutional.

Similarly, Muslims, because it's a central symbol in their lives, many Muslims, not all, call anything they dislike un-Islamic. And we fall into the trap of trying to answer, Is it Islamic or not? which is really an absolutely useless exercise.

I want to just talk about one specific issue that came up last night and that is broadcasting Osama bin Laden's messages. First of all, they were available on the net in Arabic and English almost immediately. All right, Colin Powell doesn't want us to actually have him speaking, so maybe summarize what he says while you have a picture of him speaking in the background. But perhaps the encryption actually is in the way he speaks or the emphasis on words. I don't know what it's about. I can't figure out what exactly the government is so worried about.

But in fact, these messages from Osama bin Laden are incredible insights into the cult-like nature of Al Qaeda, and so on and so forth. And

really, like the documents by Mullah Mohammad Omar, these are really genuine documents from, if you want, what's the enemy now and I think absolutely centrally interesting. I find when I read one of them aloud and analyze it, audiences are mesmerized, and I think the Harvard audience is. I don't know, maybe you can't get national audiences. We don't want to be the conduit for the over-publicization of their point of view.

. . . these messages from Osama bin Laden are incredible insights into the cult-like nature of Al Qaeda, . . .

But nobody tried to hide the works of Marx and Lenin during the Cold War in this country, nor should they. This is a real vital piece of news which has not been exploited actually. I think his messages are fantastically interesting in what they tell us about the people who send them.

Thank you.

Mr. Jones: Thank you, Roy. Very interesting. I would think that we could probably spend all morning just talking about your area, and all of that applies to everyone here.

Judy Woodruff, you're up.

Ms. Woodruff: Well, the first thing I want to say, Alex, is thank you for the honor of having an opportunity to be with such a distinguished group of people this morning. This is such a terrific relief for me from being in the thick of it in Washington everyday. To be able to step a few miles to the north and to sit down with some people who think hard and well about what we do, and do it at some remove and who are able to put everything in the kind of context that I think we too often are not able to do in Washington.

Before I go any further, I also want to say the one thing I regret about last night is not recognizing my long time idol in this business, and that is Frank Stanton, who is here this morning as he was last night, and somebody I have admired for so long.

(Applause)

Ms. Woodruff: It means a lot to me that you're here.

I will just say, first of all, I'm glad I don't have the four of you to deal with everyday critiquing—

(Laughter)

Ms. Woodruff: —my work, I think I would go crawling home at night. But I do appreciate your remarks and I think they're the basis for a very stimulating discussion over the next hour or so.

First of all, to Sissela Bok, thank you very much, and it does put things in perspective when I hear that you were in, was it Italy, when you listened to what happened on the 11th. I will acknowledge that I probably took some license when I quoted Rumsfeld. He did say that, but I think his

point about a bodyguard of lies, he was in a way, I think, throwing down the gauntlet to say we may have to, at some point, fudge the truth or worse in order to do what we need to do, and you acknowledged that.

I actually think that he, in particular, and they have done a good job of not throwing out lies and a lot of misleading arguments. I think they have stuck close to the truth, as far as we've been able to tell. I've been listening to these Pentagon and White House, and to some extent, to a lesser degree, the State Department briefings every day and I am struck by the extent to which Rumsfeld has tried to answer questions.

And if anything, as Bill Nash said, they've gone a little bit too far at times in promising more than they should. So I give them credit at this point and I give Rumsfeld, in particular, credit for trying to be responsive. And this is a man who is not comfortable with the press, not comfortable with the role of the press, and he's been very straightforward about that.

You said so many interesting things and I'm not going to try to comment on everything. I will say, on your point about the bigger media empire and whether there's a big entertainment package that maybe sends ideas out there, I think that's something that we all need to think about. In a company as big as AOL Time Warner or Disney, which of course owns ABC, we do have larger responsibilities and if we are putting out music and movies that affect the thinking of not just young people in this country, but in other places, we do have a responsibility. And I'm not talking about censorship and I'm not saying that we need to restrict what artists are able to create, but it is part of a larger package that we put out there for consumption, and I think it needs to be something that we are candid about having a role in.

Ramindar, you raised so many good points. When you say not enough hard questions have been asked, I do disagree with that. I think clearly, I would make a distinction between the first month or so after September the 11th when we were all still in a state of, shock is maybe too strong a word, but in a state of just not normal and not knowing what the danger was, what should we be afraid of, is there a terrorist behind every tree, what are we dealing with here? So I think the press, during that first month, and to a great degree now, is still trying to figure out what is our role in this.

Clearly, we're journalists. We're also citizens. And I think many of us, in that first month in particular, had a difficult time with completely separating our position as a citizen, which I don't think we should ever do, from our position as a journalist and our responsibility to ask tough questions. I think we have increasingly started to ask tough questions. Again, as Bill Nash said, I think the questions are getting tougher by the day at the White House and at the Pentagon.

And I think a third, or a half, of the questions on any given day right now at the Pentagon are questions that they shouldn't answer. You know,

what are we going to do next with special operations forces, and so forth.

