

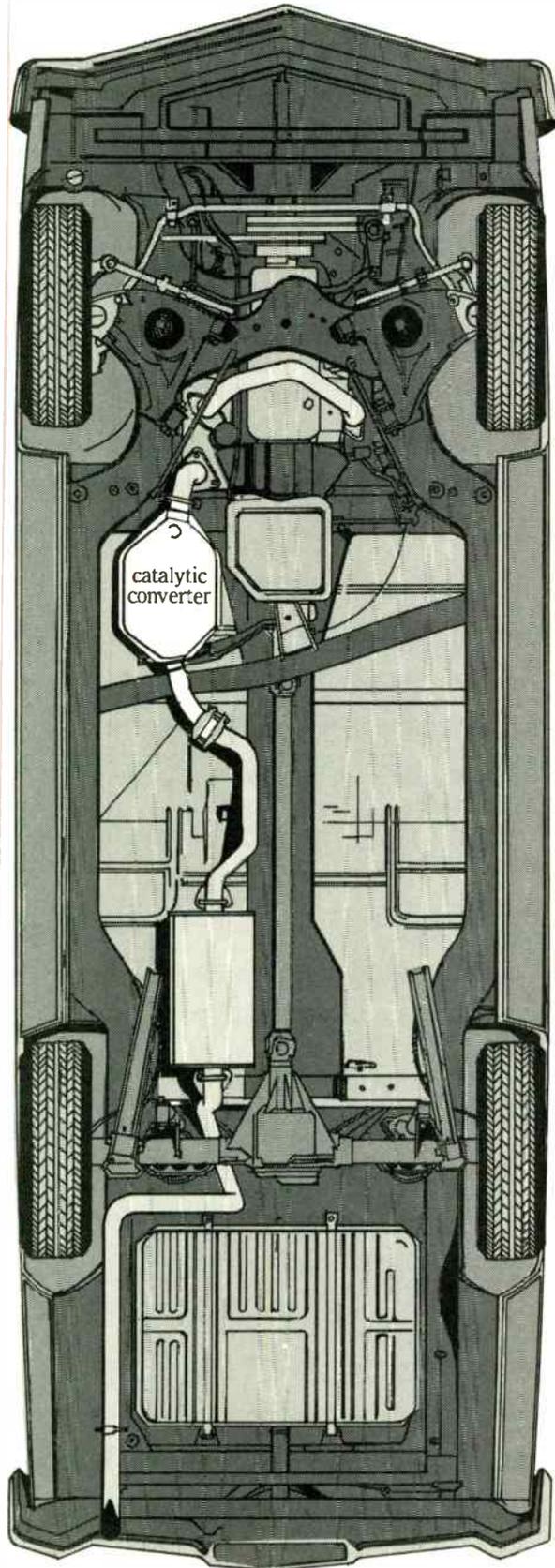
COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

JULY/AUGUST 1975
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR / PRESS • RADIO • TV

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**OVERLOOKING THE OBVIOUS:
the press and the built world**

Because of the catalytic converter, GM cars use less gasoline.



Primarily because of the catalytic converter, gas mileage on GM cars has been increased by 28% on a sales-weighted average, according to EPA figures.

The converter gives GM car owners the best of both worlds: emissions of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons are cut by about 50% from the already lowered levels of 1974, and it is possible once more to tune engines for economy, drivability and performance.

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But when you think of the cost, think of the reduction in fuel consumption over the life of that average GM car; and don't forget, the use of unleaded gas lowers maintenance costs by greatly increasing the life of spark plugs, engine oil and exhaust system components.

After more than a billion miles on the road, the GM catalytic converter has become a world standard in pollution control devices. GM has signed contracts to build converters for auto-makers in Europe and Asia, as well as other U.S. manufacturers.

You get the fuel-saving advantages of a catalytic converter as standard equipment on 1975 cars from General Motors, a world leader in automotive pollution control technology.

General Motors

Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick, Cadillac, GMC Truck

Catalytic converter, standard equipment on 1975 model GM cars.

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"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

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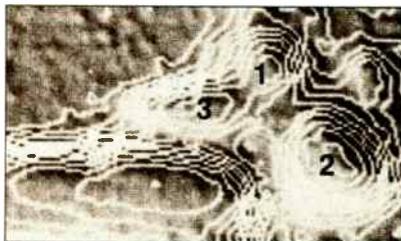
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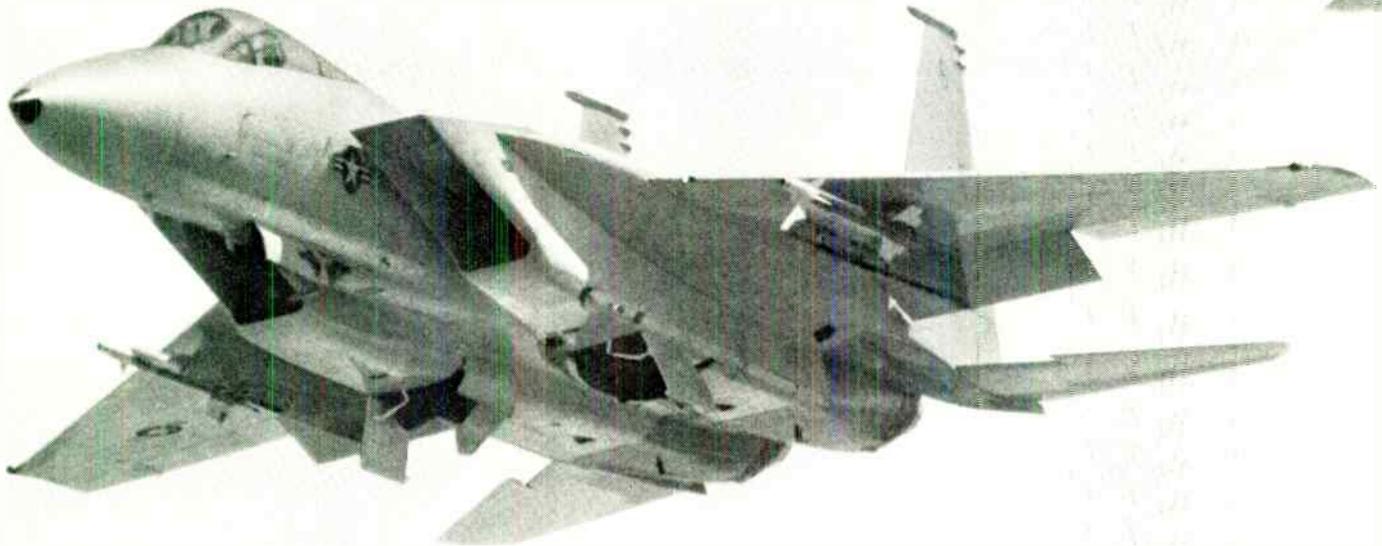
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F-15 Eagle: designed to defeat hostile aircraft. And fight the rising cost of defense. The McDonnell Douglas F-15 Eagle is joining the United States Air Force's operational inventory. It is the world's best maneuvering, highest performance, all-weather fighter.

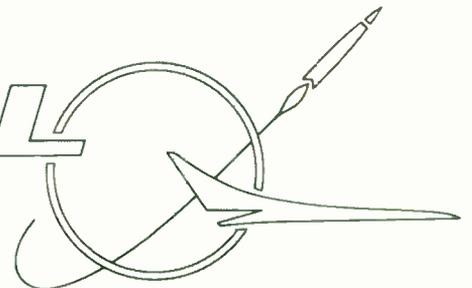
The development costs of the F-15, now fully paid for, were held to within 1% of target. Equally significant, McDonnell Douglas has developed the F-15 to be cheaper and easier to maintain. Important, considering man-power costs represent 57% of every defense dollar.

In the face of inflation, the F-15 remains a bargain. Its production price will match any fighter on the horizon and its performance will surpass any threat.

For the Air Force, that means more combat-ready time. For taxpayers, it means greater security at less cost.



**MCDONNELL
DOUGLAS**



F-15 Eagle: the inflation fighter.

World Radio History

A letter from . . .

David Broder

David Halberstam

Norman Isaacs

Larry L. King

and

I. F. Stone

on behalf of **THE TEXAS OBSERVER LEGAL DEFENSE FUND.**

Dear *Columbia Journalism Review* reader:

The Texas Observer is in very serious trouble and needs your help. The *Observer* has been sued for \$5 million in a libel case brought by Lester Roloff, a fundamentalist evangelist in Corpus Christi. Until late 1973, Roloff's company, Roloff Evangelistic Enterprises, Inc., operated, among other institutions, three child care facilities in South Texas. The state of Texas set out to close those homes, alleging that they did not meet state licensing requirements. A trial court found Roloff guilty of contempt in connection with the order to close the homes, but the state supreme court later overturned the conviction because it felt that the licensing regulations applied only to homes keeping children under 16. The *Observer* covered the early part of the story in its issues of Nov. 2 and Nov. 16, 1973.

In June, 1974, Roloff sued the *Observer* and its co-editor Molly Ivins, *The Houston Post* and its reporter Mimi Crossley, *New Times* magazine, *The Chicago Daily News*, NBC-TV and a Canadian publication, all for five million or more. The *Observer* does carry libel insurance, but the insurance company contends that the policy covers only actual damages; that it does not cover either court costs or attorney's fees. The *Observer*, shoe-stringing along as usual, has learned to its horror that it will take tens of thousands of dollars to defend the suit. Court costs alone in the case may run into the tens of thousands. Although the *Observer* is confident it will win the case, the legal fees present a staggering problem for the paper. The *Observer* was originally defended by volunteer counsel in Houston. However, the *Observer's* lawyer friends, among them Dean Page Keeton of the University of Texas Law School, realized that the *Observer* would have to have local counsel. The *Observer* has since hired an excellent Corpus Christi lawyer.

For 20 years *The Texas Observer* has been attacking corruption in politics, concerning itself with social problems, and relishing the zaniness of the state in which it operates. It is the only regional publication of its kind to have long survived in America. It has not only outlived the *Carolina Israelite* and Idaho's *Intermountain Observer*, but also *Life*, *Look* and *The Saturday Evening Post*—with no advertising to speak of. But the cost of defending this suit is crippling the *Observer*.

We believe that this case has serious First Amendment implications. Anyone who has the cash to pursue such a complaint, regardless of its merits, can cripple or kill a small publication. In a sense, libel lawyers have become the new censors in American newsrooms. The formidable cost of defending libel suits, rather than the fear of losing them, is now inhibiting the freedom of the press. The *Observer* wishes only to defend itself against Roloff's accusations.

We ask you to contribute \$100 (as all of us have), or more, or whatever you can afford, to THE TEXAS OBSERVER LEGAL DEFENSE FUND, 600-A West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

The *Observer* has fought many a good fight and, not all that infrequently, won some of them. Please help the *Observer* to win this one.

David S. Broder David Halberstam
 Norman E. Isaacs Larry L. King I. F. Stone

COMMENT

Darts and laurels

Dart: to Donald W. Mann, president of Negative Population Growth, for his blunt approach to press relations. In a recent mailing there is a card (with the salutation "Dear Friends" and signed by Mann) with this message: "We are offering a \$1,000 bonus to the first writer who writes a major article (2,000 words or more) about Negative Population Growth, Inc. and its concepts and gets it printed in a major national magazine (with a circulation of at least 300,000). I would be more than happy to cooperate in the writing of the article."

Dart: to the South Texas Press Association for enthusiastically embracing corporate freebies. This from the association's 1975 convention program: "Our prestigious Awards Breakfast. . . . Your thanks should go to the General Telephone Company which is your host." "Luncheon . . . to discuss the C[entral] P[ower] & L[ight] shrimp farm. Ya'll come; door prize will be a huge box of shrimp. Central Power and Light is sponsor of this luncheon. . . ." "Beer, boiled shrimp and hot tamales on the high seas sponsored by Group VII, Texas Electric Cooperatives, Inc. . . ."

Laurel: to Peter Milius of *The Washington Post* for his careful "news analysis" which explained why the Social Security system was in no danger of imminent collapse, as earlier news stories had seemed to suggest.

Dart: to UPI for finding a way to run the name of its former president and board chairman, Hugh Baillie, first in a list of forty journalists selected posthumously for a Hall of Fame Distinguished Honor Roll that went out on UPI wires. UPI made its contribution to the art of self-promotion by breaking the honor roll into two alphabetical groups. Saved for the second group were Elmer

Davis, Walter Lippmann, and Edward R. Murrow.

Dart: to Arthur J. Thomason of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* for inserting a commercial for his paper into a news story about jury selection. Thomason quotes a prospective juror as having read about a case in the *Globe*, then has her add, "I get up and read the morning *Globe* every day from one end to the other."

Dart: to the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* for marking the thirtieth anniversary of VE Day by running a fawning front-page story about the World War II exploits of the paper's publisher, Amon G. Carter, Jr. Excerpts: "With his body beaten and sore, the lieutenant [Carter] could not possibly have imagined that 30 years after the war in which he was playing a part, he would be filling his father's shoes."

"He had no way of knowing that he too would be widely known as a publisher and civic leader. That he would meet and become friends with presidents and generals."

Dart: to Alexander Cockburn of *The Village Voice* for adding an irrelevant personal attack to his comments about *The Economist*. After writing that the magazine's coverage of the United Kingdom was "not only right wing, but vulgarly so," Cockburn felt obliged to add, "This was largely the fault of its editor, Alistair Burnet, a brutish gentleman covered with acne who recently retired to edit the *Daily Express*."

Dart: to New Jersey judge Richard F. Connors for requiring an editor of a weekly newspaper to promise to wage an editorial campaign against the illegal use of guns as a condition of probation (on charges of illegal possession of a gun and a knife). A few days later the judge withdrew the condition but the editor of *El Mundo de Hoy* went ahead with the campaign anyway.

Our friend, the CIA

A press release from the CIA? Sure enough, the eleven-page handout was mailed to newsmen this spring — cloaked in dignified manila and franked OFFICIAL BUSINESS. It was the text of CIA director William Colby's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Publishers. In it Colby argued that the CIA needed a good deal less public attention to do its job. He said that sensational coverage jeopardizes the agency, and he pleaded for the keeping of "good secrets." (Who, one wonders, defines a "good secret"?) Although his thesis calls to mind the recent clashes of press and CIA, Colby argued that the press and the CIA had much in common ("Fellow publishers," his speech began). After all, he argued, aren't we all in the information business?

We hope that Colby's chummy approach to publishers serves only to make journalists all the more curious about the CIA's activities, and all the more wary when the agency asks them to conceal its "good secrets."

The cult of decisiveness

In the wake of the *Mayaguez* affair we have heard a great deal about President Ford's *decisiveness*. All too often, columnists, editorial writers, and television commentators seemed to assume that being decisive was good in itself.

We don't intend here to oppose or support the president's action, but, by way of offering token resistance to the blind worship of decision for its own sake, we recall the following examples of decisiveness:

- Darius's decision to invade Greece
 - Caesar's decision to go to the Senate on the ides of March
- continued*

- Napoleon's decision to invade Russia
- The Serbian nationalists' decision to assassinate Archduke Ferdinand
- Hitler's decision to invade Russia
- Japan's decision to bomb Pearl Harbor
- Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia
- James McCord's decision to re-tape the lock on the Watergate door.

A billboard to the editor

When CJR learned that a Kansas City resident was using his own billboard to take issue with *The Kansas City Times*, we were struck by the depth of feeling the act seemed to convey, and by its apparent futility. The sign was put up facing a busy highway by Dennis Thelen (shown with his sign). Thelen, a Kansas City heating and air-conditioning contractor, found himself in the news after



he testified against a former employer, who pleaded guilty to fraud charges in a Kansas City court. After Thelen testified, a contempt charge that had been lodged against him was dropped.

The *Times*'s headline read: CASE DROPPED AGAINST PARTNER. But Thelen had been an employee, not a business partner. And he was not at all happy to be so linked to a man whose reputation in town had plummeted. The *Times* admitted the headline might have been misleading, although managing editor Tom Eblen noted that the two men were closely associated. A hassle then ensued; the *Times* says it offered

to print a retraction, Thelen claims he didn't receive the offer. Not an unusual dispute, perhaps, but a fascinating symbol of the different media available to journalists and those they write about.

Time marches — into the past

Years ago, inspired by Wolcott Gibbs's parody of *Time*style as set down in his 1936 *New Yorker* profile of "ambitious, gimlet-eyed" *Time*-founder Henry Luce, we used to play a game in which each player took turns imagining *Time* cover stories about mythical or historical events. Half the fun lay in dreaming up the double-barreled adjectives, brash neologisms, and tense-tendonned gram-macrobatic sentences at which critic Gibbs had jibed. The other half came from hearing such sentences applied to people and events whose histories had been handed down in more formal English. Typical topic: the Expulsion of (clay-based, Hand-kneaded) Adam and (rib-born, serpent-heeding) Eve from Eden. When a player ran out of inspiration, he or she could usually get an easy laugh by quoting, à la *Time*: "Said Adam . . ." "Quipped Eve . . ." or "Snapped Oedipus. . . ." Reason for the quick yuk: the anachronistic clang.

Time's announcement some months back that it was planning to publish a special July 4, 1776 issue kindled memories, awoke hopes. Among memories kindled were, from Gibbs's profile, two peerless *Time*style paradigms: "Backward ran sentences until reeled the mind," and — Gibbs's parting put-on — "Where it all will end, knows God!" Wondered we: would *Time* staffers themselves play our game? If so, could they peer the profiler's parody?

Farfetched the prospect seemed. Hope, though, found food — in the first section of the Bicentennial issue: "American Notes." Droll struck us the collision there of genuine-replica-eighteenth-century-English main clause — "Apparently all things will have their uses in this war" — with perky, *Time*-patented exemplification —

"even a statue of scepter-wielding, toga-robed King George III." Surely some quill-pushing staffer was smirking up ruffed cuff at house prose? Seemed likely.

Our high hopes, though, were soon dashed. Marching with *Time* into our past, we culled few paradigms. The closest *Time* came to achieving the anachronistic clang we sought was in its "People" section.

Thus, Goethe:

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 26, playwright (*Clavigo*) and novelist (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*), has moved to Weimar, where the new duke, Karl August, 19, has just made him a court advisor and member of the Privy Council. Says Goethe of his new life: "'Tis better than the inactive existence at home where, though I had the desire to do much, nothing ever got done. . . ."

Hence, Henry:

Patrick Henry, 40 . . . has apparently been suffering a tragedy in secret. As one of his friends says in confirming the rumors, Henry's "soul was bowed down and bleeding under the heaviest sorrows and personal distress." Reason: his wife Sarah, who died last year, had been insane for the three previous years. . . .

The clang is muted, however. For time, which changes all things, has — alas? — tamed *Time*'s erstwhile punchy, sophomacaronic prose.

Noted with bemusement, meanwhile, was: similarity between brisk, clipped, research-showing prose of the special issue cover story "Independence: The Birth of a New America" and the only slightly less brisk prose of a four-page Seagram foldout ad.

From the cover story:

At 6 o'clock last Tuesday morning in Philadelphia, Virginia Delegate Thomas Jefferson looked out at the gray sky and then noted that his thermometer registered 70°. Soon afterward, there came a crack of lightning and a sudden deluge. By 9 o'clock, the city was awash.

From the Seagram ad:

It was unseasonably humid in Boston, and the dark, comforting amplitude of the Green Dragon Tavern served, as Daniel Webster would observe, as the real headquarters of our Revolution. The Sons of Liberty, its braintrust and muscle, met here regularly

Saving energy

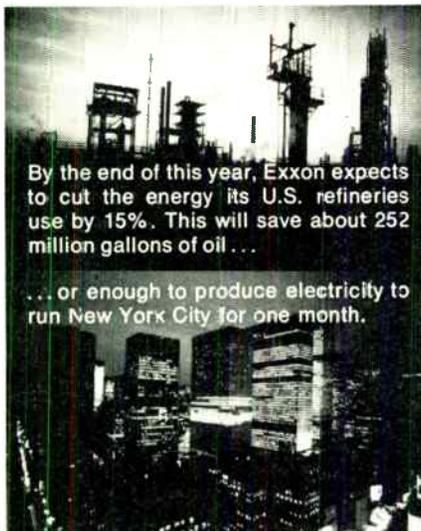
American industry offers a tremendous potential for energy savings right now.

One way to reduce our dependence on foreign oil is to use energy more efficiently. This means using less electricity and heating oil in our homes and saving gasoline in our cars.

American industry also offers a great potential for using energy efficiently. Why? Because industry uses at least one-third of all the energy consumed in the U.S. today.

Exxon will save enough energy to run New York City for 30 days.

All major industries require large amounts of energy. In fact, 25 percent of all our energy is consumed by just six industries: farming and food pro-



cessing, aluminum, chemical, iron and steel, paper, and petroleum refining.

In the case of Exxon, we use energy to make energy. But, by the end of this year Exxon expects to cut energy usage at our U.S. refineries by 15 percent of what we used in 1972. The energy we save could heat the homes in Pittsburgh for one year or provide enough electricity to run New York City for one month.

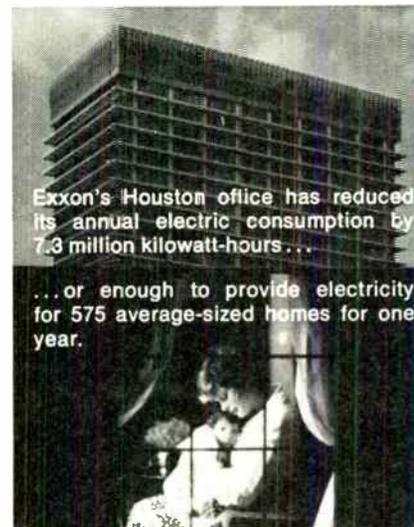
No more "full speed ahead."

A ship captain can save fuel the same



way you save gasoline in your car. By slowing down our U.S. tankers and tow-boats and by cutting nonessential power demands, Exxon saved 5.5 million gallons of fuel last year. That is enough to power 5700 farm tractors for a year.

Last year, our 54-story headquarters in New York cut energy requirements by nearly 35 percent. Our Houston office reduced consumption of electric-

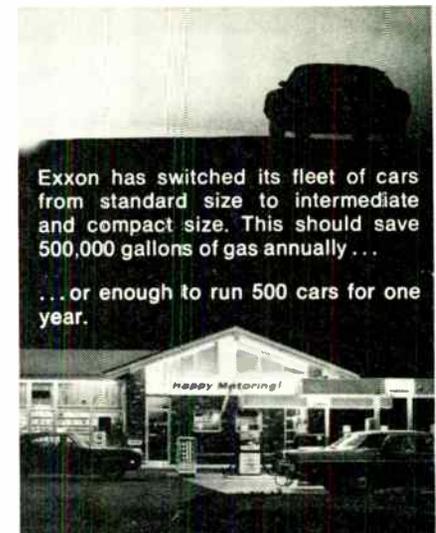


ity by 7.3 million kilowatt-hours. That is enough electricity to power 575 average-sized homes for one year.

Recently Exxon switched all company cars from standard size to intermediate or compact size. We expect that this will save 500,000 gallons of gasoline annually—or enough to run 500 cars for one year.

There is evidence of progress.

As a nation, there is evidence that we are making progress on curbing



energy use. Figures from the U.S. Bureau of Mines and the American Petroleum Institute show that demand for energy *dropped* 3.3 percent in 1974 as compared to 1973. Gasoline consumption alone dropped 2 percent.

Take a good look at how you run your operation, whether it's a corporation, a small business, or a home in the suburbs. We think you'll be surprised at the ways you can use energy efficiently to conserve our nation's energy supplies. And you'll save money too.



... using the Dragon as their town hall, planning room, courthouse and show tent.

“The Sons of Liberty, its braintrust and muscle” — the ad copy seemed of a piece with the new-lean *Time* style. Would *Time*'s advertisers soon outwrite *Time*? Or was *Time* writing copy for its advertisers? Was our revolution fated to become ad copy — or to provide “editorial environment” for ads? With Gibbs, wondered we where it all would end.

Checkbook journalism revisited

In a recent editorial on checkbook journalism (May/June), we recommended that “respectable journalism, both print and broadcast, should make it a standard practice that any paid-for interview should carry, in the introductory matter, a clear statement that the individual was compensated for the interview” if such was the case. The editorial was prompted by CBS's payment of \$50,000 or so to H. R. Haldeman, who was interviewed by Mike Wallace.

Since then checkbook journalism has turned up again on television — this time with a new twist or two. Last May two public-television stations, WNET in New York and KQED in San Francisco, aired an interview with Abbie Hoffman, the former Yippie leader who jumped bail on a narcotics charge a year ago and has been a fugitive ever since. In this case the public was fully informed of the financial arrangements arrived at by Hoffman and TVTV, the independent documentary-producing firm that made “In Hiding.” Early on, as part of the program, Michael Shamberg, head of TVTV, was himself interviewed and asked what demands Hoffman had made and what terms had been agreed upon for the interview. Shamberg replied that Hoffman had made three demands: “He wanted \$5,000 cash — \$2,500 from us and \$2,500 from Ron [Rosenbaum, a reporter who, together with Shamberg, interviewed Hoffman]. He wanted a video cassette player from us, and he wanted to keep the video tapes of the interview for two weeks



... to review them.” Shamberg went on to say that ultimately Hoffman had received \$3,000, the video cassette, and the right to review the tapes.

This openness about financial and other arrangements is, in itself, commendable. Other aspects of the affair raise a host of fresh questions. Setting aside the complex legal issues posed by giving money to a fugitive, we shall deal only with a few of the specifically journalistic questions raised. First, should the press interview fugitives who have been either charged with or convicted of a crime? Why not? What fugitives have to say may be as newsworthy as what nonfugitives have to say; the crucial point to remember is that publicity and endorsement are two different things. Second, should a journalist accede to a subject's demand not only to review an article about the subject or a tape made of an interview with the subject but, as in Hoffman's case, to order that sections be deleted? Usually not. The public assumes that journalists have control over their products. But if they surrender some of that control, the audience must at least be informed. In telling viewers which subjects Hoffman and his underground friends had deleted from the program, the producers of “In

Hiding” disclosed more than publishers of memoirs in books or magazines usually do.

Gregory J. Ricca, a lawyer for WNET, told John J. O'Connor of *The New York Times*: “We have paid other people to appear on our program. It's the oldest thing in the book.” Our main objection to the honorarium is that it both reinforces the idea that news belongs to the newsmakers, not to the news consumers, and opens the way to other demands by the interviewed subject.

Abbie Hoffman has made a career as a madcap media manipulator. Now, by selling his story while a fugitive from justice, he has succeeded in manipulating the media into an absurd clash of legal and journalistic values. Welcome as was the full disclosure included in the show, it was not enough to reconcile the irreconcilable.

The distant trumpet

They were “burned out,” as one of them wrote, and so the editors of a Colorado journalism review folded their publication, *The Unsatisfied Man*, after nearly five years. It wasn't because they didn't have the money: “We could probably have limped along,” the front-page obituary said. “It was lack of participation. . . . the new generation of young turks isn't into collective individuality — just individuality.”

Recent months have also brought the passing of Houston's journalism review, and word of flagging spirits and dwindling funds at the *Chicago Journalism Review*, the publication whose founding in 1968 inspired a dozen similar efforts.

The journalism reviews (and we would include our own) have not always been as good as they might be. But mere existence has been a part of their achievement. By providing a forum for journalists to blow the whistle on journalism, they have made it less likely that the whistle will have to be blown.

Were the local reviews floundering because journalism has become much better, the rest of us might rejoice. Instead, it seems the commitment to reform is fading, not the need for it, and we doubt that *that* is a good omen.

**HAVE YOU
BEEN MISSING...**

... the magazine *The New York Times* calls "indispensable" and *Time* calls "must reading." It's *The Washington Monthly*, which was the first magazine to reveal the political contributions of the dairy lobby, the first to tell of the United Mine Workers' betrayal of its members. The first to expose how the Army spied on civilian politics, in an article that won two of journalism's most distinguished awards.

It was the first to reveal the Nixon impoundments, the first to report why Congress didn't investigate Watergate until after the election, and in so doing became the only 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 "Work in America" series began before *The Atlantic's*. Our article on the dangers of nuclear hijacking was a year ahead of *The New Yorker's*. And our case against social security was made two years before Harper's.

The Washington Monthly not only tells you what is going wrong, it tells you why—sometimes beforehand. We explored the problems of Watergate in 1971 with "The Prince and his Courtiers at the White House, the Kremlin, and the Reichschancellery."

When **Sam Brown** analyzed the failures of the peace movement, *The New York Times* said "fascinating," and syndicated columnist **David Broder** wrote that the article "deserves to be read in full and pondered by everyone."

Like so many *Washington Monthly* authors, **Sam Brown** wrote from the perspective of the insider. **Robert Benson** and **Ernest Fitzgerald** knew where the Pentagon was wasting money because they had worked there. **Albert Gore** could describe what happens in a congressional conference committee because he had served on hundreds of them.

The Washington Monthly was the first to publish important young writers like **Taylor Branch**, **Suzannah Lessard**, and **James Fallows**. They are joined by leading political scholars. *The Washington Monthly* published **James David Barber's** historic analysis of the character of Richard Nixon, **Thomas Cronin's** important essay on "The Textbook Presidency," and **Graham Allison's** article on the Kennedy brothers and the Cuban missile crisis.

