

San Jose Mercury News

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A PARODY

THE NEWSPAPER OF SILICON VALLEY

Mercury Lies; Reporter Dies

By Robert Parry
Consortium News

In 1996, journalist Gary Webb wrote a series of articles that forced a long-overdue investigation of a very dark chapter of recent U.S. foreign policy – the Reagan-Bush administration's protection of cocaine traffickers who operated under the cover of the Nicaraguan contra war in the 1980s.

For his brave reporting at the San Jose Mercury News, Webb paid a high price. He was attacked by journalistic colleagues at the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *American Journalism Review* and even the *Nation* magazine. Under this media pressure, his editor Jerry Ceppos sold out the story and demoted Webb, causing him to quit the *Mercury News*. Even Webb's marriage broke up.

On Friday, Dec. 10, Gary Webb, 49, died of an apparent suicide, a gunshot wound to the head.

Whatever the details of Webb's death, American history owes him a huge debt. Though denigrated by much of the national news media, Webb's contra-cocaine series prompted internal investigations by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Justice Department, probes that confirmed that

scores of contra units and contra-connected individuals were implicated in the drug trade. The probes also showed that the Reagan-Bush administration frustrated investigations into those crimes for geopolitical reasons.

Failed Media

Unintentionally, Webb also exposed the cowardice and unprofessional behavior that had become the new trademarks of the major U.S. news media by the mid-1990s. The big news outlets were always hot on the trail of some titillating scandal – the O.J. Simpson case or the Monica Lewinsky scandal – but the major media could no longer grapple with serious crimes of state.

Even after the CIA's inspector general issued his findings in 1998, the major newspapers could not muster the talent or the courage to explain those extraordinary government admissions to the American people. Nor did the big newspapers apologize for their unfair treatment of Gary Webb.

Foreshadowing the media incompetence that would fail to challenge George W. Bush's case for war with Iraq five years later, the major news organizations effectively hid the CIA's confession from the American people.

The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* never got much past

the CIA's "executive summary," which tried to put the best spin on Inspector General Frederick Hitz's findings. The *Los Angeles Times* never even wrote a story after the final volume of the CIA's report was published, though Webb's initial story had focused on contra-connected cocaine shipments to South-Central Los Angeles.

The *Los Angeles Times'* cover-up has now continued after Webb's death. In a harsh obituary about Webb, the *Times* reporter, who called to interview me, ignored my comments about the debt the nation owed Webb and the importance of the CIA's inspector general findings. Instead of using Webb's death as an opportunity to finally get the story straight, the *Times* acted as if there never had been an official investigation confirming many of Webb's allegations. [*Los Angeles Times*, Dec. 12, 2004.]

By maintaining the contra-cocaine cover-up – even after the CIA's had admitted the facts – the big newspapers seemed to have understood that they could avoid any consequences for their egregious behavior in the 1990s or for their negligence toward the contra-cocaine issue when it first surfaced in the 1980s. After all, the conservative news media – the chief competitor to the mainstream press – isn't going to demand a reexamination of the crimes of the Reagan-Bush years.

That means that only a few minor media outlets, like our own Consortiumnews.com, will go back over the facts now, just as only a few of us addressed the significance of the government admissions in the late 1990s. I compiled and explained the findings of the CIA/Justice investigations in my 1999 book, "Lost History: Contras, Cocaine, the Press & 'Project Truth.'" Contra-Cocaine Case

"Lost History," which took its name from a series at *News Consortium* also describes how the contra-cocaine story first reached the public in a story that Brian Barger and I wrote for the *Associated Press* in December 1985. Though the big newspapers pooh-poohed our discovery, Sen. John Kerry followed up our story with his own

groundbreaking investigation. For his efforts, Kerry also encountered media ridicule. *Newsweek* dubbed the Massachusetts senator a "randy conspiracy buff." [For details, see *Consortium News'* "Kerry's Contra-Cocaine Chapter."]

So when Gary Webb revived the contra-cocaine issue in August 1996 with a 20,000-word three-part series entitled "Dark Alliance," editors at major newspapers already had a powerful self-interest to slap down a story that they had disparaged for the past decade.

The challenge to their earlier judgments was doubly painful because the *Mercury News'* sophisticated Web site ensured that Webb's series made a big splash on the Internet, which was just emerging as a threat to the traditional news media. Also, the African American community was furious at the possibility that U.S. government policies had contributed to the crack-cocaine epidemic.

