COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW

JULY/AUGUST 1976
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR/PRESS • RADIO • TV

GETTING A FOCUS ON CARTER

A problem for investigative journalists

Dick Dent's job was made in Belgium.

Dick and his family live at 2905 Phillips St. in South Charleston, West Virginia.

He works just ten minutes away at the local Union Carbide plant.

But his job was created thousands of miles away.

You see, Dick's job is to make special chemicals called catalysts.

These catalysts are shipped to Belgium and other countries where Union Carbide plants depend on them to make petrochemicals that are sold abroad.

This interdependence is not unusual in the countries where Union Carbide and its affiliates work.

By manufacturing abroad we have actually increased the foreign demand for many products we make here at home.

This in turn has created more jobs here at home. A recent study shows our investment overseas has directly created at least 2,500 jobs in our plants in the U.S.

Still, we manufacture abroad only when it becomes unfeasible to supply and maintain a market from the U.S.

In fact, we export products from America to 100 foreign countries.

All of which is another way of saying that our international investment is helping improve the standard of living for people abroad and at home.

Including Dick Dent and his family.

UNION CARBIDE

Today, something we do will touch your life.

CONTENTS

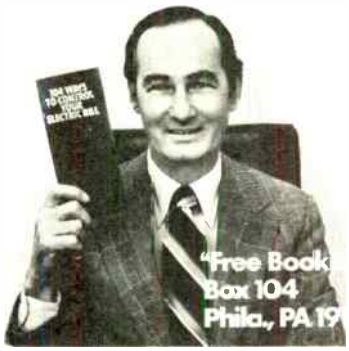
"To assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . . to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent"

—Excerpt from the *Review*'s founding editorial, Autumn 1961

Columbia Journalism Review is published bimonthly under the auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University Volume XV, Number 2, July/August 1976 Copyright © 1976 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University Subscription rates: $12 a year Add $2 a year for foreign subscriptions Please address all subscription mail to: Columbia Journalism Review, Subscription Department, P O Box 30, Farmingdale, N Y 11735 Editorial office 700 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N Y 10027 (212)280-3872 Business office 601 Journalism Building (212)280-2716 Second-class postage paid at New York, N Y and at an additional mailing office. No claims for back copies honored after one year. National newsstand distribution Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 West 15th Street, New York, NY 10011 POSTMASTER: send Form 3579 to Columbia Journalism Review P O Box 30, Farmingdale, N.Y 11735

HOW TO REDUCE YOUR ELECTRIC BILL.

Starting April 26th on national television, the electric companies began offering a free 16-page booklet to America's consumers. "104 Ways to Control Your Electric Bill" was compiled by the staff of the Edison Electric Institute and features innovative as well as familiar ways to help control the amount of electricity you use.



Don Crawford, President
Edison Electric Institute

But using energy wisely and carefully is only one way to help reduce your electric bill. Here are four additional steps that can have an even greater impact:

1. Insist that the nation's laws permit the use of our vast resources of coal, subject only to meeting reasonable health standards and mining regulations.

2. Insist that nuclear power be fully and expeditiously used for electricity generation. Nuclear power is safe, environmentally clean and the most economical means of generating electricity in most parts of the country. Other industrialized nations of the world are following a similar course.

3. Insist that environmental laws and regulations give balanced recognition to the nation's need for an ample supply of energy.

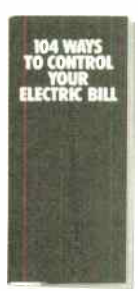
4. Insist that governmental policies be designed to reduce inflation to the maximum possible degree.

These actions would help reduce your electric bill. Your help is needed in bringing them about.

Edison Electric Institute
for the electric companies
90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

"104 Ways"
Box 104
Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

Please mail me a free copy of
"104 Ways to Control Your Electric Bill."



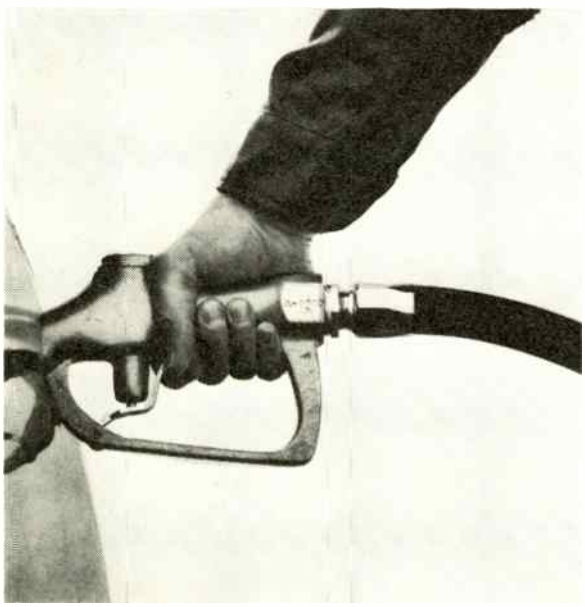
Name

Address

City State Zip

CJR

IF THEY BREAK UP THE OIL COMPANIES, YOU'LL PAY THROUGH THE HOSE.



There are people who want to dismember America's integrated oil companies—those companies that do the whole job from exploration through marketing.

Today, more than 50 integrated oil companies compete for your business. Hundreds of firms compete in various phases of the industry—exploration, production, refining, transportation, and marketing.

What would happen if the oil companies were taken apart?

Ironically, prices would go *up*, not down. A so-called breakup would destroy the efficient integrated system and create a need for a new layer of costly and unnecessary "middlemen." Additionally, the chaos created by such a breakup would make it tougher for the industry to attract the capital it needs. Millions of Americans in oil and oil-related industries could lose their job security. Technical advances would be slowed down. Money needed to search for new supplies would dry up.

The result? *Less domestic oil would be available,* increasing our dependence on foreign oil. America could be weakened. You, the consumer, would be less certain of getting the oil—the automotive gasoline and home-heating fuel and other products you need—when you need it, *while paying more for what you get.*

Before it's decided to take apart the oil companies—let's find out just who would benefit. We firmly believe it wouldn't be *you.*

TEXACO

We're working to keep your trust.

COMMENT

Overplaying the Hays affair

The exposure (or over-exposure) of Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio and the woman who claimed to have been kept on the congressional payroll to serve as his mistress is an example of the curious power of the Washington-based press to boost a comparatively minor revelation into a major national story.

Beginning as a splashy front-page item, with three photos, in a Sunday *Washington Post*, it gradually became front-page news even in *The New York Times*, which had managed to keep its rival's story inside on Sunday and Monday. By Tuesday, when Hays, after first denying the allegations, admitted that he had had a "personal relationship" with the woman, the affair had become the lead story on the *NBC Nightly News* — this on a night with six presidential primaries. It came just behind the primaries on the *CBS Evening News*.

The *Post* doubtlessly heightened public attention with its salacious treatment. It quoted Hays, for example, as telling the woman, Elizabeth Ray, five days before his remarriage, that their relationship might continue. She then asked Hays, according to the *Post*, "Do I still have to s---- you?" (The coy dashes are the *Post*'s.)

For official Washington, the story offered the particular reward of seeing one of its archvillains called abruptly to account. In Hays's twenty-eight years in the House, his legislative accomplishments had been negligible, but he had the power to reward or punish his colleagues in a myriad of matters relating to the day-to-day workings of the House. Many who had felt his power disliked him for his abrasive manner and his heavy-handed ways. (His enemies saw a kind of justice in his troubles, because it was Hays who had led a 1972 House inquiry into payroll abuses.)

Intriguing as the story was, did it really deserve to be played as a scandal of the century? The Wilbur Mills affair, which may have served as a kind of precedent for the uninhibited coverage of Hays's alleged misconduct, was significantly more serious: Mills's alcoholism and loss of decorum in public cast doubt upon his ability to function effectively as chairman of a committee that could block almost any bill before Congress. Or compare the amount of money involved in the Hays episode — Elizabeth Ray's $14,000-a-year salary — with the conflict-of-interest case reported months earlier involving another powerful congressman, Robert L. F. Sikes of Florida. He allegedly drafted and introduced legislation that dramatically increased the value of his own real-estate holdings worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Why has Bob Sikes not become a household word, like Mills or Hays?

Eric Sevareid predicted recently that Washington may be replacing New York as the cultural capital of the country. If that is true, one can hope that Washington's cultural hegemony will not mean intense, nationwide media interest in sexual waywardness, to the neglect of less titillating misconduct.

Darts and laurels

Dart: to *The Detroit News*, for its rush to print the April 19 story of "a one in a million biological occurrence" — Siamese twin toads, discovered in the backyard of a local resident. A more careful check would have revealed what the *News* ruefully reported the following day: a pair of perfectly ordinary toads hell-bent on making more toads.

Dart: to the *New York Post*, for big-city naivete. On May 8, the *Post* made a page-one splash with a lurid, frightening account of an attempted subway rape — an account which was, as the paper acknowledged three days later, in almost every detail wrong. The *Post* had swallowed whole the distorted version put out by the public-relations director of the Transit Detectives Endowment Association — in these days of threatened layoffs, an evidently less-than-impeccable source.

Dart: to Jack Anderson, for journalistic oversell in a self-promoting exercise in Bicentennial ballyhoo. The unctuousness of Anderson's slogan contest was matched only by the banality of its winner: "Freedom's Way — U.S.A."

Laurel: to the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, for a coolly forthright March 25 article reporting on its own internal investigation of a former reporter's C.I.A. connection. (But hark the thundering silence from the chorus of its sisters.)

Dart: to those 300 reporters and photographers attending the April 20 press conference held by Eastman Kodak to introduce a new product, for accepting "evaluation kits" of gift cameras and equipment. If a picture is worth a thousand words, how much is a camera worth?

Laurel: to Tom Bethell and the *United Mine Workers Journal*, for an unforgettable essay on the March 9 and 13 disasters at Kentucky's Scotia mine. Quickly written for the April 1 issue, the article is a blend of controlled editorial passion and clear analytical reporting on the failings, both technical and human, behind an avoidable tragedy.

Dart: to the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania *Patriot*, for confusing fun with irresponsibility. Following its longtime custom of playing April Fool's tricks on its readers, *The Patriot* on April 1 ran a

doctored page-one photograph (below) of the state capitol partly wrecked by an explosion. The clue to the joke was buried in the cutline: "Workmen sift the rubble of the Capitol East Extension in search of state employees trapped under the wreckage of yesterday afternoon's blast. Extension custodian A. F. Day said the blast occurred during a joint House-Senate session addressed by Hubert Humphrey and Gov. Milton Shapp, both noncandidates for the Democratic presidential nomination. Day attributed the explosion to an abnormal expansion of hot air which usually is absorbed by acoustic seats in the Chamber." After torrential reader reaction — anxiety from those who didn't get the joke, protest from those who did — the editors took to page one, and in an April 3 editorial allowed as how there were those who had been not amused. "Clever or not," the editors wrote, "there won't be another one." The last laugh, however, went to the *Harrisburg Independent Press*. The alternative weekly ran a photo of a somewhat demolished Patriot-News building over a caption that read: "Irate citizens stormed and partially demolished the Patriot-News last week to protest a phony photo which appeared in the *Patriot* as an April Fool's hoax."

Allied Pix/courtesy *The Patriot*

Leaking the news from the A.P.

Leaks from government have become almost routine, but a leak originating in a major wire service is another matter. The Associated Press sat for five months on remarks by the governor of Rhode Island, Philip W. Noel, statements that came to be compared with Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" fumble and resulted in Noel's having to give up a major national party position.

The tangled sequence began on October 20, 1975, when two Associated Press reporters, Patricia Reid and Robert Parry, interviewed Governor Noel in his Providence office. The interview, roughly an hour long, was taped and on the record. In it, the governor offered his reasons for opposing busing for school integration, while affirming support for gradual improvement in race relations. The interview as disseminated by the A.P. contained phrasing that captured attention; for example, Noel said that despite busing of pupils, "First chance their mothers and fathers get, they're going to stab each other." The Congressional Black Caucus expressed its concern over Noel's fitness to serve, as scheduled, at the head of the national platform committee, and the governor conceded an "unfortunate choice of words."

But the interview contained still more. In February 1976, Parry, one of the A.P. reporters, lent the interview tape to Benjamin Weiser and Mark Rosati, investigative reporters for a local FM station, WBRU, operated at Brown University; they wanted to use the tape as background for coverage of Noel's race for a Senate nomination. Parry had already told them that portions of the interview had not been used in the original stories; even so, they were surprised to hear Noel say, in trying to show the futility of busing:

> Take a kid from a black ghetto, bus him across town to a white school. He is there for four hours of classroom instruction. Then he is back in the ghetto for the other nineteen hours or eighteen hours with an hour for transportation back and forth, five hours in the building, six hours' experience. The other eighteen hours he is back in that sweathole, wherever he comes from, with a drunken father and a mother that's out peddling her ass or whatever, you know, all the problems you have in the ghetto. . . .

Judging these remarks to be newsworthy, Rosati and Weiser informed Jack Anderson, the nationally syndicated columnist, of the interview. Anderson assigned a reporter, Julia Rose, to the story, and through her the governor's office became aware that the tape was in Anderson's hands. The governor went to Washington and discussed it with the columnist, but on April 24, the deadly quotation appeared nationwide in a slightly bowdlerized version.

The response from the governor was not unexpected. Trying to salvage his platform chairmanship, he apologized

An appeal to those used by the C.I.A.

Neither the Senate nor the House intelligence committee was able to learn which journalists and news outlets have in one way or another been used by the Central Intelligence Agency [see excerpts from the Senate committee report, page 37]. The C.I.A. claimed that such information could not be disclosed because of its director's statutory duty to protect "sources and methods" connected to intelligence. While reporters may be able to empathize with the C.I.A.'s reluctance to reveal its sources, they should not confuse their own profession with the spy business. There is a fundamental difference. Reporters are supposed to be committed to the principle of reporting the truth. The C.I.A., among its many other activities, specializes in spreading propaganda abroad and even at home.

There is not much likelihood that investigative reporters will be able to dig out the identities of more than a few of the "double agents" within their profession and even less chance that the C.I.A. will change its decision not to release their names. There are only two ways for the air to be cleared and the

for using "street talk," accused Anderson of quoting him out of context, released the full text of the interview, and, when the WBRU reporters' role was revealed, denounced the episode as "a dark hour for journalism."

The A.P. was slower in reaching its conclusions. The initial story about Governor Noel's apology contained the following statement: "The AP's Boston bureau chief, Joe McGowan, Jr., said Saturday [April 24] that a decision was made last fall to pursue the quote in a later interview. Inadvertently, this was not done." This odd assertion served mostly to demonstrate that McGowan had ordered the original deletion. A little more than a week later, however, A.P. headquarters in New York lowered the boom. A spokesman said it was a mistake to have removed the quotation: "The quote should have been used; whether anyone was told to go back for clarification is beside the point. . . . The quote is in context in the interview and reflects the tone and substance of what the governor was saying."

On May 17, Governor Noel chose not to stand for election as permanent chairman of the platform committee. The regard shown for his sensitivities back in October had proved a disservice to him and the public. For journalists, the moral was obvious.

A race with a dozen finishes

Throughout the first half of 1976, political reporters have insisted on treating each cluster of primaries as conclusive, only to find that voters had not followed the cue. To take only the most glaring cases: the Reagan candidacy was repeatedly declared defunct through February, March, and April, only to rise gloriously in the first week of May, whereupon Ford was borne from the field until May 18, when the Michigan primary carried him back on. On the Democratic side, Carter was pronounced unstoppable on the basis of winning 37 percent of the Pennsylvania primary vote, but voters in Nebraska, Maryland, and Oregon failed to join the bandwagon. And so it went, down through the stretch.

American political reporters may have the instincts of racetrack writers, but if they were covering the real thing, they probably would be declaring a different winner every two furlongs.

profession cleansed. The first is for the editors and media executives who in any way have worked with the C.I.A. to make public how they allowed their organizations to be used by the C.I.A. The statements of ex-CBS reporter Sam Jaffe and ex-*New York Times* reporter Wayne Phillips would seem to indicate that the C.I.A. did not recruit accredited journalists without the knowledge of the top officials of their organizations.

The second — and most practical — approach is for the reporters with C.I.A. ties to identify themselves.

These men and women, who apparently number in the hundreds, may think that it is not in their interest to do so, but as long as they keep their secret, they must live with the uncertainty of some day being exposed in a context they cannot control. Moreover, they must face the prospect that they are susceptible to the C.I.A.'s blackmail — a tactic that the agency has frequently used in its operations, as these journalists must well understand. By remaining silent, they risk being pressured by the C.I.A. into doing or writing what the agency demands.

Meanwhile, the rest of us have no way of knowing what past stories were plants, what books were fakes, which colleagues misrepresented themselves. For the sake of historical accuracy and for the sake of personal trust, a way must be found for these journalists to identify themselves without damaging their lives or destroying their careers. No one wants to launch a witch-hunt against them. Their motives in acting as they did were obviously valid to them as individuals and should be at least understandable to us all. Most of them probably acted out of patriotism at a time when secret cooperation with their government seemed proper.

Times and standards have changed, however, and the C.I.A.'s covert use of journalists is not acceptable today — if it ever was — to the vast majority of Americans. Journalists who come forward with accounts of C.I.A. involvement should be applauded for their honesty and not be subject to sanctions. The *Columbia Journalism Review* and other professional publications should consider opening their pages to those who want to tell their stories. The important thing is that the truth come out, not that people be punished.

Conceivably, the more than twenty-five reporters still on the C.I.A. payroll will also identify themselves, or the agency will end once and for all the practice of using the profession as a cover for spying. But hopes should not rise too high. With great fanfare, C.I.A. Director George Bush seemed to be announcing such a ban in February; in fact, according to the Church committee report, less than half of the roughly fifty reporters then working for the agency were actually dropped. Bush's announcement, the report tells us, applied only to "accredited" reporters who were "formally authorized by contract or issuance of press credentials to represent themselves as correspondents." In other words, free-lancers and certain stringers still could work for the C.I.A. Bush gave further cause for apprehension in May, when he appealed at the banquet of the Overseas Press Club for "voluntary" help from journalists.

The recent attempt by a Soviet newspaper to brand three American correspondents in Moscow shows how damaging is the C.I.A.'s unwillingness to give up its journalistic "assets." Legitimate reporters are vulnerable to such charges as long as their own government continues to insist on subverting their colleagues.

JOHN D. MARKS

John D. Marks, an associate of the Center for National Security Studies, Washington, is the author of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence *(1975).*

continued on page 10

National 4-H Forestry Award winners, front to rear: Jeffrey Little, John Pfleiderer, Melinda Hadden, Craig Jerabek, Steve Welches, and David Doherty, Jr.

How six 4-H members became the proud parents of over 60,000 baby trees

In the year 2000, Americans will use about twice as much paper and wood products as they use today. And the U.S. Forest Service predicts that America's commercial timberlands won't be able to keep up with the demand.

Our hope lies to a great extent in concerned *young* people—like these six teenagers who won the National 4-H Forestry Award and scholarship. These young people show just what can be accomplished. And that's why we're sponsoring the awards: to encourage people to start young—thinking about the future of America's forests and doing something about it.

Enough trees to keep a city going

Together, Craig Jerabek, David Doherty, and Jeffrey Little planted over 57,000 of the 60,000 seedlings—enough to keep a city of 16,000 people supplied in paper for an entire year when the trees are grown.

Melinda Hadden's specialty is *Christmas* trees—she's planted 1,200 of them. She's also planted about 300 trees for homeowners whose trees were destroyed by a violent windstorm.

John Pfleiderer has researched and fought Dutch elm disease—a killer which wiped out many of Greeley, Colorado's most beautiful trees. (John also taught himself grafting—and created new forms of trees.)

But there's more to a forest than just trees. Healthy forests are a complete ecosystem. That's why Steve Welches has planted over 1,200 shrubs for animal cover. And why David Doherty has built dens and brush piles for rabbits and small game birds. (And succeeded in bringing them back to land that was once ravaged by Hurricane Camille.)

Fortunately, these six teen-agers aren't alone in their commitment. There are 100,000 *more* 4-H members also working in forestry.

And forest companies pulling on the same team.

International Paper shares the burden

We've developed a Supertree—a southern pine that grows taller, straighter, healthier, and faster than ordinary pines.

We're experimenting with a new machine that can harvest an entire tree—taproots and all. We're moving ahead on projects like fertilization techniques. Tree farm programs. Forest research.

We'll show a private landowner how to prepare a site, plant, protect, thin, and harvest—at no charge. (In some cases, *doubling* his yield.) For this help, IP gets the right to buy a landowner's timber at competitive prices.

More to be done

Will all this be enough to keep the world's fiber supply going strong? It'll help. But more must be done.

At International Paper, we believe forest products companies, private landowners and government should work together to develop more constructive policies for managing America's forests. The wrong policies can make tree farming impossible and force the sale of forest land for other purposes. The right policies can assure continuation of America's forests—a renewable natural resource.

If you'd like more information about what has to be done to assure the world's fiber supply, please write to Dept. 160-A, International Paper Company, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017.

INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY

220 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK NEW YORK 10017

Violence, fear — and freedom

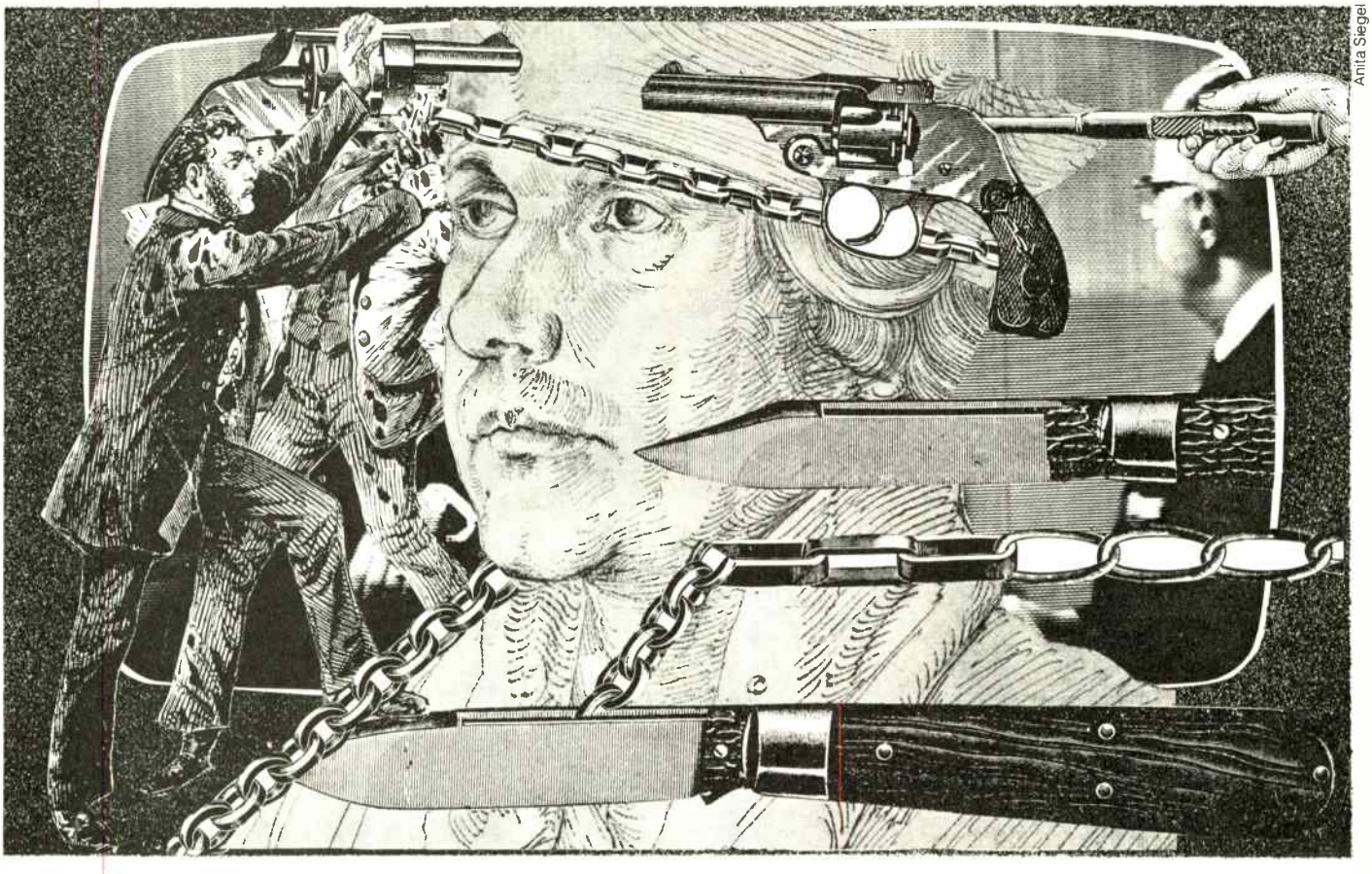
Alarms sounded by academics too often make the perceived threat sound no more ominous than an army of footnotes. Partly as a result of their cautious language, two recently published articles may go largely unheard in the high-decibel world outside their own disciplines. Yet their warnings are chilling, for both go beyond the familiar assertion that televised violence begets real violence; they see viewed violence as leading the way to a frightened, authoritarian society. A continuation of the glut of violence on television will "increase acquiesence to and dependence upon authority," in the words of the coauthors of one study, and "lead to drastic changes in our form of government and in our civil liberties," in the words of the author of the other.

The two studies are "Violence, Television and the Health of American Youth," by Anne R. Somers, a professor at the Rutgers Medical School's department of community medicine, and "Living with Television: The Violence Profile," by George Gerbner and Larry Gross, of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications. Somers's article appeared in the April 8 issue of a journal that one does not generally associate with articles on television — *The New England Journal of Medicine* — and it was accompanied by a very strong editorial entitled "Violence on TV: An Unchecked Environmental Hazard," by Dr. Franz J. Ingelfinger, the *Journal*'s editor. The study by Gerbner and Gross was published in the spring 1976 issue of the *Journal of Communication*, of which Gerbner is the editor.

Journalists are not used to hearing violence on television described as "a risk factor influencing the health of American youth" or, to quote from Dr. Ingelfinger's editorial, as "this environmental disease." But Somers builds a strong case in support of her claim that "television's indoctrination of children in 'the culture of violence' " has "contributed to an epidemic of youthful violence."

Gerbner and Gross also approach the question of the effects of televised violence from an unusual angle. "In contrast to the more usual statement of the problem," they write, "we do not believe that the only critical correlate of television violence is to be found in the stimulation of occasional individual aggression. . . . Fear — that historic instrument of social control — may be an even more critical residue of a show of violence than aggression. Expectation of violence or passivity in the face of injustice may be consequences of even greater social concern." The authors of the two studies, approaching the same general subject from different disciplines and different angles, thus converge in their conclusions. This, among other factors, makes them hard to shrug off.

