



# GLOBAL FALL 2008 DIGITAL EDITION JOURNALIST

**Freelance for Greenpeace**  
A photojournalist's award-winning work

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A banner hangs in Ritan Park, one of the three Beijing parks where demonstrators could legally stage protests during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Some people who applied for permits were arrested.



AP PHOTO/ROBERT F. BUKATY

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A rainforest burns outside of Alta Floresta in Para State, Brazil. Tropical forest destruction is responsible for up to 20 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions.

PHOTO BY DANIEL BELTRA

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# GLOBAL JOURNALIST

Digital Edition

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*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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## Reporter's award causes tension

**BULGARIA**

A reporter who has a reputation for hate speech was awarded a journalism prize in Bulgaria, sparking debate in the country over bigotry in the media.

This year's Chernorizetz Hrabur Young Journalist of the Year award was given to Kalin Rumenov of the national newspaper *Novinar* despite his having written several articles denigrating the country's Roma racial minority.

The Union of Bulgarian Publishers revoked Rumenov's award Sept. 15 following public protest from journalists and civil society groups, according to the International Federation of Journalists.

## President investigates editor

**COLOMBIA**

On Aug. 21, Colombian President Álvaro Uribe Vélez requested a criminal investigation of Daniel Coronell, news director for TV network Canal Uno and weekly columnist for the magazine *Semana*, alleging the journalist

acted illegally by not immediately releasing a videotaped interview linking the administration to a bribery scandal, according to reports from the Committee to Protect Journalists.

During a closed-door meeting with a congressional committee, Uribe asked that the matter be forwarded to the attorney general for a criminal investigation of Coronell for his 2004 interview with former congresswoman Yidis Medina, which aired in April. In that videotaped interview, Medina admits to the alleged bribe in exchange for her vote in favor of a constitutional amendment that allowed Uribe to seek re-election in 2006, according to press reports gathered by the CPJ.

Medina had asked Coronell not to release the video interview until this year. She is currently under home detention after being convicted of taking bribes, according to Colombian press reports.

Uribe "is trying to deviate attention from the certain fact that he should respond to the commission of the crime of bribery,

[and] now he is trying to hang the messenger,” Coronell told Eltiempo.com. “This is a false accusation, because he is accusing me of an illegal conduct that does not exist in the Penal Code.”

CPJ’s Americas Senior Program Coordinator, Carlos Lauria, says the CPJ will reject Uribe’s request for an investigation. “We believe President Uribe is motivated by Daniel Coronell’s critical coverage of the administration. We call on the attorney general to dismiss the request,” Lauria said.

This marks the third time Uribe has been accused of harassing or intimidating Coronell. During a radio show on La FM in Oct. 2007, the president referred to Coronell as a liar, coward, swine, and a professional slanderer after Coronell inferred a connection between Uribe and drug lord Pablo Escobar in his column for *Semana*. Shortly thereafter Coronell received an email death threat, according to the International Freedom of Expression eXchange.

Threats made on his life in 2005 led Coronell go into exile for two years. In May of that

year, Coronell received two funeral wreaths at his “Noticias Uno” offices: one “lamenting” his death, and another the deaths of his wife and daughter, according to CPJ reports. He later received e-mailed death threats that he traced to a computer owned by former congressman Carlos Náder Simmonds, a close friend of Uribe’s. According to IFEX reports, Náder admitted to sending one email (though he claimed it was misinterpreted), but he was never formally charged.

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### Cuban dissidents take legal action

**CUBA** According to a report on Cubanet.org, a group of Cuban dissidents has filed an official complaint with Cuban government officials, claiming that “Mesa Redonda” — a political talk show on state-run television — used illegally obtained recordings of telephone conversations, photographs, and personal correspondence as “proofs” and “evidence” against certain opposition leaders during its program May 19, 20, and 21.

The dissidents, who refer to their group as “Agenda for a Peaceful Transition,” held

a press conference Aug. 25 at the home of Vladimiro Roca. Organizers invited international and independent Cuban press to discuss release of a document that the group, which calls itself “Agenda for a Peaceful Transition,” sent to Cuba’s Attorney General Juan Escalona Reguera.

The attorney general’s office sent the group a confirmation of receipt of the complaint Aug. 25 and, by Cuban law, has 60 days to respond to the specifics of the document.

## Crackdowns on satellite television

**EGYPT** Egyptian authorities cancelled the videotaping of two pro-democracy programs on the American satellite television channel Al-Hurra hours before it was to begin Aug. 27. The day before, authorities had confirmed the shooting of the Eye on Democracy program, which was to feature young activists involved in political parties and their efforts to create change.

These actions are the latest in a string of crackdowns on satellite television programs in the country since the League of Arab Nations agreed to a new media charter on Feb. 12. At a special meeting in Cairo, ministers of information in 20 of 22 member states voted in favor of the charter. In a joint statement issued by media rights group Article 19, 34 human-rights related organizations, many based in Egypt, announced their criticism of the charter, which they say will further censorship by limiting freedom of publication and broadcasting.

Since Egypt adopted the media charter, the state-run satellite Nilesat has stopped transmission of London-based Al-Hiwar TV, the Iraqi, pro-Sunni Al-Zawraa TV, and Al-Baraka TV, a product of the Saudi Holding Company.

State authorities also confiscated property of the Cairo News Company (CNC) in April, shutting down the organization that provided satellite transmission and equipment to television networks like Al-Jazeera, BBC and CNN.

Authorities filed a complaint against Nader Gohar, the head of CNC, the day after Al-Jazeera aired footage of protestors defacing a poster of the president.

According to Reporters Without Borders, Gohar is charged with constituting an unauthorized communications network and broadcasting without a license. In a Human Rights Watch press release, Gohar said his attempt to renew the license has been caught in Egyptian bureaucracy since July 2007 and that he was told he could continue operations in the meantime. He faces his fifth hearing Oct. 26.

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### Editor arrested in libel case

**ETHIOPIA** The outspoken editor of the English and Amharic language paper, *The Reporter*, Amare Aregawi was arrested Aug. 22 in Addis Ababa and was later illegally transferred to Gondar, 466 miles north of the capital. He was released on bail in Gondar on Aug. 27 after a court appearance. A newspaper staff member told Report-

ers Without Borders that Aregawi initially refused bail on the grounds that his transportation to Gondar was a violation of a recent press law. The law states that defamation cases must be tried in the location where the offense allegedly occurred.

It is suspected that his arrest was connected to a libel case fronted by Gondar-based Dashen brewery. The suit is in regards to a story published recently by *The Reporter* addressing labor disputes between employees and management. Authorities were also in pursuit of deputy editor Es-hete Assefa and reporter Teshome Neku. Police subsequently arrested Neku on July 30 and released him on bail three days later.

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### Guatemalan journalists targeted

**GUATEMALA** Guatemalan journalists José Rubén Zamora and Óscar Ixmatul were attacked within eight hours of each other Aug. 21 in Guatemala City.

Zamora, president of Guatemalan newspaper *el Periódico*, was kidnapped

and held for 10 hours by unidentified individuals. He was released near a hospital about 35 miles outside the city. Blood tests performed at the hospital showed that Zamora had been given high doses of a barbiturate.

Zamora's assailants abandoned his car and stole his phone, credit cards, briefcase, and documents related to his work at *el Periódico*.

Luis Ixmatul, an investigative journalist at *el Periódico* who reports on government corruption, was followed by an unmarked white car. Ixmatul then attempted to board a city bus, but before he could, three armed individuals got out of the car, pushed Ixmatul against a wall and insulted him while they took his cell phone and several documents related to his work.

While neither journalist's assailants identified themselves or explicitly said they intended to silence the journalists' work, the proximity of the two incidents has led the paper and advocacy groups to suspect that was the purpose of the attacks.

## Multiple journalists arrested

**MALAYSIA** Recent arrests of a Malaysian journalist and an opposition lawmaker has worried media, oppositionists and activists. According to Southeast Asian Press Alliance, the editor of news website Malaysia Today, Raja Petra Kamaruddin, a leading blogger and staunch government critic, was the first to be detained in a Sept. 12 flurry of arrests.

Three people were arrested under the Internal Security Act (ISA), which allows indefinite detention without trial. In that group were Tan Hoon Cheng, from the Chinese language newspaper Sin Chew Daily, and Teresa Kok, a lawmaker deputy chief minister in Selangor. Tan was released 16 hours after his arrest. The other two are still in police custody.

According to AP, Malaysia's Home Minister Syed Hamid Albar said the trio's seizure was necessary to prevent racial conflicts and denied the act was intended to hamper opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim's bid to seize power

by Sept. 16. Tan was held for reporting the comments of a Malay Muslim ruling party politician, which described the Chinese community as “squatters”. Raja Petra was arrested for continuing to publish articles that sparked racial tension after numerous warnings. Kok was taken into custody because she allegedly complained about the noise of morning prayers from a mosque. The Center for Independent Journalists said the measures reminded people of a mass arrest of activists, artists, academics and politicians that took place under the ISA and closing of three of the country’s newspapers in 1987.

### **Political portal blocked**

Access to the news website Malaysia Today was blocked in August. According to the Web site CNET.com, all 19 of the country’s Internet service providers had blocked the website under the order of the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission. A report from news portal Malaysiakini said that

MCMC’s COO Mohamed Sharil Tarmizi confirmed that the website was blocked because some of the comments were “insensitive, bordering on incitement.” The operator of Malaysia Today has put the “offending” story, which was published in January 2008, on the frontpage again.

The writer criticized employment policies regarding Muslims and certain actions of government agencies. The editor has put a note above the story saying that it was not the article itself but the 172 comments posted by readers that has pushed the government into action.

In 1996, the Malaysian government had promised not to censor the Internet by launching its Multimedia Super Corridor strategy; however government official Mohamed Sharil Tarmizi said the case is “subject to interpretation.”

According to CNET, the editor is already facing sedition and defamation charges after posting reports that linked Deputy Prime Minister Najib Razak and his wife to a murder case.

## Government inconsistent

**MOROCCO** The Moroccan government displayed contradictory reactions to a newspaper editor and a blogger accused of disrespecting King Mohammed VI. The blogger, Mohammed Erraji, was arrested Sept. 4 for publishing comments critical of the monarch on the online news outlet Hespres.com. In a Sept. 8 trial which the International PEN's Writers in Prison Committee (WiPC) reported lasted 10 minutes, Erraji was found guilty of "disrespect for the King" and sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$620.