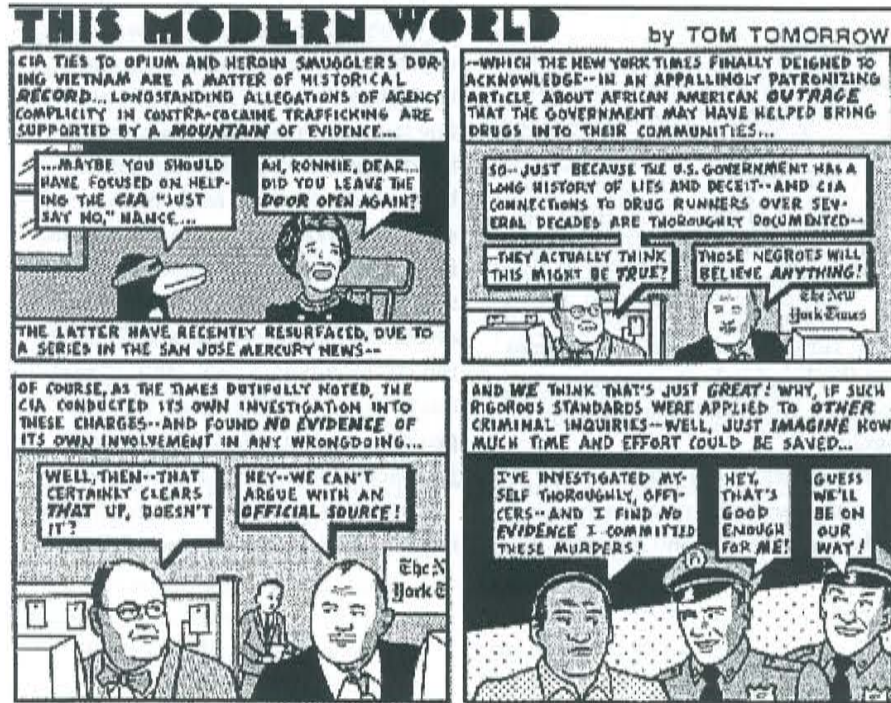
In other words, the mostly white, male editors at the major newspapers saw their preeminence in judging news challenged by an upstart regional newspaper, the Internet and common American citizens who also happened to be black. So, even as the CIA was prepared to conduct a relatively thorough and honest investigation, the major newspapers seemed more eager to protect their reputations and their turf.

Without doubt, Webb's series had its limitations. It primarily tracked one West Coast network of contra-cocaine traffickers from the early-to-mid 1980s. Webb connected that cocaine to an early "crack" production network that supplied Los Angeles street gangs, the Crips and the Bloods, leading to Webb's conclusion that contra cocaine fueled the early crack epidemic that devastated Los Angeles and other U.S. cities.

Counterattack

When black leaders began demanding a full investigation of these charges, the Washington media joined the political Establishment in circling the wagons. It fell to Rev. Sun Myung Moon's right-wing *Washington Times* to begin the counterattack against Webb's series. The *Washington Times* turned to

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Death of a Reporter AND OF INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING

The untimely death of 49 year old former Mercury News reporter Gary Webb on December 10th was a sad and tragic day not only for his friends and family, but also for investigative reporting. His 1996 "Dark Alliance" series published by the Mercury News was a groundbreaking investigation of the Reagan-Bush administration's protection of cocaine traffickers operating under cover of the illegal Nicaraguan contra war in the 1980's. The Mercury News was at the cutting edge of internet technology and the online dissemination of the series - particularly among the African-American community which had been adversely affected by the epidemic of cheap crack cocaine that flooded the market as a result of the trafficking - raised a political furor resulting on pressures on Mercury management to do something. A story that might have died if we were only a second-rate regional newspaper, took off on the internet - a phenomena that had never occurred and which caught the powers in Washington off guard. If we had been exercising our responsibility as a free press, and truly believed freedom of the press was the cornerstone of our democracy, we

would have defended Gary Webb. His research was sound and all his allegations were later corroborated by the C.I.A. itself in a published report that admitted far more trafficking than Gary had uncovered.

