

GREAT INTEREST
Sept 16

NO GOOD
Sept 17

81
①

Number 1

These are the Friday, September 16 and Saturday, September 17 issues of N. The purpose of this slide is to help us become acquainted with the format of this newspaper. This is before the beginning of the U.N. session.

On both days the U.N. session had the top position on the front page. In the left-hand issue, September 16, the head-line says GREAT INTEREST AWAITS KHRUSHCHEV'S ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK. The long front page story points out that a meeting of heads of states proposed by Khrushchev is being realized at the U.N. Assembly meeting despite western and especially American opposition to the idea. The picture story in the top left-hand corner shows Paul Robeson leaving Budepest after a six-day visit. Under it is a story about the harvest, and ~~the~~ picture on the bottom shows the Soviet ship Baltika on its way to New York to take the Soviet and other allied dignitaries to the U.N. session.

The issue on the right is the September ¹⁷ issue also before the Assembly session opened. The main story head-line says THE MOST IMPORTANT U.N. ASSEMBLY SO FAR PROMISES TO BRING NO GOOD FOR THE UNITED STATES. The story itself is a Tass dispatch which simply quotes ~~selected~~ American and English press opinions about the position and prospects of the Western Powers. It cites Walter Lippman as saying "There will be a strong wind which will bring us nothing good"---the theme of the head-line. The story goes on to cite Lippman to the effect that the Soviet position is attractive and understandable to many U.N. members, especially to ~~the~~ many ~~of~~ of the new African states. ~~The U.S. position, on the contrary,~~ Lippman is cited as saying, ~~is~~ ⁱⁿ a blind alley because of the irresponsible actions of U.S. leaders. The story goes on to cite American and English papers criticising the U.S. denial of freedom of movement to the Socialist and Cuban delegations. It cites these papers as saying that isolating the

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Fischer

Here we see on the left the inside (page 5) of the September 18 ~~and September 20~~ ^{Sunday} issues of N. (September 19 was a Monday when N did not publish.) Some of these headlines are translated into English so you can read them more easily. You will see that the events spotlighted and emphasized on the front page of the Times were reported on the inside of the Communist paper. These reports continued along the lines of the Soviet contention that the U.N. command in the Congo carried out or assisted in the illegal military takeover of Colonel Mobutu.

These procedural aspects of the conflict cast only a partial shadow on the back pages of Népszabadság. A page five headline in the September 18 issue of the communist paper declared "ILLEGAL ATTEMPT BY U.S. / TO HAVE SPECIAL U.N. SESSION / SANCTION AGGRESSION AGAINST CONGO." A companion piece claimed that "COLONIALIST'S AGENTS / GRAB POWER IN LEOPOLDVILLE / WITH U.N. ASSISTANCE." *Clair Troika*

Front-page emphasis, however, was on peace, hope, and good wishes. "MAY SUCCESS FOLLOW YOUR WORK!" the two column headline cited one of the reportedly "hundreds of telegrams" pouring in from "workers, peasants, intelligentsia" to the passengers of the Baltika on their way to New York. The major three-column spread was headlined "REPRESENTING PEACE." It was a long editorial sounding the keynote of the coverage for days to come. "Representing peace" were the ^{Communist} ~~socialist~~ delegations soon to arrive at the world forum to battle for the overriding concern of all humanity, declared the editorial, and to engage in (what The Times warned about on its front page) propaganda for disarmament. The key portions of the lengthy piece are paraphrased below because they are necessary to an understanding of the communist press perspective.

The West has defeated 40 disarmament proposals advanced by the socialist camp in the last 15 years. It has opposed, then scuttled the Summit. But the diplomacy of imperialism has suffered a setback: disarmament is on the Assembly agenda again and even a Summit is being realized. The world must listen now not only to our

note
 ↓
 CONGO
 DEBATE

Slide 3
⑦

proposals but also to concrete unilateral steps that have been taken. In five years the Soviet Union reduced its armed forces from 5,763,000 to 2,423,000, and the Warsaw pact countries followed suit...

And what does all this mean to mankind? Consider a few facts... Every single day a hundred million people spend almost a billion hours not to build houses, not to produce clothes and food and drugs and school implements but means of destruction!... Every year the world spends twice as much on armaments as on food for all mankind...