The points you made that I think raise concerns about what we're doing and I think where we are clearly vulnerable is that we are not spending enough time in the media looking at some of these larger questions like the failure of intelligence. We did point it out, we did ask those questions but, no, we don't have the answers.

. . . we are frankly overwhelmed on many days with the sheer amount of news that's coming out . . .

No heads have fallen. I mean nobody's been fired. Tenet is still there. The FBI has a new head, Bob Mueller, so that's a different situation, but George Tenet is still there and the White House has pretty much brushed that aside. I think we have to keep asking hard questions about what happened with

regard to intelligence.

I think all the questions about Pakistan and the nuclear stockpiles, those are all things that we need to start focusing on and push on. The problem we have in the 24 hour news cycle though is that we are frankly overwhelmed on many days with the sheer amount of news that's coming out on that day, whether it's anthrax, New York, or Washington, or whatever bulletins are coming from the front in Afghanistan.

. . . it is difficult to . . . deploy people to go off and do the kind of deeper reporting that should be done . . .

And in a 24 hour news cycle, when part of your responsibility is to tell your audience anew every thirty minutes what's happened, it is difficult to carve out those times and even more important than that, to deploy people to go off and do the kind of deeper reporting that should be being done into some of these questions, again, whether it's the nuclear or Pakistan or Saudi Arabia. I think I would just say this, CNN is not the only news outlet that's out there, obviously. People, they can read the *New York Times*,

they can read Sy Hersch's pieces in *The New Yorker*.

It's the totality of what we're doing. Does that absolve us of the responsibility? No. We still need to be looking at these questions. But I would say that our role, as a 24 hour news network, gives us greater responsibilities to cover the daily story and I think that we have had to make tough decisions, with limited resources, about where to deploy people, correspondents, producers and so forth. And we don't have an endless supply of money. Even though we had 31 bureaus around the world, and even though we had more people in the region than any other television news organization, our resources are not endless.

And absolutely, we should be in Saudi doing more reporting there. We should be in Pakistan doing that reporting. But there's always going to be a tug of war between the people who argue we've got to carve out more time for these investigative reports and these longer discussions of religion, Islam, and those who say but we've got to keep telling our audience that's tuning in every 15 minutes, here's what's going on. And so you are constantly trying to strike a balance there.

Bill Nash, I would just reiterate what I just said, I think the questions at the Pentagon have been tough and I think sometimes US officials are even going beyond what they should say. But by and large, most of their answers are, we can't tell you. And I think, having said that, it's the role of the reporters to ask all the tough questions, to keep probing, keep asking and see what happens, and hold them responsible when the answers aren't right or when we don't get enough information. Your point about the 24 hour news cycle, I think it goes without saying we are part of the problem.

I mean we are out there asking, not just at every briefing, but in between briefings. We're knocking on the door of whether it's the spokeswoman at the Pentagon, or Ari Fleischer or anybody we can get a hold of in the White House, the State Department, the NSC, and we're asking what's going on, and why isn't the war going better, and why haven't you figured out anthrax, and why did you screw this up, why didn't you do something about the postal workers sooner than you did? Now, we are bombarding, and these demands are coming faster and thicker than they've ever come before, putting enormous pressure on them.

And you can say, well, that's their job and they have to deal with it, and that's true. But we are in a whole new territory here we've never been in. I, in my lifetime, as a journalist, have never covered a story like this where on so many fronts there were so many aspects of it that we were just ill prepared to cover, whether it's Afghanistan, Islam, which we've done a lousy job of covering. I think we do a lousy job of covering religion in general, but Islam in particular, I think we need we need to be figuring out a way, all the time, to educate the American people.

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And finally, I would just say to Roy Mottahedeh that there is a difference, I think you mentioned seeing different CNN overseas than you see here. In fact, it is completely different. The CNN domestic channel is geared to the American audience; the CNN international channels, which now have been tailormade to appeal to audiences in different parts of the world. The increasing focus is target, whether it's Asia, Africa, Western Europe or whatever. And the international audiences get a much heavier dose of international coverage than we do here in the United States.

I think we need much more international coverage here. Rick Kaplan and I can discuss that this morning if you'd like to hear us go at it. We both agree it should be there, it's just a question of how and where and so forth. So, anyway, I appreciate what all of you have said and I'm rolling up my sleeves and I'm ready to have at it with Marvin or whoever else wants to go at it.

Mr. Jones: Let me take the prerogative of the moderator to ask a couple of questions first, if I may. First, to you Roy, I think you put your finger on the greatest single weakness of the coverage so far, and that is having some context for the kind of mosaic of portraiture of the Islamic world and Islam in general that we've been getting. I'm struck, for instance, by a story that appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* by Rick Bragg, who is one of the best writers the *New York Times* has. He knows nothing whatever about the Middle East, as far as I know. He has never been abroad, I don't think.

He was sent to Pakistan and the *New York Times* put an article on the front page the day shortly after he arrived in which he, I'm sure quite accurately, quoted a group of automobile mechanics in Islamabad, saying that they were prepared to put down their hammers and go to war with America. Now, when you put that on the front page of the *New York Times*, it says something, or theoretically it says something. My sense is that it was saying something that may or may not be true but certainly there was no basis in the article for leading us to believe that that is actually what every automobile mechanic in Pakistan is prepared to do.