Our conclusions are often unorthodox because we know too many of the old answers have failed. *The Washington Monthly* questioned the Civil Service tenure system and the high salaries in government. It examined **Daniel Ellsberg**, but in the light of **Otto Otepka**, the conservative Ellsberg whom most liberals had either forgotten or condemned.

I.F. Stone says "it's outstanding and doesn't go in for half-assed hysterics." According to **Nicholas von Hoffman**, it "does its specialty—government and politics—better than any other magazine around."

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C101

The unwatched professionals

The press and public have a stake in what they do

by FREDERICK ANDREWS

When two public accountants were convicted of stock fraud, along with four executives of the company they audited, National Student Marketing (NSM), the case sounded ordinary enough on the surface — and in fact there was very little coverage of the courtroom drama. But the trial last fall was a forum for the review of professional behavior by outsiders, and as such it raises an issue of increasing importance — the accountability of professionals.

NSM was among the hottest of the white-hot favorites of the crazed stock market of the late 1960s. Its shares, offered at \$6 in early 1968, were bid to \$140 before the bottom fell out in early 1970.

The two accountants worked for Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Company, the nation's largest accounting firm, with 800 partners and 7,000 professional employees. Their case was only the second time that auditors from a leading accounting firm have been found guilty of fraud, and it was the first time that jail sentences have been imposed on accountants for professional misconduct.

Conventionally, their kind of story has always been considered a business story, and has been relegated to the financial pages. But it makes no more sense to view the trial strictly as a business story than it would make to regard the manslaughter conviction last Feb-

ruary of a Boston doctor in an abortion case as a story for the medical journals.

In this case, the professionals were certified public accountants. But the theme of accountability is sounded in every quarter these days. The public, no longer trusting its experts, is demanding that they justify the sway they hold over other people's lives. (In 1960 one of every nine working Americans was in a technical or professional occupation; today the figure is one in seven.) In law, medicine — even in journalism, the experts meet with growing skepticism. It was accountants who were in the dock this time (although civil charges are pending against two law firms involved in the case), but other times will come for other priesthoods.

The two accountants, Anthony M. Natelli and Joseph Scansaroli, were found to have improperly allowed the firm to include on its books as sales some \$1.7 million in deals that were in fact only projected sales. Later, NSM executives wrote off the \$1 million when the deals failed to materialize. According to federal prosecutors, the accountants then covered up the write-offs, to conceal their earlier errors in judgment. At the same time, they permitted NSM to count as income another \$820,000 deal that was equally tenuous.

The disputed transactions were crucial to NSM, a merger-addicted company that exploited its high-flying stock to acquire numerous other companies by swapping shares. With the deals, NSM was able to record rising profits, buoying its stock-market prospects. Otherwise, NSM would have reported losses, killing it as a market favorite.

The jurors, then, were asked to decide what was proper and what was improper accounting. They were asked to understand technical accounting terms: "percentage of completion," "unbilled receivables," "retroactive restatement," and "tax loss carry-forwards." Federal judge Harold R. Tyler, for one,

felt that the jury had performed competently. At the sentencing of the two, he responded in court to an earlier formal statement by Peat Marwick alleging that the jurors "didn't understand the complicated accounting and disclosure questions in the case," and that they had confused "possible errors in accounting judgment with intentional fraud." (The Peat Marwick statement cited a report that early in the trial one of the jurors had told two court clerks that she didn't understand what was going on in the trial, and didn't feel competent to try the case.)

Judge Tyler, however, did not agree. During his remarks at sentencing, he took issue with Peat Marwick's contention. "Nothing could be further from the truth," he said.

The judge, when he addressed the defendants, also hinted at some of the larger issues raised during the trial: "One of the problems in imposing sentence is to avoid casting upon your shoulders an opprobrium which is really shared by many, many people in your profession and, indeed, in other professions, including my own — some sort of myopia as to what is really the public responsibility of [someone] who performs services as a public accountant. I seriously doubt that you are any worse than many in your profession, and, indeed, I suspect you are much better than they; certainly as individuals I am almost sure you are."

At issue during the trial, then, were the public responsibilities of professionals, and how the public exercises its power to see that these responsibilities are met. Is the public, in this case represented by a jury, able to judge professionals? What are the limits of the technical competence of juries? Are these areas that are so technical, so difficult, that no jury could learn enough during a trial to decide the case fairly? Are the profes-

Frederick Andrews covered the National Student Marketing trial for The Wall Street Journal.

ions themselves becoming so complicated that they make demands on their members that outstrip their abilities, making supervision of some kind all the more necessary? And what are the responsibilities of journalists, as agents of public scrutiny?

Of course other professions, especially medicine, are covered extensively by the press. But medicine, which involves questions of life and death and human suffering, seems much more urgently important to large numbers of people. But even in medical matters, coverage is selective, to say the least. When Dr. Kenneth C. Edelin was found guilty in Boston of manslaughter in performing a second-trimester abortion, the nationwide coverage was intense. But Edelin's case involved much more than questions of sound medical practice: he was a black physician performing abortions in a racially troubled city with a large Catholic population. To most editors — and to most of the public — a story like that is more compelling than five-year-old corporate bookkeeping misdeeds.

Five years is much too long for the attention span of press and public. But it took five years to prepare the NSM prosecution. That's one measure of how difficult it is to enforce the laws against security fraud. NSM was one of a bare handful of prosecutions to grow out of the "go-go years," a feverish period when stock-market excesses were epidemic. When enforcement is necessarily so selective, the cases brought carry a huge burden in providing a deterrent.

The press is quick to condemn more obvious white-collar crimes like embezzlement. More complex offenses, such as stock fraud or antitrust violations, seem to slip by almost unnoticed, though they are capable of inflicting far greater damage than a lone embezzler.

Conventional wisdom hasn't kept pace with what constitutes a crime in a society as large and complicated as



ours. It's striking that Natelli and Scansaroli, who were of ordinary backgrounds, with routine educations, and not driven by inordinate ambition, were nevertheless funneled into jobs requiring them to make difficult professional judgments involving millions of dollars and affecting thousands of people.

To assure the integrity of the vast securities market, companies whose shares are traded are held to exacting standards of full and fair disclosure. These standards apply as readily to public accountants, a vital part of the disclosure process. This disclosure duty doesn't correspond to anything the average person is familiar with. A grocer, say, is under no comparable obligation.

Not least among the issues left by the trial: were Natelli and Scansaroli innocent? The trial made it clear that the two accountants had gotten in over their heads in working with the wheeler-dealers at NSM. ("The government has proved overwhelmingly stupidity and negligence on the part of Scansaroli," Judge Tyler said in chambers.) But does that make them guilty of fraud?

What does guilt mean applied to a professional? Natelli and Scansaroli have insisted they are innocent, steadfastly backed by their firm and many public accountants. (As we go to press, their appeals are awaiting decision.)

Eventually their avowals made an impression on Judge Tyler. "I think you are absolutely sincere when you say you do not believe that you did anything wrong," he said at their sentencing. "After thinking about the matter for a long time, I think you honestly mean that. But the tragedy is that the jury found that this was an audit or audits done with reckless disregard for what was really involved."

And what is the press's role in covering professions? Solutions are simple enough to state, if difficult and expensive for journalists to act on. There ought to be reporters who are technically competent enough to handle stories about the major professions, which affect the lives of all Americans. (Watergate has made the reporter-lawyer in great demand, but what about the less glamorous combinations?) Nowhere is it more important for journalists to play their traditional roles as critical observers. Few would argue with the contention that the professions, like governments, need watching. And while professions should be encouraged to police themselves effectively, the evidence so far is that society can't afford to count on their doing a thorough job of it. Next time there is a National Student Marketing trial, the courtroom should be crowded with reporters. ■

Maryland: getting



“ a personal vendetta . . . I don't think
there's any question about it ”

Governor Marvin Mandel

No story is so good
that it doesn't
have to be checked

by BOB WHITE

The criticism was strong, even for an elected official under attack. Maryland's governor Marvin Mandel called the story in the *Baltimore Sun* “the most flagrant abuse I have ever heard of or seen in my life of what is known as the responsibility of the press.”

The governor was referring to a story which led off the front page of the Sunday, March 9, edition of *The Sun*. Mandel, the story said, had taken 121 trips in state helicopters paid for as part of a program to provide emergency evacuation and transportation for victims of highway accidents and others in need of quick medical attention.

The implication of the story was clear: the governor (who had already been accused in the press of a variety of conflicts of interest) had violated the public trust by using the helicopters for personal or political reasons. Nowhere in the story was it suggested that any lives had been lost or endangered, but reporter Stephen M. Luxenberg referred in the fourth paragraph to a “persistent pattern of abuse.”

It was, at first glance, an admirable investigation by Luxenberg. But no one had bothered to get the governor's side of the story. And worse, the failure to seek confirmation or comment prior to publication was the result not of oversight, but of an editorial decision made in the offices of *The Sun*. And worse yet, for *The Sun*, Mandel knew it.

The governor came to his regular weekly press conference on March 13 loaded for bear. He announced that the first order of business was to “straighten out the deliberately distorted story . . . about the use of helicopters.”

Bob White has been a reporter, editor, radio program director, public-relations man, and free-lance writer.

the governor

Flanked by the director of the Medevac helicopter program and the head of the state police, to whom he turned occasionally for verification of certain facts and statements, Mandel complained bitterly that the story contained false implications and outright inaccuracies which he said he could have corrected had *The Sun* bothered to call his office.

Mandel's outrage is reflected in this exchange, taken from the transcript of the conference:

Q. Governor, you are obviously upset by this story. Have you protested to the morning *Sun*, to the editor?

A. No, sir; no, sir.

Q. Why not?

A. Because the personal vendetta that they have — it just doesn't pay me to get involved with those kind of people.

Q. Do you think the *Sun* papers is waging a personal vendetta against you, Governor?

A. Absolutely. I don't think there's any question about it. When they do this kind of thing — the first time in the history of journalism I've ever heard of a story where a reporter is ordered not to talk to any of the people that he is going to write about — a direct order. Now journalism, I have always heard, had very high ethics, high standards, great responsibility. Well, by God, it's been violated.

The person carrying out the vendetta, Mandel said, was William F. Schmick III, city editor of *The Sun*. It was Schmick, the governor said, who told reporter Steven M. Luxenberg not to contact the governor or his office about the story prior to publication.

Luxenberg, a twenty-two-year-old newsroom intern, was interviewed in the next day's *Washington Post*. "I never received an order from anyone" about whom to contact or not to contact on the story, Luxenberg said.

His version of how things went crumbled almost immediately. Peter A. Jay — one of *The Sun*'s own columnists — informed his readers one week after the original story ran that, while Mandel's charges of distortion and deliberate falsification were untrue, the governor's charge that *The Sun* had deliberately prevented Luxenberg from "following

the normal journalistic practice of affording those named in a damaging article the opportunity to comment on it prior to publication" was right on the money. "That fact," Jay wrote with commendable candor, "is embarrassing to the newspaper, or at least to some of us who work here."

Following the appearance of Jay's column, Luxenberg — apparently relieved by *The Sun*'s respected columnist of having to be the first to accuse Schmick — talked somewhat more freely about precisely what happened on the Mandel story.

"I spent four or five days pulling that story together," he recalled, "and sometime during the week before it was published I went to Bill [Schmick] to give him a progress report. I remember telling him, 'I'll have enough very soon to go to Mandel with,' and he said something like 'I'm not sure we should go to Mandel.'"

"I said, 'What do you mean?' and Bill answered, 'It's all from the public record. What can he [Mandel] say?'"

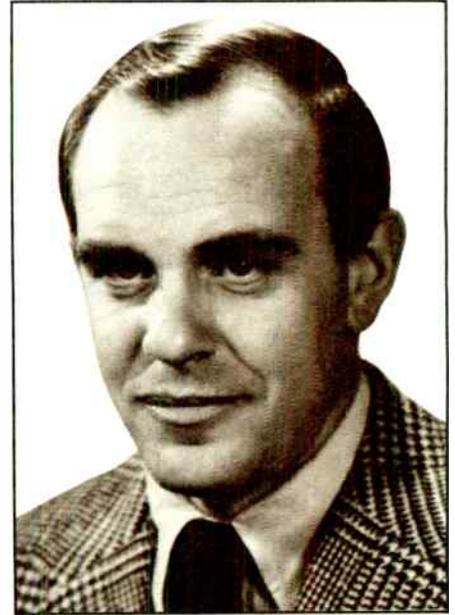
"This was the first indication I had that there was any thought not to check with Mandel. I remember telling Bill I didn't agree, but he said something about us not being at that bridge yet, and not to worry until we come to it."

Luxenberg said that on the Thursday before its Sunday publication, the story was completed and he had another conference with Schmick. He said Schmick then told him: "I've thought about it, and there's no need to go to Mandel."

Luxenberg said, "I again said I disagreed, and we had three subsequent conversations about it, but Bill continued to say he didn't feel it was necessary, that all the information was from the public record."

The story was discussed at the newspaper's daily news conference on Friday, March 7, two days before publication. The various editors there assembled presented their story budgets, and all were apprised of what was going to be in the paper's Sunday edition.

"I was not at that news conference with the editors," Luxenberg said, "so



“I'll let the public judge whether the matter is one of personalities or of a public employee abusing a critical lifesaving program and using tax monies for personal and campaign purposes”

William F. Schmick III
city editor, Baltimore Sun

I can't say what, exactly, went on. I have been led to understand, however, that the Mandel piece was discussed and that Bill told them how it would be handled."

Asked what reasons Schmick gave him for not wanting to contact Mandel prior to publication, Luxenberg said, "Well, he had a lot of different arguments. His main point was that this story was developed from information in the public record — a rather clear-cut source, in his view — and thus didn't require verification or comment from the governor."

"I disagree with his decision, but I want to make it clear I support his right to make the decision. I stand behind him on that. He made the decision and I stand by him."

In an interview with CJR some time after his press conference, Mandel himself demonstrated considerable insight into some of the choices facing editors and reporters when dealing with a hot story in a highly competitive market. Asked what journalistic gain *The Sun* hoped to score by handling the story as it did, the governor said:

"Are you kidding? Everyone knows a story like this has more 'smack' when it runs without being diluted by the comments of the accused. I know there are reporters who hate like hell to make that second call. All the work may go down the chute with that call. But a good reporter makes the call anyway. And a professional editor requires him to make it if he hasn't already done so. This is a little something called integrity."

Had Luxenberg called him before writing his story, Mandel said, "he would have discovered he had no story."

Explaining, the governor said, "Look, the whole premise of the article was that I was misusing the helicopters . . . that they were intended for emergency medical use only, and here I was taking them away from that and using them for myself. That entire premise is false, and the reporter would have discovered that if he had called me instead of simply looking at the flight logs and going with the story."

The state helicopters actually serve a "multipurpose function," the governor said. "They are used for traffic control, crime investigation operations, execu-

tive department travel, and the Medevac program," he said. There are no Medevac helicopters, he said, "they are state police helicopters, bought with state money. When we applied for federal money to help subsidize the Medevac program, these other uses to which the helicopters are being put were listed in the grant application. Nobody has been hiding anything, because there has been nothing to hide."

Transportation of state officials amounted to only 1.3 percent of all trips taken by the choppers during the three-year period examined by *The Sun*, Mandel said, a fact "conveniently left out of the story."

Further, he said, the story "left the clear impression people's lives were being endangered" by executive department use of the aircraft. "The fact is, everyone understands that Medevac calls have absolute top priority."

The governor said he has been dropped off in mid-flight and left standing "on the side of the highway someplace" waiting for a state police car to pick him up when a Medevac call has come in. "When that chopper is needed for Medevac, it goes. It doesn't matter who's aboard," he said.

Finally, the governor said none of the trips taken by him were for personal or campaign reasons. Responding to questions at his March 13 press conference, he described some of the trips mentioned in *The Sun* story, explaining why, in his view, each involved "official business." One, in particular, *The Sun* listed as a weekend trip to a remote island on one of Maryland's inland waterways, leaving, in the absence of an explanation from the governor, the clear implication that it was a pleasure trip. It turned out to be a legislative program planning session involving members of the governor's staff — no family members — who worked throughout the weekend at the deserted location ("not without some grumbling," Mandel said) to avoid the eyes of the press and the other pressures and intrusions of their offices. The chopper was used, the governor explained, because there is no land route to the island and it was "either use the helicopter, a boat, or swim." (Reporters did not ask specifically about some of the alleged

"abuses" cited in the Luxenberg article).

City editor Schmick defended his own actions in the Mandel case in a brief statement issued shortly after Mandel's March 13 press conference. That statement has been his final word on the matter. Contacted later and asked to elaborate, Schmick declined, commenting: "I think what I said in my statement covers the subject sufficiently and openly."

Schmick's prepared statement, published in *The Evening Sun* the day after Mandel's blast, said:

"*The Sun* report on Mr. Mandel's use of the Medevac helicopters came straight from public records. We were not printing allegations from anonymous sources. He has been asked daily since Sunday to respond. Now he has.

"I'll let the public judge whether the matter is one of personalities or of a public employee abusing a critical lifesaving program and using tax monies for personal and campaign purposes," he said.

With all these facts coming out, the obvious question had to be asked of Mandel. What difference does it make if the whole story comes out in the initial article or in subsequent follow-up stories?

"Come on, you know anything I say after a story like that looks like a scramble to cover my tracks," he said. "If there was a logical, reasonable explanation to begin with, the public assumption is there wouldn't have been a story in the first place. Anything I say now is labeled a 'defense.' We all know how that game works."

It's hard to argue with Mandel; headlines in nearly every paper after his press conference read: MANDEL DEFENDS HELICOPTER TRIPS.

When the controversy passed, Mandel still had not been asked to explain every one of the helicopter trips listed by Luxenberg. But the record so far has seemed to support Mandel's charge of irresponsibility, and not *The Sun's* initial story. Should there be no satisfactory explanation for some of the helicopter trips, *The Sun's* botch of the story will have taken the sting from any such disclosures. As reporter Luxenberg says, "All we did by the way we handled the story was give him running room." ■

Ohio: printing the obscenity

Why did
an Ohio editor
risk his job to print
an obscenity?

by PAUL M. HOGAN

In reporting the resignation of Charles T. Alexander as editor and publisher of the Dayton, Ohio, *Journal Herald, Editor & Publisher* said only that he had allowed “obscenities” and “words connoting sexual intercourse” to appear in print. *The New York Times* even more discreetly settled for “an obscenity.” “We can’t print that,” said a *Times* editor when an Ohio reporter called last March and told him which word had been used.

The word was that most explosive of obscenities, “fucking,” a word which remains taboo despite the changed standards of the past decade. One interesting question, then, is: why did a midwestern editor — and one who is an elder in the Presbyterian church at that — decide to print it?

Alexander had approved for front-page display in the March 19 issue a story containing excerpts from an affidavit given to federal authorities by Casper S. Gibson, a Treasury agent. The affidavit contained a number of four-letter words. It was Gibson’s own account of events leading up to the moment when he shot and killed a fellow agent last September inside the Dayton Federal Building. All but two obscenities had been deleted by the time the copy reached Alexander. The paper’s policy was that all four-letter words other than “hell” or “damn” had to be initialed by Alexander, and that no “gratuitous” four-letter words were ever to be printed. Alexander remembers that his first thought at the time was to wish that there was some way to avoid using the word at all.

He approved the copy as submitted, however, because, as he says, the passages illustrated “the climax of a trans-

formation from two civilized human beings to a homicide situation. It was my opinion,” Alexander adds, “that in this community that would be understood.”

Headed by an “Editor’s Note,” Gibson’s statement contained this description in its fifth paragraph:

And he started screaming at me. I mean, his teeth were — his lips were drawn back across his teeth, and he was screaming at me. And he screamed something to the effect, “Gibson, God damn it, you are fucking with my family. You are fucking with my future. I am not going to let you do it. I’ll kill you first.” And when he was saying this the gun was coming up, and right in my face, and the whole hand, the gun and all, was doing like this [illustrating], the gun was moving and everything. And when he said that I just grabbed the damn gun and pushed it, the gun and his hand, and I just grabbed with both hands and pushed it, and there was a terrible roar, the damn gun went off. . . .

The words were not vulgar references to a sexual act, but rather, to Alexander’s way of thinking, an “outcry of passion.” In deciding to print them, Alexander concluded that the complete statement had a “certain dynamic” he could not disturb. “You wonder why people kill each other, and there were insights in that that I had never seen before,” he says. He thought the passage had “a lot to say about life and people and what they can fall into.”

It cannot be said that many of Alexander’s readers supported his decision before his resignation. The paper’s “Direct Line” service, which invites readers to phone in complaints and inquiries about the paper, received more than fifty calls in three days about the controversy. Forty-one callers said newspapers should never print obscenities; eight said they understood the reasoning behind Alexander’s decision but disagreed with it. Only one caller agreed. (Forty-two letters to the editor

Paul M. Hogan is a news reporter and editor at WOSU, the public-television and radio station in Columbus, Ohio.



Charles T. Alexander at a farewell party given by his staff

were received, all of them opposing Alexander's decision; 140 subscribers canceled, citing the story as the reason.)

Bill Wild, who supervises "Direct Line," noticed a pattern in the reaction. "There were almost no complaints from the black or poor-white neighborhoods," he says. "Virtually all came from our middle- to upper-middle-class suburban areas." He also noted that many callers began their comments with "I'm a good Christian. . . ."

Alexander, who had two years of theological training before becoming a journalist, had anticipated this kind of reaction from religious fundamentalists. "I wasn't trying to goad these people," he says. "You know you're going to create some stress in the community, and you have to make a reading. I guess I just read the community differently. I think Dayton is a cosmopolitan area, much more than it's been before."

Alexander's resignation also raised other issues at *The Journal Herald*: whether the paper would continue its unusual record of editorial independence, and whether the "obscenity" issue might only serve to distract attention from other, even more serious, differences that might have existed between Alexander and his employers.

Both Dayton papers, the morning *Journal Herald* and the afternoon *Dayton Daily News*, are owned by Cox Enterprises, which operates seven other papers in Ohio, Florida, and Georgia. A subsidiary of Cox Enterprises, Dayton Newspapers, Inc. (DNI), administers the Dayton properties.

The founder of Cox Enterprises was former Ohio governor James M. Cox, who is perhaps most widely remembered as the Democratic presidential candidate who failed to keep Warren Harding out of the White House in 1920. In 1949, when he bought and merged into one paper the only two competitors of his *Daily News*, he pledged that the newly created *Journal Herald* would follow an independent course. He even went so far as to appoint an editor who would give the paper a Republican slant.

When Alexander was named editor seven years ago, the governor's pledge was reaffirmed in essence by Governor Cox's son, James M. Cox, Jr. The Cox pledge, or policy, has kept the Dayton

papers fiercely competitive — at least until James Cox, Jr. died last fall.

The executives who now run DNI may be less restrained than the Coxes. Daniel J. Mahoney, president of DNI, and Charles L. Glover, executive vice-president and general manager, did not support Alexander's controversial decision. The day after the article appeared, Glover called Alexander into his office and termed printing the word "indefensible." As one *Journal Herald* reporter said later, "Charlie's an extremely honorable guy. When you've told him that, you've told him to quit." In the March 25 article announcing his resignation, Alexander wrote, "Since the ownership could hardly be expected to have continuing confidence in an editor who manages one of their properties in a manner they consider 'indefensible,' I thought it only proper to offer my resignation." It was accepted.

Fifty-nine (of seventy-nine) *Journal Herald* staffers sent their bosses a petition supporting Alexander and asking the DNI executives to reaffirm the Cox pledge. They were answered by a memo from Mahoney that, in one reporter's words, was "no response at all." Asked recently to reaffirm the Cox pledge of independence, Glover said, "Well, personally I think it makes sense, but practically speaking it doesn't."

There are those at *The Journal Herald* who think the "obscenity" issue was little more than an excuse to get rid of Alexander. Mahoney and Glover readily admit that circulation has dropped during the last two years, from 116,000 to 102,000. When asked whether they have been satisfied with Alexander's performance as editor, neither Mahoney nor Glover would comment. But their choice of an interim successor to Alexander was a comment of sorts: they picked David Easterly, the thirty-two-year-old business manager of DNI — and a former *Daily News* reporter. And the permanent successor they picked in May was another old *Daily News* reporter: Dennis Shere, thirty-four, was brought to Dayton from the *Detroit News*, where he was the city editor.

Mahoney, in fact, finds complete editorial autonomy to be unacceptable in

principle. “I just don’t think any management would hire anybody, I don’t care how good he is, and say, ‘It’s completely yours.’” Mahoney says.

Mahoney makes the further argument that he and Alexander had reached an agreement about publishing “obscenities” following a similar incident in 1971. During disturbances at a Dayton high school in 1969, a black school administrator was arrested and charged with verbally abusing a policeman. (He was eventually acquitted.) During his 1971 trial, the judge insisted that the policeman enter into the court record the exact words that led to the arrest. (The officer had been using euphemisms.) When pressed, the policeman alleged that the administrator, when asked to show identification, had replied, “Fuck you, you honky motherfucker, I’m not showing you a motherfuckin’ thing.”

Alexander decided to print the phrases, because, he says, the case was “a carry-over from a major Dayton story, a disturbance in which people were injured, schools shut down, and there was a good deal of community tension. I thought the language was central to the charge of verbal assault.” The original copy, however, placed the quote in the second paragraph. “I moved it down to the sixth because I didn’t want it to appear we were parading it,” he says.

Mahoney recalls that he let Alexander know he disagreed with printing the policeman’s testimony. “At that point,” Mahoney remembers, “we said, ‘Look, this is nice, you guys are great, this is very avant-garde. But we’re in the middle of Ohio and it was not vital to the story.’” Mahoney adds that he doesn’t think any “obscenity” is vital to any story.

Alexander remembers differently. He says he was walking down the street with Mahoney shortly after the first story appeared and brought the issue up himself. He says the only thing they agreed to was that the publication of the story had “created a lot of stir.” And the former editor recalls then having told Mahoney that other, similar decisions might have to be made.

The earlier story had appeared on page 10 of *The Journal Herald*; the Treasury agent’s statement, on the front page. The difference was important to

The power of obscenity

Newspapers conventionally refrain from printing “indecent” words because, it is argued, such words are immature, they undermine language, and they are unnecessary to meaning or accuracy. Yet how can we explain the intensity of the opposition brought to bear against the public use of a handful of four-letter (and longer) words? Why is it that newspaper owners, and readers, who may use such words freely in private, are so quick to condemn and to dismiss editors who print them?

One explanation is that the public use of obscene words tends to undermine authority, whether that authority is political, moral, or linguistic. On the most elementary level, the public use of obscene words is a disruptive threat: it disrupts the aura in which authority is maintained. It can lead to public insecurity, because it challenges the solemnity and respectability associated with authority and its symbols.

A word such as “fuck” is a psychological threat to consensus, harmony, and order because it is a symbol of the aggressions — sexual and otherwise — which are created and then sublimated in a society, as they are in individuals. The public appearance of such a symbol resurrects infantile urges usually repressed. Since society is often thought of, idealistically, as a harmonious system which absorbs or sublimates conflict, the appearance of obscenity (as a symbol of uncontrollable conflict) evokes the fear of public instability.

DNI executives. “I think,” Glover says, “if it’s the front page versus next to the truss ads, yes, in my mind, it makes a difference.” Alexander argued that the story had to go on the front page because “it was unusual and had merit, and contained information the federal government had been sitting on for six months.” Such reasoning does not sway Mahoney. “I don’t know a mass-circulation daily anywhere that puts ‘fucking’ on the front page,” he said.

Alexander himself does not place much credence in what one staffer

An obscenity is also a linguistic threat because it is an interjection that disrupts the conventional grammatical order of language; and because it tends to shatter all that is flexible, mild, and ambiguous in civilized discourse.

Finally, obscene words are semantic-symbolic threats because they serve as devices that separate persons or groups with differing ideas, ways of life, and moral standards.

To those who complained to *The Journal Herald*, Alexander’s decision to print obscene words seemed to place him (for whatever reason, and however inadvertently) on the side of embarrassing personal intimacy and irrational conflict. By this very act he became for a moment a disruptor of decency, civility, order, and authority. And by printing the word he helped a bit to weaken it, so that it matters less to people, and tends to lose the power they have given it. The word that causes outrage today will go the way of “jape” and “swive” tomorrow — while society seeks out new words that in their turn will be too unsettling, too powerful, to be allowed in print. Whether he acknowledges it or not, it is possible to think of Alexander as a victim, a pioneer, a revolutionary, or a debaser of language. Language is *not* amoral.

DAVID L. PALETZ

David L. Paletz teaches political science at Duke University and has written on the political uses of obscenity.

called the “conspiracy theory” behind his departure from *The Journal Herald*. “I have nothing substantive that would cause me to believe there’s an ulterior motive,” he says, although he adds that he is aware that when a paper’s circulation drops, a “fire-the-manager” instinct may develop.