Instead, we folded. Gary Webb was denounced and demoted by his editor Jerry Ceppos - who later received an "ethics" award for his back stabbing. Gary got the message and left the Mercury News, his career as an investigative reporter ruined. Other investigative reporters too got the message, and what was once a proud profession gave way to the lap dog journalism that brought you the Iraq War and all its unquestioned by the press lies and deceptions. It also brought you George W. Bush's second term, as mainstream media allowed itself to be skillfully manipulated by Republican "framing" of the issues.

Having admitted all this, one would think the Mercury News would turn over a new leaf and vow to right the wrongs it committed against Gary Webb and return to its role of bastion of democracy and defender of the free press. Don't count on it.

Fromm on Truth & Consequences

"Historically...those who told the truth about a particular regime have been exiled, jailed, or killed by those in power whose fury has been aroused. To be sure, the obvious explanation is that they were dangerous to their respective establishments, and that killing them seemed the best way to protect the status quo. This is true enough, but it does not explain the fact that the truth-sayers are so deeply hated even when they do not constitute a real threat to the established order. The reason lies, I believe, in that by speaking the truth they mobilize the (psychological) resistance of those who repress it. To the latter,

the truth is dangerous not only because it can threaten their power but because it shakes their whole conscious system of orientation, deprives them of their rationalizations, and might even force them to act differently. Only those who have experienced the process of becoming aware of important impulses that were repressed know the earthquake-like sense of bewilderment and confusion that occurs as a result. Not all people are willing to risk this adventure, lest of all those people who profit, at least for the moment, from being blind."

Erich Fromm

Cartoonist's View



Trashed by the CIA's Claque

by Alexander Cockburn/Jeffrey St. Clair
Counterpunch

News came over the weekend that Gary Webb had died Friday from a gunshot wound to the head in his home in Sacramento, California. It appears to have been self-inflicted. The news saddens us, and rekindles our anger at the fols libels he endured at the hands of his colleagues.

Webb was a great reporter whose best-known work exposed the CIA'S complicity in the import of cocaine into the United States in the 1980s, during the US onslaught on the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. His devastating series *Dark Alliance*, published in the San Jose Mercury News in 1996, provoked a series of wild attacks in the New York Times, Los Angeles Times and Washington Post, purporting to demolish Webb and exonerate the Agency.

The attacks were without merit, but the San Jose Mercury News buckled under the pressure and undercut its

own reporter with a groveling and entirely unmerited retraction by its publisher. It was a very dark day in the history of American journalism. We described the entire saga in detail in our book *Whiteout: the CIA, Drugs and the Press* which sets the story in the larger context of the Agency's complicity in drug smuggling since its founding.

Webb left the Mercury News, and expanded his series into his excellent book *Dark Alliance*. He also did other fine journalism, notably - in *Esquire* - the definitive expose of what came to be known as "driving while black", about the system program of racial profiling by cops across the country. For now, here is Webb's own, briskly robust account, which he sent us and which we ran on this site in March, 2001, of the storm over his series, along with his generous appeal to help a crusading journalistic enterprise, *Narco News*.

Later this week we will run a longer reprise on Webb and his famous series.

Silencing the Messenger

by Gary Webb
CounterPunch
 March 21, 2001

Not long after I wrote a series for the San Jose Mercury News about a drug ring that had flooded South Central Los Angeles with cheap cocaine at the beginning of the crack explosion there, a strange thing happened to me. I was silenced.

This, believe it or not, came as something of a surprise to me. For 17 years I had been writing newspaper stories about grafters, crooked bankers, corrupt politicians and killers -- and winning armloads of journalism awards for it. Some of my stories had convened grand juries and sent important people to well-deserved jail cells. Others ended up on 20/20, and later became a best-selling book (not written by me, unfor-

tunately.) I started doing television news shows, speaking to college journalism classes and professional seminars. I had major papers bidding against each other to hire me.

So when I happened across information implicating an arm of the Central Intelligence Agency in the cocaine trade, I had no qualms about jumping onto it with both feet. What did I have to worry about? I was a newspaperman for a big city, take-no-prisoners newspaper. I had the First Amendment, a law firm, and a multi-million dollar corporation watching my back.

Besides, this story was a fucking outrage. Right-wing Latin American drug dealers were helping finance a CIA-run covert war in Nicaragua by selling tons of cocaine to the Crips and Bloods in LA, who were turning it into crack and spreading it through black neighbor-

hoods nationwide. And all the available evidence pointed to the sickening conclusion that elements of the US government had known of it and had either tacitly encouraged it or, at a minimum, done absolutely nothing to stop it.