The impression that I get, I feel, as a citizen, as a reader, a consumer of news is that Islam, effectively, has been hijacked by the most orthodox, most anti-Western faction and that that is a widespread truth. I don't mean it's universal, but certainly widespread. I don't know how to interpret my readings from Seymour Hersch, and Joe Lelyveld and others about the Islamic mind, and the mind of the suicide bomber and the street, as it's called. How can the media get a handle on this?

If you were the assignment editor at a major news organization, what would you ask them to do? What should they be looking for and what kind of story should they be doing, and not doing?

Mr. Nash: The tendency has been to run around and ask any Muslim you meet, how do you feel about this? And so people say, ah, the Muslims are putting out the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia and the Azhar in Egypt

and they're putting out things against terrorism and so forth. Oh, we met some people and some Muslims in Afghanistan who say Osama is great, and so on and so forth. And there's this higgledy-piggledy picture. I agree that it's not a representative picture.

And I think Americans' hopes have gone up and down with a very false barometer. I think that somebody should try to explain this whole business about the structure of religious authority, that there are traditional institutions of learning, like the Azhar and say the Ayatollah and so forth. What are their opinions? Muslims, of course, are deeply engaged in the ethnic groups they belong to and a lot of these struggles we are talking about are really involved in ethnicisms. And really what they care about is how this whole thing impacts on their ethnic struggle.

I mean, obviously, the Palestinians, whether it's been their support of Saddam and so forth, they see everything in terms of the Palestinian situation, the Palestinian Muslims. So I think one has to sort of aggregate it in large pieces and face the issue centrally and say look, this is the spectrum of Muslim opinion. Some of these people have a certain standing because they are people of great learning. Nonetheless, nobody feels obliged to follow them, and some people have prestige because they're people of great daring. And whatever the hell is wrong, and everything is morally wrong with Al Qaeda, they're people of extraordinary daring, I think we can fairly say. And people, some people, are sold on that.

Very often, what people represent as Islamic views, is really their local concern, and I think you have to disengage that. The Lelyveld piece was very interesting because the Palestinian suicide bombers said, oh, it's correct to do a suicide bombing for the sake of Palestine. And they asked them about other kinds of things and they said, well, we don't know, we're really not so interested, and so on and so forth. So, clearly, for them, suicide bombing vis-à-vis Israel was legitimate, but they couldn't really condone any other kind of suicide bombing, as I read the piece.

That's the deep involvement of Muslims in local politics, which is I think true to an extraordinary extent everywhere. And I think that story has to be told as well. Muslims often speak of Muslim opinion, but that's a very individual Muslim opinion. One doesn't ask what does the Christian world feel about World Bank or World Trade Organization or something.

And to ask what the Muslim world feels about many of these things is not a correct question. To give a spectrum of Muslim opinion is correct, but there is no reified Muslim world, there is no structure. We should not expect an answer as to what the Muslim world is. The British, by the way, have had people who have a longer experience in these local societies and that's why their reporting is a little bit ahead of ours in print, as well as on the BBC.

Mr. Jones: Does anyone want to comment about this?

Mr. Hamali: My name is Reza Hamali and I am the Chairman of Pakistan Press International, which is the country's independent news agency.

I'd like to follow up a little bit on what the professor here has said. And I agree, there seems to be an unwitting convergence between the viewpoints that the extremists would like to project and the Western media which projects them. I think Islam has not been hijacked by the extremists;

a great majority of Muslims are like anybody else.

. . . there seems to be an unwitting convergence between the viewpoints that the extremists would like to project and the Western media which projects them.

It's just that the extremist viewpoint is the only viewpoint which is projected in the media. And for me to have projection in the media, I have to say more and more extremist things and then they will be published, and then they will be broadcast. And then the Muslim world gets to read all of them, those viewpoints, and they say that CNN is so biased against Islam, because this is how they show Islam. You see? And so one thing feeds upon the other thing.

I mean a great majority of mechanics are not concerned about going to war. Like anyone else, they want to think of ways of how to overcharge their customers.

(Laughter)

Mr. Hamali: Similarly, a great majority are like any other people. But it's said that this is not a war against Islam, and I believe that this is not war against Islam but having said that, imagine the image of Islam that's projected here. You mention Islam and it brings fear into the hearts of most people. It's not in Islam. When you mention Christianity, there's no fear amongst people. When you mention Judaism, there's no fear amongst them.

If you mention Islam, there's a fear against Islam. You have to break that barrier, ordinary people have to break the barrier. Ramindar, and I respect him, but in any other society, you cannot get away with the simple assertion that a certain society is violence-prone. So why the society is violence-prone, say it's Muslim. You can get away with things that you cannot think about in any other religion that you can see.

Is this a new beginning? I would hope that this is a new beginning. What is this war about? Is it to control Islam or to subdue Islam? Then it's not going to work, and this is how it is being perceived right here only by most of the people. If this is a war that will eventually lead to better understanding between the West and Islam, and you project it as such, and then you see how much more this is going to be accepted.