In his farewell column for *The Journal Herald*, Alexander gave this explanation of his decision to print the offensive words. “Language is a verbal expression of man’s condition, not a source of it. Language is amoral.” ■

Hawaii: saying aloha to Heidi

A dying girl made 'good' copy

by DAN CARMICHAEL

Hours before her death from cancer, fourteen-year-old Heidi Biggs lay on a couch in an airline hospitality lounge at the Honolulu Airport, her head in her mother's lap. She was barely conscious. Reporters and photographers were present, and were served free drinks by airline personnel. Also present were Heidi's stepfather and a Canadian businessman named Russell J. Penny, who had helped arrange a two-week Hawaiian vacation for the dying girl. The reporters asked questions for nearly forty-five minutes while the photographers took pictures.

The grotesque and painful scene took place at the end of Heidi Biggs's "dream" vacation in February, which had attracted worldwide attention. Unfortunately, the scene was no more unpleasant than other scenes on previous days of Heidi's vacation — days distorted not only by bathetic media coverage, but by ghoulish attempts at self-promotion by Heidi's hosts.

The Heidi story took off when Penny, a Sudbury, Ontario real-estate man and home-appliance salesman, read in a Belleville, Illinois newspaper that it was Heidi's dream to visit Hawaii. Penny flew to Belleville to visit her, and then established a fund to raise money for Heidi's trip. On February 15, after more than \$2,400 was raised, Heidi and her mother, Lucille Biggs, flew from St. Louis to Honolulu.

Coverage was intense from the beginning. She received a full VIP welcome at the airport, and her every move was reported extensively. Papers around the world carried stories and pictures of Heidi on horseback, shopping, walking on Waikiki Beach, or going to a movie. And publicists began to clamor for the privilege of offering Heidi free goods and services, supposedly to offer a wonderful "aloha" to the child.

At one nightclub, Heidi posed on-stage with the cast of a Polynesian troupe. The picture was offered to a wire service, but it was refused: Heidi was holding the troupe's record album.

Dan Carmichael is the night news editor at UP's Honolulu bureau.

The hotel where she stayed received a great deal of publicity. So did the taxi firm which put a cab at Heidi's disposal, and scores of other businesses which offered her free gifts.

People around the world were also kept informed about the progress of Heidi's cancer. She enjoyed her first days in Hawaii, but then had to be hospitalized for a day. Soon it had to be reported that another tumor had been found, that her left lung had collapsed, and that her cancer had metastasized.

At this point, many reporters began to find the story too morbid. At least one Honolulu newspaper reporter asked to be excused from covering the story. But by now Heidi was almost a household word, and she would not be allowed to die quietly: the story had to be covered. Reporters called her hotel suite several times a day to get the latest medical reports from her mother.

The stay in Hawaii was to have lasted one week, but it was extended for a second. Reporters groaned; there were only so many leads that could say, "Heidi Biggs remained in bed today. . . ."

Then Heidi's stepfather, Randy Hillman, was flown to Hawaii, courtesy of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin's* "Good Neighbor Fund." There was a tearful reunion between Heidi and her stepfather in the hotel lobby, with reporters and TV cameras present. (Soon forgotten was a minor flap concerning Hillman's employer at an Illinois cannery who said Hillman had already used up his vacation time. A few calls from reporters solved that problem. The firm wasn't about to risk national notoriety by keeping a man from his daughter's deathbed.)

The story was soon spread that Hillman was given time off from work because Hawaii's governor, George Ariyoshi, had requested it. It made good copy, but it wasn't true. Ariyoshi's press secretary, Ed Greaney, said Hillman's employer never got a call from the governor, who was out of town at the time.

The Heidi Biggs story attained its climax when Heidi's benefactor, R. J.

Penny, arrived on the islands. Declaring, "I've come to be with Heidi," he flew in from Canada exuding charm and public-relations competence. He called the major news outlets several times a day, beginning his calls by announcing, "This is R. J. Penny here. . . ."

He requested copies of photographs and stories about himself, citing "sentimental reasons," and sought dinner appointments with several key media executives to reward them "for being so cooperative."

Penny arranged a "media event" with Governor Ariyoshi, at which the governor gave Penny and Mrs. Biggs (Heidi did not attend) a set of tumblers embossed with the state seal. The governor hadn't planned the gift-presentation ceremony, but only hours before, a newspaper had announced it, so one of the governor's aides dashed out to secure the "gift" in time.

During the session, Penny played a tape recording of a song recorded anonymously and sent to Heidi. A sentimental song with a ukelele accompan-

iment, it was called "Sweet Aloha, Heidi." The tape began well, but then the singer's voice deepened, slowed and assumed a bizarre pitch as the batteries gave out. No one seemed able to turn off the recorder, including the public-relations men in the background. The governor smiled weakly.

Soon the state legislature was in the act, passing a resolution for Heidi. And Elvis Presley, or someone using his name, also was invoked. The first stories about Heidi's trip said the singing star was paying for part of it and that Presley Tours was financing a trip through the Hawaiian Islands for Heidi. But then it was learned that the "Elvis connection" was a fake, planted by a would-be-publicist.

At the end of the two weeks, Heidi was to leave for home. Penny called a pre-departure airport "news conference" to present a painting "to the media for their cooperation." No one showed up, so Penny later tried to present the picture to reporters covering

Heidi's departure. The newsmen refused the present, so Penny finally gave it to a publicist.

Then came the scene in the airport's hospitality lounge, with Penny included in the last photographs of Heidi taken before she left Hawaii.

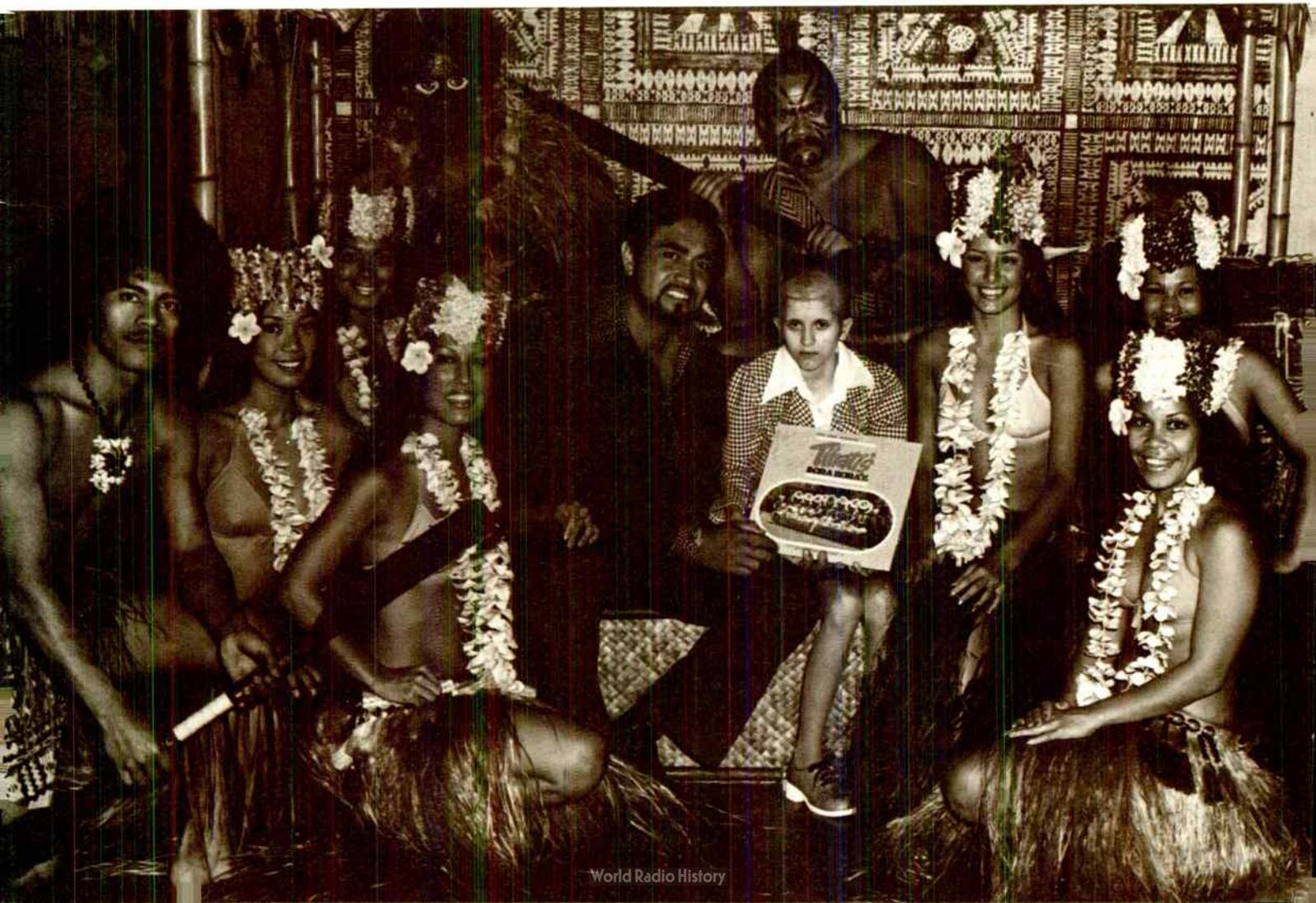
On the flight home, Heidi lapsed into unconsciousness. She died twenty-eight minutes after landing, while on her way home in an ambulance.

In late May the Honolulu bureau chief of UPI received a letter from R. J. Penny. It was addressed to William Miller (his name is Robert Miller). This is what it said:

Thank you for your kindness in helping to make the last wish, the dream of seeing Hawaii, come true for the late Miss Heidi Biggs.

Please always remember, you were part of little Heidi's Hawaiian Dream. May God bless you for that.

Sincerely in Christ,
Russell Penny



NATIONAL NOTES

Goopy news

LUFKIN, TEX.

Bob Bashaw, weekend anchorman for tiny KTRE-TV, had reached the Texas segment of his newscast one Sunday evening in late March when he saw, heading for him, two men wearing Halloween masks and bearing pie tins. Then he could no longer see anything. One of the men pushed a pie tin full of chocolate pudding and menthol shaving cream in Bashaw's face; the other dumped the brown-and-white goo on his head. The masked men fled while, Bashaw recalls, "I groaned and put down my head to rake the stuff off my nose and eyes."

Viewers' screens went blank and then returned with three minutes of commercials. Then Bashaw's partner tried to introduce film stories but, instead, got more commercials. These, in turn, were followed first by film with no sound, then film with the wrong sound. Finally, and mercifully, 10:30 arrived and the news yielded to a fundamentalist religious broadcast from mother station KLTV in nearby Tyler.

Earlier that evening Bashaw had reported that a New Zealand M.P. had gotten a pie in the face and had threatened to bring assault charges against the hit man and his accomplice. While Bashaw himself was rather amused at having been a target, KTRE general manager Lanny Pogue was not amused. At first, like many viewers, Pogue suspected that the incident was an inside job; only later did he conclude that it was probably an extension of a fad that had begun some months before when *Chicago Daily News* columnist Mike Royko hired a pie hit man to cream a Chicago TV weatherman. Students from nearby Lufkin colleges are suspected of having carried out the prank. To prevent further hits, Pogue has ordered all doors to the station locked by 5:45 P.M.

And how did the station's owners take it all? Pogue says they "just laughed and said it was too bad it hadn't happened during our ratings period."

Tom Curtis

The U-hauled local news

KANSAS CITY, MO.

Coming to work early one morning last January, Rod Fowler, KAYQ-radio's morning newsman, was stopped short by a disconcerting sight: station owner Ed Scott and night newsman Lee Frank were loading equipment and furnishings into a rented trailer. "Scott didn't say a word to me," Fowler recalls. "He just asked me to help load."

Fowler and Frank learned the reason for the move later that morning when station manager Ron Kight told KAYQ's four-man news staff that they were fired and that he was shutting down the local news operation.

Why? According to Kight, the five-minute local news segment, which alternated each half hour with CBS news on the hour, "wasn't doing us one bit of good in a very competitive market. Listeners complained that we constantly interrupted good music with all that talk." Disgruntled former news staffers see the issue differently, laying the blame on poor management and on management's lack of interest in making the news program work. Former employees point to the station's policy of bartering goods and services for advertising to excess as a prime example of mismanagement. (Last year's Christmas party — held, according to staffers, in bartered hotel accommodations and made festive with bartered liquor and gifts — was, one former newsman recalls, "the fanciest yet.") Kight says that the bartering policy "caused no problems" and was "quite beneficial."

One former news director has his own theory about why KAYQ stopped broadcasting local news. Phil Mueller, now news director at KSL in Salt Lake City, thinks that management "may not have anticipated the cost" of running the operation. Before he left the station last autumn, Mueller says, he proposed an annual budget of \$94,000; he was told to pare it down "to the high seventies or low eighties. This contrasts with the \$200,000-a-year operation I have here — in a smaller market."

Despite the station's size — a tiny 250 watts — KAYQ news kept larger rivals in Kansas City on their toes. "They made everyone hustle a little more," says Charles Gray, news director at WDAF radio. "They took our only serious radio news competition completely off the street," he adds.

Mark G. Winiarski

Good news! and revenues

PORTLAND, ORE.

Portlanders who gripe about the glut of bad news got a pleasant surprise recently when *The Oregonian* published a thirty-six page section devoted entirely to "good" news.

"We had a pretty gray winter," managing editor J. Richard Nokes says, "and the recession seemed to be bottoming out here, so we thought a 'Welcome to Spring' section would work." The thought came from advertising director Harold Manzer. Nokes says that he, Nokes, "worked closely with the publisher [Robert Notson] to make sure the section wasn't packed with "canned material." The result was a mixed bag — copy boosting local businesses and stories about new facilities at the city's parks, higher enrollment at the city's community college, and declining food prices in the Portland area.

The section sold 63,000 lines of advertising, a record for a locally edited section in the Newhouse chain.

Does the paper plan another good news section in the near future? "We'll have to take a look next year to see if we want it," Nokes says.

What Nokes, Notson, Manzer, and company see when they take that look will, no doubt, depend in large part on the health of next year's advertising revenues. Of course, if the outlook is bleak, they might consider publishing an all-good-news financial section to make themselves feel better. TLM

Young upstart, odd godfather

GREEN BAY, WIS.

The Daily News, a three-year-old paper trying to break the sixty-year-old monopoly of the *Press-Gazette*, recently received an assist from an unlikely source. In April, Victor McCormick, a wealthy nephew of one of the founders of the *Press-Gazette*, decided to bankroll the young upstart, founded in 1972 by young journalists and striking printers.

The printers had struck the *Press-Gazette* over the introduction of automated typesetting. When the strike showed no early signs of resolution, they formed *The Daily News*, and sold stock, mostly to themselves. The money raised went to lease a press and pay for the UPI wire service, and to hire a retired editor and six young journalism school graduates as reporters. The venture was a risk, but the men could at least count on the \$144 a week in strike benefits from the International Typographical Union if the new paper failed to catch on. Ironically, *The Daily News* chose the same typesetting method that had brought on the *Press-Gazette* strike.

The new paper quickly picked up ad-

vertisers and, by 1973, a circulation of 16,000. In 1973, too, local businessmen took the places of some union men on the board of directors. According to some of the nonunion employees at *The Daily News*, many of the printers simply did not make good white-collar workers.

Hard times followed. By the end of 1974, the ITU, having sunk nearly a million dollars into the strike, started to back out. An election at the *Press-Gazette* had decertified the ITU, so the prospect of settling the strike looked remote, at best.

Enter Victor McCormick. In April, he agreed to purchase stock and to sign a long-term note for about \$400,000. With that support, *The Daily News* was able to lease, with an option to purchase, an offset press and to hire a professional general manager.

Why McCormick came to the rescue is not entirely clear. One union official says, "McCormick has a great dislike for the present management of the *Press-Gazette*." The millionaire philanthropist denies this, saying that he helped out because "I greatly admire [*Daily News* president] Larry Milkie and [advertising director] Warren Leanna for what they have done over there. They are very dedicated."

A final ironic twist: *The Daily News* is now itself beset by union problems. Eight newsmen have formed their own union — and the Milwaukee ITU is trying to organize production workers at the paper. *George A. Bailey*

Tracy rescues millionaire's protégée

WASHINGTON, D.C. Leapin' lizards! Dick Tracy to the rescue of Little Orphan Annie? Unlikely as it may sound, that's more or less what happened when the *Post* announced in



April that it would drop Annie from its comic pages in June. The *Post* had just dropped Tracy as a result of "low readership," and his departure had brought howls of protest. "We got about 400 to 500 calls when we canceled Tracy," says *Post* night managing editor Jack Lemmon. (Four local junior high school students had picketed the *Post*'s downtown offices. One placard asked: "Who'll keep the streets safe now that Tracy's gone?") When the phone calls started at the mere suggestion that Annie might be next, the paper, says Lemmon, decided that scrapping her "might not be a good idea."

Although Daddy Warbucks' favorite orphan has been granted a reprieve, this has not improved Winnie Winkle's chances of survival at the *Post*. The strip may be scrapped, again because of "low readership." Even Dick Tracy, alas, appears powerless to save her.

At the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate, which distributes Tracy and Annie, general manager John J. Minch feels that the *Post* is making a big mistake in ditching or trying to ditch these old-time favorites. "Ten papers in the last eight months have tried to drop these strips and had to reinstate them," says Minch. *Peter Sleeper*

The road from Highway One

The television coverage from Vietnam offered plenty of ‘actuality’ — enough to obscure the reality

by MICHAEL J. ARLEN

Walter Cronkite said: “Good evening. Communist gunners in South Vietnam were busy on four sides of Saigon today, shelling the sprawling U.S.-built Bien Hoa airbase, and, farther from the capital, the cities of Xuan Loc, Tay Ninh, and Cai Lay. At Bien Hoa, fifteen miles northeast of the capital, three explosions — seen and felt in Saigon — tore through a bomb-ammunition dump. It’s not known whether artillery fire or sabotage was the cause. Near Xuan Loc, forty miles east of Saigon, there was sporadic, sometimes heavy fighting around Highway One. Government and Communist reinforcements were being moved into the area, which military strategists in Saigon see as the next crucial battle. For more on the military situation around Xuan Loc, Bob Simon reports . . .”

Vietnam scenes from the past merge in one’s memory: a more than ten-year-long television serial. In the beginning, there were the “military advisers” — tall, crew-cut Americans, standing at a slight distance from grinning South Vietnamese troops. The South Vietnamese generals and their (our) tanks and airplanes. Scenes of Vietnamese leaders and our ambassador: the ambassador visits the presidential palace; the president and the ambassador tour the new airbase. Then there were the American soldiers beginning to fan out across the fields of dry, waist-high, and (on our black-and-white television screens) whitish grass; we came to learn that it was called buffalo grass. There were the great Navy carriers floating at sea. Delta-winged airplanes in the sky. There were important places, with no locatable existence: the Central High-

Michael J. Arlen writes frequently on television and other subjects for The New Yorker. This article is a slightly condensed version of an article that originally appeared in The New Yorker.

lands, Hill 880, the Ia Drang valley. There were the rhythmic, abrupt landings of helicopters, with the kickup of dust and dirt, the wind-blown grass, and the men in uniform scurrying into the woods — “the tree line,” it was called. American generals were periodically interviewed. They drank from canteens in the field and spoke of “the need for training.” Visiting congressmen toured Saigon. Bob Hope was pictured in Danang. George Romney visited the ambassador. There were a number of rotten stories: for years, until the mood of the country turned, or became ambivalent, the network news programs went out of their way, or so it seemed, to portray the air war — the heavy bombing, the light bombing, the deadly “gunships” — as romantic and enhancing. I remember one hour-long special, “Vietnam Perspective: Air War in the North,” that consisted largely of film provided by the Air Force, extolling its exciting planes, and of straight-faced, R.A.F.-beer-hall-type interviews with several pilots, who chatted of “strikes” and “missions,” and one of whom, I recall, spoke heartily of gunning down “gooks” and “suspected Cong” as they ran across an open field. There were also some examples of first-rate combat journalism. I think of John Laurence reporting for CBS from Con Thien; of the coverage by all three networks of the Tet offensive; and of various, seemingly isolated moments of actuality which broke through, as it were, the generally impersonal, unquestioning ritual of network Vietnam coverage — such as certain scenes I still remember that were filmed one May week in 1967 by NBC’s fine Vietnamese cameraman Vo Huynh, of a company of our Marines under fire in what seemed to be almost a New England wood. One man was badly wounded and kept calling out to his comrades, “My leg is bust!” (The sound equipment by then was good enough so that you could pick up his words.) Eventually, they got to him — with Vo Huynh not far behind — and brought him back. There was another young Marine, I remember, who had apparently panicked, or was close to panicking. A huge black sergeant held him by the arm, half soothing, half furious. “Git up there!” he said. “Now, git on up there!” Vo Huynh caught that, too.

Bob Simon said: “Military movement and civilian uprooting have always gone together in this war. Route One today is no exception. But at least right now, in distinction to the disasters of the past few weeks, the soldiers and the refugees are moving in different directions. . . . A few miles up the road — the last government outpost. It’s a little less than five miles from Xuan Loc. The Communists have cut the road between here and the city. The men here have been holding this position for six days.”

The natural penchant of television news has always been for action and immediacy. It's common knowledge that television covers fast-breaking news more effectively than any other form of journalism. It's even widely understood that this single-track ability of television to communicate objective events directly has served almost to heighten an instinctive public tendency to associate "news" only with objectified happenings. Thus, it is a modern truism of sorts that, for example, an American city's tensions or injustices or misunderstandings are rarely treated as news until a riot "explodes," which act somehow certifies the city's situation as news and permits a brief ex-post-facto examination until another event, elsewhere, takes precedence.

But the question is, to what degree is it excessive and willful to find fault with such a system, inasmuch as this system surely reflects human nature — or, at least, the traditional difficulty that men and women experience when they try to focus on something other than objective action? This spring, for instance, in Indochina, as the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh was being surrounded by the Khmer Rouge, and the South Vietnamese capital of Saigon was being threatened by the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong, CBS correspondent Bob Simon (quoted above) was assigned to correspond with the viewing audience in America on the subject of refugees along Highway One as well as on such familiar matters as the firing of howitzers ("The government is moving heavy artillery into positions alongside the road") and air strikes by the South Vietnamese Air Force ("F-5 fighter-bombers from Bien Hoa are in action, hitting suspected Communist positions"). All things considered, however, one would have been hard put to it to suggest where better, or even where else at all, he might have stationed himself.

In certain ways, this is probably a good time in which to be wary of blaming television for too much. For sometimes in recent years it has become a kind of badge of embattled individualism to blame commercial television — or "the mass media" — for the flaws and errors and imperfections of our society. If it weren't for television — so various arguments run — our children would be more responsible; our minorities would be less demanding; our middle class would be more serious; our politicians would pay more attention to issues; our popular values would be somehow higher; and, as a nation, we would not have been so sadly and unsuccessfully involved in Indochina.

The truth is obviously that the audience shapes its television and that television also shapes its audience; but this kind of unmeasurable truth becomes murkier than usual in the matter of television and its audience and the Vietnam

war, because for all concerned it has been an entirely novel experience. "Good" and "bad," which are always difficult terms to apply in questions of communication, become even more relative and subjective in regard to America and Indochina. To what does one compare American television's coverage of Vietnam and Cambodia? To the print coverage of the Second World War? To the example of other nations? By a number of standards of comparison, American television's coverage of Indochina has been fairly good. The network camera crews have not gone everywhere, or even very far from officially certified events; still, they have

**“Vietnam scenes
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pushed their way into an astonishing number and variety of places — the more surprising when one considers the number of persons (three) and the amount of equipment they need in order to work. And if the articulate, politically liberal element in the nation has often been impatient at commercial television's timidities — notably in waiting so long to report even skeptical opinions about the conduct of the Vietnam war — one should keep it in mind that during most of that time the majority of the nation (and of the audience) actively favored, or clung to, the government's consistently confident and optimistic pronouncements. But questions about television's coverage of the Vietnam war go deeper than this, and it seems to me that the reason they remain important is that they still don't appear to be admitted, even as questions, by the persons who are most concerned: the public and the broadcasting establishment. It is true that the public frequently expresses an undefined anxiety about the generality of broadcasting, and mostly in demonological terms: attacks on the political leanings of news commentators, and the like. And the broadcasting establishment, for its part, either engages in counter-propaganda ("The audience is the boss") or attempts to allay the public's uneasiness by similarly treating it as a political issue — employing rightist commentators to balance leftist newsmen.

continued

But the problem, one suspects, is not so much political as social. That is, it lies in the context of social intimacy in which we have placed our television receivers — our sets — and thus our whole television experience. Previously, as we know, there have been huge popular audiences for theatre, circuses, vaudeville, cinema, and so on. There have been popular audiences for newspapers and radio. Yet there has never been anything like the intimate relationship of a peo-

**“In the beginning,
this voice talked to us about the brave
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when reporters
knew of its corruption and weaknesses”**

ple to a “communications source” which has existed for some time between the American people and its television broadcasters. It is new ground. As a result, a lot of public criticism of commercial television has a way of foundering or of disappearing into thin air — especially criticism that complains of network television for merely existing in its present form, or wishes vaguely that “it” were some other way or that “it” might somehow act toward us as if there were a different set of rules in force. The truth is that there are no real rules governing television’s deep relationship to the national audience, because there has been very little acceptance of the extent to which that relationship exists. In fact, American television is at present largely defined by various quasi rules, which are determined not by the actual, evolving, functional relationship of broadcasting organizations to their audience but by superficial considerations of marketing and, even in the matter of news, by the rigid and anachronistic profit-and-loss conventions of an entertainment industry.

In the last weeks of crisis in Vietnam and Cambodia, for example, the *Times* supplied an average of 25,000 words of information each day about the military, political, and human situation there, together with continued commentary on related developments in Washington. The *Times* is owned by the New York Times Company, which last year had sales of \$390 million and a net income of over \$20 million. In these same weeks, each of the major networks presented a maximum of around 3,000 words each day on the

Indochina situation. The networks also — as the main feature of their news reports — presented numerous brief newsfilm accounts (such as Bob Simon’s from Highway One), of which some were dramatic and immediate, and others disjointed and routine. They also (as a group total) presented two or three “special reports.” NBC presented a thirty-minute “special report” on Cambodia, which consisted mainly of a wrapup of NBC’s regular news footage of the previous week by the New York commentator and was shown on Saturday afternoon. CBS presented an hour-long, altogether conventional “special report” titled “Indochina 1975: The End of the Road?,” which featured a narration by Charles Collingwood (about 4,000 words) and was shown at ten o’clock in the evening, in competition with the Academy Awards ceremonies. The point is that CBS Television, whose news division produced fifty-three minutes on the Indochina crisis on the night of the Academy Awards, is a part of CBS Inc., which last year had sales of \$1,750,000,000 and a net income of \$108 million. The question that, it seems, no one will yet attend to, because it is not yet real, is: to what extent is it important, or even necessary, in a communications society — in which citizens-as-businessmen receive a constant stream of telephoned or telexed “news” throughout the day as an accepted function of their business role — for citizens-as-citizens to receive information of a similar quality and texture as a function of their perhaps more important role?

On previous occasions, I have sometimes written to a similar point; namely, the question of the responsibility of television news organizations to communicate information more seriously than they have in the past. And each time, invariably, I have received letters in reply accusing me of being “unrealistic” in these criticisms — one correspondent lately finding me “dishonest” for talking of television news in terms of possibilities that do not exist. The reason I bring up this subject once again is that it strikes me that — with the fact before us of the collapse of our Indochinese position — the question of what is “realistic” or “unrealistic” in television news communication could perhaps begin to be glimpsed in a new light.

At the time of President Thieu’s angry resignation speech, I read in the paper that since the beginning of our involvement in Vietnam 56,000 of our own men had been killed; 156,000 of them had been gravely wounded (which is to say, often maimed for life); and we had spent roughly \$156 billion of our national treasure. I said earlier that I think television often did an extremely competent job in reporting scenes of immediate combat. But I think, too, that network television news — as a voice — almost never

reported the true, full story of what at any given time was happening either to the Vietnamese or to us in Indochina. In the beginning, this voice talked to us about the brave South Vietnamese government — when reporters knew of its corruption and weakness, and knew that the point, anyway, was not its virtues or lack of them but our government's strategic ambitions. The voice told us about the "military advisers" — when reporters knew that the advisers' efforts were being devoted largely to turning the South Vietnamese into a conventional army with which to fight what was then a guerrilla war. The voice told us of our 150,000 soldiers, and then our 300,000 soldiers, and then our 550,000 soldiers, and about their "sweeps" and "missions" and "patrols" and "reconnoitres" and "air support" and "captured ammo dumps" and "reinforced perimeters" — when the story was what these young soldiers could not do, what could not be done. Our troops played touch football at Thanksgiving. President Johnson put his arm around President Thieu. President Nixon put his arm around President Thieu. Toward the end of the story, the voice announced to us that there was peace — when all too many knew that there could be no real peace, and that it existed under a South Vietnamese government that all too many knew could not govern for long.