While Erraji did not have a lawyer at the initial trial, the next day a lawyer acting on his behalf successfully filed for his provisional release. A week later the verdict was overturned in an appeals hearing.

Editor of the weekly newspapers Nichane and Tel Quel Ahmed Reda Benchemsi was charged with the same offense Aug. 24, 2007, because of critical comments in an editorial. After a

year, the trial was indefinitely suspended Sept. 3 of this year. The presiding judge made it clear that Benchemsi could be summoned again on the same charge.

"I am supposed to see this decision as a conciliatory gesture," Benchemsi told Reporters Without Borders. "But the judge can call me back to court whenever he wants. If he does, the trial will resume and my lawyers will defend my innocence."

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## Comedian and blogger imprisoned

**MYANMAR** Imprisoned Myanmar blogger and comedian Zarganar was charged with seven violations by the Rangoon West District Court Aug. 15, according to Mizzima News.

Zarganar, a vocal critic of Myanmar's ruling junta, has been detained since June 4, when police officers raided his home in Sanchaung Township in Western Yangon. Police placed him under arrest after they confiscated various items including a computer, financial records and \$1,000. At the time, Zarganar was partici-

pating in non-sanctioned, extra-military relief efforts to aid victims of Cyclone Nargis, the BBC reported.

Charges leveled against Zarganar included disaffection to the state and government for his appearances on exiled Myanmar media Web sites and for his provision of photographs to the outlets, defense counsel advocate Aung Thein told Mizzima.

Zarganar has granted interviews to BBC and VOA in the past, and he has publicly criticized the ruling junta. He has been arrested five times since 1988, and authorities banned him from any sort of public performance, including acting and directing in May 2006.

In response to the charges, the Burma Action Group, a coalition of 22 media groups, is calling for the UN and the ASEAN to take stronger measures to ensure the release of Zarganar and other imprisoned journalists, artists and dissidents. The group has also asked the international community to adopt a harsher stance against the junta, Mizzima reported.

Zarganar faces a minimum of two years in prison if he is found guilty of the charges.

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## Radio silenced

**PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY** On Aug. 5 the Palestinian radio station Sawt al-Shaab (Voice of the People) was reopened after being shut down for three days by the Hamas government of the Palestine National Authority. The radio station is based out of Gaza and was charged with causing sedition by broadcasting lies and rumors and stepping outside the bounds of national and professional responsibilities.

The current Hamas government in the Palestine National Authority has a history of silencing and restricting journalists and media associated with the rival political parties. MENAS-SAT, an online Lebanese news journal, reported that the closure of Voice of the People radio had come as a surprise from journalists because of the station's alignment with the Popular Front

for the Liberation of Palestine, a pro-Hamas organization.

Insiders speculated to MENASSAT that crackdown on Sawt al-Shaab arose after the station became too critical of Hamas after the party won parliamentary elections in 2006 and took control of the Gaza Strip by force in 2007.

The chairman of Sawt al-Shaab, Thou al-Fakkar al-Sawirjo spoke to MENASSAT and recounted how Hamas' security forces forced themselves into the station's Gaza office, cut off its electricity and forced its employees out of the building.

"The closure of the radio stations is part of Hamas' policy of muzzling people critical of their recent actions," Al-Sawirjo said. "It is also a means of creating one voice on the airwaves."

Khaled al-Batesh, a leading member of the rival Al-Jihad Al-Islami (Islamic Jihad) party, also told MENASSAT that the government's decision to close the station was misguided.

"Sawt Al-Shaab is actually one of the national voices of Palestine, and has always defended

its people by broadcasting balanced news," he said.

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## Senate mandates news policy

**ROMANIA** The Romanian Senate has unanimously signed into law a mandate obliging media outlets to transmit positive and negative news in equal proportion. However, the draft law includes no guidelines for what constitutes good news or bad news.

Under the law, good and bad news should be transmitted equally in order "to improve the general climate and to offer the chance to the public to have a balanced view of everyday life, psychologically and emotionally as well."

The European Federation of Journalists chastises the move, calling it absurdist, anti-professional and anti-democratic.

"This is obvious political interference in the editorial work of journalists," said EFJ Chairman Arne König. "We cannot understand the motivation of this law and we call on the President of Romania to veto it."

According to US MediaSind, one possible explanation is that the law represents an attempt by the political parties to fence freedom of expression.”

The EFJ said that in recent months Romanian journalists have been subject to heightening pressures “including verbal attacks on journalists by politicians politisation of the leading structures of public broadcasting, the recriminalisation of defamation and libel, attempts to abrogate the Law of Free Access to Public Information and the Law of Institutional Transparency, and plans to modify the Penal Code in order to jail journalists who release video or audio recordings without the subject’s approval.”

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## News Web site shut down

**RUSSIA** The Moscow City Court upheld a lower court’s decision to shutter the independent Web site Ingushetiya.ru because of “extremist content” Aug. 13. A court in the Kuntesevo district of Moscow ordered its closure June 6 and blocked all Inter-

net access to the site. Ingushetiya has moved its servers to the U.S. and continues to publish.

Ingushetiya is the only news source in Ingush, one of the dialects of the North Causasus. The Web site covers news in the region and is often critical of Ingushetia President Murat Zyazikov. CPJ reports that the extremism lawsuit has been ongoing since February. The Supreme Courts of Russia and Ingushetia first rejected the case from regional authorities before the Web site was shuttered in May pending the Kuntesevo court’s decision.

Ingushetiya editor-in-chief Roza Malsagova sought political asylum in France in June. Her lawyer told CPJ that she and her three teenage sons had been threatened at her Nazran home. Several criminal cases had been opened against her for “inciting racial hatred” based on stories she has published.

## Three journalists attacked

Russian journalists faced a series of physical attacks in the volatile North Caucasus, CPJ reports.

The founder of the independent news Web site Ingushetiya.ru was shot while in police custody Aug. 31. Authorities arrested Magomed Yevloyev after he disembarked a flight in Nazran, the republic's capital city. He died in the hospital from a gunshot wound to the head later that day.

TV journalist Telman Alishayev sustained gunshot wounds in the head and shoulder after an attack Sept. 2. Alishayev was shot by two unidentified assassins as he sat in his car in Dagestan, the largest republic in the North Caucasus. He died early the next morning in a hospital in the capital city of Makhachkala.

Miloslav Bitokov was beaten outside his apartment building in the Kabardino-Balkariya republic Sept. 3. He was hospitalized with a concussion, lip lacerations and broken nose and cheekbone. Bitokov is editor-in-chief of the independent Gazeta Yuga, where his son is also a correspondent. He was waiting for his son to park the car after driving home from work when the three unidentified men attacked him.

## Three journalists kidnapped

**SOMALIA** Three journalists and their driver were reportedly kidnapped at gunpoint near Mogadishu on Aug. 23. Canadian freelancer Amanda Lindhout, Australian freelance photojournalist Nigel Brennan, Somali photojournalist Abdifatah Mohammed Elmi, who was acting as their guide, and Mahad, their driver. The four were returning from photographing Internally Displaced People at a refugee camp in the Afgoye district when, according to The National Union of Somali Journalists (NUSOJ), they were ambushed less than one kilometer away from the capital. The alarm at their hotel sounded when the staff noticed they had not returned as scheduled.

Although the motives for the kidnapping remain unknown, the NUSOJ has learned an unknown militia is possibly holding them in Suqa Holaha, a district located on the northeastern side of Mogadishu.

Additionally, some journalists who spoke to NUSOJ on condition of anonymity think the abduction appeared to be premeditated.

Fortunately, negotiations are being made to guarantee the release of the captives, according to the *Toronto Star*. Sources in Somalia, Kenya, and Canada report that contact has been made with the kidnappers through a third party.

Less than 24 hours before the abduction of the three journalists, journalist Ahmed Jeylani of Radio Voice of Holy Kuran was arrested in the Bondhere District of Mogadishu on Aug. 22. He was held overnight and later released without receiving an explanation for his arrest, NUSOJ reports.

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## Newspapers shut down

**SUDAN** The National Press and Publications Council indefinitely closed two privately-owned English-language papers, the *Sudan Tribune* and *The Citizen*. The *Tribune* received a letter Sept. 1 from the NPCC stating it was closing the paper for 'administrative' reasons. The day before, security forces arrived at the place where *The Citizen* is printed and informed the staff that its publication was forbidden.

According to the NPCC, because both papers chose to be based in Juba, the capital of the semi-autonomous south, the editors of both papers have violated their licenses, which require them to be in Khartoum. To members of the southern media, the closings are not that surprising. These occurred after months of intimidation supported by the government.

*Sudan Tribune* editor and owner William Ezekiel said his newspaper had not appeared for nearly 20 days because the authorities seized all copies from the Khartoum-based printing presses. He went on to state that the NPCC is also accusing his newspaper of violating the 2005 peace agreement, which ended the civil war between the north and the south. While the government lifted censorship in July 2005 after signing the peace treaty along with the rebels of the southern Sudan People's Liberation Movement, they reinstated censorship in Feb. of this year. The government cited Khartoum's support of a Chadian rebel offensive against N'Djamena as one of the factors influencing their decision.

## Journalist faces continued threats

TUNISIA

In the first major incident since his July release from prison, Tunisian journalist Slim Boukhdhir was arrested in Sfax Sept. 20. The four arresting policemen dumped him 10 km outside the city.

“On the way, the four men told me I was lucky not to have been raped while in prison and that it was not always like that. They also threatened me with the same fate as Daif Al Ghazal [the Libyan journalist murdered in 2005],” Boukhdhir told Reporters Without Borders.

Boukhdhir, once a writer with the pro-government press, also began publishing freelance work in online and foreign publications, accusing President Ben Ali of nepotism and human rights abuses. Boukhdhir was dismissed from his day job, refused a passport, and assaulted by secret police in downtown Tunis.

In Nov. 2007, police stopped his cab outside Tunis, accused the journalist of insulting them, and took him to a police station where they repeatedly punched him in the head, Boukhdhir told

the Committee to Protect Journalists. A week later, he was convicted of what rights groups claim were fabricated charges of insulting a public employee, refusing to hand over identification to a police officer, and violating public decency. He was sentenced to one year in prison, the maximum possible for that offense.