Generally, it's a mirror image. If you want to see how the Islamic world views you, you have to look at yourself, how do we view the Islamic world. It is very seldom that you are going to see that I'm going to hate

you and you are going to like me. So one thing that we have to see is how has the Western media projected Islam?

Ms. Woodruff: On that point of the media projecting only the extremist voices of Islam, I'm not going to speak for all the media, but I want to turn the question around and ask why are we not hearing from any other Arab leaders a response, for example, to the Osama bin Laden statements which, as Roy said, are fascinating to listen to. And the media's uncomfortable about how much to air of it. I don't know of a single, and Tom Freidman pointed this out this morning in his column in the *Times*, not a single leader, that I'm aware, Egypt, I mean you can go down the list, has said this is wrong. This is not a war against Islam. We're not hearing that, are we?

Mr. Mottahedeh: Things are getting to you in a too filtered way. Osama bin Laden, the attack on New York, have been roundly condemned by the top of the religious establishment in both Egypt and in Saudi Arabia. In fact, I wrote an op-ed piece for the *Times* in which I pointed this out and I also pointed out that, back in May of this year, long before the events of September 11th, the highest religious authority in Saudi Arabia condemned suicide bombings entirely. And for all that I wrote it very clearly, I received an enormous amount of hate mail.

Ms. Woodruff: From?

Mr. Mottahedeh: Well, people.
(Laughter)

Mr. Mottahedeh: It is not true that the voices have been silent, but it involves reading these statements and understanding what they're saying, involves a certain amount of thinking. And it requires a certain amount of time and a certain amount of going to people who are interested in this kind of thing. And perhaps there has been. I cannot get over the fact that Josef Bodenski, who has written perhaps the most ignorant book ever to make the best seller list, of course, I don't read all the books on the best seller list, but I like to say things like that.

One of the most ignorant books to ever make the best seller list has gotten to the media and is saying things like the majority of Muslim children being born today are named either after the prophet, Mohammed, or after Osama. How the hell does anybody know that? I mean, really, has it enabled him to read all of the statistics for Indonesia? Anyway, there have been voices that have loudly and clearly and with great learning condemned the bombing.

Now, there's an American extension of that, which is that they should go on to praise the Lord. And what they have said, many of them, is that

. . . why are we not hearing from any other Arab leaders a response . . . to the Osama bin Laden statements . . .

bringing Osama bin Laden, or any perpetrators of terrorism, to trial is correct. But you cannot expect them to give a blank check to America for a war. I mean some of them will do it, but most will not. If I were a for-

. . . what they have said, many of them, is that bringing Osama bin Laden, or any perpetrators of terrorism, to trial is correct. But you cannot expect them to give a blank check to America for a war.

eigner, Muslim or not, I wouldn't want to give them a blank religious —. Has the pope given us a blank check for this war? I think he's rather hostile to it. But people don't jump up and down and say why is the Catholic Church not doing this.

Mr. Jones: But it would seem to me that, first, if the propaganda on the other side is Osama bin Laden saying as loudly and as repeatedly as he can that this is a war against Islam—

Mr. Mottahedeh: Yeah. Of course.

Mr. Jones:—I mean shouldn't there be Islamic voices that say we may not agree with this war, but it is not a war against Islam.

Mr. Mottahedeh: There should be and there have been.

Mr. Jones: Yes, Sissela?

that there have been some voices. But I would argue a little bit along the line of Judy Woodruff, there have not been enough voices and they have

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not been clear enough, and I would say that that goes for every major religion in the world. Every major religion in the world, unfortunately, has people willing to carry out terrorism, to carry out atrocities and there are not enough of their fellow co-religionists standing up and saying I'm sorry, do not do this in our name.

Here in Boston, when we've had debates about capital punishment, we've had parents of children who have been murdered who have stood up along the streets with signs saying "not in our name." And I think it would be very good if Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Muslims and others, many of them had said very, very clearly do not do this in the name of our holy text or our religion.

Mr. Mottahedeh: I agree wholeheartedly.

Mr. Jones: Go ahead.

Mr. Malcolm: Good morning. I'm Omar Abdul Malcolm. I'm a mid-

career student at the Kennedy School and, like my brother on the panel, I'm a New Yorker and a Muslim.

Two of the perspectives I think that are missing from this whole argument are, number one, the American Muslim community, which I checked on the numbers on the internet as recently as two days ago and they were between seven and twelve million.

And the other perspective is the African American perspective. I would say to those of you who think that there's not enough condemnation, I read most or many of the Muslim publications that come out and I don't know of one that has endorsed Osama bin Laden or endorsed what he did. Even Louis Farrakhan referred to it as a terrible tragedy and referred to the people that had perpetrated it as wild beasts, and certainly he's not considered mainstream or anything like that.

But I think that one of the things that the news entities and the media entities have to consider is that, perhaps, they need to do a better search and more investigation into, first of all, the response of the American Muslim community, which is quite large and quite diverse, and also the African American community, which I think will give another perspective on this particular issue.

Mr. Jones: May I ask you, just from your reading and your impression, would you say that it is the belief, and if you could generalize or however you wish to respond, that the Islamic community in America regards what's going on as a war against Islam?