All of us in this country, to say nothing of the citizens of Indochina, have lost a great deal in the course of the narration of these false — or, at least, surreal — stories. And yet the real stories were no great secret. There were reporters who knew about them — many of them reporters working for television. As an odd irony, I noticed in Bob Simon's report from Highway One the statement: "Military movement and civilian uprooting have always gone together in this war." Simon, who seems to be an able and enterprising young man, spoke this phrase in the spring of 1975 as if it were part of some accepted knowledge — as if we all knew this of Vietnam. The fact is, though, that while Simon might make such a casually accepted statement now, when the point is past, his predecessors, for eight or nine years, almost never did so, when the point might have counted. What were we doing to the South Vietnamese, with our "strategic hamlets" and "free-fire zones"? That was certainly one of the key stories from Indochina. And, though television belatedly acknowledged it — for the most part, as ironic texture, one of those "facts of war" — it never really broke the story or made a point of it, despite the networks' vast resources and numerous correspondents. In regard to this and other evaded stories, I have several times heard network executives remark on the considerable government pressures that were brought to bear on their companies as a

result of the few critical news reports they did present in the Vietnam period. There is no denying that Presidents Kennedy and Johnson (to say nothing of President Nixon) were congenitally displeased by journalistic criticism, and often tried to throw their weight around with company officials. But one wonders what might have happened — not just in terms of the nation's understanding and support of the war but in terms of the public's long-term respect for television

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news, for "the mass media" — if the networks have chosen to seriously acknowledge their role as journalists, as something more than transmitters of certified events, and had given their correspondents honest reportorial missions and then had stood behind them. After all, was Lyndon Johnson's hold on the warrior spirit of the nation so secure that he would finally have compelled a network *not* to report, say, the chaotic forced uprootings of Vietnamese that so disastrously occurred from 1966 to 1969? Did the businessmen of the nation (who are still reeling from the effects of our Vietnam-inspired inflation) have such an irrational stake in our Indochina adventure that if NBC, CBS, and ABC had said, "Look, it is different from what the politicians and generals say, and from what you think or hope; technology will not win this war; more often, too, we are destroying rather than creating," they would have ceased to sponsor network programs?

Such might-have-beens! The networks never stood up, at least for long, and, for all their billion-dollar resources, almost never gave their reporters honest, enterprising reportorial missions — except into direct combat, which was mostly a false story. Each night, the great orchestration of the evening news went on, with its parade of surreal or superficial stories, and the vast audience travelled through time in its strange company. I think it is wrong or foolish to imagine that television news in some idealized form could have somehow "solved" the problem

of Vietnam for us. But I think it is evasive and disingenuous to suppose that, in its unwillingness over a space of ten years to assign a true information-gathering function to its news operations in Washington and Vietnam, American network news did much beyond contribute to the unreality, and thus the dysfunction, of American life.

One evening on NBC, I watched another televised scene of South Vietnamese civilians and soldiers fleeing in trucks and on foot — this time down the highway that runs south from Saigon toward the seacoast town of Vung Tau. From some years back, I could remember a news program (though on which network it was shown I've long forgotten) that included a story about the American contractors who had then just rebuilt the old French highway to Vung Tau. They seemed to be mild, efficient-looking men in short-sleeved sports shirts. I remember there were some South Vietnamese political figures on hand; also a general, though I don't recall whether he was American or Vietnamese. There was a speech. I think even a ribbon was cut, and some troop-carrying trucks sped down the new gray asphalt highway.

In the end, I think, there has been something deeply moving in the American public's muted, ambiguous response to the final days of our engagement in Indochina: our Indochinese war. I talk about the American public's "response" as if this were a tangible object, which it isn't, or as if I knew exactly what it is, which I don't. Still, it is possible to feel *something* about this, even from the television screen each evening (glowing now in color) as the network correspondents — so many of them new to this long war — tried somehow to meet an invisible, unspoken national question with at least a professional response. Helplessly and methodically, they risked their safety by hauling their triad teams and their equipment into the few remaining artillery emplacements or close to the ever-constricting "front lines" or in the path of the continuously fleeing refugees. We were still supplied with the same simplistically informational scenes of firing guns and diving aircraft, but more and more, we could fill in the rest. Evidently, something was dying. But was it a nation, or was it the irrationality and superfluity of our presence?

At any rate, it seems not too much to say that television news was crucial — in its commissions and omissions — to the American public's comprehension of our Indochinese involvement. Now, perhaps in the manner of a family that has watched some of its members and goods destroyed in the burning of a house that turned out to have been faultily fireproofed — and that had been posted with signs that turned out to have been either inaccurate or about some other house — the rest of us (when we have finished shaking our heads, and setting up charities for the next of kin, and commiserating with the fire commissioner for having such a hard and lonely job) may, as the saying goes, have learned something. If not about anything else, then about what is "realistic." After all, has anyone, *anywhere* (for the question still persists), been well served by navigating from this past "reality"?

**'Evidently,
something was dying.
But was it
a nation, or was it
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Mass transportation

During the last ten years, the federal government has spent approximately one-tenth as much on mass transportation as it has spent on highway construction — \$4.2 billion as opposed to \$43.4 billion. Yet the energy crisis, pollution, noise, and urban congestion have combined to challenge the automobile and the superhighway. For the first time, the Urban Mass Transit Administration appropriated more than a billion dollars in capital grants for the fiscal year ending June 30. Perhaps more importantly, UMTA this spring sent its first subsidies to existing mass transit facilities, most of which are ailing.

Even highway devotees now view mass transit as a necessary ingredient in transportation systems. And proponents of mass transit have begun to urge less clout for state governments in federal mass transportation programs, since the states build highways, but usually do not operate mass transit systems.

As one would expect, there is a proliferation of mass transportation sources.

ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials

341 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004; (202) 628-2438. Executive director: Henrik Stafseth. The association, along with the American Roadbuilders Association, the Associated General Contractors, and the American Automobile Association, naturally lend support to highways.

American Public Transit Association

1100 17th Street NW, Suite 1200, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 331-1100. Contact: Albert Ingleton, director of communications. In November, the two most prominent industry groups, the American Transit Association and the Institute for Rapid Transit, merged to

become the American Public Transit Association, the national organization which represents the urban transit industry. The organization is composed of more than 250 rapid-rail and bus transit systems in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. APTA represents the organizations in Washington, promotes an exchange of ideas and experiences among members, and encourages research to improve public transportation.

Highway Action Coalition

Room 731, 1346 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C.; (202) 833-1845. Contact: Leonard Arrow. The coalition does lobbying work on mass transit legislation. It is the Washington representative of national environmental groups and 500 local citizens groups which are all working on transportation in their own areas. The main purpose of the coalition, according to Arrow, is "to reorder priorities that say we have to spend all our transportation money on highways." Highway Action Coalition recently merged with Environmental Action (a group headquartered at the above address).

Institute for Public Transportation

211 East 43rd Street, Room 2204, New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 661-4370. Director: Robert Rickles. Contact: Patricia Anderson. The institute is a private, nonprofit organization that performs studies and conducts planning activities under contracts with government agencies and private organizations. It seeks improved use of the environment.

National Association of Railroad Passengers

417 New Jersey Avenue SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 546-1550. President: Orren Beaty. NARP is a private, consumer-oriented group supported by dues from members that seeks improved railroad passenger service. The organization lobbies for better passenger service in testimony before the Interstate Commerce Commission and congressional committees. "We see ourselves in support of rail passenger service, short or long haul," says Beaty. Founder Anthony Haswell is credited

with being one of the moving forces behind the creation of Amtrak.

National League of Cities, U.S. Conference of Mayors

1620 I Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006; (202) 293-7572. Contact: Carl Reidy. These two organizations represent the interests of U.S. cities. Both groups are actively involved in attempting to get more money for mass transportation from the Highway Trust Fund, a fund fed by federal gasoline taxes whose future is to be decided by legislation this year. These groups also seek operating subsidies for mass transit facilities, and they favor specific grants to cities, rather than broad allocations to state governments.

Sierra Club

1050 Mills Tower, 220 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif. 94104; (415) 981-8634. Contact: conservation department. While Sierra is not involved nationally in mass transportation, there are many regional Sierra clubs that are. The national organization will put callers in touch with the appropriate regional club.

FEDERAL AGENCIES

Urban Mass Transit Administration (UMTA)

400 7th Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20590; (202) 426-4043. Contact: Diane Enos. UMTA was established under terms of the 1964 Urban Mass Transit Assistance Act. It is the agency that distributes federal funds for mass transportation in four broad categories: (1) capital grants; (2) research and development; (3) planning; and (4) operating subsidies. UMTA is part of the Department of Transportation.

Environmental Protection Administration

Waterside Mall, 401 M Street SW, Washington, D.C. (202) 755-0344. Contact: Pat Cahn, director, office of public relations. EPA has only a peripheral involvement in mass transportation which, according to a spokesman, is "in the nature of encouraging increased use of mass transit and in creating certain dis-

incentives for the one person-one car situation." EPA applies "disincentives" by issuing transportation control plans which establish, for example, exclusive bus lanes on commuter highways, or which limit parking in certain areas.

Rail Services Planning Office Interstate Commerce Commission

1900 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 254-3495. Contact: Mel Finkelstein. The Rail Services Planning Office was established as part of the Rail Reorganization Act of 1973, designed to save eight (now seven) northeastern railroads. It is the agency designated to represent the public in the reorganization of the railroads.

U.S. Railway Association

2100 Second Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20595; (202) 426-3300. Contact: Robert E. Gallamore. Also established under terms of the Rail Reorganization Act, the association is responsible for coming up with a final plan for reorganizing the seven bankrupt northeastern railroads. The plan has been scheduled for submission to Congress on July 26.

REGIONAL AGENCIES

Metropolitan Boston Transportation Authority

45 High Street, Boston, Mass. 02110.

(617) 722-5000. Contact: Matthew McKeon, public affairs officer.

Chicago Transportation Authority

222 Merchandise Mart Plaza, Chicago, Ill. 60654. (312) 664-7200. Contact: Tom Buck or Bill Wofran.

Southern California Rapid Transit District

1060 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif. 90015; (213) 747-4455. Contact: public information department.

Bay Area Rapid Transit System

800 Madison, Oakland, Calif. 94607. (415) 465-4100. Administrator: Frank C. Herring. Contact: Michael Healy, public affairs.

Port Authority of New York and New Jersey

1 World Trade Center, New York, New York 10048; (212) 466-7000. Contact: Lou Gambaccini. Independent bonding authority under the jurisdiction of both New York and New Jersey. Has shown resistance in the past to becoming involved in mass transit operations, both by inclination and by statute. Recently, however, the Port Authority has indicated its willingness to undertake mass transit operations and is planning both a rapid transit rail link to Newark International Airport in New Jersey and to John

F. Kennedy International Airport in New York, both of which the Port Authority operates.

Metropolitan Transportation Authority

1700 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019; (212) 262-6900. Contact: David Baxley. Independent state agency established to operate mass transportation facilities in the New York Metropolitan area.

Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority

600 Fifth Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20001; (202) 637-1234. Contact: Cody Pfanstiehl, director, community services. The District of Columbia subway system is scheduled for completion in 1980.

MAGAZINES

Environmental Action

1346 Connecticut Avenue NW, Room 731, Washington, D.C. 20036, (monthly), \$10 a year. Deals with environmental issues generally, but also discusses mass transit issues extensively. Incorporates much of the information that used to be published in *The Concrete Opposition*, a former publication of the Highway Action Coalition that was melded into *Environmental Action* when the two organizations merged.



Steven Zane

Highway and Urban Mass Transportation

Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, (quarterly), \$1 per issue. A joint publication of UMTA and the Federal Highway Administration, the magazine explains federal transportation policy and reports on what is happening in various areas across the country.

Nation's Cities

National League of Cities, U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1620 I Street NW, Washington D.C. 20006, (monthly), \$10 a year. Deals with problems of the nation's cities, including mass transportation. Of particular interest are two articles, "Alternatives to Automobilia" and "Smaller Cities Rediscover the Bus," from the April 1972 issue. Both are available as reprints for seventy-five cents from the magazine.

Passenger Transport

American Public Transit Association, 1100 17th Street NW, Suite 1200, Washington, D.C. 20036, (monthly), \$20 a year. A monthly report of news in the transit industry, the status of legislation affecting mass transportation, marketing matters, and research and development.

Transit Fact Book

American Public Transit Association, 1100 17th Street NW, Suite 1200, Washington, D.C. 20036, (annual), free. Annual summary of basic data and trends in the transit industry. Valuable for its statistics.

Transit Journal

American Public Transit Association, 1100 17th Street NW, Suite 1200, Washington, D.C. 20036, (quarterly), \$18 a year. Scholarly, in-depth discussion of the problems affecting public transportation.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Bureaucrats in Collision: Case Studies in Area Transportation Planning

Melvin R. Levin and Norman A. Abend,



Wide World

MIT Press, 28 Carleton Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02142, 1971, \$12.50. Using the case study approach, Levin and Abend attempt to show public administrators some of the pitfalls and dangers of carrying out interagency programs.

An Evaluation of Commuter Transportation Alternatives

Charles A. Hedges, *Highway Research Record*, Number 296, Transportation Research Board, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20418, 1969, \$2.20. Hedges develops a framework to evaluate various solutions proposed to eliminate rush hour congestion. In the course of his evaluation, Hedges raises the question of whether transportation planners or administrators adequately inform the public of the true cost and benefits of transportation and the possible alternatives available to them.

It's Up to You: A Citizens' Guide to Transportation Planning

Institute for Public Transportation, Technomic Publishing Company, 265 W. State Street, Westport, Conn. 06880, 1975, \$5. Prepared under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, this book examines transportation planning in order to show concerned citizens how to contribute to sound planning in their own communities.

The Car Culture

James Flink, MIT Press, 28 Carleton Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02142, 1975, \$14.95. A history of the automobile from a decidedly anti-automobile viewpoint.

Superhighway — Superhoax

Helen Leavitt, Doubleday Customer Service Department, 673 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, 1970, \$6.95. A little weak on economics and somewhat outdated, but still interesting.

Taming the Last Frontier:

A Prescription for the Urban Crisis

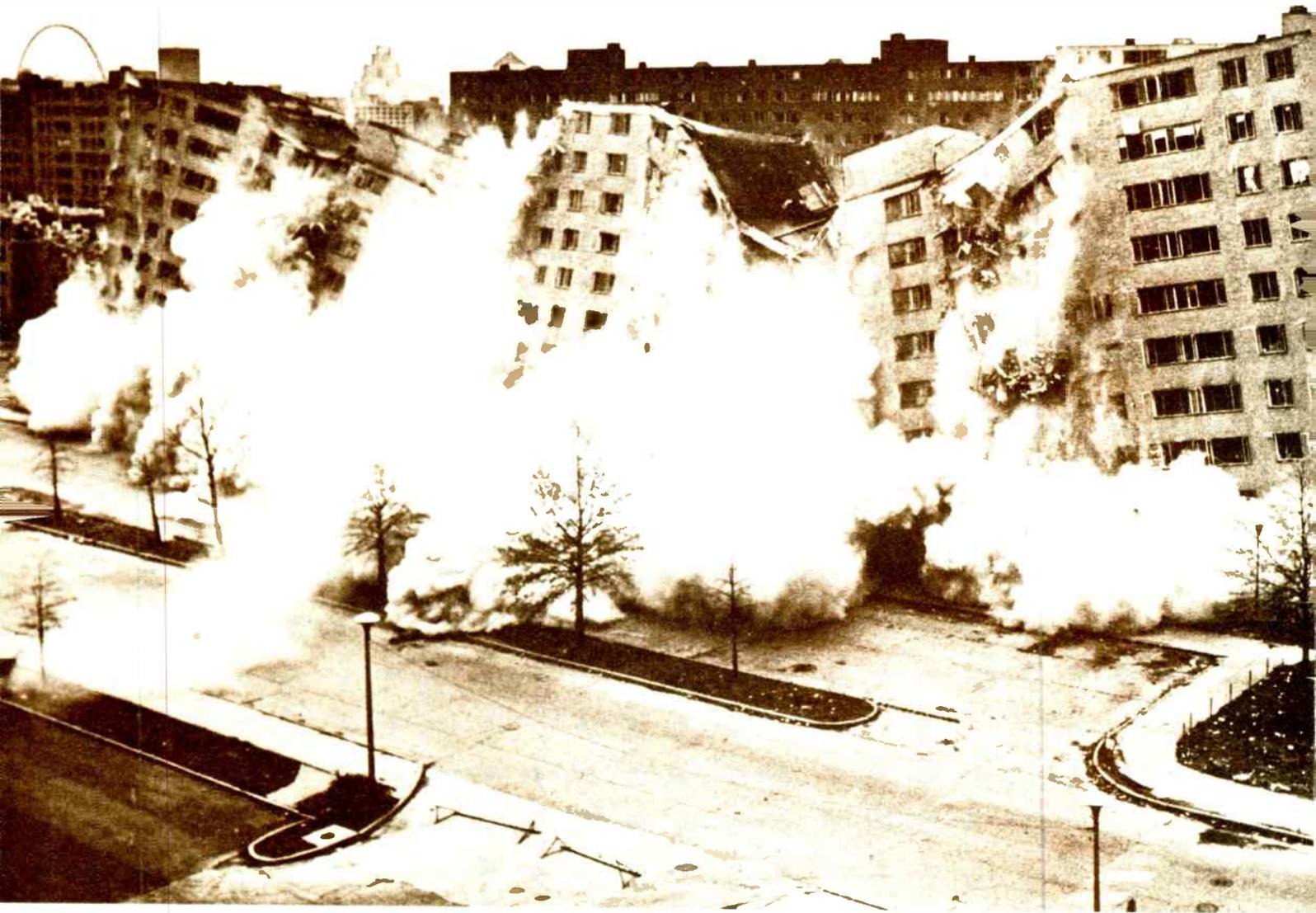
C. W. Griffin, Pitman, 6 E. 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017, 1974, \$8.95. Griffin argues that the decline of cities can still be reversed if we reject the heavy stress on voluntary action and instead push for institutional change. Chapter Four, "The High Cost of Slow Motion," is relevant.

Transportation and Economic Opportunity

Regional Plan Association, 235 East 45th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017, 1973, \$10 to non-members, \$7 to members. A special report on the role of transportation in improving job opportunities for low-income workers.

CATHARINE R. HUGHES

Catharine R. Hughes is a free-lance writer, living in New York.



Architecture and design— who cares?

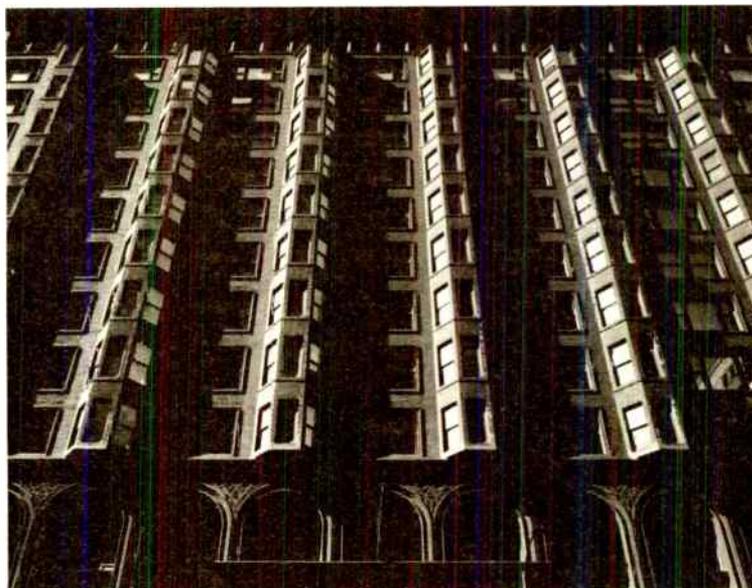
All they do is define the world we live in

by JANE HOLTZ KAY

It is ironic, even Kafka-esque, that journalists — boxed by the four walls, floor, and ceiling of the environment, as all humankind is boxed — deal so poorly with the subject of urban design and personal space. The subject, usually perceived as boring, effete, of interest only to the few, is of crucial importance. The fact that construction was the nation's second biggest industry in the last decade only begins to hint at how radically the built world defines us: all we do takes place within and is affected by the physical structures we inherit or construct; America would not be America without its high rises, highways, single homes. Yet even in this hour of urban and environmental awareness, the press dallies with design as a luxury, an art, perhaps a hobby for "Leisure and Culture," not as the mold for our lives that it is.

Each of us perceives, in a very nitty-gritty way, how the design of our environment touches our lives. It affects journalists, as it affects anyone who works in an office. (Just try

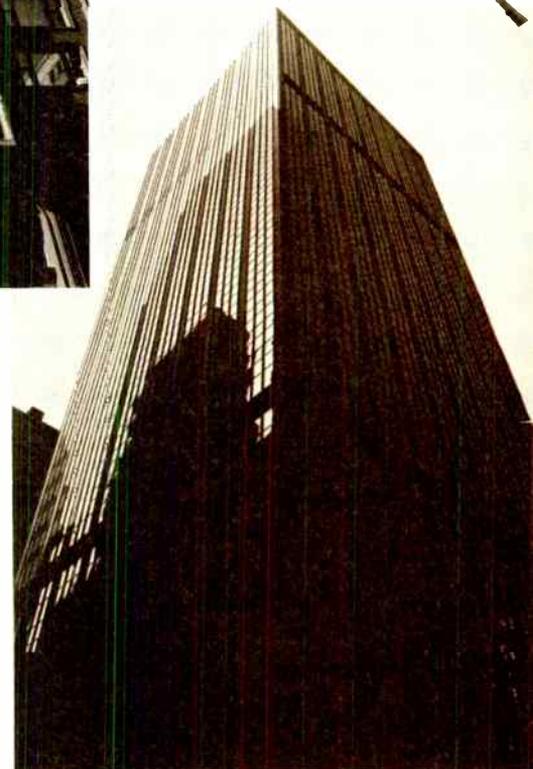
Jane Holtz Kay writes on architecture and urban design for The Nation. Her articles have appeared in Architectural Forum, Building Design, and Planning.



Richard Nickel

Considered "economically unviable," Louis Sullivan's landmark Chicago Stock Exchange building (above) — one of the first skyscrapers — was torn down in 1972. Now the developers of its successor, the aesthetically bankrupt Heller International Building (right), have run out of money and are unable to complete the project. As of this writing, more than half the building is empty. The replacement of elegant landmarks by such sterile duds would, perhaps, occur less frequently if the public's architectural awareness were raised by better press coverage of our built world. (All captions are by the author.)

A portion of St. Louis's Pruitt-Igoe housing project, built in 1954 to house 10,000 people in thirty-three buildings, is blown up (left). The project lacked, among other things, the kind of first-floor community services — shops, toilets, social work services — that might have made it liveable. The inhabitants started wrecking the place long before the demolition crew arrived to complete the process two years ago.



Ron Gordon

to move a desk, remodel a corridor, or turn a typewriter around in a newsroom; any of these *minimal* acts of design is likely to produce headline reactions.) It affects the proverbial little old lady in Dubuque, who cannot pay her oil bill. (It's close to twice as high as need be, because her home has not been designed to conserve energy.) And it relates quite specifically to every issue of the day.

Why do we need so many cars — we now have ninety million-plus of them — except to reach the housing sprawl built since World War II? Would our drinking water be as polluted as it is if tract housing had not been haphazardly constructed around our sources of water? Consider this collection of seemingly random facts: one-quarter of our population lacks decent housing; crowding causes prison revolts; cancer research shows that as much as 80 percent of cancers may be caused by environmental factors, including, of course, the pollutants present in auto emissions. Each relates to how we plan our buildings and cities. Newspapers give us the events after the fact — revolts and pollution, or the loss of farm land or rising energy costs — but they seem less interested in a

basic cause: the way we handle the built world.

We have no figures to tell us how the urbanite reacts to the adamant geometry of the glass box or how the bleakness of our Main Streets, studded now with parking lots, hits small-town and rural folk. Who can doubt, though, that our architecture of the slick, boring high rise, the empty plaza, the desolate shopping mall in the suburbs — all those structures that forbid human congress — contributes to the poverty of America's public life? Ennui and irritation are writ large in the vandal's spray-can attack on ugly walls, as they are in the broader malaise of those ill-housed and ill-served by the environment.

Our nation's population doubled in the first half of this century; our built world doubled, too. By the year 2000 we will come close to doubling our numbers again. The forty million units of housing built in the last twenty years alone — not to mention the accompanying schools, churches, and stores or the land all these buildings usurped — received scant attention. As things stand, the expansion of our built world will receive similarly little written examination.

Typically, the coverage of the built world consists of the big blow-up photos of some proposed development, fol-

The piled boxes of Montreal's Habitat (right) still provide good living eight years after Expo 67, for which Israeli architect Moshe Safdie had the units factory-built. Each apartment has its own terrace, walkways open out onto larger spaces on each level.

The New Pierce School in Brookline, Massachusetts (below), an exuberant collection of lofts and other quirky spaces, brings innovative architecture to public education. The room shown is the instructional materials center. The architect is William Warner.



Michael H. Webb



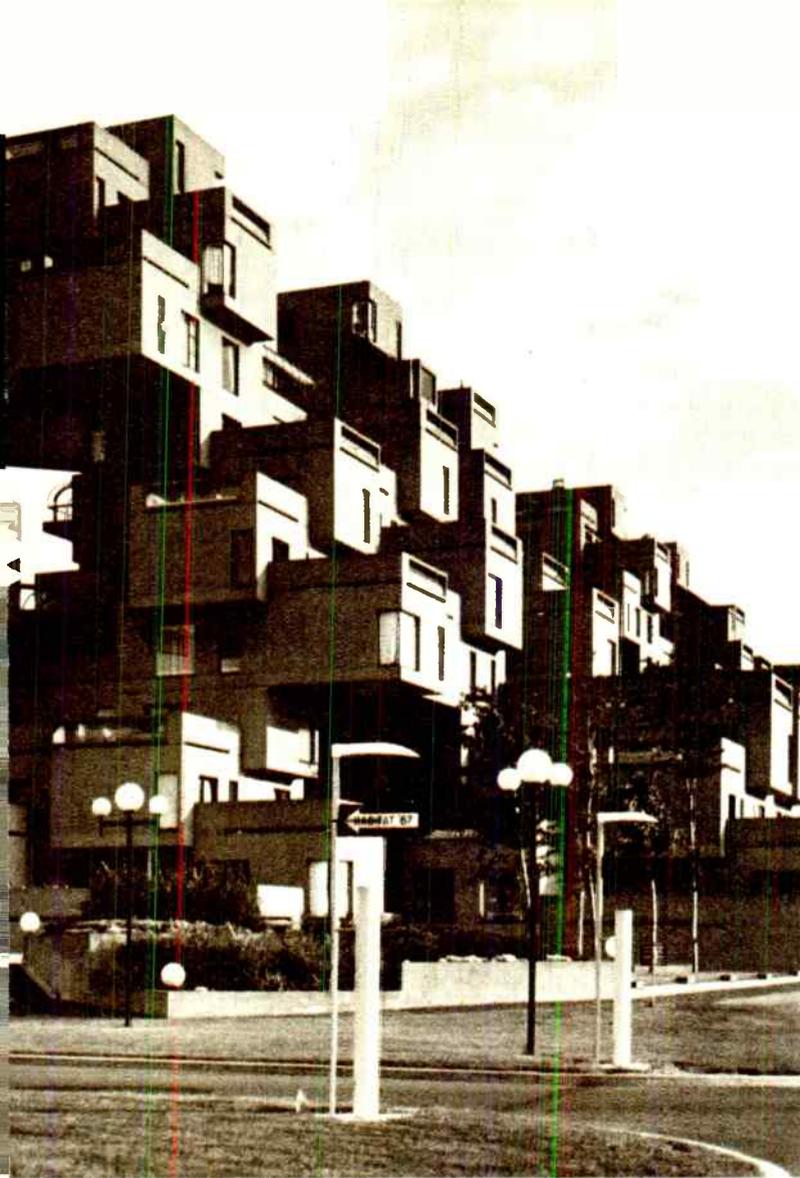
lowed perhaps by a more sensational blow-up — such as the very literal blowing up of the run-down, desolate St. Louis Pruitt-Igoe housing project. For the rest, the built world is promoted on the real estate pages. (During my four-year tenure at *The Boston Globe*, I argued that calling the page “Real Estate” was like calling movie and arts pages “Tickets” — the commercial appendage wagging the whole news content.) Or else it is buried in “Books” or “Style” or “Arts.” A topic in search of a slot and a label, and, above all, of capable full-time reporters, the built world is “covered” in the once-a-week architecture columns of no more than half a dozen newspapers.

In the early 1960s, responding to the American Institute of Architects’ plea for critical comment on urban development and design affairs, a few papers hired a strange bird called the architecture or urban design critic. This species was given a column in which to consider the built environment, usually under the heading “Architecture.”

The very few critics around in the early 1960s — Ada Louise Huxtable at *The New York Times*; Wolf Von Eckardt at *The Washington Post*; George McCue, art editor at

the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Grady Clay, then altering the notion of real estate at the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, since then a founder of the Urban Writers Society, and now editor of *Landscape Architecture* — were a happy switch from the trade press of the hour. In the professional magazines, where praise was abundant and criticism almost nonexistent, architecture was viewed as sculpture. Buildings were regarded as elegant forms, icons of the International Style, to be raised on pedestals for the delectation of the business executives who commissioned them — not as places for people. Huxtable, Von Eckardt, and the newer writers, drawing deeply on the words and books and landmark *New Yorker* “Skyline” columns of Lewis Mumford, revised that view. The more enlightened architects and urban design teachers of those years began to have “social concerns” for the whole built environment. By the early 1970s, Jane Jacobs’s *Death and Life of Great American Cities* had codified the activist consensus. In its coverage the press has yet to reflect the expanded professional view.

