

Heinous foreign policies south of the border

Your recent editorial calling for President Clinton to make public the files on El Salvador is well taken. During the Reagan-Bush administrations, some \$5 billion was given to El Salvador on the pretext that it was a fledgling democracy and deserved our support. However, anyone who has traveled to Central America knows full well that it was governed by a tyrannical oligarchy whose death squads were supported, armed and trained by the CIA and the National Security Council with the full knowledge and consent of the State Department.

In fact, our State Department has traditionally set in motion covert activities in Third World countries that match in cruelty and horror what we so piously condemn in what was Yugoslavia. These practices in Central America continue unabated, paid for by our uninformed and dis-informed taxpayers. The atrocities our government committed in our undeclared and illegal invasion of Panama have been ignored to this very day. There is documentary proof that could probably make those responsible candidates for some war criminal proceedings.

It is inconceivable that despite our constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press and some of the best journalists in the world, we are unable or prevented from publishing the truth about our heinous foreign policies south of the border and elsewhere in the world. Perhaps as you uncover what we have done in El Salvador you may inadvertently uncover a tragic chapter in US journalism.

JOSEPH L. SHOLKIN, president

Community Church of Boston

Boston Globe 5.12.95

Story on Islam a step forward in understanding

The Globe's July 4 article on Islam in America takes an important first step in trying to view Muslims as a community to be understood rather than one to be showered with contempt.

Much like the anti-Semitism that plagued this country (and the rest of the Western world) in another part of this century, the current wave of anti-Islamism that rages from editorial halls to the halls of Congress is as much a threat to the beleaguered religion as it is to the insecure persecutors.

The real issue here is the persecution of those who for one reason or another do not conform to our notions of right and wrong, who by virtue of being different are perceived to be bad. Whatever the basis of the discrimination - race, views on gender equality, sexual orientation, political belief, or in this case religion - the symptom remains the same: marginalization of those who refuse to adhere to majority preconceptions about goodness and their denouncement as being intrinsically evil. This in itself is an act of fundamentalism.

The issue is not whether so-called Islamic fundamentalism will take root in America; since there is no such thing, it will not. The issue is

whether fundamentalism, as defined by US policy, will prevail in forcing its narrowly defined view of what is or is not kosher on the rest of humanity.

The broader international question is whether America's obsession with being a leader will turn it into a dictator in a world that does not necessarily appreciate such self-proclamations. Others in the past have fallen into the deadly trap of forcing their leadership on a world that did not want to be led.

As Professor Haddad so perceptively points out in your article, we're seeing the confluence of people who find it necessary to have an enemy and who are settling on Islam as a substitute for the Evil Empire. This was only to be expected with the deep-seated tradition that runs from John Wayne to Arnold Schwarzenegger to George Bush and now to Bill Clinton: a tradition that mandates for every leader an enemy, every hero a villain. The question that the world and America face today is not who is going to be the new arch-villain of the world, but whether we can live with ourselves without having to invent one.

Boston Globe
7.18.93
ADIL NAJAM
Cambridge

Anyone for a walk on Fleet Common?

It's a shame that people are unhappy about changing the name of Boston Garden to Shawmut Center. It's about time we ended the quaint practice of identifying ourselves, our buildings and our landmarks as belonging to a particular city or town. We must recognize that businesses and corporations define our present and our future.

Many people are saying they wish government were run more like a business. Why not just let business be our government? No more politicians to let us down with unkept promises. No more tiresome elections that merely distract us from real problem-solving.

In the future, when local residents are boating on the Genzyme River or walking through Fleet Common, they'll wonder why anyone ever made a fuss about changing the name of Boston Garden.

NALE J. KUTYNA
Cambridge

BOSTON GLOBE 7.15.93

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Aristide's return is window dressing

On the question of President Aristide's return to Haiti, the media fail to mention US responsibility for stripping the Haitian constitution of its sovereignty in 1915. At that time the clause forbidding foreign ownership of land and foreign control of businesses was removed from the Haitian constitution.

Until the protection of constitutional economic rights is given back to Haiti (and El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua), the return of Aristide will be nothing more than window dressing. Economic manipulation, led by the US' other government that scoffs at democracy, will prolong the violent adolescent greed that has plagued these people for so long.