Somers starts by demonstrating that there is, indeed, a new "culture of violence," citing, among other evidence, these disturbing statistics: "Murder is



Anita Siegel

the fastest growing cause of death in the United States. The annual rate rose over 100 per cent from 1960 to 1974. . . . The age group most involved, with the greatest number of both victims and persons arrested, is 20 to 24." She does not, of course, single out television as the sole entertainment medium contributing to this culture of violence. But she does argue — as have many researchers before her — that television has become "the medium for children" and that it is "difficult to overstate its influence on them."

How many children are watching, and how long do they stay up to watch? Somers writes: "More than 20 million children two to 17 years old are still watching at 9 P.M., 13 million at 10 P.M., and 5.3 million at 11 P.M."

How much violence will these young watchers see? "One authority has estimated [the citation is from 1975] that 'between the ages of five and fifteen, the average American child will view the killing of more than 13,000 persons on television.' "

Has the concept of a "family viewing hour," according to which material "inappropriate" to children is not to be shown on early-evening shows, helped to remedy the situation? "The shortcomings of the Family Hour are obvious: there is no definition of what does, or does not, constitute 'appropriate.' [And] as already noted, millions of children watch well beyond the 8 P.M. or even the 9 P.M. limit. . . . [Meanwhile] afternoon programs and weekend cartoon shows are unaffected." (Gerbner and Gross provide additional figures in their *Journal of Communication* article: " . . . nine out of every ten weekend children's hour programs . . . still contain some violence. The overall rate of violent episodes, 8 per hour, is, if anything, higher than at any time since 1969. The violence saturation of weekend children's programs declined from its 1969 high but increased from its 1974 low to 16 per hour, double that of overall programming. . . .")

What makes the viewing of violence on television potentially more harmful than seeing violent films in a movie theater, say, or reading novels filled with violent episodes? Somers writes: "It is [the] almost total immersion in the home setting, combined with the audio-visual impact, that sets television apart from other entertainment media and necessitates special consideration as a risk factor influencing the health of American youth. Television not only offers — it imposes — vicarious experience and psychologic conditioning on our children."

It is in the course of her discussion of why her medical colleagues should concern themselves with the problem of youthful violence in general and with televised violence as one among many contributing factors that Somers comes very close to the conclusion arrived at by Gerbner and Gross — namely, that fear of violence leads to increased "acquiescence to and dependence upon authority." After observing that "the linear projection of current increases in murder rates leads to astonishing levels," Somers comments:

> Before [these] projections could become fact, however, the increasing fear and frustration would, almost certainly, lead to drastic changes in our form of government and in our civil liberties. Thus, the irony that those who invoke civil liberties most loudly in defense of television violence may be paving the way for serious curtailment of such liberties. Violence does not always lead to dictatorship, but violence is always an ingredient of dictatorship and we entertain ourselves and our children with violence at the peril of our political future.

Gerbner and Gross come to their similar conclusion through a study of how the world as perceived by "heavy" television viewers differs from that of "light" viewers. (Heavy viewers are defined as "those viewing an average of four hours a day or more," light viewers as those viewing two hours a day or less.) To test their hypothesis that "the cultivation of fear and a sense of danger may well be a prime residue of the show of violence," the authors put several questions to a national sample of adults. They found that, regardless of age, education, and gender, heavy viewers were more distrustful than light viewers (65 percent of all heavy viewers, asked whether most people can be trusted, replied "Can't be too careful," while only 48 percent of light viewers gave this reply) and more fearful (52 percent of heavy viewers thought they might be involved in violence in any given week, as opposed to 39 percent of the light viewers). The authors comment: "We may all live in a dangerous world, but young people (including children tested but not reported on here), the less educated, women, and heavy viewers within all these groups sense greater danger than light viewers in the same groups. College education . . . may counter the television view, but heavy exposure to TV will counteract that, too."

Elsewhere in their study, Gerbner and Gross observe: "We are parts of a Leviathan and its nervous system is telecommunications. Publicly shared knowledge of the 'wide world' is what this nervous system transmits to us." As they see it, and as Somers sees it, the picture of the world transmitted to us will, if uncorrected, make Leviathan an increasingly surly and tyrannical monster.

To Review readers

With this issue, the *Review* undergoes a change in editors. Kenneth M. Pierce, editor since 1973, departs with warm thanks from Columbia, its Faculty and Dean of Journalism, and the undersigned. Succeeding him is James Boylan, the *Review*'s first editor, who returns after earning a doctorate in history, writing and teaching, and serving as a contributing editor of the *Review*.

The editor and the publisher join Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism in pledging anew a publication that strives to be forthright, balanced, fair, and open to reply. They also solicit your help. The *Review*'s future effectiveness depends in large part on the active, affirmative assistance of those who share its goals. They can help in widening the magazine's readership, in volunteering editorial suggestions, and in many other ways. Together, we can accomplish much.

EDWARD W. BARRETT
Publisher

Any controversy or claim arising out of or relating to this contract, or any breach thereof, shall be settled in accordance with the rules of the American Arbitration Association, and

Maybe your day in court shouldn't be in court.

Last year more than 35,000 disputes were settled out of court. Quickly. Inexpensively. Fairly. By arbitration. Maybe you thought arbitration is only for the big guys. Think about it this way: what if it's you *versus* the big guys? The American Arbitration Association is a 50-year old non-profit organization with 40,000 volunteer arbitrators who resolve all kinds of disputes for business, for labor, for individuals. There ought to be an arbitration clause in any agreement you sign. (like the sample above.) Just a few words. But they could save you incalculable time, money, and anguish. Find out more about our work. The time and money you save could be your own. Write: The American Arbitration Association, 140 West 51 Street, New York, N.Y. 10020.

THE AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION.

50th ANNIVERSARY
1926-1976

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW
JULY/AUGUST 1976

'The most remarkable piece of fiction' Jimmy Carter ever read

Why, of all the Carter coverage, did only Steven Brill's article in Harper's create a furor — and has the furor obscured important questions raised in the article?

by PHIL STANFORD

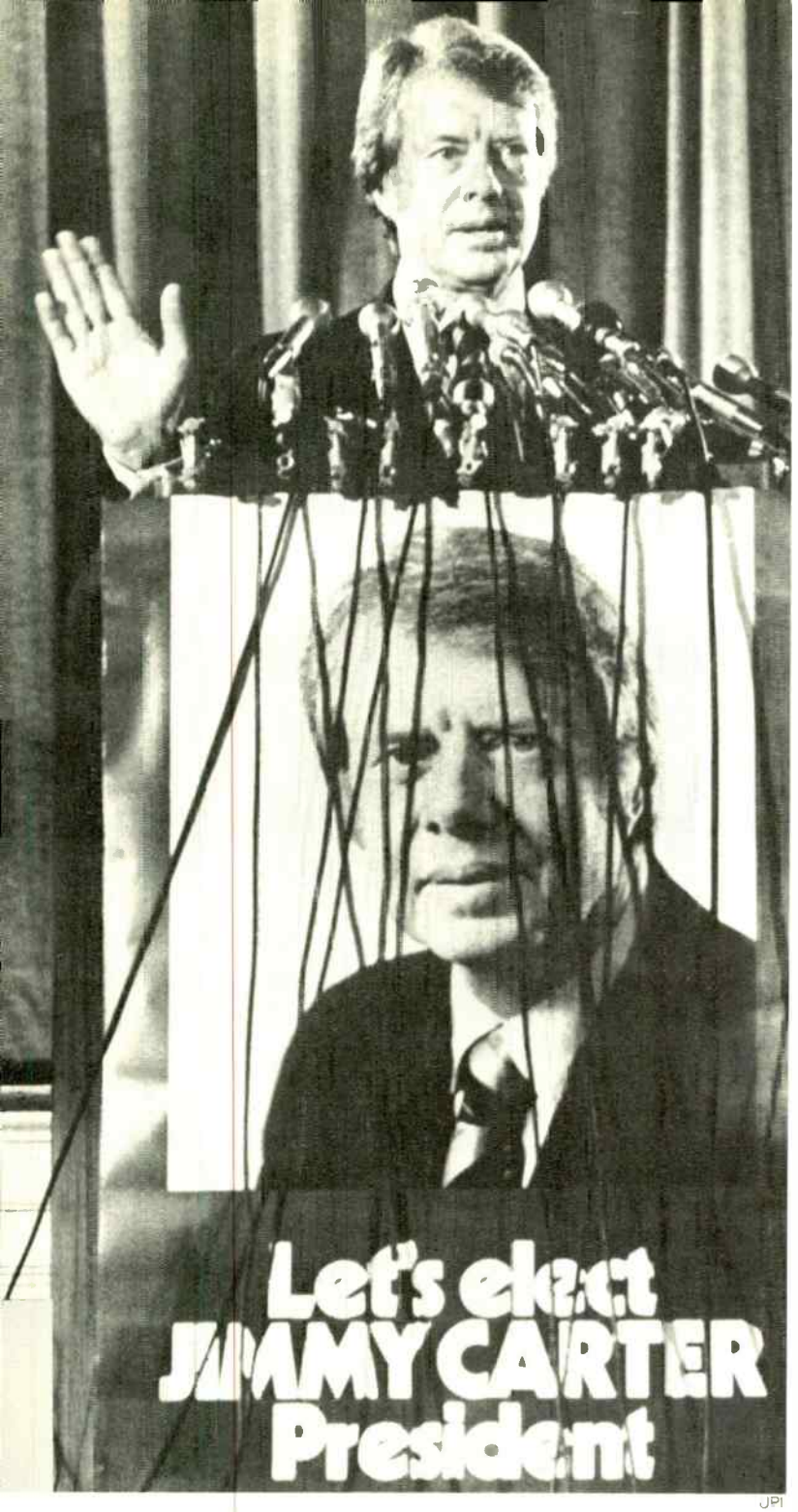
From the beginning, Steven Brill's article "Jimmy Carter's Pathetic Lies" (*Harper's*, March 1976) has been an event unto itself. Reporters covering the campaign recall hearing as far back as November 1975 that "something big" on Carter was in the works at *Harper's*. On January 19, almost a month before the magazine was scheduled to go on sale, a piece in *The New York Times* by Christopher Lydon (CARTER NOW A TARGET) listed several current attacks on Carter and reported that "the most searching criticism is yet to come in the March issue of *Harper's*." On January 30, according to a chronology released by *Harper's*, Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, asked for and was sent a copy of the Brill article. On February 2, Powell issued a detailed twenty-two-page rebuttal. The next day Jimmy Carter said on television that the article was "the most remarkable piece of fiction I've ever read."

Harper's began distributing advance copies during the first week of February, and a number of newspapers, whether they got the text from *Harper's* or from Carter's staff, ran portions of the text and commentaries on the article. One of the early birds was the *Washington Star*'s columnist Jack W. Germond, who on February 4 called the Brill article "but the latest round in what has become a liberal assault on Carter perhaps unmatched in harshness and intensity in any presidential campaign of the postwar period." Germond happens to like Carter. Alexander Cockburn, who writes a column called "Press Clips" for *The Village Voice* and doesn't like Carter, found it "well-researched." "It is, in fact, a devastating piece of work," said Cockburn. The February 16 issue of *Time* magazine (which went on sale February 9) devoted most of its press section to an attack on the article and the author, whom it called (quoting an unnamed "Washington-based political correspondent") "a hit man . . . the liberal enforcer." All of this, it should be noted, was going on *before* the March issue of *Harper's* ever made it to the newsstands.

In the May issue of *Harper's*, editor Lewis Lapham, in his column, "The Easy Chair," defended the article and the author and attacked Jody Powell (for releasing the article in violation of his word of honor) and *Time*. *Time*'s "malicious broadside" against Brill, said Lapham, was part of a high-level plot to promote Carter's candidacy. He was a little weak on proof, but he was sure that the plot involved an ad with Jimmy Carter's picture on it that *Time* had used to promote its own coverage of the political campaign. It looked, Lapham wrote, "very much like an ad for Jimmy Carter." Lapham also fingered Christopher Lydon as the unnamed Washington-based political correspondent who called Brill a hit man. Lydon does not exactly deny having said this, but, in a telegram to Lapham, said that *Time* "did not report my views on [Brill] or his work." *Time*'s managing editor, Henry Anatole Grunwald, shot off an angry letter to *Harper's*, calling "Lapham's general description of how this [Brill] story was supposedly handled at *Time* . . . so absurd as to defy comment," and saying that "*Time* has not endorsed Carter or any other candidate." Lapham has promised to respond in the July issue of his magazine.

At first glance, the attention the Brill article has received

Phil Stanford, a free lance based in Washington, D.C., is the author of a Citizen's Guide profile of Jimmy Carter published by the Capitol Hill News Service.



UPI

is a bit puzzling. It is neither the best nor even the hardest-hitting piece that has been written about Carter during the current campaign. It wasn't even the first to criticize him. Syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote their first unfavorable piece on Carter in January; so did columnists Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway of *The Village Voice*. Brill's, however, was the first lengthy, nationally circulated article critical of Jimmy Carter. This was due largely to Brill's own good political sense. Brill, who is a contributing editor of *New York* magazine, first proposed the article to his boss, Clay Felker. Felker turned him down because he felt that by the time the article appeared, Carter would no longer be a viable candidate. So Brill took the idea to *Harper's*.

Lapham came up with the title. It is hard to think of one more sensational than "Jimmy Carter's Pathetic Lies." This, too, contributed to the furor. However, there is some question about whether the piece was as fierce as the title. Brill's article is curiously ambivalent. At one point Brill says flatly, "Carter was a good governor." At another, "Jimmy Carter has many qualities that could make him a good president." Congressman Elliot Levitas of Georgia, a Carter supporter, has said that he often uses Brill's article in campaign speeches for Carter.

A third reason for the unusual amount of attention the article received was the Carter camp's response to it. As reporters who have covered the Carter campaign know, Carter's press office has been abnormally sensitive to any criticism. However, the vehemence of the response to the Brill article was extraordinary. Why did Powell choose to lambaste Brill's article but ignore, for example, the two lengthy articles by George Lardner, Jr., in *The Washington Post* (February 28 and March 7), which came to many of the same conclusions? Of course, the Brill article appeared first. But that does not account for the lack of a response in the second case; if one is wrong, so, presumably, is the other. The reason, I think, is that, as the Carter camp quickly realized, Brill was much easier to hit.

For one thing, he relied on unverifiable quotations to prove points. By my count, ten of the thirty-eight points raised in Powell's rebuttal concern alleged misquotation — of Carter, of Gerald Rafshoon, Carter's media director, and of officials in the Georgia state government. Since Brill didn't make a tape recording, and since the only witness to Brill's interviews with Carter was Carter's press secretary, it is impossible to know for certain who's right and who's wrong. Sometimes one must rely on quotations that may later be contested; however, it is clear that Brill would have been wiser to make his arguments with facts on the record more often than he did.

Occasionally, Brill overinterpreted facts. For example, he wrote that in 1972 Carter had "urged" that George Wallace be the Democratic vice-presidential nominee. The record — in this case an article in *The Atlanta Journal* — shows that Carter said that a Humphrey-Wallace ticket "would be acceptable to him and . . . 'would do well in the South.' " This may well be a politician's way of encouraging such a ticket, but Carter did not in fact "urge" the Democrats to nominate Wallace. Brill does much the same thing with a statement Carter made in 1971 on the Calley case. Brill says that Carter "urged Georgians to protest William Calley's conviction." What actually happened was that, in response to a great deal of pressure to declare his support for Calley, Carter proclaimed an "American Fighting Men's Day" and asked Georgians to drive with their headlights on to show their "complete support for our servicemen, concern for our country, and rededication to the principles which have made America great." Carter's statement is ambiguous; by carefully choosing his words he satisfied Calley's supporters without alienating those who considered Calley guilty of murder. In what seems to be his

eagerness to nail Carter — on Wallace and on the Calley matter — Brill missed this central aspect of Carter's approach to politics.

Brill also weakened his case by failing to distinguish between matters of greater and lesser importance. The best example of this was his handling of a remark Carter made in a speech to high school students. "If you have any questions or advice for me," said Carter, "please write. Just put 'Jimmy Carter, Plains, Georgia' on the envelope, and I'll get it. I open every letter myself and read them all." Brill used this statement as a key to the question of Carter's candor. "It's easy to believe," wrote Brill, "that he really does, as he told the high-school students, open his own mail. I did, until his press secretary told me the next day that the mail sent to Plains, Georgia is forwarded to the Atlanta headquarters."

The effect of this and other anecdotes like it is to make the entire piece seem an exercise in nit-picking. At least, it makes this charge plausible. In its reponse, Carter's staff pointed to the letter incident as "typical of the weighty issues raised by this article." After a few more such examples, it was possible for them to say, when they came to the question of dirty tricks during the 1970 campaign, that it was "another piece of trivia." It wasn't, of course.

Naturally, this recital of errors — unverifiable quotations, overinterpretation, and misplaced emphasis — gives a distorted picture of Brill's article. The article raised a number of substantial issues and contained a good deal of important information. Some of the criticism directed at the piece, particularly the rebuttal prepared by Jody Powell, has been downright deceptive. One of the few reporters who attempted to analyse the charges and rebuttals impartially was Phil Gailey of the Washington bureau of *The Miami Herald*. (See JIMMY CARTER'S CREDIBILITY GAP — IS IT REAL OR FABRICATED?, February 23, 1976.) Gailey found several statements in the Carter response that he considered false or misleading. One of these concerned a speech Carter had delivered in 1972 for a "George Wallace Appreciation Day" in Red Level, Alabama. Brill had suggested that the speech was missing from the Georgia archives because Carter had not wanted to have it on the record. Powell responded that no transcript had been made of the speech, but that, in fact, clippings from *The Dothan* (Alabama) *Eagle* showed that Carter's only reason for making the speech was "wishing Wallace a speedy recovery" from his wounds. Carter's press secretary said further that the event was held only to raise money to pay for Wallace's medical expenses. Gailey got a copy of the article Powell cited and quoted from it: "Although Carter stayed away from specifically endorsing Wallace, he emphasized forcibly many of the stands the Alabama governor has taken in his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination." By checking with the sponsors of the Appreciation Day, Gailey also found out that all proceeds went to Wallace's presidential campaign.

Perhaps the most striking example, however, involves a letter Brill found in the Georgia archives, addressed from Carter to a Mrs. Dempsey in Alabama. The letter says in part: "I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace. . . . I think you will find that . . . George Wallace and I are in agreement on most issues." The response from the Carter camp is significant: "The letter to Mrs. Dempsey," said Powell, "was written by a staffer, never seen by Governor Carter, and did not accurately express his views. Several hundred letters each day often were answered from the Governor's office by staffers; inevitably a few of these staff responses were not exactly what the Governor would have written. Had the writer of the article asked, he would have been told of the three-letter-initial code used to identify staff letters." Gailey checked — and discovered that the unnamed staffer was Jody Powell. "Some Carter supporters," wrote Gailey, apparently expressing his own feelings as well, "fear that the response may have done more to further cloud Carter's credibility than it has to help set the record straight." My own opinion is that Jody Powell did more to prove Brill's thesis than Brill did.

It is obviously impossible to consider in this space every point of disagreement between Brill and Carter. Brill's article was 6,000 words long; Powell's reply was about the same length. Brill did indeed raise a number of substantial questions. None of them, it happens, was original with Brill; in fact, most of them date from the 1970 campaign. Saying this should not detract from Brill's role in bringing the issues to national attention. But it should make it easier to see that the questions must be considered on their own merits.

As I see it, there are five major areas (all touched on by Brill) in which Carter's record needs a thorough examination. In some cases, reporters have already begun that examination, and I will try to mention some of the better efforts as I go along.

□ *Carter's tactics in his 1970 gubernatorial campaign.* Did Jimmy Carter, as some have charged ever since that campaign, pander to the segregationists in order to get elected? Anyone who wants to understand this aspect of the 1970 campaign should read Bill Shipp's four-part series entitled "How He Won It," which *The Atlanta Constitution* ran immediately after the general election (November 8-11, 1970). Shipp, who had excellent connections inside the Carter organization, made a very strong case that Carter consciously exploited the race issue. Paul R. Wieck's article for *The New Republic* ("Long-Shot Jimmy Carter," April 12, 1975), which was one of the first magazine-length pieces to be done on Carter after he announced his candidacy, did a good job of summarizing the tactics Carter used. A highly favorable article in *Time* magazine (March 8, 1976) cited Carter's courting of the Wallace vote and his cozying up to segregationists and found the 1970 gubernatorial campaign "the most questionable aspect of Carter's career." The difference between *Time* and many other publications is the way they choose to interpret the facts. Stan Cloud, who has done most of the magazine's writing on Carter, says he finds Carter's tactics during the 1970 campaign "something about which honest men can disagree." Cloud says he thinks Carter was "within acceptable

limits," and his reporting reflects this. The 1970 campaign is significant today chiefly because of what it may indicate about how far Carter is willing to go to get himself elected.

□ *Allegations that the Carter campaign used "dirty tricks" during the 1970 campaign.* There are two specific charges: first, that Carter's campaign printed and distributed leaflets showing Carter's chief opponent Carl Sanders with a couple of black basketball players pouring champagne over his head at a victory celebration. The second is that the Carter organization developed and financed radio advertisements for C. B. King, a black attorney who was also a candidate for the Democratic nomination. The object of this stratagem, presumably, was to draw votes away from Sanders, who was considered the liberal candidate in the race. These charges comprised perhaps the strongest section of Brill's piece for *Harper's*. Actually, neither of them is new; both were made by Carter's opponent Carl Sanders during the 1970 race. What Brill did was to find substantiation for them in the testimony of Ray Abernathy, a former vice-president of the Rafshoon Advertising Agency, which handled Carter's campaign. Abernathy's story has since been corroborated by Dorothy Wood, another former vice-president of the agency. George Lardner, Jr., of *The Washington Post,* appears to deserve credit for discovering Wood. (See JIMMY CARTER — PROMISES . . . PROMISES, March 7, 1976.) One of the best jobs of investigating the charge about the radio ads was done by Clark Hallas of the *Detroit News* (March 7, 1976).

Carter has repeatedly denied having had any knowledge of the "dirty tricks"; he says he has asked his campaign aides and they deny any involvement in them. There is a considerable amount of evidence that Carter's campaign staff did, indeed, engage in "dirty tricks." If this is so, either Carter is lying or his top aides are lying to him.

□ *Reorganization.* Carter says that this was his greatest accomplishment as governor. "As governor," says one of his campaign brochures, "Jimmy Carter pushed through a hard-nosed reorganization of the state's overgrown bureaucracy. He eliminated 278 of the 300 agencies and slashed administrative costs by 50 percent. At the same time he vastly increased state services to the poor, deprived, and afflicted, while leaving a surplus of $116,182,343.37 in the state treasury."

The best article on reorganization is Neal R. Peirce's report, "Structural Reform of Bureaucracy Grows Rapidly," for the *National Journal* (April 4, 1975). Peirce, who is an expert on state and local government, makes it plain that reorganization is primarily a management tool for gaining control of burgeoning bureaucracies. It is, first of all, not unique; since 1965, twenty states, including Georgia, have undergone reorganization. Reorganization is accomplished by regrouping existing agencies under a smaller number of department heads; this supposedly increases their accountability to the chief executive. Reorganization does not eliminate government employees, because that is not what it is intended to do; it abolishes agencies in name only. Carter's claim to have abolished 278 of 300 state agencies must be understood in that light.

Carter claims to have improved services through reorganization. Certainly, in some instances — notably, mental health care and environmental protection — there were improvements. It is hard to establish, however, what, if any, relationship these and other changes had to reorganization. Carter's other claims — to have achieved a 50 percent savings in administrative costs and to have left a budget surplus of $116 million — are somewhat easier to reckon with. When I asked Carter's news director for something to substantiate the 50 percent savings, he said that "no such statistics are available." No one in the Georgia state government has such statistics, either. As for the $116-million surplus: Carter did indeed leave office with a surplus of $116 million — $13 million more than when he took office. Supposing that this figure is meaningful — and this is not self-evident because the surplus depends on revenues, which depend on the state of the economy — it must also be stated that during Carter's term in office the state debt increased $205 million. The best newspaper articles on reorganization I have seen are by George Lardner, Jr., of *The Washington Post,* (CARTER'S CLAIM OF CUTTING BUREAUCRACY DISPUTED, February 28, 1976) and Dick Pettys, of the Associated Press Atlanta bureau (February 16, 1976). Pettys's two-part A.P. story appeared on February 18 in *The New York Times* under the headline CARTER'S CAMPAIGN PROGRAM CONTRASTED WITH HIS RECORD ON THE ISSUES WHILE HE WAS THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

□ *Carter's 1970 campaign contributions.* Carter has never released a list of the people who contributed to his gubernatorial campaign. The question first came up during the 1970 campaign, at least partly because Carter was accusing Sanders of accepting large corporate contributions. At a press conference a reporter asked Carter if he had received any large corporate contributions; Carter acknowledged that he had, but refused to say how much they amounted to or whom they were from. It is true, as Carter points out, that the Georgia law in effect at the time did not require disclosure; but it is also a fact that Carter has made openness in government a campaign issue. Brill mentioned the 1970 contributions in his article; it is one of the few allegations to which the Carter campaign did not respond. More recently, when Carter was asked on NBC's *Tomorrow* show about the contribution list, he said that because there was no disclosure law in Georgia "nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records." I checked with two accountants who worked for Carter's campaign in 1970 and both told me that the campaign organization kept records of all contributions. One of them, Richard Harden, a C.P.A. whom Carter later appointed to an important position in his administration, said that the contribution lists were kept by computer, and that Carter's campaign managers received a monthly print-out of all contributors.

Because of this contradiction, the contribution lists take on a special significance. However, the 1970 contributions may well be the visible tip of a larger issue. That is, of course, whether Carter has ties to special interests, especially Lockheed Aircraft and Coca-Cola, both major indus-

trial residents of Georgia. So far, only Cockburn and Ridgeway of *The Village Voice* (April 5, 1976) and Nicholas Horrock of *The New York Times* (CARTER, AS GOVERNOR, GOT FREE RIDES ON PLANES OF LOCKHEED AND COCA COLA, April 1, 1976), have shown any interest in the subject. If there is nothing to it, the matter should be laid to rest; the list of contributors from the 1970 election might help do that.

□ Finally, *Issues*. A common complaint among the press is that Carter is running on personality, not on issues. If this is so, it is not hard to see why this is possible. In a five-page feature on Carter — "Carter on the Rise" (March 8, 1976) — *Newsweek* managed to spend only two paragraphs on the candidate's stands on specific issues. This is all too typical. There have been several excellent analyses of Carter's current stands on a few issues, notably Cockburn and Ridgeway's careful article, "Energy and Politicians" for *The New York Review of Books* (April 15, 1976), Hobart Rowen's articles on economics for *The Washington Post* (see particularly CARVING AN ECONOMIC PLATFORM, April 12, 1976), and Ken Bode's "Why Carter's Big with Blacks," (*The New Republic*, April 10, 1976). Perhaps the best summary of Carter's overall political philosophy is a piece by James P. Gannon in *The Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 1976. Gannon is one of the few reporters who has figured out that, as the headline on the article indicates, CARTER, DESPITE IMAGE OF 'OUTSIDER,' FAVORS DO-MORE GOVERNMENT. However, most coverage had offered little more than capsule summaries of Carter's position papers or of statements he has made in press conferences or interviews.