Mr. Malcolm: No. I think that they feel that it's a group of people that, to put it in New York terms, "had a beef" and that took some steps to solve that situation, in their own minds, and then tried to bring other people into it. It's just like in every community, and if you study history, people do things and then when the authorities come down, and they say look what they're doing to us. And it's just them, it was their idea.

You know, Osama bin Laden didn't call me, certainly, and ask me about that, nor did the gentlemen that flew the planes. And I don't think any Muslim, any responsible Muslim or any responsible Muslim organization, is willing to or even inclined to take credit or endorse that kind of behavior. Obviously, savage behavior is not too difficult, but it's un-Islamic. And certainly it can be documented in the Koran and in the tradition. So it's nothing that the average Muslim would endorse.

But I think that, as part of American culture especially, and maybe Western in general, we have this idea that if it bleeds, it leads. And generally, if you have something that's dramatic and violent, people want to see that. And before that, it was Gary Condit and Chandra Levy and then when

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this came, they forgot about that. And certainly I don't know what's going to happen to top this, it's quite a feat, but I think that a lot of the reasons why Osama bin Laden and this particular perspective is receiving attention is because it was a very bloody and very dramatic event.

Mr. Jones: Marvin, you had a comment?

Mr. Kalb: Yes. Thank you.

I'd like just to try, if possible, to return to the central role of the press and what Judy was talking about last night. And as she knows, from what I told her earlier this morning, I liked her speech very much and I've heard every single one of the Teddy White lectures. And this stood, in my mind, very close to the top because of its immediacy, so I think the advice that Steve Hess gave was very good.

One of the things that you talked about last night was journalism pre-September 11 and journalism since September 11. And in my mind, you seem to draw too sharp a dividing line. I am trying to get at what is the responsibility of a journalist on September 10th and on September 12th; in my mind, it's essentially the same responsibility, you're trying to get the story, you're trying to get it as fairly as possible. And the story itself can change, the context can change, the substance changes every day, every hour.

But the responsibility of a journalist, in my mind, does not really change. And everyone is talking about how everything has changed since September 11th; I'm old enough to remember that everything changed on December 7th. There have been moments in my life when everything changed, by which I think I meant that major stories took place. But if you pull back and say what then is my responsibility as a journalist, I'm not sure that that, specifically, changes. What I notice in this post-September 11 context is that patriotism came into play in a way that I had not seen since World War II. But in World War II, I was too young to understand its role, and now I'm probably too old to understand its role. But I have a feeling that it's overpowering and you, yourself, said a moment ago that in the first 30 days it was not normal, and that you're beginning to feel a return to normalcy now.

And my gut feeling picks up a number of the things that Ramindar was talking about before. It's true that we live in a different kind of society and if some major negative takes place, nobody really pays for it. There's no immediate governmental accountability and so for society, the press has a special role, in my view, to point the finger at somebody and say you may have a role in why we didn't know anything about this. I mean it was always an amazing thing to me that there was only one secretary of state I remember who resigned over a matter of principle, and nobody is trapped.

We all seem to live in a world of relativity, but not all issues are relative. There are some that are right and there are some that are wrong, and I think that journalism tends to hide now in a world of mushy relativism where I don't quite understand enough about this so that I can't really

comment about it, and you sort of pull back. And I hope that there is a time in the not too distant future when not only the questions become a bit sharper but there will be a lot more of the perspective that I think is sorely lacking in the reporting at this time.

Who are the analysts who you are bringing on board? The pattern was set during the Gulf War. I mean it's Nash and all of his buddies who are brought in as though they know the truth somehow. They're inside and they can pick it up and project it to us. I'd rather hear a good journalist tell us what was going on, or what he or she had seen, than Nash. Nash can come in later, but I'd rather have the journalists up front.

Oh, and one more point. I'm not sure I know the name properly—Nic Richardson?

Ms. Woodruff: Robertson.

Mr. Kalb: Robertson. You used him as an example, Judy, of a foreign correspondent doing what a foreign correspondent should be doing. Robertson was there to cover a trial, I believe, in which a number of Americans were involved. And once again, it's an America-focused story and a lot of foreign stories are. But that isn't the same as foreign coverage, and I think that what we're absorbing right now is a war that happens to be fought in Afghanistan, but it's a projection of something that happened in the United States.

Being a foreign correspondent is significantly different from catching a plane and going to an area where there's a military conflict and covering what it is that you can see, what you're briefed on. You still don't know the languages, you don't know the history, you don't know any of the three or four items in a row that Ramindar ticked off before. Why? Because you're connected umbilically now to Atlanta or Washington or New York. They're reading the AP wire. You're all caught up in this thing.

Where is the time for you to reflect on the larger picture of where you are all going? I don't want that to sound like criticism, by the way.

(Laughter)

Ms. Woodruff: It was. Sure you didn't, Marvin.

(Laughter)

Mr. Mottahedeh: I don't know about Judy, but I took it personally.

. . . journalism tends to hide now in a world of mushy relativism . . .

. . . what we're absorbing right now is a war that happens to be fought in Afghanistan, but it's a projection of something that happened in the United States.

Mr. Kalb: I was just emoting, that's all.

