

GLOBAL DECEMBER 2006 JOURNALIST

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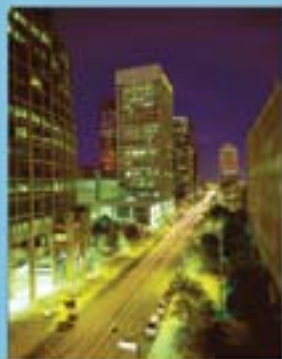
IRE

HOST: The Arizona Republic

Join the best in the business as IRE honors Don Bolles and the 30th anniversary of the Arizona Project at its annual conference.

The Arizona Project was the historic effort by journalists to continue the investigation that led to the killing of Arizona Republic reporter Don Bolles, a 47-year-old husband and father.

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Al-Jazeera's English-language channel anchors Ghida Fakhry, left, and Dave Marash prepare for the evening news at their bureau in Washington, DC, Nov. 17, 2006. (AP Photo/ Haraz N. Ghanbari)

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GLOBAL JOURNALIST

eMprint Digital Edition

VOLUME 12 NUMBER 3 & 4

Global Journalist magazine reports on the state of press freedom around the world, covers developments in international journalism and serves international journalists.

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Death Watch

Afghanistan

Christian Struwe, 38, and **Karen Fischer**, 30, freelancers for German broadcaster Deutsche Welle, were shot dead in their tent in the early hours of the morning by unidentified gunmen Oct. 7. They were discovered by villagers. None of the journalists' personal possessions had been stolen by the assailants, and their vehicle remained parked close to the tent. Struwe and Fischer were in Afghanistan to conduct research for a documentary. The journalists had visited the country several times in recent years and were involved in efforts to support media development in Afghanistan.

Abdul Qodus, 25, a cameraman with the Kabul-based private television station Aryana TV, was killed in a suicide bombing in the city of Kandahar July 22. He had arrived at the scene of a suicide car bombing that killed two Canadian soldiers when a second suicide bomber

blew himself up. Qodus died of head injuries at a local hospital.

Angola

Benicio Wedeinge, director of the public television station TPA, was killed July 16 by an unidentified attacker who broke into his home in Onjiva, the capital of Cunene province, and shot him twice. The motive behind the killing was not immediately known.

Bangladesh

Bellal Hossain Dafadar, 38, a correspondent for the Khulna-based daily newspaper Janabani, died in hospital Sept. 14 after being stabbed by five unknown assailants.

China

Xiao Guopeng, 39, a reporter for the daily Anshun, was beaten to death July 18 by a police officer outside his newspaper's offices in Guizhou province. The policeman, Pan Dengfeng, was arrested and faces trial.

Wu Xianghu, 41, deputy editor of the newspaper Taizhou Wanbao, died Feb. 2 from injuries sustained when traffic police in the city of Taizhou, Zhejiang province, attacked him on Oct. 20, 2005, after his paper reported on high fee collections for electric bicycle licenses. Wu died of liver and kidney failure after months of hospitalization, sources said.

Colombia

Atilano Segundo Pérez Barrios, 52, a commentator for Radio Vigía de Todelar, was shot Aug. 22 by two men on a motorcycle near his home the northern city of Cartagena. During a program two days earlier, he alleged that demobilized, far-right paramilitaries were still active in the nearby volatile Montes de Maria region and were financing the mayoral campaigns of several candidates in its main town, Marialabaja. Reportedly, he had received death threats.

Milton Fabián Sánchez, 37, a journalist with the radio station Yumbo Estéreo in Yumbo,

in southeastern Colombia, was shot Aug. 9 by two unidentified men on a motorcycle when he was on his way home from work. He died of his injuries the same day. The program Sánchez hosted focused on political and community issues.

Guatemala

Eduardo Maas Bol, 58, a reporter with Radio Punto in Guatemala City, was found dead Sept. 9. His body, bearing shot wounds, was found on a road between Guatemala City and Cobán. Maas also worked for the daily El Correo del Norte and Radio Mía. Local authorities view Maas' reporting as a possible motive. His colleagues and family did not know of any threats Maas received because of his work, but reportedly local radio journalist Ángel Martín Tax was threatened that he was "next on the list" after Maas.

India

Arun Narayan Dekate, 30, a correspondent for the Marathi-language daily Tarun Bharat, was ambushed by four unidenti-

fied men as he was riding with a friend on a motorcycle on June 8. He was hit with rocks and died of his injuries two days later in a hospital in Nagpur, central India. Dekate had recently written articles about illegal gambling in Takalghat, about 19 miles from Nagpur.

Indonesia

Herliyanto, 40, a reporter for Radar Surabaya and Jimber News, among other publications, was killed April 29 by a group of assailants while riding his motorcycle in Banyuan-yar, East Java. He was stabbed in the stomach, neck and head, sources said. According to police, Herliyanto's murder was directly related to the journalist's coverage of local corruption.

Iraq

Aswan Ahmed Lutfallah, 35, an Iraqi cameraman for the Associated Press (AP), was killed Dec. 12 by insurgents in the city of Mosul. According to AP, he was having his car repaired in the eastern part of the city when insurgents and police began

fighting and he rushed to cover the clash.

Nabil Ibrahim al-Dulaimi, a news editor for the privately owned Radio Dijla, was shot dead Dec. 4 as he was leaving his home in the Baghdad neighborhood of al-Washash.

Fadhila Abdelkarim, a staff member of the local TV station Nainawa, was shot dead outside her home in Mosul, 230 miles north of Baghdad, Nov. 26.

Raad Jaafar Hamadi, a journalist with the daily Al Sabah, was killed Nov. 22 when gunmen opened fire on his car in the east Baghdad neighborhood of al-Washash.

Walid Hassan, 47, a TV broadcaster and political satirist for privately-owned Al-Sharqiya TV, was shot dead while trying to escape a kidnapping attempt in Baghdad Nov. 20. His body was found with bullet wounds to the head and back in the east Baghdad neighborhood of Yarmouk. Hassan hosted a weekly televi-

sion show Caricatures in which he made fun of politicians, security problems, electricity blackouts and other challenges of Iraqi daily life. He also produced a political interview show for the station.

Luma Mohammad Reyid, 25, also known as Luma Abdallah Al Karkhi, a reporter who worked for the U.S.-funded Al Dustoor newspaper was killed Nov. 17 by unidentified gunmen

in Ba'kouba in the Diyala province northeast of Baghdad.

Fadia Mohammad Abid, 40, a journalist for the Mosul-based independent newspaper Al-Masar, was killed Nov. 15 in a drive-by shooting by unidentified gunmen. The assailants shot at Abid while she was on her way to work in the eastern Mosul neighborhood of Tahrir. Her driver was also killed in the attack.



AP PHOTO/SAMIR MIZBAN

An Iraqi journalist walks past a wall of photos dedicated to the 97 Iraqi journalists who have lost their lives in the war since Saddam Hussein's fall at an exhibition of news photography taken by Iraqi press photographers to mark the annual Iraqi Press Festival day on the 137th anniversary of the publication of the first newspaper in Iraq al-Zawra in Baghdad.

Muhammad al-Ban, 58, a reporter and cameraman for the privately owned Al-Sharqiya TV, was shot dead Nov. 13 by unidentified gunmen as he was leaving his home in the northern city of Mosul. The attackers used a Russian-made BKC machine gun mounted on the back of a pickup truck, a standard weapon of the Iraqi police, sources said.

Ahmed al-Rasheed, 29, a reporter with Al-Sharqiya satellite TV channel, was killed Nov. 3 by unidentified gunmen in the Baghdad neighborhood of Azamiyah. The three assailants were driving in a gray Opel car when they intercepted and shot at al-Rasheed in the early evening as he was driving through the neighborhood. Prior to his move to Al-Sharqiya in September of 2006, al-Rasheed had worked with Al-Diyar TV.

Qussai Abbas, a journalist for Tariq Al Shaab newspaper, was shot to death on his way to work in Baghdad Nov. 2. His driver was also killed in the attack.

Naqshin Hamma Rashid, 30, a presenter for the Iraqi state television station Atyaf, was found dead Oct. 29, one day after she had been abducted from the center of Baghdad by unknown gunmen while on her way to work. Her driver, Anis Qassem, was also killed in the attack. The Kurdish-language Atyaf station is part of the Al-Iraqiya group. Rashid (also known as Sherin Hamid) hosted programs aimed at Iraq's Kurdish and Christian minorities.

Saed Mahdi Shalash, who worked for the Rayat Al-Arab newspaper, was shot dead Oct. 26 when unidentified gunmen attacked his Al-Aamariyeh home in west Baghdad. The gunmen also killed his wife in the attack. The Rayat Al-Arab newspaper is associated with the Movement of Arab Nationalists. Before working with the newspaper, Shalash had a 20-year career with the Iraqi News Agency.

Raed Qais Al-Shammari, an employee of the state TV channel Al Iraqiya and a correspon-

dent for the Sawt Al Irak (Voice of Iraq) radio station, was standing near his home, talking with a friend, in the Dora neighborhood of southern Baghdad when he was killed by unidentified gunmen who shot at him from their car Oct. 13.

Abdul-Rahim Nasrallah, general manager of the Al-Shaabiya satellite television station, Noufel Al-Shimar, the station's deputy general manager, Sami Nasrallah Al-Shimar, the administrative manager, Thaker Al-Shouwil and Ahmad Sha'bon, the station's presenters and Hussein Ali, a video technician, were killed Oct. 12 in an early morning raid on the Al-Shaabiya station's offices in the Zayouna district of eastern Baghdad.

Four guards and the station's generator operator were also killed in the attack which took place when the unidentified assailants, some wearing police uniforms, drove up to the station's office in a convoy of seven cars that appeared to be police vehicles. The assailants shot two guards outside the build-

ing, then entered the offices and killed nine other personnel. The Al-Shaabiya channel was founded in July 2006 and was set to begin broadcasting in late October. The station is owned by the National Justice and Progress party, a small secular party who ran in the last election but did not win any seats. At the time of the attack, the station had not begun any programming and had broadcast only test messages.

Azad Muhammad Hussein, 29, a reporter for Radio Dar Al-Salam was kidnapped Oct. 3 by unidentified assailants from the Al-Shaab neighborhood in northern Baghdad on 3 October. His body was identified at a Baghdad morgue one week later, showing signs of torture. Radio Dar Al-Salam is owned by the Iraqi Islamic Party, a major Sunni political group that joined the U.S. supported Iraqi government in early 2006.

Ahmed Riyadh Al-Karbouli, a reporter and cameraman for Baghdad TV, was killed Sept. 18 after being confronted by six

gunmen outside a mosque in Ramadi, where he had been gathering with friends after midday prayers. Al-Karbouli had been threatened repeatedly by insurgents in the months prior to his death, including one incident in mid-August when gunmen broke into his home and threatened him in the presence of his family. Insurgents warned Al-Karbouli against working with Baghdad TV, a satellite channel owned by the Iraqi Islamic Party, a major Sunni political group that joined the U.S.-supported Iraqi government in early 2006.

Safa Isma'il Enad, 31, a freelance photographer, was shot in a photo print shop in Baghdad's Ur neighborhood Sept. 13. Enad had worked for several outlets including the now-defunct Al-Watan, a newspaper affiliated with the U.S.-supported Iraqi Nationalist Movement. On the day of the shooting, the two assailants entered the print shop on Sabah al-Khayat circle and asked for Enad by his first name before shooting him in the head. They then took his body to their

car and dropped it east of Baghdad.

Hadi Amawi Al-Joubouri, 56, a journalist and representative of the Iraqi Journalists Syndicate for the eastern province of Diyala, was ambushed Sept. 12 by unidentified assailants as he drove between Baquba and Khalis, northeast of Baghdad. He had been shot numerous times and his body was found riddled with bullets.

Abdel Karim Al-Rubai, a design editor with the state-run daily Al-Sabah, was shot by gunmen while travelling to work in the eastern Baghdad neighborhood of Camp Sara Sept. 9. The driver of his car was seriously wounded. Two weeks before Al-Rubai's death, Al Sabah reported that it had received a death threat, via e-mail, against the editor and his family. The e-mail, signed by the military wing of the Mujahedeen Council, an Al Qaeda affiliate in Iraq, said the group was angered by the editor's accusation that they were responsible for an Aug. 27 car bomb attack on Al Sabah.

Mohammad Abbas Mohamad, 28, editor for the Shiite-owned newspaper Al-Bayannah Al-Jadida, was shot dead Aug. 7 by unidentified gunmen, when he was leaving his house in Baghdad. Mohammad, who was critical of Iraqi authorities, had received several death threats in connection with his work.

Ismail Amin Ali, 30, a freelance journalist, was found dead by police in the area of Baghdad known as "Sadr City" Aug. 7. His body bore marks of torture and gunshot wounds. He was said to have been kidnapped two weeks earlier. The kidnappers demanded money, but his family was unable to pay. Reportedly, the journalist, who was a well known columnist for several Iraqi newspapers, was critical of the security forces.

Riyadh Mohammad Ali, a reporter for the local weekly Tala'far al-Youm, was shot by unidentified gunmen while travelling to work in Mosul's Wadi Aqab area July 30. Ali is the second journalist from the

newspaper to be killed in the past year.

Adel Naji Al Mansouri, 34, a reporter for the Iranian state-run TV channel Al Alam, died July 29 in a hospital one day after he was attacked by unidentified gunmen. The assailants stopped the car Al Mansouri was driving in the Al-Amariyeh neighbourhood of western Baghdad, beat him and then stole his mobile phone, satellite phone, press card and money. A year prior to his murder, he had received numerous death threats related to his investigative reporting.

Ossama Qadeer, a freelance cameraman who worked for the U.S. based TV network Fox News, was kidnapped by an unknown group in Al-Shaab, in eastern Baghdad, June 25. His body was found four days later by Iraqi police.

Ibrahim Seneid, an editor for the local newspaper Al-Bashara, was killed in an evening drive-by shooting Jun. 13, according to Fallujah police Lt. Mohammed

Ali. A week prior to Seneid's murder, insurgents had accused the paper of publishing U.S. propaganda and had demanded its closure in leaflets distributed throughout Fallujah.

Ali Jaafar, 24, a well-known Iraqi sports journalist for the state TV channel, Al-Iraqiya, was killed May 31 by unidentified gunmen in Baghdad. His colleagues believe he was killed because he worked for Al-Iraqiya.

Paul Douglas, 48, and **James Brolan**, 42, two British journalists working for the U.S. TV network CBS, were killed May 29 when a car bomb exploded as they were travelling with the U.S. Army's 4th Infantry Division in Baghdad. A third member of the CBS crew, correspondent Kimberly Dozier, was seriously injured.

Laith Al-Dulaimi, a reporter for the Iraqi TV station Al-Nahrain was kidnapped along with a telephone operator for the station Muazaz Ahmed Barood by men dressed as police officers who stopped the two men as they

were crossing Diyala bridge en route to their homes in Madian, 12 miles southeast of the city. Their bodies were found May 9 in Al-Wihda, 20 miles southeast of Baghdad. Both men had been shot in the chest.

So'oud Mukahim Al-Shoumari, a correspondent for the Egypt-based satellite channel Al-Baghdadia, was found shot in Baghdad's southern district of Doura by Iraqi police May 5. Also known by the last name Al-Hadithi, he had been abducted several days previously. According to his father, autopsy reports indicated Al-Shoumari had been tortured. A colleague at Al-Baghdadia said Al-Shoumari regularly interviewed authorities about human rights violations.

Abdel Magid Al-Mohamadaoui, a freelance journalist, was found dead in Baghdad May 5. His body was identified by the press card he was carrying at the time of his murder.

Koussai Kahdban, an Iraqi journalist with local radio station Al-Bilad, was shot by un-

identified gunmen in Baghdad April 22.

Lebanon

Layal Najib, 23, a photographer for the Lebanese magazine Al-Jaras and Agence France-Presse (AFP) was killed in an Israeli attack on the town of Qana in southern Lebanon July 23. She was travelling in a car on the road between Sadiqeen and Qana when she was hit by shrapnel from a missile, killing her instantly.

Mexico

Adolfo Sánchez Guzmán, 31, a reporter for the Internet news site Orizaba en Vivo, was found Nov. 30 on the banks of the Rio Blanco near Mendoza, 75 miles from Xalapa, capital of the southeastern state of Veracruz. He had been shot twice in the back of the head and had stab wounds in his chest, police said. The body of another man, César Martínez López, was also found with a bullet wound to the head. Sánchez, who was investigating the activities of a local gang of thieves, left his home in Orizaba, east of Mendoza, on Nov. 28

with three people. His car was found abandoned the next day.

Roberto Marcos García, 50, a reporter for the Veracruz-based bi-monthly publication Testimonio and a local correspondent for the Mexico City weekly Alarma, was gunned down Nov. 21 by armed attackers near the town of La Matoza while travelling from Veracruz to Alvarado. García, who reported on violent crime and drug trafficking in Veracruz, had recently received threats.