What is particularly necessary in Carter's case is an analysis of how Carter's stands on issues have changed over the course of the past few years. My own study of Carter's record, which is far from complete, shows that since Carter started running for president, he has changed his positions in significant ways on amnesty, capital punishment, money policy, busing, nuclear power, farm subsidies, cuts in the military budget, foreign policy (notably the Vietnam war), and revenue sharing. Only by discovering these changes and coming to grips with the reasons behind them can the press finally fulfill its duty to answer the question: who is Jimmy Carter?

This was, of course, the question that Steven Brill set out to answer. For a number of reasons, he achieved only a limited success. To the extent that his article became a media event, it may have even impeded this effort, by diverting the discussion to irrelevancies. Again, to the extent that this occurred, the responsibility must be shared by Brill for being careless, by *Harper's* for adding the sensational title, and by certain members of the press for treating it as a political sideshow. There is really no point in blaming the Carter organization for its part in promoting the article as a media event; politicians are not responsible for what the press does.

Brill's article served a purpose by raising certain important questions before a national audience; then the questions got lost in a flurry of public name-calling that often passes for journalism. Most of the questions still need answering. ■

UPI

UPI

Wide World

Top: *Georgia governor-elect Jimmy Carter celebrating his 1970 election victory*

Center: *Governor Carter and outgoing governor Lester Maddox at the 1971 inauguration ceremonies in Atlanta*

Bottom: *Carter, in 1971, signing into law his governmental reorganization bill*

California 1974: the Browning of

The uses and TV abuses of Jerry Brown's politics of dullness

by MARY ELLEN LEARY

An unusually extensive study of the impact of the media on a political campaign was carried out during the 1974 California gubernatorial campaign. The study's findings are just being made available. Sponsored by the California Center for Research and Education in Government, which publishes the California Journal, *the $125,000 study was funded by grants from the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation and the Ford Foundation. During the seven months of the campaign, fourteen staff members monitored and analyzed newspaper coverage and radio and television broadcasts, and interviewed reporters, editors, and broadcast executives, as well as the candidates and their staffs. The results of the study will appear in a book written by Mary Ellen Leary, which will be published late this summer by the Public Affairs Press. The report that follows is adapted from that book.*

The Editors

The study's most disturbing finding was that in 1974, when Californians depended to an unprecedented degree on television for information about candidates and issues, television-station managers, news directors, and producers shied away from covering the campaign. The campaign, a majority of television executives interviewed believed, was a bore. To put matters only a bit more bluntly than they usually did, they feared that extensive campaign coverage would cost viewers and ratings points, and they wanted to avoid that if they could.

The most direct evidence that California television regarded the campaign as unimportant news was the amount of time given to it on local news shows. On six major stations monitored in four principal metropolitan areas, the governor's race accounted for just 2 percent of their total news time from September 4 to the November 5 election. And one-third of that coverage belonged to just one station, KNBC in Los Angeles, the only station which tried to provide consistent campaign reporting. The other TV stations monitored were KGO-TV in San Francisco (ABC owned-and-operated), which made the second-strongest reporting effort; KCRA-TV in Sacramento (NBC affiliate); KGTV (NBC affiliate) and KFMB-TV (CBS affiliate) in San Diego; and KTLA in Los Angeles (independent). Of the 257 hours of news (advertising subtracted) aired by these six stations during the two months, only six hours were given to the campaign — two of those on KNBC.

Television's antipathy to the campaign meshed nicely with the front-running candidate's own desire to avoid too much television exposure and close questioning on sensitive campaign issues. "If there was a strategy in the campaign," one of Edmund G. Brown, Jr.'s top campaign aides said later, "it was to try to keep out of trouble and not get involved with issues like the death penalty or victimless crimes or marijuana. . . . We were very careful. . . . The issues we picked were obscure and boring and dull. . . . The press coverage never bothered us. It was as adequate as we wanted it to be. It was our feeling that the less coverage the better. . . . The duller the race the better. We wanted this dull, dull campaign. I think we succeeded."

Jerry Brown, for his part, was very

Jerry Brown and Houston Flournoy meet to debate

Mary Ellen Leary, a former Nieman Fellow, has been covering California politics since 1944.

reluctant to participate in frequent statewide television debates. This reluctance, together with underdog Republican Houston Flournoy's understandable eagerness to debate Brown, culminated in an unusual pact — a formal written agreement between the two gubernatorial candidates to limit their joint appearances and the broadcast coverage of them.

The agreement stipulated that there was to be no full-length broadcast reproduction of the first debate between the two candidates, which took place before the Sacramento Press Club in early September. Four of the other five debates, it was specified, might be shown in full by television only within one area and only on a single designated station. In all the debates but the last, which was set for November 2 in Los Angeles, just before the election, the telecasts were on smaller stations in areas outside California's three major population centers — Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego. Most of the stations were public broadcast stations. Only one debate was shown statewide — and that was over the public broadcasting network. Radio reproduction was prohibited. Even the duration of the television news coverage of the debates was restricted, albeit vaguely. News reports, the agreement stipulated, might be no more than "normal news coverage." In practice, this meant two-minute excerpts at most. (Of the six hours of debate, all six monitored TV stations carried a total of just over thirty-two minutes in news reports.)

during the 1974 California gubernatorial campaign.

Wide World

Not a single commercial broadcaster in California protested these limitations on their coverage of the debates during the campaign's final months. (Statewide, there was one protest — from KUCI, the campus radio station at the University of California, Irvine.) It was not only the broadcasters who failed to object. No journalism school, no citizens' group, no public-interest law firm spoke out against the agreement. Nor did any California newspaper. Despite the almost universal agreement among members of the press that television is the instrument of communication with the most impact on elections, newspaper people in California apparently saw no reason to protest limitations that touched only broadcast freedom, not their own. Had the candidates presumed to limit newspaper coverage of the debates while permitting television complete access, the uproar would surely have been prodigious.

Admittedly, California is not the nation — although a few years ago we were encouraged to think it was. And certainly the circumstances of a governor's race must be used cautiously in talking about what is likely to happen nationally in 1976. But there is little reason to believe that the trivialization of the electoral process by imposing on it television's preferences and imperatives is in any significant way exclusive to California.

The extraordinary pact between the two candidates was solemnly drawn up by their attorneys, and a "referee" was named. (The agreement conferred on the referee the right of subpoena, a right obviously derived out of thin air.) Such a document presuming to restrict the news coverage and the use of air time surely represents an all-time extreme in this country for the dominance of a campaign by the candidates. (In a concluding flourish, the agreement warned: "No person other than a signatory hereto shall have any right to seek judicial remedy as a result of the existence of this agreement or any alleged violation thereof." This, if taken seriously, would neatly demolish the constitutional right of a citizen or group to petition the courts regarding the agreement's provisions. If the clause had not been nonsense, it would have been a shocking restriction of civil liberties.)

Why did the broadcasters, not generally known for timidity when their interests are threatened, go along? Presumably, because of California television's prevailing distaste for political reporting, which was evidenced during the course of the campaign.

There were scattered, timid efforts to break the embargo. After the gubernatorial campaign got rolling, several stations wanted to air debates, but were "forbidden" by the agreement. In San

campaign coverage

Diego, KGTV offered an hour of prime time for the candidates to meet, emphasizing that this, the second largest city in the state, had not been included in the scheduled debates. We're for it, said Flournoy's staff, if you can get Brown's consent. Sorry, said Brown's staff, we're bound by the agreement.

One Sacramento station, KXTV, actually filmed the first debate and toyed with the idea of running it in full that night, in defiance of the candidates' ban on rebroadcasts. They requested permission. It was refused. After conferring with lawyers, the station decided not to use the film.

Another surprising discovery was that the 1974 campaign for governor found television newsrooms almost emptied of news specialists (apart from sports and weather reporters). For several years TV reporters had been actively discouraged from specializing in political coverage. As a result, political reporters had virtually disappeared from California television by 1974. Only Rollin Post of KQED, San Francisco's public TV station, was designated a "political reporter," and Post was kept off the air during the campaign by a strike at the station.

A combination of factors led to the de-emphasis of specialized political reporting. Most observers, however, including many who work in television news, believe that the most important factor was the emphasis on higher news ratings, through what has come to be known as "happy-talk," "eyewitness," or "action" news. By 1974 this approach to news was being encouraged by consulting firms that had sprung up in the wake of the new profitability of news operations.

In California, Los Angeles resisted the "happy talk" approach longer than most market areas, but KNXT, after KNBC passed it in the ratings, began to drop many of its solid news reporters and to quicken its news format. "KNXT went silly," says Vic Biondi, a former political reporter for KNBC who is now the press director of a state agency. "The consultants eliminated specialists. Television today does not offer background stories on politics or anything else. [Such stories] require more than ninety seconds of air time to explain, and ninety seconds has become an optimum for a news item. When you limit news to breaking news or spot events, the time required to get the story is short and any general reporter can pick up enough facts to accompany the film. This format does not require specialists. It is a function of cost and of the commitment by station management."

Television reporters interviewed for the study unanimously contended that the brevity of TV news items, and the use of reporters on political assignments who are unfamiliar with the field or denied the time to learn what they need to know, are the principal reasons for the "dullness" of political news. Yet "surface" reporting is what generally passes as political news, they complained. "It's very difficult to do a twenty-second or thirty-second story that tells anything," said Rollin Post. "It's just got to be superficial." Another reporter added, "Political stories today give only an illusion of reality, not substance." "If politics could only be covered with as much coherence as sports!" exclaimed a third reporter. "As it is, the viewer may get what happens on this day or that day. The news is never related, one day's development to another's."

News directors generally did not concede that news quality had declined. And they usually insisted that ratings had no impact on their news selection. But Paul Thompson, the news director of Sacramento's KCRA, acknowledged that consultants' studies affected the design of news shows because the consultants based their recommendations on what they found the public to be interested in, which in turn tended to guide news selection. "Does political news rate lowest?" Thompson was asked. "Well, I don't know whether it is lowest of all, but it is near the bottom," he said.

In the light of its slack campaign coverage, it was ironic to see how industriously California television prepared itself for election night — by which time, of course, the voters had made their choices. Stations whose executives said they had put absolutely no extra money into covering the campaign went to great expense for the show-business "excitement" of election night. KGO-TV, in San Francisco, for example, spent weeks preparing a thirty-seven-page manual detailing how fifty of its staffers would cover election night. At Brown's election-night headquarters at the Los Angeles Convention Center, sixteen TV cameras were deployed. There were Sufi dancers and a Sufi choir, a mariachi band, and a rock band. The auditorium was rimmed with booths at which wine was sold; the walls were hung with banners bearing quotations from Martin Luther King or Latin phrases, one of which was *Age quod agis*, which Brown translated as "Do your own thing."

At the climax of the evening, the victorious Jerry Brown appeared before the cheering crowd in Los Angeles at the same time that Houston Flournoy was making a statement at a Los Angeles hotel. In the midst of the campaign's concluding uproar (Flournoy's statement was taped and run after Brown's appearance), Chuck Rossi, KNBC's assignment editor, watched the confusion at Flournoy headquarters, where several reporters were struggling to make themselves heard over the noise of the crowd, and said, "This isn't news. This isn't journalism. This is *programming*. It is something related to news. But it is not journalism."

Has television, then, so trivialized politics that to the general public it represents only one more seasonal spectator sport? The question is one that many California journalists asked themselves in 1974. By measuring political campaigns against broadcasting's penchant for entertainment, by reducing news of the campaign to fleeting glimpses, by airing fragmentary, punch-line phrases instead of serious talk, and by forcing candidates to rely so heavily on advertising to gain access to the public, television, these reporters suggested, has reduced political campaigns to little more than scenarios taking place in an electronic world. Within that world, the politician becomes a celebrity, and assumes the aura of artificiality associated with celebrities. The viewer, meanwhile, is treated to a parade of talent which he or she enjoys or tunes out largely on the basis of what is loosely known as charisma or the glibness of a thirty-

second TV spot.

Whether such attitudes have, consciously or unconsciously, seeped into the public mind, and whether they have a bearing on the decline in voter participation on election day was not examined in the California study, but that many experienced broadcast reporters raised such questions with bitterness and anxiety was one important element in the data collected. Those who spoke in such terms, reporters with long experience in broadcasting, contended that the corrosive influence of television on public attitudes about government was larger and more subtle than its luring of candidates into concocting "media events." Some justification for this alarm was contained in the view expressed by many top broadcast executives: license responsibility forced them to provide some coverage of the 1974 race, but the constant refrain was that the campaign was "too dull to cover." Many executives spoke of politicians as self-serving propagandists and of the election process itself as a burdensome intrusion into their lively world of pictorial excitement. Disparagement so deeply rooted surely had an effect on the product. Many broadcast reporters thought that commercial television, when it holds the election process in such low esteem as news, tends to undermine public confidence in government.

The most far-reaching conclusion of the study was that television distorted the campaign and served to erode, rather than support, the democratic process. Why did this happen? The study came up with a variety of interrelated answers: because television forced campaign news to conform to standards considered appropriate to the camera; because executives in television stations disparaged politicians and the value of campaign coverage; because commercial television by its nature usually prefers to provide entertainment rather than information; and because news selection all too often is dictated by what the public is believed to want to see.

Admittedly, the elements in a political contest do not lend themselves to facile screen exposition in thirty to ninety seconds. They are not easily explained under any circumstances and only with consummate skill can they be depicted. Major public questions that need solving, a candidate's policy on such questions, or struggles for political power, all evade abbreviated television exposition. They need time and they need talk. But TV news as presently selected is basically visual, not intellectual. It is action-oriented and entertainment-minded, not informational. Therefore, what television chooses as the day's news is often not what is most important. This superficiality has been emphasized by the deliberate withdrawal of political specialists from television newsrooms. Television executives thus fulfill their expectations that "politics is dull" by rendering it trivial.

What the 1974 California gubernatorial election poses, even as a single-state election affected by the "Watergate climate" and by some peculiarities of party and of public mood in California, is a number of questions about national policies relating to television and the public interest during political campaigns. It also provokes questions about the direction and role of other media, especially radio and newspapers. Most of all, the California experience affords the public a chance for a revealing look at how modern elections function. And it demonstrates the need for a far more open process, a more vital and informed media role, and new ways to bring the voter back into participation. ■

Tony Korody/Sygma

Jerry Brown and well-wishers on election night in California, 1974

The press's very own

The tale of a media flap in which the nearly all-male press showed once again that boys will be boys

by JUDITH HENNESSEE

During April's big media flap over ABC's five-year, $5-million co-anchoring job offer to NBC's Barbara Walters, a cartoon by Szep appeared in *The Boston Globe*. It showed Walters, wearing a low-cut evening gown and smiling like a maniacal hostess, perched on a high stool and holding a script; on the cover of the script were the words: "Barbie's Evening All Newsy Show," and beneath, in smaller letters: "With Harry What's His Name." The caption was: "But first, a word from my sponsor."

The cartoon captured the essence of the uproar over whether Barbara Walters was worthy to join the company of the three wise men of television each evening at 7 P.M. In two weeks of near-hysterical comment about her journalistic credentials, her marketplace value, and the purity of broadcast journalism in our society, the bulk of the flustered press decided that she was unworthy.

Between the time ABC made its bid and Walters's decision to accept, the Barbara Walters story made front-page headlines across the country. Everywhere one saw her smiling from ear to ear as if she had just won the Irish Sweepstakes. And, of course, she had — and it was unforgivable. What *Time* magazine called the "male air" had been violated, the exclusive all-male anchor club desecrated. Walters, said *Time*, "will have to hustle for her million." Hustle? A quartet of pictures accompanying the article relegated Walters to ineffectual childhood. The caption read: "Barbara and the anchormen: ABC's Reasoner, CBS's Cronkite, NBC's Chancellor." Last names for them, first name for her. Goldilocks and the Three Bears.

The headlines that appeared across the nation were manly put-downs, too. From the New York *Daily News* came DOLL BARBIE TO LEARN HER ABC'S. The *San Francisco Examiner* and *The Christian Science Monitor* had sex and romance on their minds, coming up with BARBARA LEAVES JIM FOR HARRY and TWO NETWORKS WOO BARBARA WALTERS. *Newsweek* opted for money: "The $5 Million Woman," which brought to mind *The $6 Million Man* and *The Bionic Woman*, while *The Boston Globe* started off respectfully with $1 M ANCHORPERSON in a headline that went on to ask WHAT PRICE RATINGS? *Newsday* contributed THE NEWS, STARRING BARBARA WALTERS. IS BARB WORTH A MILLION? *The Detroit News* wanted to know. (No, she's not, it decided.) *Broadcasting* settled for "The supersalaried superstar: Eyebrows are up everywhere over Walters's high price tag," which left the reader with the erroneous impression that Walters, not ABC, had set the fee.

Most of the stories were written by men, expressed male reactions only, and quoted other men exclusively. Admittedly, it's not easy to find women to quote in the upper reaches of corporate television, but there's at least one, right there at ABC — Marlene Sanders, who recently replaced Av Westin as vice-president of ABC News. Sanders remained invisible in print, and buried deep in the collective male unconscious was the fact that she, not Walters, was the first woman to anchor a network news program. Sanders substituted, it is true; nevertheless, it *was* the network news, and no one bothered to mention it. History began with Barbara Walters, who was being offered all that money.

Variously referred to as a "million-dollar baby" or "queen of the newsroom," Walters was also, with dreary inevitability, labeled "aggressive." To Bob Williams of the *New York Post*, she was "the instinctively aggressive Miss Walters." *Time* chose "pushy" and went on to tell a tale of a "ruinously over-eager" Walters grabbing a mike — a CBS mike — out of someone's hand to get a story. (One is left with the feeling that if she hadn't grabbed the mike *Time* would have found her ruinously lacking in chutzpah.) What else was wrong with her? Gary Deeb of the *Chicago Tribune*, who printed a great many anti-Walters comments, quoted an anonymous CBS source: "She'll bomb. For one thing, she's not a very good reader — plus she has a terrible lisp." Walters does have a slight lisp, which, however, doesn't seem to prevent anyone from understanding her or otherwise to have hindered her career.

The quotes from men in broadcasting were revealing — of the men. ABC's Harry Reasoner, who is used to sharing (Howard K. Smith stopped co-anchoring only a short time ago), at first reportedly threatened to quit. Alas, poor Harry. For years his "Comments" have been studded with smugly superior views of women, and was he now to be dethroned by one? Harry finally — a raise intervened — welcomed Barbara with "no reservations," but not before giving this enigmatic statement to Deeb of the *Chicago Tribune:* "Admittedly, I have a reaction of personal pride. But that doesn't necessarily mean that I wouldn't recognize bringing Barbara over as a good idea, if indeed it *is* a good idea — or that I have any personal negatory feelings about Barbara, or indeed about women in general." That Walters was being paid more than Reasoner seemed no cause for concern. "That [money] happens to be the one area that I'm not very neurotic about," Reasoner said. "The disparity doesn't bother me in a competitive sense." It may have irked him in a financial sense, though, because he is now making more money than he was before.

Judith Hennessee is a free-lance writer and a contributing editor of [MORE].

Barbara Walters show

Press reports on the state of John Chancellor's mind were contradictory. In an interview with Philip Nobile of [*MORE*], the NBC anchorman was asked: "Would you have remained at your post if NBC put her [Walters] on your show?" Chancellor replied: "Happily, I didn't have to do any soul-searching on that. NBC made its mind up at the very beginning." But according to an "exclusive" gleaned by New York *Daily News* columnist Liz Smith: ". . . when NBC asked John Chancellor about sharing his nightly news spot so NBC could keep Barbara, spoilsport John threatened to take his ball and bat and go home if he had to play with Barbara in his ball park."

At CBS, the gut reaction to the ABC transaction was striking. "Yecch," said Richard Salant, president of CBS News. And Walter Cronkite, in a speech before the CBS affiliates (see page 24), said: "There was a first wave of nausea, the sickening sensation that perhaps we were all going under, that all of our efforts to hold network television aloof from show business had failed."

Throughout the country, the press pondered or at least fussed over two aspects of the million-dollar question. One was, had some fiscal line been crossed that supposedly divided journalists from show-biz personalities? The other was, was Barbara Walters a competent journalist? (In their frenzy, few journalists were able to prevent their feelings about "show-biz journalism" from affecting their assessment of Walters's competence.) Walter Cronkite obviously thought some previously unperceived line had been crossed — "all our efforts to hold television news aloof from show business had failed." So, too, did *The Washington Post*'s ombudsman, Charles B. Seib. In WALTERS: NEWSPERSON OR TV-AGE COMMUNICATOR? Seib begins portentously: "The line between the news business and show business has been erased forever," conceding in the next sentence that "it was a mightly thin line at best, so not much has been lost." Later, writing of the barbarous million and apparently oblivious to the affluence of his colleagues Woodward and Bernstein, Seib asserts: "That's not journalism money. That's entertainment money — up there with the likes of Johnny Carson and Catfish Hunter and the rock star of your choice."

It is never made clear precisely where the magic line of demarcation begins or ends. Presumably, journalism ends with the estimated $300,000 to $400,000 (no exact figures are available) currently being paid the three male anchors. If they were being paid a million dollars and Walters were offered two million, the line would undoubtedly be drawn at one million. But the anchors earn show-biz salaries already. The money they get is not just for standing up there and reading the news. Anyone can do that. It's for the special talent that attracts audiences and brings in the ratings. (As reporters pointed out at the time, all Walters needs to do to justify her salary is to boost the evening news show's ratings by a single point; they also scrupulously reported that Walters was not getting a million dollars just to read the news; among her other duties, she would anchor four hour-long "special" programs to be produced by her own production company and paid for by ABC. William Sheehan, president of ABC News, was quoted as saying that her news anchoring salary was "not disparate" compared with what the others were getting, but few reporters paid much attention to what they were reporting.)

The million-dollar offer is confirmation, of course, that TV journalists are stars. It doesn't raise the question; it tells us what we have all known for some time. As Sander Vanocur, who has been on both sides of the line, observed in *The Washington Post:* "Walters has not done anything to television journalism that it had not already done to itself. She did not invent the star system. . . . she has simply taken it, at least in monetary terms, where no one has taken it before."

Many of the journalists who made most of the show-biz angle failed to acknowledge that it was being assiduously pushed by NBC, which throughout the whole episode behaved with the gracelessness of a jilted lover. After Walters announced that she had decided in favor of ABC, NBC publicity people called reporters across the country to say that the network had pulled out of the negotiations *before* the announcement because of the "carnival atmosphere." Walters's demands, they said, "were more befitting a movie queen than a journalist." She wanted her own hairdresser, limousine, and press agent — all of which, of course, Walters already had. Why did so many journalists accept and pass on the NBC line? In part, perhaps, because it suited their own prejudices; in part, because it provided them with an instantly recognizable stereotype — the temperamental prima donna. (NBC's publicity department had displayed similar imaginativeness in the past, with equal success. In 1975, after the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission ruled in favor of a group of women at NBC who had filed a sex-discrimination complaint against the company, the publicity department sent out a release which read, in part: "The report of the New York City Commission does not find any intentional sex discrimination at NBC, or sex discrimination in any case.")

Women reporters were less likely to echo the NBC script than men. Aleene MacMinn of the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Walters up front as saying that the million-dollar job offer "was a challenge I couldn't refuse. It was not a question of money." Marilynn Preston of the *Chicago Tribune* quoted Walters as saying, "No real newsman could turn it down, and for a woman it was unique." Preston called NBC's disparagement of Walters "a shabby episode," and added: ". . . one of the nobler reasons Barbara Walters has for leaving the *Today* slot is to open it up to

another serious, striving newswoman. Likewise she feels that if she goes to ABC and really does a job proving once and for all that women can be every bit as acceptable and authoritative as men in prime-time news situations, she'll pave the way for female coanchors at the other two networks within the next five years." And on *60 Minutes* Shana Alexander argued: ". . . if we're all in a media circus . . . I want to see Barbara Walters in center ring. . . . They ought to pay her two million bucks, a million-dollar survival bonus for fifteen years in this all-male circus."

Writing in the *Daily News*, columnist Liz Smith observed: "If Barbara had only been a man, everybody would have cheered, or at least chewed their cigars in grudging admiration for such a power play." It was left to *Newsday*'s male television critic Marvin Kitman to observe that a woman doing the same job as a man was finally making more money than a man.

Was Barbara Walters qualified for her new job? NBC's policy (presently being reconsidered) of having *Today* hosts do commercials left Walters open to a number of jibes. Thus, *Time* was able to quote a journalist as saying "What do you say about a 'newswoman' who sells Alpo?" And Art Buchwald could ridicule Walters in a column headlined THE DOG WON'T EAT. The hero of the scenario is a dog who misses Walters so much that he won't eat his Alpo. Or so everyone thinks. He sits on the rug in the producer's office and turns down offers of more money, a hairdresser, and a limousine as the producer grows more and more frustrated. Then the phone rings. It's the dog's agent at the William Morris Agency. The agent says that what the dog really wants is a million

On choosing — and paying — anchorpeople

The Barbara Walters news did shake me up at first, as it did us all. There was a first wave of nausea, the sickening sensation that we were going under, that all of our efforts to hold network television news aloof from show business had failed. But after sleeping on the matter, with more sober, less hysterical, reflection, I came to a far less gloomy view of the matter.

For one thing, Miss Walters's qualifications as a journalist are not all that lacking. It is not as if ABC had hired a singer, dancer, or ventriloquist to share the *Evening News* duties with Harry. Barbara started out as a writer — even worked for the *CBS Morning News* once. She is an aggressive, hard-hitting interviewer. She does her homework. Her background is not what I would call well-rounded — newspapers, press services, the police, county courts, statehouse beats — but who is to say that there is only one route to a career in journalism?

And on those sober, second-day thoughts, I came to feel, too, that some of us might be indulging in just a bit of hypocrisy when we accused ABC of plunging our profession into show business with the Walters contract. My friends, if salaries *alone* are the criterion, we in television news have been in show business a long time, and the difference between Barbara Walters's new remuneration and that of the rest of us on-air news people is but a matter of degree. And that is not a fact of recent days: it goes back to Ed Murrow and beyond.

But that is not a really valid comparison, either. What we on-air broadcasters do comprises a dimension beyond the skills required by the newspaper reporter, writer, and editor. If we do our jobs well, we do those things — reporting, writing, editing — as well or better than the print journalist, but beyond that we have to have the special skills — talents, if you please — to present our material through the spoken word and in a visual medium, frequently to think on our feet and to be right the first time with no editor imposed as a protective buffer between us and the public. We must be able to pull from our heads the background of a given story, complete with the historical reference when relevant. We have to balance the moral and the immoral, the appropriate and the grossly inappropriate, the acceptable and the offensive, the right and the wrong even as facts are tumbling in upon us, and there are no second guesses. With a certain degree of immodesty, I suggest that those of us who can do that are worth a little more than the print journalist — or, perhaps, a *lot* more.

What I do have some problem understanding is why an anchorperson who does *not* have those qualifications still receives such large compensation. In fact, I wonder if those stations that hire the young and beautiful but inexperienced and callous to front their news broadcasts are not getting ripped off.