Although rights groups applauded his July release, which was four months ahead of schedule, Boukhdhir’s Sept. 20 arrest has renewed concern for his safety.

## Journalist detained

Journalist Sihem Bensedrine, founder of the underground newspaper *Kalima*, was prevented from leaving the country for the third time this year on Aug. 24. Although Bensedrine also has residency in Austria, Tunisian authorities have cancelled her passport and physically beat her and her husband, according to Reporters Without Borders. In one *Kalima* editorial, the journalist criticized the government’s decision to allow building at the Carthage archaeological site. ■

## AFGHANISTAN

**Abdul Samad Rohani**, 25, an Afghan reporter and head of the BBC's Pashtu Service, was found dead June 9 a day after he went missing. His body was discovered in a cemetery near Lashkar Gah, capital of the Helmand province.

After armed men stopped his vehicle, the journalist was kidnapped, tortured and shot three times. Although the Taliban spokesman for the region, Qari Yusuf Ahmadi, denies any involvement, authorities believe the Taliban is responsible for the death.

The editor for the BBC in Afghanistan, Lotfolah Latif, said of Samad Rohani, "He was one of our best journalists. He covered a very difficult region. It is a serious blow for press freedom, but they will not manage to silence people with these kinds of acts."

## CAMBODIA

A journalist with *Moneakseka Khmer* (Khmer Conscience), **Khim Sambo** and his son were gunned down in Phnom Pehn July 12. According to the International Press Institute, Sambo

frequently covered corruption and illegal logging for the pro-opposition newspaper. *Moneakseka Khmer* is one of Cambodia's few consistently unsympathetic periodicals.

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

On Aug. 7 in Santiago de Los Caballeros, **Normando García Reyes** was shot and killed by unidentified people. Garcia Reyes was a cameraman for *Detrás de la Noticia* (Behind the News), a daily television news program on Teleunión. Colleagues told IPI they believe he had been murdered because of his work covering drug trafficking and crime. He had received many threats in the months before his death.

## GEORGIA

**Grigol Chikhladze** and **Alexander Klimchuk** were killed Aug. 10 while covering fighting between Russia and Georgia in the disputed breakaway region of South Ossetia.

Chikhladze, a reporter and the head of Alania TV, was on assignment for the Russian version

of *Newsweek*. Klimchuk, a photojournalist and head of the Caucasus Press Images agency, was working for the Russian news agency Itar-Tass. The two were covering the arrival of Georgian forces.

Orkhan Jemal of Russian *Newsweek* says Chikhladze and Klimchuk were traveling in a privately-owned car with two other reporters from the Tbilisi-based English-language newspaper, *The Messenger*. "When the car tried to avoid a roadblock erected by Ossetian pro-independence fighters, the Ossetians opened fire, killing Chikhladze and Klimchuk," according to Reporters Without Borders.

American journalist Winston Federley and Georgian journalist Teimuraz Kikuradze were wounded in the attack.

**Stan Storimans**, 39, was killed Aug. 12 in the bombing of Gori, a central Georgian city. Storimans was a Dutch cameraman for RTL Nieuws, a news program broadcast by Netherlands television station RTL-4. He and his

colleague Jeroen Akkermans, who was wounded in the leg and hospitalized in Tbilisi, had traveled to Gori in order to cover strikes by the Russian forces.

## INDIA

A Jammu-based photographer, **Ashok Sodhi**, 45, died in a May 11 crossfire between Islamist militants and security forces in Samba, close to the Pakistani border.

Sodhi, working for the English-language *Daily Excelsior*, had been trying to capture shots of a house in which the fighters had taken refuge. He had reportedly ignored the security forces' warnings as he approached the spot where he was killed.

His wife told the news channel CNN-IBN, "He would often say that if he had to die in an encounter, he would."

Reporters Without Borders adds that the fighting, which continued for several days, was the most "ferocious" in years. The conflict in Kashmir has claimed over 60,000 lives in two decades.

## IRAQ

**Sarwa Abdul-Wahab**, 36, a freelance journalist, was fatally shot May 4. The assailants were two men in a white car who were attempting to abduct Abdul-Wahab in the Al Bakr area of Mosul.

**Soran Mama Hama**, 23, a reporter for the Kurdish-language magazine *Leven*, died instantly after he was shot in front of his Kirkuk home by four unidentified gunman July 21.

“He wrote hard-hitting articles about local politicians and security officials and had received threats from people telling him to stop his investigative reporting. The authorities should therefore give priority to the theory that he was killed because of his work,” said Reporters Without Borders.

One of his *Leven* colleagues believes the purpose of Hama’s murder was “to gag the newspaper, which has always been very critical of the government.”

## MEXICO

**Miguel Ángel Gutiérrez Ávila**, anthropologist, filmmaker, author

and indigenous rights activist, was allegedly beaten to death in the state of Guerrero, Southern Mexico, in the early morning hours of July 26, while he was driving towards the capital of Guerrero, Chilpancingo de los Bravo.

Gutiérrez, 53, was found covered with bruises and cuts on the side of the Acapulco-Pinotepa highway near La Caridad community in San Marcos, Guerrero. Although initial police reports suggested that Gutiérrez died as the result of a car accident, it is now thought that he was beaten to death, according to the International Freedom of Expression eXchange (IFEX).

Gutiérrez was filming at an indigenous community radio station in Costa Chica, Guerrero, for his current documentary. During a raid by members of the Federal Investigation Agency (Agencia Federal de Investigación, AFI) against the staff of Radio Ñomndaa in early July, Gutiérrez apparently collected footage of alleged human rights violations on the part of AFI, according to local reports.

**PAKISTAN**

**Mohammed Ibrahim Khan**, 44, a journalist working for Express TV and its Urdu-language sister daily, *Express*, was gunned down May 22. He was returning by motorcycle from a secret location where he interviewed Maulvi Umar, local spokesman for the Taliban, when he was shot outside Khar, the capital of Bajaur in the North West Frontier Province.

Unidentified men apprehended Khan and stole his cellular phone, notes and camera before killing him, witnesses said. The assailants left his body by the side of the road and drove off in a black car.

The Peshawar bureau chief of Express TV, Jashed Bahwan, informed Reporters Without Borders that “no member of the Taliban, tribal groups or government ever complained about this journalist, who was very trustworthy and professional.”

**RUSSIA**

TV journalist **Abdullah Alishayev** was gunned down while

sitting in his car Sept. 2. The attack occurred in Dagestan, a republic in Russia’s North Caucasus region. The Committee to Protect Journalists reported that two men approached the car and shot Alishayev. He was taken to a hospital in Dagestan’s capital city Makhachkala where he died early the next day.

Alishayev hosted the popular religious and educational program Peace to Your Home on TV Chirkey, an Islamic station, and was one of the producers of a critical documentary titled Ordinary Wahhabism about a strict form of Sunni Islam dominant in Saudi Arabia.

The assassins have not been identified, but according to CPJ, police have begun a criminal investigation and have identified a possible suspect.

**Magomed Yevloyev**, founder of the independent news Web site Ingushetiya.ru, died Aug. 31 after he was shot in the head while in police custody. Yevloyev was wounded during police transport from the airport in Narzan, Ingushetia’s capital city, where he

had been arrested. He died in a Nazran hospital later that day.

Police claim that Yevloyev resisted arrest and was shot trying to take a gun from one of the officers. However, several of his friends who met him at the airport say the opposition journalist was deliberately shot by government agents, Reporters Without Borders reports.

While on the flight from his home in Moscow, Yevloyev sent a text message to a fellow opposition activist telling him that Ingushetia President Murat Zyazikov was also onboard, according to CPJ. After the president disembarked, police approached the plane and detained Yevloyev.

Russian investigators said that a criminal case has been opened and that Yevloyev's death has been categorized as "murder by negligence."

## SOMALIA

**Nasteh Dahir Farah**, 36, a freelance journalist and the vice chairman of the National Union of Somali Journalists, was fatally shot June 1 by two men as he

was walking home from an Internet café where he was working in Kisamayo. He was rushed to the hospital and died 10 minutes after being admitted.

The Worldwide Press Freedom Organization stated, "We share the dreadful grief that has struck the family and colleagues of Nasteh Dahir Farah. The list of dead just goes on growing while the authorities take no steps to curb the violence, which targets journalists. This apathy is disgraceful given the fact that Somalia is Africa's deadliest country for journalists."

## THAILAND

**Athiwat Chaiyanurat** was killed in his home Aug. 1 while he cooked in his kitchen. He was shot in the back and head. The crime took place in the town of Chaiyamontri, Nakorn Sri Thammarat province. The Thai Journalists Association believes that Athiwat's murder was tied to his professional work. The reporter for the daily newspaper *Matichon* had reported on local corruption. ■

# In the Shadow of Censorship

*One young journalist searches for truth in the midst of China's Olympic frenzy.*

By Elizabeth Ann Peer



A Chinese police officer holds up his hand as a photographer takes a photo of a security check point in a building near Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China, July 23.

**A** S I WAS ABOUT TO LEAVE China, my thoughts drifting toward the West, I was jolted back to reality in the departures area of the Beijing Capital Airport.

A man approached me speaking what I thought was Mandarin. I caught the word “Olympics,” then I saw him pointing at

the Beijing 2008 jacket I wore. It seemed as though he wanted it as a souvenir.

I was one of 60 Missouri School of Journalism interns who had worked as volunteers at the Olympics and still had some centennial pins left that were given to us to share, so I handed him one. He gave me a slight nod in

acknowledgement, handed me two tightly folded pieces of paper and promptly left. Still not comprehending the reason for our exchange, I started to read the documents. I soon learned why he kept them hidden.

They contained statements in English that claimed that this man, Ben, and his fiancée had suffered mistreatment at the hands of his employers, who were also members of the Chinese Communist Party. The documents told this story: Ben learned about the widespread corruption of his fellow employees that included misuse of public funds and illegal promotions. Soon after his discovery, he encountered a number of difficulties. Ben was charged with raping his fiancée, and subsequent legal interventions prevented their marriage. He was also denied membership to the Chinese Communist Party, which effectively prevented him from seeking employment in the public sector.