José Manuel Nava Sánchez, 53, a former editor of the Mexico City-based daily Excélsior and a columnist for the national daily El Sol de México, was found murdered in his apartment in Mexico City Nov. 16. He had been stabbed several times in the neck and chest. His laptop computer and other belongings were apparently missing, authorities said. It was not immediately known if he was killed because of his work as a journalist.

Misael Tamayo Hernández, editor and publisher of the news-

paper *El Despertar de la Costa*, was found dead in a motel room in Zihuatenejo, Guerrero state Nov. 10. His naked body was found face down, with his hands tied behind his back. According to reports, he had been shot in the right forearm and died of a heart attack. Tamayo had received death threats following articles in his newspaper about organized crime and local corruption, colleagues said.

Bradley Will, 36, U.S. journalist and cameraman based in New York City was shot dead Oct. 27 during a demonstration in Oaxaca. According to witnesses, he was shot in the torso by a plainclothes police officer and died on the way to a hospital.

Will was affiliated with the Independent Media Center (“IndyMedia”), for which he was filming the protest and worked as a freelance photographer and reporter for the New York City chapter of the Independent. According to IndyMedia, he was in Oaxaca covering the continued resistance of teachers and other workers against the PRI-con-

trolled government of the State of Oaxaca.

Enrique Perea Quintanilla, 50, publisher of the magazine *Dos Caras, Una Verdad* was found dead Aug. 9 by police on a dirt road about 10 miles from Chihuahua City, in northern Mexico. His body had bullet wounds in the head and in the back. *Dos Caras, Una Verdad* is a monthly magazine, which specializes in reporting on closed murder cases and drug trafficking.

Nigeria

Godwin Agbroko, 53, a columnist for the newspaper *This Day* and the chairman of its editorial board, was shot dead Dec. 22 in the city of Lagos shortly after he left his office. It was not clear whether he was killed because of his work as a journalist.

Pakistan

Mohammad Ismail, Islamabad bureau chief for the independent news agency *Pakistan Press International (PPI)*, was found dead Nov. 1 near his home in Islamabad. He had been hit on

the head with a hard blunt object, sources said. The motive for his killing was not immediately known.

Hayatullah Khan, a reporter for the Urdu-language daily *Ausaf* and a freelance photographer, was found dead June 16 in the North Waziristan town of Mir Ali. He was abducted by unidentified gunmen on Dec. 5, 2005, after reporting that a senior al-Qaeda figure had been killed by a U.S. missile. Khan's report contradicted official Pakistani reports that the al-Qaeda operative died in a bomb-making accident. Khan, who had been handcuffed and shot in the back of the head, had received numerous threats from Pakistani security forces, Islamic militants, and local tribesmen because of his reporting.

Munir Ahmed Sangi, a cameraman for the Sindhi-language *Kawish Television Network* (KTN), was shot May 30 while covering a clash between members of the Unar and Abro tribes in the town of Larkana, southeast Pakistan. Police said

Sangi was killed in the crossfire, although colleagues believe he might have been deliberately targeted because of his station's critical reporting.

Philippines

Andres Acosta, a reporter for the radio station *Aksyon Radyo*, an affiliate of the Manila Broadcasting Company (MBC), was stabbed to death Dec. 20 by an unidentified attacker in the town of Batac, 242 miles north of Manila. Acosta also wrote for the community newspaper *Northern Light* and covered police stories.

Ponciano Grande, 53, a former newspaper columnist and co-host of a program on *Radio DWJJ*, was killed Dec. 7 on his farm in central Luzon. Unknown assailants shot Grande five times, according to the National Union of Journalists of the Philippines.

Russia

Anna Politkovskaya, 48, a reporter for independent newspaper *Novaya Gazeta*, who was

known for her criticism of the authorities and critical coverage of the Chechen conflict, was found shot dead in the elevator of her apartment building in Moscow Oct. 7. Politkovskaya had been very critical of the Russian-backed Chechen government, and was reportedly finishing a story on the investigation of torture in Chechnya, which was to be published on Oct. 9, 2006. Her work is thought to be the most likely motive for the killing. A pistol and four bullets were found near her body. Police have started an investigation.

Yevgeny Gerasimenko, 29, a journalist working for Saratovsky Rasklad, a weekly in the city of Saratov in southeastern Russia, was found dead in his apartment with a plastic bag over his head and multiple bruises on his body July 26. His computer was missing, although police found no signs of a violent entry. Reportedly, he had been investigating the corporate takeover of a local commercial enterprise.

Somalia

Martin Adler, an award-winning Swedish journalist and photographer, was shot June 23 by an unidentified gunman while filming a demonstration in the Somali capital, Mogadishu. A long-time contributor to Britain's Channel 4 News, Adler was freelancing for several newspapers, including the Swedish daily, Aftonbladet.

For more about Adler: www.globaljournalist.org

Sri Lanka

Sinnathamby Sivamaharajah, 68, managing director of the Tamil-language Namathu Eelanadu newspaper and former member of parliament, was shot dead Aug. 20 in Tellippalai, near the northern city of Jaffna. Sivamaharajah's newspaper is sympathetic to the Tamil nationalist cause.

Sampath Lakmal de Silva, a freelance journalist, was shot dead July 2 in the capital city, Colombo, after being abducted from his parent's home. He had recently written reports that

were critical of the security forces, sources said.

Suresh Kumar and Ranjith Kumar of the daily Tamil-language newspaper Uthayan were killed May 2 in a fatal attack on the newspaper's offices in the northern city of Jaffna. Five other employees were reportedly injured in the attack by unidentified men.

Sudan

Taha Mohammed Ahmed, editor-in-chief of the private daily Al-Wifaq, who was kidnapped outside his home in Khartoum on Sept. 5, was found dead the next day. His beheaded body was found in the south of the capital, police said. Mohammed Taha had reportedly angered Islamists by publishing an article about the Prophet Muhammad.

Turkmenistan

Ogulsapar Muradova, 58, a Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) Turkmen Service correspondent, died Sept. 14 while in custody in a prison in Turkmenistan. The circumstanc-

es of her death remain unclear. Muradova's body bore a head wound and signs of torture.

She was arrested in mid-June and sentenced to six years in prison Aug. 25 by the Azatlyk district court in Ashgabat. The trial was closed to the public. Security officials at the morgue assured the family that she died of natural causes, but rejected a demand that the body to be examined by an independent doctor.

Venezuela

Jesús Flores Rojas, 66, a newspaper journalist, was shot in the head on his way home with his daughter Aug. 23. Rojas was the co-director of the daily paper Región, in the northwestern province of Anzoátegui, and a columnist for other newspapers in the region.

His daughter, who was not harmed, said that her father's articles were critical of local authorities. The attackers did not take anything from the journalist, and although he had not received any threats officials speculated his murder was an act of revenge.

Anyone Can Report for CNN

Citizen Reporters Need Only a Nose for News and the Right Equipment

By Joshua A. Loory

AT A TIME WHEN many editors and producers are wringing their hands over the matter of who is or is not a journalist, CNN has decided that all of its viewers in the United States and around the world have the potential. All they need are a digital camcorder or camera, a mobile phone with a lens and a nose for news.

From Thailand, the Philippines, Budapest and the Lebanese-Israeli Border to the blizzard devastated mountains of Oregon and the shores of British Columbia, CNN viewers have contributed video, voice and written reporters to i-Report, a system that brings interactivity between news organizations and their customers to a new level.

Mitch Gelman, vice president and executive producer of CNN.com, said i-Report is intended to

engage viewers. “We got submissions on the first day,” he said.

CNN has built a state of the art production center at its Atlanta headquarters to receive the material, sift through it, vet it, and reformat the images to broadcast standards.

“Nothing submitted sees air before it is vetted. All material must include contact names and numbers. A staff member speaks to everyone who submits material before it is aired,” according to Jennifer Martin, a CNN spokesperson. “We are taking eyewitness accounts to the next level,” she said. “We are able to capture it (breaking news) as it happens and replay it for our audience,” she said.

ON THE NEWSROOM FLOOR, i-Reports are being greeted enthusiastically by producers. “So

Tech Notes

far most of the pictures have been weather related,” said one producer. “We have gotten some good stuff. It’s an exciting concept.”

As expected, the i-Report does extremely well during breaking news. In October when a 6.7 magnitude quake struck Hawaii’s Big Island, CNN got early word when contributors began emailing still pictures of the damage to the network.

The pictures included roads blocked by boulders, the stone siding shaken off of a church and mud and landslides. “One contributor was surveying the damage to his home when he captured several aftershocks on camera. All of this material helped us stay on top of the story,” a CNN producer said.

“Stories like September 11 and the London bombings generated lots of user content that gives our stories new content,” Martin said.

In early September, when Steve Irwin, the crocodile hunter, was killed by a sting ray, CNN

i-Report received over 500 submissions, many of them from children. According to Martin, the submissions ranged from pictures taken with Irwin to drawings and written memories of Irwin.

ONE DRAWING from Florida, showed a teary-eyed croc. It was drawn by an 11-year-old boy who uploaded it to CNN without his parent’s knowledge. They only found out about their precocious son’s journalism when a CNN producer called to verify the drawing. Viewers and visitors to the CNN exchange web site voted Matthew Cheek’s drawing the best submission for September.

Later Matthew and his family were given a behind the scenes tour of CNN when they showed up at CNN during a visit to Atlanta. According to a blog on the CNN exchange website, Matthew was interviewed on air and given as much swag — CNN hats, coffee mugs, t-shirts, wrist watches and the like — as the

Tech Notes

producers could come up with.

The i-Report is just the latest example of news gathering operations taking advantage of ever-changing technology. In the early '90s CNN encouraged viewers who caught news worthy events on camcorders to call the network and become a CNN "Newshound". Submissions then had to be taken to a domestic news bureau or contributing station for transmission by satellite to Atlanta. Now video, images and sound are being transmitted over the Internet directly to CNN.

NOT ALL AMATEUR videographers are willing to give their material away. Years ago as an elephant went wild and charged the crowd at a small circus in Florida, one of the spectators captured it all on home video. The videographer was shopping the tape to all three stations in the market. I was the executive producer for the CBS affiliate in Orlando. We dropped out when the bidding reached a thousand dollars. The tape was sold for

much more, and when I saw the compelling tape on a competing channel, I couldn't stop kicking myself. By 11 p.m., we had several offers of video from others who were on the scene, and we aired a report on the incident without paying a cent.

CNN does not pay i-Reporters. They must give CNN a non-exclusive license forever. In return, the citizen reporters get bragging rights. The network requires pictures to be jpg or gif formats no larger than one megabyte in size. Video files can be almost any format and can be no larger than 30 megabytes. The CNN Exchange website, where i-Report submissions are posted, also features a tool box, offering tips i-Reporters can use to improve their submissions.

The i-Report isn't just video and still pictures. Reporters are urged to send in drawings, essays and audio essays and reports. CNN editors have even taken citizen journalism a step further, assigning topics for i-Reports.

Tech Notes

Here's a list of assignments on the website at the end of 2006:

1) Muslims making the pilgrimage to Mecca to share their thoughts and feelings.

2) Pictures and video of New Year's Eve celebrations with a promise that some of them would be seen on Anderson Cooper's New Year's Eve coverage.

3) "How big is your carbon footprint? Do you step delicately on the environment, or are you a bit heavy-footed? Tell us what you are or are doing for conservation, or why you choose not to do anything."

4) Paintings or artwork by artists

5) Art, stage and literary criticism.

6) Editorial cartoons

CNN ACCEPTS ALL of this material in its digital production center in Atlanta. The material is logged into a data base where producers in its many networks see it. The first user to show an interest in the material has the responsibility of verifying it.

"Nothing goes on the air before someone from CNN speaks with the person who submitted the material," Martin said.

Jon Stewart and Comedy Central's Daily Show parodied the i-Report. According to Stewart's spoof, "CNN wants you to spare them what is the most arduous part of what they do, reporting. And not just anywhere. Apparently they want you to get as close as you can to an exploding building during a hurricane." CNN loved the attention, posting the three-minute clip on its website. "You know you've arrived when you make the Daily Show," Martin said. ■



Joshua A. Loory is a former executive producer at CNN, a local television news producer and proprietor of the Editworks, a television production company in Orlando, FL

Iraqi media victims of violence, harassment

IRAQ The Iraqi government led by Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki ordered two Sunni television channels shut down in November for “inciting violence among viewers” after the conviction of Saddam Hussein. The order was never lifted, but the two stations continued to operate, according to Joel Campagna of the Committee to Protect Journalists.

Security forces raided Al-Zawraa TV in Baghdad and Saleheddin TV in Tikrit in the hours after Hussein was sentenced to death, according to news reports and CPJ sources, and the shutdown was ordered indefinitely. But Campagna said the government was unable to enforce the order.

The privately-owned Saleheddin TV aired live broadcasts of pro-Hussein demonstrations and then opened its phone lines for callers to express their opin-

ions, according to CPJ sources. Police were seeking the station’s owners, Sunni businessmen Hassan Khatab and Abdelrahman Dahash for questioning, a CPJ source said.

Al-Zawraa, which is owned by Mishaan al-Jubouri, a Sunni legislator from the Liberation and Reconciliation Party, had received several warnings from the government to change its political coverage or face closure, according CPJ sources. Those sources said the channel had sought to avoid a confrontation on Sunday by ignoring demonstrations that erupted after Hussein’s sentence.

Al-Zawraa is reportedly broadcast from a studio in Syria and is distributed throughout the Arab speaking world by Nilesat, which is run by the Egyptian government. Saleheddin TV is broadcast from a city north of Baghdad.

Al-Zawraa, in particular, has been accused of both Baathist and al-Qaeda leanings by sup-

World Watch

porters of American involvement in Iraq.

Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, author of *My Year Inside Radical Islam* and Nick Grace, producer of *Global Crisis Watch*, wrote: “In the five years since 9/11, the United States has failed to develop a message capable of winning over Middle Easterners, or turning them against bin Laden’s radical world view. The lack of a message is one thing, but the inability to combat inflammatory enemy propaganda is another. If the administration cannot act decisively to prevent Al-Zawraa from spreading its poisonous message, America will only be seen as the “weak horse” that bin Laden spoke of shortly after he succeeded in toppling the Twin Towers.”

A CPJ press release said that the U.S.-backed government in Iraq has a record of banning news outlets, adding that in July al-Maliki threatened to shut down any television station deemed to incite sectarianism. On Sept. 7, the government closed the Baghdad bureau of the Dubai-based

satellite channel Al-Arabiya for one month. Al-Arabiya Executive Editor Nabil Khatib said the government accused the station of fomenting “sectarian violence and war in Iraq” but did not provide evidence.

Al-Arabiya was targeted before. In November 2003, the Iraqi Governing Council, the provisional government appointed by the United States, banned the station from broadcasting in Iraq. Authorities accused the station of incitement after it aired an audiotape in which Saddam purportedly urged Iraqis to resist the U.S.-led occupation. The station was allowed to resume broadcasting in late January 2004.

The government continues to enforce the closure of the Baghdad bureau of Qatar-based satellite channel Al Jazeera. It was closed in July 2004 after former Prime Minister Iyad Allawi accused the station of incitement to violence and hatred. Iraqi officials alleged that Al Jazeera’s reporting on kidnappings had encouraged Iraqi militants; a gov-

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ernment statement also accused the station of being a mouthpiece for terrorist groups. Al Jazeera now operates in the Kurdish-ruled area in northern Iraq.

Two employees of state-owned Iraqi Media Network (IMN) were murdered within five days of each other. Raad Jaafar Hamadi, a journalist at daily Al Sabah, was killed in Baghdad Nov. 22 when four gunmen set his car on fire.. Fadhila Abdelkarim, administrative staff member at TV station Nainawa, was killed in Mosul on Nov. 26. He was shot dead outside his house; Mosul is considered Iraq's second most dangerous city for journalists.

The coalition forces created IMN, IRAQ's largest media group with 3,000 members, after Baghdad was captured in 2003. Many journalists working for IMN have been harassed, threatened and told to quit.

Reporters Without Borders stated that, "Journalists and other employees of the Iraqi public media, including the Al Iraqiya TV station, are often the victims

of violence by people hostile to the government. The main communication tool of the Iraqi authorities, these media are seen as government mouthpieces and have suffered a heavier toll in casualties than the other media since the start of the war."

http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=19900

On Dec. 4, Nabil Ibrahim Al-Dulami, journalist for Baghdad radio station Radio Dijla, was shot dead by two men in a vehicle. He was leaving his house in northwest Baghdad for work. Also, Mohammed Abderrahmane, a Radio Dijla presenter, has been missing since his kidnapping in September. He had received a series of death threats before he was abducted.