Obviously, the success of disarmament cannot depend on those who profit from armaments. They are afraid; they say all our talk is propaganda. So be it; it is propaganda in the interest of humanity and of life itself!

Next day — K arrived in NY;

UP 11/16/70-0
NTH Sept 20

Ag. Needed
N Sept 20

Slide 4
8

Here we see side by side the front pages of the Times and of N on Tuesday September 20. This was the day when Khrushchev arrived in New York. The Times headlined the score of the U.S. victory in the U.N. on the Congo issue. It was this report which we saw on the previous slide but on page 5 of N of the same day under the noncommittal headline of "Congo debate at U.N. special session." (A companion story from the Congo on page 4 of the same issue reported that Mobutu's troops prevented the convening of parliament in the Congo, and that the Soviet and Socialist delegations continued to demand that the U.N. uphold the authority of the legally established government.) The second line of the Times headline of September 20 refers to the "cold" reception of Premier Khrushchev in New York and pictures him stepping off his ship with head bowed above a caption which says "A well-isolated Soviet Premier steps off the Baltika at pier seventy-three." The lead of the arrival story set a somber mood, noting that "the red-carpet...was soggy, and rain streamed through the leaky roof of dilapidated pier seventy-three..." The story just under the fold is headlined "U.S. doubts talk with Khrushchev" The deck under the headline says "After meeting Eisenhower, Herter sees no prospect of private parley." ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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still hasn't met demob. comp. with Belgian
Went down.

Now let us turn to N. Most of the front page is devoted to Khrushchev's arrival message under the headline "Agreement needed on strictly controlled disarmament." The picture shows a smiling Khrushchev surrounded by friendly faces, captioned "Warm reception." The message itself sounded some of the key motifs of the Communist press: "all thoughts turn to peace...we must agree on the strictest international controls for disarmament...unfortunately those who pay lip service to strengthening the U.N. actually oppose its work for disarmament...they call our proposal propaganda...I am proud to conduct such propaganda until the last ounce of my strength."

So much for day-to-day. Now - 2 times: DISARM; COLON.DEV.

DISARM + COL
IKE - KARUS

Slide 5-1 out

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This slide shows the front page coverage of two days, September 23 and September 24 in the two papers. On September 23rd Eisenhower spoke. On September 24th Khrushchev addressed the Assembly. The Times devoted its first banner headline to the Eisenhower address on September 23rd. The Eisenhower speech was reported in the Communist paper under the non-committal headline "U.N. Assembly begins general political debate" and characterized as a half-hearted attempt to bolster U.S. prestige without making any specific proposals. ^{US delay was followed by a session} The key paragraph of the speech story as paraphrased by Tass on the front page of the Communist paper stated:

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(insert ~~7/7/64~~ quote from page 11 of mimeographed draft.)

As paraphrased by Tass on the front page of the communist paper under the non-committal headline "U.N. ASSEMBLY BEGINS / GENERAL POLITICAL DEBATE," the key paragraph of the speech story stated:

The American President spoke in vague generalities about the desirability of disarmament in some distant, unspecified future. But again he placed the emphasis not upon disarmament but upon inspection... With this he returned to the same old proposals which are designed -- as has often been proven -- not to secure the peace but to legal-

The next day Khrushchev spoke to the Assembly. It was the first of his repeated appearances on behalf of detailed and lengthy disarmament and colonial resolutions submitted to the Assembly. And it was the Communist paper's turn to run its largest type across the front page. The first six pages were devoted to what the deck under the headline called "Significant speech of Comrade Khrushchev on burning problems of our age." ~~(Insert)~~ The account was dotted with such ecstatic subheads as "All the Beauty of the World Could Flower," and "The Exalted Tasks of the U.N." Khrushchev's proposal for reforming the Secretariat came at the end of the long speech. There he argued that if the world was to disarm, the international police force should not be

~~under command of any~~ ^{under command of any} ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~att~~ ^{att} ~~to~~ ^{to}

under the command of any one man attached to any one power bloc.