In 1975, only two or three or four architectural or design writers — changing every few months, it seems — appear as full-time staffers, among them John Pastier of the *Los*



Young people run and water cascades down the giant stepping stones of Portland, Oregon's Lovejoy fountain (above), a part of a large urban space planned by landscape architects Lawrence Halprin & Associates. Throughout the park, attractive, water-drenched forms invite public participation.

Angeles Times, Tom Hine of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and Paul Gapp of the *Chicago Tribune*. To their relatively youthful ranks, one may add, more limitedly, contributing architecture critics such as William Marlin in *The Christian Science Monitor*, Robert Campbell in *The Boston Globe*, Thomas Creighton on *The Honolulu Advertiser*, and Allan Temko, a veteran critic now off and on at the *San Francisco Chronicle*. All show sensitivity to the environment, as do many of the off-again, on-again urban writers in some large and some "alternative" papers (Bill Rushton of the *New Orleans Courier* is typical of the activist/architect/journalist who should be reaching a wide audience). Inevitably, possessors of mixed or part-time titles have too little time — sometimes they also lack expertise — to take on many assignments or to prod their editors to publish their articles.

Meanwhile, the preservation or planning story that hits the city desk tends to get sloughed off on a reporter on his or her dull day. Or it gets farmed out to a busy architect. (I shall take up the conflict-of-interest issue raised by this common newspaper practice in a moment.) Few of these part-timers write well enough or thoughtfully

enough or stay at the job long enough to secure professional respect and/or popular following.

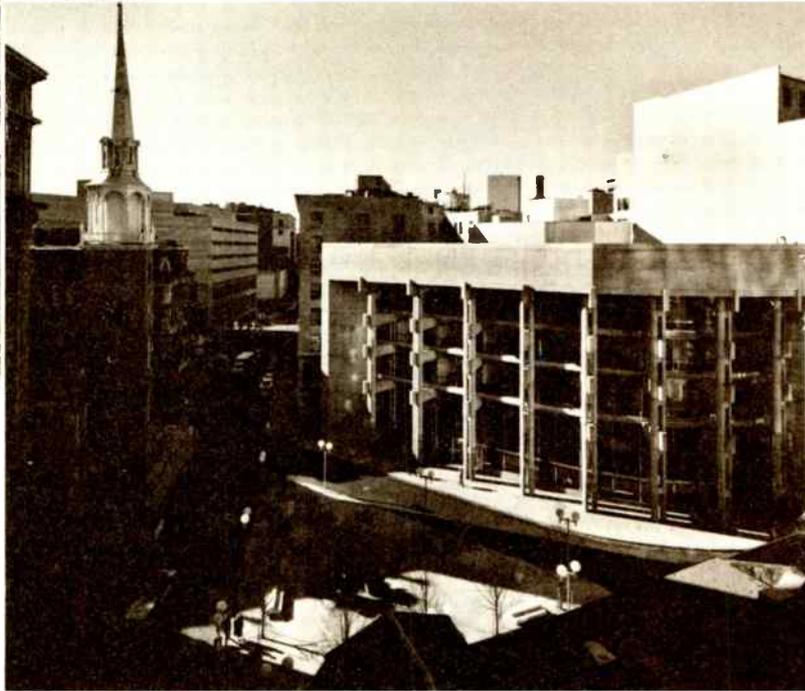
Moreover, the list of specialists in the built world seems to be shrinking. Today, Huxtable and Von Eckardt write less: the former, tucked into an editorial post, is obsessed with preservation, it would appear, writing a stop-the-bulldozer column a week; the latter sends out few signed pieces these days. (*The New York Times*, the best in the field, named a successor to Huxtable: Paul Goldberger, the twenty-four-year-old architecture critic, reports and writes features and critical appraisals on architecture in a thoroughly professional manner.) At the same time, real estate editors who do try to shift the balance from a market or promotion orientation to the consumer, like Barry Jacobs at the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, come under ever more pressure from advertisers in the current tight economic situation.

The U.S. professional or trade press, one might add, has done little to fill the gap. Journals like *Architecture Plus*, *Progressive Architecture*, and *Architectural Record*, plus a few of the environmental kin like *Environmental Design* or Clay's quarterly *Landscape Architecture*, go to limited audiences of architects. (Just try getting a copy if you're not



Superworks characterize the era, but some buildings are more super than others. Rising over Lower Manhattan, the World Trade Center's twin towers (right) symbolize the antisocial, energy-hogging architecture of the sixties and early seventies.

The city is the setting, but not every design respects its setting. The new Olympic Tower (left) is out of scale and out of key – color, texture, material – with the architecture that once made New York's Fifth Avenue a distinctive place, not just a boulevard of ego-tripping buildings. The Boston Five Cents Savings Bank (below) represents architects Kallman and McKinnell's respect for the bank's historic neighbors; the small plaza, with its trees and benches, shows a similar respect for pedestrians.



Ezra Stoller



in the trade.) Though a bit less adulatory of late, these magazines are at best reluctantly critical.

Of general interest magazines, only *New York* (providing *Architecture Plus* editor Peter Blake with a place to toss off chic witticisms) and *The Nation* (my own post) have any commitment to the subject. (*The New Yorker* stopped regular coverage when Mumford stopped writing "Skyline.") As for the house and home beautiful picture paradises, they dedicate themselves to the Literature of Gorgeous Living — and who lives so gorgeously these days?

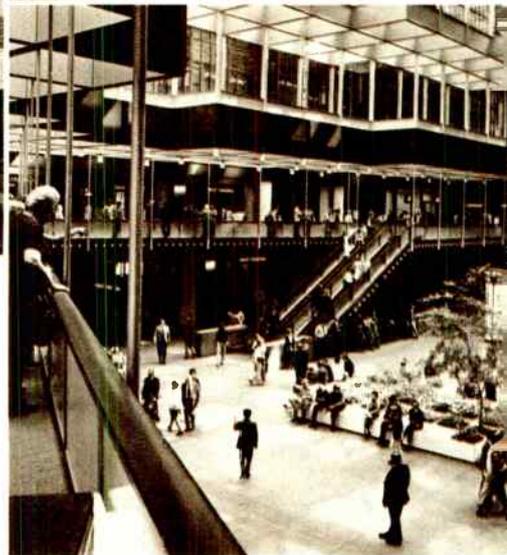
Elsewhere in the mass media, it is business as usual, then: regular coverage of our surroundings remains where it has for the last decades — swinging between handouts on the real estate page and in-and-out critics whose columns are tucked under film or book reviews in "Arts." As for hard news and features, we read of HUD foreclosures or a condominium scandal or the draining of wetlands if, and only if, public clamor precedes and generates it. As a result, a population more alert to quality-of-life issues than ever before is as poorly equipped as ever to discuss them intelligently. Mass transit provides a topical case in point. It is clear to planners that only a densely-settled population can support

rail or bus transit. The Swedes knew that a generation ago and built their New Towns around transit-line stops. Scattered housing cannot bring sufficient numbers to make it worthwhile to have buses, much less the BARTs that many now want. Yet few newspaper readers will ever know that it's a choice between the old suburban dream (a house on a plot, two cars in every garage) and the transit-feeding low-rise cluster or the old city's neighborly streetscape.

In a world that until a year or so ago boasted of building the equivalent of a city of 100,000 every week and still in a downturn records 1.8 million housing starts done largely at random, it is hard to see how editors could fail to perceive the deficiencies of their coverage. Some — a few — do. The trouble, as always, comes in practice. In practice, editors find architecture one large headache. Their problems are: how to find the Renaissance man or woman who can not only grasp the aesthetic, economic, political, and social aspects of urban design but can also write readable prose, and how to label and where to put his or her product. Is urban design an art? a commercial trade or business? Does it belong under environment? real estate? style? Each page poses problems. Is architecture hard or soft news?



Nathaniel Lieberman



The fifty-one-story tower of Minneapolis's IDS center (above), designed by Philip Johnson/John Burgee, is linked to the old downtown by its 121-foot-high Crystal Court. Within the court (right), the open cubes of the roof let natural light in. Escalators take shoppers to stores, offices, and hanging restaurants, and outside to other neighboring buildings.

Alexandre Georges

criticism or feature? Each problem compounds the other. Since architecture is far more than a topical art keyed to an opening, how can you decide what to write about without being arbitrary? And, anyway, why risk the controversy and lost revenue from real estate and development fussing? One could go on endlessly.

At the root of all these problems, however, lies the unwillingness to confront them. Once tackled, each has a solution.

First, then, *the person*.

Person there should be. Or persons, for that matter. Call that person a specialist in the built world, an expert in architecture, urban design writer, building or planning reporter. The title's not the thing. The concentration by one person is essential.

The solution many papers have adopted lately is inadequate, however: this is the architect hired to do a weekly column. To my mind, this trend represents a clear conflict of interest. Forget the fact that U.S. architects, like other "experts," tend to write gibberish and jargon. The problem of semi-literacy pales beside the potential for

trouble. Even good deeds of the architect-as-journalist are riddled with conflict. Whether the architect/critic who, a few years ago, wrote a piece on his friends' noble help in a community design group was properly motivated or not doesn't matter. Whether architect/critic Peter Blake's colleagues, hired as Mayor Lindsay's urban designers, were or were not the design heroes Blake claimed they were is irrelevant. An architect hired as critic at *The Boston Globe* was faulted by his firm's competitor for writing a review of the recent Johns-Manville commission; his favorable review of his competitor's work muzzled that firm's complaints, but it did not resolve the conflict. It should be obvious that when an architect views his peers and competitors in a project or city in which he has a financial or design stake, he is no longer an objective observer. You need an outsider, a writer, a journalist.

What qualifications does such a journalist need? On-the-job training is not enough for a design writer. There should be some visual orientation. All the architectural writers of repute came to their posts via such simple expedients as art and architecture courses, museum work, a painting background, etc., something that gave them a "trained eye."

continued

What defines a space or makes a place pleasing on all levels needs a trained eye to observe and a writer to articulate.

The proverbial hardnosed hard-news editor needn't fear that this specialist will be some stereotype of the artsy-craftsy esthete. A decade ago, such sorts may have wandered in the clouds. Robert Hughes, the drop-out Australian architect who is *Time* magazine's art critic, is an example of the new humanized breed. Hughes, like so many other design-and-environment-minded writers these days, is antiheroic, antimonumental, antisculptural . . . populist. He would, he says, happily chuck all the superchic Italian plastic furniture for a ninety-nine cent radio "that any Indonesian peasant could run on dung." That, to Hughes, is design.

Second, *the label and the locale*.

Every architecture critic I know has fought, of late, to be placed under some heading other than architecture, because it's "too aesthetic" or sounds narrow and professionally biased. (Only Hine at the *Inquirer* succeeded, so far as I know; his column goes under the title "Surroundings.") Those who write about the built world like to tackle the human, political, financial aspects that shape the way we live and, like the *Times*'s Paul Goldberger, will quickly ac-

**'We relegate
our built world to Arts
and Leisure —
and our environment shows it'**

cept any word other than aesthetics — design, quality-of-life, you name it. Or I will: news.

So where do you put the words of this environmental ombudsman? My feeling is that words on the built world can go everywhere and anywhere and that lack of the perfect spot should certainly not curtail a weekly column, plus news and feature articles slotted elsewhere.

Ideally, most architectural or urban design writing would go on the real estate page — only "not," "never," "not in a million years" (to quote a few heated words) as constituted today. This is not the place to excoriate real estate sections at any length. Nor is there any need. Demolition of that back-of-the-book section was completed December 1973 in *The Washington Monthly* where Walter Shapiro exploded such pages by simply describing their developer-coddling contents. "Faithful readers learn from them roughly as much about suburban sprawl and shoddy developers as devotees of *First Monday*, the official publication of the Republican National Committee, discovered about the crisis of confidence surrounding the presidency," as Shapiro observed. A real estate editor like Alf Collins of *The Seattle Times* may do a commendable job of reporting; however, the staff-of-life in these sections is promotion and puff. It is implicit in the title of the section. There are countless alternatives to "Real Estate" — land use, construction, built world, building, environment, cityscape/landscape (to be flashy). It is not the name, but the act of delivering these

pages to the reader/consumer that counts.

Today, the architecture column is frequently buffeted from department to department. (My *Globe* column was typical, getting bumped from books to calendar listing to a random place to the arts pages. My successor went from arts to op-ed to the inside real estate page.) Most critics prefer constancy of locale, and no cuts please; that is not just from ego but from the need to say something complicated in a clear and complete fashion. I myself would opt for a permanent column on the op-ed page; other writers don't like the spot because it brings editorial prominence and some flack. The *Los Angeles Times*'s critic John Pastier ran into a bit of trouble when he disliked an editorially supported development and said so in print. Well, more power to pluralism.

Other locales — the "Design/Style" section as in *The Washington Post*, the "Arts," "Books," and so forth — find some favor with their columnists. I consider such locations removed from battle: it is a somber commentary if those who observe our surroundings can be outspoken about them only in the "female" or literary quarters of the press. Indeed, it is symptomatic: we relegate our built world to "Arts and Leisure" and the like when it should be news and politics and part of the business, workaday world — and our environment shows it.

Third, *The risk of losing ad revenue*.

This is really no issue, compared with the other two. Editors used to say they feared the wrath of some offended realtor advertiser. Now, as a rule, the classic separation of editorial and advertising reigns where architectural writers are employed and, where they are not, such fears are usually a groundless rationale for management's reluctance to hire one. For, in the first place, where else can the developer of Ye Olde Colonial Condominium or the landlord who would rent Brokendown Baronial Estates go to advertise? Television costs too much; broadsheets don't circulate. I remember when the *Globe* switched from a puff-prone film critic to a hardliner. The major movie house chain balked at the negative notices. The critic had to pay his own way. For a while. So what? The chain pulled ads. That lasted about a week, as I recall. But they had no place else to go with their listings. Likewise, real estate listings are a habit as much as want ads and the system of buy-rent-and-sell needs the daily and Sunday press. Newspaper strikes generally show such advertisers just who needs whom.

Besides, as every editor knows — at least when it comes to every other section of the paper — the obligation is not to the advertisers. The debt, largely undischarged, is to the consumers, the inhabitants, we who live in and suffer with the environment. "The way we live, or exist," as Ada Louise Huxtable wrote five years ago in *Will They Ever Finish Bruckner Boulevard?*, "is the generator of many of the problems called the urban crisis. How we live, or exist, is what urban design and planning are all about." To which Shapiro added in his *Washington Monthly* critique of real estate pages, "The irony is that the topics treated in this space-filling way . . . touch us more closely than much of what's on the front page." Meanwhile, our built world, hard as stone, both literally and metaphorically, remains all but invisible in the press. ■

READER'S FORUM

Campaign reporting: advice from a 'double agent'

by JEFF GREENFIELD

As a writer who doubles as a political professional (or maybe it's the other way around) I've developed very ambivalent feelings about the coverage of politics. As a writer, I've spent enough time trying to get into offices, homes, and locker rooms to favor open access to candidates; as a speech writer/strategist/media consultant, I've refused to help reporters gain that kind of access when I felt that what they were after was none of their business. I dislike sloppy reporting — and I chuckle with satisfaction when bad reporting reflects badly on an opposing campaign. I admire tough-minded investigative reporting — and I'm delighted when none of it focuses on my candidate. I think there are specific steps that the press could take to make political coverage much better, and much tougher on candidates — and the political professional in me is glad these steps haven't been taken, because I'd have to work harder.

What I think useful is to describe how the press looks to those of us inside campaigns, and to suggest, concretely, how the press might cover us with more success — even if that means more work for me in the future.

To understand how politicians view the press, remember the literal meaning of "campaign" — a military operation carried out in pursuit of a specific objective. For anyone running for office, for anyone working full-time in a campaign, the months of work represent an enormous personal gamble. Regardless

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of whether pecuniary lust, personal ambition, or deep moral imperatives drive the candidate, the commitment of strength and resources is total. When Dan Walker entered the race for governor of Illinois in 1971 — a race which appeared hopeless — he gave up a six-figure job as Montgomery Ward's general counsel and mortgaged his home to pay for his campaign.

Even for those few who can afford to run, a campaign involves an emotional risk of frightening proportions. Which of us would be willing to ask our friends, colleagues, and total strangers to vote on whether they like or trust us more than someone else? A campaign is not an enterprise designed to produce a casual indifference toward opposition. This same intensity holds true for campaign managers, advance operators, schedulers, speech-writers, researchers, drivers, mail-room clerks, and messengers. The motive for plunging into this world of no sleep, enervating hours in stuffy rooms, and payless paydays doesn't matter. Whether people hope for government jobs or an end to an unjust war, they are working for one absolute, clearly defined goal: victory.

A political campaign, moreover, is unlike the ordinary world of business, commerce, or journalism because it has a definite climax. On Election Day, all of the hopes and dreams of a campaign organization will be enhanced or dashed. Imagine how much more intensely you would lead your life if you knew it would end on a given date in the not-too-distant future, and you have some idea of how obsessive a political campaign can be — and how deeply politicians resent any outside force that stands between them and victory. Remember, too: unlike paranoids, politicians have real enemies. Like Yossarian in *Catch-22*, who knew there were people out there trying to kill him, politicians always face the reality of oppo-

nents who are working night and day to defeat their hopes. Someone else wants that same victory, and every critical comment on a politician *in fact* helps those running against that politician.

This means that within a campaign there is no such thing as objectivity. Even veteran journalists such as Richard Dougherty and Frank Mankiewicz found themselves raging at press coverage from inside the McGovern campaign. They reasoned that a story mocking the feuds and stumblings of the McGovern campaign was actually one more assist to the reelection of Richard Nixon. Similarly, the Nixon crew in 1972 complained that the CBS coverage of Watergate was harmful *whether or not it was fair*, because it could only sway voters against Nixon. And both camps were right. When you work inside a campaign, you borrow the standard of the old immigrant whose grandson raced home to exclaim, "Babe Ruth hit three home runs today!" Replied the grandfather: "Is it good for the Jews?"

In 1974, when I was working for Hugh Carey in his campaign for the governorship of New York, an upstate New York newspaper headlined an interview with his opponent: SAMUELS: I'LL RUN THINGS FROM ALBANY. All Howard Samuels meant was that he would spend full-time in the capital instead of in New York City. But the implication was that Samuels was arrogant and autocratic. I was delighted.

In the general election, WCBS-TV interviewed Carey for a week-long discussion of the issues during the local news. The camera happened to catch Carey on his way to a formal dinner in white tie and tails. We were outraged, because for five straight nights New Yorkers saw this "F.D.R. Democrat" looking like a belted earl.

Many reporters I know think of the politician's wariness toward the press as

a reflection of distrust or contempt. That may be, but it also reflects a lot of respect. We know, perhaps better than the press does, how powerful that institution is; how one offhand, flippant remark can create a specter that haunts a candidate throughout his campaign. I have made it a habit never to lie to a reporter, mostly because lies have a way of coming back to hurt you. But I've often refused to tell reporters what I think a candidate's worst trait is, or what I disagree with a candidate about, because it can do no good for our campaign.

I've also learned that a good reporter will always look for the feuds that infest every campaign. My first experience with a political journalist came in the 1968 Kennedy campaign when columnist Robert Novak introduced himself to me by saying, "The people back in Washington say you have absolutely no input on policy, and that all you do is to write some words to put icing on the cake." Now, innocent that I was, I did sense that this was a leading question — an opening for me to launch into a diatribe against the New Frontier liberals who had started the Vietnam war and led our country through the gates of hell. What I did was to shrug and mutter something banal. I have kept to that practice ever since (not banality, but the refusal to discuss internecine fights). Of course, such feuds make good reading, and I understand full well why a reporter wants to find these things out. I assume reporters understand why I have no interest in helping them.

The most puzzling omission in political coverage, at least to my thinking, is the press's inability to penetrate the rhetorical fog of campaigns and to draw from a candidate's public statements and record the substantive heart of his effort. The most important question about a candidate is *what would be different* — in our lives, in the public pol-

icy of the community — if that candidate were given power. And it is that question that the press seems least willing, or least able, to answer.

I believe that people want to know about a campaign's "substance" more than they wish to know about which county leaders are supporting which office-seekers. When voters choose a major leader, their concerns are tangible and direct: what will happen to my job, my neighborhood? Will Smith stumble into a war? Does Jones have the strength to stand up to interests that threaten my well-being? Does Brown respect the values I live by? Yes, these *are* more general than the questions asked on a League of Women Voters survey; but they are substantive, and crucial.

Some people, particularly educated liberals, seem to doubt the impact of "issues" on voters, especially when their favorites do not do well. On the eve of the 1972 Nixon landslide, for example, playwright Arthur Miller wrote in *The New York Times* that "if the system worked as it is supposed to, [elections] would be decided on positions taken toward issues, but the issues mean next to nothing, apparently." My own judgment is that the 1972 campaign was decided almost entirely on issues. Voters put aside their long-held (and fully justified) suspicions about Nixon's character and voted for him precisely *because* they believed him closer to their beliefs than was George McGovern on such matters as fealty to traditional values, the vitality of the work ethic, and the way to pursue peace. Whether this determination was right or wrong, it was on this basis that George McGovern suffered a historic defeat.

If I am right about the importance of policy in election judgments (and I would argue that personality has not been a deciding factor in presidential elections since 1960), then the question is what can the press do to make policy

clearer — to force candidates to abandon the shells they and their writers secrete for them. Let me suggest some possible alternatives to traditional campaign coverage.

First, the kind of intensive journalistic inquiries that papers such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and the *New York Daily News* have focused on public policy should be aimed at political campaigns. There is nothing wrong with the Johnny Apple-David Broder kind of broad political coverage; but it needs backstopping. Put the position papers and speeches of a candidate into the hands of a solid investigative reporter, and let that reporter look at the implications of these campaign pledges; let him ask of a candidate or his staff the hard questions that always seem to get sloughed off in the midst of an election: how much will your plans cost? Whom will they hurt? What new problems might they create, requiring even more governmental action?

Second, encourage adversary coverage of campaigns. The single most devastating question ever asked a candidate was the one Bob Novak put to McGovern during the 1972 California primary: how much will your welfare reform proposal cost? McGovern's admission that he didn't know sent shock waves through his campaign.

Of course it was a hostile question, aimed by a reporter in open and total disagreement with McGovern's stands on Vietnam, party reform, and other major issues. But (unlike some of Evans and Novak's columns about the campaign) it was fair. A potential president ought to be able to tell us how much we will pay for his ideas. And a potential leader ought to be able to answer hard questions.

The interview programs should put a reporter like George Will on the tail of liberal Democrats, who never seem to

tell us how we will pay for tax cuts or job-creation programs. The likes of Nicholas von Hoffman would give a corporate-state conservative like Ronald Reagan a hard time on the question of public subsidization of private industry.

Third, we need reporters who can break through the cheering section mentality and find out how much our would-be leaders know about basic public policy. Too often, reporters accept the explanation of least resistance — explaining Robert Kennedy's 1968 call for decentralization as a "move to the right" without ever mentioning that decentralization was a major concern of the post-New Frontier left, or calling Nelson Rockefeller a "liberal" simply because the Goldwater elements of the Republican party opposed him.

We need to expose politicians to tough-minded questioners who can sort out evasions and inaccuracies from the good-natured replies to questions. What are the public policy consequences of our enormous personal, corporate, and public debt, and what can be done about it? What will radical tax reform do to our need for capital formation, and is there an alternative method of getting productive enterprises going?

As an institution, the press has, I believe, steadily improved over the last fifteen years. It remains for our great newspapers, our news magazines, our television networks, to take the skills they have developed and to apply them to campaigns for public office without the bewitching attraction of personalities and color and back-door anecdotes. Tell us what the candidate ate for breakfast, sure: but tell us what he means to do about the price of food. Give us the bands and the banners, but give us also as hard a look as you can at this potential leader's grasp of our needs, our grievances, our satisfactions. There is no question that the press has the capacity; the question is one of will.

Newsweek—Bernard Gelfynd



**'I dislike sloppy reporting —
and I chuckle with satisfaction when bad reporting
reflects badly on an opposing campaign.
I admire tough-minded investigative reporting —
and I'm delighted
when none of it focuses on my candidate'**

John Hersey's portrait



Given a unique opportunity to observe close up, how much did Hersey see?

It was a prodigious undertaking, the kind of thing we have grown to expect from *The New York Times*. Tucked within the fat folds of its Sunday editions for April 20 was an hour-by-hour, day-by-day account of a White House week in the life of President Ford. What's more, the keeper of the diary was not your average Washington correspondent but one of the still-twinkling stars in the galaxy of yesteryear's reporters — John Hersey, a man equally adept at works of fact or fiction, to wit, *Hiroshima*, *A Bell for Adano*, and others. As is its wont on very special occasions, *The New York Times Magazine* devoted its entire issue to Hersey's "The President," commencing with a grim cover photo of the chief executive and winding up on page 121, back among the summer camp ads, with golfer Ford's happy shout to one of his partners. There had been, too, the customary buildup and follow-through on the *Times*'s exploit. Advance teasers appeared in the weekly news magazines. The *Times* plugged the article in house advertisements and on television and radio in the New York area. On the Monday following publication, Hersey's story began running in daily installments in more than a score of domestic and foreign newspapers. Later this year, it will appear in book form, courtesy of Knopf, together with a portfolio of intimate photographs by *Times* photographer George Tames, who teamed with Hersey for the week in Ford's life.

How did it come about? And was it worth all the effort, not only for the *Times* and Hersey (who reportedly was paid from \$7,500 to \$10,000) but also for Ford and for those of us seeking enlightenment on the governance of this non-elected president?

According to *Times* executives, the project was conceived last August 9, the day Ford took over from Richard Nixon with a pledge to run an open administration. As White House press secretary at the time, I recall receiving the proposal by mail a day later. I promptly filed it with all of the other bids from major publications and broadcasting networks for exclusive interviews with the new president. While Ford possessed a Job's patience with the news media, those first hectic weeks after Nixon's resignation provided

J. F. terHorst, President Ford's first press secretary, is a syndicated columnist for the Detroit News/Universal Press syndicate.

of the president

by J. F. TERHORST

no time for considering such things. Moreover, there was a certain audacity about the *Times's* request. Other papers were pleading for an hour of the president's time; *U.S. News & World Report* had dared ask for permission to do a day-in-the-life of Gerald Rudolph Ford, Jr. But the *Times* — just who did those people think they were? As the magazine noted in its preface to the April 20 issue on the president, "*The New York Times Magazine* asked if [Ford] would permit Mr. Hersey, novelist and journalist, to spend a week in his White House. . . . The President agreed, even to the extent of not asking to review any portion of the report prior to publication. Except for two taped interviews with Mr. Ford at breakfast and dinner, Mr. Hersey relied on notes to record his experiences. . . ." Hersey wrote:

The President has given me permission to take a kind of voyage with him — to watch him closely through a working week. I have a unique opportunity and at this moment its prospect staggers me. . . . I will in fact be doing something that less than a handful of Mr. Ford's own staff of 533 has done: I will be with him most of the time, hour in and hour out, through the whole week's range of his back-breaking routine.

And so Hersey was — most of that week of March 10, sitting as unobtrusively as possible in a chair in the Oval Office while the business of the nation flowed through the room, across the president's desk and back out again. Getting to that chair, however, was not quite as easy as Hersey made it sound.

Back in January, still lacking a reply to his query of the previous summer, assistant Sunday editor Jack Rosenthal had shuttled to Washington to check it out in person. With him he carried five 1951 issues of *The New Yorker*, for which Hersey had written a similar series on President Truman (Rosenthal's secretary found them in an old-book shop in Manhattan and paid \$50 for the set). Rosenthal left them with my successor as press secretary, Ron Nessen, as an example of the kind of close-up reportage that Hersey proposed to do on Ford. Nessen gave the Truman series to the president, who perused the articles over a weekend at Camp David. That clinched it. "Very impressive," Ford told Nessen on his return to the White House. "Let's try it."

Something else helped seal the deal, too. Hersey had been a senior at Yale in the fall of 1935 during Ford's first season as assistant football coach there. The president remembers Hersey as a substitute end but the team's best punter. The Yale connection, at least from Ford's standpoint, lent a certain clubbiness to the undertaking. Perhaps that explains Hersey's cryptic note at the outset of his week

with Ford: "First names come easily to him, and because he and I have met before, he uses mine."

Perhaps, too, that helps explain the blandness of Hersey's portrait of the thirty-eighth president — that and the rigidity of style imposed on the author by the diary form he chose to employ. Easy relations between reporter and subject have an inhibiting effect on product. Acquaintanceship can dull aggressiveness, the shiniest scalpel in any good reporter's kit, just as surely as enmity for his subject can impair a reporter's judgment.