Reporters Without Borders stated, "Targeted murders of journalists are mounting steadily in Iraq. We appeal yet again to the Iraqi authorities to do everything possible to protect media personnel."

http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=20010

Journalists need degrees

Brazil's Superior Court of Justice decreed that journalists must possess a university degree to be able to practice journalism and that this measure is

BRAZIL in accordance with the constitution. Reporters Without Borders responded, saying: "Journalistic competence does not a priori depend on entitlement but on experience in the job," and that a declaration the president signed in May 2006 made degrees optional. This ruling came after a legal case involving doctor Jose Eduardo Marques and his quest to gain the status of "precarious journalist" for work in public aid.

http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=19756

Reporters, editor acquitted

The editor-in-chief of Berlingske Tidende, Niels Lunde, and reporters Michael Bjerre and Jesper Larsen were acquitted of publishing classified information in violation of Denmark's

criminal law. They were charged with illegally using information supplied by a Danish military intelligence official in a series of articles in February and March 2004, showing that there was no credible evidence that Saddam Hussein's government was making weapons of mass destruction. The intelligence officer was fired, tried and sentenced to jail for leaking the information.

DENMARK The two reporters and their editor pleaded not guilty and were tried in November 2006. If convicted they faced up to two years in prison.

The director general of the World Association of Newspapers, Timothy Balding, told the court that the case had huge symbolic significance. A conviction "would send a very bad signal to the international community and especially to the totalitarian regimes because they would (have) free hands to prosecute media," he said.

The journalists were acquitted

Dec. 4 of all charges. The International Press Institute, among other organizations, applauded the outcome.

IPI Director Johann P. Fritz said, “The decision of the court is extremely welcome, and I would call on the Danish government to review the law under which the journalists were originally charged to ensure that in the future the media are allowed to scrutinize the government decisions without fear of prosecution.”

Newspaper, TV station harassed

The staff and management of the Fiji Daily Post, an independent publication, suffered death threats, bomb threats and harassment from Fijian military officers. Ultimately the threats kept the Fiji Daily Post from publishing Dec. 5. The staff had been evacuated as a safety precaution for 24 hours between the 4th and the 5th.

IPI reported that the publication had covered the events

leading up to a military coup led by Commodore Frank Bainimarama. IPI believes that these threats were part of a pattern of military intimidation against the Fiji Daily Post; in the past, the publisher has been forced into hiding.

A Fijian television station has also been banned from airing any statements or stories that cover the ousted government or its leader, Laisenia Qarase. Also, the Fiji Times decided to suspend publication after being told they could only publish one-sided stories that supported the coup.

http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/statements_detail.html?ctxid=CH0055&docid=CMS1165330912986

Reporters investigated

Three journalists working for Montpellier-based Midi Libre are being investigated for “violating professional confidentiality.” Jacques Blanc of the UMP party, former Languedoc-Roussillon

FRANCE

regional council president, had complained about a leaked official audit, which sparked the investigation. Reporters Without Borders reported that the offices of *Midi Libre* were raided in July in an attempt to discover how the newspaper had obtained a preliminary report by the Regional Accounting Commission on Blanc's handling of the region's finances from 1986 to 2004. The newspaper published the report in late October.

Philippe Palat, editor of *Midi Libre*, said that this investigation is an attempt to get the reporters to reveal their sources, and that this is something they will never do.

RSF stated, "We are very worried by the growing number of prosecutions of journalists in France and elsewhere in Europe on charges of abetting in the violation of professional confidentiality or the confidentiality of a judicial investigation. In each of these cases, the aim has been to force journalists to

reveal their sources and to limit the media's field of action. They are evidence of a tendency for authorities to take a tougher line towards the press, which is why France was 35th in our annual worldwide press freedom ranking."

http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=19938

NY Times, YouTube blacklisted

The New York Times and YouTube have been added to Iran's blacklist of censored websites. Reporters Without Borders declared that censorship is now the rule instead of the exception in Iran. The country has also banned high-speed Internet and the Kurdish version of Wikipedia. RSF stated, "The government is trying to create a digital border to stop culture and news coming from abroad—a vision of the Net which is worrying for the country's future."

According to the Guardian, Iranian officials said the ban on

IRAN



Tenzin Tsundue, Tibetan political activist and poet shouts slogans at the burning of a Chinese flag which was dragged through the streets in Dharamsala, India, Nov. 22. Hundreds of exiles took part in the procession protesting the Chinese president's visit to India.

high-speed Internet was to prevent, “undermining (of) Islamic culture among the younger generation.” RSF chalks these measures up to Iran’s larger “condemnation of a cultural invasion by its enemies,” that has been ongoing.

http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=20016

Tibetan poet restrained, freed

The Indian government had forbidden Tibetan poet Tenzin Tsundue to leave Dharamshala

Town, India until Nov. 25, or face deportation to Tibet. His confinement was lifted Nov. 26, and he has been freed to travel since. The restriction coincided with a visit to India by Chinese President Hu Jintao from Nov. 20- 23.

The Friends of Tibet reported that Tsundue had staged high profile protests in 2002 and 2005 for the visits of Chinese Prime Ministers Zhu Rongji and Wen Jiabao. The Indian government was hoping to prevent Tsundue from making a similar

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protest for the president's visit. Police followed him 24 hours a day and have set up a watch point in the room next to his.

Tsundue said, "Clearly this is pressure from the Chinese government. I was born in India, and I am working only nonviolently for the human rights and freedom of my people. This issue is not about me but it is about the six million Tibetans who are suffering every day under the Chinese rule and who are deprived of their voice to speak out against the occupation."
<http://friendsoftibet.org/>

Anthrax suit dismissed

Stephen J. Hatfill, the former government scientist suspected in the anthrax mailings of 1991, was suing The New York Times for defamation of character, but his case was thrown out of court for the second time. His lawyer claimed to have an e-mail from a Times editor saying that the column pointing

a finger at Hatfill by Nicholas Kristof overstated the case.

The Times claimed that Kristof's columns were not libelous because Hatfill is a limited public figure and Kristof's article implicating him did not knowingly accuse Hatfill. Instead, The Times argued the articles were intended to prod the Federal Bureau of Investigation into pursuing the anthrax investigation more aggressively.

Hatfill's lawyers are using the e-mail to show the suit should go forward. The trial was scheduled to start Jan. 29.

Chavez withdraws TV license

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez said at year's end that he would not renew the license of Radio Caracas Television, an outspoken critic of his regime. Chavez revealed his decision in a speech at a military academy, saying:

"There will be no new operating license for this coupist TV channel."

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The channel was openly supportive of an attempt to unseat Chavez in April 2002, at one time even broadcasting the text of a letter of resignation by Chavez, which he never sent.

The privately owned channel's license expires in May. The decision by Chavez has been criticized by the International Press Institute, Reporters Without Borders, the Institute of the Press and Society (IPYS) and the leader of the Catholic Church in Venezuela as well as other organizations.

Executive director of the Latin American press freedom group, IPYS, Ewald Scharfenberg was quoted in The New York Times as saying, "This decision can only be seen as a control strategy and an abuse of power."

The vice-president of the International Association for Radio and Television (AIR), Nicolás Vega, said his group "roundly condemns" the decision. According to Vega, "During the government of President Chavez constant and systematic threats

and attacks have been registered against the mass media and their workers."

But there is no indication that Chavez will back down. A government spokesman said that a free and competitive press will continue to exist in Venezuela without Radio Caracas Television.

Newspapers' licenses suspended

Cong Ly (Justice) and Thoi Dai (Times), both Vietnamese newspapers, have been suspended for violating press law and acting against government orders.

CPJ reported that the newspapers ran a series of articles critical of the mistakes made on the new plastic polymer banknotes, which replace paper notes.

The Ministry of Culture and Information banned both newspapers for a month.

<http://www.cpj.org/news/2006/asia/vietnam24oct06na.html>.

VIETNAM

Journalists caught between Hamas and Fatah

Palestinian journalists — particularly those working in Gaza — are coming under increasing harassment and danger from the conflict between Hamas, the elected governing organization, and Fatah, which is loyal to President Mahmoud Abbas, according to a new report by Reporters Without Borders (RSF). The report also accused the Israeli Army of carrying out many acts of violence against the press since the year 2000.

PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY The report said: “All representatives of the Palestinian factions and Israeli army voice a desire to respect press freedom and the work of journalists, but the figures are alarming. This year alone, the Israeli army attacked or threatened 16 journalists and wrecked the premises of three news media, while Palestinian militants caused damage to seven news media by setting them on fire or smashing equipment and attacked at least four journalists. Six foreign journalists have also been kidnapped by Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.”

The report indicated that the greatest danger to Palestinian journalists came from the competing Palestinian factions. “Journalists who criticize a politician, faction or security official are often perceived by one side as working for a rival faction. Several journalists who work for the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation and the Wafa Palestine News Agency were attacked last year by Hamas supporters, who accused the news organizations of being mouthpieces for Fatah.”



AP PHOTO/HATEM MOUSSA

Palestinian journalists in Gaza City strike in protest over an attack on a building of the Palestinian Broadcast Cooperation in Khan Younis June 5.

The report resulted from an RSF mission to Israel and Palestinian territories in December. It can be read in full at http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/rapport_en_md.pdf

Other links relating to the safety of journalists in the area are:

- Committee to Protect Journalists: <http://www.cpj.org/news/2007/mideast/gaza08jan07na.html>
- International Federation of Journalists: <http://www.ifj.org/default.asp?Index=4544&Language=EN>
- Institute for the Press and society: <http://www.ipys.org/alertas/atentado.php?id=998>
- Human Rights Watch: <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/10/06/isrlpa14337.htm> ■

Tangles of Journalism Indecision

By Peter Preston

YOU CAN SUM UP the state of journalism in a single word these days. That word is: confusion. Most industries, when they hit crisis or a period of transition, huddle closer for mutual protection. Those who stick together, survive together. But print (and, to an extent, television) shows few such signs of self-preservation. Rather, its big names fall out and carry their fights all over town.

Consider Fleet Street a few miles from where I live. Sales—on 17 papers out of 20—are heavily down, at worst by 12 percent a year. Several once “popular” papers are dying a slow death by attrition, down six percent after six percent in circulation as every 12 months pass. You couldn’t invent a more competitive or destructive scene. What’s the problem? The internet, to be sure, coupled with changing habits amongst readers under 30: the usual stuff. But then there are particular problems, including the problem of London itself—a metropolis that, relentlessly, seems to be getting out of the habit of buying a newspaper.

And that isn’t surprising, of course. It is natural, logical, almost inevitable. For who, during a hectic working day, needs to pay for a paper when so many are being given away free? If you travel into the city center to work every morning, then you’re sure to find a copy of the Metro series somewhere close to hand.



Peter Preston, editorial director of the Guardian Media Group, is an IPI *Global Journalist* columnist. He was the chairman of IPI from 1995 to 1997.

Point of View

It carries all the main news of the day plus some lively if anodyne features, and they give away half a million copies (making some ad money in the process). But that's the start, not the end of it.

Once the Metro — owned by the Daily Mail group — goes off sale in mid morning, the paid-for Evening Standard (another Mail product) comes on sale. But you still don't have to pay for it if you know the right coffee café or bar to go to: more than 50,000 free Standards are dished out a day. And then, before the first sandwich is cut for lunch, there's a third Mail entry: almost 400,000 copies of something called London Lite, which is a parboiled version of the Standard, designed to be dished out by hundreds of eager "merchandisers." It's impossible to walk along Regent Street without having two or three copies thrust into your hands. There's no Lite escape route available.

Yet, before tea time, the gauntlet to be run grows still more difficult to run as Rupert Murdoch's free London Paper (or thelondonpaper

as its titlepiece insists) joins the revels. This newcomer gives away 420,000 or so free copies. Add in City AM, another free for the business community, and you have around a million newspapers dominating train stations, bus routes and main shopping areas with not a penny to pay anywhere.

Is anybody making money? The morning Metro makes a tolerable return — £12 million nationwide last year — but otherwise there seems nothing but black holes in sight. The paid-for Standard certainly loses more than the Metro makes. London Lite and thelondonpaper are both pretty light on ads and heavy on costs. Here's a bloody afternoon contest which, for the moment, only impoverishes those battling it out — and drains resources from their national morning titles. To what end? Only the end of exhaustion. And to no good purpose anybody involved can nominate. Perhaps there'll only be one London afternoon freesheet left in a year or three. But afternoon sheets are the runt of the free litter any-

Point of View

way, under threat from changing commuter and working practices, just like paid-for evening papers across Europe and America. This is pit bull warfare: biting lumps out of the opposition because mindlessly, instinctively, that's what you do. Maybe "confusion" is too mild a word. If the net is an enemy you can't control, why not create an even more terrible adversary of your own?

So the malign muddle goes on. Are free papers blighting paid-for sales all over Europe? Indeed, they are: just as in the U.S., where a rash of freesheets for the "youth market" appears to have made very few converts. What young target person would want or need to buy a newspaper? He can get all the news he wants where the electronic news is free. Ads? Craig's List will do them free, too. What's the main threat unleashed by the web? Most would put Google — and Google News — top of the shop. But Google gets its news (from newspapers) free.

There is, on examination, no single strand of strategy here

— only tangles of indecision, illogic and opportunism. Newspaper chains are broken up and sold off because they can't be twice as profitable as a big supermarket. Such chain disposals lose efficiency and the ability to grow from strength. They probably make papers more, not less vulnerable; but the break-ups go on as media giants fail to bring their swollen strength to bear.

Does anyone really know what's going on? The old titans such as Murdoch keep changing their minds. The new wonder companies like AOL keep falling off their pedestals. No genius knows whether to give the net away for nothing — or put a high price on it to signal quality. Nobody has found a suitable peace in the wars of the free and the paid-for.

That's what I mean by confusion. It is the din of editors and columnists loudly lamenting what they see as the end of their world — and the chill silence of their managers in a back room who, for the moment, don't seem to know which way to turn. ■

THE LITVINENKO POISON CASE:

A real Whodunnit . . .

But how well did the press do?

By David Wise

FLEET STREET, at least, could be forgiven the media frenzy and full-page tabloid headlines surrounding the poisoning death by polonium 210 of Alexander V. Litvinenko, former KGB spy and outspoken critic of the Kremlin.

London, after all, was the scene of the crime — and the story had everything: Russian spies; a lethal radioactive isotope that seems to



AP PHOTO/FABIAN BIMMER

Workers look for traces of radiation found at sites in Germany linked to a contact of poisoned former Russian spy Alexander Litvinenko.

have contaminated everyone in town but Tony Blair; a mysterious Italian contact; an attractive wife, now a widow; a deathbed accusation by Litvinenko that the president of Russia was responsible for his murder; a posh hotel bar in central London; a sushi restaurant in Piccadilly; an exiled Russian billionaire — the list goes on. And Britain,

as everyone knows, is the home of Ian Fleming's creation, James Bond.

Litvinenko died in a London hospital on Thanksgiving Day, around the time that Americans were finishing their turkey dinners and digging into the pumpkin and pecan pies. Within days, the polonium 210 trail had spread not only to several locations in London, but to Moscow, Germany and the British airliners that flew the route between London and the Russian capital.

It is hardly surprising that from the outset suspicion has focused on Moscow. Litvinenko was a former KGB agent, later a colonel in the Federal Security Service, or FSB, the domestic successor to the KGB when that agency split in two after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. In 1998, Litvinenko held a press conference to say that a "criminal group" in his agency had ordered him to kill Boris A. Berezovsky, the billionaire oil and media tycoon who clashed with Vladimir Putin and fled to Britain in 2000. Litvinenko, with his wife and young son, escaped



Alexander Litvinenko, former KGB spy and author of the book *Blowing Up Russia: Terror From Within* photographed at his home in London in 2002.

AP PHOTO/ALISTAIR FULLER

AP PHOTO / ALEXANDER ZEMLIANICHENKO



Left to right: Vyacheslav Sokolenko, Andrei Lugovoy and Dmitri Kovtun who were among the last people to meet with Litvinenko on the same day that the former KGB spy said he was poisoned, are seen during an interview with Ekho Moskvyy radio in Moscow Nov. 24.

to London that same year and was granted political asylum. Putin, himself an ex-KGB officer in East Germany, headed the FSB before becoming president.

Moscow was infuriated by Litvinenko's 2002 book, *Blowing Up Russia: Terror From Within*, which accused the security service of blowing up apartment houses in Moscow so the Russians could invade Chechnya a second time. Nor was the FSB any happier with a book Lit-

vinenko published in 2004, *Lubianka Criminal Group*, in which he detailed his alleged order to rub out Berezovsky. It was widely assumed that Berezovsky had arranged for the publication of both books.