Ms. Woodruff: Mushy relativism. I don't feel any relativism, Marvin, about what happened on September the 11th. It was wrong. There's no lack of moral clarity on my part or the part of most of us.

Mr. Kalb: The president of ABC had a moment of—

Ms. Woodruff: He did have a moment of —. And he did apologize. Exactly. You're right, to a degree. I mean we go along for a period of time before September the 11th and we try very hard to just straddle the fence and to say we're going to look at this side and that side, and we're going to try to be fair, and we're going to try to give everybody equal time. Something like this comes along, and we are put squarely on the side of the United States for a period of time because our country has been attacked. I had never been put in that position before. I didn't cover Vietnam. I wasn't around to cover World War II. There hasn't been a story anywhere approaching this.

So we may have, in some way or ways, and I'm not going to speak for all of us, but some of us may have slipped over too much into the wearing the mantel of patriot American more than we have journalist. But I don't have any apology to make about that. I think what they did was wrong, and having said that, the first day, September the 11th, I was interviewing several people on the air, live, and I was asking them what happened to our intelligence, how did this happen?

So I disagree with you that those questions have not been asked. They have been asked. Have we gotten answers? No. Has anybody been fired? No. Should they be asked more? Yes. Should we keep pressing for answers? Yes. Should we be doing more investigative reporting? Absolutely. But we have asked those questions.

Some of the other questions that you and Ramindar raise about not just about Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the intelligence question, we've got to do a much, much better job of dealing with these stories. But again, and I don't think either one of you is asking CNN every 15 minutes to present an investigative report on this, it's not realistic, it's not our mission. But should we be doing some of it? Absolutely. And we need to do a better job of it.

No time to reflect? You're absolutely right. I mean I'm telling people I wake up in the morning feeling way behind and don't know enough about what's going on, and can't read all the newspapers. I go to sleep at night feeling the same way, and it's been that way ever since September the 11th. This day and a half at Harvard is my only opportunity to step back practically at all and think about what we're doing. But we all need to take a little bit of time off if we can and give it some thought.

Mr. Patterson: Judy, I must admit to being a member of your fan club here, so that—

Ms. Woodruff: That sounds like a—
(Laughter)

Mr. Patterson: It is.

Ms. Woodruff: —be that as it may.

Mr. Patterson: I think the press coverage has been quite good. I think it has been, but predictably, too event-driven. But I think in this kind of a situation it's hard to get out of that mode and I think the American press is not—that's their best mode anyway. I mean that's their most practiced mode and somewhat different than from European journalists. But the question I would raise really is not about what's happening now and the kind of coverage that's happening now, but what's going to happen in the future.

And I think the press is going to have trouble letting go of this story and there are likely to be some consequences of that. If we go back and if we're looking for a parallel, I think the "if it bleeds, it leads" is not a bad parallel, as Sissela made some reference to, but in a different context. And if you go back and you look at the crime coverage in the early '90s, it just soared, I mean it took off, it tripled. And along with it, it carried public opinion.

In the decade previously, no more than 10 percent in the Gallup Poll said crime is a serious problem in the country and by 1994, 40 percent said it's the most serious problem. But in fact, crime is going down, but Congress responds to public opinion, and so we have tougher sentencing laws, you get more prison buildings, and now we have more people per capita in prison than any country in the world. And I think this kind of story may well be of that kind, and I don't know what the mantra is going to be, but it may be something like if it's a threat, it's a sure bet.

And we see a little bit of that now, I think. Coming in, on NPR, I heard, and it's what, three days out or so, no new development in the death in New York City. We still haven't been able to track down the source of that case of anthrax, and I think that was the third or fourth story on the list. There's no change, it's three or four days later. I think this is going to be a story that, and whenever a story takes over the news agenda and the media has trouble letting it go, then you begin to distort the general public agenda.

And if you look at coverage, even now, I think what's being undercovered are a number of things including some of the adverse consequences of the economic slowdown. And I understand it perfectly in this window and I think this is going to be quite a long window, but it may well be two, three, four years out that the press has been unable, even then, to let go of this, and then there are going to be some adverse consequences.

. . . whenever a story takes over the news agenda and the media has trouble letting it go, then you begin to distort the general public agenda.

Mr. Jones: Do you want to respond?

Ms. Woodruff: I would just say that it is tough for us to let go, particularly in a week when the attorney general tells us that there's a threat out—

Mr. Patterson: Oh, it can't happen now.

Ms. Woodruff: —there and when the governor of California says bridges may be blown up.

Mr. Patterson: It's just not going to happen now.

Mr. Nash: Alex, just a very quick comment. Of all the things I want right now, I want the anthrax story to stay alive. I want an update. I just would make the point that I think the anthrax issue and the anthrax story is one that I want questions asked about and raised every day, because it is the most puzzling of all the things that have happened to us in the last two months.

And Tom, maybe I've misinterpreted your point—

Mr. Patterson: I'm not talking about this window. I think this window is an exceptional window.

Mr. Nash: But that's one that you can't do enough about right now, and anything you can do to inspire our government to do better, go to it.

Mr. Jones: Ellen?

