

praise from another great independent journalist of our century.

My visits and frequent correspondence with George rank among the highlights of my Senate career. He never intruded, but did on occasion offer some very good advice to this senator—and most times, I was smart enough to recognize good counsel when I heard it. I had the great pleasure of joining him at his 100th birthday party in Vermont—an event that became a public celebration of his life.

Here was a man who interviewed William Jennings Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt, Eddie Rickenbacker, Generals Pershing, Patton, and MacArthur; a personal observer of Lenin and Mussolini and a confidant of Picasso, Ernest Hemingway, and Sinclair Lewis.

One of the great lives of our century has passed—but George Seldes left behind a recorded history to guide our understanding of the turbulent time.

I attach an editorial that appeared in the July 8, 1995 edition of *The Burlington Free Press*, and a column written by Colman McCarthy that appeared in the July 11 edition of *The Washington Post*.

They capture the spirit and dogged pursuit of truth that marked George Seldes' lasting contribution to journalism and the history of our age. I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the *Burlington Free Press*, July 8, 1995]

#### A CONTRARY VOICE

George Seldes, who died Sunday at 104, was a journalist and harsh critic of mainstream journalists who might be best remembered by Vermont newspaper editors and reporters from an appearance before the Vermont and New Hampshire Press Associations in the late 1980s.

Except for a slowed step and a bit of a stoop, nothing in Seldes' appearance betrayed his exceptional age, nor hints of any mellowing on matters he found important—beginning and invariably ending with a journalist's responsibility to tell it straight.

What bothered this long-time resident of Hartland Four Corners most during his 86 years of covering historic events was not so much what got into newspapers of his day but what didn't—especially immediately preceding and following World War II. Errors of omission.

It was a time when some journalists doubled as government informers for U.S. intelligence agencies as a gesture of patriotism; when the Washington Press Corps kept many elected officials' personal foibles and peccadillos a secret; and powerful publishers ran newspapers more like personal fiefdoms in pursuit of selective causes than purveyors of the larger truth.

Like I.F. Stone, Seldes figured if mainstream newspapers wouldn't print what he wrote for fear of riling advertisers or powerful news sources, he would print it in his own publication. In *Fact*, it was called, and it took on, among many powerful interests, the tobacco industry and its ability to keep damaging health data out of newspapers—a consequence, Seldes was never shy about charging, or newspapers' heavy reliance on cigarette advertising.

In some cases, he was acting on tips from mainstream reporters who knew their own papers would never print what they'd dug up. They would leak the news to Seldes who would print it. In other cases, *In Fact* became a more reliable source of news for mainstream newspapers than their own sources—the ultimate flattery for any newspaper person, and ultimate indictment of those who missed the news.

In his later years, Seldes was always careful to note improvements in the objectivity of today's newspapers—while holding firm to the belief that when newspapers forget their responsibility to truth, they risk retreat into those bad old days.

Nor was his burr-under-the-saddle style without fault—his muckraking, make-waves narrowness of vision caused him to miss some of the bigger picture, too; a heavy dose of Seldes at this prime could be hard for any average reader with broader interests to take.

What seemed most striking about his comments at that appearance in Hanover, N.H. however—just as it does now—is the diminished capacity of contrary voices like his to be heard today in the din of the modern information age.

Today, so many loud, contrary voices compete for listeners' ears, with so many public outlets for spreading their views, the problem is no longer an absence of facts, in some cases it's too many facts—and too few people taking the time to make sense of them.

More big-picture wisdom and few disconnected facts in every type of media today would go a long way—a need that's grown wider with George Seldes' passing.

[From the *Washington Post*, July 11, 1995]

GEORGE SELDES: GIANT OF JOURNALISM

(By Colman McCarthy)

As a traveling companion, George Seldes didn't believe in letting you rest. In the spring of 1982 when he was 91 and in New York to collect a George Polk Award for a lifetime of contribution to journalism, I took the Fifth Avenue bus with him for a 30-block ride between the ceremony and his nephew's apartment. We would have taken a cab but he preferred the bus: a better way to get the feel of the city and its people.

Along the jostling way, Seldes threw at me a half-dozen story ideas, mingled with sidebars of his opinions, plus advice on how not merely to gather facts but to cull the useless from the useful, and then a string of mirthful recollections from his newspapering days going back eight decades. If we were the boys on the bus, George Seldes was some boy.

He died on July 2, in his 104th year and only a half-decade or so after retiring from a reporting career that began in 1909 with the *Pittsburgh Leader*.

It's well within the bounds of accuracy to say of Seldes—and this isn't the kind of gassy praise that's the customary sendoff for the deceased—that for much of the 20th century he stood as a giant and a pillar of journalism, a reporter's reporter. He had the subverse notion that investigating the press—the money-saving schemings of the publishers of his day, editors cowering before advertisers, reporters fraternizing with the pashas they write about—should be as vital a beat as skeptically covering politicians.