Added to all that was the fact that on Nov. 1, the day Litvinenko believed he was fatally poisoned, he met in the Pine Bar of the Millenium Hotel, near the American embassy in London, with another ex-KGB man, An-

drei Lugovoi, and Dmitri V. Kovtun, a Russian living in Germany. Both were reported to have been contaminated with polonium 210, and both were seen as suspects in the poisoning of Litvinenko.

Kovtun, described as a businessman who has lived in Hamburg for a dozen years, became a prime suspect in the eyes of German police when they established that he left traces of radioactivity in locations in Hamburg, including his former wife's apartment, on Oct. 28, the day he arrived on an Aeroflot flight from Moscow. Since this was four days before he met with Litvinenko in London, the implication was that he had brought the isotope with him to London from Moscow and Hamburg. Kovtun tried to explain the polonium trail he left in Germany by saying he had met with Litvinenko in London on Oct. 16 and could have been contaminated in that encounter.

Although the story has enjoyed wide coverage across the globe, perhaps the most significant aspect of the reporting has

been the key questions that have received little or no examination. For example, in early accounts suggesting that the Russian government was behind the poisoning, it was almost universally reported that only a country with a nuclear reactor could produce polonium 210. That is true for the production of large quantities, although trace amounts of the isotope are also found in uranium ore and tobacco. But it remained for William J. Broad, the science writer of *The New York Times*, to point out (on Dec. 3) that polonium 210 has a wide range of industrial uses and is contained in products that can easily be purchased on the Internet. The *Times* published a photograph of an antistatic fan manufactured in New York state that contains 31,500 microcuries of polonium 210, enough for 10 lethal doses. Broad also reported, however, that Russia manufactures and exports most of the world's supply of the isotope.

Few, if any, news stories examined the question of how quickly polonium 210 may kill if ingested. That forensic question

is, of course, crucial in assessing the role of Dmitri Kovtun and his claim that he was contaminated by contact with Litvinenko in London on Oct. 16. If Kovtun is to be believed, Litvinenko had already been poisoned by that date and would have survived for more than a month after mid-October.

Most news accounts, at least in the U.S., provided little biographical background on either of the two Russians who met with Litvinenko in the Pine Bar. In fact, Lugovoi was deputy chief of the guard for Yegor T. Gaidar, prime minister of Russia in the early 1990s. Gaidar, in a bizarre footnote to the Litvinenko case, claimed he was poisoned at a meeting in Ireland the day after Litvinenko died in London.

In the late 1990s, Lugovoi was head of security for ORT,



A wreath-covered hearse takes the remains of former Russian spy Alexander Litvinenko to his last resting place in the Highgate Cemetery, London, Dec. 7.

Berezovsky's TV network. But he was arrested, charged with helping the escape attempt of Nikolai Glushkov, the former deputy director of Aeroflot, who had been accused with others of embezzling \$8 million from the airline. Lugovoi was sentenced to 14 months in prison. What were the conditions of his re-

AP PHOTO/ MAX NASH

lease? Having worked for Berезovsky, would he be likely to have targeted Litvinenko, the tycoon's ally? Or in the complex post-Soviet world of shadowy connections among former FSB and KGB operatives, would that make a bit of difference?

Lugovoi claims he met Litvinenko on Nov. 1 because he had flown to London to see a soccer match. But what was the nature of the business deals that brought him and Kovtun to Britain to meet Litvinenko several times? Surely the FSB was aware that Lugovoi was meeting with Litvinenko, which would be viewed in Moscow as consorting with the enemy, not something likely to enhance Lugovoi's business career in Russia — unless his contacts were officially approved by the FSB. News stories have mentioned Lugovoi's involvement with private security firms in London. Where do the private eyes fit into the puzzle? Interesting questions, but we know relatively little about the activities of Lugovoi or Kovtun, both of whom joined Litvinenko in the Pine Bar on Nov. 1.

That meeting in itself merits more coverage than U.S. readers, at least, could have gleaned. In Germany, however, *Der Spiegel* had an intriguing account. It quoted Kovtun, describing the festivities in the bar: "The portions in the West are very small so we ordered four to six glasses of gin but we also drank tea, green tea." According to Kovtun, Litvinenko declined the gin but may have drunk the green tea. "I can't remember that clearly today," Kovtun said. (After six glasses of gin, it is remarkable that the Russians could remember anything.) *Der Spiegel* also revealed that Kovtun says he met Litvinenko on Oct. 16 at Itsu, the same sushi bar near Piccadilly Circus where Litvinenko lunched with Mario Scaramella, his mysterious Italian friend, on Nov. 1. Scaramella has been a consultant to an Italian center-right parliamentary commission investigating KGB activities in Italy during the cold war; the panel and Scaramella seemed especially interested in proving that Italy's Prime Minister, Romano Prodi, was a KGB

spy. Scaramella, derided as a fabricator by his critics, says he showed Litvinenko emails indicating that they were both on a hit list of a criminal group in St. Petersburg.

Although there has been ample reporting about Kovtun's movements in Hamburg on Oct. 28 — police said that traces of polonium were found in the BMW that picked him up at the airport, for example — little has been reported on his background or his years in Germany. His intelligence connections, if any, remain vague.

The explanation of how the Russian FSB, the domestic security agency, could operate abroad, if indeed it was behind the Litvinenko affair, also has received little attention. When the KGB disappeared after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it reemerged as two organizations: the SVR, the foreign intelligence arm equivalent to the CIA, and the FSB, for internal security. But last summer, as the Washington Post reported on Nov. 15, a law was passed giving the FSB authority to murder opponents

overseas if ordered to do so by the president.

“A preventive measure,” said Anatoly Kulikov, deputy chairman of the security committee in the lower house of the Russian parliament. The law, he added, should “cool down” opponents of the Kremlin. “They must know what they can expect.” ■



*David Wise writes frequently about intelligence and espionage. He is the author of **Spy: The Inside Story***

*of **How the FBI's Robert Hansen Betrayed America, Nightmover: How Aldrich Ames Sold the CIA to the KGB for \$4.6 Million and coauthor with Thomas B. Ross of **The Invisible Government***** a number-one bestseller. He is former chief of the Washington Bureau of the New York Herald Tribune and was a commentator on CNN for six years.

AL JAZEERA ENGLISH NEWS WITH A NEW PERSPECTIVE

By David Marash

POPE JOHN PAUL used to say, “The Church has a preference for the poor.” The new global news channel Al Jazeera has a preference for what is usually referred to as “the South.” A generation or less ago, it was less politely known as “the developing world.” The news channel competitors of Al Jazeera focus 80 percent of their news-gathering focus and resources in North America, and Western Europe; Al Jazeera English (AJE) has its reporters, camera crews, producers and the front-burners of its brain invested everywhere else: Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, South and East Asia.

The Pope still considered himself head of the Church Universal, and Al Jazeera English



AP PHOTO/MAURIZIO SPREAFICO

Italian Forza Italia (Go Italy) party's Luigi Francesconi, left, and Lega Nord (Northern League) party senator Massimo Polledri at a protest as they show signs and flags, outside the municipal theater in Piacenza, northern Italy, Nov. 1, during a concert for Al-Jazeera Arabic language TV news channel's 10th anniversary.

also aspires to cover the world and inform all its inhabitants. But just as the Pontiff saw both a special need and a holy mission in serving the poor, AJE pays first attention to the people usually left at the dripping tap end of the information pipeline. And the aim of AJE is not just

to provide our “Southern” audiences with better information, but with verification that what happens to them matters, and what they and their “experts” think can be of as much significance as the familiar ideas from Washington, New York, London and Moscow.

For me, as Washington anchor (with Ghida Fakhry) of AJE, the single most interesting part of this journalistic adventure is our projected audience.

According to our marketing and distribution professionals, 80 percent of those who tune us in, out of a potential audience of 88 million (all of them, alas, currently outside North America), speak English as a second language. Which tells you so much about them: They are ambitious. No one breaches the borders of language and culture without ambition. Secondary characteristics? Curiosity, courage, education, a preference for empirical



Al-Jazeera’s English-language channel anchors Dave Marash, left, and Ghida Fakhry prepare for the evening news in their offices at their bureau in Washington, Nov. 17.

AP PHOTO/ HARAZ N. GHANBARI

evidence rather than traditional or hierarchical authority, a belief that knowledge and good information matter. In short, our audience is about as empowering as possible for high quality news, which is emphatically what Al Jazeera English aspires to be all about.

What defines high quality news? The most transparent, most accurate, most usefully focused representation of reality. This takes time. The point of a news story is to be both new, or at least “up to the minute” and comprehensible. In the 100 to 150 seconds that define most conventional television news reports, it is hard to communicate what’s new or why things are stuck at the “up to the” minute. Almost never is it possible to add enough context to “the latest news” to make it understandable. But the point of second-language acquisition is understanding: understanding words, understanding social practice and culture. So, our audience wants news coverage comprehensive enough to be usefully understood. And be-

cause there is for most second-language speakers a slight pause, for not quite instantaneous translation, the slightly slower speed implicit in slightly longer reports, interviews and discussions makes perfect sense. For me, this means that in almost every half hour of news at least one or two stories will be given five, six, seven minutes or more (of linked reports, interviews or discussions), enough time to convey foreground, background and more. But unlike, say, The Newshour on PBS, which often follows a similar pace, our broadcasts are filled with eye-on reporting from around the world. The resources at PBS permit a little travel by a small staff of correspondents and some commissioned pieces, but AJE has dozens of bureaus, hundreds of journalists filing almost every day and both news and video resources from Reuters, APTN and NBC News in addition to program time in the studio to speak with pundits and players about what is being reported.

The structure of Al Jazeera English starts with four news



AP PHOTO/ HAMID JALALUDIN

Al Jazeera English Channel staff prepare for the broadcast in Doha news room in Qatar on Nov. 14.

centers: Doha, Qatar; London, Washington and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Doha is the home office, and it is where, eventually, 12 hours of programming out of every 24 will originate. The other three bases will do four hours each, and the North/South scoreboard, eight hours London and Washington, 16 hours Doha and Kuala Lumpur, is probably an accurate reflection of the channel's overall orientation.

Each of the four bases is au-

tonomous. Each directs its own network of bureaus and stringers. In the case of Washington, we have bureaus now in Caracas, Buenos Aires and New York, and stringers in La Paz, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Lima, Bogota, Mexico City and Los Angeles. Their assignments are directed out of Washington, and our daily lineups for our news broadcasts are a Washington responsibility.

The idea is that our reports (currently we do two half-hours

What grounds our four news points of view are the facts on the ground, as reported by our people on the ground, the overwhelming majority of whom are based below the Equator, and who come from the regions they report on.

at 6 and 8 p.m. EST, eventually we will do three half-hours and a full hour of news out of DC) will reflect, not a single world view, but our regional, Western Hemisphere orientation, as we report on the day. The bigger idea is that every 24 hours AJE will offer four slightly different, regionally nuanced views of the stories that matter in international news.

Behind this is maybe the biggest idea of all: that in today's world, any news story of real impact or significance will yield several logical, informed, coherent, respectable interpretations, and that understanding that story, understanding the world, is facilitated if you comprehend more than one way of looking at it. To that end, we propose every day to offer you a four-pointed parallax of views of the events

of the world as they occur.

What will ground our four news points of view, of course, are the facts on the ground as reported by our people on the ground, the overwhelming majority of whom are based below the Equator, and who come from the regions they report on. This gives our reporting an authenticity, based not just on familiarity but on wider and deeper networks of local sources that competing networks depending on "foreign correspondents" cannot match.

The biggest institutional weakness in American television news has nothing to do with questions of liberal or conservative, left or right, even North or South. The stories American TV hates to handle are "bad news." Sure, TV loves "horrible news," from fires and plane crashes to

homicides and philanderies, but it's bad business to tell too much of really bad news. The competitive reason is this: People don't want to hear bad news, and the ratings regularly prove they will almost always watch something else. In the mid-90s for example, ABC's prime time minute-by-minute surveys of audience flows showed that mention of the word "Bosnia" (a place overflowing with sad stories) was enough to stampede audiences to other channels.

Soon, Bosnia and the Balkans went away as subjects for news coverage, even though thousands of American troops continued to serve there. Just as soon after they became so painfully repetitive, even the "horrible stories" from Iraq went unreported, not to mention never added up. As the story went from bad to worse, editorial zeal, as measured in personnel on the scene and time on the air, diminished. Part of this calculus was the ever-increasing risk for news people in Iraq, but part of was a desire not to be the bearer of grim tidings.



AP PHOTO/ANDY WONG

With the Petronas Twin Tower shown as a backdrop, news presenter Veronica Pedrosa, left, chats with Teymoor Nabili during a photograph session at the live broadcasting area inside Al Jazeera's office in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, Nov. 21.

I've always thought of news as "the people's intelligence service." What kind of intelligence service won't tell bad news? Oh, I guess Iraq taught us one answer to that question, and gave good insight into the consequences.

Al Jazeera English will have the courage to bring bad news. For good professional journalistic reasons, and with the help of being a global channel. For our broad and diverse audience, there are not only plenty of imperatives to be prepared for the worst reality can offer, but also plenty of disagreement as to which stories represent “bad news” and for whom.

One painful message we will bring to an American audience is how many people and places have come to cherish news most

American see as bad. We will also try to show why they have come to these hurtful conclusions.

Why will we do this? Because telling the truth about what’s “out there” is our job and because these ideas exist and have power and cannot be refuted if they go unheard.

It looked like it would be depressing to go unheard in virtually all of the Western Hemisphere on cable and satellite TV. When we launched Nov. 15, we were completely shut out of



In London, Felicity Barr presents the news with Big Ben as a backdrop.

North America. A month later, we were on three television systems: the Pentagon's, the State Department's and the municipally-run cable system of Burlington, Vt. But this is looking like a temporary setback. The news-channel "they" don't want you to see, has become a hot property on the internet. Millions of computer hits from our region are proof to wary cable operators that we do have an American audience. Any fair look at our product demolishes all the nightmare fantasies of "terror TV" slung at us before launch. How long then can commercial censorship last? Not long, I'm betting.

The power of English as a second language was brought home to me through one of the last international stories I reported for Nightline. Examining the impact of Al Qaeda on Southeast Asia, I went to the prep school Pesantren Ngruki in Solo, Indonesia that is the West Point and Harvard of Jemaa Islamiya, the country's most powerful jihadi group. The school taught a curriculum that synthesized Indone-

sian and Islamist education and added two required subjects: Computers and English.

"Computers, I understand," I said to the headmaster, "But why English for a group that hates the West?" "This is the 21st Century," he said, "and like it or not, we know English is the language of global politics, economics and philosophy. We want our students to take part in those conversations. So they must speak English."

"Yikes!" you might say. "You admit, you want to talk to terrorists?"

Yes, we do. And we want to hear from them, too. If you only know a world without them, you're dangerously ignorant. ■

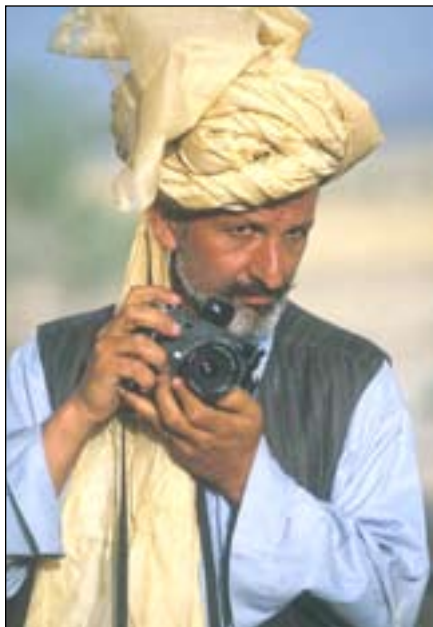


Dave Marash joined Al Jazeera English from the ABC News' Nightline where from

1989 he was an award-winning correspondent covering global as well as U.S. domestic stories.

REZA

~ SHINING A LIGHT INTO THE DARKNESS



Waziristan, 2004

Reza dressed as a Waziri in the Pashtun tribal zone of Waziristan

A PHOTOJOURNALIST from Iran, Reza Deghati (Reza), photographed the Iranian revolution in 1978 and Afghanistan during the Taliban rule, bringing intimate images of individual pain and suffering to the Western world.

His work has appeared in Time, Newsweek, and most recently, National Geographic, among other publications. Reza was born in Tabriz, Iran, in 1952 and taught himself to use a camera at the age of 13. Reza covered the 1978 overthrow of the Shah of Iran for AFP, the French News Agency, and then left his homeland, never to return. In exile, he was a Middle East correspondent for Time from 1983-1988, a consultant to the United Nations humanitarian program in 1989-1990 and then a photographer for National Geographic, covering a wide range of subjects in Egypt,



Nuristan Province Afghanistan, 1985

Afghan children imitate the photographer.

Turkey, Croatia, China and, most compassionately, Afghanistan.