Any newsman worth his salt knows that advisors who dictate that no item should run more than forty-five seconds, that there must be a film story within the first thirty seconds of the newscast, and that it must have action in it (a barn burning or a jackknifed tractor-trailer truck will do); who call a ninety-second film piece a "mini-documentary"; who advise against covering city hall because it is dull; and who say the anchorman or woman must do all voice-overs for "identity" — any good newsman knows that all that is balderdash. It's cosmetic, pretty packaging — not substance.

And I suspect that most station operators know that too. But I think they've been sold a bill of goods, that they've been made suckers for a fad: editing by consultancy. Yes, suckers, because there is no evidence that this formula news broadcasting — the top twenty hit news items — works. It may — may — produce a temporary one or two-point rating advantage, or an interesting set of demographics. But the evidence that it does not work is in the startling turnover of anchorpeople and news directors in our affiliated stations. Estimates are that 50 percent or so of these people change jobs every two years, and for many stations the rollover is quicker than that.

That's no way to build a reliable, dependable news staff. For one thing,

Excerpted from a speech by Walter Cronkite to the CBS Affiliates Conference held in New York last May.

dollars "and to do the evening news with John Chancellor." It was ironic that the sins of NBC should be visited upon Walters while NBC was so busily maligning her.

During the two weeks of media furor, journalists with an unacknowledged personal dislike of Walters seized the opportunity to savage her. Some of her more inept critics merely revealed their own limitations. In a lengthy article that bore the headline THE SOAP OPERA SAGA OF BARBARA WALTERS, Deeb of the *Chicago Tribune* raises the question "Does Harry Reasoner really retch at the thought of teaming up with Walters?" Deeb confidently "guesses" that Walters will "have little discernible effect on the ratings. . . . In fact, she may cost ABC some news viewers." Deeb can't bear to give her points for anything. "She's a smart, tough interviewer — nothing more," he writes, apparently unaware that Mike Wallace is also a smart, tough interviewer and considers it a compliment to be told so. "Most informed observers," Deeb continues, "theorize that Walters not only isn't a truly outstanding newswoman, but that even as a TV 'personality' her stock is vastly overrated." And who are these informed sources? None other than the people at NBC who were spreading the word of a "carnival atmosphere." According to them, Walters is "one of the most thoroughly disliked personalities in television." Deeb adds, "She's right down there with Howard Cosell," and he proceeds to predict that she, too, will be "overwhelmingly rejected by viewers . . . when she begins to preen and posture as a network news editor." The thought of Walters's downfall appears to please him immensely.

In the East, Bernie Harrison of *The Washington Star*, who identified himself as a "male chauvinist," was patronizing: "Let us give Barbara credit — she works hard." Walters's lisp bothers him, as does the fact that she "cold-bloodedly" educated herself. Her success "is a measure of the lack of foresight on the part of the TV networks in providing platforms for newcomers. . . . Barbara didn't get the co-hosting job on *Today* until eight years after she began on it," he adds, after conceding that it's hard for women to break into television. "Much of her interview reputation derives not from insightful revelations but from the nervy confrontation of prominent guests with gossip."

Bob Williams of the *New York Post* makes the same point: "Miss Walters's forte lies more in her ability to obtain and conduct interviews with prominent public figures than in reading or delivering the news." So, too, does *The Washington Post*'s Charles Seib, who writes, "She has shown herself to be an effective interviewer, but one much better at probing personalities than at exploring matters of substance." Seib then goes on to waffle elaborately: "And if she is not a journalist, she is something else, something comparatively new. She is a TV-age communicator." In the tricky process of defining this novel term, Seib transmutes what other journalists picked on as flaws into something approaching virtues: "Somehow — perhaps it's the lisp, or the occasional stumble, or the restless eyes — she comes through as a person. . . . She claims your attention like the most insistent, most insecure person at a party. You can like her or dislike her, but you can't ignore her. This is what ABC has bought in lieu of a million dollars worth of journalism." A western waffle, served up with a dollop of condescension, was provided by Phil Kerby of the *Los Angeles Times*, who wrote: "Nowadays . . . news is mostly disaster, and as for the snippets offered on television, I'd rather get my disaster quotient from Barbara than anyone."

Eschewing the waffle, *The Washington Star*, in an editorial entitled IS BARBARA WORTH IT? IS ANY NEWS PERSONALITY WORTH IT? resorted to innuendo: "Ms. Walters, we gather, prefers to regard herself as a journalist. . . . we trust Ms. Walters will enjoy her new job which reportedly comes with a personal hairdresser, public relations agent, and limousine. That's the new biz — tubenewsbiz."

Syndicated columnist Tom Tiede used the occasion to deliver a sermon entitled OF MONEY, VALUES AND BARBARA WALTERS. After noting that "To now she has earned only about $300-$400,000 a year for her vital contributions to the education of the great unwashed" and will now be paid much more, Tiede concludes: "The truth is, our system of service compensation is obscenely backward. Those whose work is most valuable receive the least reward." Within the context of Tiede's sermon, Walters is made to symbolize all that is corrupt in the land. It is the traditional let's-blame-it-on-Eve syndrome. "In years to come," Tiede writes, "Ms. Walters will be a nightly suggestion that neither life, nor freedom, nor domestic security is sacred in the nation anymore, only money."

One wonders: If Walters had learned her journalism at the hands of Tiede, Deeb, Seib and Co., would her credentials have been questioned? ■

by WALTER CRONKITE

these fly-by-nights don't know the territory. They don't have the credibility of long-time residents, nor, what is worse, do they have any long-term interests in the community, and the unsettling fact must be that the would-be viewers are impressed *un*favorably by these frequent comings and goings.

For what you pay those inexperienced announcers, you could hire the best — the best newspaper reporter in your town — as on-air broadcaster or news director, or, possibly both . . . a person who knows the city like a book, likes the city, warts and all, and plans to raise a family there.

He very possibly has a little gray in his hair, may be bald, may wear horn-rimmed bifocals; likely his collar is somewhat crumpled and his tie is done in an old-fashioned four-in-hand instead of a properly bulbous Windsor. The female equivalent may be equally unfashionable. But I'll guarantee you this: that slightly tousled codger is going to exude more authority and reliability and believability and integrity from the nail on the little finger of the left hand than that pompadoured, pampered announcer is ever going to muster. And isn't that really what our news departments are all about — isn't that really what you want to sell: authority, believability, credibility, integrity?

Who has said that won't work? Some market analyst who has no concern for news integrity but is looking only at the numbers? You really don't mind abdicating your responsibility to him? ■

Cable TV: the bottled-up

How long can over-the-air broadcasters — and their friends in government — keep the cable genie from getting loose in the land?

by RONALD P. KRISS

Until the last decade or so, over-the-air broadcasters regarded cable television, with tolerant condescension, as a convenient auxiliary that brought clear pictures — including pictures of detergents, deodorants, and dandruff cures — into thousands of otherwise unreachable homes and thus provided a rationale for raising advertising rates. Cable still serves that function, but broadcasters no longer regard the industry merely as "a grubby infant," as *Business Week* described it in 1971. For now, after twenty-seven years, cable is assuming the menacing aspect of a rival medium.

The vast potential of cable has long been recognized. Where over-the-air broadcasting — even with U.H.F. channels — is limited to a comparative handful of frequencies, cable can potentially deliver up to eighty interference-free channels over long distances. The implications are enormous. The promised abundance and versatility of cable has stimulated planners to talk of a "wired nation" — a universal medium that would not only carry greatly expanded educational, cultural, and civic programming but would permit two-way communication with its audience and bring into being dial-a-libraries, facsimile newspapers, remote-controlled shopping, data transmission, banking by wire, electronic mail delivery, and instant national referenda.

Although most observers assume that eventually such uses of cable will come to be, they have remained vague about cost and timing. As Les Brown put it in *The New York Times:* "Whether cable will become a medium unto itself, instead of an aid to TV reception, has never been a question; the question has always been when. Optimists still predict it will happen in the 1980s; pessimists give it longer, some not until the 21st century."

Back here in the 1970s, the question of cable's emergence is more narrowly drawn: will cable be permitted to develop as technological and economic circumstances permit, or will government regulation, supported by over-the-air broadcasters, impede or halt its progress? During the first half of 1976 this issue has produced an unbecoming dogfight between broadcast and cable, and it looks as if a reluctant Congress will have to attempt a settlement.

Until recently, broadcasters have had little cause for alarm, because government has supervised cable to the point of strangulation. The chief regulatory body, the Federal Communications Commission, is not wholly to blame; Congress left a legislative vacuum and the F.C.C. moved in. Moreover, it moved in with the concept that cable was, and always would be, subservient to broadcasting. Partly as a result of this attitude, cable's growth has been slow; barely a quarter-century after its inception it has attained a "penetration," as broadcasters call it, of only 15.3 percent of American homes, compared with 97.5 percent for over-the-air television.

Now there is a growing consensus in the government that cable has been shackled too long, but it is a difficult time to do anything about it. Although Congress has responded to the extent of trying to draft new — and long overdue — legislation, the odds are that no law will emerge before the national-convention recess, and probably not before 1977, if then. A presidential election year is hardly prime time for any legislation affecting broadcasters, let alone something as touchy as this. As agencies of a White House fine-tuned to the campaign, the F.C.C. and the Office of Telecommunications Policy are unlikely to push for policy changes, and the dependence of members of Congress on broadcasters is even more obvious.

Moreover, the opposing sides offer little ground for consensus. Broadcasters depict cable as a parasite, a shameless freeloader living off conventional television's sweat and ingenuity. The cable industry sees the broadcasters as a coddled, over-protected special interest that rakes in outrageous profits, thanks mostly to its fortuitous possession of a limited resource, the airwaves.

The two sides were put on a collision course last February, when the Communications Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce issued a staff report on cable TV. It was the first comprehensive congressional study of the industry since the early 1960s, and the authors pulled few punches: "The FCC has continually refused to confront the basic issues presented by cable television and is not likely to unless Congress provides the impetus," they wrote. They accused the F.C.C.'s Cable Bureau and Broadcast Bureau of being "shills" for the industries they were supposed to oversee, and they charged the commission itself with "following a protectionist policy."

"It has chosen to interpret its mandate from the Congress," they wrote, "as requiring primary concern for individual broadcasters rather than for the needs of the audience being served." The F.C.C., the authors went on, kept a tight rein on cable TV "largely because of its threatened impact on conventional broadcasting."

To rectify this situation, the report urged in a statement particularly chilling to broadcasters that the government abandon its reliance "on any particular technology as the chosen instrument of national communications policy."

Ronald P. Kriss is a senior editor at Time *magazine.*

Specifically, the report recommended:

☐ Amending the Communications Act of 1934 to cover the cable industry and to acknowledge its importance in the national communications system.

☐ Easing the rigid rules curtailing cable's ability to pluck signals from distant transmitters and the restrictions on programming for pay television.

☐ Requiring that cable operators pay reasonable fees to copyright owners, which they do not now do. ("Cable's growth," the report rightly noted, "cannot be based on such an unfair foundation.")

☐ Enacting a "rural telecommunications act," patterned on the Rural Electrification Act that brought light to the nation's countryside, to finance low-interest loans for building cable systems in remote areas.

None of the parties was entirely pleased. Some of the cable operators grumbled about the copyright proposal. Independent critics complained that the rural loan provision would leave the government deeply involved in cable's activities. But the sharpest outcries came, naturally, from the broadcasters. The National Association of Broadcasters branded the report as an effort "to replace the great system of over-the-air broadcasting in the United States with a wired nation which would cost over $200 billion in construction costs alone." (When broadcast lobbyists *really* get worked up, they put the cost of wiring the nation at $1 trillion. Estimates cited in Ralph Lee Smith's *The Wired Nation*, published in 1972, ranged from $15 billion to $123 billion, depending on the extent of the system and its range of services.) ABC warned that the existing television structure "should not be undercut by a subsidized wire service at tremendous additional cost which would serve only the small minority who can afford it and will have access to it." In a similar vein, NBC complained that the report betrayed "an elitist approach" that departed from the basic American concept of "a free broadcast system."

Progress since has been slow. The Communications Subcommittee had intended to hold hearings in March, when Washington was still buzzing about the staff report. But political infighting helped delay the fifteen-day hearings until mid-May, when the report had had time to cool.

There were other problems. Pressed by Ronald Reagan, that archenemy of Washington, President Ford had made a point of relaxing the federal government's regulatory hand. The White House sent Congress proposals for "deregulating" the airline, rail, and trucking industries, and cable TV was next on the list. For months, the White House had been studying proposals aimed at increasing competition between cable and over-the-air television. But ideology had to give way to prudence. As Paul W. MacAvoy, a member of the president's Council of Economic Advisers and a leading advocate of deregulation, told *The New York Times:* "The industry screamed bloody murder." The White House backed off.

MacAvoy hastened to add, however, that the industry's rage was not the chief reason for hastily dropping cable deregulation. "Those who propose change," he said, "have the burden of coming up with the evidence about its probable impact." The pro-cable forces had not produced convincing evidence; one subcommittee source referred to a "research gap." The broadcasters, meanwhile, had come up with hair-raising figures. In a White House memo that was leaked in April, MacAvoy quoted the N.A.B. as saying that if cable TV were permitted to import an unlimited number of distant signals into an area, "over half the stations in the country would be driven out of business."

Since 1949, when it was developed independently by engineers in Pennsylvania and Oregon, cable has grown steadily. By January 1, 1961, there were 640 cable systems, serving 650,000 homes. A decade later, the number of systems had increased to 2,500; the number of subscribers had grown to 4.9 million. Today some 3,450 systems are wired, by means of 190,000 miles of cable, to 10.8 million homes in all fifty states plus the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and Guam.

What may be more significant is that while cable is available to only 30 percent of U.S. homes, fully half of these have been wired. According to some estimates, by 1981 cable will be available to 50 or 60 percent of U.S. homes. If half of those homes were wired, that would mean close to 25 million subscribers to cable TV.

While cable was growing, Congress kept hands off. In the absence of specific legislation, the F.C.C. began to take charge of the industry, usually to protect local stations.

In 1972 the F.C.C. issued a ruling that managed both to alarm broadcasters and nearly kill cable. Since 1966 the commission had maintained a freeze that barred cable systems from entering the "top 100" TV markets (led by the New York metropolitan area, with close to six million TV households) without express F.C.C. approval. The 1972 order lifted the freeze, but at the same time required cable systems plunging into the top 100 to provide at least twenty channels, half of them reserved for educational, cultural, and public-access programs.

The cable operators thought it was the breakthrough they had been seeking. True, they weren't all that happy about having to maintain public-access channels and to provide those who sought access with video equipment to boot. "The industry," one civic-minded cable spokesman said loftily, "cannot afford to sacrifice itself on the altar of public good." Still, they foresaw a bonanza in the big cities — and nearly went bust. In rural areas, cable could be strung for as little as $3,500 a mile; in cities, it has been known to cost as much as $80,000 a mile. In rural areas, one cable's prime attractions was improved reception; but many big cities al-

had excellent reception — except for New York, with its skyscrapers, and Los Angeles and San Francisco, with their canyons and valleys.

Cable operators were also authorized to introduce pay television, which had been tried experimentally, and usually unsuccessfully, in the 1960s. Under it, subscribers may pay either a flat monthly surcharge or a per-program fee for first-run films, sports events, and other attractions. At the beginning of 1973, pay systems had only 16,000 subscribers throughout the U.S. By the beginning of 1976, there were 500,000.

From the first, broadcasters demanded stern "anti-siphoning" rules to keep pay TV from outbidding the networks for top attractions. As the House Communications Subcommittee puts it, "Siphoning is a word used by broadcasters, no doubt because it evokes the image of a cable operator robbing the broadcaster of his programming." One critic of the broadcasters notes that with pay TV accounting for perhaps 1 percent of all TV homes, "Anti-siphoning regulations are akin to protecting an elephant's feeding rights against interference from a mouse." To the broadcasters, however, this is a mouse that someday, soon, may roar: according to ABC officials, figures compiled by the Stanford Research Institute show that by 1985 the pay TV industry may be able to spend nearly $900 million to acquire programs; the three networks spent $1.1 billion in 1974 for that purpose.

Despite cable's financial struggle in the big cities, it had one very important thing going for it. From the early 1970s, in the universities, the courts, and government offices, a feeling seemed to be growing that cable should be at least partly freed from restrictive regulations and given a make-it or break-it chance in the marketplace.

Late in 1971, an eighteen-month, $500,000 study commissioned by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation gave powerful impetus to this feeling. *On the Cable: The Television of Abundance* saw
ck that either many local stations
uld wither as cable audi-
port went on: "If
is to fall victim to
e, it is in no dif-
any other enterprise
nts have been made,

and possesses no greater right than other industries to protection from technological change." No greater right than, say, the radio or film industries possessed when television happened along and mugged them both.

Four years later, yet another blow for cable was struck by the Committee for Economic Development, a private, nonpartisan organization of 200 business and educational leaders which produces thoughtful, well-researched policy papers on a variety of current issues. Noting that business "has a stake in the diversity of voices competing in a free market," the C.E.D. urged: "In the transition from scarcity to greater abundance and diversity, broadcast policy should rely more on competitive market forces and less on government regulation. Fair competition among the technologies should be encouraged." The C.E.D. did have a major caveat. "There are cogent arguments," it said, "for protecting the established broadcast service if a competitive system deprives the public of present benefits without offering the prospect of future improvements. What is needed, therefore, is a national policy that strikes a reasonable balance between the promotion of diversity through cable and the preservation of an effective system of over-the-air broadcasting."

Easier said than done. For years, the F.C.C. has been promising to formulate such a policy and submit it to Congress. So has the White House. Congress, for that matter, has promised to come up with its own plan. Watergate slowed the effort; election-year politics has slowed it further. Still, there has been some movement, however glacial.

The Justice Department has filed a number of briefs in behalf of the cable industry, and has warned the F.C.C. that its efforts toward shielding the broadcast business could lead to a "dismal swamp of protectionism." In the Senate, Edward Kennedy and Philip Hart are sponsoring a "competition improvements act" designed to ease broadcasting's stranglehold over cable. The Senate Judiciary Committee, meanwhile, has completed its proposed revision of the Copyright Act of 1909. Its bill, S.22, calls for a statutory schedule of fees for cable operators based on gross receipts: one-half of one percent of the first $40,000 would be paid to the Register of Copyrights for distribution to copyright holders; 1 percent of the next $40,000; and so on to a top fee of 2½ percent on gross receipts of $160,000 and over.

A House Judiciary subcommittee is also moving toward copyright legislation, and it is weighing the Senate approach as well as a couple of other, more complex ones. Thoughtful cable executives agree that without a revamped copyright law to cover their business, there is not likely to be an effective overall measure. "The most urgent need is a resolution of the copyright issue," said a congressional aide who is sympathetic to the cable industry. "The cable operators have got to be made to pay for the material that is the foundation of their whole industry." But as the House subcommittee is learning, finding a formula that everyone can live with is devilishly difficult.

There are other thorny issues. Exclusivity, for instance. If a cable system is allowed to pipe a great number of signals to its subscribers from stations near and far, how can a local station prevent duplication of its own programming? And if broadcast television is weakened, will the poor be penalized because they cannot afford to pay the $10-a-month fee that prevails in some places?

Clearly, any legislation that is produced in the next year or so will have to deal with some nigh-insoluble problems — problems of competition versus protectionism, the role of the marketplace, the question of reasonable profits, the whole direction of electronic communications, the social impact of cable.

Beyond all that is perhaps an even tougher issue than any of these. "People are limited in the amount of information they can absorb," the C.E.D. noted in its 1975 report. "If the move from scarcity to abundance in communications does not guarantee better or more complete information, if it only guarantees *more*, then it may well serve no constructive purpose."

For all its promise, the fact is that cable is still a long way from guaranteeing anything much more than — well, more. ■

The sins of Sears are not news in Chicago

When the world's largest retailer went on trial, the hometown press wasn't interested

by MICHAEL HIRSH

"I must say, I was really surprised at the lack of coverage," Ernest Arms, national news director of Sears, Roebuck and Company, said, looking back on Chicago coverage of a Chicago story that had national implications.

Speaking of the same story, Bob Olmstead, a reporter for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, said: "I thought the coverage in Chicago was marked by a curious lack of interest by the media. As the Sears people say, the story certainly wasn't a big-ticket item around here."

What was the story? Back in the summer of 1974, the Chicago regional office of the Federal Trade Commission accused Sears, Roebuck and Company of systematically engaging in bait-and-switch selling tactics — that is, advertising low-priced products, then making them unattractive or unavailable and pushing higher-priced items on the baited customer. Sears emphatically denied the allegations. The trial before an F.T.C. administrative law judge began in Chicago last February. After eleven days of hearings, Sears abandoned its emphatic denial and sought to negotiate a consent order. As of mid-May, a consent agreement had yet to be signed.

What might conceivably have made the story newsworthy to Chicagoans? To begin with, Sears's national headquarters are in Chicago. Moreover, the company, which employs nearly 30,000 people in the Chicago area, and 417,000 nationally, happens to be the world's largest retailer, with annual sales in excess of $13 billion. The weekly *Advertising Age* ranks Sears the nation's third most lavish advertiser, led only by Procter and Gamble and General Motors, and estimates that in 1974 the company spent $370 million in media advertising. Again, Sears has more than 21 million credit accounts, which means that 30 percent of all households in the United States (there are 71,120,000 of them) have an account at Sears. And, finally, there were two other interesting, and interrelated, aspects of the story: the nature of the suit — the world's largest retailer was charged with systematic deceptive advertising — and the nature of the testimony.

For the eleven days that the hearings lasted, eighteen former Sears employees from thirteen states and twenty-five consumer witnesses from eleven states gave evidence of dirty tricks that made Sears sound like the CREEP of the business world. One former Sears salesman, for example, testified that cheap, advertised television sets were deliberately connected to bad antenna systems or incorrectly connected "so you'd have a bad picture," while another witness told of loosening bolts on on-sale sewing machines so the machine "would make noise and rattle." A third witness, asked where he had learned his duplicitous selling techniques, testified that he was "instructed and trained by his division managers," and that when he himself became a division manager he instructed a second generation of salespeople "on those same types of techniques." The testimony, in short, was the kind that might well have found considerable interest among the general public, and most certainly among that segment of it that had been victimized by bait-and-switch tactics. (The degree to which bait-and-switch was company policy was not established at the trial, although evidence was introduced showing that Sears's system of compensating its salespeople encouraged the practice. Asked to comment on this aspect of the

Michael Hirsh is executive producer at WTTW, Chicago's public television station.

'Sears has more than 21 million credit accounts, which means that 30 percent of all households in the United States have an account at Sears. . . The story that unraveled during the F.T.C. hearings was one that affected a large segment of the American public — and the coverage it received ranged from spotty to none'

Sears case, James Drzewiecki, one of the F.T.C. attorneys who tried the case, said, "I don't think anyone in Sears Tower said, 'Let's go out and bait-and-switch.' Nevertheless, it happened. They set up a system that encouraged the whole thing, and there is a long-established doctrine of law that they are responsible for the acts of their employees.")

Before citing evidence of the short shrift the Sears story got in Chicago, one further point should be made to explain why this kind of consumer story merits better reporting than it generally gets and than it got in Chicago. Suppose that the chairman of the board of a multibillion-dollar corporation was accused of murdering his wife. How would the press react? Surely we would have coverage of the crime scene, reports on the indictment, the defense, the trial, and the verdict. Much of the story would probably be front-page stuff. Yet how many Americans would be directly affected by that story? The man's family, of course, and his friends and close business associates. But it would have no effect whatsoever on the daily lives of the general public. The story that unraveled during the F.T.C. hearings in February and March was one that affected a large segment of the American public — and the coverage it received in Chicago, both in the press and on the air, ranged from spotty to none, with one interesting exception.

□ The *Chicago Tribune* (daily circulation 747,000): the *Trib* carried not one line about the case from the date the trial began, February 17, until it ended, on March 2. On March 8, nearly a week after the trial was halted at Sears's request, the *Trib* carried a four-paragraph story about the trial. The story was not staff-written; it had come over the wire from the Dow-Jones News Service and was a condensed replay of a report filed by David Elsner of *The Wall Street Journal*'s Chicago bureau.

Sears, Roebuck and Company spends more than $5 million annually to purchase advertising space in the *Trib*; Sears is the paper's largest advertiser. Did this account, in part at least, for the paper's minimal and belated coverage of the Sears story? William M. Jones, the paper's managing editor in charge of news, says that Sears made no attempt to keep the *Trib* from covering the story; that any such attempt would have been rebuffed; and that the decision not to cover the story had nothing to do with advertising. "Decisions are made daily as to what stories will be covered," Jones said, "and we chose not to cover that one."

□ The *Chicago Sun-Times* (daily circulation 560,000): readers of the *Sun-Times* were only slightly better informed about the Sears case. The trial was first mentioned on February 26, the seventh day of testimony. Articles on the case subsequently appeared on March 6, March 8, and March 21 — all after the trial had ended. Reporter Bob Olmstead, who wrote two of these March stories, later said, "There wasn't any resistance to my covering it. . . . It just kept getting shunted aside for other work."

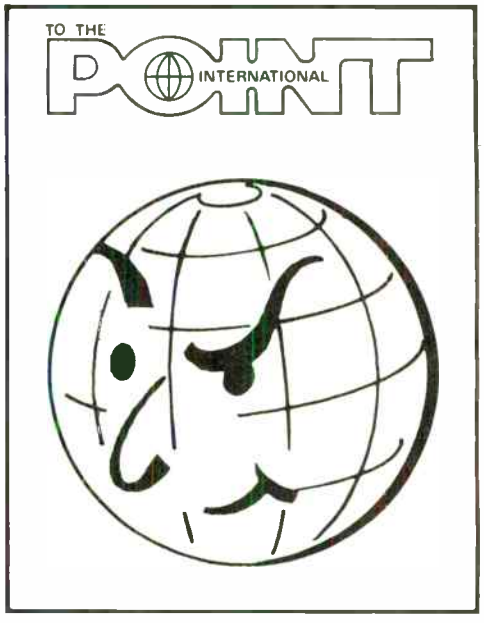
□ The *Chicago Daily News* (daily circulation 374,000): the clip file of this evening paper yields only two stories. The first, which ran on February 26, echoed the story in the morning *Sun-Times* down to the misspelling of a witness's name; the second, which ran on March 8, relied heavily on reporting by the Dow-Jones News Service. Asked about her coverage of the trial, *Daily News* reporter Betty Washington said, "It was on my schedule every morning, and if I checked up there [at the Federal Building] and found it was just going to be another salesman from Texas on the stand, then I said, 'The heck with it.' " Washington said that other trials and legal actions were going on at the time of the Sears trial and that she had to cover these, too.

□ *Home Furnishings Daily* (national circulation 38,000): this was the only Chicago-based publication to staff and report the trial story on a daily basis. The lone reporter was Art Weinberg.

As for broadcast coverage, it was minimal. F.T.C. officials recall that WBBM, CBS's all-news radio station in Chicago, conducted interviews with principals at the beginning and end of the trial, and that WMAQ, NBC's Chicago station, interviewed two of the former Sears salesmen who testified. The officials add that there was absolutely no TV coverage of the trial. ■

Do you know what they are saying about us in London, Peking, Tel Aviv, Johannesburg, Tokyo?