At the Polk ceremony, the citation of the awards committee succinctly summarized the spirit of intellectual independence Seldes committed himself to: "By mutual agreement, George Seldes belonged not to the journalism establishment, nor was he tethered to any political philosophy. With a gimlet eye ever fixed upon transgressors, he soared above the conventions of his time—a lone eagle, unafraid and indestructible. He is 91 now and still a pretty tough bird."

Seldes lived in Hartland Four Corners, Vt. Until recently, he was self-sufficient at home and ever delighted to receive such pilgrims as Ralph Nader, Morton Mintz and Rick Goldsmith, a California filmmaker who is completing a documentary on Seldes's life. The film will include references to I.F. Stone, who credited Seldes' newsletter "In Fact"—which had 176,000 subscribers for a time in the 1940's—as the model for his own carefully researched *I.F. Stone's Weekly*.

The titles of some of Seldes's books give a hint of the fires that burned within him: "You Can't Print That: The Truth Behind the News" (1928), "Never Tire of Protesting" (1986), "Tell the Truth and Run" (1953), "Lords of the Press" (1935). In the 1980s, he wrote his memoir "Witness to a Century" and edited "The Great Thoughts," the latter a thick and rich collection of ideas Seldes had gathered throughout a lifetime of reading and listening.

"Sometimes in isolated phrase or paragraph," he said of his selections from *Abelard* to *Zwingli* and from *Ability* to *Zen*, "will work on the reader's imagination more forcefully than it might when buried in a possibly difficult text. Each time a quotation in this book makes a reader think in a new way, I shall have achieved my aim."

As a reporter and press critic, Seldes was more than an iconoclastic outsider, as worthy and rare as that calling is. His news-gathering and analysis were ethics-based. Omitting the news is as vile a sin as slanting the news, he believed. Too many papers avoid stories that might upset the powerful or the majority, while printing news on safe subjects and editorializing to bloodless conclusions.

In "freedom of the Press," Seldes recalled how he was compromised while covering World War I: "The journals back home that printed our stories boasted that their correspondents had been at the fighting front. I now realize that we were told tonight but buncombe, that we were shown nothing of the realities of the war, that we were, in short, merely part of the Allied propaganda machine whose purpose was to sustain morale at all costs and help drag unwilling America into the slaughter. . . . We all more or less lied about the war."

If so, that was to be the last time Seldes shied from getting the whole story. For the rest of his long life, his reporting on what were often no-no subjects—workers' rights, public health and safety, press sellouts, corporate and government lies—was the essence of truth-telling. Like his life, the telling had fullness.

#### ACDA ANNUAL REPORT IS INFORMATIVE, CLEAR-HEADED EFFORT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President. Yesterday, the President transmitted to the Senate the annual report for 1994 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In addition to detailing the Agency's many activities during 1994, the report includes a major section on the adherence by the United States to its arms control obligations and the compliance of other nations with their arms control obligations.

This compliance report, which was provided in both classified and unclassified versions, is the most detailed annual compilation of arms control issues available to us. It has been required of the agency for a number of years, and it is particularly thorough and detailed in this year's iteration. I believe that

my fellow Senators should avail themselves of the opportunity to obtain the report from ACDA and to review both the Agency's activities and the numerous arms control compliance questions addressed in the report.

This year's unclassified report is remarkably open with regard to the kind of problems that we must address, and it represents a serious effort by ACDA Director, John Holum, and his staff to be informative and clear-headed in their analysis and judgments.

Let me give you several examples of the kind of information included in the report:

With regard to Russia's compliance with the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the report says:

Previous assessments of Russian compliance have highlighted the dichotomy between what appears to be the commitment from President Yeltsin and other members of the Russian leadership in attempting to resolve BWC issues and the continued involvement of "old hands" in trilateral BW discussions and in what Russia describes as a defensive BW program.

With regard to former Soviet biological weapons related facilities, some research and production facilities are being deactivated and many have taken severe personnel and funding cuts. However, some facilities, in addition to being engaged in legitimate activity, may be maintaining the capability to produce biological warfare agents. The Russian Federation's 1993 and 1994 BWC data declaration contained no new information and its 1992 declaration was incomplete and misleading in certain areas. With regard to the trilateral process that began in 1992, while there has been progress towards achieving the openness intended in the Joint Statement, the progress has not resolved all U.S. concerns.

#### NEXT STEPS

The United States remains actively engaged in efforts to work with the Russian leadership to ensure complete termination of the illegal program and to pursue a number of measures to build confidence in Russian compliance with the BWC.