CONAL FOLEY
Winthrop

What is going on in Bosnia is, in fact, a Holocaust

I was rather dismayed by your response to a student (Student NewsLine, June 14) answering the question of why the Bosnian situation is not considered a Holocaust. You maintained that there were significant differences because atrocities have been committed by all sides in Bosnia and because the Nazis attempted to exterminate an entire population in death camps.

Your historical analogy is both wrong and misleading. Were the atrocities committed by the Nazis any less real because there were some Jewish collaborators? Is killing people in their own homes and villages and city streets, or systematically raping and killing women and children, less onerous than systematic killing in death camps?

No, the real reason this is not being called a Holocaust is because to do so would call attention to the fact that the world, for all its soul-searching and building of memorials and affirmations of "never again," is frozen in its complicity and inaction. The real measure, apparently, of how far we have come is that while the Nazis felt the need for laws to justify the camps and hide their slaughter, the Serbs have shown that the Holocaust can take place with impunity, covered on live TV and shown to us in our living rooms in living color. Before, we claimed we did not know; now the reality is more stark: We do not care.

EVA HAVAS
Leavenworth

Boston Globe
7.27.93

Clinton, wake up

■ I recently received a document telling me how I could help President Clinton to succeed. Nowhere in this special paper did I find any reference to what has become the greatest obstacle to our president's commitment to reduce the deficit. Astoundingly, he has chosen to increase military spending, the key factor that brought us into the colossal indebtedness. ...

For the love of God, Mr. President, the Cold War is over. ...

The next time you are home, take a moment to listen to people such as ... Ron Dellums, telling you: "Wake up to the reality that the war of the future is not nuclear weapons, but fighting against homelessness and helplessness and human misery."

EMMETT O'NEILL
Kalispell, Mont.

Don't deport

■ ... The deportation of Salvadorans at this time must not be allowed to happen. Mr. Clinton, through the office of the attorney general, has the power to extend the "deferred enforced departure" status for 18 months. This should be done, so that the peace process in El Salvador has a chance to solidify itself.

Hypothetically, if all these persons were to return to El Salvador today, it is possible that both the economy and peace process might collapse. The short-term result would be renewed civil war toward which, from fiscal 1981 to 1990, the U.S. has already poured \$892.1 million in military aid.

Continued on page 20

National Catholic Reporter 19

Renewed war will not only divert more U.S. tax money to the region, it may force more Salvadorans to leave their homeland in an attempt to cross illegally into the U.S.

Catholic Christians should write President Clinton, requesting that the "deferred enforced departure" status of Salvadorans be extended for 18 months. We should also pressure our federal and state representatives to propose and enact legislation to protect the rights of Salvadorans living in the U.S.

Let us support the people of El Salvador as they try to rebuild their nation and heal from the trauma of war, poverty and powerlessness. Let us also call our church leadership to responsibility for attending to these sisters and brothers of ours who are here largely because U.S. foreign policy threatened their lives in their own land. While they are here, we can learn from them. We need not look to ancient Rome to recall those who have given their lives for the gospel and the magisterium.

The US willingly supports some tyrants

After our latest adventure in Iraq, Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution commented that "Bill Clinton has needed to be a patriot" because he avoided service in Vietnam. Apparently senseless slaughter is still considered patriotic. Am I the only one who finds Clinton's newfound patriotism repulsive?

The Globe's editorial was quick to criticize the president's action, but only on tactical grounds. The raid leaves tyranny intact, and the Globe calls for Bill Clinton to help the Iraqi people overthrow their tyrant. If I publicly called for the American people to overthrow Bill Clinton, I would be arrested for sedition!

The average American consumes roughly 100 times the resources of one tribeswoman in Kenya and about 10 times as much as the average world citizen. Harvard zoologist E.O. Wilson has calculated that if the rest of the earth used resources at the rate the United States and Japan do, the planet could sustain a population of only 200 million.

The United States directly supports tyrants all over the world so long as they allow us to exploit their resources. Like the Mafia, we make examples out of both Vietnam and Iraq because they refuse to play along.

CHRIS KORDA
Somerville

Which terrorists is the Globe talking about?

Which terrorists is the Globe referring to when it warns, in recent editorials, of "Terrorists lurking on American soil" and "Crime and punishment in Iraq"? (June 28).