When Ben handed me these papers, he couldn't have known I was a journalist. He just knew

I was not Chinese and thought I could get this information out of the country and into the right hands.

As I thought about the possibility of a story, the reality of his situation hit home. How could I validate it, how could I know if any of what he claimed was true? His employers might never acknowledge such charges, and the government would likely remain close-lipped. In China, it is not uncommon to receive such a response.

I knew the environment I was entering this summer was intolerant of rebellious journalists, and of dissenters of any kind, for that matter.

My work at *Global Journalist* definitely contributed to this awareness. Covering the Chinese press for two issues last semester gave me a clearer picture of the difficulties foreign correspondents face every day and of those that journalists would face during the Beijing Olympics. I didn't realize, however, how quickly I would come face to face with such censorship.



AP PHOTO/ROBERT F. BUKATY

A banner hangs in Ritan Park, one of the three Beijing parks where demonstrators could legally stage protests during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. Some people who applied for permits were arrested.

During the first week of our stay in Beijing, Missouri students got a closer look at the current state of Chinese media. We heard lectures given by Renmin University's journalism faculty. We then visited two print media outlets — the *People's Daily* and *Beijing Youth Daily*.

The *People's Daily* is considered the Chinese Communist Party's official mouthpiece. The *Beijing Youth Daily*, published by the Chinese Communist Youth League, appeals to both youth and the general public.

At both of these outlets, we only got the official line about subjects the government thought appropriate for journalists to discuss. To get real information, I had to go to the source — the journalists themselves.

Anthony Cheng, who works for Al-Jazeera English in its Beijing bureau, and Jia-Jing Liu, a college friend and former intern at Caijing, a business magazine, provided firsthand accounts of covering stories normally considered untouchable by government-owned Chinese media.

Cheng first worked for the BBC when he arrived in Beijing seven years ago. He says the problem isn't a lack of story ideas; it's that he lacks access to the official sources he needs. Any unofficial source who talks to him is at risk for retaliation.

Furthermore, he says it is not uncommon for him or his crew to be arrested weekly when they are covering issues outside the capital.

During the end of my stay, Cheng interviewed two "rebellious" elderly Chinese women who had become the center of international news. They were sentenced to a year-long stay at a labor re-education camp for protesting the government's refusal to compensate them after replacing their homes with luxury apartments. I watched his video segment on YouTube. When I attempted to blog about it three days later, the video was gone.

Liu's experience with Chinese journalists has been positive. She said the journalists in China are some of the best and most dedicated she has ever worked with,

even in the face of the Chinese dictatorship. The media opportunities are booming — she even suggested I consider a job here when the English-language magazine industry is more developed.

While some form of censorship still pervades much of the Chinese press, the media environment continues to evolve. China's economic boom and subsequent increase in media opportunities might force the government to address the challenges with the industry in the near future.

All in all, I have come away from my time in China with a great appreciation for the freedoms I have as an American journalist and perhaps an even greater admiration for those who push the envelope despite the odds stacked against them. ■



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*the Marin Independent Journal, and Wall Street & Technology.*

# "FRIGHTSIZING" Newspapers

*What derailed the American newspaper industry?*

By Ken Doctor

## IT'S TEMPTING TO CONSIDER

what has happened to the American newspaper industry as a series of natural disasters.

In the '90s, we experienced the minor earthquakes of disrupted classifieds when such phenomena as Craigslist.org and Monster.com took revenues from newspapers. Then fires, blazes that included the generational movement to web reading and advertisers moving dollars to search-based online sites, followed. The industry was damaged, but like many a small town buffeted by natural disaster, it put on a proud face and vowed to soldier on. Then the tornado hit. That tornado, a deepening and confounding cyclical economic decline, has slowed ad spending overall and has inflicted much greater damage to all

the revenue lines enjoyed by the newspaper industry.

Now, as we approach 2009, the town fathers and mothers are surveying the damage all around, and girding for more trouble.

We can assess the damage by the numbers. In 2007, newspaper ad revenues declined 7.9 percent. In 2008, classified ads declined more than 20 percent, and retail ads fell by more than 10 percent. Fewer ads have meant fewer stories, and newsprint usage has dropped between 10-15 percent as a result. The bigger picture is just as grim. Share prices for companies like Gannett Co., The McClatchy Co. and Lee Enterprises declined up to 75 percent in less than a four-year period, and 5,000 newspaper jobs had been cut by mid-2008.



## Many veterans of the news industry will say that what has happened is less a series of natural disasters, though, than a slow-motion train wreck.

There are more horrific numbers, but those tell enough of the story. We've entered the era of the incredible shrinking newspaper. Downsizing or rightsizing may be terms used publicly, but the more apt term is frightsizing. Only panic can explain the rapid shrinking of the U.S. dailies, in newsrooms and in the products delivered daily to readers' doorsteps. And the poor readers, along with other observers inside and outside the industry, have been left with their mouths agape.

What happened to my paper? What happened to the American press?

And how could it have happened so quickly? How could a

robust industry move so rapidly toward unprofitability, with MediaNews CEO and current chair of the AP board William Dean Singleton recently suggesting that 19 of the top 50 U.S. dailies are now unprofitable?

Many veterans of the news industry will say that what has happened is less a series of natural disasters, though, than a slow-motion train wreck. It's a wreck greatly compounded by Internet revolutions, but the engines showed signs of colliding long before. U.S. dailies really hit their apex of household penetration in the '50s, when the average U.S. household took more than one paper daily. Those were the hal-

cyon days of morning and afternoon papers that served people throughout the day, much as the World Wide Web does today.

In the years since, multi-paper towns turned into single-paper towns, and broadcast TV news and then cable TV news took chunks of readers. Radio remained strong as commute times increased. The news began to follow us, to the point that we now live in a news bubble. We don't have to go and get the news; it comes to us, in elevators, by radio and Web and from friends' e-mails. And newspapers have changed far too little.

Let's take a quick tour of the recent revolutions that have turned a longstanding problem into a nightmare. Then, let's look at where we might be going.

Jim Batten had a glimmer of the unraveling to come years ago. As CEO of Knight Ridder in the early '90s, he saw cracks in the newspaper business model that had created huge newsrooms. I recall him suggesting to a meeting of editors and publishers that "the newspaper industry

owes more to the institution of the American department store than it does to the First Amendment." A long-time editor, Batten savored the privilege of being part of one of the few industries mentioned in the Bill of Rights. He understood, though, that such mention only got you so far.

He understood that it was the full-ad-page-buying department stores, not the Bill of Rights, that fueled the growth of newspapers. He understood that the classifieds, which used to contribute as much as 60 percent of newspaper profit, were responsible for paying the middle-class salaries of thousands of journalists.

A decade later, around the turn of the century, I remember standing on the new mezzanine level of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, where a person could peer out over more than 500 journalists churning out the news. It was a majestic view, and one that seemed timeless.

That *Inquirer* newsroom, like most around the country, is now emptying out.

What happened? In short, we're

in the midst of two revolutions that have quickly sapped the vitality of the U.S. print news industry.

The first revolution is the reader revolution, one with which most journalists are familiar. It might seem to be the prime culprit in our drama, but really it's been of secondary impact.

Yes, the revolution has led readers away from print and to online. We can track that movement in print circulation decline, which has averaged 2-3 percent a year for the past four years. We can also track that movement in knowing that newsreaders spend about the same amount of time taking in news (61 minutes) as they did a decade ago. They just

## *The Mathematics Of Frightsizing*

■ **5000:** number of newspaper jobs cut by mid-2008

■ **75 percent:** drop in share prices at companies such as Gannett Co., The McClatchy Co. and Lee Enterprises

■ **7.9 percent:** total decline in newspaper ad revenues in 2007

■ **More than 20 percent:** decline in newspaper classified ads by mid-2008

■ **More than 10 percent:** decline in newspaper retail ads by mid-2008

■ **8 percent:** average amount of a newspaper's total revenue that comes from digital sources

■ **20:** average number of online readers it takes to generate the ad revenue of one print reader

divide it up differently, and spend less time on print and broadcast and more online. That's particularly true of younger readers, as we see a generational fault line with younger readers preferring digital delivery.

The revolution that has had more impact, though, is the ad revolution.

In 2008, more than \$25 billion will be spent on online advertising in the U.S. It's the fastest growing ad segment, still growing in double digits. That's

money that's largely come out of print and broadcast ad budgets.

It can be mind-boggling to figure out why. Could all that Google-placed search advertising make such a difference? Con-

sider though that what the Web has done is revolutionize the relationship among buyers, sellers and middlemen.

Once businesses wanting to sell their wares had to be advertisers, buying space (newspapers) or time (broadcast). They assumed the risk, hoping that those ads would bring in sufficient paying customers. Now the risk-reward equation has shifted. Google and Yahoo, having little advertising business to put at risk, essentially told advertisers this: you don't have to take as much risk as you used to by purchasing ads for large sums in the vague hope of reaching people who will buy from you. Only pay us when someone actually clicks on an ad and moves through to your site. In addition, they told them: our magic algorithms will ensure a friendly audience by matching up your ads with the news and info that people are looking at.

That ad revolution, abetted by scores of new online ad competitors in recruitment, automotive and real estate, has inflicted great damage, which has left

newspaper companies reeling.

Yes, newspapers have transitioned online, but the data indicate that the transition has been less than successful. Local news sites simply don't pull sufficient traffic to draw sufficient ad dollars, and they've fared poorly in competition with portals such as Yahoo, MSN and Google as well as with niche sites such as Marketwatch, ESPN and BabyCenter. It takes about 20 online readers to generate the ad revenue one print reader supplies. As a result, newspapers still derive only about 8 percent of their total revenues from digital sources, and remain reliant on declining print for the rest.

Add it all up, and there's an industry formerly comfortable with more than 20 percent margins now gasping for air.

The phenomenon we are seeing is a global one, though the U.S. is plainly ground zero for it. From Japan to Western Europe, we see the same shifts in motion, though they're slower and more nuanced. Those papers have always relied on circulation for a greater share of revenues, and that's provided

some buffer, so far. It's easy to get depressed about the current state of the American press. At the same time, it's worth stepping back and looking at the broader information revolution and its promise.

In the immediate term, the frightsizing of the industry is hardest on those in it. It's a mighty disruption to be sure, as thousands of jobs, much craft and habit (good and bad) and much experience are being lost. Like mill workers and autoworkers before them, middle-aged journalists are feeling what it's like to be cast aside with little prospect for earning the kinds of wages their craft used to provide.