Ms. Mickiewicz: Well, this has been, and continues to be, an extraordinary panel after Judy's predictably, but even more, extraordinary talk last night. No buts here. I observed something recently that made me think about some paradoxes about CNN and its uniqueness and its success, in a way, and those paradoxes as a byproduct of the success. And let me explain where my thinking started on this.

A couple of weeks ago I was co-chairing a meeting in Vienna of an NGO with media decision makers from about 22 countries, a small American presence, but mainly Western Europe, the European part of the former Soviet Union, the Balkans, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, all those places. And to my puzzlement and distress, I heard around the table from friends, and friends of the United States, many of them, real deep criticism of CNN, real disappointment. And I was trying to think why this took place and it occurred to me that CNN has created some tensions because of its very success with its identity. And let me say what I mean and see if this is something that you think is in fact the case, or at least in part the case.

Now, one aspect of this is that it seemed to me that many of the people around the table "knew better or not" intellectually, essentially treat CNN as a public service entity. Now, yes it has commercials, but many public service broadcasters have commercials. So it kind of expects the kind of public service approach that you mentioned that comes from the BBC and that Tom mentioned may come to be a point of tension in the future, as bottom lines and finances, and keeping stories alive and so on. So that's one of the paradoxes, which I think is to CNN's credit, but can create some real misunderstandings.

The second is its extraordinary success of becoming a global country that exists in the ether. If you're abroad, you don't know where the anchors sit, for example. And even though the audiences are largest outside the United States, the revenue is largest inside the United States. So there's a global identity to a U.S. company, and therefore, there is this kind of reaction when it appears to be a U.S. company abroad. Now I know that much of the programming is designed and is quite different. Nonetheless, there's considerable overlap, especially about U.S. stories. So, again, the expectations are that it doesn't have a U.S. identity and that, I think, has been an extraordinary success, but also gives rise to these misunderstandings.

And the third, and last paradox that I noted in this meeting, I think, is that CNN is regarded as being kind of the American monopoly on news, whereas, within the United States, of course, we have many sources of American news, CNN being very prominent and indeed leading in terms of its international assets. So we regard, within the United States, CNN as part of a market. Outside the United States, it seems to be the voice of the United States.

So what I just wanted to raise is these paradoxes that come from CNN's success and yet can lead to the kind of very surprising kind of distress that I saw.

Ms. Woodruff: I think that's an important observation, Ellen. I would just stress, again, that what we do abroad, outside the United States, is almost completely different from what we do inside the United States. There are only two programs that I'm aware of that we regularly, daily, repeat or simulcast and that's "Larry King Live" and "Moneyline with Lou Dobbs." Those are the two shows.

And you're right, there are some stories that are repeated and when it is a day like September the 11th, the broadcasting in the United States, the reporting, is exactly the same because we carry what we have.

Mr. Kaplan: And that would be very jarring to an international audience because while you're used to getting your normal international channel and never see Judy and the other domestic anchors doing their thing, when you have rolling, continuous coverage like that day, it dominates, it is the channel. It is the channel probably in the airports. It is the channel in international. It is the channel Español, it is the channel.

And if you're sitting in another country and it's truly all of a sudden a foreign newscaster—

Ms. Woodruff: You're hearing American accents.

Mr. Kaplan: Which is the BBC that you see on satellite, to us here, which doesn't look like an American broadcast at all. CNN tries very hard. International is a produced program, produced by people who are nationals generally of the area that it televises to, so it does not have an American character to it—

Ms. Woodruff: We try to have, for example, anchors from that part of the world.

Mr. Mottahedeh: You should make available one of those for one hour a day, because CNN Asia is terrific.

Mr. Kaplan: But there are 14 or 15 of these channels. There's not space—

Ms. Woodruff: There is one in every part of—

Mr. Kaplan: More important than the air is that the producers who make the decisions on what goes in the show are local.

Mr. Glass: At the risk of being a bit of a contrarian, I want to argue that a lot has changed, although I agree totally with Marvin that the responsibility of the press has not changed at all. If, on September 11th, the terrorists had said in the name of God, the merciful and compassionate one, we have struck the great blow against Satan and we're done with it, that would be one thing. That would be a hell of a story, but that's not what they did.

They said, in effect, as I understand it, this is a down payment, folks, and you haven't seen nothing yet. So the responsibility of the press in that situation, in my view, has no parallel in American society. If you go back to World War II, you can argue that we lost 500,000 dead, that we had 130,000 prisoners and that we had some material sacrifices, but the society itself, the 48 states were really unaffected. That is not true today. If you want an image that the press has to deal with, you'd have to really think about the Civil War with Confederate bands armed with bioterrorism capability coming close to Washington with a 24/7 press capability. So it is unique.

And you have to combine that with the fact that the American people, as a rule, have really no experience with war, internal war. And so the press, it seems to me, and Judy is reflecting this in what she said last night, has an enormous responsibility, an educational responsibility, a balancing responsibility so that fear doesn't go over the top. Just one idea is that maybe more coverage of other societies, notably Israeli society, Irish society, where people have been living with this and are somewhat inured to it, inoculated if you will, might be useful.