Does the Globe have in mind the fiendish perpetrators of the World Trade Center bombing that killed five innocent people? Or is the Globe referring to the equally diabolical cabal responsible for the terrorist bombing of Baghdad that killed at least eight equally innocent people?

The World Trade Center bombers, allegedly linked to a Muslim extremist group, have been arrested. The group that bombed Baghdad, allegedly part

of the same terrorist network that orchestrated the murder of thousands of Nicaraguan civilians, bombed Tripoli, launched the deadly air assault against slum dwellers in Panama City, financed death squads in El Salvador and plotted to assassinate Fidel Castro (among other recent crimes), is still at large and operating freely out of its headquarters in the Pentagon, the White House and Congress.

Frankly, I am much more afraid of and disgusted by the terrorists who control our so-called national security than by a few fanatical followers of a de-ranked cleric.

DAVE SLANEY
Cambridge

The bombing had little to do with Iraq

Mary Curtius' analysis "In Clinton action, a message meant not only for Baghdad" (June 27) discusses almost every motivation for the recent bombing of Iraq except the most obvious.

Curtius failed to see that the bombing had little, if anything, to do with Iraq itself. Instead, President Clinton's primary motivation was to improve his own popularity so he can shore up support for his domestic agenda.

It is an old trick that the Globe should have been able to

see through. When a president gets in trouble he looks for a military adventure to unite the country behind him. When Ronald Reagan was catching heat for the debacle in Lebanon, he invaded Grenada. When George Bush was having problems overcoming the wimp factor, he invaded Panama. Now Bill Clinton, battered and embarrassed on a number of fronts, is seeking to improve his image by picking on an easy target - Saddam Hussein.

GREG MAYEW
Cambridge

Boston Globe 7.8.93

New military budget doesn't do much for peace

Secretary of Defense Les Aspin may indeed be changing the direction of the Pentagon ("Les is more" - Sunday Globe, Focus section, May 9), but so far his regime acts like a continuation of the Bush administration.

The projected military spending

for fiscal year 1994 recently submitted by the Aspin team reduced Bush's Cold War military outlays by merely 2 percent.

In the new military budget, no weapons programs are eliminated, continuing the production of nuclear submarines and the B-2 bomber - both very expensive and specially designed for use against the defunct Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact.

Worst of all, the Pentagon is pressing to resume underground testing of nuclear weapons, breaking a moratorium on all nuclear tests imposed by a coalition of Democrats and Republicans and signed by President Bush last year. Russia and France have also halted their nuclear tests.

Aspin knows how dangerous this would be to world peace. On June 1, 1992, as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Aspin said: "We've been preaching nonproliferation to other nations, but we haven't been willing to give much on our own nuclear program. International cooperation is at the core of nonproliferation efforts, and that cooperation is going to be difficult if the United States continues insisting on nuclear testing."

JEROME GROSSMAN

Wellesley

Israeli occupation continues - in full force

I am grateful to the Globe and to staff writer Ethan Bronner for the front-page article of June 8.

As one who regularly receives reports about the deterioration in Israeli-occupied Palestinian territory from credible Israeli, Palestinian, American and international sources and who has heard devastating descriptions of the situation from close friends who have seen what is happening with their own eyes, I have been deeply depressed by the failure of the mainstream US media to inform people here about the grim realities of life under an occupation that continues in full force despite the highly touted Middle East peace process.

Meanwhile, the United States continues to provide the financial, political and diplomatic support that (at least indirectly) makes all this possible, and good and caring people - including huge numbers of concerned American Jews - continue to deny the reality and, when faced with overwhelming factual corroboration, to justify it.

May you have the wisdom and strength to continue providing your

readers with such important information. Those courageous and perseverent Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews who devote their lives to creating a better world for both peoples deserve no less.

HILDA SILVERMAN

Cambridge

Eastern Globe 6/23/93

Boston Globe 7.10.93

Violence as a first resort

RANDOLPH RYAN

The midsummer night's cruise missileing of Iraqi intelligence headquarters in Baghdad (and a scattering of nearby residences) was portrayed as an effort to communicate with Saddam Hussein and other evil foreigners who might be contemplating "dastardly deeds."

Airmail delivery of 16 of 23 missiles to the right address was declared a success. The US media chewed over that contention for a few days, focusing as usual on whether the raid "worked" as well as the administration claimed. After the customary excitement over any fireworks subsided, the display's domestic political usefulness was debunked. It seems voters were not all that impressed. Then the subject vanished. Out of sight and out of mind in this country, but not necessarily forgotten elsewhere.