For readers, though, the new age promises universal and usually free access to an infinite number of news sources and commentaries that cross borders and viewpoints as never before possible.

As the new world gets reshaped, the bifurcation between global/national and local news is also growing.

Emerging to cover the U.S. and the world are a dozen or so well-financed news operations with great journalistic and audience reach.

Important here is the Web mantra: produce one, distribute many. These companies, from the New York Times to the BBC, all have booming multi-platform visions in mind. They each have their own challenges, but have good shots at success in the new world.

It is the local publishers who can't seem to find a road map to the future. They used to bring their readers the world, the nation, sports, business, you name it.

Now, local publishers see their worlds almost exclusively through local, some say, hyperlocal, eyes. That's meant a renewed focus on what's happening in city halls and city neighborhoods, on local sports fields and in family life. Adjusting to this changed focus is hardest for big metro dailies, and for reporters with ambitions greater than local-coverage reporting can usually satisfy.

Beyond content focus, the means of doing journalism are rapidly changing, as journalists are called on to master blogging and learn multimedia skills.

For local readers, of course, a big question is how much report-

ing they'll get, in any form, as the ranks of local reporters thin.

How will all these changes play out in local markets? McClatchy CEO Gary Pruitt makes it painfully clear that his "visibility is limited." Pruitt clings to the tenet of community service in journalism, although the company he heads has lost more than 90 percent of its market value in two years and was valued by Wall Street at a minuscule \$350 million by mid-summer 2008. "We'll become a smaller, more efficient company," he recently told analysts. No one wanted to ask the most obvious journalist's question: how small, how soon?

Make no mistake, journalism is re-forming and that means lots of energy around enterprises outside the daily newspaper companies. Those enterprises, though, aren't creating new jobs at anywhere near the rate that the old ones are being shed.

The energy around the newer journalism, however, is evident, and it's rising in intensity. We've seen a dozen or so high-spirited local sites from MinnPost in Minne-

apolis/Saint Paul to PegasusNews in Dallas. We've seen national, investigative-focused ProPublica and politically-oriented Politico, as internationally-focused Global News plans a launch in early 2009. Newer entrants such as Arianna Huffington's Post are making waves as well.

To borrow from American philosopher William James, it may be best to describe this helter-skelter journalistic world as "a blooming, buzzing confusion." Major questions of trustworthiness and credibility have arisen amid the clamor of new voices, but, ironically, so has a newfound energy. Today, we can't see this new world in great clarity, but we can see its contours. ■



*Ken Doctor, a veteran of the digital news industry, combines deep experience as an executive in news strategy, revenue models and journalism. His experience includes 21 years with Knight Ridder, as well as time spent in the worlds of magazines, alternative journalism and syndication. He covers the transformation of the news media as president of his own company, Content Bridges, and as a news industry analyst for Outsell.*

# The cozy relationship between **Prime Minister Berlusconi** and the **Italian Press** raises a few eyebrows

By Diana Saluri Russo

**W**HILE THE ITALIAN PRESS was talking about a subdued and humbled Silvio Berlusconi after he once again assumed power in May of this year, foreign journalists in Rome were not so sure things would be much different for the press under the media baron this time around.

In April, the Center-Left Berlusconi was elected Italy's Prime Minister for the third time since 1994. He held that office for seven months in 1994 and from 2001-2006.

Berlusconi wields control over an estimated 90 percent of Italian television: direct control through his family's ownership of three commercial channels (the Mediaset group) and indirect control of RAI, Italy's public television.

The Berlusconi family also owns the advertising agency Pub-

litalila, which controls 60 percent of the television ad market, Italy's largest publishing house, Mondadori, the news weekly *Panorama* and two daily newspapers.

Megan K. Williams, who covers Italy for the Canadian Broadcast Company and the United States' "Marketplace" on public radio, does not foresee a change in Berlusconi's relations with the press during his third term in office. "His reason d'être of being in politics is to expand his commercial empire and that hasn't changed," she said. "He's a narcissistic personality."

Irene Savio, of Spain's *La Economista* and the Mexican *Reformer*, believes Berlusconi is at least trying to present a more moderate image. "If you analyze his language in his previous governments, it's very hard: Anyone who wants to

elevate [raise] taxes is automatically a Communist. I have the sensation he is measuring his words more carefully,” said Savio.

Although he says it is too early to judge, Israeli correspondent Yossi Bar also believes he is seeing a softer side to Berlusconi, a greater willingness to involve the opposition (and fewer jokes at the press’ expense). “You would hope that after 14 years in politics, after 14 years of hard opposition, he has learned to behave better.” Bar said.

This spring the Italian press was talking about a honeymoon period and the hope that Berlusconi’s clearer electoral majority this time around would make him more willing and able to work with the opposition to effect change in a country long plagued by minority political parties and governments.

The foreign journalists agree on one thing: Berlusconi, in his two past administrations, had little use for the foreign press. They have had little access to Berlusconi, his top advisors or even his press people. “He has

his journalists whom he knows; if he doesn’t know you, it can be tough,” said Savio.

German journalist Martin Zoeller, who has been reporting for German newspapers in Rome for the past two years, said, “Berlusconi and his people have the mentality of being attacked. They are not very interested in us,” Zoeller said. “But then the press is not open-minded about him. I think the people who vote for him must be taken seriously.”

## THE ELITE NEXUS OF POWER

Both Zoeller and Savio point out, however, that lack of access is embedded in Italy’s hierarchical culture of personal favoritism and goes far beyond Berlusconi.

“No one calls you back, no one gives you anything. Everything is based on whom you know,” Zoeller says. He notes that, with zero access at times, he relies on the Italian press for the basics and on professors at Italian universities to provide expertise.

Savio said that at a news conference last fall with Italy’s then-premier, the liberal Romani

Prodi, and Spain's President Zapatero, journalists were allowed only about five questions at the heavily staged event.

The journalists say that, even so, foreign journalists are largely freer than Italian journalists to do investigative reporting that goes against government or corporate interests.

"There are only two or three Italian journalists who can afford to do it, Savio says. "Most journalists work without a contract. Milena Gabanelli (producer of RAI 3's investigative news show Report) is the best because she is not extreme, she doesn't fall into the mindset of looking for the worst everywhere."

Bar said it's not a question of whether you are on the left or right: "It's a mentality in Italy. They make you pay. If you want a job, be moderate. It's okay to write about the Mafia but not the links to politicians or others. The Vatican is the worst — everybody knows if you write something bad about the Pope, you lose press credentials."

Zoeller says he actually pre-

fers covering the Vatican to writing about the fractious and volatile world of Italian politics.

"The issues are more fundamental — the dialogue with Islam, human rights. And I think [the Vatican] can be very much interested in having a sincere discussion because in the end they don't care," he said. "They've been there for 2,000 years and they do what they want anyway. They don't need approval the way politicians do."

The journalists say another manifestation of Italy's insider mentality is that Italian journalists often write more for one another than for readers.

"There are some fabulous journalists, but many others write for other journalists and politicians — the more inside info you have, the more of a player you are," said Williams. "The goal is not to act as a watchdog. It's more about court intrigue — almost a social diary, a political social diary."

Newspapers receive state funding, and there are licensed state exams to become a journalist. "This means newspapers don't have to take the interest of the reader to

heart, making Italian newspapers some of the most boring in the world,” says Zoeller.

This is why, he points out, you will see the first four pages of a newspaper devoted to the ins and outs of some minor point that is of interest mainly to politicians: “There is such a strong interlinking of the press and politics: The press doesn’t just observe politics, it makes politics. At a press conference you can’t tell the difference between the press and the politicians. They dress the same, they act the same.”

## NEW MEDIA SEEK CHANGE

In the past year, however, there have been some remarkable signs that the Italian public’s tolerance for the old insider culture in both politics and the press is being tested by tough economic times. With inflation, the Naples garbage fiasco, and a failing national airline, pressure on Berlusconi is rising.

Williams points to last year’s nonfiction bestseller in Italy *LaCasta* (The Caste) by Gian Antonio Stella and Sergio Rizzo.

The authors reported that the annual budget of the Italian presidency is almost four times that of Buckingham Palace. Federal legislators are the best paid in Europe and nepotism is rampant in the legislature. Perks include ample pensions, which legislators can collect after only 30 months in office, a benefit the authors explore in a chapter titled “Baby Pensioners.”

On a more flamboyant note, there is the widely popular Beppe Grillo, the satirically clownish Italian comedian. His blog on corruption in Italian life and politics ([beppegrillo.it](http://beppegrillo.it)) has been ranked among the 10 most visited blogs in the world according to Technorati and as the most read blog in Europe.

In September 2007, Grillo used his blog to organize a hugely successful national rally against corruption, which he called V-Day. This April 25, the anniversary of the liberation of Italy from the Nazis, he conducted a national V-Day2 rally aimed at lampooning the intermingling of the Italian press with corporate and political interests.

Writing on his blog, Grillo's battle cry was "The control of information is the new fascism: Italy must be liberated once more. It is a former democracy. How else can you call a country in which information is in the hands of the power groups? In which Silvio Berlusconi is president thanks to the control of three TV channels and the Mondadori group ... And the powers that be only survive thanks to their control over the media. The banks, Confindustria, Mediaset and the Parties make use of television and newspapers in order to spread propaganda, and they appoint newspaper editors as if they were part of the Public Relations Department."

He also called for an end to the Board of Directors of RAI, Italy's public television system, being political appointees.

Grillo is soliciting signatures for a referendum to abolish the Order of Journalists. Created by Mussolini in 1925, it requires journalists to be licensed, limiting access to the journalistic profession. In 1963 it became the Professional Order

## ***Economist* victory in Berlusconi defamation suit**

On Sept. 5, a court in Milan rejected defamation charges by Silvio Berlusconi against *The Economist* over a 2001 cover story accusing him of being unfit to lead Italy.

The article in question ran April 26, 2001, with a cover photo and the title: "Why Silvio Berlusconi is unfit to lead Italy." It examined his business empire as well as legal battles in which he had been involved.

The court recognized that *The Economist* was well within its rights to criticize and ordered Berlusconi to cover the London magazine's \$35,000 in legal fees.