And that's when this strange thing happened. The national news media, instead of using its brute strength to force the truth from our government, decided that its time would be better spent investigating me and my reporting. They kicked me around pretty good, I have to admit. (At one point, I was even accused of making movie deals with a crack dealer I'd written about. The DEA raided my film agent's office looking for any scrap of paper to back up this lie and appeared disappointed when they came up emptyhanded.)

To this day, no one has ever been able to show me a single error of fact in any-

thing I've written about this drug ring, which includes a 600-page book about the whole tragic mess. Indeed, most of what has come out since shows that my newspaper stories grossly underestimated the extent of our government's knowledge, an error to which I readily confess. But, in the end, the facts didn't really matter. What mattered was making the damned thing go away, shutting people up, and making anyone who demanded the truth appear to be a wacky conspiracy theorist. And it worked.

As a result, the CIA was allowed to investigate itself, release a heavily censored report admitting that it had worked with cocaine traffickers, and simultaneously declare itself innocent of any wrongdoing. And that's where our firebrand national news media has let the matter lie to this day.

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some former CIA officials, who participated in the contra war, to refute the drug charges.

But — in a pattern that would repeat itself on other issues in the following years — the *Washington Post* and other mainstream newspapers quickly lined up behind the conservative news media. On Oct. 4, 1996, the *Washington Post* published a front-page article knocking down Webb's story.

The *Post's* approach was twofold: first, it presented the contra-cocaine allegations as old news — “even CIA personnel testified to Congress they knew that those covert operations involved drug traffickers,” the *Post* reported — and second, the *Post* minimized the importance of the one contra smuggling channel that Webb had highlighted — that it had not “played a major role in the emergence of crack.” A *Post* sidebar story dismissed African Americans as prone to “conspiracy fears.”

Soon, the *New York Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* joined in the piling on of Gary Webb. The big newspapers made much of the CIA's internal reviews in 1987 and 1988 that supposedly cleared the spy agency of a role in contra-cocaine smuggling.

But the CIA's decade-old cover-up began to crack on Oct. 24, 1996, when CIA Inspector General Hitz conceded

before the Senate Intelligence Committee that the first CIA probe had lasted only 12 days, the second only three days. He promised a more thorough review.

Mocking Webb

Meanwhile, however, Gary Webb became the target of outright media ridicule. Influential *Post* media critic Howard Kurtz mocked Webb for saying in a book proposal that he would explore the possibility that the contra war was primarily a business to its participants. “Oliver Stone, check your voice mail,” Kurtz chortled.

[*Washington Post*, Oct. 28, 1996]

Webb's suspicion was not unfounded, however. Indeed, White House aide Oliver North's emissary Rob Owen had made the same point a decade earlier, in a March 17, 1986, message about the contra leadership. “Few of the so-called leaders of the movement... really care about the boys in the field,” Owen wrote. “THIS WAR HAS BECOME A BUSINESS TO MANY OF THEM.” [Capitalization in the original.]

Nevertheless, the pillorying of Gary Webb was on, in earnest. The ridicule also had a predictable effect on the executives of the Mercury-News. By early 1997, executive editor Jerry Ceppos was in retreat.

On May 11, 1997, Ceppos published a front-page column saying the series “fell short of my standards.” He criticized the stories because they “strongly

implied CIA knowledge” of contra connections to U.S. drug dealers who were manufacturing crack-cocaine. “We did not have proof that top CIA officials knew of the relationship.”

The big newspapers celebrated Ceppos's retreat as vindication of their own dismissal of the contra-cocaine stories. Ceppos next pulled the plug on the Mercury-News' continuing contra-cocaine investigation and reassigned Webb to a small office in Cupertino, Calif., far from his family. Webb resigned the paper in disgrace.

For undercutting Webb and the other reporters working on the contra investigation, Ceppos was lauded by the *American Journalism Review* and was given the 1997 national “Ethics in Journalism Award” by the Society of Professional Journalists. While Ceppos won raves, Webb watched his career collapse and his marriage break up.

Probes Advance

Still, Gary Webb had set in motion internal government investigations that would bring to the surface long-hidden facts about how the Reagan-Bush administration had conducted the contra war. The CIA's defensive line against the contra-cocaine allegations began to break when the spy agency published Volume One of Hitz's findings on Jan. 29, 1998.