In contrast to this jubilant mood and emphasis on disarmament hopes, The Times banner headline was "KHRUSHCHEV ASKS HAMMARSKJOLD OUSTER; / WOULD SUBSTITUTE A 3-BLOC DIRECTORATE; / HERTER SEES 'DECLARATION OF WAR' ON U.N."

The next day, the Soviet Premier said that in the light of Herter's remarks he wished to clarify his U.N. reform proposal. In an impromptu press conference in the driveway of the Soviet's Glen Cove mansion, Khrushchev repeated the reasons given for his plan, and said -- obviously tongue-in-cheek -- that while Marshal Malinovsky is undoubtedly a great leader, the Soviets would not insist on his heading a world police force if they really wanted disarmament.

That's why K-K meeting OK —

forget that few days later

Next day - Sept 25

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(11)

The Times headlined its top news story of the informal press conference "KHRUSHCHEV INSISTS U.N. REVISION / MUST PRECEDE DISARMAMENT PLAN." Népszabadság noted the remarks in a roundup story on page four, and again interpreted them as moves to strengthen a more democratic U.N. for the tasks of the future.

While in The Times' major headline Khrushchev put U.N. procedure before disarmament, Népszabadság's banner headline of the same day insisted that "DISARMAMENT IS THE / CENTRAL ISSUE OF OUR AGE / FOUNDATION OF SECURE PEACE." The first three and a half pages were devoted to the Soviet disarmament proposal submitted along with the Khrushchev speech the day before. The account included such large front-page subheads as "One Year's Military Costs Could Pay for Africa's Complete Technical and Economic Reconstruction" and "Another Year Lost Because of Behavior of the West." The Times did not carry the disarmament proposal.

~~State Dept. has been~~
~~checked out of~~

2000000

Number 7

The next two days which were Monday and Tuesday and you remember that on Monday N does not publish, the Times continued to give emphasis to the threatened position of the Secretary-General, interpreting it as an attack on the West, which was exactly the way the Soviet press interpreted it.

At the same time N's front page was headlined "We must live together; We can live together." ^{And} ~~in~~ this account which occupied the first two pages was devoted to the text of a press conference in which Khrushchev tried further to clarify the meaning of his U.N. reform proposal. The account of the press conference included the following interesting exchange:

~~(Insert quote from page 15 of old mimeograph text)~~

A front page top headline also announced that inside was a story on the Soviet plan for colonial liberation, the text of the specific proposal submitted along with Khrushchev's speech, but not printed in the Times. Let us take a look inside that issue of N, to give you some idea of the concentration and seriousness with which the Communist press devoted itself to carrying out the tasks of national policy.

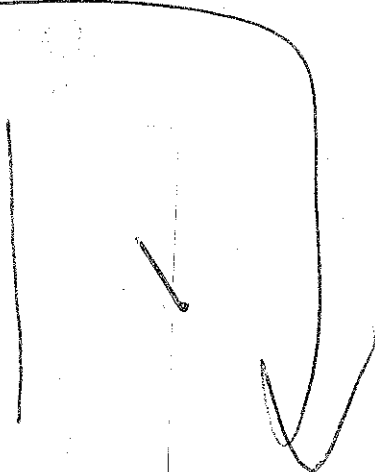
Inside

QUESTION: Our papers carried your speech in full, but your papers gave only 600 words of the Eisenhower speech. Where is freedom of information?

KHRUSHCHEV: You talk but do not know the facts. Only The New York Times carried the full text of my speech, and even that without the attachments, without the colonial and disarmament proposals. Our Izvestia, which has many times the circulation of The New York Times, carried the full text of the Eisenhower speech. Now judge for yourself.

(Not in NYT)

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Number 8

On page 2 two of the same issue, the paper continued the account (text) of the press conference. On page three it gave the story of a party that American industrialist Cyrus Eaton held for the Hungarian U.N. delegation. Alongside that story was a long editorial entitled "In the interests of humanity." The editorial commented on what it called the Soviet fight for peace and colonial liberation and concluded that the peoples of the world now have the opportunity to put an end to imperialism, to oppose the militarists and armaments manufacturers, ~~To put an end to colonialism,~~ and to achieve disarmament *by suppressing Soviet policy.*

Number 9

On the next page, page four, a story from New York gave a round-up of the day's activities at the U.N. General Assembly. On the right hand side it reprinted an article from Pravda headlined "Peace will triumph if people struggle militantly to oppose the militarists and ^{the} monopolists."