*The Economist* issued a statement on its Web site following the ruling stating that it is pleased with the outcome and "will not be making any further comment."

Berlusconi's attorney said he would immediately appeal the decision.

of Journalists with its own admissions requirements, guidelines for proper conduct and pensions.

A second referendum calls for an end to the one billion Euro per year of public funding for the press: “We have certain journalists amongst us who take their orders from the political parties, who don’t have much regard for the truth or, for that matter, for the reader,” Grillo said.

These subsidies result not only in repression but indifference about pleasing readers. “They don’t sell newspapers; they simply print them,” Grillo said. He cites the daily newspaper Europe, which sells fewer than 5,000 copies a day, yet prints 30,000 in order to receive a 3-million-Euro-per-year government subsidy.

Grillo is using new media to fight the old. He collects signatures for his referendums at 500 public squares in Italy and conducts virtual demonstrations where people send in electronic likenesses of themselves to add to a virtual march.

Whether the public outcry can break through the stranglehold of

privilege and intermingled interests is unclear. In July, an *Economist* article titled “Berlusconi Fiddles, Italy Burns” summed up his first 10 weeks in office, noting that the man notorious in the past for tailoring judicial reform measures to shield himself from his own legal and business woes is up to his old tricks, quashing hopes that this time would be different.

*The Economist* notes that Berlusconi’s focus on his legal woes is taking badly needed attention away from a stagnating economy, rising inflation and low consumption.

In an Aug. 4 post on his blog, Grillo felt a need to stoke the morale of his followers. “Many people have written to me to say the signatures have been no use. That [the elites] will do what they want to anyway. The signatures are useful to count us. ... They have not beaten us, and they never will.” ■



*Diana Saluri Russo, Ph. D., is an associate professor of Journalism at Clarke College in Dubuque, Iowa, and frequently covers topics related to Italy and Italian culture.*

# Constitutionally Questionable

*As their country recovers from one election and braces for another, officials push for the adoption of Ethiopia's new draft press law — but at what price?*

By Solomon Hailemariam

**D**ESPITE ATTEMPTS OVER several decades to secure a free press, Ethiopia still does not have complete liberty. Many are hoping that 2008's new draft press law will not severely hamper constitutional rights.

After the 1974 fall of Ethiopia's last emperor, Haile Selassie I, the Horn of Africa enjoyed a short-lived freedom of the press. The press flourished for two years until the Marxist military regime that deposed Selassie quickly gained control of and quashed the burgeoning industry. This totalitarian government remained in power for almost three decades, during which time censorship was reintroduced and all

private printing operations were banned.

With the collapse of the military regime, the Ethiopian press again experienced freedom of expression in the early 1990s, and this freedom was written into law by a transitional government. A 1992 bill outlawing censorship and declaring freedom of speech seemingly ended the struggle between Ethiopian reporters and the government on which they report. Indeed, for several years the private press mushroomed. But after the 2005 election, many journalists were detained, which reminded Ethiopians that the private press is recuperating but still has a long way to go.

Ethiopia has an excellent constitution — at least on the paper. The Ethiopian constitution has accepted the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as it is. This means that Article 19 of the UDHR stating, “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression” and also the freedom to “seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media” has been incorporated in the constitution, effectively making it the law of the land.

Currently, Ethiopian journalists risk losing the freedoms guaranteed by their constitution. A new draft press law, if passed, would do much to silence a strengthening democratic voice in the region. The existence of freedom of expression in general and of media freedom in particular are two of the most important indicators of the presence of democracy in a given country. Perhaps this is why the new draft press law is garnering such attention. As Ethiopia and journalists around the world wait for the passing of the 2008 law, they look to past legislation for clues as to what the new bill might mean for the media.

Article 29 of the 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia lays the legal structure for the existence of freedom of expression in Ethiopia. Accordingly, all the subsidiary laws are supposed to advocate the flourishing of media freedom; however, in 2003, the government introduced a



**Ethiopian journalists demonstrate outside the Ethiopian Embassy in Nairobi in 2006. Tensions are again high in the region as the Ethiopia prepares for the 2010 election, only the fourth in the country's 3,000-year-old history.**

very restrictive draft press law. Many called the law draconian, and the government was forced to come up with a new law. After five years of deliberation, the government drafted this year's press law, which is less draconian, but is still quite restrictive.

Under the most recent draft law, a public prosecutor could prohibit either the publication or the circulation of a newspaper without court order. There are other ways, of course, to censor the press, and the law addresses those, as well. If the government should choose not to physically stop distribution, it could economically stifle free speech. A defamation charge would liquidate a newspaper business easily because of heavy fines: up to 100,000 birr (10,424.9 USD) — big money for a newspaper in Ethiopia.

Access to information would also be controlled if the new draft press law passes. According to Article 14 of the 2008 legislation, public relations officers of government ministries could permit or reject requests for information in their respective ministries. The

draft law allows them to hold information for 30 days, and after that time they could even extend it for another 30 days. A public information officer could simply refuse to give particular information to journalists by saying that it is a matter of “national security.” The government could essentially quarantine the press from its informants. The press law would make failure to disclose sources unlawful, and whistleblowers would likely be tentative to speak out without a safety net of anonymity.

One of the more restrictive sections of the draft press law is Article 43 Sub Article 7. It states, “Defamation against constitutionally mandated legislators, executives and judiciaries will be a matter of the government and prosecutable even if the person against whom they were committed chooses not to press charge.” According to this, even if a defamed official did not wish to take legal action, the public prosecutor would have the power to seek legal action on his or her behalf.

Opposition leaders and some political analysts say the new laws

appear to be an attempt to consolidate power before the 2010 general election. Indeed, the government does seem committed to not having the incidents surrounding the 2005 election repeated in the coming election. During the 2005 electoral process, the independent press played a key role in informing the public of the actual political happenings and for the first time in Ethiopian media history, broadcast live the heated election debate. In his article "Discomfiture of Democracy? The 2005 Election Crisis in Ethiopia and Its Aftermath," G. J. Abbink of the Africa Studies Center at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands wrote, "The elections, although controversial and flawed, showed significant gains for the opposition but led to a crisis of the entire democratization process."

The government appears to be working hard to avoid a repeat of the 2005 election, when opposition parties won in many cities, including Addis Ababa, the capital. Post-election squabbling led to a governmental crackdown in which numerous people were

killed and opposition candidates, civil society advocates, supporters and journalists were imprisoned.

In legal principle, any law that is in direct opposition to the constitution should be null and void. Accordingly, the new draft press law should be found unacceptable if the Ethiopian government is genuinely concerned about freedom of speech. It allows government prosecutors to interfere in freedom of expression and contradicts the basic principles of the UDHR.

Political analysts are concerned that the government, in a deliberate act of restricting journalists' watchdog role, will not invalidate the draft law. The ruling party has a majority in the Ethiopian parliament, and it is anticipated that the draft press law will easily become the law of the land. This draft law can be brought up at any time, and most probably by the time this article appears in *Global Journalist*, Ethiopia's journalists will be forced to abide by a system that encourages self-censorship, especially in reporting governmental issues in order to avoid grave penalties.

Adding to the problem is the fact that the new draft law is not unique to journalism. The government is also introducing similar laws for civilian societies, charity organizations and political parties. All are restrictive and narrow the scope of democracy in the country. Under the proposed legislation, opposing political parties could not accept foreign assistance. Additionally, these parties would have to offer a list of local supporters, which would essentially stir panic in those people who have supported and hesitance in those who have not.

If the opposition's challenge of the status quo in the 2005 general election proves to be the motivation for these harsh measures, then people must expect to see a very different election in 2010. These new draft laws that attempt to restrict the press, civil societies and political parties would weaken the already floundering democracy in the country.

It appears that the ruling party believes that what Ethiopia needs now is bread, not democracy. The government tells the

Ethiopian audience around the clock that its government is 100 percent committed to bringing about development. Development is good but democracy is best; without democracy, it is impossible to guarantee the sustainability of development in a country. If the press in Ethiopia must engage in self-censorship, who will hold government officials accountable? Who will expose bureaucratic wrongdoings?

Perhaps Dan Connell, lecturer at Simmons College in Boston, said it best in his recent interviews with Voice of America. Democracy, he said, is not a luxury. It strengthens governments; it does not weaken them. It is a way of stabilizing a country and holding decision-makers accountable, so that the bad decisions either don't get made or are held up to the public scrutiny afterward. ■



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*He is the first graduate of the School of Journalism and Communication in Addis Ababa University.*

# Freelance for Greenpeace

The Amazon: Para State, Brazil

**By Daniel Beltra: 2008 POYi Global Vision Award Winner**



**A river is diverted for gold mining at a prospectors' camp near Alta Floresta. Mercury is used in the process, which pollutes the environment and affects the health of the local population.  
Aug. 25, 2007**

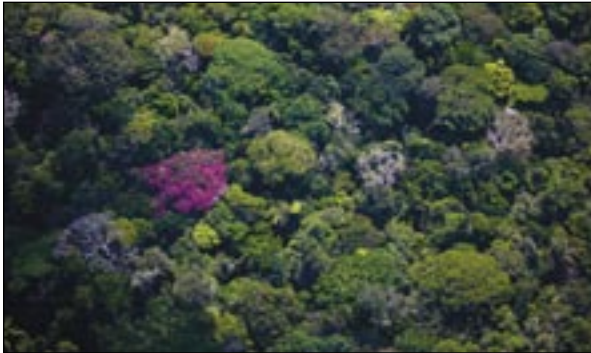
**P**ICTURES OF THE YEAR International (POYi) is one of the largest and most prestigious photojournalism contests in the world, administered by the Missouri School of Journalism. In 2008 POYi added a new category to its premier awards, The Global Vision Award. Photojournalist Daniel Beltra was presented with this award for his work in the Ross Sea and Amazon entitled “Greenlance for Peace.” Beltra is a prestigious Spanish photographer known for capturing telling images of nature and the environment. In 1990, Beltra became an assignment photographer with Greenpeace International, a global environmental campaigning organization, and began pushing the world’s most pressing ecological issues to the forefront. Through “Free-lance for Greenpeace,” Beltra was seeking to bring about an awareness of global warming. According to Beltra, burning has cleared more than 17 percent of the Amazon, releasing