“Beyond the surface, there is a deep ocean of humanity in each of us,” Reza says. “Knowing we’re all the same has helped me connect with people all over the world very easily.”

Reza established the Afghan Media and Culture Center, a non-profit organization based in Kabul, Paris and Washington, to train journalists to promote a democratic, civil society in Afghanistan.



Turkmenistan, 1997

A Turkman with his traditional hat.

Afghanistan, 1983

An old Afghan man in exile reads the Koran, seated on a bed at the Afghan-Pakistani border.



Turkmenistan, 1997

Young dancers of a folk group perform on the banks of the Caspian Sea.



Turkey

Kurdistan, 1993

Two Kurdish boys cross a road, carrying the frame of a television screen.

**More Reza photos
can be found at:**
www.globaljournalist.org

Through independent media, Reza hopes to give women and children a greater voice while promoting cultural expression. AINA covers most aspects of media and communication, including print, photography, video and radio.

Reza received the Missouri Honor Medal from the University of Missouri School of Journalism in 2006. ■



RICARDO DEARATANHA/LOS ANGELES TIMES

Austrian journalist Hubertus Czernin talks to the press during the opening of *Gustav Klimt: Five Paintings from the Collection of Ferdinand and Adele Bloch-Bauer* in Los Angeles.

By Richard Willing

A NAZI-HUNTING VIENNESE JOURNALIST HITS PAY DIRT

IN SEPTEMBER 1997, when editors at the Boston Globe needed help confirming a tip about a possibly stolen Monet, acquired by the Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum, they called on Austrian journalist Hubertus Czernin in Vienna.

Czernin's legwork in family and government records ultimately proved that the museum had, in fact, legally acquired the "Portrait of Eugenie Graff," a painting once owned by famed concert pianist Paul Wittgenstein. Despite the debunked lead,

More than 60 years after Nazis looted millions of dollars worth of art from wealthy Austrian Jewish families, the work of one persistent journalist has led to the return of the artworks to descendants of their rightful owners.

Czernin made an intriguing discovery while digging through ownership records of works owned by Austria's public galleries.

In the 1940s, before Austria's culture ministry acquired them, some of the nation's prized art treasures had passed through the hands of high-ranking Nazis. Martin Bormann, Hitler's personal secretary, and Joachim von Ribbentrop, the German foreign minister who was executed as a war criminal, were among the past owners of works that now graced Austria's public art museums. Before March 1938, when Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany, the art had been in the private collections of wealthy Austrian Jews.

"In that moment, I remember

thinking 'obviously, there is a big story here,'" said Czernin in an interview last April, eight weeks before he died from a rare cell disease at age 50.

There was. Before he was done, Czernin had produced a seven-part series in *Der Standard*, a Vienna daily, and a book called *The Forgery?*, which forced a review of the provenance of thousands of Austria's art treasures that were acquired during or immediately after World War II. In an ongoing process, launched by his reporting, hundreds of paintings, sculptures and pieces of jewelry and decorative art have been restituted by the Austrian government to dozens of descendants of their rightful owners, mostly Austrian Jews.

Czernin's reporting led to more than the restitution of the art works. In Austria, it began a painful and ongoing conversation about the nation's relationship to its Nazi past. History records indicate that Austria was the first victim of Nazi empire building. But modern Austrians, as Czernin learned as he published his stories, were unaware that many of their countrymen embraced the Nazis and robbed and persecuted their Jewish neighbors.

"We never learned about the Nazi period at school," Czernin said. "So there were many things that people didn't know or were only a little aware of. Or maybe did not want to know."

When he began work on the story, Czernin was already a veteran disruptor of the status quo. Born in 1956 to an aristocratic Viennese family, Czernin left the university without a degree and began reporting for *Wochenpresse*, a small weekly. In 1984 he began to cover politics for *Profil*, a mainstream newsweekly comparable to *Time*, *Newsweek* or *Der Spiegel*. In the mid-1980s,

Czernin broke stories about former U.N. Secretary General and Austrian president Kurt Waldheim's wartime links to the Nazi student movement. Beginning in 1995, Czernin uncovered charges that Cardinal Hans Hermann Groer, Vienna's Roman Catholic archbishop, had sexual relationships with seminarians, beginning in the 1950s until the early 1990s.

Czernin began freelance work a year later after *Profil* fired him for running a cover that featured the head of then-Chancellor Franz Vranitzky over the body of a naked man. The headline, tied to a story about the centrist Vranitzky's forced alliance with a right-wing party, read "The Emperor's New Clothes."

"Vranitzky didn't like it, and we had some conservative shareholders," Czernin said. "I still consider it a good cover."

Czernin's first stories about stolen art came from information that was hidden in plain sight. It was found in ownership, transfer and acquisition records held by Austria's federal monuments commission. It appeared,

Czernin said, that most records had been left unexamined since the artworks were acquired during the German annexation period and the years that immediately followed the war. Because of that oversight, Czernin discovered, museum catalogues and art history books often gave erroneous or incomplete provenances for works held in the nation's cultural institutions.

"No one had any idea that there was so much looted art," he said. "The writers [of art history] usually just took the word of an earlier writer about where the works had come from. Nobody had really checked."

The stories, published by *Der Standard* in 1998, moved Austria's parliament to act. An art restitution law was passed that year, which made it easier for families who had lost treasures to learn whether they had been acquired by public museums and to win restitution. Soon after the law's passage, Czernin said, "hundreds of pieces" were returned to their rightful owners.

One story in particular, about

the provenance of "Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I" by Gustav Klimt, led to the return earlier this year of the gold-encrusted masterpiece to a 90-year-old Los Angeles widow. In June, the widow, Maria Altmann, sold the "Golden Portrait," which pictured her late aunt and had been commissioned by her late uncle to cosmetics heir Ronald Lauder for a price *The New York Times* estimated as \$135 million, likely the most ever paid for a piece of art.

Czernin's research had demonstrated that the Golden Portrait was acquired during the war by a Nazi sympathizer. Its owner, Jewish sugar magnate Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer, had left the portrait behind when he fled Austria shortly after the German annexation.

But the Austrian government balked at handing over the art. At Vienna's Belvedere Castle museum, where the portrait had been a popular attraction for years, officials cited the will of Adele Bloch-Bauer, the portrait's subject. Before she died in 1925, the woman whose slim

haunting features had endowed the work with an icy hauteur had bequeathed the painting to the national museum. So it was the museum that had rescued the Golden Portrait from the Nazis in 1941, and was its rightful owner, gallery officials claimed.

Czernin read the will and realized that Mrs. Bloch-Bauer had actually requested that her husband, Ferdinand, leave the painting to the nation upon his death. But when Ferdinand died in poverty in Switzerland in 1945, he didn't honor that request. So, the Golden Portrait and its companion paintings, Czernin concluded, rightfully belonged to the heirs of Ferdinand and Adele Bloch-Bauer.

Czernin's book, *The Forgery?*, which he published through a company that he set up for himself, was about the Bloch-Bauer will controversy.

In Los Angeles, Maria Altmann took note. A niece of the childless couple, she was their closest living heir. Of course, she knew about the Golden Portrait. After Adele died of meningitis at 42, a grief-stricken Ferdinand

displayed the portrait in a room set aside in the couple's Vienna mansion. Each morning, he set a bowl of fresh flowers in front of it.

"We were told [the portrait] was gone, we had no expectation of getting it back," says Altmann.

But after a friend in Vienna alerted her to Czernin's reporting, she acted. She pursued the paintings first in Austrian and then in American courts. In 2004, the U.S. Supreme Court, over Austria's objections, found that Altmann had the right to sue in the U.S. for artworks held in Austria. In January 2006, an Austrian arbitration panel awarded the Golden Portrait and three lesser-known Klimts to Altmann and her family. She displayed them, and another Klimt, which was returned later, at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, before the sale to Lauder.

The five works are on permanent display at the Neue Galerie in New York City.

"Hubertus' work made all this possible," says Altmann, now 90. The widow, who has three

sons and a daughter, says of the reporter, “now I have one child more.”

Czernin came to Los Angeles for the opening of the Klimt exhibit. He was introduced to the crowd, to sustained applause. In Vienna, he accepted an award from B'nai B'rith International for his work in restoring art to its rightful owners. Among the achievements cited is the Library of Theft series by Czernin Verlag, the Vienna publishing house that the reporter founded. The series was designed to catalogue and attempt to trace all art appropriated from private collections during the Nazi period. *The Forgery?* was the Library of Theft's first volume.

In Austria, not everyone applauded Czernin's work. Museum officials, he said, indicated they considered him a dangerous pest and made him hand-copy documents and obtain multiple permissions to view public records.

At a cocktail party, a 30-something couple referred to him as an “asshole” who had dredged up unhappy memories and cost

the nation a portion of its artistic heritage.

“Until the mid-1980s, history [of the Nazi period] was never discussed in a shameful way,” Czernin said. The art stories, he explained, challenged the prevailing notion that “if we are the Nazis' first victims we can't have produced” other victims.

Although Czernin suffered an untimely death, other reporters in Vienna are carrying on his work. Thomas Trenkler of *Der Standard* and Marianne Enigl at *Profil* remain on the “stolen art” beat. In the tradition of Czernin, both continue to uncover appropriated art in national museums by matching public records with Gestapo documents.

Art historian Sophie Lillie, one of Czernin's protégés, says she has “picked up the torch.” As part of his Library of Theft series, Czernin tasked Lillie, a Vienna-born and Columbia University-trained art historian, to catalogue art stolen from the Rothschilds, Gutmanns and other prominent families. In 2003, Czernin Verlag published *Was Einmal War*, Lillie's 1,440-page-

account of the whereabouts of about 5,000 pieces of art from 148 looted collections.

But lately the story has become harder to report. Lillie says most of the remaining unaccounted for art appears to be in the hands of private collectors, who are under no legal obligation to give up the works. Paperwork proving the provenance of stolen art is often sketchy or non-existent, she adds, because Nazi-favored auction houses that listed their Jewish owners only as anonymous donors sold most of the pieces.

“Rarely do private collectors publish what they really know,” Lillie says.

Czernin also found the stolen art story increasingly frustrating. Shortly before his death, he was tracking a Klimt landscape that appeared to have moved from Berlin to California, as well as other Klimts he believed had been looted in private collections in the U.S. and Canada. He was hoping for a breakthrough, such as a bitter divorce or a battle over a will, to disclose enough documentary evidence

of long-ago theft to support a story. But Czernin was not optimistic.

Even with a new generation of reporters following Czernin’s lead, a hope to return all stolen artwork is unlikely at best. Because many of the looted works are now private possessions, it is near impossible to get them back into the hands of the original owners’ heirs, Czernin said. ■

Richard Willing has covered local, state and national news for newspapers in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Texas and Washington, D.C., for more than 30 years. Since 1997, he has been a national reporter at USA TODAY and now covers intelligence.

Converting Data Bases into News Stories



AP PHOTO/MOISES CASTILLO

A worker from Guatemala's Human Rights office inspects the vast quantity of police documents stored in an abandoned warehouse in Guatemala City. The Human Rights Ombudsman's office expects to have scanned more than one million police files in 2006.

Though it may take time to build a database, the payoff is usually a hard-hitting exclusive story. And every journalist appreciates the opportunity to get that kind of story.

By Brant Houston

AS THE 21ST CENTURY arrived, many global journalists still viewed computer-assisted reporting as primarily a U.S.-based endeavor. They doubted whether relevant databases were available in their country or whether U.S. government databases would be useful for the stories they were working.

But how things have changed.

Last month, Nils Mulvad, a leading practitioner of data analysis in Denmark, was named European Journalist of the Year by the independent newspaper European Voice. He won the

award for his data analysis on widespread flaws in the system of EU farm subsidies. (www.farmsubsidy.org).

After obtaining data through persistent use of open records laws, he and his colleagues found that wealthy farmers, politicians and big corporations were receiving the

subsidies. He also found that some of the subsidies were allowing one large corporation to send highly discounted dairy products to devel-

oping countries, and that those products undercut the farm economies of those countries.

In Brazil, journalist Fernando Rodrigues, has done extensive work on the wealthiest politicians there and created with his newspaper in Sao Paulo a searchable database from paper records on the assets of those politicians. Also in Brazil, José Roberto de Toledo, who has

been practicing data analysis for a number of years, is now teaching an online course in computer-assisted reporting (CAR) in Brazil. Toledo previously analyzed public works projects with Brazilian data and emigration of Brazilians to the U.S. with U.S. immigration data.

An increasing number of databases for every country are available on the Web, but if information is not available electronically, journalists everywhere are realizing the need to build databases.

In Europe, Dick van Eijk of the Netherlands has been using data analysis and mapping software for more than a decade for newspapers.

Among the stories he has tackled with CAR are elections and bad neighborhoods. Like other pioneers in the field, he has gone onto teaching data analysis throughout the region.

Meanwhile, Helena Bengtsson of Sweden has not only done computer-assisted reporting in her home country, but now leads the computer-assisted reporting section of the Center for Public



AP PHOTO/MOISES CASTILLO

Databases offer journalists access to specialized information. After police documents are scanned by the Guatemala Human Rights Ombudsman's office, the digital images obtained will be converted into computer text to build a human rights violations data base.

Integrity, www.publicintegrity.org, in Washington D.C.

In the Republic of Korea, journalists have started routinely using data analysis. Peter Lee, a former fellow at Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), has used mapping and social network analysis software to track where people were moving within the area of Busan City. He used the 2005 national census database and conducted a survey of 120 real estate agents

around Busan City to reveal the patterns.

Also in Asia, Chinese news organizations and universities have invited U.S. journalists who are experts in data analysis to demonstrate the potential uses of CAR in that country from tracking populations trends to mapping geographic data such as the occurrences of earthquakes in populated areas.

In North America, Canada and Mexico have joined the U.S.

in using data analysis. Canada, in particular, has used CAR for many kinds of stories, and two journalists in Denmark recently wrote a book about computer-assisted reporting.

All of this is possible because of the increasing number of databases for every country available on the Web and because of the training provided by the National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting (NICAR), a joint program of IRE and the Missouri School of Journalism.

Over the past decade, IRE and NICAR have trained journalists and trainers in more than 30 countries, who then form educational organizations or do individual instruction. Hands-on training in data analysis has been conducted most recently in Brazil, Argentina, China, the Republic of Korea and the United Kingdom.

In addition, former international graduate students who were research assistants at IRE and NICAR have returned to their countries with knowledge of the power of data analysis, and they want to apply that

knowledge. In fact, many have gone on to work at news organizations around the world.

For example, two former research assistants, Noemi Ramirez and Sofia Basso, returned to Europe to work for news organizations there and have spoken at journalism conferences about the databases available to global journalists.

In their talks, they have noted that credible data on nearly every topic can be found on many Web sites. Among the sites they pointed to:

- A list of links at the United Nations to national statistic centers around the world at http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/inter-natlinks/sd_natstat.htm
- A list of databases maintained by the United Nations on demographics, housing, trade and other topics at <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/databases.htm>
- A country-by-country collection of databases on diseases and other health issues at the World Health Organization at <http://www3.who.int/whosis/menu.cfm>
- Numerous databases on fi-



A database obtained from other sources could develop into a story. Here, a technician in the Connecticut State Police Forensics lab in Meriden, Conn., explains a marijuana DNA pattern. His work is part of the State Police's data base of marijuana DNA that they hope to use in tracking down growers.

financial and trade issues at The World Bank site www.worldbank.org/data

- A collection of database on education from the U.S. but integrated with international studies and reports at <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/IAED/>

- The U.S. Bureau of Census international data Web pages that contain information from every kind of countries throughout the world at <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/>

Many other handouts and guides for global journalists can be found at the site of the Global Investigative Journalists Network, www.globalinvestiga-

tivejournalism.org/ or at Investigative Reporters and Editors Resource Center, www.ire.org/resourcecenter

The network, of which Mulvad was a co-creator, has been a major factor in the growth in data analysis among journalists. The network, and the conferences it has held, has spawned more cooperation and sharing of data and stories over the past years.

The farm subsidy project in Europe has engaged more and more journalists from different countries to fight for access to subsidy data and to help with investigations in those countries.

In another example, Swedish journalists investigating renditions of suspected terrorists called on IRE to scan a U.S. database for information about a plane. The Swedish journalists had found that a U.S. plane was involved in transporting suspected terrorists to countries where interrogation methods were harsh. In examining the U.S. Federal Procurement database, IRE found the plane was part of an airline company that was receiving money from an agency connected to counter-terrorist activities.

That contract database can actually be used for stories throughout the world since it contains the place of performance of the contract. In the past few years, journalists from the Republic of Korea utilized the database to look for Korean companies that were relying on large amounts of money from the U.S.

But if information is not available electronically, journalists everywhere are realizing the need to build databases from paper records and the power of

those databases once they are built. A database allows a journalist to quickly sift through information and see patterns and possible story tips that otherwise would be missed as Rodrigues and Toledo have demonstrated in Brazil.