Do You Care?



Then you'll want—
TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL

From outside of the United States comes this totally different magazine to give you a new perspective on international happenings, trends and opportunities. TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL not only sheds refreshing light on our international friends and detractors . . . but, on ourselves as well.

Published fortnightly in Antwerp, Belgium, TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL creates down-to-earth discourse with the world through the expert reporting of over 50 top-flight correspondents, writing from where they live. No corner of the globe is left uncovered . . . from Athens to Zambia . . . Malmo to Montevideo. You'll learn about little-known places not reported on by the American press.

TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL reflects a diversity of foreign attitudes towards the United States. You'll encounter such provocative insights as . . . what Western Europe thinks of American detente . . . whom the Israelis back as our next President . . . how U.S. banks stack up in the eyes of foreign economists . . . where American influence today is most effective.

FOR WORLD-MINDED PEOPLE

TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL focuses on the topics that direct and shape our very lives—global politics, energy, war and peace . . . technology, finance, science. Not just facts and figures, but astute analyses . . . probing investigations . . . clear-headed projections enlightening you to how you and your business are affected by world happenings.

In addition, each issue of TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL carries in-depth coverage of Africa, the "new" continent. Here you'll find windows to a world that Americans must know more about. "African Background" and "African Diary" regularly bring you the kind of relevant information not to be found in current magazines. Outlooks that create a new understanding of the people, politics, markets, developments of this largely ignored land.

GUARANTEE TO AMERICAN SUBSCRIBERS

You can join TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL as an American Subscriber for only $12 and receive 18 biweekly issues. In addition, our Guarantee gives you the right to cancel service at any time . . . and we will refund your entire $12, no matter how many issues you have already received!

So, if you're curious to how others see America . . . concerned with developments that affect us economically, politically, sociologically . . . influenced by opportunities emerging around the world—return the attached coupon for your 18 bi-weekly issues of TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL—today!

TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL
BOX 697
HIGHTSTOWN, NEW JERSEY 08520

A No Risk Offer to American Subscribers

TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL
Box 697, Hightstown, New Jersey 08520

ORDER FORM

Please enter my American subscription for 18 bi-weekly issues of TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL at $12.00. I understand I have the option to cancel my subscription at any time and receive a *full* refund, no matter how many issues I have received. I enclose no money now, and will be billed later.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Mail To: TO THE POINT INTERNATIONAL
Box 697, Hightstown, New Jersey 08520

6005-2

The return of the

Tony Calvacca/courtesy N.Y. Post

New York City, March 19, 1976

A non-story is revived to a packed house

by JOHN MULLANE

The long, narrow hearing room on the twenty-fifth floor of the State Office Building in lower Manhattan is packed. A New York state Senate subcommittee is investigating the effects of budget cuts on the police and fire departments. Photographers, reporters, and camera crews representing virtually every television and radio station and newspaper in New York have jammed themselves into the front of the room.

The hearings, which are now in their second day, have received generally scanty coverage. But this unusually hot morning of March 19 is different. The press release has promised that at 11 A.M., a masked policeman from the elite narcotics section of the New York Police Department will appear. As testimony by an earlier witness drags on past eleven, a television reporter on the sidelines whispers a complaint. "I've got another assignment at 12:30," he says. The problem is quickly solved; the witness is dismissed and the call goes out: "Bring on the masked man!"

Instantly, all scurry to their posts. Lights flash on and cameras film the hooded figure entering from a rear door. He is a short, skinny man who looks even smaller next to two burly, gun-toting bodyguards. His hood, which appears to be a black silk bandana, covers his head completely, coming to a point about four inches below his chin.

As cameras roll and pencils scratch, Ken McFeeley, head of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, introduces the hooded man. "In order to maintain this

John Mullane is a general-assignment reporter for the New York Post.

hooded witness

man's security, we have had to put a hood on him, and we have had to take extraordinary precautions in both arriving here and hopefully after we leave," says McFeeley with furrowed forehead. "We know for a fact that if this man's identity were known he could be dead within two hours' time. It is that simple."

The hooded witness now begins to tug at McFeeley's sleeve. What with his heavy leather coat, the brilliant television lights, and the unusual heat of the day, he is already sweating profusely. "Is it possible," he wants to know, "if they [the television crews] could hold off slightly with their cameras" while he addresses the senators? Then, to everyone's astonishment, he volunteers to remove his hood. He assures one and all that after speaking with the legislators sans hood, he will pose with it on for a special session with the press.

Hastily, state senator John Calandra, the committee chairman, discourages the idea of either removing the hood or turning off the cameras, and the hooded policeman is urged to begin.

"Narcotics is again running rampant in this city," he warns. "Large numbers of police are being dropped from the narcotics division," and "the result is crime that continues to increase. . . . There is nothing stopping it. . . ." (Since New York began its flirtation with bankruptcy last summer, police have waged a vigorous publicity campaign against personnel layoffs in their departments. Their warnings of a crime wave, however, have not materialized.)

"In one case," the witness charges, "they were after a major narcotics dealer and it required the payment of fifteen minutes' overtime. The superior officers . . . canceled the operation because they refused to pay the fifteen minutes of overtime, and there was a major narcotics dealer off the hook."

After a long pause, a shocked senator repeats the statement and asks if he'd heard correctly. "For only fifteen minutes of overtime?"

"For approximately fifteen minutes, or a half hour," hedges the witness. After several additional minutes of testimony, the "fifteen minutes" becomes "two hours," and then "eight hours additional per man," at a cost of hundreds of dollars. And the major narcotics dealer who got off the hook turns out to have been selling "an eighth or a half a kilo of drugs." (The drugs are not specified.)

Then comes the biggest shocker. At the end of a half hour of testimony, the hooded witness demands to have his name placed on the record.

"I would be perfectly happy if just the chairman knew his name," says one senator hurriedly. "It can be added at a later date," suggests another legislator.

"I want my name known," he declares determinedly to the startled congregation. "Detective Stephen Spinelli," he announces, and obligingly spells it for reporters.

N.Y. Daily News

Washington, D.C., June 19, 1972

On television news broadcasts that evening Spinelli ran near the top of the program, with none of the contradictions and embarrassments of his testimony. He was carried by WCBS-TV and WABC-TV during both six and eleven o'clock local reports, and by two other New York local TV stations as well. Five radio stations (AM and FM) sent reporters to the hearing and gave Spinelli considerable air time throughout the day. Suburban newspapers reported Spinelli's testimony in depth. As for the city's three major dailies, *The New York Times* and *New York Post* carried no story about Spinelli's testimony; the *Daily News* in its article made only a passing reference to him, but ran a two-column picture on page 5.

In publicizing Stephen Spinelli's name, several of the television broadcasts explained that he used a different name in his undercover work. But no reporters, apparently, went to the clips, where they would have identified the officer as the same hooded detective who had appeared under similarly dramatic circumstances four years before in Washington.

Then it had been a House committee investigating narcotics in the schools. Wearing what seems to be the same homemade hood, Spinelli had captured page-one headlines in all the papers of June 20, 1972. He had claimed that New York City's schools had become a "sanctuary" for drug addicts and pushers; that 90 percent of the high schoolers had experimented with narcotics; and that at one high school 40 to 50 percent of the students were on heroin. He had also had some sensational allegations to make about the Brooklyn district attorney, none of which were ever substantiated.

Now, four years later, the same play was enjoying another successful run. The only television news operation not taken in by the spectacle was WNBC. Their news desk, executive director Norman Fein explained, simply decided that the story wasn't worth reporting. They'd seen the gimmick before. ■

NATIONAL NOTES

Cover-up in Long Beach

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

By almost any reckoning, it looked like a good story. Under the headline, L.B. COPS' PARTY ENDS IN RAMPAGE, the April 17 edition of the *Independent Press-Telegram* detailed how thirteen off-duty cops, continuing their drinking after a bachelor party, ran amok the night of March 10.

It appeared that the *Independent Press-Telegram* had found a skeleton in the police department's closet. But there was another skeleton: the paper's police reporter and city editor had known about the incident since March 16, almost five weeks before the story appeared. And it wasn't until May 5 — as part of the newspaper's continuing coverage of the incident — that readers of the paper learned that fact.

The April 17 story reported the depredations at length: traffic violations, harassment of bar patrons, the choking of two customers into unconsciousness and the beating of another, and finally a near-confrontation with three on-duty vice officers who tried unsuccessfully to arrest a man on marijuana charges. The story said that the chief of police had recommended dismissal of three of the offenders, against whom misdemeanor charges were filed, and suspension of the rest.

Says city editor Lee Craig: "We [Craig and police reporter Chuck Cheatham] found out about it [the rampage] three to four days after it happened. At that time, all we knew vaguely was that a group of off-duty cops terrorized part of town." He adds: "No one filed any complaints. The first place they terrorized was a fag joint. People were not anxious to come forward."

Craig said he told Cheatham to ask police chief Kortz to comment, but Kortz would only say he was looking into the matter. Craig says he decided to see what would happen. "He knows we know, so let's see what the hell he's going to do about it," he quotes himself as saying to Cheatham at the time.

Several weeks passed, and nothing happened. So Craig said he told Cheatham, "Let's have the damn story, regardless." "By coincidence," Craig adds, "the chief was just then forwarding the letter to the city manager regarding the suspensions, so now we had a great handle for our story."

Craig and other editors deny that the newspaper tries to protect the police. But some members of the staff believe there is a longstanding policy — or at least an attitude — that dictates favorable coverage of police news in Long Beach. They point to an easy attitude of cooperation between the police and the newspapers.

Craig concedes that the paper sometimes permits the police access to its materials: "It's not too frequent, but there have been occasions in the past when in a murder investigation, say, police express interest in looking at our negatives."

He also says that if the newspaper needs a photo of someone, "They [the police] give us mug shots." But he denies that such cooperation produces favored treatment for policemen in the news.

Craig says now that he should have pursued the rampage story more aggressively: "It was my decision. But now I think I should have handled it full-bore with an investigation. We didn't really know that much about it at the time. I should have been a little more active."

On May 7, the newspaper acknowledged editorially its error in news judgment, and said, "We hope this particular kind of error will not be repeated. We do promise that if we ever make a mistake of this magnitude again, we'll tell you about it candidly. . . ."

Editorial writer David Levinson says that the May 7 editorial was unusual. "But then I've never encountered anything in which we've so grossly erred in this way," Levinson adds. *Nancy Day*

The hatching of a gadfly

TWIN FALLS, IDAHO

When it comes to hometown reporting, newspapers tend to be all boost and no bite. The Twin Falls *Times-News* was no exception — until three years ago, when William Howard, the then-twenty-three-year-old son of a major owner, became publisher, and Richard High, who was thirty, took over as chief news executive. Since then, the *Times-News* has changed around from the boosters' buddy to an inquisitive gadfly whose new aggressiveness has involved it in a multimillion-dollar libel suit.

In November 1975 the *Times-News* began publishing a series of reports about the Sierra Life Insurance Company, whose headquarters are in Twin Falls but which operates in many states. Sierra Life first filed a $100,000 libel suit against the reporter writing the series, Bill Lazarus. When the articles continued, the company hit the *Times-News* with a $36 million libel suit. One possible effect of the two suits might be

A former staff reporter for the Associated Press in Los Angeles, Nancy Day is a staff writer for the San Francisco Examiner. *Dwight Jensen is a free-lance writer living in Boise, Idaho. Myron Levin is a free-lance journalist living in Kennebunkport, Maine.*

to shut off newspaper coverage of questions regarding Sierra Life's financial strength.

Sierra Life does business under Idaho's somewhat casual laws governing life-insurance companies. Lazarus, who is twenty-six, found that Sierra Life is, according to some officials of states other than Idaho, on shaky financial ground. Wyoming has declared the company statutorily insolvent. Sierra Life has agreed to stop selling insurance in North Dakota and Oklahoma. Insurance officials in Utah are studying a 1975 report made by an examiner representing a group of states which declares one-third of Sierra Life's $18 million in assets to be "inadmissible" — that is, not sufficiently sound to serve as backing on insurance policies.

The *Times-News* — almost alone among the Idaho press — has been reporting this, under the assumption that people in Idaho who buy life insurance or invest in life-insurance companies are entitled to know what other state insurance departments think of the financial strength of an Idaho-based insurance company. Indirectly, the competence of Idaho's insurance department and the adequacy of state insurance law are also at issue.

Fred Frazier, president of Sierra Life, personally filed the $36-million libel suit against the *Times-News*, then handed out press releases to representatives of that paper and of other media outlets. The Sierra Life complaint includes a list of headlines, news reports, and editorials alleged to be libelous.

Frazier is scathing in his denunciation of the coverage. "That fellow Lazarus got the top Idaho Press Club award [for 1975] for — what do you call it? Investigations. Snoopy reporting. Anyway the top award for digging up this story on us. Hell, he didn't dig up anything. Everything he found out about us, I gave him. We have nothing to hide. . . . But he figured he could make a Watergate and get himself promoted to Chicago." Lazarus, for his part, says that Frazier was cooperative — "until the *Times-News* examined in some depth a major asset of the company."

Frazier says he is going to press his lawsuit vigorously. The *Times-News*, meanwhile, is making good use of the provision requiring each party in a civil suit to disclose all the pertinent facts before a case goes to court. Sierra Life is claiming $12 million in lost business, and the newspaper's attorneys are using that claim for extensive interrogatories into the amount and nature of the company's business activities. High says that he plans to print "any newsworthy information that may develop from the public discovery process."

This past January the *Times-News* went after another hometown story. Looking into the activities of the Twin Falls county hospital, editor High, who also serves as a reporter, found that six pathologists and radiologists were receiving professional fees totaling $600,000 for their work in this community of 25,000, and that the contracts under which the tax-supported hospital paid such fees were being kept secret. High's news stories were followed by editorials in support of public contracts and lower pay; the paper's reporting and comment resulted in changes on both counts.

No other Idaho newspaper has followed up with an investigation of its own town's hospital salary arrangements. Says *Times-News* editor High, "No one is looking into anything, really, that will get them into trouble."

Dwight Jensen

Local hero makes splash

ROCKPORT, ME.

In the words of one newspaper, André put this small village "on the map." Orphaned in infancy, André was adopted by a local tree surgeon. Now, each winter, André journeys south to Boston. And each April, André journeys back to Rockport, by sea.

This year, though, André dallied on his return trip, and thus became the subject of intense media coverage. Local radio and television stations updated the hero's homeward progress in virtually every broadcast. WEEI, CBS radio's Boston all-news station, produced a special feature. NBC radio's affiliate WCSH in Portland — which rarely contributes anything to the network — phoned in André's story to New York, thus spreading the tale nationwide.

Between April 12 and April 27, *The Boston Globe* published a long feature article, four pictures, and five brief news stories. The *Portland Press-Herald*, the largest daily in Maine's largest city — used five pictures, one cartoon, and news articles fifteen days in a row, moving the story of André to the front page on four different occassions. Another Maine daily, the *Biddeford-Saco Journal*, front-paged an interview between its investigative reporter and André, who is more or less mute.

In fact, André's return was deemed so important by the *Press-Herald* that it devoted almost twice as much coverage — 208 inches of space and five pictures — to his journey as it did to the takeover by a group of Indians of part of a Maine wilderness state park (119 inches and no pictures).

André, incidentally, is a seal.

Myron W. Levin

MORE MUST BE DONE TO REMOVE THE FEAR OF WHAT IT COSTS TO BE SICK.

THERE IS A HEALTH CARE CRISIS IN AMERICA

Medical costs are rising every day. Americans spent $547 per capita last year for health care, a rise of 13% in twelve months. In 1965, the average hospital stay cost $347. This year, the cost has risen to $1,100. In the next four years, expenditures in this country for health care could increase by a staggering 100 billion dollars. The private life and health insurance companies of America believe that something must be done now to relieve this awesome and increasing burden, to make sure that all Americans can receive the health care they need, when they need it, at a cost each can afford.

WHAT WE'VE DONE

The cost of health care for the American public is not a new issue. In our business, we have worked for years to remove the fear of the terrible cost of serious illness. Health coverage has improved enormously in recent years. 175,000,000 people in this country have some form of private health insurance. Over 149,000,000 are insured for catastrophic illness, in many cases with benefits as high as $250,000 or more. The figures show that the private health insurance system in America works, and works hard.

The numbers are impressive and growing. But in the face of runaway medical costs, we don't think numbers are enough. A way must be found to control the cost of health care in an age when equipment and manpower are more expensive every day.

WHAT WE'RE DOING NOW

- We actively support programs designed to restrain medical costs and improve the quality of health care.
- We support the expansion of professional standards review boards, to monitor the necessity for treatment and quality of care, not only for Medicare and Medicaid patients, but for everybody.
- We support programs which would require hospitals to justify their rates and charges year by year, to keep costs as low as possible, without damaging the quality of care.
- We support strong health planning for every community, to provide care without unnecessary duplication of services.
- We support the development of innovative health care delivery systems including the expansion of out-patient care centers, to provide a less costly alternative to hospitalization, with a strong emphasis on preventive medicine.
- We support community health education, to help people learn how to lead healthy lives, and to encourage them to seek early diagnosis and to follow doctors' instructions.

WHAT MUST BE DONE IN THE FUTURE

The private insurance business, the hospital and medical professions, and government must begin together to do what no one sector could do alone—assure quality health care for everyone while at the same time doing everything possible to combat rising costs.

All this can be done. It can be done without enormous cost to taxpayers, by dividing the burden between the government and the private sectors. The private sector would offer the widest range of health care and coverage at the lowest possible cost. Government would set guidelines for the whole health care system, and continue to assume responsibility for the health care costs of the poor and aged. Thus, we can create a system which will adequately care for each American, while preserving the freedom of choice and dignity of each human being.

THERE IS A LOT OF WORK TO DO

By working together, we can make certain that each American will have available the treatment the health care system in this country has made possible, and the individual, personal service we in the health insurance business have worked so long to provide. In the private sector we have learned one thing—health care is not numbers. Health care is people, and all of us must be cared for as people, as individuals, each with different needs.

America is a rich and decent country. The 1,000,000 people in the private life and health insurance business believe that the time has come when every American can and must be saved from the fear of what it costs to be sick.

The Life and Health Insurance Companies in America

The impersonal future? That's not our way of doing business.

For more information, write to the Health Insurance Institute, 277 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

The C.I.A., the F.B.I., and the media

Excerpts from the Senate report on intelligence activities

For almost a decade, there have been piecemeal revelations about the involvement of news organizations and journalists in the foreign and domestic operations of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. With the release in April of the final report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, a more comprehensive account of these involvements has emerged. Although news accounts summarized these findings, much of the material in the report that dealt with the news media has not been widely published. It is offered here to call it to the attention of the journalism community. The editors of the Review *recognize that the information in the report is fragmentary and tantalizingly anonymous; they intend, therefore, to report further on those cases in which more information becomes available.*

The numerical headings and documentary footnotes in the original report have been omitted, although a few footnotes explaining material in the text have been retained. Those interested in obtaining copies of the report should specify Report No. 94-755: Book I, Foreign and Military Intelligence ($5.35); and Book II, Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans ($3.60). Address requests to:

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

BOOK I: Foreign and Military Intelligence

The Domestic Impact of Foreign Clandestine Operations: the C.I.A. and Academic Institutions, the Media, and Religious Institutions

Although [the C.I.A.'s] operational arena is outside the United States, [its] clandestine operations make use of American citizens as individuals or through American institutions. Clandestine activities that touch American institutions and individuals have taken many forms and are effected through a wide variety of means: *university officials and professors provide leads and make introductions for intelligence purposes;** scholars and journalists collect intelligence; journalists devise and place propaganda; United States publications provide cover for C.I.A. agents overseas.

In its investigation the committee has looked not only at the impact of foreign clandestine operations on American institutions but has focused particular attention on the covert use of *individuals*. It should be emphasized from the outset that the integrity of these institutions or individuals is not jeopardized by open contact or cooperation with government intelligence institutions. United States government support and cooperation, openly acknowledged, plays an essential role in American education. Equally important, government policymakers draw on the technical expertise and advice available from academic consultants and university-related research organizations. Open and regular contact with government agencies is a necessary part of the journalist's responsibility as well.

A secret or a covert relationship with any of these institutions, however, is another matter, and requires careful evaluation, given the critical role these institutions play in maintaining the freedom of our society. In approaching the subject the committee has inquired: are the independence and integrity of American institutions in any way endangered by clandestine relationships with the Central Intelligence Agency? Should clandestine use of institutions or individuals within those institutions be permitted? If not, should there be explicit guidelines laid down to regulate government clandestine support or operational use of such institutions or individuals? Should such guidelines be in the form of excecutive directives or by statute?

The committee has far from the full picture of the nature and extent of these relationships and the domestic impact of foreign clandestine operations. Nevertheless, it has enough to outline the dimensions of the problem and to underscore its serious nature.

Covert relationships with the United States media

In pursuing its foreign intelligence mission the Central Intelligence Agency has used the U.S. media for both the collection of intelligence and for cover. Until February 1976, when it announced a new policy toward U.S. media personnel, the C.I.A. maintained covert relationships with about fifty American journalists or employees of U.S. media organizations. *They are part of a network of several hundred foreign individuals around the world who provide intelli-*

* *The material italicized in [the text of] this report has been substantially abridged at the request of the executive agencies.*

gence for the C.I.A. and at times attempt to influence foreign opinion through the use of covert propaganda. These individuals provide the C.I.A. with direct access to a large number of foreign newspapers and periodicals, scores of press services and news agencies, radio and television stations, commercial book publishers, and other foreign media outlets.

Two Issues: "Fallout" and the Integrity of a Free Press

In examining the C.I.A.'s past and present use of the U.S. media, the committee finds two reasons for concern. The first is the potential, inherent in covert media operations, for manipulating or incidentally misleading the American public. The second is the damage to the credibility and independence of a free press which may be caused by covert relationships with U.S. journalists and media organizations.

In his 1967 order prohibiting C.I.A. publication in this country, then deputy director for plans Desmond FitzGerald raised the first issue. He stated:

> Fallout in the United States from a foreign publication which we support is inevitable and consequently permissible.

In extensive testimony, C.I.A. employees both past and present have conceded that there is no way to shield the American public from such "fallout." As a former senior official of the agency put it in testimony:

> There is no way in this increasingly small world of ours of insulating information that one puts out overseas and confining it to the area to where one puts it out. . . . When British intelligence was operating in the last century, they could plant an outrageous story in some local publication and feel fairly confident that no one else would ever hear about it, that would be the end of it. . . . That is no longer the case. Whether or not this type of overseas activity should be allowed to continue is subject to differing views and judgments. My own would be that we would be fools to relinquish it because it serves a very useful purpose.

The same former C.I.A. official continued:

> If you plant an article in some paper overseas, and it is a hard-hitting article, or a revelation, there is no way of guaranteeing that it is not going to be picked up and published by the Associated Press in this country.

The domestic fallout of covert propaganda comes from many sources; books intended primarily for an English-speaking foreign audience, press placements that are picked up by international wire services, press services controlled by the C.I.A., and direct funding of foreign institutions that attempt to propagandize the U.S. public and Congress.

In the case of books, substantial fallout in the U.S. may be a necessary part of the propaganda process. For example, C.I.A. records for 1967 state that certain books about China subsidized or even produced by the agency "circulate principally in the U.S. as a prelude to later distribution abroad." Several of these books on China were widely reviewed in the United States, often in juxtaposition to the sympathetic view of the emerging China as presented by Edgar Snow. At least once, a book review for an agency book which appeared in *The New York Times* was written by a C.I.A. writer under contract.

Another example of the damages of "fallout" involved two proprietary news services that the C.I.A. maintained in Europe. Inevitably these news services had U.S. subscribers. The larger of the two was subscribed to by over thirty U.S. newspapers. In an effort to reduce the problem of fallout, the C.I.A. made a senior official at the major U.S. dailies aware that the C.I.A. controlled these two press services.

A serious problem arises from the possible use of U.S. publications for press placements. Materials furnished to the committee describe a relationship which poses this problem. It began in August 1967 — after the Katzenbach committee recommendations — and continued until May 1974. In this case, a U.S.-based executive of a major U.S. newspaper was contacted by the C.I.A. "on a confidential basis in view of his access to information of intelligence and operational interests." The news executive served as a witing, unpaid collaborator for intelligence collection, and received briefings from the C.I.A. which "were of professional benefit" to him. The C.I.A. materials state that:

> It was visualized that . . . propaganda (if agreeable to him) might be initially inserted in his paper and then be available for reprinting by Latin American news outlets. . . . There is no indication in the file that Subject agreed . . . or that he did place propaganda in his newspaper.

'The danger of C.I.A. propaganda contaminating U.S. media — "fallout" — occurs in virtually any instance of propaganda use'

The danger of C.I.A. propaganda contaminating U.S. media — "fallout" — occurs in virtually any instance of propaganda use. The possibility is quite real even when the C.I.A. does not use any U.S. journalist or publication in carrying out the propaganda project. Where a C.I.A. propaganda campaign causes stories to appear in many prestigious news outlets around the world, as occurred at the time of the Chilean elections in 1970, it is truly impossible to insulate the United States from propaganda fallout.

Indeed, C.I.A. records for the September-October 1970 propaganda effort in Chile indicate that "replay" of propaganda in the U.S. was not unexpected. A cable summary for September 25, 1970 reports:

> Sao Paulo, Tegucigalpa, Buenos Aires, Lima, Montevideo, Bogota, Mexico City report continued replay of Chile theme materials. Items also carried in *New York Times, Washington Post.* Propaganda activities continue to generate good coverage of Chile developments along our theme guidance. . . .

The fallout problem is probably most serious when the U.S. public is dependent on the "polluted" media channel for its information on a particular subject. When news events have occurred in relatively isolated parts of the world, few major news organizations may have been able to cover them initially, and worldwide coverage reflects what-

ever propaganda predominates in the media of the area.

In its inquiry into the activities of a Vietnamese institution the committee discovered a particularly unfortunate example of domestic fallout of covert propaganda activities. The institution was a C.I.A.-inspired creation. The intention of the C.I.A., according to its own records, was not to undertake propaganda against the United States. Whatever the design, the propaganda effort had an impact on the American public and congressional opinion. The C.I.A. provided $170,000 per year in 1974 and 1975 for the support of this institution's publications. The embassy in the United States distributed the magazine to American readers, including the offices of all United States congressmen and senators. The institution on at least one occasion invited a group of American congressmen to Vietnam and sponsored their activities on at least part of their trip. Through this institution the C.I.A. — however inadvertently — engaged in propagandizing the American public, including its Congress, on the controversial issue of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

One particular kind of possible "fallout" has aroused official concern. That is fallout upon the U.S. government of the C.I.A.'s "black propaganda" — propaganda that appears to originate from an unfriendly source. Because the source of black propaganda is so fully concealed, the C.I.A. recognizes that it risks seriously misleading U.S. policymakers. An agency regulation specifies that the directorate of operations should notify appropriate elements of the D.D.I. [the directorate of intelligence] and the intelligence community if the results of a black operation might influence the thinking of senior U.S. officials or affect U.S. intelligence estimates. Regular coordination between the C.I.A. and the State Department's I.N.R. [Bureau of Intelligence and Research] has been instituted to prevent the self-deception of "senior U.S. officials" through black propaganda. It should be noted that this procedure applies only to black propaganda and only to "senior U.S. officials." No mechanism exists to protect the U.S. public and the Congress from fallout from black propaganda or any other propaganda.