**The different stages of destruction within the rainforest are revealed by this aerial view near Alta Floresta. By 2006 the Amazon had already lost 17 percent of its surface due to human intervention. Aug. 25, 2007**



(Left) Burnt Brazilian nut trees (Castanheiras) stand following a fire in the Alta Floresta region.  
Aug. 25, 2007



(Left) Virgin rainforest stands on land between Alta Floresta and Santarem in Para State, Brazil.  
Aug. 26, 2007

(Below) An island of rainforest has been spared from destruction in the middle of a soy field near Itaituba.  
Aug. 27, 2007

greenhouse gases and carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Gases contribute to global warming that contributes to temperature change and the fate of a world thousands of miles away, the Antarctic continent. Here is an excerpt from Beltra's award-winning work. ■



# Freelance for Greenpeace

## Antarctica: The Ross Sea

Pack ice expands  
through the Ross  
Sea in late summer.  
Feb. 19, 2007



A tabular iceberg  
reflects the midnight  
sun of the Antarctic  
summer.  
Feb. 13, 2007



**A pinnacle iceberg floats through the Ross Sea.  
Feb. 8, 2007**

**Blue ice is formed by intense pressure that eradicates air bubbles from within an iceberg, forming a surface that reflects the color of the water around it.  
Feb. 10, 2007**



**A group of Adelie Penguins gets ready to dive.  
Feb. 8, 2007**

# Culture Conundrum

*News outlets struggle to find a place for international cultural stories*

By Hsin-yin Lee

**T**HE JAPANESE PUBLIC knows plenty about popular culture in the United States thanks almost exclusively to Hollywood movies and ads.

To many Americans, however, Japan is still a mysterious land occupied by ancient beliefs. American correspondents in Tokyo report little on cultural matters in Japan. Similarly, Japanese correspondents in the U.S. don't spend much time on American entertainment news.

Cultural news, reporters working in both countries say, is a hard sell.

The annual National Cherry Blossom Festival in Washington D.C. draws more than a million tourists from all over the world. The first of those cherry trees



EPAP/STEFAN ZAKLIN

came from Japan as a gesture of friendship 96 years ago. From sushi to sumo, lantern walking to folklore singing, Japanese culture is showcased during the events.

According to a 2007 review by the World Association of Newspapers, the world's five largest newspapers were in Japan. The top five totaled a daily circulation of 38 million. Out of 504 Japanese foreign correspondents, 144 are based in the United States.

Yet Japanese correspondents devote little energy to reporting

on the festival. They say they don't have the time and resources to cover "soft" topics.

"Tokyo doesn't allow us to have long footage of cultural reporting," said Takaaki Abe, senior producer of Nippon Television's Washington bureau.

"We are going to cover the Cherry Blossom Festival because it is one of the U.S.-Japan relations," Abe said.

It is extremely hard for Japanese correspondents in Washington to devote themselves to cultural issues. Reporting and researching on Capitol Hill consume most of their energy. Their coverage is highly homogenous, focusing intensively on political and economic affairs, and there is rarely a human interest story.

In Japan's extremely competitive media environment, accuracy is not the only concern — there is efficiency, too.

Nobuyuki Sato, Washington bureau chief of the Jiji Press, pointed out the fierce competition on hard news between Japan's two dominating wire services, Jiji Press and Kyodo News.

"As a news agency, if we make a report that's wrong, even if it is breaking news five minutes earlier, it will be a disaster. The credibility issue is very important," he said, "but if we delay five minutes more than Kyodo News, it is also a disaster."

Many American correspondents overseas report they also have a hard time garnering interest in cultural stories.

Willis Witter, the Washington Times's acting foreign editor and former Tokyo correspondent, said a Japanese cultural story is a tough sell for any American newspaper unless there is some connection to the United States.

"If you are in the Muslim world today, especially in southwest Asia, the culture becomes extremely important and even interesting because there is a connection between culture and terrorism," Witter said.

Using cultural events as a news hook to introduce serious international affairs is common among correspondents. A look at a foreign country's culture can help readers better understand

the issues presented. Yet it is almost impossible to see an American paper publishing a cultural story without obvious political or economic significance.

The phenomenon is worldwide. Foreign correspondents who write a lot on Bollywood movies may have noted its similar economic structure to the American film industry; likewise, discussion of whether the Beijing Olympic mascots, “Fuwa,” or “good luck dolls,” should be blamed for recent massacres in China provided journalists a unique anecdote to examine China in times of turbulence.

Politics is often the essence of

any cultural issue. In response to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, four cherry trees were cut down in what was speculated as revenge. To prevent future vandalism for the remainder of the war, the trees were referred to as the “Oriental” flowering cherries.

The sensitivity of cultural issues is often raised during wartime. It tangles with political and commercial interests and magnifies the imbalance of world power distribution.

For example, the Web site of the World Socialist, a popular left-wing organization, claimed



**The annual cherry blossom festival brings thousands of tourists to the U.S. capital city, but Japanese correspondents devote little energy to reporting on it. They say they don't have time and resources to cover such “soft” topics.**

in 2003 that the looting in Iraq's museum was a conspiracy of the Bush administration. "The goal of the U.S. military occupation is to impose colonial-style domination over Iraq and seize control of its vast oil resources," Patrick Martin, the author, said.

"Attacking the cultural resources that connect the Iraqi people to 7,000 years of history is part of the process of systematically destroying their national identity," Martin said.

The condemnation provided another perspective through which people see the war. It seems that politics and culture are ultimately inseparable, and together they make the most compelling story.

Other than news priority, foreign correspondents often struggle on even more practical issues — few of them speak foreign languages fluently.

Working with a fixer, which means hiring local people to overcome language and cultural barriers, is usual for foreign correspondents. They often ask fixers to produce transcripts and check facts so the news will be

more timely and accurate.

However, compared to others, American correspondents are less equipped with foreign language ability to conduct in-depth interviews. And they rely heavily on translators to explore and explain foreign experiences at least during their initial stay. The lack of language skills not only makes communication harder, but also threatens the integrity of the news outlet.

Dafna Linzer, a Washington Post reporter, recently criticized Al-Hurra, the U.S.-founded, Arab-language television network, which promotes the U.S. government point of view in the Middle East. Linzer and the CBS program 60 Minutes reported that, among other things, Al-Hurra ran biased stories about the Holocaust Denial meeting in Iran, and also accused Israel of racism.

Linzer said that Al-Hurra president Brian Conniff's inability to speak Arabic has seriously damaged the station's credibility. She said that Conniff cannot even understand what his Middle Eastern staff members discuss during

editorial meetings because “no one offered Conniff a simultaneous translation.”

Some members from the Foreign Correspondents’ Club of Japan even suggested the government not accredit foreign correspondents who could not pass a Japanese-language test. According to FCCJ’s Web site, there was argument that such an act would be impractical and counter-productive, but those promoting the action “dismissed such concerns, convinced language testing was a ‘realistic’ solution to combating the ‘problem’ of ‘biased’ foreign media coverage.”

On the dilemma of cultural reporting, some say that attitudes are what matter.

Michael Lev, the Chicago Tribune’s business editor and former Tokyo bureau chief, identified himself as equal parts of a political, economic and social affairs reporter.

“We need to understand how people in other countries work, think, dream and worry, because in a globalized world that matters a lot,” he said. He said he paid

extreme attention to the pop culture and details that locals cannot tell, such as the homogeneity of the Japanese society.

“It’s just as important to understand how the Japanese families interact — their value, their outlook — as it is to understand what the Japanese government thinks about, for example, the Iraq war.”

Perhaps journalism itself carries more than information; it carries cultural communication, as well, in both directions.

Lev gave cultural issue reporting a status it deserves.

He said: “I tried very hard to look for universal themes and truths in the subject matter I covered, to give people something more to think about and maybe help in some small way to encourage — I don’t know — world peace, maybe.” ■



*Hsin-Yin Lee, a recent graduate of the Missouri School of Journalism, is a native of Taipei, fluent in Mandarin, Japanese and English. She now works for the new television news program Worldfocus on the air in October from WNET/Thirteen in New York. She is a former Global Journalist editor.*

# Private Lives, Public Information

By Peter Preston

**O**NE LITTLE WORD BEGINS TO HAUNT British editors, a word that sounds so clean and so modestly reasonable. We all have a private life, don't we? So we must surely be entitled to our privacy, as defined in numerous press conduct codes as well as the European Convention on Human Rights. Close your front door, relax and give the wife and children a kiss. What could be more harmless than that? But now read on ... for hard cases require hard thinking.

Consider Senator John Edwards, for instance, erstwhile seeker of the American presidency. Did he have an affair in 2006 while his wife fought bravely on against cancer? The *National Enquirer*, most intrusive of scandal sheets, said he did. Edwards denied it. And then, suddenly, he didn't. The story might not have been true in every respect, but on the central point of infidelity, it was accurate and mendaciously denied. The mainstream American media at first ignored it. John Edwards needed his privacy, too. But then the facts of the matter — and the lies — came tumbling out of the cupboard.

Weigh that episode in the constant balancing act of the European convention between Article 8, protecting privacy, and Article 10, protecting the public's right to know. Not much doubt of the final outcome, perhaps. Edwards was trying to get to the Oval Office. His behavior had to have public in-



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.

terest. But then give those same scales a mighty thump as British judges get to work on the balance business.

A well-known British sports star has an affair with a singer. The singer's husband finds out, turns hugely angry and wants to denounce the star in print. But the main UK judge in most of these cases, David Eady, silences the husband with an injunction because it would infringe the privacy of the sports star's wife and children. They deserve to be left in the dark.

Or consider Max Mosley, the elected international head of grand prix motor racing. He organizes himself a session of sado-masochistic spanking with a bevy of prostitutes (something, it emerges, he's been doing for 45 years). A British tabloid, *News of the World*, exposes that spankera-ma, takes undercover pictures of the session and (wrongly) finds Nazi connotations there because Max's dad, Oswald, once led the British Fascist movement. Is that, with innocent, unknowing wife and kids attached, an-

other suitable case for privacy? Justice Eady thinks so and fines the *News of the World* 60,000 pounds. You can be a big celebrity name, it seems, you can be a world sporting figure, but what you do in the bedroom, however perverted, is your own affair and worthy of legal protection. You can't print a picture of a famous model leaving a drug treatment clinic. You shouldn't be able (in Buckingham Palace's opinion) to reveal that the Duke of Edinburgh has prostate cancer because that's a private, though happily totally inaccurate, matter. Privacy marches on.