Though it may take time to build a database, the pay off is usually a hard-hitting exclusive story. And every journalist appreciates the opportunity to get that kind of story. ■



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New Degrees, No Pencils

Sierra Leone's first journalism school has just conferred its very first degrees to a group of eager reporters in time for upcoming elections. Despite this milestone, basic equipment is scarce, and corruption is high.

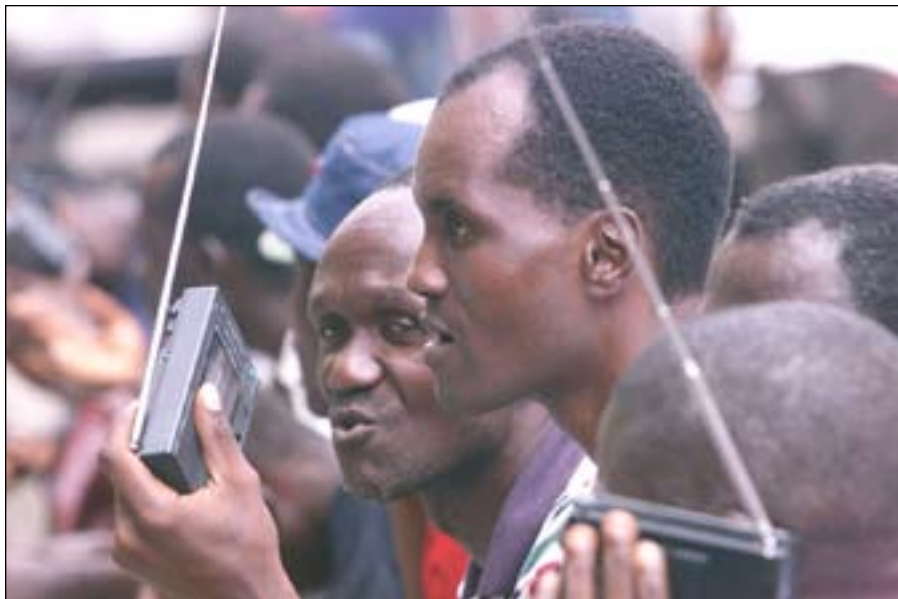
By Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Pasco Gerald H. Temple

AS SIERRA LEONE prepares for the first elections since the departure of U.N. peacekeepers in 2005, veteran reporter Richard Margao worries about how he and his colleagues will report the elections in the 14 chiefdoms of his region. Margao, who has worked as a correspondent for the BBC for many years and is now chairman of the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists South, relies on his mobile phone for interviews and other communications because landlines are not in working order. But mobile phones need to be recharged,

and doing so requires electricity, which is only available to those who can afford gas for generators. Also, getting around is not easy as most of the roads are in terrible condition, Margao said. For print journalists, it will be difficult to file stories from the region, where there is limited Internet access.

“In the entire Bo District, we have three internet cafés. Only two are reliable, and they are not operating on a 24-hour basis,” he said.

The elections, which will take place on July 28, 2007, were recently described as a “major



AP PHOTO/SAURABH DAS

Supporters of Sierra Leone People's Party listen to the radio as poll results come in from different parts of the country during Sierra Leone's most recent election in 2002. Most Sierra Leoneans rely on radio for up-to-the-minute news, but increased gas prices have made it impossible for radio stations to broadcast 24 hours a day, leaving journalists to worry about how they will relay election results.

milestone" by Kofi Annan, then Secretary General of the United Nations. As journalists in the country get ready to cover the electoral contest, they face a daunting set of challenges. Sierra Leone is ranked 176th out of 177 as the poorest country in the UN's 2005 Human Develop-

ment Report, and the country's poverty and decade-long civil war have left a profound imprint on its media.

Margao is not alone in his concern about the quality of election coverage. James Taiwo Cullen, managing director of Voice of the Handicapped Radio

96.2 FM, is concerned about his station's coverage of the upcoming elections because he can no longer afford to pay for enough gas to keep his generator running for 24-hour transmissions. The shortage, he says, has reduced live political coverage and will make it more difficult for his station to deliver breaking news in the elections.

The case of Voice of the Handicapped is not unique. Radio stations across the country have been forced to cut transmission times because of hikes in gas prices. This is particularly problematic for audiences outside the capital, where timely elections reports will be limited to radio. Sierra Leone's radio managers have devised an election coverage strategy to link radio stations through a central network, allowing journalists to report on activities at stations around the country live on air. However, because of reduced airtime at stations across the country, this strategy is unlikely to secure up-to-date electoral news across the board.

Television coverage is prob-

lematic for different reasons. Three out of the four television stations are owned and controlled by the government and are seen as unlikely to report electoral fraud.

"The state-owned Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service (SLBS) radio and television are nothing more than propaganda mechanisms controlled by demagogues in the SLPP (Sierra Leone People's Party)," according to an Expo Times editorial. "Every news item that goes out for broadcast first goes through the Ministry of Information for vetting."

The sole independent television station, ABC Television, is struggling to meet production costs.

Yet journalists in Sierra Leone continue to be proud of their media. Sierra Leone has a long history of independent and critical journalism. It was home to the first newspaper published in Anglophone West Africa, which came out in 1801. And the post-war media landscape reflects a revitalized journalism profession. It includes 44 newspapers,

33 community radio stations, six international radio relay stations and four television stations. Not only is there a wealth of media organizations, but Sierra Leone now also boasts a school to train its own journalists. Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone's top university, conferred its first degrees in journalism and mass communications in 2005.

Although graduates are proud of their degrees and the professionalism they symbolize and have secured jobs at the most prestigious news organizations in the country, several of them fear that their reporting will be hampered because they lack the basic tools of their trade. Most of them do not have computers or even tape-recorders.

In general, journalists' work is made difficult by a scarcity of technologies and materials, including computers, printers, telephones, cameras, paper, notepads, pens and pencils, tape recorders, office space and office furniture. A recent survey of 50 Freetown print journalists conducted at Fourah Bay College showed that while one out

of five respondents have access to computers and telephones in the newsroom, only one out of ten have access to tape recorders and note pads.

As a result of inadequate in-house resources, many journalists use expensive commercial computing centers for services including typing and desktop publishing and also rely on outsourcing for filming, plating and printing. The president of the Sierra Leone Reporters Union, Dawson Kuyateh, expressed pessimism about the timeliness and accuracy of electoral reporting. He pointed to the inadequacy of photographic equipment as a particular concern.

"Most of my members don't have still cameras to take snapshots of activities," he said. For those photographers that do own equipment, high-quality film is difficult to finance.

Other journalists are more hopeful. Philip Neville, executive editor of the Standard Times, said that his paper is equipped with computers, stationary and tape recorders.

Media organizations that don't

have such resources blame flagging advertising revenues. In Sierra Leone, the government, mobile phone companies and international NGOs account for the majority of advertising revenue. The government only advertises in newspapers sympathetic to its policies, according to several newspaper editors.

“Government institutions consider my paper to be an opposition paper, so its ministries are not advertising with me,” said Mohamed D. Koroma, managing editor of the Afri-

can Champion newspaper. “The government thinks without its adverts, my paper won’t come out, but I will continue to maintain my stance.”

Sheka Tarawally, the former editor of the Torchlight, was forced to close down his newspaper during the civil war. His newspaper’s critical stance towards the government made it impossible to resume opera-

tions after the end of hostilities, as public and private clients took their advertising accounts elsewhere to avoid association with the opposition.

“We lost everything, and there was no finance to restart publication,” he said.

As a result of low advertising and sales revenues, some media organizations cannot afford to pay employees a living wage. At least 20 percent of newspaper journalists work entirely without pay, according to a study conducted at

Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone.

To support themselves, some journalists engage in what is known as “coasting” or “black-enveloping,” using blackmail or accepting payments in exchange for coverage. Coasting accounts for 30 percent of junior reporters’ income, according to the same study.

Such practices are not unique

At least 20 percent of newspaper journalists in Sierra Leone work entirely without pay.

to Sierra Leone but are symptomatic of a difficult economic climate.

“The practice of coasting was not invented by a genius, by a Galileo or Isaac Newton, but by ordinary journalists as a practical way of surviving in these harsh economic conditions under which the print media operates in Sierra Leone,” said Kabral Blay-Amihere, the former Ghanaian High Commissioner to Sierra Leone.

The reliance on patronage payments is particularly problematic in election times, when parties with vested interests are more likely to seek to influence journalists.

Ibrahim Ben Kargbo, president of the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists, recently warned against the dangers of biased election reporting.

“Make your affiliation known,” he said. “Don’t pretend that you’re independent if you’re not.”

Writing in the *Standard Times*, Saidu Kamara cautioned journalists “to do everything in their power to extricate themselves

from any political alignment” in the elections.

The media have “the social responsibility to help bring about cohesion and political pluralism in this country. This is what democracy is all about.” ■

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*Pasco Gerald H. Temple is a Sierra Leonean journalist and human rights campaigner. He is a correspondent for the Dakar-based Pan-African News Agency and for the French press freedom watchdog, *Reporters Without Borders*.*

DEFINING 'INDIGENOUS' IN INTERNATIONAL NEWS

By Christina Tercero

TO MOST READERS, listeners or viewers, the word “indigenous” would seem harmless enough as a description of an exotic group in a far away place. But actually the writer using it generally does so out of a laziness or need for over-simplification. In fact, its use is controversial, leaving a large gap between reality and what the word conveys to readers.

How do reporters determine when, how and to whom to apply this term “indigenous?”

This reporter studied articles by the BBC and CNN for the past few years and discovered:

- The BBC tends to define “indigenous” as people native to a location who still hold onto ancient traditions, such as “Arctic natives” who hunt whales for food.

- BBC reporters often re-

ferred to “indigenous” people as people living more primitive lifestyles than others in the same location. They mainly used the word in stories titled: “Are indigenous languages dead?”, “Americas hold indigenous summit,” “Mixed views on UN indigenous decade” and “Indigenous population ‘neglected,’” and not in stories referring to a single people group.

- The BBC tended to focus mainly on Australia, Canada, India and the Pacific Islands when covering “indigenous” people or issues. It also called many in Russia and the Middle East indigenous and reported on some indigenous groups and issues in Central and South America.

- The BBC appeared to define “indigenous” as people in Third World countries who live a life of survival, foragery, poverty

and social divergence, be they originally from the land they live on or not.

- CNN reporters, on the other hand, tossed around the word “indigenous” as if it was invalid currency. In CNN articles, “indigenous” could mean local, native, ancient, domestic, homegrown — and stand for almost any race other than Caucasian.

Where the BBC defined “indigenous” as more socio-economic and cultural, CNN defined it as socio-racial and cultural.

From reading excerpts from the BBC, one would get the idea that “indigenous” people are deprived, impoverished, powerless and of little to no social and or economic value to the countries in which they resided.

Recent stories from the BBC said indigenous people are unable to “manage their resources,” and “their land has been taken away,” which in turn, “has driven indigenous people further into poverty.” Other stories on Aboriginal Australians read, “... the loss of land had forced many aborigines to migrate for jobs, mostly from rural areas to

the margins of cities and shanty towns.”

If indigenous people in the BBC’s stories were not portrayed as poor, seeking social recompense or federal funding, they were depicted as living in ancient cultures, with ancient traditions and customs.

I did not find a single BBC report on indigenous people assimilating into mainstream culture, indigenous people’s modern concerns or lifestyles, or stories of individuals from native people groups succeeding in life – except for a few stories on the election of Evo Morales in Bolivia in 2006.

- CNN covered indigenous populations much like the BBC, but CNN reporters seemed only to refer to native groups as “indigenous” if they were from an ethnic background such as African, Native American and Aboriginal Australian.

- CNN also seemed to stress the differences between indigenous societies and the rest of society. In a story titled “Guatemala apologizes to U.S. widow for husband’s death,” the re-

porter reiterates the differences between the indigenous and the non-indigenous story subjects. “Bamaca (Efrain Bamaca, husband), a high-ranking leader who was illiterate before joining the guerrilla met Harbury (Jennifer Harbury, wife) in 1990 when she visited their mountain hideout to research a book about the war. The Harvard-educated lawyer and the indigenous farmer were married a year later.” Later, the reporter simply refers to Bamaca as Harbury’s “guerrilla husband.”

- Like the BBC, CNN stressed the economic and social extremes in which many indigenous populations lived. In a CNN story titled “Poverty still the indigenous norm,” the reporter writes, “While most of the changes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have been designed to give them a better chance in life, government reports show that on every measure they are overwhelmingly less well-off than their fellow citizens.”

Much of the BBC’s reporting was a half-hearted attempt to act as a watchdog for injustices done to indigenous people. For

instance, one story read, “... indigenous people are still among the most marginalized and dispossessed sectors of society, says Rodolfo Stavenhagen, the UN’s representative for human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people.” The article continues by saying, “Their land has been taken away, their sustainable use of land dismissed, and their cultures have been denigrated ...”

In another story on whaling rights, the text read, “Representatives of the indigenous people of Alaska and Russia said the ban would leave them hungry ...”

- CNN tended to be a bit more critical of indigenous groups, and though CNN reporters gave more specific background and names in their stories than BBC reporters. CNN rarely included actual indigenous sources in their stories. The stories tended to be ethnocentric.

For instance a story titled “Columbus Day holiday arrives on stormy historical waters,” reported, “In Denver, Colorado, last weekend, Italian-Americans holding a Columbus Day parade

faced protests from Native-American and Hispanic activists.” Instead of shedding light on the reason for the protests it perpetuated prejudice. The story later reported, “... presidential candidate Pat Buchanan accused the Columbus Day parade protesters in Denver of “cultural Marxism.” He added, “It’s all part of a political correctness, which is another name for cultural Marxism. It is anti-European and anti-Western civilization, ... We have a right to our heroes and they to theirs.”

In another CNN story on the possibility of building a canal through Nicaragua, the reporter lumps “indigenous people” with other environmental concerns, as if they were part of the landscape. “Environmentalists worry about the impact a Nicaraguan canal would have on wildlife, vegetation and indigenous people ...” In such a sentence, these people are only seen as an environmental variable to factor in when deciding whether or not to build. They are not given a voice; they are not given context; and they are not given a name.

If CNN isn’t creating distance,

they are simply maintaining distance between indigenous people groups and mainstream society. They point out differences between indigenous populations and the rest of the world in regards to poverty, health, income and education.

- Lastly, CNN coverage defined anyone in a nation that was different from what CNN reporters would classify as “civilized” were referred to as “indigenous.”

A CNN story on Liberia reported that the Africans living in Liberia who were not descendants of freed slaves who returned to Africa from the U.S. were defined as indigenous. “Decades after Liberia’s founding, the same tension between the ruling class – the descendants of the freed black slaves, which make up about 5 percent of the population – and the indigenous Africans spurred a 1980 coup.” In such a case, the reporter could have simply distinguished the slave descendants, who were the minority, and not set aside the whole population of Liberia as “indigenous.”

In an article titled, “Media, Di-

saster Relief and Images of the Developing World: Strategies for Rapid, Accurate, and Effective Coverage of Complex Stories From Around the Globe,” Fred H. Cate, wrote:

“Much of the public throughout the industrialized world share an image of developing countries that is incomplete and inaccurate.” He also said, “Most of the developed world’s information about the developing world comes from two sources — the news media and relief organizations. Despite considerable efforts to be accurate and timely, both the media and relief organizations unintentionally contribute to disordered images of the developing world (and indigenous populations) because both focus on the unusual, the extraordinary, the dramatic. Yet western viewers and readers perceive this information without context or background of information or experience against which to evaluate its significance. Thus, the public’s perception of developing countries (and/or indigenous people) may be formed entirely of infor-

mation about exceptions, rather than the norms, of daily life.”

To combat this misrepresentation of “indigenous” in the news, reporters can use a wider variety of sources, including indigenous people themselves. As Russell Means, a Lakota activist and the founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM), said in regards to the use of the term “Native American:”

“I abhor the term Native American. It is a generic government term used to describe all the indigenous prisoners of the United States. ...I prefer the term American Indian because I know its origins . . . We were enslaved as American Indians, we were colonized as American Indians, and we will gain our freedom as American Indians, and then we will call ourselves any damn thing we choose,” he said. ■

Christina Tercero is a graduate student at the Missouri School of Journalism from Oak Harbor, Wash. Tercero plans for a career in foreign correspondence and international news photography.

The End of an Era?

As news organizations face restructuring and budget cutbacks, the traditional foreign bureau, full of well-financed correspondents, is becoming a thing of the past.

By Reena Vadehra

IF THE LAST FEW YEARS have indicated anything, it is that cutbacks and downsizing are becoming a norm in journalism. According to The American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE), there was a 4.1 percent decline in newspaper staff from 2001 to 2005.