Despite a largely exculpatory press release, Hitz's Volume One admitted that not only were many of Webb's alle-

gations true but that he actually understated the seriousness of the contra-drug crimes and the CIA's knowledge. Hitz acknowledged that cocaine smugglers played a significant early role in the Nicaraguan contra movement and that the CIA intervened to block an image-threatening 1984 federal investigation into a San Francisco-based drug ring with suspected ties to the contras. [For details, see Robert Parry's “Lost History: Contras, Cocaine, the Press & ‘Project Truth.’”]

On May 7, 1998, another disclosure from the government investigation shook the CIA's weakening defenses. Rep. Maxine Waters, a California Democrat, introduced into the Congressional Record a Feb. 11, 1982, letter of understanding between the CIA and the Justice Department. The letter, which had been sought by CIA Director William Casey, freed the CIA from legal requirements that it must report drug smuggling by CIA assets, a provision that covered both the Nicaraguan contras and Afghan rebels who were fighting a Soviet-supported regime in Afghanistan.

Justice Report

Another crack in the defensive wall opened when the Justice Department released a report by its inspector general, Michael Bromwich. Given the hostile climate surrounding Webb's series, Bromwich's report opened with criti-

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cism of Webb. But, like the CIA's Volume One, the contents revealed new details about government wrongdoing.

According to evidence cited by the report, the Reagan-Bush administration knew almost from the outset of the contra war that cocaine traffickers permeated the paramilitary operation. The administration also did next to nothing to expose or stop the criminal activities. The report revealed example after example of leads not followed, corroborated witnesses disparaged, official law-enforcement investigations sabotaged, and even the CIA facilitating the work of drug traffickers.

The Bromwich report showed that the contras and their supporters ran several parallel drug-smuggling operations, not just the one at the center of Webb's series. The report also found that the CIA shared little of its information about contra drugs with law-enforcement agencies and on three occasions disrupted cocaine-trafficking investigations that threatened the contras.

Though depicting a more widespread contra-drug operation than Webb had understood, the Justice report also provided some important corroboration about a Nicaraguan drug smuggler, Norwin Meneses, who was a key figure in Webb's series. Bromwich cited U.S. government informants who supplied detailed information about Meneses's operation and his financial assistance to the contras.

For instance, Renato Pena, a money-and-drug courier for Meneses, said that in the early 1980s, the CIA allowed the contras to fly drugs into the United States, sell them and keep the proceeds. Pena, who also was the northern

California representative for the CIA-backed FDN contra army, said the drug trafficking was forced on the contras by the inadequate levels of U.S. government assistance.

The Justice report also disclosed repeated examples of the CIA and U.S. embassies in Central America discouraging Drug Enforcement Administration investigations, including one into alleged contra-cocaine shipments moving through the airport in El Salvador. In an understated conclusion, Inspector General Bromwich wrote: "We have no doubt that the CIA and the U.S. Embassy were not anxious for the DEA to pursue its investigation at the airport."

CIA's Volume Two

Despite the remarkable admissions in the body of these reports, the big newspapers showed no inclination to read beyond the press releases and executive summaries. By fall 1998, official Washington was obsessed with the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal, which made it easier to ignore even more stunning disclosures in the CIA's Volume Two.

In Volume Two, published Oct. 8, 1998, CIA Inspector General Hitz identified more than 50 contras and contra-related entities implicated in the drug trade. He also detailed how the Reagan-Bush administration had protected these drug operations and frustrated federal investigations, which had threatened to expose the crimes in the mid-1980s. Hitz even published evidence that drug trafficking and money laundering tracked into Reagan's National Security Council where Oliver North oversaw the contra operations.

Hitz revealed, too, that the CIA placed an admitted drug money launderer in charge of the Southern Front

contras in Costa Rica. Also, according to Hitz's evidence, the second-in-command of contra forces on the Northern Front in Honduras had escaped from a Colombian prison where he was serving time for drug trafficking.

In Volume Two, the CIA's defense against Webb's series had shrunk to a tiny fig leaf: that the CIA did not conspire with the contras to raise money through cocaine trafficking. But Hitz made clear that the contra war took precedence over law enforcement and that the CIA withheld evidence of contra crimes from the Justice Department, the Congress and even the CIA's own analytical division.