Yet one cannot be too hard on Hersey for liking Gerald Ford. This president just happens to be a very likable man; it is his most enduring and disarming asset and Hersey is not the first — nor will he be the last — reporter to feel an

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affinity for him. What impresses Hersey most is Ford's equanimity and equilibrium, the absence of handwringing in the Oval Office, no matter how tough the going gets. "This quiet person . . .," "utterly still figure . . .," "the face gives no message . . .," "his stubbornness will help us all . . .," "the center of the calm, its essence and source, has obviously been the President" — phrases like that recur in each day's account of Hersey's week with Ford, whether the agenda of the hour concerns Cambodia's collapse, what to do about Vietnam, or a prospective under-secretary of transportation. The only time Ford displays anger — and perhaps irritation is the better word — is when he orders Secretary of Defense Schlesinger to jump on the U.S. Navy for dilly-dallying about oil production at the Elk Hills preserve.

If Hersey's Ford never quite becomes three-dimensional, I suspect the fault lies mainly with the diary style of his 35,000-word treatise. Hersey liked Harry Truman, too, but he dealt with him in a different fashion, devoting each article to a separate facet of the Truman presidency and paying no attention to the time sequence of his interview experience. And, of course, Harry Truman was a more colorful, dynamic individual than Jerry Ford, so much so that Hersey finds it necessary to sketch the difference: "With Truman, it was all nervous energy, an oral intensity, emotion in har-

ness, history clamoring for expression. Here the strongest impression so far is one of relaxation.”

While Ford and a diary style fail to make exhilarating reading, Hersey is too good a journalist to overlook a couple of not so obvious things about this president that have perturbed this longtime Ford-watcher. There is a social schizophrenia in Ford’s makeup that, lamentably, makes it possible for him to be solicitous about the welfare of persons with whom he comes into direct contact while simultaneously tending to ignore the problems of persons he must deal with abstractly. Hersey is “shocked” by the president’s ability during a cabinet meeting to regard a Democratic bill to provide jobs for unemployed workers as essentially a budget-busting problem:



Black Star

Talking here, he has seemed a million miles away from many Americans who have been hardworking people all their lives and are now feeling the cruel pinch of hard times. What is it in him? Is it an inability to extend compassion far beyond the faces directly in view. . . . Is it something obdurate he was born with . . . ?

Hersey observed that problem with Ford on other matters, too, and the answer eludes him just as it has eluded me down through the years. The president and I have a hometown acquaintance in Grand Rapids who ceased supporting Ford for Congress because, he said, “Jerry Ford would give his own last meal to a hungry child — and then go on the floor and vote against the school lunch program.”

Similarly, Hersey is perturbed by something he became aware of near the end of the week with Ford. The president scrupulously and deliberately had sought the views of many advisers on domestic issues on his agenda, but only one man, Henry Kissinger, had the president’s ear on matters of foreign policy. Why is that? This problem is all the more serious because Ford’s congressional experience concerned military affairs, not diplomacy. Hersey did not get an answer to this question and, frankly, I don’t have one either. It is out of character for Ford to limit input on a sensitive area in which he lacks expertise. I doubt that it is because he has been mesmerized by the orotund accents of the learned professor. More likely, it is because he has found Henry indispensable at this juncture in his presidency and because Kissinger cannot tolerate a rival for the president’s attention.

In sum, Hersey has told us a lot about Mr. Ford and his workaday world that the average citizen did not know before. (That this is unlikely to make a difference is not Hersey’s fault.) Although his diary format tends to deaden the action and make for tedium, it serves the useful function of portraying what actually goes on inside the Oval Office of Jerry Ford: the man’s incredibly long hours, the hourly interaction between the president and his staff, cabinet officers, and visitors.

In asking Hersey to do the job, the *Times* in effect bought insurance. In case the product turned out to be a bummer, at least the Hersey name would guarantee readership impact. Additionally, one suspects, the *Times*’s editors surmised that a writer of Hersey’s caliber just might come up with a genuine Ford exclusive. Well, it didn’t turn out that way. Hersey’s Ford is your standard model; there are no important extras in the package. I retain the feeling that several of the *Times*’s own White House reporters could have done as well. Their day-to-day coverage of the White House might have equipped them to make even more pointed observations of Oval Office goings-on than a newcomer like Hersey. It should be pointed out, however, that despite his lack of personal experience with the Ford White House, Hersey *has* captured the quintessential Jerry Ford, a man I have known for twenty-nine years. His account rings true.

One further observation seems useful. Whether you found Hersey’s report to be insightful or insipid, we journalists should not lose sight of the fact that Ford tolerated Hersey’s closeup reporting for an entire week. It speaks well for this president’s attitude toward the press. ■

Building self-reliance!

The newsboy
as folk hero —
and victim

by SUSAN COHEN

If Robbie Byer, thirteen, of Fremont, California, worked for any other industry, he might awaken the crusading instincts of a local newspaper reporter. He earns \$58 a month for about fifty hours of work, is uncovered by either the federal minimum hourly wage (\$2.00) or the California minimum wage for minors (\$1.70), is unprotected by workman's compensation in case of accident, is exempted from state and federal child labor laws regulating hours and conditions, is not enrolled in social security or unemployment insurance, and is not eligible for overtime. He pays for his own supplies and he is at the mercy of his supervisor's efficiency and sympathy if he is to show a profit at the end of the month. Robbie is, of course, a newspaper delivery boy — the cheapest means yet discovered to get newspapers delivered to subscribers' houses.

Robbie, for his part, doesn't object to getting up at dawn every morning to fold forty-two newspapers (fifteen minutes) and then hurl them onto the concrete driveways of his neighborhood (which takes another thirty minutes). The most irksome part of his job is that every month he spends many after-school hours knocking on the doors of several of his forty-two customers in an attempt to collect his pay. "Some people aren't home, most don't have the money on the days I go, and some people don't answer the door," says Robbie. "A couple of people almost moved out on me," he adds, "but I found out they were leaving." (If a customer refuses to pay or falls behind in his payments, the carrier, not the company, bears the loss.)

Most carriers are exempted from state and federal wage and hour laws because of their legal status as "independent contractors" or "little merchants." They are rarely employees with fixed

wages, but, instead, miniature entrepreneurs who pay for their papers at a wholesale rate, then sell them to subscribers at a profit. The independence is largely theoretical. The company sets the delivery hours and usually determines the profit, which is the difference between what the newspaper carrier is charged for the paper and what he is allowed to charge the customer (some papers now set a "suggested" charge). The papers, meanwhile, are relieved of the bookkeeping chores they perform for employees and free from liability should a child be injured while working.

On March 3, 1974, ten-year-old Robert Hanson was savagely beaten while delivering the Sunday San Francisco *Examiner & Chronicle* and left bleeding in a doorway. The newspaper is not in one of the handful of states which have required workman's compensation for carriers (they include New York, New Jersey, Louisiana, Wisconsin, and Nevada). Nor has the paper voluntarily provided it, as some other California papers have. Like most papers throughout the country, the *Chronicle* has made accident insurance available to carriers who pay about \$1 a month for the coverage and Robert paid for it.

Robert spent sixteen days in a coma after brain surgery, on the edge of death, before showing signs of recovery. "The operation alone wiped out the insurance," his father is quoted as saying in a news story four days after the attack. *Chronicle* spokesmen are hazy about just what the paper contributed to the boy's medical expenses. Four phone calls produced the estimate that the paper gave his parents \$5,000 to \$10,000 towards the medical fund which the community at large ultimately boosted to \$100,000. None of the spokesmen knew what the ceiling was on the accident policy they made available to Robert, but the typical carrier policy throughout the state has a limit below \$10,000 for the most serious in-

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juries and extended hospitalization. Workman's compensation, which the *Chronicle* says it now provides for carriers, would have paid Robert weekly disability payments, probably for the rest of his life.

American tradition smiles on the newspaper boy (and, these days, girl) learning the lesson of self-reliance young. As a modern economy has firmly closed the door on most chances for children to make money, the newspaper carrier has been happy to grab one of the last opportunities. Parents have encouraged their children, pleased with a paying lesson in responsibility. Newspapers have clothed the carrier system in the language of the civics books, boasting about producing tomorrow's leaders from today's newspaper boy.

Some former carriers have fond

memories of their entry into the world of work. "Being a newspaper carrier was like being Aristotle Onassis in my town," remembers one middle-aged man with a laugh. "I had prizes, new bikes, when nobody else did." Others have less pleasant recollections. "Sure I was exploited," says one former carrier. "They would never let me drop a subscription when the people wouldn't pay." Another remembers a constant fight against losing money. "They always dumped either too many papers or so few I'd have to run to the store and buy more at the regular price," he recalls. "The prizes were impossible to win," gripes another, still smarting over a coveted transistor radio.

Today, the most common complaint is that the youngsters are often asked to spend their own time inserting advertising supplements into the papers they deliver without extra pay. If the job were done at the plant, instead of on the street corner, they would be considered employees. "That problem's getting better than it was at first," says Cyrus Favor, who heads the International Circulation Managers Association, in Reston, Virginia. "Where we have most of the evils now," Favours says, "is in the very largest cities where the publisher loses control to the distributors." He charges that the distributors "pay carriers what the traffic will bear." Most newspapers which contract with distributors for all or part of their circulation set no conditions on whom the distributor hires and how he provides for them.

There is no standard for carrier profits and hours, so they vary widely. Estimates range from \$5 to \$100 a month for hours which can vary from about 10 to 70 a month. On California metropolitan dailies, carriers seem to average around \$1 to \$1.15 per customer per month, a normal-sized route including some thirty to sixty homes. Smaller papers usually combine a smaller profit margin with larger routes.

Profit margins not only vary, they are actually declining, according to James Bonneau, circulation manager of *The Sacramento Bee*, a daily in the California capital. "There have been large price increases for newspaper subscriptions during the last four or five years," Bonneau says. "But the paper goes up a half dollar and the carrier gets a dime.



You're shaving him every time it goes up so he's expending effort for very little money.

"Carriers are getting up in the morning for just one thing, to make money," Bonneau argues. He charges that "the same people who are yelling the carrier system is going down the tubes are making sure it's going down the tubes" because the carrier's percentage is plunging "down, down, down."

So is children's interest in becoming carriers, evidence either of society's changing values or of a more widespread problem with pay and conditions than papers admit. Morning dailies, which depend on luring children into rising before dawn, report they have had fewer takers over the past few years. The *Los Angeles Times*, faced with declining interest among youth and a paper too heavy for the average youngster on a bicycle, switched from children to adults in the early 1960s. The National Newspaper Association, representing publishers across the country, reports that papers in Baltimore, Maryland, and Jacksonville, Florida, have given up trying to recruit youngsters and turned to senior citizens. Many papers no longer use young carriers in core city areas. And those dailies which still have young carriers brag if their turnover rate is less than 100 percent a year.

"Youngsters are less interested," says Favor of the circulation managers association. "In our affluent society, they already have enough pocket money." As a result, he adds, "we recruit with a different appeal — that at twelve the boy is ready to break away from his mother's apron strings and a newspaper route will expand his horizons."

Like most defenders of the system, Favor admits to isolated abuses, but argues that the remedy lies in reasoned appeal rather than in legislation. "We're preaching to them [circulation managers] to take proper care of these youngsters," he says. "They should not be exploited. We don't want to lose them."

Meanwhile, in an era of soaring costs, newspapers are less receptive than ever to the idea that they might extend to carriers the same benefits and protections which exist for adults and for children in other occupations. Although some

newspapers have for years exceeded the obligations of law in their treatment of carriers, most argue that society has a choice — accept the opportunity they offer children to make money with its abuses or see the carrier boy go the way of the kids who used to operate elevators and bring tidings from Western Union.

No organization in the country reveals the blend of high-minded benevolence and down-to-earth defense of a cheap labor supply which is embedded in the carrier system better than the California Newspaper Youth Foundation, a Los Angeles-based organization which claims that it is the only group in the country aimed at boosting and preserving the system which uses youth to deliver newspapers. The foundation, made up of over 100 California publishers, distributed over \$13,000 in scholarships to newspaper boys and girls last year. But it was founded for quite a different purpose in 1946, when, in the words of retired director William Ortman: "Publishers recognized that the lawmakers of the land were shifting to the welfare state, passing child labor laws intended for industry, and they wanted to make damn sure the newspaper carriers didn't get sucked in."

The foundation's newsletters, emblazoned with a boy and girl smiling confidently into their futures from the corner of the page, warns circulation managers that "insensitive personnel" can lead to contagious "collective action" among carriers. "Be aware," one recent bulletin warns. "From our Canadian colleagues comes word that the Canadian Union of Public Employees is urging labor laws for workers under eighteen years of age, including baby sitters and newspaper carriers, presumably to establish a minimum wage for all." The bulletin adds that 400 carriers and their parents recently formed a grievance committee at two Winnipeg newspapers to complain of low profits, delivery of inserts without payment, and being fined for complaints.

These days, the foundation is active in a fight to save California publishers from being forced to contribute to workman's compensation for carriers. State law which took effect in January removed the specific exemption for carriers, an act which the insurance companies, which collect and pay out

California's state system, have interpreted as meaning newspapers must now pay workman's compensation premiums. "We are still in negotiation," says Michael Dorais, attorney for the California Newspaper Publishers Association. Dorais says publishers are now more interested in reducing the premiums and in limiting the temporary disability payments to carriers, so that they don't total more than the carrier could make on the job, than in attacking the whole issue. But, he adds, "there's an argument going on that it may be cheaper to go to adult carriers."

Adults can handle ten times the number of newspapers, tossing them out of a car, than a child on foot or bicycle. They are more reliable, but they are also more demanding. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reports it pays car allowances of about \$200 a month to each of the adults who deliver in the steep areas of the city. The *Los Angeles Times* home delivery manager says the cost to deliver the paper jumped from 50 percent to 75 percent per subscriber per month with the switch from children to adults. Other circulation managers say adults are difficult to recruit for what is a part-time job and that, once recruited, they complain they can't make a living at it.

The demise of the newspaper boy and girl would not please anyone. The neighborhood child with his cloth sack stuffed with papers is an appealing salesman for the company and a personal link for the subscriber. The children who want to earn have few other opportunities. It is the newspapers who have framed the problem as an all or nothing situation: standardize wages and benefits and you'll kill the system. Yet the system has survived in the states which require workman's compensation and a trip to the local hamburger stand will show that other industries live with a minimum wage for their young employees. It should be possible to set out some profit standards which take into account differences in the sizes of newspaper operations. Probably more important is extending adequate insurance protection against accidents. Newspapers are fond of bragging that they offer a lesson in responsibility to young carriers. Some of them should enroll in the course. ■

The shadow of a gunman

An account of a twelve-year investigation of a Kennedy assassination film

by MAURICE W. SCHONFELD

Once, motivated by a combination of curiosity, circumstance, and ordinary commercial greed, I joined the team of nonconformists who have made the investigation of the assassination of John F. Kennedy a way of life. It is only now, nearly twelve years later, that my minor role in that investigation has come — I hope — to an end.

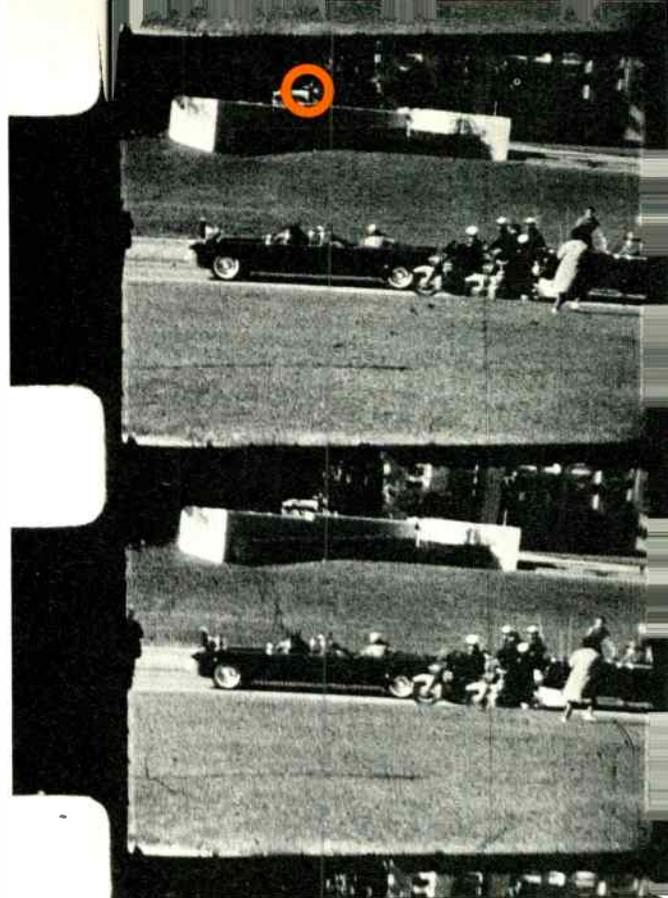
I was managing editor of UPI Newsfilm, the film service of United Press International, at the time President Kennedy was killed. As such, I was the custodian of two films taken of the assassination — which is how I became involved in the investigation. My part in that investigation ended this February when Dr. Kenneth Castleman, of the California Institute of Technology, and Alan Gillespie, of the image-processing center of Caltech's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, concluded *their* part of the investigation.

But to take it from the beginning: three eight-millimeter cameras were pointed at or across the presidential car as Lee Harvey Oswald did or did not, alone or with others, fire the shots that killed John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963. One camera belonged to a Dallas woman named Marie Muchmore, the others to Orville Nix and Abraham Zapruder, also of Dallas.

Standing in Dealey Plaza, shooting a camera which she seldom used, Miss Muchmore exposed several seconds of film as the last shot hit President Kennedy and as Secret Service man Clinton Hill climbed aboard the presidential limousine to shield Jackie Kennedy. Miss Muchmore brought her film to UPI's Dallas bureau on November 25. The deskman promptly telephoned Burt Reinhardt, general manager of UPI's newsfilm division, who had flown to Dallas to acquire amateur footage of the assassination. "I've got a lady here who says she has a movie of the assassination. What do I do with her?" asked the deskman. "Lock the door," said Reinhardt.

Reinhardt hurried to the office and set about shaking Miss Muchmore's confidence in the value of her film by asking if she was positive that she was filming at the very moment of the assassination, if the film was in focus, if the exposure

Maurice W. Schonfeld is a TVN executive.

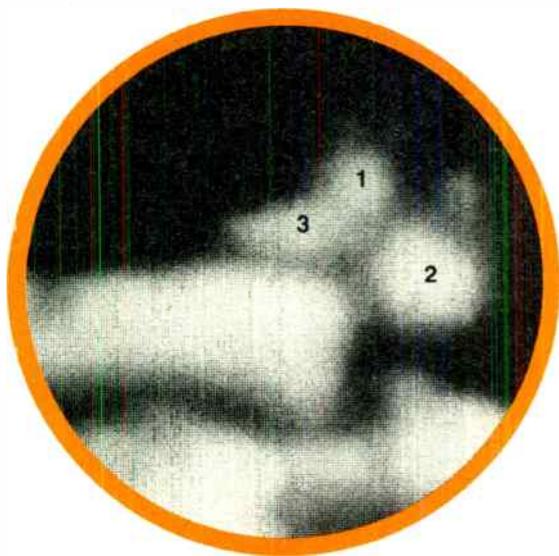


The picture above shows frames from the Nix film. The circled area is the focus of controversy: Is there a rifleman here or only the illusion of one? Above right, a computerized photographic recreation of the frame. Figure one is the supposed head of the supposed assassin; two, his arm extended, with rifle; three, his elbow. Below right, the computer's analysis of that frame. The squiggles indicate depth and contrast.

was right. UPI would be pleased to develop the film and see if it was any good and then make an offer, Reinhardt said, or, if Miss Muchmore preferred to play it safe, UPI would make a blind cash offer. Miss Muchmore chose to play it safe and accepted a check for \$1,000.

Reinhardt took the film to the Eastman Kodak lab in Dallas. At first it seemed that Miss Muchmore had gotten the better of the deal. All we had was a grainy, jerky glimpse of the last seconds of the assassination and the confused aftermath; but back in New York we slowed the picture down, blew it up, zoomed in and stopframed and turned it into two minutes of respectable TV news. By the time we released the edited sequence, however, Jack Ruby had killed Oswald, the president's funeral had just occurred, and showing the film seemed in such poor taste that most UPI client stations chose not to show it.

Orville Nix, too, had been filming at the moment of impact, but his camera was aimed across the president's limousine, right at the "grassy knoll" further down the street from the Texas School Book Depository. That evening Nix returned to Dealey Plaza to complete what he considered souvenir film by filming the Hertz time sign on the roof of the Book Depository. He then gave his camera to his son, who went to a high school football game and filmed



Nix's daughter, a majorette, as she paraded at halftime. Nix had sent this bizarre mix — an assassination, the Book Depository at dusk, two minutes of baton-twirling majorettes — to a laboratory to be developed.

The FBI, which had learned of the existence of the Nix film from the laboratory, had screened it, analyzed it, and had then returned it — now badly scratched — to Nix as being of no further use in the investigation. Reinhardt had met Nix in Dallas when the film was still with the FBI. Now, in January 1964, Nix called Reinhardt in New York, told him that the FBI had returned his film, and asked if UPI would like to bid for it. *Life* was interested, Nix said, and was flying him to New York. Reinhardt asked Nix not to make a deal with anyone before he had seen the film — and offered to pick him up at the airport. Nix had been using one of the cheapest brands of eight-millimeter color film, and either it had been underexposed or it had been underdeveloped at the lab: the colors were dark and contrasty, the grain structure was heavy, and the edges of figures and shapes were fuzzy. After some haggling, a deal was made: \$5,000 — which Time Inc. had also offered — plus a good dinner and a new hat.

Stills from the Nix film appeared in the UPI/American

Heritage book *Four Days*, and some of the footage was used in a David Wolper documentary feature movie of the same title. UPI made money on the footage, but no one found it particularly noteworthy until, early in 1965, an assassination buff named Jones Harris came upon stills from the Nix film in the *Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy*, commonly known as the Warren Report. Harris, a New Yorker of independent means, did not believe that Lee Harvey Oswald had pulled the trigger. He had found a picture that had led him to believe that Oswald was standing in the street in front of the Book Depository at the time of the shooting. Working with Bernie Hoffman, a talented film technician and photographer, he had sought to prove that the man in the street was, indeed, Oswald, but their findings were inconclusive.

In some of the pictures published in the Warren Report, Harris found something new. First off, he saw a station wagon with a machine gun mounted on the roof. Such a station wagon did exist in Dallas — it was used to advertise a Dallas gun shop — and it was Harris's theory that the station wagon and the shop were involved in some way in the Kennedy assassination. Then he found a curious shape on the grassy knoll, a shape that could be read as a man aiming a gun at John F. Kennedy.

We gave Harris some of the key stills made from the Nix film. They showed the knoll and, atop the knoll, "the pergola" — a concrete structure consisting of two octagonal towers connected by a wall thirty-eight inches high and 100 feet long. In the process of enlarging these stills, two things happened: the station wagon went away and the head, shoulders, arms, and gun of the rifleman emerged more clearly. Also, the blowups brought out the roof of a car parked not in the parking lot some distance behind the wall but directly behind it. It now appeared that the rifleman was standing behind this car, leaning on it, as he took aim.

Harris wanted Hoffman to analyze the key frames of our original film, hoping to be able firmly to establish the existence of the rifleman. If the UPI-owned Nix film bore out Harris's theories, it would obviously be worth a lot of money. Reinhardt and I cooperated. We produced the original so that Bernie Hoffman could make the best possible reproductions. As the custodian of the original, I worked through the winter of 1965-66 with Hoffman and Harris in Hoffman's photo lab, searching with them for the frame that would prove, once and for all, that there was a man with a gun on the grassy knoll, where no man was supposed to be, as well as a car parked where no car was meant to be parked.

As both man and car seemed to emerge, I began to won-

der how safe the three of us were. From the start, Harris had believed that some part of the government's investigative apparatus was covering up. Certainly the malevolent powers that had executed John F. Kennedy and Lee Harvey Oswald and then covered up their crimes would be able to reach me as I walked the deserted streets of midtown Manhattan with the tiny roll of eight-millimeter film clasped tightly in my hand. But each night I reached home safely, the film intact.

At last Hoffman finished. He had gone as far as he could. Harris had his pictures. They were interesting enough to justify UPI's sending Jack Fox, one of our best reporters, to Dallas. He wrote, and our wire service carried, a story which said that there might have been a rifleman on the knoll — although the shadowy figure might equally well be "a brown cow grazing."

At this point, the question was how to proceed. Jones Harris wanted the publicity which only a national magazine could provide, but he seemed reluctant to carry his research any further. Additional research into the film would be extremely costly. UPI was unwilling to pay for it, since there would be no immediate financial return (UPI does not sell exclusive stories and it is impossible to assign a dollar value to a wire service scoop). Also, there was always the chance that further analysis would reveal that the shape which seemed to be a man was nothing but a mass of shadows, so that a great deal of money would be spent for what would finally be an epic nonstory — about a frame from a film no one had heard of which proved only that there was nothing remarkable to be seen. But if this sort of nonstory could hardly succeed as a wire-service piece, it could very well go over big on the cover of a national magazine: a blown-up frame of the knoll, a white circle drawn around the shadowy shape, and a bold title reading "WAS THERE AN ASSASSIN ON THE KNOLL? See page 6." So, though as a journalist I hated giving up control of the story, as a businessman I realized that it made more sense to take it to a magazine than for UPI to go on with it.

I approached *Life*. The magazine seemed the natural customer for our film; it owned the best film of the assassination — the one made by Abraham Zapruder, for which *Life* had paid \$150,000. I spoke with Dick Billings, an assistant editor at *Life*, and set up a second meeting at which Jones Harris would be present. The non-Oswald-grassy-knoll-rifleman theory was, after all, Harris's perception, and he had paid for the research. Billings listened to Harris, looked at the film, saw the shape, and was interested. He told us that he had just read the proofs of *Inquest*, Edward Jay Epstein's book on the Warren Report, which for the first time cast respectable doubt on the report's reliability.



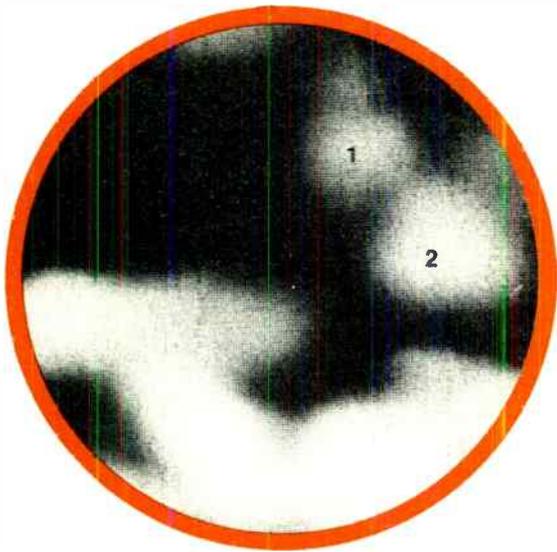
The larger middleground figures in the picture above show that Nix has run forward to film from another position, thus making possible the depth analysis of his pictures. Above right, the computer's photographic recreation of the circled "rifleman" part of this frame shot by Nix after he had run forward. Below right, the computer's analysis of the circled area.

Billings was unable to interest his superiors at *Life*, however. They felt that they had already given sufficient space to the Kennedy assassination, Billings said.

Having lost out with the editorial side of *Life*, I approached the picture side at *Newsweek*. Photo editor Tim Orr didn't know what to make either of the pictures or of Harris's theory. He made it quite clear, however, that he felt that, as a UPI client, he was entitled to the pictures as a matter of routine. I left, taking the pictures with me. His response had frightened me. I knew that UPI and UPI Newsfilm were separate corporations, but if clients were not going to recognize this distinction, my peddling of what they thought was theirs by right could only lead to trouble. The film went back to a vault at the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Then Jones Harris began to dine out on the story. Word spread fast. A European journalist wrote an article about a UPI film, locked up in a bank vault, that showed an assassin firing from the knoll. Other assassination buffs began to inquire about the film. CBS came over to view it. Nobody knew how to handle the story; nobody wanted to assume the cost of further investigation.

In this story full of starts and halts, things began to move again when, in December 1966, *Esquire* published an article by Epstein called "Who's Afraid of the Warren Report:



A Primer of Assassination Theories.” In his article, Epstein described the man-on-the-knoll theory — and named Burt Reinhardt, Jack Fox, and me as its proponents. *Esquire’s* PR people, who decided that “our” theory was the high point of the issue, used it as the lead in their press release. *The New York Times* carried the story. I called Epstein, who told me that he was well aware that Jones Harris was the theory’s original proponent and that he had discussed the theory with Harris, but, Epstein said, Harris had refused to allow his name to be used and had suggested us as alternate proponents. Reinhardt then called *Esquire*, requesting that the release be changed, and the magazine amended its original release, after a fashion: “proponent” was redefined to mean one who believes a theory should be investigated but does not necessarily believe the theory to be true.

Shortly after Epstein’s article appeared, an RCA public-relations executive — the only man in this long saga whose name I cannot recall — called to suggest that the Nix film might yield up its secrets if it were electronically scanned by devices which RCA had developed for the U.S. government. Reinhardt and I were eager for RCA to do the work. The executive attempted to get RCA clearance, but RCA found the project too controversial.