On the next page, which was page five, the paper printed the complete text of the Soviet proposal for colonial liberation.

NYT - Not so important perhaps
only major subject of session
came for passage - vote banqueting
its passage - defeat for US

Number 10

The text continued over the next page which was page six. It concluded with the following declaration printed on the bottom of page six under the headline "Every man on earth, hear our voice!" The final declaration proposed by the Soviets for U.N. Assembly approval was prefaced with the following two paragraphs: "We are all ^{the} inhabitants of one planet. We were born here, we work here, we raise our children here, and we pass on to them our achievements in life. There are different states on this earth, but every human being is born in equal rights and dignity.

"In the present stage of historical development every form and vestige of the colonial system must be liquidated completely and finally and not in the future but now, without delay." This paragraph was followed by a three-point action plan calling for the transfer of power in all colonial countries to the native inhabitants, the evacuation of all colonial military bases, and for equal treatment and respect of the sovereignty and self-determination of all countries.

On the next page, page seven, the newspaper gave a summary of a speech by the Czechoslovak President, developing the same ideas about disarmament and colonialism, and printed under the headline "The U.N. should be faithful to its noble ideals."

This was on September 27th. The reporting of U.N. events went on very much in the same vein in the two papers until the final vote on October 11.

Number 11

This slide gives a sampling of headlines from the days following the introduction of the Soviet disarmament and colonial plans.

Handwritten note: Finally, on Oct 11 Sov. disarm prop finally defeated. (US had no prop.)

No. 11

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Sampling of N Res following
info of Sov. discom. & colon
resolutions. (Boke panel
later vs. U.S.)

All in all, each paper made eight front page top headline references to colonial and underdeveloped countries or their leaders during the study period. In The Times, six out of the eight referred to events in the cold war, mostly citing support for the U.S. position. None indicated U.S. support for colonial liberation. In the communist paper one of the eight referred to a cold-war move; this was Sukarno's demand that the U.N. move its headquarters from New York. Two expressed opposition to imperialism; the others stressed support for colonial freedom.

~~The day when the shaky decorum of Assembly procedure was~~

1 Rev
Colis. Finally, on Oct 11, Sov. discom
Plan was finally defeated - opp.
lead by U.S. - (Note: 2nd
session - approved - see
juste.)

Defeat of the disarmament proposal was recorded, along with the score and a threat, in The Times' top headline of October 13: "U.N. REBUFFS KHRUSHCHEV 54 TO 13; / BARS ASSEMBLY ARMS DEBATE NOW; / PREMIER WARNS OF ROCKET POWER." On the same day, Népszabadság's major headline still insisted that "THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT / BELONGS TO PLENARY SESSION / OF U.N. ASSEMBLY." The deck cited Khrushchev declaring that "If Present Session is Unable to Discuss Disarmament / Call Special Session in Spring with Heads of State." The vote itself was noted at the end of the long story. The rocket "threat" was part of the verbatim account on page two, under the three-column head "WE INSIST ON PRIORITY FOR DISARMAMENT," and the subhead "You Cannot Scare the Soviet People."

Everybody knows we want peace.
 But if you launch war - we'll
 crush you as we did in 1918.
 (The invaders.)

But - next time
approved

Defendant

correct

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(16)

~~The major theme of unceasing effort on behalf of disarmament in the face of obstruction and provocation returned to Népszabadság's front page on October 13. "WE SHALL NOT SLACKEN OUR EFFORTS / IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT" declared the top headline based on a Khrushchev press conference. A long front-page editorial shared the spotlight with the lead story. It began in a sarcastic vein:~~

We can safely say that in the recent history of imperialism there has rarely been a more dubious 'victory' than that won by the Western bloc on disarmament... Consider what has been achieved! American history books will now be able to say: 'Thanks to the firm stand of our government, we were able to keep the major question of disarmament off the Assembly floor and thus gain time for the arms race, hated by all peoples!'