Papers also face buyouts, including Knight Ridder, which sold its 32 papers including the Philadelphia Inquirer, in March 2006. But more than layoffs and budget cuts threaten the foreign sections of news publications.

In December 2005, the Philadelphia Inquirer closed its Rome bureau and is left with just two foreign correspondents. In the

midst of a major war, the Boston Globe closed its Baghdad bureau, which was unstaffed for several months.

In January 2006, two major newsweeklies shifted away from traditional sources of international journalism. Businessweek closed its international editions with the hope of reaching its foreign readers online. Time magazine, known for its large staffing worldwide, cut bureau chiefs in Beijing, Seoul, Jerusalem and Moscow. In 2005, Time closed its bureaus in Sydney and South Africa.

The Tribune Company, owner of the Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times, Baltimore Sun and

Newsday, has undergone the greatest revamping and is currently deciding whether to sell some or all of its papers and television stations.

In October 2005, the Baltimore Sun closed its London and Beijing bureaus. In July 2006, the Baltimore Sun announced that it would close the three remaining foreign bureaus — Moscow, Johannesburg and Jerusalem

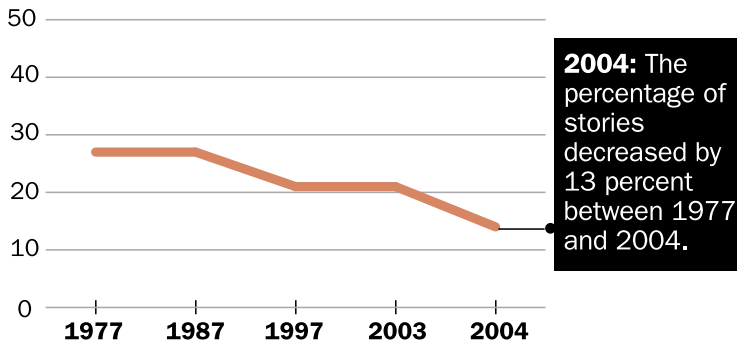
— over the next year and a half. Sister newspaper Newsday has closed its Beijing and Mexico City bureaus and will close the Beirut and Islamabad bureaus in upcoming months. Smaller and medium-sized Tribune papers, such as The Baltimore Sun and Newsday, will rely on foreign reporting from the Los Angeles Times and the Chicago Tribune.

These kinds of changes are

FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON THE FRONT PAGE

The last few years have shown a decrease in the percentage of stories on newspaper front pages about foreign affairs.

Percentage of A1 coverage

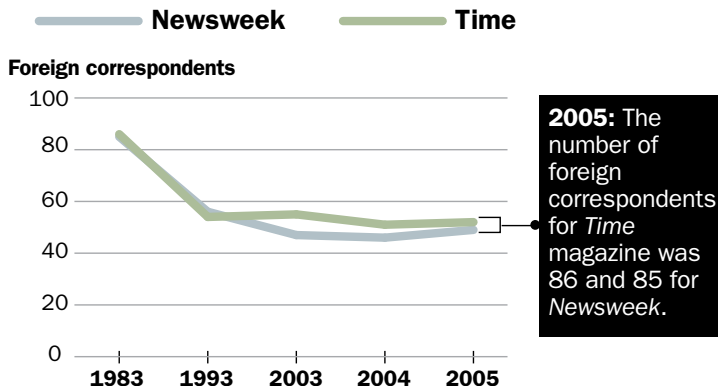


Source: www.stateofthenewsmedia.org

EMEM OFFONG

CORRESPONDENTS IN FOREIGN BUREAUS

Newsmagazines *Time* and *Newsweek* have reduced their number of foreign correspondents in bureaus around the world.



Source: www.stateofthenewsmedia.org

EMEM OFFONG

not new. Whenever newspapers face economic problems, foreign bureaus are the first to go for obvious reasons — they are expensive to maintain. During the early 1990s, when the country faced an economic recession, major cuts in both foreign and domestic reporting were made by news organizations across the country. As the nation came out of the reces-

sion, media budgets and staff increased. It seems like simple economics; however, there is a vital difference today. The nation is not facing a major economic recession, yet cutbacks abound.

Reasons vary for why these changes have been made — from rising newsprint prices and declining circulation to demands for higher profit. According

to the 2006 State of the News Media report by the Project for Excellence in Journalism, the battle between the journalism idealists who argue for more quality reports at no expense (including the old, romantic notion of the foreign bureau and correspondent) and the accountants who argue for profitability is over. The accountants have won.

“I wish there were an identifiable and strong correlation between quality journalism and newspaper sales,” Knight Ridder spokesman Polk Laffoon IV said in the report before his company went out of business. “It isn’t . . . that simple.”

Certainly, the Internet is perceived to make a huge impact as well. The new technology is thought of as a threat to paper publications and is often cited as a reason for more cutbacks.

But statistics say otherwise. According to Borrell Associates, a media research firm, the Web sites of newspapers collect \$2 billion a year in advertising revenue. This is a mere fraction compared to the \$48 billion ad

GLOBAL JOURNALIST'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN NUMBERS

4 Number of broadcast centers the new Al Jazeera English has worldwide

26 Number of correspondents the new AJE employs

28 Number of foreign correspondents both CNN and BBC news employ

44 Percent of Americans who got their international news from newspapers in 2005

24 Percent of Americans who got their international news from the Internet in 2005

MORE ►►

revenue raked in for print publications each year. Despite the fact that a Web site is much cheaper to maintain than a newspaper, the 2006 State of the News Media report still depicts the Internet as less of a threat.

“If the online revenues at newspapers continue to grow at the current rate — an improbable 33 percent a year — they won’t reach levels equivalent with print until 2017 (assuming print grows just 3 percent a year),” the 2006 State of the News Media report states. “Realistically, even with lower delivery costs online, it will be years before the Internet rivals old media economics, if it ever does.”

Newspapers and newsmagazines aren’t dying just yet. They do, however, understand the new climate and are transforming themselves to compete with new technologies. The news media are taking heed because as Internet usage grows throughout the world, there is still a danger that reliance on newspapers may diminish even further.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN NUMBERS (CONTINUED)

48 Percent of people in 10 countries that have “a lot or some trust” in BBC news, the highest score in a 2006 poll conducted by globescan

8 Total number of minutes the top three U.S. networks devoted to nine of the stories on Doctors Without Borders “Top 10 under-reported humanitarian stories of 2005”

14 Total number of minutes the three networks devoted to the tenth story, research and development for HIV/AIDS treatment in impoverished settings

14,529 Total number of minutes of news on the three networks

Sources: Tyndall Report, Doctors Without Borders, AJE, Project for Excellence in Journalism, BBC, CNN, Globescan

“I think newspapers will have a place in our culture for the immediate future, but that place will steadily diminish over the years as more Americans have access to and expertise with the Internet,” says Bill Gentile, a professor of journalism at American University.

If anything, the current era of cutbacks signifies a metamorphosis of traditional media in the new globalized and corporatized technological age. And with this metamorphosis of decreasing budgets comes new methods of reporting international news effectively but cheaply.

The foreign bureau may disappear but the foreign correspondent lingers on. Instead of staffing multiple bureaus overseas, news publications rely on single correspondents to cover countries and/or regions abroad. There is also a reliance on stringers, contracted staff who may work for multiple publications without benefits.

Monica Campbell, a freelance journalist based in Mexico City, works for four news publications in the United States.

Armed with Spanish language skills, contacts in Mexico and experience in Latin American news coverage, Campbell made the move to Mexico City three years ago when she got an itch for on-the-ground reporting.

“With fewer staffers on the ground, freelancers are still around and can provide coverage with fewer strings attached, i.e. staff salaries and benefits,” Campbell says. “That might not seem entirely positive, but it’s the freelancer who has chosen to put herself in that position.”

For foreign-based journalists, it is not just the closure of foreign bureaus that is a concern but the amount of coverage devoted to foreign news in the United States. According to the Project for Excellence in Journalism, 27 percent of front page news in newspapers was devoted to foreign news in 1977. In 2004, that number dropped to 14 percent. Similarly, newsweeklies devoted 20 to 25 percent of their pages to international news from 1980 to 1990. Today, that percentage averages to about 15 to 17 percent.

“The problem here is not just that there seems to be less reporting going on, but that editors in the United States choose not to run foreign news in their papers, magazines or radio/TV broadcasts,” Gentile says. “Their assumption is that Americans are not interested, which is only partly true.”

If news publications in the United States reduce the number of pages devoted to global news stories, then foreign correspondents and stringers may have a harder time trying to sell a story. In addition, there is a greater reliance on breaking news rather than in-depth, background articles.

“The downside is that a decision has been made by a newspaper or magazine’s higher-ups to cut coverage from your part of the world. And that makes

selling your story that much harder,” Campbell says.

“I’ve been a freelancer for more than three years and only this year have I, for the first time, been advised to keep the number of days I work on a story to a minimum because of budget cut-backs.”

Another method for saving money is parachuting journalists abroad. Parachuting involves sending nation-

ally based reporters to foreign countries as breaking news happens. The danger is that these journalists may lack the context and in-depth cultural knowledge needed to cover news in another country.

Campbell agrees. “Bad examples see journalists rush in without knowledge of the language and clinging to English-speaking locals, analysts and

“The problem here is not just that there seems to be less reporting going on but that editors in the United States choose not to run foreign news in their papers, magazines or radio/TV broadcasts.”

— Bill Gentile

the like. They lack the historical context and miss valuable references and comparisons that can only be made by studying or living in the country. So bring on the clichés and stereotypes. And too bad for the readers who may know little about the story, which is why they're reading it, and get served a piece filled with slapdash conclusions."

Eliza Barclay, another foreign stringer in Mexico City, saw the negative effects of parachute journalism during the July elections.

"Obviously those people's coverage was not as strong as some the foreign-based people because their knowledge was shallower, and it was a complicated situation," Barclay says, referring to journalists parachuted to Mexico City.

"Yet I've also worked with parachutists who defy the negative image and bring a fresh eye to the story," Campbell says. "And even if they don't speak the language ..., they get it. They spot the importance of the story in a universal sense and can tease out what's important. That's refreshing.

"There's nothing wrong with parachutists if they're genuinely interested in the story and don't move in on it with a seen-it-all, rushed attitude. Unfortunately, the reality of today's fast-paced news means that's rarely the case."

In the end, the foreign correspondent will still remain, though now faced with the improbability of being sent abroad as paid staff, competition with unknowledgeable parachute journalists and the burden of disinterested editors and news publications pre-occupied with the bottom line — profitability. ■

Reena Vadehra is a freelance journalist currently living in New York City. She has written for a number of publications including United Press International and the Christian Science Monitor. She holds a Masters degree in international affairs from American University.

London's New Landmark Libel Law

A recent court ruling in Britain makes it easier for journalists to defend themselves against libel charges. Mark Stephens, lawyer for the Wall Street Journal, the defendant in the case, explains what this ruling means.

By Mark Stephens

FEW CASES INVOLVING the news media can claim landmark-judgments status. An Oct. 11 ruling by the British House of Lords redefining the so-called Reynolds defense of “qualified privilege” for journalists became one of them.

The ruling established that serious news publishers and organizations can conduct professional investigative journalism knowing that they have a viable defense if:

- they are writing about something of public interest;
- the allegations are relevant and appropriate in the context of the article; (In this author's view it made a lot of difference that the original article was mea-

sured and temperate. The Lords made considerable reference to the “non sensational” tone of the article.) and

- they have taken the sort of steps that responsible journalists normally take.

The Reynolds defense stems from a 2001 ruling on a suit brought by former Irish Taoiseach (prime minister), Albert Reynolds over a story in the Sunday Times alleging he had mislead the Dail (Irish parliament). In the case, the House of Lords ruled the media could publish information that was later found to be untrue or defamatory provided it was the product of responsible journalism and the public had a right to know.

The House of Lords then set out a list of 10 points that were relevant in establishing qualified privilege depending on the circumstances of the case. In the intervening years, the lower courts have applied Reynolds as if it contained a rigid series of 10 specific hurdles. If the respondent fell at any of these hurdles, the defense went down. This served to render Reynolds a very difficult (and risky) defense to run.

The recent judgment in the case of Jameel and others v. Wall Street Journal Europe sets a far more pragmatic standard and much fairer guidelines as to how the defense should be applied. For serious news organizations it fundamentally changes the risks involved in investigative journalism. Lord Hoffmann, who delivered the judgement, remarked “.. until very recently the law of defamation was weighted in favor of

claimants and the law of privacy weighted against them.”

The case resulted from an article published Feb. 6, 2002. In the wake of the September 11 attacks, the article claimed that the Saudi Arabian Monetary Authority was monitoring, at the request of the U.S. Treasury, the accounts of certain Saudi companies in order to establish whether any funds were ending up, wittingly or unwittingly, in the hands of terrorist organizations.

The article, written by James Dorsey, the WSJ's special correspondent in Riyadh, and checked by Glen Simpson, a WSJ journalist based in Washington with contacts in the U.S. Treasury, was run on the front page. WSJ's U.K. circulation is approximately 18,000 copies a day.

Billionaire Saudi car dealer Mohammed Jameel, whose family owns Hartwell Motors in Ox-

For serious news organizations it fundamentally changes the risks involved in investigative journalism.

ford, sued the WSJ because his name was mentioned in the article to show that the Saudis were co-operating with the U.S. war on terror by agreeing to monitor the bank accounts of some of their most powerful and wealthy citizens.

The newspaper could not undeniably prove the truth of its story because its sources in Riyadh were afraid of reprisals from Saudi authorities if they testified, although their information had been confirmed in Washington through a confidential source within the U.S. Treasury who also could not be identified.

During the original trial, the judge, Eady J, ruled that publication of the story was not in the public interest, one of the 10 hurdles, because it breached an agreement between the U.S. and Saudi governments to keep the monitoring secret. He also applied a long-standing English legal rule that defamation could only be defended if there was an urgent moral duty to publish it.

The jury found that the article was defamatory against Jameel

and his main trading company and awarded damages in the sum of £30,000 (\$59,000 USD) to Jameel and £10,000 (about \$20,000 USD) to the company.

The WSJ did not attempt to prove the truth of the article. Instead, its defense was based on Reynolds, which does not take into account whether the article is defamatory. Eady J. rejected the WSJ's Reynolds defense. The Court of Appeal also rejected it on appeal. The WSJ appealed again, and the House of Lords ruled the Reynolds defense did, in fact, apply to the WSJ.

The dogmatic application of the 10 hurdles is gone. In their place are three main tests for a Reynolds defense to apply.

The first test involves the public interest of the material, with "public interest" to be interpreted in a common, sensical way.

The second test is the inclusion of defamatory material. The test is defined by whether it is justifiable to include the defamatory statement. The trial judge declared that there was no public interest in being misinformed. The Lords disagreed with this es-

essentially circular argument, confirming that the purpose of the Reynolds defense is to protect defamatory allegations.

Lord Hoffmann's analysis of this part of the test is worth setting out in full:

"The fact that the material was of public interest does not allow the newspaper to drag in damaging allegations which serve no public purpose. They must be part of the story. And the more serious the allegation, the more important it is that it should make a real contribution to the public interest element in the article. But whereas the question of whether the story as a whole was a matter of public interest must be decided by a judge without regard to what the editor's view may have been, the question of whether the defamatory statement should have been included is often a matter of how the story should have been presented. On that question allowance must be made for editorial judgement. The fact that the judge, with the advantage of leisure and hindsight might have made a different editorial

decision should not destroy the defense."

The final part of the Reynolds defense is a two-pronged test dealing with responsible journalism. It is evident that this test should be applied in a contextual manner in light of the prevailing circumstances.

The first prong asks what steps were taken to verify the story. It is relevant to most cases that the journalists honestly and reasonably believe that the statements are true, although importantly there will also be instances where the fact that the statement was made is of itself important irrespective of whether the publisher believes it to be true.

The Lords also considered the fact that confirmations from the U.S. Treasury and from the U.S. Government in general were not going to fall into the "Yes, you've got that absolutely right and you can quote us on that" variety, and there was an elaborate code which was followed between journalists and branches of the U.S. government. The Lords were satisfied that the appropriate steps were taken.

The second prong asks what opportunity was given to the other party to comment. Jameel was given an opportunity to comment at 5 p.m. (Saudi time) on the day before publication (Feb. 5, 2002). Jameel's secretary — Jameel himself was asleep in Tokyo at the time — called back to ask whether the publication could be postponed; it wasn't.

Eady J. and the Court of Appeal considered the time frame given to Jameel to comment too short and this, taken in conjunction with the decision not to postpone, was in their view fatal to the Reynolds defense. The Lords did not see it this way and took particular account of the fact that even if Jameel had commented, it would have made no difference to the story. There was no allegation or inference in the original article that Jameel knew what was going on.