At this point — around Christmas 1966 — I was, again, about to give up. Then I saw a preview screening of Antonioni’s *Blow-Up*. As I watched actor David Hemmings studying frame after frame of his roll of film on which he thinks he has caught a murder in progress, I was back in the developing room at Bernie Hoffman’s lab, waiting for that one clear frame to emerge. When Hemmings returned to the park where he had shot his film, I made up my mind to give the Nix film one last try.

I called the RCA man and asked if there were any other companies that could electronically scan the film. He mentioned two: General Electric and Itek. Afraid that General Electric, like RCA, would shy away from the project on the ground that it was too controversial, I decided to try Itek, a firm I had never heard of. It was on Route 128, outside of Boston, the RCA man told me.

Our Boston cameraman set up an appointment with Howard Sprague, assistant to Itek’s president, Franklin T. Lindsay. I flew to Boston. Sprague told me that he was very interested in the film and said that Itek would welcome the opportunity to demonstrate publicly the sophisticated techniques it had developed for classified use. Itek would publish its findings; UPI would, I hoped, finally find out just how important our film was.

Sprague, myself, and three types of Itek experts — the optical physicists, the aerial reconnaissance experts, and an ex-policeman — reviewed the film. We all saw the shape on the knoll and everyone agreed that it could be a man with a gun. Frank Lindsay insisted that UPI must promise to delay publication of the results, if the shadow proved to be a man, until he had a chance to inform his friends Ted and Bob Kennedy. The stipulation reflected the shared feeling that the shape was more than a shadow.

I spent three days at Itek taking the eight-millimeter film from investigator to investigator. Some worked from stills Hoffman had made; some made color separations from Nix’s film; others fed it into monitors for scanning.

Since Nix had run from one position to another while filming, the Itek experts were able to triangulate and gauge the depth of the figures and of the car on the knoll. I assigned a photographer in Dallas to take detailed pictures of the knoll and then to write on the film the distances from point to point — from Nix to the knoll, from the corner of the wall to the shadowy shape, and so on. The photographer acquired an aerial survey of the area and the original design plans for the pergola atop the knoll. Itek studied the film, free of charge, from January until May of 1967.

None of Itek’s sophisticated techniques, however, could completely clear away the shadows and tell us definitely what was there. But all the approaches led to one conclu-

sion: the shape that could be taken for a man lacked depth, therefore it must be a shadow. As for the car, it was a car all right, but triangulation indicated that it was not directly behind the pergola wall, as it seemed to be, but back in the parking lot, where it ought to be.

Jack Fox and I flew up to Boston. We wrote a story about the Itek findings. There were no headlines. That week — the week of May 26 — *Time* magazine, alone of the newsweeklies, played up the story. Perhaps *Time* would continue — and pay for — the investigation elsewhere? I mentioned this to Howard Sprague. He thought it unlikely. It was at this point that he let drop the remark that Time Inc. owned a sizeable chunk — 60,000 shares, or roughly 5 percent, I later found out — of Itek, then a very hot stock.

Time Inc.'s interest held up. Dick Billings of *Life* was assigned to create a story by using Itek to analyze several pictures that had been shot in Dealey Plaza both before and after the assassination and some at the moment of impact but not of Kennedy himself. The UPI story on the Itek report had at least tried to establish that the Nix film proved nothing. *Life*'s story didn't set out to prove or disprove anything.

On December 19, 1967 another and more surprising link came to light. In that day's issue of *The New York Times* I read the transcript of an *Izvestia* interview with Kim Philby, the British counterespionage officer who had defected to Moscow. In the transcript Philby recounted what he considered to be his greatest coup — the foiling of the CIA's Albania caper. As Philby told it, in 1951, shortly after Tito had broken with the Soviet Union, thus geographically cutting Albania off from the rest of the Communist world, the CIA arranged to airdrop anti-Communist Albanians into the mountains of their home country to lead a counterrevolution. Before the drop, the CIA checked out the operation with the great British anti-Communist spy Kim Philby. From that moment on, the air drop was, of course, a disaster. According to Philby, the CIA agent in charge of the Albanian operation was named Franklin T. Lindsay.

I called Sprague, who had told me early in the game that he himself had worked for the CIA, and asked whether the Franklin T. Lindsay mentioned by Philby was Itek president Lindsay. Indeed, he was, Sprague said.

Of course! I thought. Who else but a former CIA man would head a company 60 percent of whose business came from the government, much of it consisting of analysis of aerial photographs shot for intelligence purposes? Perhaps, then, Itek's report might not be considered conclusive — at least by those who saw a CIA conspiracy behind every grisly happening anywhere in the world. Of course, Itek had published, and widely distributed, its report, so that if the results had been fudged, other scientists would have caught it. On the other hand, how many people were there with the scientific ability to challenge Itek's report — and with no links to the CIA?

I gave up. Enough was enough. But I love to tell the story on myself, and maybe on all of us, of how, in the end, the only people I could get to investigate a picture that might (by a stretch of conspiratorial imagination) involve the CIA were people who worked for the CIA.

Epilogue

Among the people I told my story on myself to was Richard Sprague, one of the most dedicated investigators of the Kennedy assassination — and, no, not related to Itek's Howard Sprague. It was, perhaps, inevitable that Richard Sprague would make contact with assassination buff Jones Harris. Perhaps it was equally inevitable that — given Watergate and the question of whether agents had assassinated (or had tried to assassinate) Fidel Castro and other political leaders — Harris would conclude that UPI and Itek had engaged in a conspiracy to destroy his theory and cover up the facts of the assassination. In the summer of 1973 he informed Reinhardt and me that he had come to just this conclusion.

The art of electronic analysis had advanced in the more than six years that had elapsed since Itek had completed its study. So I decided to try one more investigation, this time with a California company called Image Transform.

At this point, in late August 1973, the producers of the film *Executive Action* inquired about use of the Nix film. I flew out to the Coast, made a deal — the film would be used only as stock shots, not as evidence of Harris's theory — and then went out to Image Transform's Los Angeles laboratories. There I learned that commercial apparatus could do little to enhance the quality of the Nix film. A technician suggested that, as a last resort, I should take the film to Dr. Kenneth Castleman, a scientist at the California Institute of Technology at Pasadena.

I took a taxi to Pasadena. Dr. Castleman and I viewed the film. He saw the shape. He suggested that more sophisticated digital computer techniques developed by Caltech to reconstruct lunar photographs could, perhaps, solve the riddle of the grassy knoll shadow. He found an interested Caltech graduate student, James Latimer, who did the computer image processing as a class project in a course on digital image processing. The processed images were then analyzed by Dr. Castleman and by Alan Gillespie, of Caltech's Jet Propulsion Laboratory.

Fifteen months went by. In February 1975 I received a report marked "PRELIMINARY FOR INFORMATION ONLY." The report concluded:

In this analysis the Nix film fails to support strongly "the grassy knoll assassin" theory. No errors were found in the Itek report and its conclusions remain the most likely. A study of the area between the stairs and the [pergola] found no new evidence of assassins there. However, in the light of the poor image quality and the availability of suitable hiding places, a grassy knoll assassin cannot be positively ruled out.

The report also states that it is "remotely possible" that certain features are "due to an assassin immediately behind the wall who moved to his right, as Nix moved. . . ." After receiving this report, which I believed to be the nearest thing to a conclusive answer about the film, I learned that assassination buffs have detected *three* assassins — two of whom supposedly bear a resemblance to Watergate figures E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis — in the Nix film, this time on the steps leading down from the knoll. Now Castleman and Gillespie have those frames — and this whole thing may start up again. God forbid. ■

Keeping secrets at the Fed

Chairman Burns mustn't tell all, but at least he's decided to tell us more

by HOBART ROWEN

Never before in its sixty-one-year history has there been so much debate about the role and functions of the Federal Reserve System and the seventy-one-year-old economist who heads it, Arthur Frank Burns. Although in the treasuries, banks, and bourses of the world he is unquestionably the most highly respected American financial official, Burns lately has come under fire from a wide spectrum on the American scene, including businessmen, labor leaders, congressmen, and his fellow economists. On May 8 Henry Ford II told his stockholders that "the chances for general economic recovery in the United States were frustrated primarily by the excessively tight monetary policies of the Federal Reserve Board." (Ford didn't mention Burns by name, but to Ford, as to most Americans, Burns and the "Fed" are synonymous: the other board members are a vague collection, most of whose names are not well known.) George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, is more direct. "Arthur Burns," says Meany, "is a national disaster."

The criticism and controversy has even spread within Burns's own professional staff at the Fed and the seven-man board of governors, which he chairs. Burns therefore has taken the unprecedented step of making public appearances, including his first appearance in five years as Fed chairman on "Meet the Press" on May 25, to defend his views. Burns's new venture onto public platforms — a step he has taken most reluctantly — begins to tear away some of the mystique on which the Fed has long relied. Until these new circumstances forced Burns to seek a constituency of his own, the Fed for the most part tried to keep itself insulated from the press, the public, and Congress.

The basic reason for secrecy is the conviction held by Burns and some others that full and immediate knowl-

edge of interest rates set by the Fed would enable a few quick-acting traders to make a killing by buying or selling securities. Each month, the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC), which consists of the entire seven-man board of governors and five regional Federal Reserve Bank presidents on a rotating basis, meets in Washington to establish a policy directive for the system. This policy is expressed by telling the New York manager of market operations to set a key interest rate known as the federal funds rate. This is the rate at which 5,800 member banks lend to each other. For many years the monthly decisions of the FOMC have been released with a ninety-day lag. In a bow to pressure, this has recently been changed to forty-five days.

Many money market analysts think that the Fed's secrecy works in a perverse way. They suggest that the most sophisticated securities traders can figure out what they need to know from the way the New York manager operates in the market. A compromise that some suggest is immediate release of the interest-rate target, but withholding for a period the actual policy directive, which may incorporate other sensitive information, relating, for example, to international problems.

Once the federal funds rate has been established, the Fed "does its thing" by buying and selling government securities in the open market. When it buys, the checks that it writes expand bank reserves, which are used as a base for making loans to business. When it sells, the money that is returned to the Fed contracts bank reserves. These operations affect the amount of money in circulation, the level of interest rates in the economy, the ability of business to borrow and to maintain activity, and — most importantly — individual jobs and income. In addition, the Fed has supervisory and regulatory authority. The range of its power is enormous. Only

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state banks, accounting for about 22 percent of total deposits, escape the Fed's long arm.

This is not the first time, to be sure, that the Fed has been a source of controversy. It was established by President Wilson in 1913 to administer a flow of money and credit that would help induce orderly economic growth, stable employment, and a stable dollar. Yet students blame the Fed for a major role in the Great Crash of 1929 — and since then, periodically, at times of recession and inflation, it has become fashionable to point a finger at the Fed for moving too quickly or too slowly, or doing too much or too little. It was severely censured by financial experts for allowing bank speculation to get out of hand last year, and some critics wonder whether its \$1.7 billion bail-out of the Franklin National Bank will ultimately cost the taxpayer a bundle of cash. On the other hand, by acting as a lender of last resort in 1970, the Fed, under Burns's astute management, prevented the Cambodian invasion and the failure of the Penn Central Railroad (which occurred within a two-month span) from creating a financial panic of major proportions.

During the regime of Chairman William McChesney Martin, which ended early in 1970, the board's chief contact with the press was a former AP financial writer, Charles Maloney. Maloney in effect was a highly trusted counselor to Martin. If major news came out of the Fed, Maloney would drift over to the Treasury press room and brief the financial reporters. Stories were attributed to a "spokesman for the Fed" — and that's all there was.

When Maloney retired in mid-1972, Fed Governor Jeffrey M. Bucher suggested that the opportunity was at hand to revamp the board's public relations. In August 1972 he wrote a memo to the board suggesting that an outside consultant be hired to make a survey "of the System's public communications performance." Board members considered offering the Maloney job to Richard Janssen of *The Wall Street Journal* and

battled around the names of two other well-known Washington financial reporters as well. Nothing came of either idea. Burns decided to promote another ex-AP man, Joseph R. Coyne, to Maloney's post with the same title, but with less of the counselor relationship. The Fed, Burns insisted, must retain a low profile.

Now, with monetary policy and its impact on the economy a source of national debate in Congress and in the press, Burns is looking for ways of getting his pitch understood.

The Fed has never found a totally satisfactory way of communicating with the press, largely, I think, because the traditional low-key attitude — going way back — has been that, while the system would answer legitimate questions from serious journalists, it would not undertake to generate news on its own.

Considerable technical information is pumped out by the Fed under the direction of staff economists through its monthly bulletin and in documents and reports by the twelve regional Federal Reserve Banks. The St. Louis Fed, for example (an exponent of the monetarist school), has become the recognized authority on statistics relating to the money supply. And the New York Fed — in one respect the most important of the regional banks because it manages the actual open market operations — is in regular touch with financial writers on money market and international affairs.

But a certain wariness of the press persists. Burns loathes dissent in the board, and he cautions other governors to be careful in their talks with reporters. On a recent occasion when he found out that a member of the board had referred to him as a "tyrant," he had that board member on the carpet within minutes.

Burns has come under sharp attack from some members of the Fed's professional staff, who argue that he was so preoccupied with inflation in 1974 that he failed to see recession creeping around the corner. Burns's rebuttal is:

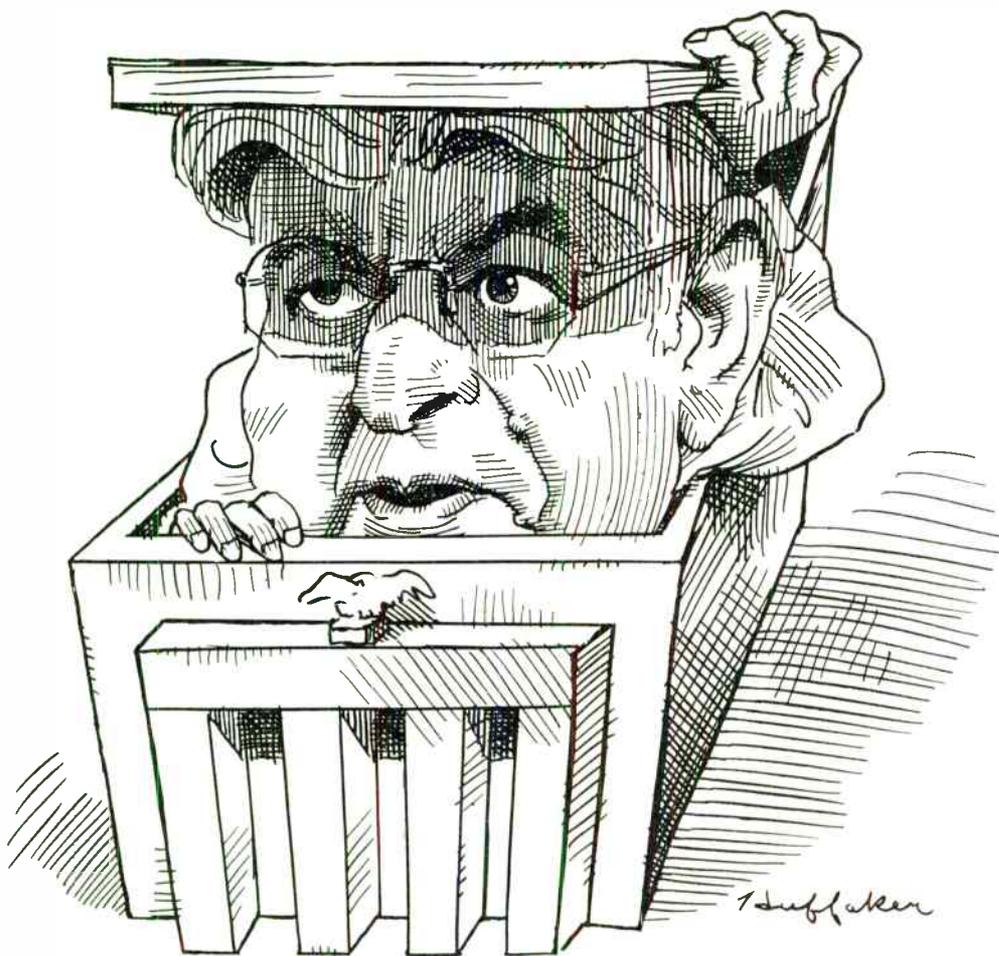
"Recession is the number one problem in the short run, but inflation is the number one problem in the longer run. If we are to have prosperity in the long run, we must guard very carefully against inflation in the future."

The belief that the Fed did an inadequate job of creating new money last year — a necessary lubricant for the industrial system — triggered a historic resolution by Congress which gives each house a new overview of the hitherto "independent" Federal Reserve System. The resolution, moreover, in a bow to a branch of economic theory — the Milton Friedman Chicago "monetarist" school — that Burns totally rejects, has required Burns to state the Fed's goals for expansion of the money supply in numerical terms.

Thus on May 1, in the first of what will be four annual appearances before the House and Senate Banking Committees, Burns revealed that the Fed would try to make the money supply grow by specific amounts. In the case of the most frequently used definition — cash and checking accounts — the Fed target for the year ending March 1976 is to be 5 to 7½ percent. That revelation broke new ground, because the Fed had always kept its goals, targets, and policies, as voted by the Federal Open Market Committee, secret for long periods.

What has happened to force Burns out into the open — notably his appearances on Capitol Hill to discuss the system's long-range goals?

"There has been a sea-change in attitude," says former board member Andrew F. Brimmer, now a professor at the Harvard School of Business Administration. Brimmer, who is concerned with what he thinks is a one-man domination of the board by Burns, elaborated this way in an interview: "People are becoming more concerned with this economic crisis we're going through and the policy-making machinery that's supposed to deal with it. Beyond that, you have the new composition of Congress — they're more liberal, more activist, and less persuaded about the sanctity of the old institutions, and



that makes the Fed a key target.”

Brimmer, who left the board last August after eight-and-a-half years of a fourteen-year term of a governor — a potential tenure that many think should be shortened — says flatly that Burns has so “enhanced” the role of chairman that the board has become weak.

“This concerns me,” Brimmer said in his office at Harvard. “I would like to see more internal independence. The individual board members should be independent of the chairman.”

This view is echoed by John Sheehan, who resigned as a Fed governor last month to assume the presidency of White Motor Company in Cleveland. A Nixon appointee who started out in absolute awe of Burns’s brilliance, Sheehan has turned into a critic of Burns’s conservative approach and his domination of the board.

There are many reasons why Burns would be a dominant figure. At seventy-one, he has been perhaps the most distinguished economist in the nation for fifty years. A leading student of the business cycle, Burns knows more about economic theory than most of his

fellow board members and they generally admit it. Earlier in his career, he was the director of the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York — the official arbiter of when recessions and recoveries take place — and made his debut on the Washington scene as chairman of the first Eisenhower Council of Economic Advisers.

Burns’s capacity for work, and his single-minded dedication to the Federal Reserve, are legendary. While still a Columbia University professor, according to a colleague, he worked for five days, nonstop, on a railroad bargaining problem, taking only catnaps. “He simply out-survived the other bargainers,” according to one who knows the story.

He starts his working day now with a working breakfast at 8:00 A.M., and after his wife, Helen, retires at their Watergate apartment, he often will work until 4:00 A.M. His only relaxation consists of frequent appearances on the Washington cocktail circuit, where he is charming to the ladies and accessible to the society reporters.

The soft and gentle side is not revealed at meetings of the board. Re-

cently, when Governor Bucher suggested compromising on a given issue, observing: “I think we could make a deal. . .,” Burns coldly cut in to say: “This chairman does not make deals.”

Yet, as former governor Sherman Maisel points out in his book, *Managing the Dollar*, Burns had consciously participated more than his immediate predecessor, William McChesney Martin, in “the political process in Washington.” He has been, and is, a general adviser to the president (although he had no communication with Nixon during Nixon’s last year). He played a major role in developing the 1971 wage-price control program, accepted a role as adviser to the Cost of Living Council, and chaired the Committee on Interest and Dividends.

On the international monetary scene, Burns nudged former Treasury Secretary George Shultz (who was originally brought to Nixon’s attention by Burns) into necessary policy changes for monetary reform and conducted countless secret negotiations for the U.S. on gold and dollar exchange problems. “. . . He saw the Fed’s role as one of innovator, supporter, and public pleader for good macropolicy,” Maisel wrote. “His approach is pragmatic.”

Another of Burns’s talents has been a shrewd ability to assess and cozy along the average congressman, although it is clear that he misjudged the determination of the new Congress to place a firmer guiding hand on the Fed. A new era probably began when Representative Henry Reuss defeated fellow Democrat Representative Wright Patman for chairmanship of the House Banking Committee.

Patman, a populist and long-time critic of the Fed, never generated much support. In fact, he was Burns’s best protection against congressional intervention. For example, the aging Texan’s demands that Fed operations be submitted to a congressional-ordered audit went unheeded; but under the Reuss regime an audit bill is given a good chance of passing.

Until very recently, Burns’s appear-

ances before any congressional committee were hailed as masterful selling jobs, intermingled with sometimes daring departures from the administration party line. As performances, they were outstanding — often filled with newsmaking phrases and dire warnings about the dangers of inflation. Congress was in considerable awe of the reserve board chairman, and Democrats jostled with Republicans to be the first to praise his wisdom.

As might be expected, Burns rejects the Brimmer criticism that he has acquired too much weight relative not only to the Board of Governors, but to the Federal Open Market Committee. "There's a grain of truth in that," Burns told me in his office at the elegant marble structure housing the Fed on Washington's Constitution Avenue. "But what the hell good would I be if it were totally untrue? What is the chairman supposed to be — a purely passive regulator, a policeman who merely keeps order? Or a leader?"

It is clear what Burns thinks his role should be, but the perceptions differ. Sheehan thinks that while the chairman should be "first among equals," he should not act as a chief executive who prefers to brook no dissent.

Burns's passion for a "single voice" to represent the Fed extends to a concern over public speeches by other members of the board. Just before Burns moved from his position as counselor to Nixon to the Fed in February 1970, he called individual governors to lunch at the White House mess, and told each of them that the business community was concerned that the Fed was "speaking with too many voices." He hoped, he told them, that in the future, there would be a better effort to end "this kind of confusion."

Brimmer says that it soon became clear to him that Burns wanted to see copies of his speeches in advance. A prolific speaker whose speeches got a lot of attention because of their substantive content, Brimmer had as a matter of academic habit and training circulated drafts to other board members for comment. But this was a voluntary procedure, and what Burns had in mind was something different. "Arthur reacted to the drafts, and would suggest deletions," Brimmer says. "That was a

running debate as long as I was there, and I had some difficult encounters."

Brimmer says that on at least a couple of occasions he refused to modify language, but by and large, he apparently complied with Burns's suggestions. His sharpest argument with Burns came when Senator William Proxmire asked Brimmer to testify on a system for allocation of credit that both Brimmer and Proxmire favored, and to which Burns was — and is — opposed.

"Burns hit the ceiling," Brimmer recalls, arguing that Proxmire should have contacted the Fed's chairman first. Eventually, both Burns and Brimmer testified, a week apart — Burns appearing first to explain the board's disapproval (the vote had been four to three in favor of Burns's position), and then Brimmer, to support the scheme, with some technical changes.

Nothing ever pained Burns as much as a *Fortune* magazine article which said, in effect, that he had deliberately eased money policy late in 1972 in order to help Nixon win re-election. That incensed Burns. "I have nothing to give my children except my good name," he would say.

All of the principals flatly denied the essential details of that *Fortune* piece, and I have never been able to corroborate the thesis. As Brimmer points out (in denying the validity of the *Fortune* thesis), to have tried to make money ease coincide with the election period, the Fed would have had to have started early in 1972, because money policy operates with a lag. In other words, *Fortune* was crediting Burns and the Fed with a precision in getting results that the agency doesn't have, a fact of life which many of Burns's critics overlook.

Nonetheless, the impression given by *Fortune* was that it had obtained a "leak" from a meeting of the FOMC. For a time, suspicious that one of the economists at the St. Louis Federal Reserve — who accompanied his president to the FOMC meetings — was the probable "leak," Burns banned all accompanying economists from the board sessions. But that irritated the presidents, and Burns relented.

Brimmer and Sheehan feel that one of

the ways in which Burns has managed to get a stranglehold on the board is by recommending "system" people for open slots as they develop. Thus, in the last two years, he persuaded the White House to name Robert Holland, a staff economist, and Philip Coldwell, president of the Dallas Federal Reserve bank, to the board. Those promoted to the board of governors from within the "system," say Brimmer and Sheehan, owe Burns a special loyalty. Burns also has a close tie with George Mitchell, long-time member of the board who was designated vice-chairman in 1973 when J. L. Robertson resigned. Sheehan would like to see future new members come from outside the system — men of distinction who would be independent and could "stand up" to Burns.

The law requires the president to give "weight" in selecting members of the board to industry, agriculture, and commerce. Right now, Brimmer thinks that what the system needs most is "a senior banker, one with stature." In April, President Ford did go outside the system, naming Philip C. Jackson, a mortgage banker from Birmingham, Alabama, to succeed Sheehan.

Other ways of making the Fed more representative might be inclusion of a labor or consumer representative — or a woman. There never has been a woman governor. Brimmer was the only black in the Fed's history.

Like it or not, Congress has asserted a new role for itself in the management of monetary policy by forcing Arthur Burns to state annual goals for the growth of the money supply. The two banking committees, one headed by Reuss, the other by Proxmire, will also be examining other aspects of central bank management.

It may well be that the end result of new explorations of the Federal Reserve will lead to changes that make the Fed more representative of our complex economy, and more open with the press and public. And it therefore may develop that one-man domination, which has typified the Martin and Burns eras, is nearing an end. The power of the central bank in an economy so vast as ours is so great that one can question whether that power should be concentrated in any single individual not elected by the people. ■

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BOOKS

Forewarning

Mediacracy: American parties and politics in the communications age
by Kevin P. Phillips. Doubleday. \$8.95

Kevin Phillips is a thirty-four-year-old newspaper columnist and producer of a Washington newsletter whose writings are essential in understanding trends and opinion in the conservative movement, particularly within the right wing of the Republican party. (A recent piece of his in *Newsweek* appears to promote a Reagan-Wallace ticket.) Phillips is also the author of books that display a grasp of scholarly literature and some original interpretations of voting data. His newspaper-newsletter output tends to be breezy and inside-dopesterish, while his books tend to be turgid and analytical.

Commentators often fail to distinguish between his columns and his books. *The Emerging Republican Majority* (1969), 482 pages of heavy statistics — replete with forty-seven maps and 143 charts — was probably more attacked than read. *The New York Times Book Review* (May 4, 1975) assigned *Mediacracy* to a staff writer for *The Village Voice*, who brushed aside the author's extensive documentation: "To back all this up, Mr. Phillips points out that Massachusetts voted for McGovern. One shudders to think what Mr. Phillips might postulate had two states voted Democratic" — the comment says more about the reviewer than the reviewed.

Mediacracy, etc. is a grossly misleading title, suggesting as it does that the book's central theme is the media, and that perhaps America is moving from democracy to something called "mediacracy." Rather, the book tries to assess politics and parties in what Phillips considers the "post-industrial" or communications-oriented period. My nonscientific guess is that less than 10

percent of the book deals explicitly with the media. Phillips's comments here fall into two categories: the influence of the media on politics and the media's place in society. According to my reading of Phillips, the media have contributed to: 1) weakening the political parties; 2) increasing voter ticket-splitting; 3) promoting divided government (the legislature in the control of one party, the executive in control of the other); 4) heightening the electoral advantage of incumbents; 5) making campaigns more expensive and more dependent on media specialists; 6) turning political hopefuls into media commentators as a vehicle to public office (Reagan, Lindsay); 7) making politics more ideological; and 8) furthering the dominance of the executive over the legislative.

Most observers, myself included, tend to see at least six of these (all but the last two) trends. Such things happen when voters get most of their information about candidates and offices from the news media. But, on the subject of ideology in politics, I suggest that Phillips also weigh the influences that tend to make the media (meaning the TV networks) nonideological, including government regulation, the appeal to mass audiences, the commercial nature of broadcasting, and the limitations of technology (how does television depict an action such as the impoundment of funds, for example?).

That the media promote the interests of the executive was more centrally the theme of Newton Minow's *Presidential Television*. Phillips and Minow may turn out to be right, of course, but some experiences of recent presidents point in another direction. While a president has great access to the media, such exposure is not automatically positive.

Phillips's conclusions about the role of the media in society will be more con-

troversial. Basically, he finds the media growing in power, becoming more liberal, with a widening "credibility gap . . . between the average American and the prestige newspapers and the documentary on television" (a quotation from Herman Kahn), producing a growing public hostility toward the media, which can lead to demands for greater control.

"Debate over the media — especially the issues of access and power — will be a central aspect of post-industrialism," Phillips predicts. The debate will be over "how to square the rights of the public with the rights of the media." Ultimately, Phillips suggests, "the First Amendment may undergo a shifting interpretation. . . . The media may be forced into the status of utilities regulated to provide access."