The committee recognizes that other countries make extensive use of the international media for their propaganda purposes. The United States public is not insulated from this propaganda, either. It is clear, however, that the strongest defense a free country has from propaganda of any kind is a free and vigorous press that expresses diverse points of view. Similarly, the most effective way for this country to respond to the use of propaganda abroad is to permit American journalists and news organizations to pursue their work without jeopardizing their credibility in the eyes of the world through covert use of them.

By statute, the C.I.A. should be prohibited from subsidizing the writing, or production for distribution within the United States or its territories, of any book, magazine, article, publication, film, or video or audio tape unless publicly attributed to the C.I.A. Nor should the C.I.A. be permitted to undertake any activity to accomplish indirectly such distribution within the United States or its territories.

The committee supports the recently adopted C.I.A. prohibitions against any paid or contractual relationship between the agency and U.S. and foreign journalists accredited to U.S. media organizations. The C.I.A. prohibitions should, however, be established in law.

The committee recommends that the C.I.A. prohibitions be extended by law to include the operational use of any person who regularly contributes material to, or is regularly involved directly or indirectly in the editing of material, or regularly acts to set policy or provide direction to the activities of U.S. media organizations.

BOOK II: Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans

Many of the illegal or improper disruptive efforts directed against American citizens and domestic organizations succeeded in injuring their targets. Although it is sometimes difficult to prove that a target's misfortunes were caused by a counter-intelligence program directed against him, the possibility that an arm of the United States government intended to cause the harm and might have been responsible is itself abhorrent.

Media Manipulation

The F.B.I. has attempted covertly to influence the public's perception of persons and organizations by disseminating derogatory information to the press, either anonymously or through "friendly" news contacts. The impact of those articles is generally difficult to measure, although in some cases there are fairly direct connections to injury to the target. The bureau also attempted to influence media reporting which would have any impact on the public image of the F.B.I.

The F.B.I. attempted to influence public opinion by supplying information or articles to "confidential sources" in the news media. The F.B.I.'s Crime Records Division* was responsible for covert liaison with the media to advance two

** The Crime Records Division also has responsibility for disseminating information to cultivate a favorable public image for the F.B.I. — a practice common to many government agencies. This objective was pursued in various ways. One section of the Crime Records Division was assigned to assemble "material that was needed for a public relations program." This section "developed information for television shows, for writers, for authors, for newspapermen, people who wanted in-depth information concerning the F.B.I." The section also "handled scripts" for public-service radio programs produced by F.B.I. field offices; reviewed scripts for television and radio shows dealing with the F.B.I.; and handled the "public relations and publicity aspect" of the "ten most wanted fugitives program." The bureau attempted to assert control over media presentations of information about its activities. For example, Director Hoover's approval was necessary before the Crime Records Division would cooperate with an author intending to write a book about the F.B.I.*

main domestic intelligence objectives:* (1) providing derogatory information to the media intended to generally discredit the activities or ideas of targeted groups or individuals; and (2) disseminating unfavorable articles, news releases, and background information in order to disrupt particular activities.

Typically, a local F.B.I. agent would provide information to a "friendly news source" on the condition "that the bureau's interest in these matters is to be kept in the strictest confidence." Thomas E. Bishop, former director of the Crime Records Division, testified that he kept a list of the bureau's "press friends" in his desk. Bishop and one of his predecessors indicated that the F.B.I. sometimes refused to cooperate with reporters who were critical of the bureau or its director.**

Bishop stated that as a "general rule," the bureau disseminated only "public record information" to its media contacts, but this category was viewed by the bureau to include any information which could conceivably be obtained by close scrutiny of even the most obscure publications. Within these parameters, background information supplied to reporters "in most cases [could] include everything" in the bureau files on a targeted individual; the selection of information for publication would be left to the reporter's judgment.

There are numerous examples of authorization for the preparation and dissemination of unfavorable information to discredit generally the activities and ideas of a target:

☐ F.B.I. headquarters solicited information from field offices "on a continuing basis" for "prompt . . . dissemination to the news media . . . to discredit the New Left movement and its adherents." Headquarters requested, among other things, that:

> specific data should be furnished depicting the scurrilous and depraved nature of many of the characters, activities, habits, and living conditions representative of New Left adherents.

Field offices were to be exhorted that "every avenue of possible embarrassment must be vigorously and enthusiastically explored."

☐ F.B.I. headquarters authorized a field office to furnish a media contact with "background information and any arrest record" on a man affiliated with "a radical New Left element" who had been "active in showing films on the Black Panthers and police in action at various universities during student rioting." The media contact had requested material from the bureau which "would have a detrimental effect on [the target's] activities."

☐ Photographs depicting a radical group's apartment as "a shambles with lewd, obscene, and revolutionary slogans displayed on the walls" were furnished to a free-lance writer. The directive from headquarters said: "As this publicity will be derogatory in nature and might serve to neutralize the group, it is being approved."

☐ The section which supervised the COINTELPRO against the Communist Party intended to discredit a couple "identified with the Community Party movement" by preparing a news release on the drug arrest of their son, which was to be furnished to "news media contacts and sources on Capitol Hill." A bureau official observed that the son's "arrest and the Party connections of himself and his parents presents an excellent opportunity for exploitation." The news released noted that "the Russian-born mother is currently under a deportation order" and had a former marriage to the son of a prominent Communist Party member. The released added: "The Red Chinese have long used narcotics to help weaken the youth of target countries."

☐ After a public meeting in New York City, where "the handling of the [J.F.K. assassination] investigation was criticized," the F.B.I. prepared a news item for placement "with a cooperative news media source" to discredit the meeting on the grounds that "a reliable [F.B.I.] source" had reported a "convicted perjurer and identified espionage agent as present in the audience."

☐ As part of the New Left COINTELPRO, the F.B.I. sent a letter under a fictitious name to *Life* magazine to "call attention to the unsavory character" of the editor of an underground magazine, who was characterized as "one of the moving forces behind the Youth International Party, commonly known as the Yippies." To counteract a recent *Life* "article favorable" to the Yippie editor, the F.B.I.'s fictitious letter said that "the cuckoo editor of an unimportant smutty little rag" should be "left in the sewers."

Much of the bureau's use of the media to influence public opinion was directed at disrupting specific activities or plans of targeted groups or individuals:

☐ In March 1968, F.B.I. headquarters granted authority for furnishing to a "cooperative national news media source" an article "designed to curtail success of Martin Luther King's fund raising" for the poor people's march on Washington, D.C. by asserting that "an embarrassment of riches has befallen King . . . and King doesn't need the money." To further this objective, headquarters authorized the Miami office "to furnish data concerning money wasted by the Poor People's Campaign" to a friendly news reporter on the usual condition that "the bureau must not be revealed

---

** Memoranda recommending use of the media for* COINTELPRO *purposes sometimes bore the designation "Mass Media Program," which appeared merely to signify the function of the Crime Records Division as a "conduit" for disseminating information at the request of the Domestic Intelligence Division. The dissemination of derogatory information to the media was usually reviewed through the bureau's chain of command and received final approval from Director Hoover.*

*** Cartha DeLoach, who handled media contacts for several years, testified that this technique was not actually used as much as the director desired:*

> *If any unfair comment appeared in any segment of the press concerning Mr. Hoover or the F.B.I. . . . Mr. Hoover . . . would say do not contact this particular newspaper or do not contact this person or do not cooperate with this person. . . . If I had complied strictly to the letter of the law to Mr. Hoover's instructions, I think I would be fair in saying that we wouldn't be cooperating with hardly a single newspaper in the United States. . . . The men down through the years had to overlook some of those instructions and deal fairly with all segments of the press.*

as the source."

The section chief in charge of the Black Nationalist COINTELPRO also recommended that "photographs of demonstrators" at the march should be furnished; he attached six photographs of Poor People's Campaign participants at a Cleveland rally, accompanied by the note: "These show the militant, aggressive appearance of the participants and might be of interest to a cooperative news source."

☐ As part of the New Left COINTELPRO, authority was granted to the Atlanta field office to furnish a newspaper editor who had "written numerous editorials praising the bureau" with "information to supplement that already known to him from public sources concerning subversive influences in the Atlanta peace movement. His use of this material in well-timed articles would be used to thwart the [upcoming] demonstrations."

☐ An F.B.I. special agent in Chicago contacted a reporter for a major newspaper to arrange for the publication of an article which was expected to "greatly encourage factional antagonisms during the S.D.S. Convention" by publicizing the attempt of "an underground communist organization" to take over S.D.S. This contract resulted in an article headlined RED UNIT SEEKS S.D.S. RULE.*

'The former director of the Crime Records Division testified that he kept a list of the bureau's press friends in his desk'

☐ Several months after COINTELPRO operations were supposed to have terminated, the F.B.I. attempted to discredit attorney Leonard Boudin at the time of his defense of Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case. The F.B.I. "called to the attention" of the Washington bureau chief of a major news service information on Boudin's alleged "sympathy" and "legal services" for "communist causes." The reporter placed a detailed news release on the wires which cited Boudin's "identification with Leftist causes" and included references to the arrest of Boudin's daughter, his legal representation of the Cuban government and "Communist sympathizer" Paul Robeson, and the statement that "his name also has been connected with a number of other alleged communist front groups." In a handwritten note, J. Edgar Hoover directed that copies of the news release be sent to "Haldeman, A. G. [Attorney General], and Deputy."

The bureau sometimes used its media contacts to prevent or postpone the publication of articles it considered favorable to its targets or unfavorable to the F.B.I. For example, to influence articles which related to the F.B.I., the bureau took advantage of a close relationship with a high official of a major national magazine, described in an F.B.I. memorandum as "our good friend." Through this relationship, the F.B.I. "squelched" an "unfavorable article against the Bureau" written by a free-lance writer about an F.B.I. investigation; "postponed publication" of an article on another F.B.I. case; "forestalled publication" of an article by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; and received information about proposed editing of King's articles.

The bureau also attempted to influence public opinion by using news media sources to discredit dissident groups by linking them to the Communist Party:

☐ The bureau targeted a professor who had been the president of a local peace center, a "coalition of anti-Vietnam and anti-draft groups." In 1968, he resigned temporarily to become state chairman of Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign organization. Information on the professor's wife, who had apparently associated with Communist Party members in the early 1950s, was furnished to a newspaper editor to "expose those people at this time when they are receiving considerable publicity in order" to "disrupt the members" of the peace organization.

☐ Other instances included an attempt to link a school boycott with the Communists by alerting newsmen to the boycott leader's plans to attend a literary reception at the Soviet mission; furnishing information to the media on the participation of the Communist party presidential candidate in the United Farm Workers' picket line; "confidentially" informing established sources in three northern California newspapers that the San Francisco County Communist Party Committee had stated that civil-rights groups were to "begin working" on the area's large newspapers "in an effort to secure greater employment of Negroes," and furnishing information to the media on Socialist Workers party participation in the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam to "discredit" the anti-war group.

Presidents, attorneys general, and other cabinet officers have neglected, until recently, to make inquiries in the face of clear indications that intelligence agencies were engaging in improper domestic activities.

Some of the most disturbing examples of insufficient action in the face of clear danger signals were uncovered in the committee's investigation of the F.B.I.'s program to "neutralize" Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as the leader of the civil-rights movement.

☐ In February 1964 a reporter informed the Justice Department that the F.B.I. had offered to "leak" information unfavorable to Dr. King to the press. The Justice Department's press chief, Edwin Guthman, asked Cartha DeLoach, the F.B.I.'s liaison with the press, about this allegation and DeLoach denied any involvement. The Justice Department took no further action.

☐ In November 1964 the Washington bureau chief of a national news publication told Attorney General Katzenbach and Assistant Attorney General Marshall that one of

* [Editor's note: *The reporter involved, Ron Koziol of the* Chicago Tribune, *has denied that the F.B.I. had a role in his story, and has charged that ambitious F.B.I. agents may have claimed credit for it falsely.* Editor & Publisher, *May 8, 1976.*]

his reporters had been approached by the F.B.I. and offered the opportunity to hear some "interesting" tape recordings involving Dr. King. Katzenbach testified that he had been "shocked," and that he and Marshall had informed President Johnson, who "took the matter very seriously" and promised to contact Director Hoover. Neither Marshall nor Katzenbach knew if the president contacted Hoover. Katzenbach testified that, during this same period, he learned of at least one other reporter who had been offered tape recordings by the bureau, and that he personally confronted DeLoach, who was reported to have made the offers. DeLoach told Katzenbach that he had never made such offers. The only record of this episode in F.B.I. files is a memorandum by DeLoach stating that [Bill] Moyers [President Johnson's press secretary] had informed him that the newsman was "telling all over town" that the F.B.I. was making allegations concerning Dr. King, and that Moyers had "stated that the President felt that [the newsman] lacked integrity. . . ." Moyers could not recall this episode, but told the committee that it would be fair to conclude that the president had been upset by the fact that the newsman revealed the bureau's conduct rather than by the bureau's conduct itself.

The response of top White House and Justice Department officials to strong indications of wrongdoing by the F.B.I. was clearly inadequate. The attorney general went no further than complaining to the president and asking a bureau official if the charges were true. President Johnson apparently not only failed to order the bureau to stop, but indeed warned it not to deal with certain reporters because they had complained about the bureau's improper conduct.

In 1968 Attorney General Ramsey Clark asked Director Hoover if he had "any information as to how" facts about Attorney General Kennedy's authorization of the wiretap on Dr. King had leaked to columnists Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. Clark requested the F.B.I. director to "undertake whatever investigation you deem feasible to determine how this happened." Director Hoover's reply, drafted in the office of Cartha DeLoach, expressed "dismay" at the leak and offered no indication of the likely source.

In fact, DeLoach had prepared a memorandum ten days earlier stating that a middle-level Justice Department official with knowledge of the King wiretap met with him and admitted having "discussed this matter with Drew Pearson." According to this memorandum, DeLoach attempted to persuade the official not to allow the story to be printed because "certain Negro groups would still blame the F.B.I., whether we were ordered to take such action or not." Thus, DeLoach and Hoover deliberately misled Attorney General Clark by withholding their knowledge of the source of the "leak."

The weakness of the system of accountability and control can be seen in the fact that many illegal or abusive domestic intelligence operations were terminated only after they had been exposed or threatened with exposure by Congress or the news media. Less frequently, domestic intelligence projects were terminated solely because of an agency's internal review of impropriety.

The committee is aware that public exposure can jeopardize legitimate, productive, and costly intelligence programs. We do not condone the extralegal activities which led to the exposure of some questionable operations.

Nevertheless, two points emerge from an examination of the termination of numerous domestic intelligence activities: (1) major illegal or improper operations thrived in an atmosphere of secrecy and inadequate executive control; and (2) public airing proved to be the most effective means of terminating or reforming those operations.

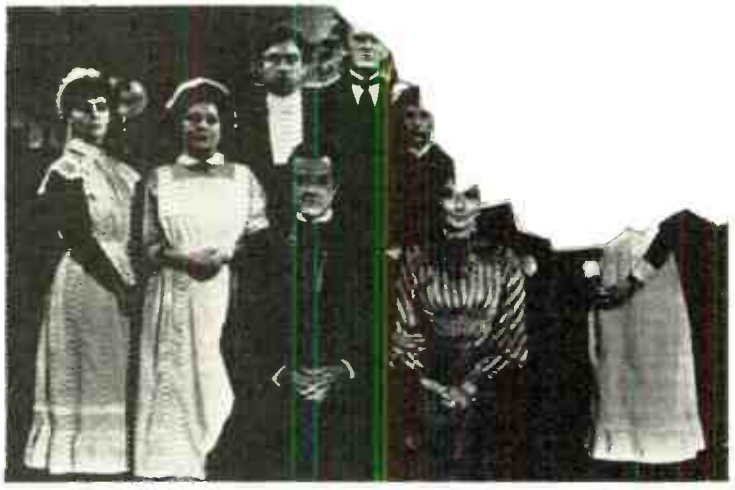
There are several noteworthy examples of illegal or abusive domestic intelligence activities which were terminated only after the threat of public exposure:

- The F.B.I.'s wide-sweeping COINTELPRO operations were terminated on April 27, 1971, in response to disclosures about the program in the press.
- I.R.S. payments to confidential informants were suspended in March 1975 as a result of journalistic investigation of Operation Leprechaun.
- The Army's termination of several major domestic intelligence operations, which were clearly over-broad or illegal, came only after the programs were disclosed in the press or were scheduled as the subject of congressional inquiry.*
- Following the report of a presidential committee which had been established in response to news reports in 1967, the C.I.A. terminated its covert relationship with a large number of domestically based organizations, such as academic institutions, student groups, private foundations, and media projects aimed at an international audience.

The committee's examination of the circumstances surrounding terminations of a wide range of improper or illegal domestic intelligence activities clearly points to the need for more effective oversight from outside the agencies. In too many cases, the impetus for the termination of programs of obviously questionable propriety came from the press or the Congress rather than from intelligence agency administrators or their superiors in the Executive branch. Although there were several laudable instances of termination as a responsible outgrowth of an agency's internal review process, the committee's record indicates that this process alone is insufficient — intelligence agencies cannot be left to police themselves. ■

---

* *The Army made its first effort to curb its domestic collection of "civil disturbance" intelligence on the political activities of private citizens in June 1970, only after press disclosures about the program which prompted two congressional committees to schedule hearings on the matter. (Christopher Pyle, "CONUS Intelligence: The Army Watches Civilian Politics," The Washington Monthly, January 1970.) Despite legal opinions, both from inside and outside the Army, that domestic radio monitoring by the Army Security Agency was illegal, the Army did not move to terminate the program until after the media revealed that the Army Security Agency had monitored radio transmissions during the 1968 Democratic National Convention.*



For A Complete Picture... Read Society

Each issue of **Society** focuses on a controversial problem in American society by presenting in-depth discussion on different aspects of a single subject.

Each issue of **Society** includes a forum for commentary on a particular theme.

Each issue of **Society** features the best social science writers of today. Included in recent issues were articles by Aleksandr Solzehnitsyn, Amitai Etzioni, Simone de Beauvoir, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Richard A. Falk, Morton H. Halperin, and Richard J. Barnet.

A thematic package of book reviews, a photo essay, a film review, a list of authors and readings, and more, all combine to give you *6 issues* of a complete magazine of social science and modern society.

Others have said . . .

"**Transaction/Society** is one of the most exciting social science publications in the world." Robert M. Frumkin, *Handbook of Contemporary Developments in World Sociology*.

"**Society**, the fastest-growing 'in' magazine in the country today, is a social science journal . . . a scholarly publication that is not afraid of controversey." *Chicago Daily News*

Issues in Volume 13

- **Accounting for Education**
- **American Vigilantes**
- **The End of New York City?**
- **Political Alienation in America**
- **The Politics of Technological Innovation and Social Order**
- **Health Care and Health Services**

Special Offer:

Teachers! **Society's** independent voice and intellectual integrity make it a catalyst for classroom discussion.

Order at least 10 copies of an issue and receive a *20%* discount and a *free* copy for the instructor.

Be a member of society — read **Society.**

Society Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, N.J. 08903

Please enter my subscription to **Society** as follows:

Individual:		*Institution:*	
1 year	$ 9.75	1 year	$12.50
2 years	$16.50	2 years	$22.50
3 years	$25.00	3 years	$30.00

Students: 1 year $8.50

Add $1.50 per year for delivery outside USA or Canada.

☐ Enclosed is my payment. (For saving you billing expense, send me an extra issue **FREE**)

☐ I prefer to be billed. (Sorry, no free issues.)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

BOOKS

The once and former Voice

by NAT HENTOFF

The Voice: Life at the Village Voice/ An Unauthorized Account
by Ellen Frankfort. Morrow. 272 pp. $8.95

In the springtime of *The Village Voice* — before that paper was absorbed in Clay Felker's nuclear family of aggressively hollow but undeniably professional weeklies (*New York, New West*) — many of the writers for the *Voice* were amateurs.

On occasion, this breezy amateurism gave the paper a certain gawky, quirky charm. More often, however, the prevalence of beginners was responsible for what used to be one of the *Voice*'s characteristic genres — the "investigative" jeremiad. Very lightly researched, these attacks on diverse hypocritical individuals and institutions abounded in noisome "facts," which no one, least of all the righteous author, ever saw a need to check. Such darkling probes had little discernible structure; blurring or just disdaining chronology, the pieces snaked through the slovenly makeup of the old *Voice*, forcing the reader to keep tracking down stories, jump after jump, through the brambles of the back pages. (And if you missed a jump, you were seldom aware of the mishap.)

In the new *Voice* (1974-), this particular kind of amateurish indulgence is all but gone. Space is tighter; and with a new cadre of fact-checkers on hand, it is harder (though not impossible) for a writer to leaven ordinary facts with tangy fiction. This is not to say that the new *Voice* has surpassed all the works of the old. Far from it, as I shall indicate. But one sure improvement is that, in the present paper, ex-*Voice* writer Ellen Frankfort could not get away with all the pernicious, quasi-journalistic malpractices that unwittingly summon up the very worst of the old tradition in her new book.

The author makes clear at the start — the last time clarity of purpose or style is to be seen in the book — that she has not intended to write a history of the paper. So what has she written? Very little about the *Voice* as journalism. What, for example, was the nature of the weekly's pervasive influence on hordes of "underground" and "alternative" papers during the 1960s? Why have most of them expired, while the *Voice*, however transmogrified, survives? Was the *Voice* indeed, just as the legend says, once a writers' paper? What was the method of the deliberately mysterious, exceptionally shrewd editor-in-chief, Dan Wolf? Why is Wolf one of the half-dozen or so significant editors of the past quarter-century? Surely even a book about the *Voice* that is not a history cannot avoid dealing with its impact and its morphology, yet this one avoids it all.

What, then, is left to write about? Gossip. Frankfort has become part of the Barney Collier school of press criticism. *Life at The Village Voice* consists of tales and intimations of bedding and unbedding, as well as tacky pseudo-analysis of ancient wounds of children (e.g., fathers dying) that shape all else in their lives, from politics to paragraphing. And throughout, Frankfort delights in using the Talese-Woodstein method of telling the reader what people actually were thinking as certain events unraveled. These are not reconstructed, of course, from direct quotations obtained in later interviews with the principals. Instead, with laser-beam, retrospective telepathy, she extracts what should have been, might have been, must have been in people's heads.

The nadir of the book is an exercise in what might be called lethal feminism. One of Frankfort's key motifs is that the old *Voice* economically exploited just about everyone who worked for it and that women were exploited worst of all. (Not blacks or other minorities — the paper has never had a non-white editor and exceedingly few non-white regular contributors.) Frankfort is entirely correct concerning the pre-Samuel Gompers labor practices of the old *Voice*. I myself, capitalism's tool, wrote a weekly column for the *Voice* for eight years at no pay, and then, for several years, at ten dollars a week. I think I was up to $90 a week, after thirteen years of unremitting service, when the *Voice* was first sold in 1970 for $3 million. You can imagine how I rejoiced at my masters' good fortune.

But Frankfort, having scored accurately enough with her exposure of the Silas Marner syndrome that afflicted the original owners of the *Voice*, goes on to a series of profiles of four exploited *Voice* women. Her ostensible purpose is feminist; she wants to show that these sisters have been made to suffer egregiously because of their sex. However, Frankfort so belabors this point (and the four women) that she leaves the victims in psychological tatters — practically unemployable, drained of energy and confidence, the zombies of the old *Voice*. It is a gratuitously cruel performance. In fact, none of the four is on the dole; all are still writing and being published, despite the best wishes of Ellen Frankfort.

As a further index of Frankfort's accuracy, one of these four women is described as only a bit less than penniless, as well as nearly helpless without crutches. Should the latter be foreclosed, she would presumably be drag-

Nat Hentoff is a staff writer for The New Yorker *and, since 1957, has written a weekly column for* The Village Voice *in which, from time to time, he has disagreed with both the old and the new management of the paper.*

Fred W McDarrah

Dan Wolf, editor-in-chief of the old Village Voice

ging about the floors of newspapermen's bars, begging coppers in memory of by-lines of yore. In truth, this unceasingly feisty woman uses a cane, not crutches, and with much panache. Moreover, rather than being a bankrupt, she teaches at a university and summers in Spain. All of this is omitted, of course, in the interest of polemical justice or, as we used to call it, agitprop.

From time to time, there are just plain dumb mistakes. Frankfort implies that Alexander Cockburn, the *Voice*'s merry press critic, prospered at the paper because he is a relative of onetime *Voice* co-owner Bartle Bull. In truth, there is not a tittle of a family tie between the two. Why, incidentally, don't book publishers have checking staffs?

The final chapter discloses yet more unquenchable amateurism. A July 1975 interview with Clay Felker, this envoi is an extended press release. Felker expatiates at will, scarcely challenged by the interviewer. He floats, for instance, a highly partisan version of the settlement of a suit against the *Voice* by its former owners. Frankfort provides no counterbalance, no analysis of what Felker has said about the suit or anything else. It is a notably fitting ending to a notably valueless book.

In that concluding interview [*sic*] with Felker, a promise is made by this continent-spanner that could provide an epigraph for a future book on the *Voice*. (At least one is being written, and others are likely to follow, for Frankfort, to say the least, has hardly preempted the field.) Says Felker: "I always understood that I had to make [the paper] a success in the *Voice*'s own terms . . . not on my terms."

The new *Voice*, however, has been largely remade in the very image of Clay Felker. There have been some survivors from the gritty past — most importantly, Jack Newfield, whose dogged, impassioned muckraking (as in his breaking of the nursing-homes scandals) provides the paper with its most substantive regular reporting. For the rest, however, while there are occasional probing pieces, too much of the writing is splashy, trendy, and designed to titillate the reader who wants his information hot, fast, and entertaining. Felker, after all, told Ellen Frankfort that he doubts if people need daily newspapers anymore. Maybe all that people need, Felker said, is a weekly paper they can read on their own terms when they have "fifteen minutes free here and there."

In fact, for those who would wilfully remain underinformed, the *Voice* is indeed Felker's kind of weekly "alternative" to, say, *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*. But there used to be readers who looked to the *Voice* as an illuminatingly off-beat *supplement* to the dailies and newsweeklies. During the past two years, many of those readers have discarded the *Voice* as, one of them of my acquaintance puts it, "a junk paper."

That indictment is a good deal too harsh. In addition to Newfield, there are Alexander Cockburn, James Ridgeway, Anna Mayo, Vivian Gornick, and others who still valuably supplement what used to be called the straight press. But much of the *Voice* has indeed become instantly disposable — a quick fix on some modishly ripe subject, from sadomasochism to other forms of self-actualization. That part of the paper *is* junk. There is less of it since Tom Morgan, a former big league free-lance writer and press secretary to John Lindsay, became editor in September 1975. A more open and attentive editor than Felker, Morgan is more likely to publish serious pieces that Felker might scorn as inappropriate for the readers he most prefers to cultivate — high-living fireflies. But even Morgan allows far too much fluff in the paper. Some weeks, it is possible to read through a hundred-plus-page *Voice* in under forty minutes without missing anything of import.