The other component of the case, which went against the WSJ, was the presumption of special damage. Most torts require damage to be established — malicious falsehood for example — but the tort of defa-

mation does not. This origin of this presumption is that an individual is entitled to vindicate his reputation without having to establish financial loss.

The Lords held that the prevailing presumption in defamation about special damage should remain, irrespective of whether the claimant is an individual or a commercial organization. Lords Hoffmann and Hale would have held that a corporation should have to prove special damage — as its reputation is no more than a commercial asset, goodwill — for the purposes of being able to sue for libel. However, Lords Bingham, Scott and Craig disagreed and left this particular bit of law intact.

This major case makes it easier for journalists to defend themselves against libel charges and has particular relevance in areas where it is difficult or even impossible to prove the truth or falsity of the allegations. ■

Jonathan Sellors, Pia Sarma and Gina Latner contributed to this story.

Long-time freelance reporter Christopher Reed unearthed the story he thought every editor would clamor for. But no major newspapers were interested.

Family Skeletons Can Silence the Press

By Christopher Reed

The headline in Japan Focus, a scholarly e-journal of East Asian topics, was enticing and provocative: “Family Skeletons: Japan’s Foreign Minister and Forced Labor.” The note underneath was even better: “Japanese translation available.”

I thought the weeks of silence were over. Now would come the breakthrough, an eruption of media coverage about what was surely a major national scandal.

Or not. The silence continued as it had since my first disclosure on Feb.2, 2006, in the U.S.-based radical political website CounterPunch.org about the embarrassing wartime past of

the family corporation that had enriched Japan’s present foreign minister, Taro Aso. In many countries it was news that would have brought major headlines. But utter silence continues to this day in the Japanese-language media, with only a modest showing in the rest of the world; the least in the U.S.

Yet in many countries it was a disclosure that would have brought major headlines.

What had happened? Surely Japan, hailed in the West as a democracy with a free press, could accommodate awkward revelations about the foreign minister.? After all, the aristocratic Aso (his family is related to the Japa-

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nese emperor), shares family relations to wartime figures, even war criminals, with a surprising number of current politicians in the Diet (Japan's parliament) family. The new prime minister Shinzo Abe, for instance, is the grandson of Nobusuke Kishi, Japan's premier from 1957-60 but also a prisoner for three years under U.S. occupation as a suspected war criminal for his wartime cabinet service.

Aso's relations are not so prominent and his connections not so stark. His father, Takakichi Aso, exploited ("employed" is hardly the word) more than 8,000 Korean forced laborers and 300 British and Australian prisoners of war in gruesome conditions during the Pacific war. They toiled in the family's coal mines in Japan's southern island of Kyushu. Many escaped from the dangerous work, starvation rations and frequent beatings, but some died. It was illegal slavery, and Japan has failed, in the opinion of most Asians and allied POWs who suffered it, to

make suitable recompense, even after all these years.

But was Aso, the foreign minister born in 1940, responsible for these horrors? As my report in Japan Focus on April 29 related: "Aso himself ran the company from 1973-79, when he entered politics. During that time he did not address its history of forced labor, nor has he since, while he continues to maintain his relationship with the firm. This stance forecloses the possible argument that at 65, Aso has the excuse of a generational separation."

Quotes from a German embassy official followed, presenting the argument that whereas wartime ancestry should not, and is not, held against Germans, their post-war behavior matters. It would "not be acceptable" to take a post such as foreign minister without a suitable attitude of atonement for the past. Someone like Aso "might get into parliament," said the German official, "but not into government." The Japanese foreign ministry

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declined repeated requests for comment, so this argument remains officially unchallenged.

The foreign minister has maintained his connections to Aso Mining, now called the Aso Group. As reported in Focus: "In 2001 [the firm] entered a joint venture with Lafarge Cement of France, the world's largest cement maker. Aso's younger brother Yutaka remained president of what became Lafarge Aso Cement Co. In December 2005, the French ambassador in Tokyo awarded Yutaka the Legion d'Honneur at a champagne reception. Guests of honor were Taro Aso and his wife Chikako."

It was also the case that Aso was is hardly an obscure politician. He already had gained notoriety for his hard right-wing, neo-nationalist views and tendency toward racist remarks. In a public speech in October 2005 Aso described Japan as "one nation, one civilization, one language, one culture, and one race, the like of which there is no other on earth." The observation, which is

untrue, echoes Japan's fascist period of 1930-45. Remarks such as these brought him extraordinary criticism in a New York Times editorial, extensively quoted in my Focus article.

On Feb.13, 2006 under the headline "Japan's Offensive Foreign Minister," the newspaper accused him of being "neither honest nor wise in inflammatory statements about Japan's disastrous era of militarism, colonialism and war crimes that culminated in the Second World War." It added that "public discourse in Japan and modern history lessons in its schools have never properly come to terms with the country's responsibility for such terrible events as the mass kidnapping and sexual enslavement of Korean young women, the biological warfare experiments carried out on Chinese cities and helpless prisoners of war, and the sadistic slaughter of thousands of Chinese civilians in the city of Nanjing."

In a curious oversight, The Times did not mention enforced

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labor of more than a million Koreans, Chinese, Taiwanese and other Asians — not to mention and tens of thousands of Allied POWs — in its list of Japanese war crimes. And like every other major American mainstream newspaper, it ignored the Aso family involvement, even although by the date of The Times editorial my first article had appeared in CounterPunch.

This silence involves, by association, the absence of discussion about the most vital matter of all — the crimes The Times editorial did mention, and Japan's defensive or indifferent attitude toward them. Yet these have become the main obstacle facing the nation in its relations with Asian neighbors. Japan may be the world's second biggest economy, but it remains a diplomatic dwarf, largely because of its unwillingness to atonement for war crimes such as enslavement and massacres.

So, the news about Aso's family connection and his typical refusal to face it lay at the heart

of Japan's current foreign difficulties. Yet silence remained the preferred stance.

The Japanese translation in Focus, which is widely read by influential Japanese scholars and journalists as well as foreigners, provoked no follow-up. Nor had my earlier report in No. 1 Shim-bun, the in-house monthly published by the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan. This is one of the world's most distinguished such associations, and its Shim-bun newspaper is read by bureau chiefs, major correspondents and freelancers, embassy staffers and numerous Japanese members, many of whom are journalists.

Rejection or silence greeted my attempts as an accredited freelance journalist in Japan to pitch the story to The New York Times, Los Angeles Times, Washington Post, San Francisco Chronicle, Le Monde, Figaro, Toronto Star, Canada's "national newspaper" The Globe and Mail, the Sydney Morning Herald, The Age of Melbourne, the Bulletin news magazine and the Canberra Times of

Australia, and the liberal weekly *New Statesman* and the daily *Independent* in Britain. Almost all of these already knew of my work, but the story was not even run in my old paper, *The Guardian* of London.

Rejection or silence in Japan came from the publishing house *Shinchosha*; two major dailies, *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, and the weeklies, *Shukan Kinyobi*, *Shukan Sekai*, and *Shukan Post*. A Japanese-speaking Caucasian editor kept the manuscript for two weeks before rejecting it as “an old story.” This allegation was repeated and needs to be dealt with.

Until I discovered three amateur Japanese historians in Kyushu who had spent years studying Aso Mines’ slave labor, and who had never spoken to a reporter, there were only two or three passing mentions of Aso

and forced labor as “allegations” only. One appeared on the BBC but in less than a paragraph, as were other passing references. No article detailing the connection and providing details

appeared anywhere before my first publication in *CounterPunch*. In 30-plus years as a freelance reporter around the world, that counts to me as a new story.

The only Asian taker at first was the weekly *Sisa Journal* in South Korea, which published two translated articles. Otherwise I continued to hear nothing until a colleague suggested *The Japan Times*, the independent English-language-only newspaper read almost exclusively by foreigners. It ran the Aso article on April 25 and followed up. Still nothing appeared in Japanese.

Matters improved when, through an academic contact,

During these unhappy experiences it became obvious where the new journalism lies — on the Internet.

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came the hitherto unrealized news that British and Australian POWs were enslaved at Aso Mines in Kyushu. Two had died. Now it was a home-grown, local story. Concentrating almost entirely on the Caucasian involvement, I landed features in the Observer of London, the Sunday Age of Melbourne, and The Australian. Radio stations in France, Australia and Britain ran short broadcasts. The U.S. media remained almost entirely absent throughout.

During these unhappy experiences it became obvious where the new journalism lies — on the Internet. Several Web sites used my Aso material, including New Matilda in Australia, Pacific New Service in California, the History News Network, Z-Net, Asia Studies Monthly, and Asia Times. One problem: Sadly, most do not pay. This account of editorial rejection is not the grumblings of a slighted correspondent — my survival continues — but a telling insight into current media attitudes. Why the resounding silence? Editors

rarely explain their silence or their rejections. With the U.S. one can only surmise a reluctance to hurt a close ally by delving into the embarrassment of one of its major (conservative) political figures. Call it timidity.

For the Japanese the explanation seems to be that despite its apparent “Western” attitudes, Nippon remains a deeply conservative Confucian hierarchy where reputations, especially of powerful men, must not be disturbed. Appearances, however false, must be maintained above truth. If that is indeed the case, Japan deserves to remain a diplomatic dwarf for many years. ■

Christopher Reed began his career as a journalist in London in the 1960s. His work has taken him to such far-off places as Spain, Portugal, Morocco, Australia, the Philippines and the U.S. He has written for the Times of London, Fortune and the Guardian, among other publications. He currently lives in Japan.

Journalists' Role in Latter-Day War

By Steve Weinberg

TO STATE THAT JOURNALISTS who enter war zones put their lives in danger is a truism. So, reading a book about the phenomenon might seem senseless on the surface, not to mention depressing.

Below the surface, however, author Herbert N. Foerstel makes a seemingly cliché topic interesting and even useful. After all, well-prepared war correspondents write more informed stories than

KILLING THE MESSENGER: Journalists at Risk in Modern Warfare

By Herbert N. Foerstel
Praeger, 161 pages

their counterparts and frequently live longer than the parachuters who depend on divine grace to get their story and leave the zone alive. Foerstel is a librarian, not a journalist. But he has developed a respect for the vital role of journalists in a society and is hoping to serve as a watchdog for their welfare. His research about war correspondents leads to insights that those in constant danger may fail to grasp about their own place in that danger.

“In today’s modern urban warfare there are no front lines, and journalists are no longer collateral casualties,” Foerstel says. “They have become primary targets. The modern war correspondent is in



Steve Weinberg reviews books regularly for this magazine, concentrating on journalistic technique rather than summaries of content.

Book Review

the cross hairs.”

Some war correspondents are not deterred by ratcheted-up dangers to their safety because such reporting is part of their psychological makeup.

Magazine editor Bill Buford calls war journalism “voyeuristic travel writing.” The correspondents want to view fights close-up because the consequences of who prevails matter. Yet another ethic seems to be at work, Buford surmises: the innate attraction of war correspondents to violence.

Foerstel respects history, so he devotes the first chapter to what seems like old-fashioned dangers of reporting conflicts, from the American Civil War to the first Gulf War. In those wars, the locus of battle seemed obvious. Military forces moved to the front and journalists followed where they would likely face the same dangers.

The second chapter provides an overview of contemporary warfare, emphasizing the lack of a front line and uniformed soldiers, which makes distinguish-

ing between combatants and civilians nearly impossible. Identifying potential sources, who are both truthful and do not intend to harm the questioning journalist, is so difficult that some reporters hang back at the Westernized hotel, “covering” the war through osmosis and gossip.

The third chapter is grounded in anecdote, telling the story of four war correspondents, Terry Anderson, Philip Caputo, Jerry Levin and Scott Taylor, who suffered awful physical harm. It includes plenty of warning signs. Foerstel also tells the story of Daniel Pearl, the Wall Street Journal reporter killed by terrorists in Pakistan.

Chapter four explores journalists targeted by warriors, suspicious of newspeople working undercover for the Central Intelligence Agency. The only thing that war correspondents can do to counter suspicion, which stems from paranoia but is not always irrational, is to refrain from taking sides in the name of post-September 11 patriotism.

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The final chapter suggests ways to minimize dangers to journalists in places such as Iraq and Afghanistan. The suggestions will probably fail to save lives or limit injuries to war correspon-

dents, who will travel anywhere for another story. But, Foerstel provides an important service to journalists by thinking systematically about the dangers, then sharing his knowledge. ■

From his observation post in Vienna, Austria, at the International Press Institute, David Dadge sees clearly across a vast ocean and a considerable land mass. He demonstrated

The War in Iraq and Why the Media Failed Us

By David Dadge
Praeger, 193 pages

that vision two years ago in his book *Casualty of War: The Bush Administration's Assault on a Free Press*. He demonstrates it again in another book that can be fairly classified as a follow-up report.

Dadge's indictment is severe and sweeping: "Given a watchdog role within American society—a role supported by the First Amendment and a raft of Supreme Court cases—the American media

failed to ask the tough questions of an administration that seemed determined to go to war."

Dadge softens the indictment slightly in the same paragraph, noting that some media organizations did question the views of U.S. President George W. Bush and his administration officials about the alleged dangers to American security and world security in Iraq. But, Dadge comments, even those media organizations reported their findings "in such a way that they gave credence to the Bush administration's views while downplaying the views of those who disagreed." ■

For the complete review of this book and others, visit:
www.globaljournalist.org

Gatekeepers Keep Out Al Jazeera

By Stuart Loory

THE ENTRY OF AL JAZEERA ENGLISH into the international news distribution business has given rise to discussion of whether an organization based deep in the Arab World can present news fairly and accurately enough to be taken seriously in the Western world.

When a news organization boasts that it was denounced by both sides in a controversy, it is indicating that it really told the truth. When a news organization scores a “beat” and presents news no other outlet has, that is “enterprise.”

In times past, then Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and the government of Saddam Hussein both condemned Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera has received exclusive video of Osama bin Laden, the world’s most hunted man. It is accused of anti-Americanism in its coverage and propagandizing for bin Laden, even accused of presenting in the bin Laden videos coded information that the leader was sending to his world-wide terrorism troops to instruct them on where and how to fight the infidels.

Elsewhere in this issue, David Marash, a former distinguished correspondent for the American Broadcasting Company program Nightline and now the Washington anchor for Al Jazeera



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English, argues the case for his new employer and predicts that although it is watched only in high places and on one provincial cable system in the United States, it will soon be available to millions here.

Let's hope that is really so and that it becomes readily available elsewhere in the world: North and South (to use Marash's geography), developed and underdeveloped (going by the economic delineation). What is needed in the worldwide news business is not a concentration of voices from the nations with the biggest hold on communications technology but also voices from those nations that have different views of the news.

Of course, in the fairest of all possible worlds, those voices would all have a truthful point of view. But in the real world, they are conditioned by cultural, social, political and economic differences.

All news consumers deserve the right to listen to all the different points of view. It is not

enough to fall back on the idea of only listening to news organizations in countries that have what is believed to be a free press. In the United States, the Bush administration and other government organizations have gone to great lengths to try to silence many news organizations that have fallen out of their favor. They have compelled reporters to face prison sentences if they refuse to disclose sources; they have given favored correspondents and reporters more access to information than those considered hostile; they have leaked dubious information to reporters to make a favorable point and most egregious of all, they have paid for the falsification of news by journalists of questionable credentials. The Pentagon even established an office to write and send propaganda masquerading as real news to new news organizations in Iraq at the same time that it was trumpeting establishment of democracy as the goal there.

The argument can easily be

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made that democracy is enhanced and the free flow of information encouraged not only by fighting those who would stifle a free press in their own countries but also by guaranteeing access to news channels by organizations such as Al Jazeera and others that want to make commercial inroads by selling their output. Certainly not every cable system would buy, nor should they. But there are some who would consider such a service a useful supplement to the American 24-hour news channels or BBC world in their mix. They should not be discouraged by outspoken criticism from decision makers for disloyalty.

Twenty years ago, Ted Turner gave me the job of organizing a weekly television news program that would bring together all the world's television news organizations in a single CNN program that would present news and information each from their own point of view without any editing or rewriting and without refusing a piece except if it were outside the bounds of good

taste. He allowed the program unlimited time to air starting at midnight on Sunday nights and able to go until 6 a.m. Monday morning if necessary.

The program ran for several years, bringing together reports from Israel and the Occupied West Bank, from the then still Apartheid South African Broadcasting Corp. and new television organizations from the emerging black-run countries of Africa. There was some fear that Turner's new program would bring cancellations of use by cable operators in the United States and abroad. Instead, it brought general approval.

Al Jazeera and other international news organizations are scoring great success on the Internet and, Marash says, great success in developing countries. It deserves to be watched and listened to in the developed countries of the world as well. Part of the great tragedy of Iraq and Afghanistan is that Western World does not understand the ways of the East. Al Jazeera can help change that. ■