Sending messages has become an advanced science in America. During the early 1980s the Reagan administration often sent messages to Moscow by ignoring arms control proposals and going bankrupt wasting tens of billions building unneeded weapons to prevail in nuclear war. Missiling Baghdad was in the well-established semiotic tradition of wordlessly demonstrating "resolve."

But consider the actual message.

You don't have to be a pacifist to be appalled by, or at least opposed to, the Baghdad raid and disappointed that President Clinton did it.

The cruise barrage probably had more to do with Pentagon politics than with a bid for popular support. One has to acknowledge the complexities of the president's negotiation with Colin Powell and the rest of the military. Clinton's got his agenda, they've got theirs. He's all fouled up over Vietnam and his unwise acceptance of the gay issue as of urgent priority. The generals want to be seen as competent and diplomatically essential, and to get lots of money and run no risks. He wants to save money and yet be seen as well liked by the officer corps.

Many Americans gave the obligatory one cheer when the raid was announced and then fell into embar-

assed silence. Outside the country, except for a few pilotfish diplomats in London, Rome and Bonn, it was seen as dangerous and wrong.

After all, what's the basic aim of US foreign policy as seen by progressive, reflective people? To return to the days when the United States was respected for the force of American ideas. To bring into being a decent world order, one that does not depend either on \$300 billion Pentagon budgets or constantly dispatching American kids to enforce a Pax Americana. One that hinges on strengthening international institutions and international law.

No version of international law justified the night strike at Baghdad. Article 51 of the UN Charter permits self-defense. But the Baghdad raid was not self-defense. It was a reprisal for an alleged (and credible) assassination plot. Instead of developing the information emerging at the trial in Kuwait and presenting to the World Court and the Security Council, and milking it for all its worth by asking the international community to reason together and formulate an appropriate multilateral response, the administration behaved as if those international institutions did not exist. The Security Council was convened not to consider a resolution but to serve as the backdrop for a world press briefing.

The attack also showed contempt for the US Constitution. It was an act of war. The Constitution requires that Congress decide acts of war. The president necessarily retains the authority to skip the deliberations in an urgent situation and report to Congress after the fact, as has been codified in the War Powers Act. But there was no urgency to this attack whatsoever.

Because diplomacy and tightened sanctions would have been ponderous and slow, President Clinton chose violence as the first resort. He selected a secretly planned, unilateral act of violence that missed all the miscreants, made martyrs out of a couple of dozen Iraqi civilians, infuriated the Muslim world because of the feckless US record in Bosnia and set back the development of a collective approach to world order.

Randolph Ryan is a Globe columnist

The Anchor 5.25.93

the mail packet



Against SOA

Dear Editor:

As a Catholic priest with the Maryknoll Order, I have been an outspoken critic of U.S. military aid to El Salvador for the past 13 years. My involvement in El Salvador began in 1980, after Salvadoran soldiers raped and murdered three nuns and a lay missionary. Two of the slain nuns were Maryknoll Sisters.

In March of this year, the United Nations Truth Commission Report on El Salvador was released. This report named 62 Salvadoran military officers responsible for the most serious acts of violence in El Salvador's long civil war. According to lists of graduates obtained from the National Security Archives in Washington, D.C., 47 of the 62 officers cited in the Truth Commission Report were trained at the U.S. Army School of the Americas, currently located at Fort Benning, Georgia.

The School of the Americas (SOA) was established in Panama in 1946, and over the years has trained 55,000 soldiers from Latin American countries. This year, 2,000 soldiers from 18 Latin American countries will be trained for combat at the School of the Americas at Fort Benning. This training, which costs millions of dollars, is paid for by U.S. taxpayers. But this school is not only costly in dollars, but also in human lives:

ITEM: Assassination of Archbishop Romero: 3 officers cited; 2 are SOA graduates.

ITEM: Rape, murder of 4 U.S. churchwomen: 5 officers cited; 3 are SOA graduates.

ITEM: El Mozote massacre of 700 civilians: 12 officers cited; 9 are SOA graduates.

ITEM: Jesuit massacre of six priests and 2 women: 27 officers cited; 19 are SOA graduates.