Meanwhile on page 5

Imp

~~gates~~, Népszabadság still gave top play to "THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT." But on page five it carried a story headlined "SERIES OF WESTERN PROVOCATIONS / MARK WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION." The "provocations" reported consisted mostly of the Assembly President's interruptions of various speakers urging passage of the colonial resolution. As the vote was about to be taken, related the story, the American delegate rose to inject irrelevant and slanderous remarks directed against the people of Eastern Europe. The Rumanian delegate objected to this delaying tactic but could not complete his remarks; in a "provocative maneuver" the Assembly President unexpectedly adjourned the meeting. (According to The Times, he also broke his gavel in the process.) The story concluded: "However, the discussion will be continued tomorrow and then it shall be seen what the American delegation can achieve with such ^{tactics} maneuvers."

On the same day, The Times front page featured a scene long remembered in the annals of the U.N. Assembly. The headline was "NOISY SESSION / CUT SHORT / TO END HECKLING BY REDS." The resolution on "speedy and unconditional" colonial liberation had reached the Assembly floor. (Actually the "heckling" incidents had begun two weeks earlier. When Macmillan expressed hope that a new summit meeting might be held, Khrushchev shouted "Just don't send us any U-2's!" And when the Prime Minister discussed the difficulties of finding an acceptable form of arms inspection, the Russian premier cried "Give us disarmament and we'll accept any kind of controls!" But the final uproar came on the colonial resolution.)

Order decorum finally shattered by shoe-banging, table pounding comm. delegates.

Why? World forum - atmosphere - understand - who are friends and!

heckling but what about?

Next day - we'll see

True enough (same slide)

True enough, the next day the colonial resolution passed by acclamation. The United States, according to The Times, "withdrew its opposition...with a brief statement by Francis W. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State, that the debate yesterday had shown 'the intensity of feeling among nations around the world on the question of national independence and human freedom everywhere.'" *Slide 15*

Népszabadság headlined the action, gave it most of page one, and termed it "Defeat of Colonialists." The Times U.N. story headline was "KHRUSHCHEV GOES HOME / AFTER A THREAT IN U.N. / TO BOYCOTT ARMS TALKS." "Premier Khrushchev," stated the lead, "bade an angry farewell to the General Assembly today after threatening to walk out on any future disarmament negotiations unless they were conducted on Soviet terms." In a front-page story the next day,

Népszabadság gave its account of Khrushchev's last day in New York citing him as follows: "We leave in a good mood as we believe there are signs of hope for a solution of major international problems... We are especially satisfied over the decision on liquidating the colonial system... The Soviet Union will do everything in its power to achieve general and complete disarmament..." *FL*

Do not be party to a deception
Disarm - do not want d.
Colonial - liquid.
by means of
Control
Suspense

Even the disarmament resolution passed

So much for the issues as seen from the two perspectives of emphasis. Each highlighted its own set of significant realities from its own social and cultural vantage point. The standards we hold seem most applicable to reporting the progress of a game -- business, political, athletic, personal or atomic -- with primary emphasis on the clash, the color, and the score.

The definition of significant realities in the communist paper appeared to be keyed to communication on a broader basis. Strategy, conflict, procedure were not neglected but treated as subordinate means to universal ends. The ends themselves were those generally accepted to be of major daily concern and hope to most people around the world. These ends were defined clearly, emphasized daily, and espoused enthusiastically. They implicitly swept aside the "game theory" of freedom and objectivity in preference to the claim that aspects of reality to be most freely objective about are the bread-and-butter promise and substance of the great issues of our time.

* *of London = market all news
objectivity - about what?*

What do these perspectives mean to others? What do they mean to us?

*Let me speculate - (1) individualism - different
(2) Communism (3) - us*

Slides - Comparisons. # 21

71-73

6- What do they mean?

was The New York Times, and the communist daily was Népszabadság, the official organ of the Hungarian communist party.

Now, of course, the purpose was not to compare a giant of world journalism, as such, with a 12-14 page paper of a small European country, even though the latter is a fairly typical party organ with circulation about the same as The Times. The purpose was to compare perspectives of emphasis during Assembly. We tried to see what each paper selected as the most significant aspect of the sessions, how each paper structured the agenda, and from what point of view each paper viewed the events or aspects selected for emphasis.