With regard to the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and China, the report says:

The United States believes that China had an offensive BW program prior to 1984 when it became a Party to the BWC.

#### FINDING

The United States Government believes that based on available evidence, China maintained an offensive BW program throughout most of the 1980s. The offensive BW program included the development, production, stockpiling or other acquisition or maintenance of biological warfare agents. China's CBM mandated declarations have not resolved U.S. concerns about this program and there are strong indications that China probably maintains its offensive program. The United States Government, therefore, believes that in the years after its accession to the BWC, China was not in compliance with its BWC obligations and that it is highly probable that it remains noncompliant with these obligations.

The report is quite forthcoming and realistic with regard to some of the serious problems regarding compliance with the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. For example, the report says this about the Iraqi situation:

Iraq's nuclear weapons program violated Article 11's requirement that Parties not \* \* \* manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not \* \* \* seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Iraq's construction of secret facilities, including its construction of a facility for nuclear weapons development and assembly, contributed to its violation of Article 11. Iraq's failure to apply safeguards to its clandestine program also constituted a violation of Article 11, which requires that safeguards be applied with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful purposes to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

The war and inspections have significantly set back Iraq's program to develop a nuclear weapon. Nonetheless, Iraq almost certainly intends to continue nuclear weapons related activities and to build a nuclear weapon as soon as domestic and international circumstances permit.

#### FINDING

The United States Government has determined that Iraq violated its Safeguards Agreement when it pursued an active nuclear weapons development program and that this program violated its obligations under Article 11 and 111 of the NPT. The United States Government has further determined that Baghdad is continuing its effort to undermine the UNSCOM/IAEA inspection process by withholding relevant information, and to preserve as much nuclear-related technology as possible for a renewed weapons effort.

#### NEXT STEPS

The United States plans to continue to support UNSCOM/IAEA inspections in Iraq and the long-term monitoring of Iraq's nuclear program in accordance with UNSCR 687 and 715.

Mr. President, I have something of an ulterior motive in bringing this report to the Senate's attention at this time. As most of you know, there is a movement afoot to abolish the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and make it a part of the Department of State. I have opposed that effort in the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I intend to oppose it on the floor when the relevant legislation is before the Senate. I am not going to make a case here for ACDA because I deeply believe that any Senator reading this report and getting a sense of the tenacity and seriousness that ACDA brings to these crucially important national security issues is quite likely to reach the judgment that the modest number of dollars necessary to keep ACDA as an independent agency are among the best spent dollars in the Federal budget.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from President Clinton transmitting the ACDA annual report be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, July 13, 1995.

Hon. JESSE HELMS,  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am pleased to transmit the 1994 Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA).

The ACDA was established in 1961 in part because Dean Rusk, Secretary of State at that time, believed the President needed access to unfiltered arms control analysis.

After a comprehensive review in 1993 and a second review in early 1995, it is clear to me that Secretary Rusk was correct: sound arms control and nonproliferation policy requires an independent, specialized, and technically competent arms control and nonproliferation agency.

In the absence of such an agency, neither I nor any future President could count on receiving independent arms control advice, unfiltered by other policy considerations. A President would thus at times have to make the most consequential national security decisions without the benefit of vigorous advocacy of the arms control point of view.

Moreover, I have found that ACDA's unique combination of single-mission technical expertise with its painstakingly developed capability for multilateral negotiation and implementation of the most intricate arms control and nonproliferation agreements could not be sustained with equal effectiveness outside of a dedicated arms control agency.

The ACDA's first major success was the establishment of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Twenty-five years later, its most recent major success is its long-term effort culminating in permanent and unconditional extension of that same Treaty. On both counts, America and the world are far more secure because of the ability and dedication of ACDA's leadership and professional staff.

I have therefore decided that ACDA will remain independent and continue its central role in U.S. arms control and nonproliferation policy.

Whether the issue is nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear missile reduction, chemical weapons elimination, or any of the other growing arms control and nonproliferation challenges America faces, ACDA is an essential national security asset.

In that spirit, I commend this report to you.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

#### WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? LOOK AT THE ARITHMETIC

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of the close of business yesterday, Thursday, July 13, the Federal debt stood at \$4,933,342,394,729.43. On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,727.05 as his or her share of that debt.

#### TRIBUTE TO FRANCES B. TURNAGE

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a woman who was well known and liked in the city of Charleston, South Carolina, Mrs. Frances Baker Allen Turnage, who passed away last month at the age of 70.

Charleston ladies are known for their graciousness, hospitality, and elegance, and Mrs. Turnage was certainly a lady of Charleston in every manner. Born in the city, she was graduated from both the prestigious preparatory school Ashley Hall and Chevy Chase Junior College, and she attended the College of Charleston. A dedicated member of her