ITEM: Las Hojas massacre of sixteen civilians: 6 officers cited; 3 are SOA graduates.

ITEM: San Sebastian mas-

sacre of 10 civilians: 7 officers cited; 6 are SOA graduates.

As a missionary working to relieve the suffering of the poor in Latin America, I feel that the training provided to Salvadoran and other Latin American soldiers at the School of the Americas is an outrage. The School of the Americas should be shut down, and our tax dollars used to ease the suffering of the poor.

For more information, write:

Father Roy Bourgeois, M.M.
SOA Watch
PO Box 3330
Columbus, GA 31903

Voices of reason

Thank goodness, in our moral wilderness, for Susan Trausch's questioning and Derrick Jackson's brave denunciation (June 30) of the Baghdad strike.

If Cuba had bombed CIA headquarters in Virginia in retaliation for one of our well-documented attempts to assassinate President Fidel Castro (with a stray missile perhaps killing my in-laws who live nearby), would that too have been justified. Or is it only for superpowers that might makes right?

MARJORIE HARVEY

Littleton

Boston Globe
7.8.93

US has had a hand in Indonesia/East Timor conflict

In a deplorable article on East Timor ("Once mighty East Timor separatists a dying breed," June 29), Colin Nickerson completely effaces from history the sordid role of the United States (among other Western nations who now hypocritically decry human rights abuses in East Timor) in its crucial support, both military and diplomatic, of Indonesia as it continues to brutalize the Timorese.

The facts of the matter are clear and unequivocal. The United States provided over 90 percent of the armaments used in the assault (such as Bronco helicopters), generously sending more under the Ford and Carter administrations. Essential diplomatic support at the UN was

also given by then UN Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who noted in his memoirs that, following State Department directives, he rendered the UN "utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook" to prevent the Indonesian aggression, because "the United States wished things to turn out as they did, and worked to bring this about."

This continues to the present, despite the hypocritical hand-wringing of the State Department and other Western nations (such as Australia, which has arranged with Indonesia to exploit Timorese oil and also offers diplomatic support in the UN).

Boston Globe
7.8.93
Woburn
WILLIAM S. LEAR

Letters to the Editor *Boston Globe*

7-22-93

Movies, messages

I applaud Deborah Prothrow-Stith for her willingness to point out the subtle bad messages in the hugely popular "Jurassic Park" (July 9 op ed). All too often we are blinded by media hype, box-office success and technological wizardry and don't even notice the underlying values being presented in the movies.

We may be suspicious and critical of the message in black rap music or heavy metal rock, but we fail to notice the message in a film with educated white protagonists. I remember the reaction I got from my friends (all politically correct liberals) when I labeled "Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom" a racist film because of its depiction of widespread child slavery and human sacrifice as a religious ritual in India; my friends thought I was an extremist nut.

It is no wonder that racism, violence and general intolerance of difference is so pervasive in our society when we allow these values to be presented to us as entertainment.

BECKY PINE

Groton

Where is the sensible analysis of events in Somalia?

I am pretty disgusted with the news media in general and The Boston Globe in particular. When the US Marines landed in Somalia, there were hordes of newsmen waiting for them on the beach, turning a potentially serious maneuver into a circus with trivial news value.

Now that the affair has turned sour, there is no sensible analysis of what is going on. Is there no knowledgeable media person who can explain what is going on? How does Aidiid manage to convince a substantial portion of the population to assist in

killing UN personnel? Why are the UN and US personnel unable to counteract his propaganda?

It looks like Vietnam all over again, when the media showed us the gory details every day but avoided explaining what was really taking place, even when reporters on the scene understood it. Free speech is wasted on such reporters, and the country is not being served because the population is kept uninformed.

HERMAN CHERNOFF

Brookline

Taunton, MA 02780

August 9, 1993

Mr. James Lehrer
MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour
WNET-TV
356 West 58th Street
New York, NY 10019

Dear Jim Lehrer:

In The Boston Globe (7/1/93) I read your criticism of journalists, accusing them of arrogance. Since I have not yet read the FORTUNE article, I don't know exactly what triggered your strong reaction.

I, also, consider journalists arrogant (Sunday morning news shows, C-Span call-in programs) when they casually dismiss viewers' and readers' frequently-expressed dissatisfaction with what we Americans are expected to accept as news and information.