Kinds of
emphasis
with
view
point

Let me first give you a shortcut to our findings. Among other things, we classified every line of every major front page headline dealing with the Assembly in both papers -- a total of about 60 lines in each paper. In the categories of both procedural emphasis and stress on conflict fell 45 percent of the lines in The Times and 5 percent of the lines in the communist paper. In the categories of both substantive emphasis and stress on common goals fell 5 percent of all lines in The Times and 30 percent of the lines in Népszabadság. In other words, the substance of common aims which tend to unite mankind were highlighted in the communist paper five times as much as were the tactics of the cold war, and also five times as much as these common aims were given major emphasis in The Times. Conversely, procedural strategy and conflict were stressed in The Times nine times as much as were the goals the majority of mankind hold in common, and also nine times as much

stress

as in the Comm. papers

*

~~What do these mean to others?~~
~~TO US?~~

(#6)
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Seldom do we have the disturbing privilege of taking a tough look at competing and conflicting perspectives available to politically significant elites in other countries. ^{understandable -- we can be sure} The rattle of atomic arms has a very special meaning for people obsessed with the actual use of these arms by a Western country upon a non-Western country a few days before the agreed-upon Soviet entrance into the war against a collapsing enemy. The inescapable suspicion is that Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the monstrous opening shots of the cold war; that the cold war serves humanity upon the altar of big power frustration and ambition.

One of the most striking implications of our press perspective outside the West is the extent to which its cold war premises are seen as rationalizing hot wars against revolutionary movements in developing areas. A country which -- the argument goes -- with one-fourteenth of the world's population eats one-fifth of the world's foods and mines half of the world's resources to collect two-thirds of the world's income naturally derives its privileges from maintaining the present power structure. As this can best be done under the guise of anti-communism, the limited world supply of communists is carefully nurtured, rationed, even manufactured if necessary, and judiciously allocated to trouble spots in need of military attention. With an evacuation of bases and reduction of arms among the major powers, the armed shield of Western privilege would vanish, and the neo-colonial structure would collapse.

These are some of the assumptions and perspectives freely available to the non-Western news reader. He lives in a country of poor people, and in a climate of national fervor reacting to a

#23

colonial past. The din of big power conflict grates on the ears of hungry people impatient and determined to get on with the long-promised transformation of their daily lives.

Our perspective of emphases appears at best irrelevant, at worst running counter to a tidal wave of pent-up aspirations bursting the dams of the old power structure.. Our vantage point appears to be that of a grim ^{warline} holding operation based on remnants of the established order and preoccupied with the mechanics of a fascinating -- if deadly -- game of power.

Our own structuring of issues in terms of cold war strategy does not help communicating with people to whom colonial freedom, racial equality, free medical care, free higher education and care for the aged are much more brightly shining symbols of a good society than is the armed defense (often on their own territory) of a "free world" they have never known, of "free enterprise" they have never had, or of "dignity of the individual" they have never enjoyed.

Conclude H

In one of the few really tough appraisals of our encounter with other perspectives, Robert L. Heilbroner wrote in The Future as History: "Until the avoidable evils of society have been redressed, or at least made the target of the wholehearted effort of the organized human community, it is not only premature but presumptuous to talk of 'the dignity of the individual.'" The ugly, obvious, and terrible wounds of mankind must be dressed and allowed to heal before we can begin to know the capacities, much less enlarge the vision, of the human race as a whole. In the present state of world history the transformations which are everywhere at

of course in a phase

in press perspective.

work are performing the massive and crude surgery." What we need, wrote Heilbroner, is "a broad and compassionate comprehension of the history-shaking transformations now in mid-career, of their combined work of demolition and construction, of the hope they embody *as well* and the price they will extract."

But to have such an understanding is difficult to understand. As of the meaning of a word in translation;

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What is the significance of our press perspective for the Russians themselves, and for others living in communist countries? This is more difficult to assess because most of them are prevented (one might say protected) by jamming and censorship from being exposed to it. The paradoxical consequence is that, as Ralph K. White of the United States Information Agency concluded on the basis of a number of studies, "they are basically very friendly to us, in spite of anti-American Communist propaganda." At the same time, these studies indicate that

why friend? protected

...they think we are probably dangerous to them. They accept, though with some doubts, the Communist propaganda claiming that America is ruled by capitalists who profit from war... They find it hard to believe that we could be sincerely afraid of them... Even disaffected Soviet individuals are likely to think that their government would not risk war, and that their government's peacefulness must be evident to the rest of the world.