But we are really in terror incognita and I cannot believe that September the 11th, while it was a start, is not the finish, simply because we know that the principle of these Islamists is revenge and that the revenge is never proportional, it's always ratcheted up.

Mr. Mottahedeh: I'm glad you realize it's—

Mr. Glass: It is. That's the way it works. You kill one, we kill three. You kill five, we kill seven.

Mr. Mottahedeh: And do you think a large number of Israelis have been killing Palestinians in the—

Mr. Glass: No. I don't think that at all, but I think that a society that believes in revenge, will take revenge.

Mr. Mottahedeh: What society doesn't believe in revenge? No, seriously. I mean this is the dark evil view, the prurient view of Islam, some crazy cult-like people who are organized as terrorists have done a terrible thing. We want to hunt them down and punish them. No you're saying

that this is endless because it's like the Civil War in which half of Americans were against the other half.

I think this is a kind of harmful fantasy?

Mr. Glass: Read Salman Rushdie in the *Times* today. I can't believe that this is a small, contained, easily overcome group that we can go into Afghanistan, put some Special Forces into some caves and that's the end of it. If I believed that, I would be very happy, but I don't think it's true.

Ms. Hume: This morning's been riveting, and thank you.

I wanted to say, first of all, that, Tom, I don't agree with you. I'm not worried that the press is going to be hijacked by this story. I think they may be hijacked by the need to turn this story into a package that can then be sold as entertainment months and years down the road.

My worry is not that the future is going to be too obsessed with the nature of bioterrorism, the nature of understanding Islam and Christianity, the disputes around the world. I think that's in fact a positive, that we're finally dragged into a world which we have to address in journalism in America. But I do think we may have a problem that the mindset of the people who manage the companies that own American dominated journalism aren't yet ready to turn to the public service model, to return to it in a way.

I'm worried that the topics will not be explored with the kind of depth that costs money. It's been costing too much money to do this kind of coverage, and that we will return to the entertainment model for the economics of journalism. And if that happens, it will be the package America Strikes Back. And I have a feeling, Tom, that may be what you were talking about. It's that package that makes it seem like some neat little kind of sports game, is our side winning? That deeply worries me because that also has international impact.

But the good news about all this, just to wrap up my comment, is that you guys have gained an audience again. You were on the ropes, journalism was on the ropes. The news audience is back. How are we going to take advantage of this opportunity to provide real news that is sold in the marketplace as news rather than slipped in as some sort of piece of entertainment? That's my concern for the future.

Mr. Jones: Doris Graber?

Dr. Graber: I'm going back to what journalists ought to be doing now. Lance Bennett, at the University of Washington, developed something that's called the Indexing Hypothesis. And what it says, basically, is that American journalism doesn't question the basic validity of a policy and doesn't explore other kinds of policies until there is some disagreement among people in the public sector. So, for instance, by important congressional leaders.

One of the things that I've found missing in the current coverage, which I think has been quite excellent, is the question of whether the basic policy that we have at the present time, whether that is really a sound policy, and

the issue of what could be alternative policies. I've seen that raised in the foreign press, but not in the American press.

Shouldn't journalists, for instance, try to interview leaders that might possibly have some different views, or even draw on some of these foreign views and explore the possibilities of other policy responses rather than the current bombing of Afghanistan?

Ms. Woodruff: I think we do have that responsibility. I think we are doing some of that. Could we be doing more? Probably. But you are correct in that we are primarily consumed right now with covering what is, rather than what might be, or what could be or what should be. And again, in many instances it's a matter of resources and it's a matter of the mindset of producers who look at, you know, where are we going to deploy the troops, the media troops? Where are we going to put people?

But I do think that we have had, I will say in defense of not just CNN but all of us, I think we have had some of those kinds of discussions. I think of "Nightline" on ABC, I think of some of the discussions we've had on interview shows on CNN daily, and on Sundays, and on other channels, where we have looked at whether this is a correct policy.

Mr. Singh: I'd just like to get some reactions to this concept of the journalist as a citizen before his duties as a journalist and the way they can or cannot come into conflict. As an individual, I've run into these situations myself in times of national crisis in our country. And I think we may run into a danger of letting our duties as a citizen be interpreted as our duty to follow what the government of the day is saying.

In my view as an individual maybe what the government is doing at a time of crisis may, in my view, not be in the national interest. So I would consider my duty, as a citizen at that moment, is to point out to my reading public that what is happening, what the government is saying and what the government is doing may not be in the best long term national interest. So am I serving my duty as a citizen while saying that or does my duty as a citizen mean that I go and accept what the government is saying?

Mr. Jones: I think that this is a very rich subject. Unfortunately, we're out of time, but I think that this is an issue and a conundrum. And there's another dimension to it as well and that's the human one, I mean human, citizen, professional. Those are all three roles and, it seems to me that there are times when the issue is how you apply your judgement to decide which of those takes precedence.

And I think you have framed it in a somewhat different way, but I think that these are a tangled set of obligations that we all, as journalists, have to be willing to grapple with because we are also citizens and human beings.

We're out of time, as I say. I'm sorry. This is a very, very rich conversation. I wish we could go on with it. I want to thank the panelists for a fascinating two hours. Thank you all for coming.