Once upon a recent time, British courts were top of the world league for libel plaintiffs. Aggrieved celebrities came from all over the world to sue in the Strand because our laws were so oppressively weighted against the press. Now privacy is the new, rich kid on the block. Now privacy is proving a weird shield against stories you'd normally expect to see in print. A cuckolded husband is bound to silence because the other man

hasn't told his wife? What kind of perversely defined privacy is that? Don't betrayed wives have a right to know too?

The difficulty, of course, as with any balancing act, is that there are two sides to every story. Many British journalists, for instance, aren't too keen on the tactics of Rupert Murdoch's *News of the World*. They wrinkle their noses and condemn the celebrity intrusions. Is the world really a better place for constant tales featuring girls who've slept with footballers and pop singers and want to collect some money at the end? Surely privacy should offer some relief and recourse.

That's why, in the simplest terms, the John Edwards debacle is important. The senator fought long and hard for the nomination. His sick, gallant wife in remission, was out on the stump, proclaiming their love. Yet only the dirt diggers of American journalism

were investigating, turning over stones. Only those who habitually shrug away the moral tangles of privacy were not deterred.

So, alas, there isn't a real argument here, just pragmatic necessity. The more the rich and the famous can declare whole areas of their lives off-limits, the more the public's right to be informed diminishes. The fewer investigations actually started, let alone finished, the more silence inevitably reigns. Different countries have different traditions and rules of law, to be sure, but the practice in one land soon slips over national boundaries.

Don't suppose that what David Eady says today won't have much wider currency tomorrow. And don't forget that John Edwards himself was a high-flying lawyer, well versed in what's right ... and what could be got away with. ■

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**The more the rich and the famous can declare whole areas of their lives off-limits, the more the public's right to be informed diminishes.**

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# Meltdown: The Inside Story

By Steve Weinberg

**T**HE VIRTUES OF LONGEVITY in covering a beat — especially when the beat is a secretive, non-English-speaking nation hostile to outside journalists — are demonstrated in a remarkable new book.

Mike Chinoy, a CNN correspondent, covered North Korea for nearly two decades and negotiated difficult entry into the country numerous times.

Like many journalists, Chinoy welcomed the opportunity to step back from daily deadlines to understand the big picture. He shows that Kim Jong-Il is indeed a dictator who continued the repressive policies of his father. But, unlike so many other journalists, Chinoy analyzes U.S. government leaders and South Korean policymakers just as closely as he does the North Koreans (with China, Japan and other nations figuring into the mix), thus providing welcome context for the development of a nuclear arsenal by North Korea.

Chinoy himself does not come across as a Bush administration critic so much as a journalist taking the story where the facts have led him. Scenes documenting the visceral, personal hostility Bush developed for Kim Jong-Il are especially disturbing because Chinoy shows a U.S. president ruling via emotion instead of reason.

How did Chinoy arrive at his conclusions? By relying on an impressive range of sources. Here is



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

a categorization, with representative examples.

### North Korean documentation

“With its bombast and overheated rhetoric, North Korea’s state-run media is often dismissed as meaningless propaganda,” Chinoy comments. He learned to pay attention, however. “I spent many hours poring over Pyongyang’s official pronouncements. It became increasingly clear that stripped of the verbiage, they [are] a valuable tool to understanding the thinking of the North Korean regime.” Chinoy’s “official” Korean sources are numerous; some of them can be found by starting at [www.korea-np.co.jp](http://www.korea-np.co.jp).

### U.S. government documentation

The documentation comes from all branches of the U.S. government. Within the executive branch, Chinoy cites communiqués, speeches and studies from the White House, State Department and Treasury Department, among others. Within the legislative branch, Senate and

House committee hearings plus Congressional Research Service studies educated Chinoy. The judicial branch issues rulings in international disputes. Here are few specific examples, using Chinoy’s citation style.

- Review of United States Policy Toward North Korea: Findings and Recommendations, unclassified report by William J. Perry, U.S.-North Korea policy coordinator and special advisor to the president and secretary of state, Washington, D.C., Oct. 12, 1999.
- White House press briefing, March 20, 2002, [www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases).
- Testimony of Charles L. Pritchard, special envoy for negotiations with the DPRK and U.S. representative to KEDO before the Subcommittee on East Asia and the Pacific, U.S. House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, July 26, 2001.
- Congressional Research Service, North-South Korean Relations: A Chronology of Events, 2000-2001, Jan. 9, 2002.

- Indictment in U.S. District Court for the Central District of California in the case United States v. Chao Tung Wu and other defendants.

### **Memoirs by diplomats and other insiders**

- Chinoy mined nuggets from book-length memoirs by Madeleine Albright, John Bolton and George Tenet, among others.

### **United Nations**

- U.N. Security Council Resolution 1695, posted at [www.un.org/news/press/docs](http://www.un.org/news/press/docs)

### **Studies within academia**

- Christopher Clary, unpublished thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2003.

### **Studies from think tanks**

- International Institute for Strategic Studies, North Korea's Weapons Programmes: A Net Assessment, 2004.
- Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, Andrew Scobell, China and North Korea: From Comrades-in-Arms to Allies at Arms Length.

### **Private or semi-public speeches**

- Remarks by Colin Powell at the Asia Society annual dinner, June 10, 2002.
- Statement by Christopher R. Hill, assistant secretary of state, at the Plenary of the Fourth Round of Six-Party Talks, Sept. 19, 2006.
- Remarks by Bruce Townsend at the International Association of Financial Crimes Investigators conference, Sept. 2, 2004.

### **Non-English language material other than North Korean**

- Translation of Konstantin Pulikovskiy's book *Orient Express: Across Russia With Kim Jong Il*, 2002.
- *Asahi Shimbun* newspaper, Japan
- *Hong Kong Economic Journal*

### **Information from specialized publications and Web sites**

- [www.globalsecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org)
- [www.armscontrol.org](http://www.armscontrol.org)
- *Arms Control Today* magazine
- *Naval War College Review* journal



# Journalists Need Protection

By Stuart Loory

**A YEAR AGO THIS COLUMN** was a lamentation on the news business' failure to adequately represent itself in bringing killers of journalists to justice. The situation remains unchanged.

So excuse me for harping on an old theme. It has become obvious that governments are not interested in giving journalists needed protection to do their jobs or in bringing their murderers to justice. Governments have been more likely to investigate the activities of dead journalists, trying to show that the victims were somehow responsible for their own deaths, than to seek out the killers.

For the just-completed centennial celebration of the Missouri School of Journalism, the world-renowned Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko was commissioned to write about press freedom. His work was titled "The Lead Honorarium" ("lead" here refers to bullets) and it concerned the lethal "earnings" reporters receive for investigative work in Russia.

Just before the recital, Magomed Yevloyev, the 37-year-old owner of a news Web site called Ingushetiya.org, was the latest to receive his "honorarium." He was shot in the head while under detention and riding in a police car. He had been arrested when he arrived on a plane from Moscow at the airport in Magas, Ingushetiya. He had come to the province to visit his parents, who were ailing. Police said



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they took him into custody as a witness in a case involving the explosion of the home of a local official and that while in the car he tried to take a gun from a policeman. In the conflict, police said, the gun went off and a bullet hit Yevolyev in the temple. The details appear on page 21 of this magazine.

So the police imply Yevloyev was at fault, and that is a theme in many of the stories of the 693 journalists killed between Jan. 1, 1992, and Aug. 31, 2008. The top five countries in journalists murdered are Iraq (129), Algeria (60), Russia (47), Colombia (40) and the Philippines (32), according to the Committee to Protect Journalists.

Perpetrators have been brought to justice in only 5 percent of all the cases, the CRJ says. There has been partial justice in 6.6 percent. That means that in 612 of the cases over the past 16 years, there has been no one brought to justice.

That is frankly unacceptable.

Yevloyev felt in such danger in Ingushetiya that he exiled himself and his family to Moscow. On his website he criticized police treatment of civilians in the region. In June, a court ordered him to close his site on charges of spreading “extremist” statements, but he continued it under a different name and it was hosted on a server located in the United

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**In 612 of the cases over the past 16 years, there has been not one killer brought to justice.**

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States. (The site continues after his murder and you can see it at [www.ingushetiya.ru](http://www.ingushetiya.ru).)

And then came the murder. The police said “we have no blood on our hands.” But if they do not, who does? Someone has said there will be an investigation, but as of this writing, it is not known whether the “investigators” will be local (Ingushetian) or federal (Russian from outside the region).

Yevolyev’s website is practically alone in reporting on what was going on in Ingushetiya. His

website had this to say about the murder:

“Aslambek Apaev, expert of the Moscow Helsinki Group for Northern Caucasus, said the killing, ‘... is a challenge to the whole human rights movement in Russia,’ adding ‘... this was a customized political murder.’”

Another human rights organization said that the president of Ingushetiya and its minister of the interior, Murat Zyazikov and Musa Medov, respectively, were involved in the murder.

The Committee to Protect Journalists in New York, the premier organization in fighting for the right of journalists to do their work without hazard, has compiled these numbers on the jobs of the 693 murdered: print reporters/writers: 31.3%, broadcast reporters: 20.8%; editors: 16.6%; camera operators: 9.5%, columnists/commentators: 8.9%, photographers: 7.9%, producers: 5.9%, publishers/owners: 3.9%, technicians: 2.3%.

If another profession were under this kind of fire — the legal profession or doctors, for ex-

ample — or if government officials faced this kind of mayhem, colleagues from throughout the world would be lining up to make certain that perpetrators were apprehended.

But in the news business where investigation is a hallowed technique, this does not happen. The time has come for change. The desire not to get involved in the internal affairs of a country — be it one as large and powerful as Russia or China or as small as Zimbabwe or Colombia — is understandable. Many in the news business feel such involvement would undermine integrity.

In a world where almost nothing is being done to protect journalists, the problem continues to grow worse and worse. We in the news business like to think that an important part of our job is to shed light in dark places, illuminating corruption and criminality.

We do it well on virtually all subjects except those which endanger our own people. We are allowing evil to win against the forces of righteousness. ■