Hitz found in CIA files evidence that the spy agency knew from the first days of the contra war that its new clients were involved in the cocaine trade. According to a September 1981 cable to CIA headquarters, one of the early contra groups, known as ADREN, had decided to use drug trafficking as a financing mechanism. Two ADREN members made the first delivery of drugs to Miami in July 1981, the CIA cable reported.

ADREN's leaders included Enrique Bermudez, who emerged as the top contra military commander in the 1980s. Webb's series had identified Bermudez as giving the green light to contra fundraising by drug trafficker Meneses. Hitz's report added that the CIA had another Nicaraguan witness who implicated Bermudez in the drug trade in 1988. **Priorities**

Besides tracing the evidence of contra-drug trafficking through the decade-long contra war, the inspector general interviewed senior CIA officers who acknowledged that they were aware of the contra-drug problem but didn't want its exposure to undermine the struggle to overthrow the leftist Sandinista government.

According to Hitz, the CIA had "one overriding priority: to oust the Sandinista government.... [CIA officers] were determined that the various difficulties they encountered not be allowed to prevent effective implementation of the contra program." One CIA field officer explained, "The focus was to get the job done, get the support and win the war."

Hitz also recounted complaints from CIA analysts that CIA operations officers handling the contra war hid evidence of contra-drug trafficking even from the CIA's analytical division. Because of the withheld evidence, the CIA analysts incorrectly concluded in the mid-1980s that "only a handful of contras might have been involved in drug trafficking." That false assessment was passed on to Congress and the major news organizations — serving as

an important basis for denouncing Gary Webb and his series in 1996.

Though Hitz's report was an extraordinary admission of institutional guilt by the CIA, it passed almost unnoticed by the big newspapers.

Two days after Hitz's report was posted at the CIA's Internet site, the New York Times did a brief article that continued to deride Webb's work, while acknowledging that the contra-drug problem may indeed have been worse than earlier understood. Several weeks later, the Washington Post weighed in with a similarly superficial article. The Los Angeles Times never published a story on the release of the CIA's Volume Two.

Consequences

To this day, no editor or reporter who missed the contra-drug story has been punished for his or her negligence. Indeed, many of them are now top executives at their news organizations. On the other hand, Gary Webb's career never recovered.

At Webb's death, however, it should be noted that his great gift to American history was that he — along with angry African American citizens — forced the government to admit some of the worst crimes ever condoned by any American administration: the protection of drug smuggling into the United States as part of a covert war against a country, Nicaragua, that represented no real threat to Americans.

The truth was ugly. Certainly the major news organizations would have come under criticism themselves if they had done their job and laid out this troubling story to the American people. Conservative defenders of Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush would have been sure to howl in protest.

But the real tragedy of Webb's historic gift — and of his life cut short — is that because of the major news media's callowness and cowardice, this dark chapter of the Reagan-Bush era remains largely unknown to the American people.

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www.counterpunch.org/
www.media-alliance.org

"Dark Alliance" (Paperback edition)
by Gary Webb

"Whiteout (How the Press and the CIA Killed Gary Webb's Career)"
by Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair.

"Kicking a Dead Man" by Marc Cooper
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THIS MODERN WORLD

by TOM TOMORROW

MORE JOURNALISTIC MEA CULPAS: THE RELEASE OF GARY WEBB'S NEW BOOK, DARK ALLIANCE, PROMPTS THE NEW YORK TIMES TO APOLOGIZE. FOR ITS CLUMSY ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT HIS WORK ON THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE CONTRAS, CRACK DEALERS, AND THE CIA...



THE WASHINGTON POST IS SIMILARLY MOVED TO APOLOGIZE FOR ITS ATTACK ON WEBB, WRITTEN BY A MAN NAMED WALTER PINCUS—WHO, THE POST FAILED TO DISCLOSE, ACTUALLY WORKED FOR THE CIA AS A YOUNG MAN...



MEANWHILE, THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER APOLOGIZES PROFUSELY FOR RETRACTING THEIR ENTIRE SERIES OF ARTICLES ON CHIQUITA'S UNSAVORY BUSINESS PRACTICES, AFTER A REPORTER WAS FOUND TO HAVE ILLEGALLY ACCESSED CHIQUITA'S VOICEMAIL SYSTEM...



FINALLY, CNN AND TIME ISSUE A JOINT APOLOGY—FOR SERVING AS UNCRITICAL PENTAGON MOUTHPIECES DURING THE GULF WAR, THAT IS...



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