Studies of Soviet refugees by Harvard's Russian Research Center showed that their contact with the Western press and cheap literature produced the greatest negative effects, next to their surprise at the lack of free medical care and free higher education -- features they had taken for granted as part of all civilized life.

A few months after completing my own study, I had the opportunity to discuss problems of the press with editors of communist newspapers in Eastern Europe. I would like to paraphrase the substance of their views for the sometimes unexpected light they shed upon the conflict of perspectives.

A high ranking editor in Hungary had read my research report on The New York Times and the Hungarian paper (published in the Journalism Quarterly). When I asked him what he thought of it, he hemmed and hawed for a while. Then he gave me this view of the needs and pressures which shape their own press perspective.

"Your findings appear quite flattering," he said. "But right now we are more concerned with the other side of the coin. We are concerned with the ways in which The New York Times makes actually better propaganda abroad, even if not the kind you like.

"To our minds," the communist editor explained, "the Western private press is so brutally irresponsible that it becomes entirely credible. Who would question the sincerity of an opponent who shows himself in the worst possible light? Who would discount as 'propaganda' the kind of talk which can afford to shock and alienate people, which can look at the world with the callous and calculating eye of conflict and violence?

"We, on the other hand, have made the great mistake of looking at the world through rose-colored glasses. Living in a badly split society, we thought we could achieve greater unity by harping on glorious aims while ignoring the wide gap between promise and performance. We lost our credibility before we could close the gap. Our illusions were smashed in 1956, and so were our rose-colored glasses.

"Now we have a new policy. Unlike The Times, we still relate major events to the goals of peace and colonial freedom because these are also the needs and goals of socialist societies. But, like The Times, we no longer make secrets of our blunders, failures, and shortcomings. This may lose us some friends, but it helps our credibility. So you see," he added with a rueful smile, "just when your study appeared I was trying to tell our reporters to act a little more like The New York Times!"

The foreign editors of a major Moscow daily paper also stressed their "new policy" -- described as a more honest look at the outside world. When I asked them why they don't permit readers to look at the United States through the eyes of our own newspapers, they answered without hesitation:

"Because it would do both of us a disservice. Our readers are not accustomed to such reporting. They might think that we fabricated these papers just to discredit you. Or, if they believed them to be genuine, they might become panicky or lose the will to live and to work.

"We don't need your papers to frighten and discourage our people or to embolden our Stalinists. We say that capitalism is a bad system but not a mad system. When Walter Lippman writes something responsible we cite him or print him. When the State Department sends an important diplomatic note we print it along with our reply. When a responsible head of state gives us a special interview we print it. Our new policy is to convince our readers that we can plan and work for the future, that responsible people in the West do not want to commit suicide, that they are rational men."

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My final question is: are we?

We were the first to usher in both the anti-imperialist and the atomic eras. We seem to be among the last to accept their ultimate implications. The challenge of anti-colonial revolutions seems as foreign to our press perspective as the futility of the arms race.

We are so busy refuting communist arguments and keeping the score in the cold war that we miss the opportunity of transforming a game no one can win to a contest no nation can lose.

While some may continue to profit from both, economic dependencies and weapons of mass destruction are neither national assets nor sources of real world power in the second half of the twentieth century. They pose their primary threat -- and challenge -- to the intelligence, courage, and imagination of people possessing them.

In the eyes of many, the cannibal may well be any cold warrior brandishing atomic boomerangs over the still bleeding body of mankind. ^{keeping the image of war alive in an age in which weapons are instruments of} Lacking from our press perspective is a compassionate view ^{of the convulsions of this feverish body,} and of the hope they embody as well as the price they will extract.

say w/in the limits of our own standards
Mg - Viet Nam
Camp - Cuba

keeping the image of war alive in an age in which weapons are instruments of
Lacking from our press perspective is a compassionate view
of the convulsions of this feverish body, and of the hope they embody as well as the price they will extract.
anybody doesn't
understand the
usefulness