I applaud you for bringing the very-much-alive discussion of American journalism closer to the center of the national stage. In my opinion, had you also decried journalists' bias and superficiality, as well as their obsequiousness to Washington propaganda and corporate interests, the applause for you in the Berkshires that day would have thundered across the land and reverberated in the Rockies.

Particularly destructive is the journalist-politician-advisor-revolving-door phenomenon that makes a mockery of what is taught in America's schools about the importance of a free press. David Gergen is but one of many glaring examples. Just minutes after I read your essay, I found myself watching Marlin Fitzwater in Gergen's place and, a few days later, I read that former Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams is now with NBC, owned by General Electric. Sorry, Jim, but there it is. Journalism in this country is shamelessly intertwined with the power structure, and "free press" is no more than a phrase. THAT is the reason (using your words) "the credibility of all of us in this business will continue to erode."

Many fine journalists write unvarnished news stories that expose some ugly truths about U.S. policies and American corporations, but those journalists never become regulars on the nightly news shows, nor do their stories make headlines on the front pages of the major papers. Journalists who do not subscribe to the Orwellian myth that American corporations are unfailingly benign, and that the United States always wears a white hat, are obviously not considered insiders. Their candor is swept away by those media regulars, who do not stray beyond the unwritten - but understood - parameters, those who continue to prop up the for-public-consumption-facade. No matter how many death squads the United States funds, no matter how many civilians the United States bombs, no matter how many international laws the United States ignores or breaks, the mainstream media play down, gloss over, explain away, or shrug off. In contrast, individuals or countries that commit similar crimes are denounced as terrorists or outlaw states. THAT, Jim Lehrer, is the reason journalists are (your words again) "already down there with the Congress at the bottom of the public esteem poll".

The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour has made important contributions to American journalism with its longer news program and innovative format. You and Robin MacNeil are not likely to be criticized for arrogance or "gotcha" tactics, but neither can you be regarded as the "traditional watchdog" to which you alluded. And yet the country has never been in greater need of an unfettered press to expose the abuses of political, military, and corporate power.

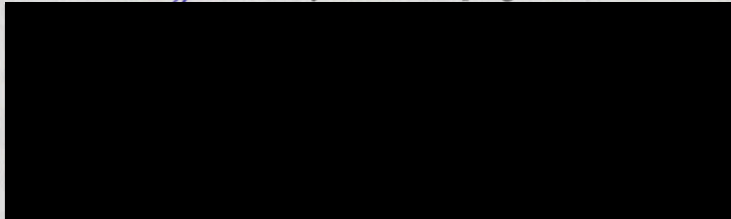
Mr. James Lehrer
August 9, 1993
Page 2

Now that you have spoken out, I hope you will use your considerable influence and experience to help expand the on-going discussion. Give prime time courage to the many recent books on the media; read the alternative press regularly, as well as letters to the editor in various papers; enlist the aid of the communications schools and Bill of Rights scholars to assess American journalism in the context of published criticism. Ask the American people why they have such a poor opinion of the media. Believe me, they will tell you.

I am enclosing a letter I wrote to Brian Lamb, some letters to editors that have appeared recently, and a copy of Adventures in Medialand. The MacNeil/Lehrer NewHour and C-Span are in a position to improve the corrosive practices of those who dominate the media. Ross Perot has helped the public to focus on the deficit. Maybe Jim Lehrer can help the public to focus on the deficits in American journalism.

I am an ordinary citizen worried about my country. My views are shared by my family, friends and neighbors. We are not wild-eyed rebels; we grew up in the 30's and 40's. With much reluctance, and with intense pain and anger, we acknowledge that things in this country are very wrong. Funded, and thus influenced, by the military/industrial complex, the news media glorify military might and profligate consumerism, values diametrically opposed to the values revered by our generation and those generations that preceded us. Is it any wonder our immense pride and trust have turned to immense shame and distrust?

I hope, Jim, your response is not that necessity compels news programs to rely on corporate funding, which means deference to corporate interests. I would have to ask you whether pragmatism and "insiderism" should supersede a free press.



Enclsoures

cc: Noam Chomsky
William Greider
✓ Brian Lamb
Ross Perot
Henry B. Gonzalez
Mark Hertzgaard
Ben Bagdikian
Alexander Cockburn
Michael Parenti
Randolph Ryan
Molly Ivins
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