The primary difference between the new and old *Voice*, however, has less to do with degrees of superficiality than with the fundamental differences in journalistic conception between Dan Wolf and Felker-Morgan. The present management depends heavily on editors to generate story ideas. Staff writers and occasional strays do initiate pieces; but the weight of weekly creation is on the editors, both individually and in regular meetings during which all sorts of story notions are proposed, transmuted, turned inside out, and procrusteanly fitted to relatively suitable if somewhat stunned writers. As a result, the *Voice*

— like *Esquire*, for another example — is a collectively packaged product, except for certain staff writers, columnists, and such critics as Andrew Sarris, who retain idiosyncratic autonomy. The problem with a publication that predominantly reflects its editors is that sooner rather than later it takes on a uniformity of tone, and eventually of style. And it surely becomes predictable.

On the other hand, from the start of the *Voice* in 1955 to its 1970 sale to Carter Burden and Bartle Bull (who later hawked it to Felker), Dan Wolf ran a wholly different operation. During the decade and a half in which Wolf actively shaped the paper, much of it was composed, week after week, of the concerns — urgent or quixotic or both — of its writers. Some assignments were made, but the character of the paper was determined by pieces that Wolf had not asked for and frequently disagreed with but thought worth making part of the perpetual forum that constituted *The Village Voice*.

Wolf had a keen sense of who the readers were, whether in Greenwich Village or in other such enclaves of what was once called bohemianism. He knew they themselves were contentious, as were his writers, and he encouraged such a multiplicity of views that on particularly incendiary subjects (such as the 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville war-to-the-death with the United Federation of Teachers) the *Voice* often printed five or six fiercely clashing perspectives. Three or four of them would be by internally brawling staff writers, and the rest by outside agitators.

Some years ago, during an evening in Cambridge with a group of Nieman Fellows, I was asked about the Dan Wolf way of editing by a visiting Harvard professor. "How the hell," he complained, "is the reader supposed to know what to think when he's given so many different points of view?" The obvious answer was that the reader would thereby have the perhaps unaccustomed challenge and even pleasure of thinking for himself.

Not all was jousting, of course. There were many pieces in the old *Voice* that could be termed *sui generis* curiosities — one writer's discovery of an old, reasonably undisturbed New York saloon or the finding of a coven of deliberately lost souls, or the coming upon a justifiedly unknown but intriguing composer. Nearly all of these pieces arrived at the *Voice* unbidden. Sometimes the nonprofessional writers would become more or less regular contributors (like pacifist-political analyst David McReynolds). Sometimes they would disappear for years, or forever. You never did know what eldritch jack-in-the-box would delight or dismay you when you picked up a copy of the old *Voice*. For that matter, a whole issue could be a bust, but hooked readers could not bear to miss a week.

This degree of addiction may be the same now for the readers whom the new *Voice* has attracted. But they are of a different breed. Like the devotees of *New York* magazine, most of them do not so much want to be surprised or intellectually challenged as they yearn to be told what's "in" — which personalities are on the ascendant, which fetishes are mushrooming. Most have no time for the serendipitously eccentric or for a complex debate on a maddeningly many-sided issue.

There must be many such readers. The paper is doing well — an increase of 20,000 in circulation (to nearly 162,000) from last year. Ad revenues are also up. A large number of the old readers, to be sure, are gone, but they are not missed by present management. They're cranks, Felker once said. Whatever they are, the old readers have no place to go now. In all of huge, pluralistic New York, there are only two city-wide general weeklies. One is *New York*; the other is the *Voice*. Felker has become King — not of the bohemians but of those eagerly malleable consumers who want hip editors to tell them how to stay swinging. All in a bunch.

Well, it's all gone now, the once and former writers' paper where apprentice professionals appeared alongside invincible amateurs and together created a unique community of consciousness shared by crankily independent readers whom I used to imagine as inhabitants of a George Price cartoon. It was a prickly, sometimes infuriating, community, but it sure resounded with a lot of insistently authentic voices. What a shame that so mean-spirited and sleazy a book as Ellen Frankfort's is the first to be written about that paper. But it figures. Some weeks of the old *Voice* were like that too.

Anti-hero and friends

Heroes
by Joe McGinniss. The Viking Press. 176 pages. $7.95

Joe McGinniss's narrative of several years spent searching for "heroes," intercut with a brutal account of the collapse of his personal and professional life, cannot help but make uncomfortable reading, especially if the reader is, like McGinniss, a journalist and not immune to pettiness and egotism.

There is a temptation to describe any such book, powerful enough to provoke moments of discomfort, as a good book. This one isn't, however, and the reasons are important.

Before he wrote *The Selling of the President* and became famous and miserable, McGinniss was a working reporter — a roving columnist for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Indeed, he was something of a prodigy ("I was twenty-four. . . . I think I was the youngest person in the country to be writing a column regularly for a major newspaper"). McGinniss includes several examples of his work from this period pertaining to heroes — reportage from Vietnam, reportage of Robert Kennedy's assassination — and it is well done. In these excerpts, he is a careful observer, capturing the essential details of a scene with precision.

McGinniss still writes well, but in the new material he seems to have lost his touch as a reporter. He is no longer looking with curiosity at others. Instead, the real subject of his accounts of meetings with "heroes" like Eugene McCarthy, Daniel Berrigan, Edward Kennedy, William Styron, and others is Joe McGinniss (a fallen, momentary hero himself) and the nature of his character defects. With the exception of the racehorse Secretariat and the playwright Arthur Miller, all of his heroes turn out

to be people like Joe McGinniss — anxious, calculating, bereft, and therefore loathsome. The perception might be called "Swiftian," but McGinniss, though he writes well, is no Swift.

McGinniss's chief defect as an observer will be familiar enough to most journalists. When interviewing famous people, McGinniss confesses, he is more than a little pleased simply to be in their company. He wants to be liked, respected, *taken seriously* by those he covers — to have a few drinks with them afterwards and *really* talk, like pals. With George McGovern, William Westmoreland, Arthur Miller — just about anybody, in fact, whose friendship confers social status. This sort of status anxiety is an occupational hazard for journalists. But I think most of them (at least those as clever as McGinniss) fight it, recognizing that it is the surest route to fatuous work.

McGinniss rouses himself to careful observation only when describing symptoms of his own insecurity and vanity. ("I had been there, on the inside, as Kennedy had died. It seemed the ultimate status symbol. . . ." "I went home feeling happy that I had become such good friends with George McGovern. . . ." "Mrs. Westmoreland packed lunch for us. . . .")

Leaving aside his personal life (and there are details here which might more profitably have been shared with a psychiatrist than with the reading public) the lesson seems obvious: when a good reporter can no longer manage to find adequate self-definition in his work, and needs the social cachet that prominent friendships afford, he's in trouble.

The putative subject of this book is heroes in America: why we don't have any and whether we should. Unfortunately, McGinniss's profiles of past or present celebrities are so introspective that they impart little useful information. And his collection of pretentious remarks by "authorities" on the subject of heroes is an embarrassment.

DAVID IGNATIUS

David Ignatius, a former editor of The Washington Monthly, *reports from Pittsburgh for* The Wall Street Journal.

National News Council et al.

In the Public Interest:
A Report by the National News Council 1973-75. 164 pp.
Published by the National News Council, Inc. $2

This compilation of the National News Council's first sixty-one actions is faintly ludicrous in tone, for it shows the results of lawyers' efforts to hammer news problems into the format of casebook law: "Two decisions which have been concerned with viewer's objections to instant analysis have been *Teter against ABC-TV, et al.* and *Holt against ABC-TV and CBS-TV*. In *Teter* the complainant maintained. . . ." and so on. One glimpses in this jargon the hope that eventually all these protests — crankish yawps, misreadings or mishearings of the news, and political axe-grinding, with a few pearls of genuine interest — will ultimately pile themselves into a neat stack of councilar precedents, cited in newsrooms and barrooms alike. This tone, one supposes, is what comes of letting lawyers and judges — who are, in many respects, of another culture — dominate a group scrutinizing the news media.

Tone aside, there are complaints summarized in this slim paperback that are worthy of study — charges against *The New York Times* (one of the council's bitter opponents) by the U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, in which the *Times* was upheld; the complaint of the American Jewish Congress against CBS's *60 Minutes*, which led to the broadcast of balancing material about Syrian Jews; and the fierce contest over *Washington Post* coverage of salvage of the wreck of the ironclad *Monitor*. But on the whole this collection does not dissipate the fear of two flaws seen in the council plan from the first — that it would serve largely to defend, rather than improve, the media (only five of sixty-one complaints herein were upheld); and that having to wait for complaints has kept the council from seeking out important issues — most strikingly demonstrated in the fiasco it suffered in trying to investigate President Nixon's charges of unfairness against television reporting.

It should be borne in mind of course that this volume reveals, in all its unsteadiness, the shakedown cruise of the news council. If its financing holds up, if it survives the bad-mouthing of its opponents, and if its actions begin to gain more publicity, it may yet rise beyond the spottiness of this first effort.

A curious lot

The New Muckrakers
by Leonard Downie, Jr. The New Republic Book Company. 269 pp. $10

Downie, the metropolitan editor of *The Washington Post*, has traced the careers of many of the country's most successful investigative reporters. His profiles range from chapters on Woodward and Bernstein, Seymour Hersh, Donald Barlett and James Steele of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Mike Baxter and James Savage of *The Miami Herald*, and Jack Anderson and company, to briefer sketches of a dozen or so others.

Subtitled "An Inside Look at America's Investigative Reporters," the book inevitably contains much that has been published elsewhere about journalism's latest, and most curious, species of celebrity. In addition to the narrative and anecdotal material, Downie offers a few desultory pages of analysis and comment. He finds little to say about his subject besides remarking, correctly, that in spite of the warnings in some quarters about the dangers of overzealous journalism, the need is for more, not less solid reporting of the kind described in the book.

Sprinkled throughout, unfortunately, are annoying lapses, such as the assertion that Hersh acted like "the cock of the roost" at *The New York Times*'s Washington bureau, and the description of the unfortunate J. Parnell Thomas as both a congressman and a senator in the same paragraph.

For those who must know quickly whether they or their publications are mentioned, there is an index.

'The Daniel Schorr Affair': a reply

by DANIEL SCHORR

There is a need for some professional journalism about the profession of journalism. It is hard to come by because of the inherent problem of being dispassionate about the very matters that arouse our passions. Perhaps that is why (in my possibly less than dispassionate view) some of the most parochial, gossipy, and tendentious writing about "the Schorr affair" has appeared in periodicals of the trade, like [*MORE*] and, now, the *Columbia Journalism Review* ["The Daniel Schorr Affair," by Laurence Stern, May/June].

I would be the last to deny that the arrangements I entered into for publication last February of the suppressed report of the House Intelligence Committee raise many political, constitutional, and professional issues. In three months of traveling around the country, mainly to university campuses, I have been confronted with some of these questions:

☐ Where is the line to be drawn between national security and freedom of the press, and who decides?

☐ Is there a new government campaign for reinforced secrecy rules, creating greater jeopardy for officials and reporters?

☐ Are leaks a legitimate subject for government or congressional investigation?

☐ Should reporting be subordinated to the decisions of elected officials?

☐ Who decides what should appropriately be disseminated, as between press and government? As between reporter and employer?

On these issues I have developed some thoughts, though no final answers, and would welcome further exploration. Unfortunately — as has been widely observed on university campuses — a part of the journalistic community seems less concerned with issue analysis than with character analysis, sometimes bordering on character assassination.

In his CJR article, Laurence Stern takes up some of the peripheral matters, which he sees as "a complex morality play." If that is the focus, it seems incredible that you would impose the burden of drawing the morals on one of the chief actors, if not antagonists, in the play. In a comparable courtroom situation, there is no doubt that a judge would immediately have disqualified himself.

Stern's involvement is not only, as you note, through his having first publicly identified me as the source for *The Village Voice* — a fact that influenced subsequent events and became the subject of controversy. Perhaps more to the point, he had to wrestle with the problem of how detached he could be about an episode involving a document that *The New York Times* and CBS had obtained, and which he had not obtained for *The Washington Post*.

The story around Washington is that, in the first week after CBS and *The New York Times* provided highlights of the Pike Report, *Post* executive editor Ben Bradlee, played by Ben Bradlee, would stride out into his newsroom, demanding loudly to know what he was paying his reporters for and when the *Post* was going to have the report that the *Times* had played to a fare-thee-well, and which Schorr was actually holding up before the TV camera. (I have heard that story from two sources, only moderately reliable. But, even as an apocryphal story, it underlines Stern's problem in this morality play.)

Now, Stern emerges as ambivalent, and grossly inaccurate, about the Pike Report. I do not mean his minor inaccuracies about the length of the report, the date that the House voted to suppress it, and such matters. I speak of central errors that seem like blind spots.

Stern seems torn between arguing that the Pike Report was both too unimportant to warrant textual publication and too important for the kind of publication it received. On the one hand, he dismisses the investigation as "theatrical rather than documentary," its substance largely leaked before it got to the *Voice*, its publication hardly "worthy of solemn moralizations." On the other hand, he calls it too important to be "summarized in a series of headlines" or subjected to the media's "helter-skelter behavior" that "cheated the public of a serious examination of the report."

But, for "serious examination," does Stern applaud the publication of a sub-

stantial text? No, he says, because it was "heavily excerpted and shorn of the truly significant and little-published section on SALT." But, as I have tried on occasion to tell Stern, the report was not excerpted. Its basic text *is* in the two issues of *The Village Voice*. And it is *not* shorn of the section on SALT, which is plainly printed on page 92 in the first *Voice* installment.

(Stern also maintains that, in initial summaries, CBS and the *Times* ignored the best story, Kissinger's control of the SALT verification process, "the one area of inquiry in which the committee broke some new ground." I cannot speak for the *Times*, but I did not give the SALT story high priority because the "new ground" had been broken more than a month earlier, at a public hearing of the Pike committee on December 17, which some of us covered at the time.)

Stern suggests that the copy of the Pike Report that was left in my possession when the House put the rest under lock and key was not such a rare thing. He quotes Tad Szulc as saying that he received an unsolicited copy in the mail several days before *Voice* publication. Since this was news to me, I checked with Szulc. He says that he never received a copy of the report, and that Stern must have misunderstood him. He did receive a section of the report, totaling a dozen typewritten pages (out of 338).

But, if Stern has trouble with the simple facts about the Pike Report, he appears to have greater problems with the facts about me. Three examples:

☐ Stern accuses me of "indiscriminate airing" of charges about Alexander Butterfield and the C.I.A. He ignores the facts that I was not alone in that decision in CBS, and CBS was not alone on the air that morning interviewing Fletcher Prouty. (Stern's paper, the *Post*, with an additional day for checking, carried the story on the front page the following morning.) Stern cites my *Rolling Stone* account of the episode as not "troubling to make one serious professional or personal reflection about it," though any reader of my article must be aware of my agonizing over it, and the specific conclusion, "This will trouble me for a long time." Stern uses my quotation about journalism not being a risk-free profession to suggest behavior like a fighter callous about a fouled opponent — though anyone else who has heard me speak about journalism not being "risk free" has been aware that I was talking about the risk to *me*.

☐ To make me appear inconsistent, Stern resorts to contrived contradictions. An example: "Schorr, who at times professed surprise at the appearance of excerpts in the *Voice*, has also said that Felker gave him a twenty-four-hour deadline to agree to publication, after which Felker would withdraw the offer to publish."

In fact, as Stern knows unless his memory has suppressed the information, there is no contradiction. I never talked to Felker. I had only second-hand word of the deadline, and was not told precisely when and where publication would occur. The indication was that it would be in *New York* magazine, *The Village Voice*, or in some other unspecified form, such as a separate tract. When Stern first told me on the telephone that the report was out, and in the *Voice*, I had some reason for genuine surprise.

☐ Stern suggests that I tried to shift responsibility for transmittal of the Pike Report to another correspondent. This CJR scoop is a story, Stern told me, that he could not get the *Post* to publish. It was also turned down by other publications that queried me and found it to be gossip unworthy of attention.

What makes it so mind-blowing of Stern, of all people, to put that into print is that he, of all people, knows how implausible it is. It assumes that, even if I wanted to try to shift responsibility to someone mainly out of town during the period, I would have undertaken such a thing. Stern had told me he had the real story of my participation nailed down cold through his contacts at the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, with the sure knowledge that all cover would be blown in the *Post* of the next morning.

Ironically, Stern seeks to reconstruct scenes between Sanford Socolow and myself in the same CJR issue that editorializes about the Woodward-Bernstein difficulties in reconstructing scenes they did not witness. The key problem is always the direct quotes, and Stern's version falls, if on nothing else, on the internal evidence of the direct quotations he attributes to me.

He quotes me as saying, on Wednesday, February 11, "Shouldn't we check out the whereabouts of Leslie [*sic*] and Latham last Friday?" Stern explains, "The previous Friday, copies of the report were being Xeroxed in the Washington bureau to send up to CBS in New York."

That is plain wrong. On the previous Friday, no Xeroxing of the report was being done. In fact, on the previous Friday, as can be learned from other published accounts, the report was already in Felker's hands.

But most disappointing of all is Stern's offhand skirting of the central issue. He says that First Amendment rights covered publication "before the House decided not to release it," that the House was "perfectly within its constitutional rights in voting against release" and that publication thereafter had nothing to do with "constitutional process."

If Stern would like to say in the august pages of your review that publication after the House vote was illegal, it would be well that he say so explicitly. A great deal of legal talent and constitutional research is being devoted to arguing the contrary — that it is not the function of the press to obey stop-the-press mandates of a body of Congress, any more than the *Times* and *Post* were bound to obey the demand of Attorney General John Mitchell in the Pentagon Papers case.

But, having devoted most of his "morality play" to attacking me, Stern seems to have run out of space to amplify his constitutional position.

Can we soon have a serious discussion of the issues in a professional organ? Or, as journalists, are we too deeply mired in our personal and competitive problems to engage in anything more than thrust and counterthrust? ■

LETTERS

Etc.

TO THE REVIEW:

The new *Times* stylebook hardly needs any defense from me, but the review in your May/June issue by J. D. O'Hara offers such delightful occasions for sniping that it is an irresistible target.

A careful reader will find, I am sure, that there are significant changes (perhaps not interesting to a wide audience) throughout the new edition; I know, because some of them originated with me.

If there is no distinction between "seem to imply" and "imply" then I have been wasting my youth.

No one but Truman himself has paid much attention to his preference for omitting the period after his middle initial since it did not stand for a name; Webster II is among the numerous reference works showing the period. In any case, to omit the period would present an unnecessary problem in newspaper production.

And where does a contributor to the *Times* get the idea that style is to omit the comma before etc.? While the serial comma is not used except when clarity requires, its absence before etc. would be an anomaly.

As for "between" and "among," one can only suppose that years of reading freshman themes makes the clearest of distinctions murky sometimes. Among you and me and the lamp post, the stylebook explication is right on the mark and the example of usage in one sentence is deft, if perhaps a bit dangerous.

All this is not to say that Professor O'Hara's review is not enlightening and has not made some telling points (he missed a few too). The article also illustrates the value of editing. And if "fills a much-needed void" is meant to be humorous, I must admit to being at a total loss (see clichés).

MAX LOWENTHAL
Brewster, N.Y.

J. D. O'Hara replies: *I seem to infer a delight in nit-picking in Mr. Lowenthal's letter, a delight that I share. I want to tell him that a comma before* etc. *is a comma before* and *for us linguists; that* between *does differ from* among; *and that "such as ellipses, etc." is indeed redundant. I want to disclaim the misprinting of IC4A. I want to quote to him the three pages cut from my review. Perhaps some day the editors will allow this. Don't miss it if you possibly can.*

Flowery words

TO THE REVIEW:

Your article in the March/April issue on "The Florists' Crusade" says that after listening recently to an impassioned speech, I immediately banned "please omit" from obituary notices in our papers.

Our policy for years has been not to use "please omit." An impassioned speech was not responsible for the policy.

MORRIS L. SIMON
Publisher, *The Tullahoma News and Guardian*
Tullahoma, Tenn.

Francis Pollock replies: *In the course of my research for the article, I spoke to Mr. Simon because Howard Anderson, the official of the American Society of Florists who had made the speech, had told me Mr. Simon approached him after the speech to say that he was henceforth banning terms such as "please omit flowers" from his papers. I explained this very clearly to Mr. Simon as the reason for the call when I interviewed him. At no point did he dispute Mr. Anderson's claim. After receiving Mr. Simon's letter, I spoke to the trade association official again. He said: "Immediately after I made the speech, he came up to me to chat. There were two witnesses. It was then that Mr. Simon quite enthusiastically congratulated me and said he was going to take the terms out of his papers."*

DuPont: another view

TO THE REVIEW:

I read with great interest — and even greater dismay — Marvin Barrett's "Broadcast Journalism Since Watergate" report in the March/April issue. Mr. Barrett is fully entitled to his subjective conclusion that broadcasting seems to have diminished its commitment to news and public affairs, but his substantiation — at least for CBS — is full of errors. He may have received comments from 1,500 news directors and 90 DuPont correspondents, but he certainly failed to check his facts. Indeed, if Mr. Barrett's report is an accurate reflection of the observations of 1,500 news directors, I have serious concerns about the state of journalism. Without attempting a line-by-line analysis of Mr. Barrett's report, let me cite some of the more serious errors.

Mr. Barrett says that CBS News reduced its investigative unit from four persons to one in August 1974 and that Stan Gould was one of three "let go." To begin with, we didn't drop Gould — he resigned to go to NBC. Secondly, there were only three people in that unit, not four. One of the others remained doing investigative stories and subsequently worked on our four-part investigative series "The American Assassins." The other producer took a leave of absence to have a baby. She is back working for CBS News. Further, we have just created a three-man investigative unit to work in Washington. Beyond that, we have never thought of a small investigative unit as having a monopoly on our investigative stories and the vast majority of such stories are produced outside of that unit, always have been, and will continue to be.

Mr. Barrett continues to raise the question of Dan Rather's change of assignment. There never was "a covering barrage of enthusiastic press releases" as Mr. Barrett contends but a single announcement that Rather had taken on *CBS Reports*. He belittles this as "a more stately assignment in one of Ed Murrow's old slots," which is a silly way to describe one of the most important jobs at CBS News. It is one that Rather very much wanted as, subsequently, he was eager later to join *60 Minutes* when it went to prime time as a year-round series. Mr. Barrett says Rather was promised ten to twelve hard-hitting *CBS Reports* but in fourteen months did only eight. A little checking would have shown that Rather anchored twelve, not eight, *CBS Reports*.

I think that Mr. Barrett would find Rather in disagreement that his move to *60 Minutes* was "hardly a promotion for bravery under fire." Rather did some very good, very tough broadcasts for *CBS Reports*, including "The Guns of Autumn" (it raised as much dust as one possibly could in a single broadcast), "Caution: Drinking Water May Be Dangerous to Your Health" (which touched

off a stir in many cities across the country because of the poor state of drinking water in those communities), "The Best Congress Money Can Buy" (a biting examination of campaign financing), "The I.Q. Myth" (a look at the misuse of I.Q. tests which is still being debated by educators), "The American Way of Cancer" and, of course, "The American Assassins" (four hours of broadcasts examining the controversies over the shootings of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, and George Wallace).

In addition to the twelve *CBS Reports* during the period that Mr. Barrett is talking about, CBS News produced a number of other prime-time documentaries. One of the most significant broadcasts was on April 29 when CBS preempted virtually the entire evening with a two-and-one-half-hour special on the fall of Vietnam.

In addition during this period, *60 Minutes* was moved to Sunday night prime time and scheduled for fifty-two weeks a year. Further, we added another half hour of evening news on Sunday, while maintaining our late night news.

Does all of this have the flavor of a network which has lost its commitment to news and public affairs?

Mr. Barrett denigrated the *Evening News* by quoting Walter Cronkite as calling it a front-page headline service. Cronkite has said this often, but always in the context of saying we can do a lot but we can't cover all the news, and that newspapers, news magazines, and the like are vital to keeping up with the news.

Mr. Barrett also complains about the CBS special reports, which he calls "a series of excellent programs . . . relegated to a time slot after the late night news (in some markets this was as late as 2 A.M. where they competed for the nation's insomniacs)." First of all, the reports are instant specials dealing with major news events, and are not part of a series. Secondly, I know of no station that delayed the broadcasts until 2 A.M., but while this is possible, in all major markets and virtually the entire network, they were carried live at 11:30 P.M. (10:30 P.M. in the Midwest). Further, a number of our CBS News special reports were carried at other times, including prime time.

Mr. Barrett also does damage to accuracy when he comments about the CBS-owned television and radio stations. In his references to WCBS-TV, Mr. Barrett talks about "falling ratings," which is not true for either the early or the late evening news. He contends that the station is "leading off its

newscast night after night with a catalogue of fires, crimes, and accidents," which is also not true, and which a check of the logs would easily demonstrate. Mr. Barrett concludes his comments about WCBS-TV with this blatant and unsubstantiated falsehood: "attempts at genuine investigative reporting were inhibited by budget pressures and the risk of expensive libel actions." The station is doing more, not less, investigative reporting than in recent years, and possible libel action is not a deterrent to such reporting.

In discussing WBBM-TV, Chicago, Mr. Barrett states that most of the station's "team of young, energetic reporters . . . left in the spring of 1975." One reporter left in 1975, in September.

Mr. Barrett also discusses KNXT, Los Angeles, referring to the station "staggering under new policies which involved slashed budgets"; there were no new policies and budgets were increased.

In discussing the CBS-owned newsradio stations, Mr. Barrett alleges that we were "relying heavily on market research to find out exactly what the public wanted and then giving it to them." Not true. We have done audience studies, but that's a far cry from "market research" with all its implications.

Individually, these errors may not seem important. Collectively, they present a biased picture leading to an erroneous assessment of broadcast journalism, at least at CBS. In turn, if these errors are symptomatic of the rest of Mr. Barrett's article, then I suggest that it is time to consider the value of the DuPont-Columbia surveys.

JOHN A. SCHNEIDER
President, CBS/Broadcast Group

Marvin Barrett replies: *Whether Stanhope Gould's investigative team consisted of three people or four is, I believe, of less importance than the fact that the unit was dismantled and not reconstituted until March 1976, and that its head, after being responsible for two of the outstanding pieces of journalism broadcast on the network in the preceding year, was allowed to go to another network. This departure was particularly interesting when put alongside other instances over the past few years at CBS and elsewhere of departures, leaves of absence, changes of assignments, reduced visibility, and "amicable" resignations which have followed upon the airing of controversial pieces of journalism.*

As for Dan Rather's job change, I reiterate that he was like many of the newsmen referred to above removed from a position of high visibility to one where he was considerably less conspicuous (if better paid) after he had come under heavy fire from powerful forces outside and inside the network.

The number of CBS Reports *aired during the time period covered by the DuPont survey is among several facts which Mr. Schneider challenges which were checked with sources within his own network.*

Mr. Schneider's objections to our description of his owned-and-operated stations' news operations may stem in some instances from the fact that local CBS news directors have been instructed not to cooperate with the DuPont surveys. In others they undoubtedly grow out of a disparate interpretation of the same terms and facts. As far as quality is concerned, I would stand behind the objectivity and fairness of our DuPont correspondents, who report with reluctance a decline in performance on the part of any of the stations they are assigned to monitor.

I applaud CBS's recent reinstatement of its investigative unit. I also commend them on the moving of 60 Minutes *from an uncertain spot in their schedule, where it had been subject to arbitrary eclipse, to a regular weekly prime-time slot. And I devoutly hope that the next report can say that for CBS, as well as for all the other networks, the post-Watergate doldrums are past and news and public affairs are better than ever.*

The Good book

TO THE REVIEW

Roger Williams begins his review of my book *The Trouble I've Seen: White Journalist/Black Movement* [CJR, May/June] by saying how much he admires me. I would trade all his admiration for a fair, accurate review.

He hits me with a dirty shot at the start, referring to my "self-professed conversion from a white writer insensitive to the plight of black men to one supremely sensitive to their plight. . . . The conversion leads up to his main contention: that with few exceptions, such as Good, the white press did a poor job of reporting and interpreting the civil rights movement." Since "self-professed" connotes insincerity and since I never make a claim for supreme sensitivity or contend I was unique, it's apparent that Williams is out to do an axe-handle job on my character to undermine *one* of the book's themes: that institutional American journalism has done and is doing a sporadic and largely superficial job of reporting on race. Throughout the book, I praise in general and in particular (e.g., pages 197, 250, 255, 268) the minority of journalists who struggled to see and tell the whole truth.

In his first specific criticism, Williams apologizes for the white media's unholy glee in attacking "Black Power" and says that neither black activists "nor Good, as far as I can tell" did much to rectify white misconceptions. Two months after the Black Power cry was loosed, I wrote two articles on it in *The Washington Post*, a *Nation* article (August 8) titled, "A White Look at Black Power," and an article in *New South* "Black Power Explored: The Meredith March," which is quoted in the book.

Williams, a *Time* correspondent from 1964-71, says I cite as a "particularly grievous example" of *Time* magazine misfeasance a 1966 story on the attempt of the Georgia House to unseat Julian Bond. The book says the opposite, calling the article "a typical *Time* story." He omits the fact that my citation of the story went on to criticize it for condemning John Lewis for making a "typically intemperate" attack on Vietnam policy, when Lewis was a consistently moderate, nonviolent movement spokesman. Why does Williams misrepresent the book in matters large and small? A clue can be found in his assertion that, all things considered, "*Time* was quite progressive on race." In comparison with what, the *Jackson* (Miss.) *Daily News?* No one who is impressed with *Time's* progressiveness can deal fairly with a book that sees *Time* as an arrogant exemplar of journalism's racial failures.

Williams's parting shot that I claim to be "a certified keeper of journalistic truth and integrity" is a final insulting distortion of what the book says. The story of America's horrendous, ongoing racism speaks for itself through writers who serve as a conduit for that story. If Williams sees causism or egoism in that role, that is a contention he should work out in an essay, not in a book review.

PAUL GOOD
Westport, Conn.

Roger Williams replies: *I did not mean "self-professed" in the sense of insincerity but rather of simple self-profession. Otherwise, I would hardly have expressed admiration for him as a writer. But I am uncomfortable when writers quote their own works at such length and hold themselves up, even if indirectly, as paragons of the high quality journalism they find lacking in so many others. As for* Time, *who said anything about it being an "exemplar" — on racial coverage or anything else? I simply said, and say again, that taken in the context of those times and its own history, the magazine was quite progressive. Good's reaction to that statement is typical of his penchant — evident in his book's final chap-*

IF YOU'RE NOT AFRAID OF BEING RIGHT TOO SOON

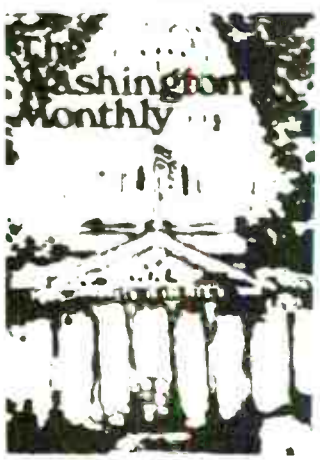
Five years before the near-bankruptcy of New York, **The Washington Monthly**, the liberal magazine that questions liberal orthodoxy, began its attack on the swollen bureaucracies with articles called "We're All Working for the Penn Central" and "America the Featherbedded." We then questioned the high salaries and pensions enjoyed by civil servants and warned of the growing power of public employees' unions.

The Washington Monthly has been ahead of its time in many other ways. It was the first magazine to reveal the political contributions of the dairy lobby, and in an article that won two of journalism's most distinguisned awards, the first to tell of the Army's spying on civilian politics.

It was the first to reveal the Nixon impoundments, the first to report why Congress didn't investigate Watergate before the election, and in so doing, became the first monthly magazine to do original reporting about Watergate. In an article that won yet another award, it told "Why the White House Press Didn't Get the Watergate Story."

Our article on the dangers of nuclear hijacking was a year ahead of **The New Yorker's**. Our case against social security was made two years before **Harper's**. And two years before Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Imperial Presidency*, we published "The Prince and His Courtiers at the White House, the Kremlin, and the Reichschancellery."

Time says **The Washington Monthly** is "must reading." **The New York Times** says it's "indispensable." And **The Washington Post** says it "does its specialty—government and politics—better than any other magazine around." If you aren't afraid of being right too soon, give it a try.



free copy offer

I'll give it a try. Please send me a free copy of your latest issue. If I like it, I will receive a one-year subscription for only $8—half the regular price. If I don't like it, I'll simply write "cancel" across the bill and that will be that. In either case, the complimentary copy is mine to keep.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Washington Monthly
1028 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

CJ61

ter —for seeing only angels and devils. That may also explain his inability to understand that overall admiration for him can coexist with specific disagreement with what he writes.

Limited access

TO THE REVIEW:

Re: "A Struggle Over Access," (CJR, May/June).

Why is it so difficult to be in sympathy with a corporation whose industry is (predictably) savaged in a five-part series and all they are offered is two to five minutes? Would you submit yourself to a shell game at the carnival, knowing that it was rigged and you would be made a fool of?

WILLIAM HOLDER
Nashville, Tenn.

Reality and ritual

TO THE REVIEW:

Michael Novak should not worry ["The Game's the Thing: A Defense of Sports as Ritual," CJR, May/June]. The old values are still solidly entrenched in sportswriting. And it will be years before any real change occurs, if it does at all. The great majority of sportswriters and editors still prefer the game. It is easier never to leave a press box or to leave it only when something major happens. It is easier not to ask an athlete what he or she thinks. It also is easier for editors and publishers to have passive sports departments because then there will be fewer angry letters saying the reader sees enough about racism, politics, and business in the front of the paper. And I am not quite sure the city, national, and business editors would like Novak's idea of taking the sociological, philosophical, business, and investigative sports stories and giving them to already overburdened departments. Instead, I think a progressive newspaper would welcome a sports department which functions by itself without having to run to the "real world" each time a legitimate news story breaks. It is because sportswriters had little appetite for real reporting and little confidence in their reporting skills that sports pages have been so historically barren when it comes to good, solid work outside the realm of the game.

Another point. Novak criticized *Newsday*'s coverage of the Missouri-Alabama game last fall as an example of how the "new" sportswriters cover a game, omitting details of strategy and key plays while pursuing other "softer" angles. *Newsday* did not staff the Missouri-Alabama game. It used a U.P.I. story. Had *Newsday* staffed the game, Novak would have seen a story balanced between game detail — strategy and key plays included, the drama of the event, the scene in Birmingham, and anything else newsworthy.

Actually, what Novak calls the "new" sportswriting is much more difficult than the old. It takes the same knowledge of sports, but it adds much more to a story. It takes good, solid reporters to see, feel, hear, and gather all the elements of a sports story.

SANDY PADWE
Sports news editor
Newsday

Trial and error

TO THE REVIEW:

Diane Ravitch ("Letters," CJR, May/June) is correct in identifying Leo Frank as a white Jew, although his identification as a "capitalist" in a time and place in which that was highly unpopular might be more relevant to his sad story.

The statement, "He never had a trial," however, is in error. A more accurate account:

Frank was convicted on the testimony of a black, Jim Conley, of the murder of Mary Phagan. That was in August 1913, and he was sentenced to be hanged. Two years later, with Frank's appeals exhausted, the governor of Georgia, John M. Slaton, commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. On August 17, 1915, a lynch mob seized Frank from the Milledgeville Prison Farm and hanged him.

JOHN WEATHERLY
Meridian, Miss.

This point was also made by Clark H. Hogan of Palmerdale, Alabama, and Virgil Hartley of Atlanta.

Academic questions

TO THE REVIEW:

Only an academic like Michael Novak could seriously suggest that newsmen fire what amount to essay questions at politicians on the busing question ["Busing Reconsidered," CJR, March/April]. His "model" questions lead one to believe he would ask a service station attendant how to engineer an oil well.

Perhaps a redeeming feature is that he spent less time on his stated intent to tell us journalists how to handle the busing issue than he did giving his opinion of busing. He seems not to care for it.

His article is laced with sociological gobbledygook and minutiae. Nowhere does he wrestle with the problem of how to turn out black high school graduates who can read, perform basic math, and be assured of having something worthwhile to contribute to society. As long as he is dishing out his opinion gratis, he should at least have addressed the issue of too many blacks for too long receiving too poor an education.

JOEL S. PARSHALL
Pioneer Press Newspapers
Evanston, Ill.

The one-issue issue

TO THE REVIEW:

While a highly favorable impression of CJR has blossomed after several years of reading it, my faith in its integrity was more than slightly shaken by the "Comment" article "One-Issue Presidential Candidates" (May/June). Remarking on the candidacy of anti-abortionist Ellen McCormack, the *Review* termed her qualification for federal matching funds an "unwelcome" consequence of federal election reform.

To put the matter in perspective, in order for Ms. McCormack to receive the funds, at least $5,000 had to be raised individually in twenty states. The ranks of the thousands of contributors are swelled considerably by the tens of thousands of voters who cast their ballots for McCormack in the state primaries. And who knows how many anti-abortionists voted for Wallace and Reagan because of their support of a Human Life Amendment to the U.S. Constitution?

When there obviously is such extensive and deep feeling on a particular issue, it's a credit to our democracy that there is an avenue open for expression of those views, especially when it's clear that the most influential of our news media favor liberalized abortion. Conversely, if "pro-choicers" were able to put forth their own presidential candidate, and qualify for federal matching funds to promote legalized abortion, I honestly could not complain.

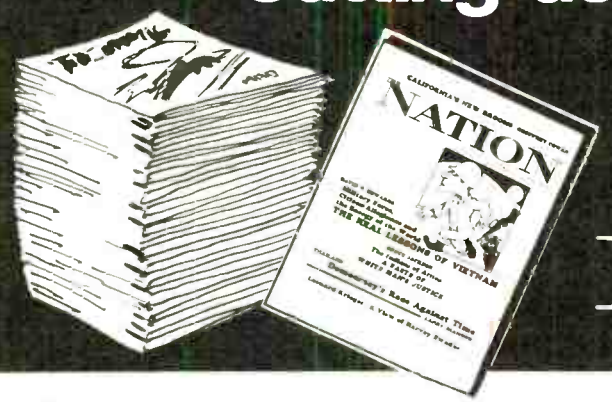
LOUIS H. PUMPHREY
Shaker Heights, Ohio

Correction

Our May/June Source Guide, "The Environment Today," listed an incorrect address. The American Petroleum Institute is now located at 2101 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

There was also a typographical error: the correct price of the annual report of the Council on Environment Quality is $6.60.

Cutting down on weeklies?



Your "best buy" is THE NATION

Yes, times are bad. Your budget is strained. You can no longer subscribe to two or three weeklies. You must decide on only one. Which will it be? One that prints the usual press releases and wire-service dispatches? Or will it be the time-tested NATION that foresees the gathering storm?

For 110 years, the NATION has been America's beacon, illuminating the dark corners others refused to see. Look at its record since the end of World War II.

• **1946** While the media glorified Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech, the NATION condemned it as a threat to world peace. What followed? The arms race, McCarthyism, the domino theory, and Vietnam. Now, 29 years, millions of lives, and billions of dollars later, the hope is for detente.

• **1959** The NATION published an article called "The Safe Car You Can't Buy" by a young law student named Ralph Nader. Ten years later, the media stopped scoffing and an industry was grudgingly forced to reform.

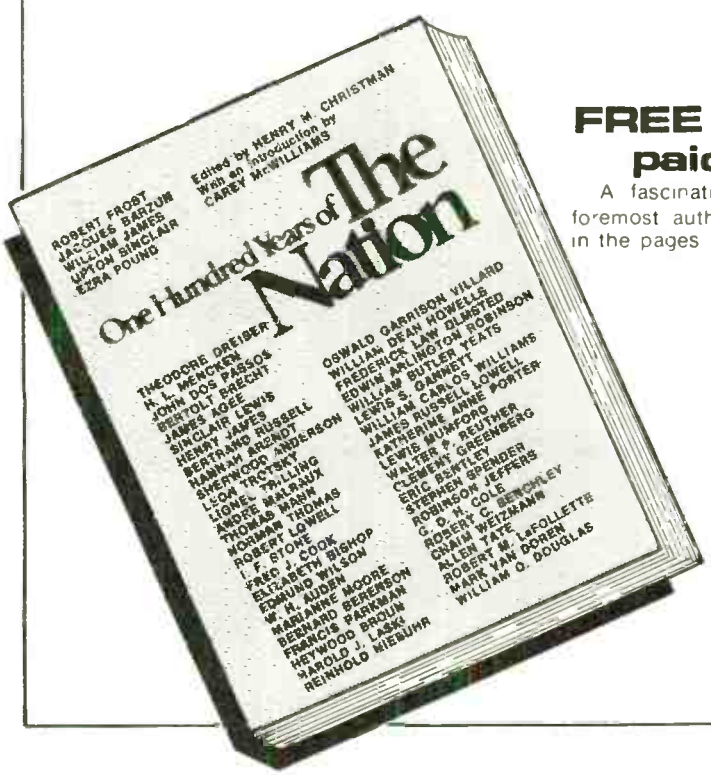
• **1960** A NATION editorial warned that the CIA and the Guatemalan government were training anti-Castro exiles to invade Cuba. The NATION pleaded with the media to alert the public. Dead silence. To NATION readers, the Bay of Pigs fiasco was no surprise.

• **1961** A special issue of The NATION featured Fred J. Cook's probe of the CIA. It revealed facts that make front-page stories today. Congress is finally investigating.

• **1964** NATION editors condemned Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Only two senators voted against it, Ernest Gruening, formerly Managing Editor of The NATION, and Wayne Morse, longtime contributor to The NATION.

• **1974** "The Hot River Valley," a hair-raising study of nuclear power reactors and the Plutonium they produce, caused shock waves throughout the country. Since then, many plants have been shut down, and the Atomic Energy Commission dissolved. The press and the public are now catching on to the dangers that NATION readers feared a year ago.

These are only a few of the highlights. The list goes on and on. Every issue of The NATION contains material way ahead of its time. Subscribe NOW and see for yourself.



FREE BOOK with each paid subscription

A fascinating collection of works by the world's foremost authors, just as they appeared originally in the pages of The NATION

YES. Please enter my subscription to THE NATION as checked below. I understand I may cancel at any time and you will send a prompt refund for all undelivered copies.

☐ **1 year** (47 issues) **$17.50** ☐ **2 years** (94 issues) **$30.00**

☐ **Payment enclosed.** Send me absolutely free your anthology, *One Hundred Years of The Nation*, which is mine to keep even if I decide to cancel.

☐ **Bill me.** (Sorry, no books can be sent on billed orders.)

Name _____
please print

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

THE NATION 333 Sixth Avenue New York, N.Y. 10014 cj

REPORTS

by DANIEL J. LEAB

"The Voice of America: Policies and Problems," by Donald R. Browne, **Journalism Monographs,** No. 43, February 1976

This trim little study examines the thirty-year history of the Voice of America in terms of its shifting program policies, its relations with Congress, and the influence of such agency executives as Elmer Davis, Edward R. Murrow, and John Chancellor. Commending the V.O.A. for its willingness to experiment with program format and its flexibility regarding the languages in which it broadcasts, Browne concludes that despite political and technical problems, the leader in international broadcasting "will continue to serve a useful role as a conveyor of life in America to the rest of the world." Although his chronicle is useful in illuminating the fundamental conflict inherent in the V.O.A.'s dual mission of journalism and diplomacy, it suffers from a failure to offer judgments on certain of V.O.A.'s operations — a failure which seems also to have marked many of those responsible for those operations over the years.

The Media and the Law, edited and with an introduction by Howard Simons and Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Praeger, 1976

As confrontations escalate between jurists and journalists, the need for dialogue between the two groups grows more acute. One particularly imaginative attempt at mutual understanding took place in March 1975 at the Washington Conference on the Media and the Law. A distinguished panel of judges, editors, reporters, and lawyers met to consider three hypothetical case studies involving such questions as national security, privacy, libel, access, and gag orders. These transcribed proceedings of the no-holds-barred discussions are as unsettling as they are dramatically revealing.

"From Boom! to . . . Burp!?," by David Kastin, **The Soho Weekly News,** March 4, 1976; "Millions See a Psychiatrist in 'Apartment 3-G,'" by John Peterson, **The National Observer,** March 27, 1976

Their visibility may be low, but their influence is not, and each of these media men has a loyal cult of followers. The subject of Kastin's profile is Howard Thompson, the anonymous critic who brightens *The New York Times* television listings with his pithy capsule reviews of homescreen movies. A film buff of enormous range, Thompson takes his job seriously, unceasingly reevaluating his judgments and polishing his phrases. He is also a bit of a reformer: in his brief reviews — which are sometimes no more than a single word or sentence — he manages to heap scorn on bad cutting and has even taken on (with some success) a network for scheduling great films at 3 A.M. ("The usual asinine program planning," he wrote). Nicholas Dallis, the subject of Peterson's article, is also something of a crusader. A retired psychiatrist, Dallis is the creator of three current comic strips that focus on law, love, and medicine (*Judge Parker, Apartment 3-G, Rex Morgan, M.D.*). Insisting that *Morgan* be medically accurate and serve a purpose, Dallis proudly notes the 1,500 letters he has received asking for medical information.

"Free TV: Notes Toward Noncommercial Broadcasting," by Geoffrey Cowan, **Working Papers For a New Society,** Winter 1976

Is television without commercials an impossible dream? Public-interest lawyer Cowan doesn't think so — and Cowan is no dreamer: his case for reform is earthbound and far from cloudy. In fact, he reminds us, commercialization of the medium goes clearly against the intentions of its earliest founders. Challenging the accepted premises on which our present television structure rests, Cowan describes workable alternatives to commercial TV. He argues that with so many of television's problems originating from the source of its financing (that is, advertisers), the solution must be a reordering of the system based on democratic, rather than demographic, considerations.

"The First Women Washington Correspondents," by Maurine Hoffman Beasley, **GW Washington Studies,** No. 4, January 1976

Seven extraordinary journalists sit in this original gallery — nineteenth-century pioneer women who dared to venture into the masculine province of Washington correspondents and achieved national recognition by writing on significant topics of the day. Beasley sketches a concise, engaging biography of each, then draws a composite portrait: an independent individual with a flair for words, who came from the West, was single, widowed, or divorced, who had turned to journalism from financial necessity. Interestingly, few were active feminists or ardent suffragists; most were more concerned with proving that they remained womanly in spite of their careers.

"The Campus Press: Slouching Toward Respectability," by David Rubin, **Change,** April 1976

After racing through its phases of anti-war and apathy, drugs, sex, and porn, where does the campus press turn next? Inward, according to Rubin, who cites campus reporting around the country that suggests that the most important beat today is the central administration: the food services at Princeton, an exam scandal at Florida, construction of a $1-million house for the chancellor at Texas — not to mention the less glamorous stuff on tuition and tenure. Reasons for the respectable revolution, says Rubin, are the fiscal crises at the schools, the tight job market, and the pre-professional concerns of would-be Woodsteins. His informative survey also touches briefly on developments in campus press advertising, competition, and censorship, and presents some arresting statistics on the low staff representation of minorities. Whatever the nature of its most current phase, it seems the campus newspaper still provides an education in reality.

"The Public Record anc Investigative Reporting," transcripts of workshops held under the auspices of the **Urban Policy Research Institute,** January 1976

In addition to its bimonthly newsletter, the institute's investigative journalism program offers transcripts of several workshops. One of the most useful deals with accounting, business, and real estate records. It has some handy tips on understanding ordinary public record information — how, for example, to read between the lines of Form 10K, the annual report of a publicly held corporation which must be filed with the S.E.C. Reading such reports, says participant Alex Auerbach, a business and financial writer of the *Los Angeles Times,* is a little bit like sex: reporters don't do it enough.

The Lower case

13,500 Cuban troops still reported in Cuba

The Miami News 4/23/76

James G. Stahlman, former publisher and president of The Nashville Banner, died Saturday of a massive strike.

The New York Times 5/3/76

Monk, 52, Named as Primate

The Denver Post 2/24/76

Ban on soliciting dead in Trotwood

Dayton Daily News 4/7/76

Statistics on women
Some good and some bad

Women in Communications 2/76

"I felt they made me an offer I couldn't refuse," said Miss Walters, 43, who rose from a staff writer on "Today" in 1961 to the thigh-salaried stardom she enjoys as a cohost of the morning show with Jim Hartz.

St Louis Globe-Democrat 4/23/76

4 Indicted Into Military Hall Of Honor

Alabama (Montgomery) Journal 4/23/76

The Capital Times is having a party on Saturday, from 11 a.m. until 2 p.m. at the Madison Civic Center-Montgomery Ward Building to honor the hundreds of endangered animal coloring contest winners and the thousands of contest entries.

Capital Times (Madison, Wis.) 5/13/76

Stiff opposition expected to casketless funeral plan

The Toronto Star 4/7/76

Squad helps dog bite victim

Grant County (Wis.)
Herald Independent 4/29/76

Schools may ban monkey bars after 125 children break bones

The Miami News 5/11/76

In Suffold County, Bigelow's three colleagues, along with a fourth forensic pathologist, Dr. Leonard Atkins, are the medical examiners. All five men were faulty members of the now discontinued Harvard School of Legal Medicine.

The Boston Globe 5/12/76

LOVE AND DEATH (1974) Woody Allen's most literate film; a spoof of War and Peace, which he wrote, starred in and also directed.

Globe and Mail (Toronto) 5/14/76

Kissinger allegedly forges Mideast pact

The Houston Post 8/25/75

BRITAIN'S UNIONS RESIST PAY PLAN

The New York Times 4/15/76

Unions to Cooperate On Pay Policy in UK

Journal of Commerce 4/15/76

Scientists To Have Ford's Ear

Portland (Me.) Evening Express 5/11/76

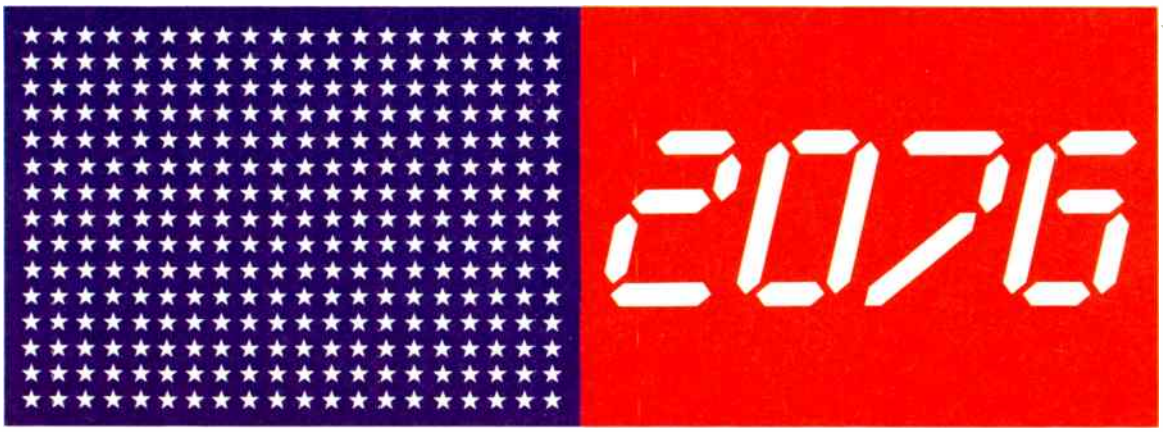
THE SIX LAS VEGAS CASINOS OWNED BY HOWARD HUGHES BRIEFLY SHUT DOWN THEIR GAMBLING TABLES YESTERDAY FOR A MONETARY TRIBUTE TO THE BILLIONAIRE RECLUSE.

UPI radio wire 4/8/76

CJR asks readers who contribute items to this department to send only original clippings suitable for reproduction, please include the name and date of publication, as well as your name and address

Atlantic Richfield invites you on a journey into the future.

The Tricentennial



America will change a great deal by the year 2076. Tell us what you think those changes should be.

We have always been a nation more interested in the promise of the future than in the events of the past.

Somehow, the events of the past few years have made us doubt ourselves and our future.

Here at Atlantic Richfield, however, we see the future as an exciting time. The best of times. And we know that all of us can achieve a splendid future by planning for it now.

We'd like your help. We need your vision. We want you to tell us about the changes you would like to see take place in America – and in our American way of life.

For example:
What ideas do you have for making life more fun than it is now?

What changes would you like to see in government? (City? State? Federal?)

What do you envision as the best way to solve our energy problems?

What about the future of business? (More regulation by government? Less?)

What measures would you take to protect the environment?

Or, if those topics don't appeal to you, pick one that does.
How should our physical world be altered? Do you recommend that we live underground? In plastic bubbles?

Will family life change? Will we choose a spouse by computer? Will divorce become illegal?

What should our schools be like? Should machines replace teachers?

What will make us laugh? What will be funny that isn't funny now?

What new major sports would you like to see? Three-dimensional chess? Electronic billiards?

Whatever your idea may be, we want to know about it. Write it. Draw it. Sing it. But send it.

In about six months we plan to gather your responses, analyze them, and make a full report on what we've found out. We believe the report will provide a fascinating and valuable view of America's hopes, dreams, fears, and visions. We'll make sure it reaches the people who are in positions to consider and act on it.

Along the way we will make television commercials and newspaper and magazine ads out of many of the ideas so you can see what other people are thinking.

Please note that all ideas submitted shall become public property without compensation and free of any restriction on use and disclosure.

Send your idea to:
Tricentennial
Atlantic Richfield Company
P.O. Box 2076
Los Angeles, CA 90053

ARCO

Petroleum Products of
AtlanticRichfieldCompany

Celebrate America's Tricentennial 100 years early.