For those who contend that it can't happen here, Phillips reminds us that "the Bill of Rights is hardly a static legal concept" and that a corporation's right to "due process" once was thought to be infringed by legislation on practices and rates, but that eventually "regulation triumphed."

Whether Phillips is right or wrong, there are a great many people who agree with him. A hidden reason for this may be found in class antagonisms. At the Watergate trials in Washington, as an example, the best-educated and best-paid persons in the courtrooms probably were not the judges or even the lawyers, but the network correspondents! (The court reporters for CBS and NBC are themselves attorneys.) The press corps, at least at the national level, is no longer made up of plebeian Hildy Johnsons; reporters are quite certifiable members of the upper-middle class.

One of the battlefields on which the issues of media elitism are sure to be contested in the post-industrial era is federal and state funding for public tele-

vision. Until now the public revenues involved have been too meager to attract much notice, but Congress is about to pass a bill that would provide \$160 million annually for public broadcasting by 1980. There is also a serious move to provide state money in California. (See Brian Dutra, "Public Broadcasters' New Target — The State Treasury," *California Journal*, May 1975). You and I may love "Masterpiece Theatre" and those operas from Wolf Trap, but are we prepared to argue that a), public TV should really serve the masses, or b), that the masses must appreciate opera, or c), that the educated have a special claim to public subsidies?

Staff writers for *The Village Voice* may be prepared to dismiss Phillips as a reactionary troglodyte, but should the rest of us not pause when the same criticism also comes from liberal columnist Joseph Kraft?

In an anguished speech at California State University (Long Beach) in March, Kraft points out the dangers of "class-oriented and class-rooted" journalism: "I think we tended [during the 1960s] to lose touch, not only in coverage but in fact in our bones, with lower class white America. We became anti-police; we adopted most of the prejudices of highly educated, upper income America. A certain contempt for lower middle class whites became the hallmark of journalism. In that sense we cut ourselves off from what is the basic majority in this country. I am suggesting that we are still in a very vulnerable position. The press has all kinds of privileges in the United States. We have a press room in the White House, we get good rates on cables, all kinds of institutions in the country cooperate with us in a very generous way. But we do represent a small minority. Our privileges are fragile; there is nothing automatic about freedom of the press . . ."

Joseph Kraft and Kevin Phillips may

be in the business of making scattered incidents into trends; still, we should remember that we have been forewarned.

STEPHEN HESS

Stephen Hess is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Marx the journalist

Karl Marx: On Freedom of the Press and Censorship

Ed. and trans. by Saul K. Padover.
McGraw-Hill (paper). \$3.95

It is a little appreciated fact that from 1842 to 1847 the young Karl Marx considered himself to be primarily a crusading journalist, first as a liberal democrat and then as a communist, and that changes in his political thinking during this period prepared the way for the revolutionary socialist ideas of his later years. In fact it can be argued that his journalistic experiences helped propel him to the left, both because of the indifference to poverty he discovered as an "investigative" reporter and because of the partially successful efforts of Prussian censors and others to silence him. At first his reaction to the censors was to plead for freedom of the press in classical liberal terms. By the end of the period, however, he had clearly decided that the ruling elites of Prussia and other continental countries would never permit a fully free press and, for this and other even more compelling reasons, that revolution was both inevitable and necessary.

Because this phase of Marx's development has gone largely undocumented for the general reader, we can be grateful to Saul K. Padover for this ex-



Karl Marx was forty-two when this early photograph was taken, probably in 1860.

cellent collection of Marx's journalistic pieces, many of which clearly reflect his diminishing regard for the press as an instrument of change. The fine translations are Padover's and are well annotated for the reader who may not know the historical context. In addition, Padover has provided a concise and workmanlike summary of Marx's writing and thinking. *continued*

For Marx, journalism was an alternative to a university career, which seemed out of the question because of academia's aversion to radical thinking. Continental newspapers at this time were journals of opinion rather than of reporting, and were supported by groups who wanted an outlet for their views.

Unfortunately, however, newspapers in Prussia were subject to many of the same restrictions as universities. Indeed Marx's first piece of reporting — an attack against attempts by the Prussian government to extend and tighten pre-publication censorship of journals — was banned by the very censors he was attacking. Marx's criticism of government decrees was basically liberal and humanistic, though his writing already revealed that capacity for the biting phrase and love of paradox which was to become his hallmark. Censorship was harmful in itself, he wrote, for freedom was an intrinsic part of the search for truth. The right to engage in this search belonged to all mankind. The only good censorship decree, to his way of thinking, was one which abolished censorship itself.

In May of 1842 Marx became a regular contributor to the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which had been founded by local "progressive" businessmen who were anti-Prussian and considered it to their advantage to support liberal reform and increased democracy. In a discussion before the Rhenish Diet a year earlier, Marx had presented a ringing defense of freedom of the press:

The free press is the omnipresent open eye of the spirit of the people, the embodied confidence of a people in itself, the articulate bond that ties the individual to the state and the world, the incorporated culture which transfigures material struggles into intellectual struggles and realizes its raw material shape. It is the ruthless confession of a people to itself, and it is well known that the power of confession is redeeming. The free press is the intellectual mirror in which a people sees itself, and self-viewing is the first condition of wisdom. It is the mind of the state that can be peddled in every cottage, omnipresent, omniscient. It is the ideal world which constantly gushes from the real one and streams back to it ever richer and animated anew.

Contributing to the *Zeitung* seemed an ideal way for Marx to begin a career. He quickly added to his reputation as a brilliant writer and one of the more "responsible" leading lights of the young Hegelian movement. The paper's backers were happy when he became editor, because, unlike some others on the staff, he seemed aware of the need for practical compromises if the paper was to survive.

And the *Zeitung* did more than survive. It doubled its circulation, and, given handsome support by local industrialists, seemed likely to go on prospering. However, in 1842 and 1843 Marx began to move decisively to the left, toward socialism and communism. At the same time he was breaking with the socialist Hegelians, whose emphasis on "ideas" rather than "real" social and economic conditions appealed to him less and less.

The turning point came in 1843. Marx's attack on the Russian czar and a series of articles on poverty brought official protests from the government. The newspaper's middle-class backers pressed Marx to resign, and he finally did — too late, however, to prevent the suppression of the paper.

Disgusted with conditions in Germany, Marx made a momentous decision. The following October he moved to Paris where he came into close contact with French socialists and communists and began, in 1844, a lifelong collaboration with Engels, whom he had met in Cologne some years earlier. Having rid himself of previous notions about working within the establishment, he now moved forward to the development of his own world view. He became a revolutionary socialist.

The change did not quite end Marx's career as a journalist. In both Paris and, after his expulsion from France, in Brussels, he continued to write articles for the German exile press, under continued harassment from various governments. At the same time, however, he turned increasingly to longer, more theoretical pieces such as *The German Ideology* (1846) and *The Communist*

Manifesto, completed in 1847.

Marx returned to Germany just one more time. The revolutionary upheavals of 1848 brought him back to Cologne, where he and Engels founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* with Marx as editor. Under continued pressure from the government and unable to attract sufficient capital, the paper foundered. Marx was notified of his expulsion from Prussia on May 11, and the newspaper ceased publishing a week later.

The Marx who wrote most of the final issue was a very different Marx from the journalist of just a few years earlier. His faith in "liberal" politics was shattered: "We are ruthless, we demand no consideration from you [the government]. When our turn comes, we will not gloss over our terrorism."

Marx returned to Paris only to be expelled to Brittany. In August of 1849 he set out for England. During his exile he wrote only rarely about press freedom, mostly to protest the censorship of radical views. He had by this time become convinced that a truly free press wasn't possible in a capitalist society and would have to await the advent of communism. There also was no question in his mind but that the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat would necessarily involve expropriating the press of the ruling class.

The essays and letters in the Padover volume trace the whole period beautifully. The articles by Marx give a sense not only of his style but also of his changing intellectual orientation. Included, too, are police reports on Marx, Marx's official protest over his loss of German citizenship, and comments from other newspapers on the fate of his own publication. Finally, Padover has added a selection of Marx's letters to round out our understanding of the changes he was undergoing. The volume is a valuable contribution both to our understanding of a little-known phase of Marx's life, and an important footnote to the history of European journalism.

STANLEY ROTHMAN

Stanley Rothman is professor of government at Smith College.

LETTERS

Fair to fairness?

TO THE REVIEW:

As a regular reader of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, which I find useful, informative, and usually right on the button, I was a bit distressed to open your issue of May/June 1975 and to note that, under the heading, "The Trouble With Fairness," you have swallowed quite whole Fred W. Friendly's version of what has come to be known as the Red Lion case. (Mr. Friendly's original article, "What's Fair on the Air?," appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* of March 30.)

The Red Lion case stemmed from an article which Fred J. Cook wrote for *The Nation*, and which appeared in our issue of May 25, 1964, entitled "Hate Clubs of the Air." Subsequently Mr. Cook was subjected to personal attack by Billy James Hargis in a syndicated radio program which was broadcast by, among many other stations, WGCW in Red Lion, Pennsylvania. Mr. Cook demanded the right of reply, which WGCW refused. He then — acting entirely on his own behalf, and employing his own attorney at his own expense — sued the station under the fairness doctrine; the case through subsequent appeals wound up before the Supreme Court some five years later, which confirmed Cook's right to a reply under the law. Cook throughout was acting as an aggrieved private individual, and not on behalf of the Democratic National Committee or of anyone else. . . .

JAMES J. STORROW, JR.
Publisher, *The Nation*

We know of no challenge to Fred Friendly's report that the Democrats sought, in 1964, to use the fairness doctrine to counter right-wing radio propaganda. And all parties agree, we believe, that Fred Cook, an able free-lance, was recruited to join the Democratic National Committee's propaganda effort. Cook was paid as a researcher. Radio broadcasts based on his research attacked the Rev. Billy James Hargis, among others. One program ties Hargis to the John Birch Society, another attacks his political gospel.

The question in dispute here: was Cook's suit against radio station WGCW, in Red

Lion, Pennsylvania, a suit that sought the right to reply to Hargis, "politically inspired" as CJR said?

Cook says he was outraged when Hargis personally attacked him, and that his personal desire to respond led him to file suit. We see no reason to doubt this. It is also true that Cook had earlier helped the Democrats to attack Hargis. Cook's partisan work may have encouraged Hargis's attack; it certainly provided Cook with information about Hargis and his radio program. CJR did not intend to suggest that Cook was acting on orders, or contrary to his own desires. But we continue to believe that there is no clear line between the political effort and the personal feelings that led, within months, to the suit.

The Editors

The question of whether it is "still valid to regulate broadcasting in a way very different from the print media" is being asked more often these days. . . .

The need for government regulation is perceived because without a type of allocation process, no radio service can be functional. I would argue that as long as station licenses are granted and or renewed by a politically appointed FCC, the fairness doctrine should and must be available to counter that bias in selection and prevent that bias from going unchallenged in broadcasts. If the industry will come to accept a market system of periodic action of broadcast rights and so guarantee the opportunity for diverse interests to gain access to broadcast time, then we can question the necessity of the fairness doctrine.

PETER B. THOMAS
Portland, Maine

Although the fairness doctrine may not be God's gift to free speech, your "Comment" writer (May/June) has made a false comparison betwixt broadcast and print. The fallacious argument holds that we have more broadcast stations than daily newspapers. Maybe so. But the 8,708 (November 1974) total number of broadcast outlets cannot hold a candle to the plethora of diverse book, magazine, and specialty newspaper (not to

speak of weekly and limited circulation daily) publishers. Not only that, but the reader can choose from publications printed almost anywhere in the world. But how can I ever get to see and hear the fearless BBC documentaries, the fantastic CBC folk and serious music specials, and BBC radio historical dramatizations? I have to go there.

You can bet that if we limited the total number of U.S. publishers to 8,708, we would have no *Columbia Journalism Review* and all the ideas you offer us would be lost to the reading public.

Well, you might guess that the very reason most U.S. broadcasting is bland, tasteless, and cowardly before controversy is the limited number of broadcast licensees.

JEREMY LANSMAN
Los Gatos, Calif.

Taking AIM at Morris

TO THE REVIEW:

While we appreciate Roger Morris's suggestion that it is time certain intolerant journalists started judging complaints about their performance on their merits rather than trying to discredit the source, we must lodge a few complaints against Mr. Morris himself.

In his article, "Taking AIM at Jack Anderson," Morris says that "the sheer intensity of Irvine's attention to Anderson has been plainly silly, not to mention the often sloppy substance." AIM has lodged a half dozen complaints against Anderson in two years, which is not much. Since I do not personally read Anderson's column, the complaints originate from those who do. If the complaints have merit, we feel obliged to act on them. I see nothing silly in this, since this is precisely what AIM was created to do.

I question whether Mr. Morris is familiar with the substance of our complaints against Anderson, except for the two which he mentions in his article. He does not document his charge of sloppiness. . . .

Morris fails to indicate fully the sleaziness of Anderson's attack on me, nor does he mention the fact that *The Washington Post* refused to publish AIM's refutation of Anderson's charges until eight days after the column appeared even though they had the

refutation in hand the day before the column appeared. . . .

Morris says that Anderson readily admits having made a mistake in summarizing the papers involved in the International Police Academy column. That is news. He published a column on February 10 strongly attacking the finding of the National News Council in this case, and he made not the slightest admission of error in discussing the case on a televised talk show in Washington on April 13.

Finally, why is a criticism by AIM "carping," while the identical criticism by the National News Council is "a finding?" As Morris later asks, "Whoever the critic, can't his complaint be assessed on the facts?"

REED J. IRVINE
Chairman of the Board
Accuracy in Media

Roger Morris replies: *Having written an article to say that AIM should be taken seriously, I have to grant that letters like this don't make it easy.*

As for my not gauging adequately the "sleaziness" or silliness of the AIM-Anderson feud, I had thought that the protagonists, in that respect at least, left little to exposition. Mr. Irvine's letter confirms my judgment.

CJR, AIM and ideology

TO THE REVIEW:

I was astonished to read in the article, "Taking AIM at Jack Anderson," that "one of the union rules of American media criticism is the claim to ideological neutrality."

Is the *Columbia Journalism Review* ideologically neutral? I would never have suspected it. Your liberal slip is constantly showing.

What other journalism reviews can Mr. Morris cite that are not strongly ideological? [MORE]? The *Chicago Journalism Review*? The *St. Louis Journalism Review*? The *Southern California Journalism Review*? All have a pronounced leftward tilt.

Mr. Morris would have been on safer ground had he said that Accuracy in Media violated the union rule that media criticism is the exclusive prerogative of the left.

WILSON C. LUCOM
Bethesda, Md.

CJR's bias, or lack of it, like any publication's, is finally a question for the judgment of our readers. We seek to clothe ourselves neither in a "liberal slip" nor in the blank fabric of "neutrality." Our arti-

cles often take stands (the Morris piece supported AIM in a particular complaint against Anderson, for example), but we neither intend nor, we hope, appear to promote any partisan line.

The Editors

Why complain?

TO THE REVIEW:

In his May/June piece on "Filling Up the White Space," Harold Y. Jones paints a chilling but accurate picture of the media's critical acceptance of the institutional press release. The American press, especially the small-town press, will print whatever it's fed. I run a university news bureau, and this has been my experience.

But Jones, who evinces a good deal of wonder at this curious phenomenon, might have better served his employer, the Spokane World's Fair, by dishing out some of the bad news as a chaser to "all the good stuff." There is growing sentiment among many of us in this business that the media's failure — whether through lack of resources or sheer laziness — to cover the news imposes a specific obligation on the part of the public-relations officer to present a reasonably balanced picture of the institution he or she serves. In universities across the country, to cite one generic example, press officers are not waiting for media queries on declining enrollments or budget cutbacks — that rarely happens. They are writing and releasing the "negative" news along with reports on research awards and curricular innovations. Part of the issue is institutional credibility. The other part is journalistic responsibility — the press officer's own.

ALAN LITTELL
News Bureau Director
Alfred University

As a public-relations practitioner who worked for over a decade on daily newspapers . . . I try to walk in the newspaperman's moccasins when practicing PR. . . .

Now comes Harold Y. Jones with a free-floating anger over the fact that newspapers across the country used his "Expo '74" news releases. . . . The entire tone of the Jones article seems less an indictment of the creeping boobery of the nation's news media than the guilt-purging confessions of one who, however temporarily, found himself in a position that he deemed, and deems, "illegal, immoral, and fattening."

Editors . . . must have honestly felt that "Expo '74" was worthy of their readers' interest. And Mr. Jones more properly should have been grateful that he had a news staff

capable of telling the "Expo '74" story in such a way that the output was found worthy of usage. Professional public relations is not a bamboozle of innocent editors, but a conscientious discipline of service. PR at its simplest, and best, stands for "Performance (by the client) plus Recognition (by the public)." . . .

ROBERT E. BOUZEK
Riverside, Ill.

Harold Y. Jones should be patting himself on the back, rather than complaining about "how easy" it is to get press releases published. . . .

I am quite surprised and happy when I find that rare press release which is "usable," which doesn't share the commonest faults of press releases: blatant one-sidedness, mistakes in grammar, indecipherable jargon, obvious manipulations of statistics, obvious attempts to sell tickets, solicit donations, recruit students, peddle new "images," justify more profits, reelect more incumbents. Along comes a mild press release of some general interest, of some usable information, and the editor says, "Aha!" I suspect editors on the papers which carried some "Expo '74" stories felt this way, after wading through copy from the oil companies, the Justice Department, and other major press releases. . . .

R. L. LAUX
City editor, *The Minot Daily News*
Minot, N.D.

The price of justice

TO THE REVIEW:

Molly Ivins, in her article about "Living Through a Libel Suit" in Austin, Texas (May/June), writes that, "The final cost is impossible to estimate. But it will certainly run to tens of thousands."

Excluding six years on the bench as a district trial judge, I have spent more than thirty years making my living as a trial lawyer. Ivins' estimate of costs for defending a libel suit shocks me in the same way that the unreal estimates of legal fees piling up on former President Nixon shocks me.

Even assuming that a libel suit might be a bit more complicated than the run-of-the-mill case (and I'm not sure of that), most trial lawyers and their associates can research both the facts and the law, having the case ready for trial, in 100 hours of work. At \$75 per hour, that comes to only \$7,500. Add another two weeks for trial (eighty hours) at the same hourly rate, and this adds \$6,000 to make a total legal charge of \$13,500. Add some more expenses for

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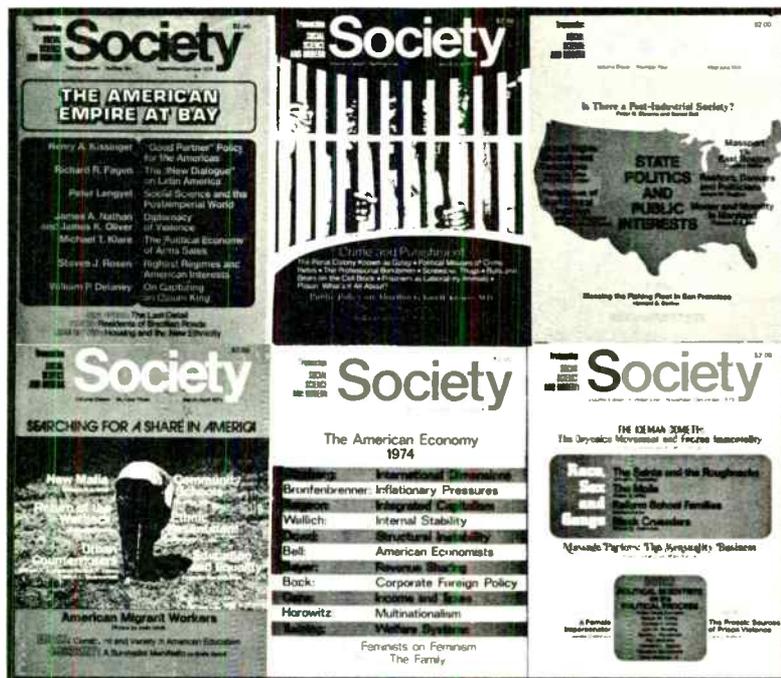
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travel, expert witnesses, demonstrative evidence for trial use and you need maybe \$5,000 or more. That gives us a grand total of \$18,500.

I have acquired a very strong conviction that defendants in highly publicized litigation are either being charged some outrageous fees or some of the defendants are taking advantage of the situation to bleed their friends a little. Obviously I do not accuse Ivins, I do not even know her. Nor do I accuse her attorneys. I do not know him (or them).

However, based upon my own experience and observations, I am convinced that there have not been ten trials in our 200-year history as a nation which justified defense legal fees in excess of \$25,000. That sum of money will cover a lot of hours of work at a very respectable hourly rate.

LEE WARD
Piggott, Ark.

Blowing away the 'dust'

TO THE REVIEW:

An interesting footnote on your May/June piece about "the gold dust twins" ("The Slogan That Became a Slur"). I had always assumed that the phrase meant, more or less, two friends or associates, each of whom possessed a measure of razzle-dazzle, or flim-flam, usually in a harmless way. Thus I recently described the two youngest members of our department as "the gold dust twins." With my midwestern background, I was thoroughly surprised and more than a bit angry when I was accused by someone (originally from Georgia) of being patronizing. No racial connotations crept in consciously at all, since all four of us are white, and no explanation was forthcoming about the deeper connotations of "patronizing." Could it be that a strictly regional, negative connotation could be attached to a phrase which has been disarmed in the national consciousness?

BROOKE POIRIER
Coordinator, media relations
American Nurses Association

"The gold dust twins" got into the language through radio. Though Father Greeley at forty-seven could hardly remember it, a network program of the twins was among the early offerings in the 1920s — with the Eveready Battery's Nathaniel Shilkret, the Silver Masked Tenor, Sanderson-Crumit, etc., as I recall.

With the popular tendency to offer recognition to any banal reference . . . twinship

moved from Mike and Ike, Trade and Mark, to the Gold Dust Twins.

A political campaign in western New York in 1961 used the same familiar "gold dust twins" reference to a pair of white judicial candidates as they toured together and shared a driver as they napped between appearances. I'm sure that this is a case of inference rather than implication. . . .

WILLIAM C. KESSEL
Hamburg, N.Y.

Is our bias showing?

TO THE REVIEW:

The *Review* is to be commended for arranging a discussion with the Women's News Service and a number of practicing journalists relative to guidelines for dealing with the treatment of women in the press and other media. However, one must remark that it is fairly typical of the male-dominated press that the transcript was not allowed to run without the usual smirk. There was no *necessity* whatsoever for the publication of Boyd Wright's "Person the Lifeboats! The Language is Sinking!" The *purpose* of the printing of Wright's piece is clear enough: it helped to reduce to humor the very serious discussion represented by the transcription. It remains too bad that men are not yet able to take discussion of women seriously. One notes, incidentally, that the masthead of *CJR* is devoid of women except in "assistant" positions.

SEY CHASSLER
Editor-in-Chief
Redbook

I was annoyed with your article "Kissing 'The Girls' Good-bye" because of its sophomoric title, but more so because it makes newsmen look unprofessional.

The truth is that only when it wishes to escape responsibility does the press talk of the public will. As word people, we know that we inherited a language and usage which assume that men are superior, and women defined by their relationship to men. If we continue the usage, then we bear some responsibility. . . .

I think we must recognize that as newsmen, we tend to be "objective" from a viewpoint that is white, male, and middle class, and we must have enough imagination to see how the world looks from other points of view.

STUART V. D'ADOLF
Editor and Business Manager
Independent Agent
New York, N.Y.

Chile: 'confused'

TO THE REVIEW:

. . . Roger Morris says, in a footnote to his article, "Chile Through the Looking Glass" (November/December), that the aim of his analysis was "an assessment of the overall thrust of U.S. journalism regarding Chile" during the Allende period. For such a comprehensive analysis, the least one can expect is that the research be thorough. That the judgments should be reasonably objective would also be nice, but a reading of the printed and broadcast record is a minimum requirement. I think a few comments from me are in order since I am one of the contributors to the record of what took place in Chile during 1970-72.

The article does not support the claim that the judgments are well-documented. The claim that the economic process under Allende was not described in all its "variety and ambiguity" is refuted by the record of what was published in the major newspapers and magazines. Chile's agrarian reform, both under the previous Frei administration and under Allende, was described accurately — and the highly concentrated share of investment and ownership of the state sector in Chile was frequently set forth. It is nonsense that these aspects were ignored or left to "scholars."

The whole sequence of measures of economic harassment adopted by the U.S. government and financial community is in the record of the daily press, from the cancellation of the Eximbank's financing of Boeings for the Chilean airline to the meetings of the "Paris Club" of creditor countries, etc., etc. By the same token, the torturous process of the Allende regime, torn by internal political divisions, of settling with (some) copper companies . . . while rejecting a compromise with Kennecott and Anaconda, is in the record.

The "March of the Empty Pots," which so concerns Mr. Morris, was described as the political event it was, with identification of the right wing *Patria y Libertad* and Christian Democratic Youth that accompanied the women, most of whom were from that white-collar class of professionals, government employees, small businessmen, or technicians, storekeepers, school teachers, and others of this level of education and income that are the sizable Chilean middle class. Therefore, to give figures that are irrelevant to that event, such as Chile's Gross National Product per capita compared to that of the U.S., is not to judge the reporting . . . but to introduce sociological rubbish. . . .

I thoroughly agree that the role of the press in our society is to keep the government's policies and activities under scrutiny and to provide the public with the elements of truth on which to formulate their political action. If this is what Mr. Morris is exhorting the American press to do, that is fine. But what seems closer to the truth from various readings of this confused article is that Mr. Morris would like the media to have shaped U.S. public opinion into a more sympathetic attitude toward the Allende government than he believes to have been the case. There is room for this kind of journalism, committed, *engagé*. Why not? But not in the daily newspapers, broadcast media, and agencies that are the mainstream of information.

JUAN de ONIS
The New York Times
 Beirut, Lebanon

Roger Morris replies: *Mr. de Onis's letter is an echo of the problems of perspective and superficiality so apparent in Chile coverage. For example, news reports at wide intervals over three years on the putative actions against Chile in financial institutions scarcely constituted the story of "the whole sequence of measures of economic harassment adopted by the U.S. . . ." Mr. de Onis may have kept track privately of what it all meant, but it was left to Laurence Stern in The Washington Post to tell the public, after the coup, how abstractions like "EXIM" or "IDB" translated into actions that affected people and how they were systematically manipulated by a U.S. government that lied about the whole process.*

I am most sorry that Mr. de Onis still thinks economic facts and perspective are so "irrelevant" to reporting accurately to an audience in New York or elsewhere the meaning of "middle class" in Latin America. It's rather like Russian readers trying to divine the reality of the United States from Pravda's nomenclature of "capitalists" and "proletarians."

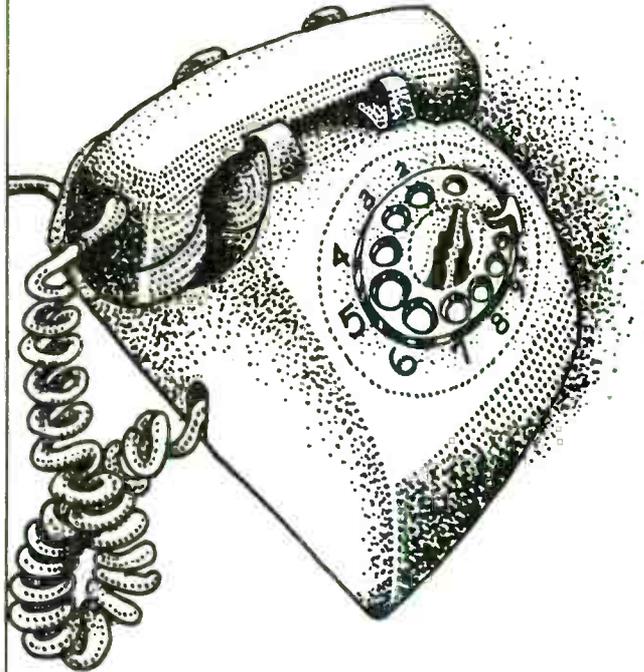
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REPORTS

"The New Concerns About the Press," *Fortune*, April 1975

These glory days of American journalism stand in marked contrast to its earlier ignominy — and in view of the growing antagonism between society and the press, the next swing of the pendulum may be not merely inevitable, but imminent. This essay, a part of the magazine's special Bicentennial issue on "The American System," traces the major causes of this potentially dangerous state of affairs: the shift from local to national media bases, with a corresponding shift in perspective; the influence of a new intellectuality that focuses less on reporting the facts and more on interpreting the trends; and above all, new ideas about journalism's function — away from Lippmann's concept of "servant and guardian of institutions" toward the new "politicization" and advocacy journalism. The greatest threat to the press, the article suggests, is in the intense feelings among business and government executives about "what they see as its systematic distrust of all established institutions." Press freedom requires press responsibility — and that responsibility, *Fortune* argues, includes "accommodation to the legitimate needs of the System."

"Jamming the Fairness Doctrine," by Wayne Phillips, *The Nation*, May 3, 1975

Suddenly, it's a hot issue — and Phillips wants to know why. "A lot of otherwise well-meaning people," in the name of free speech, have joined with the newspapers and the networks in the effort to repudiate the fairness doctrine. If the legislation introduced by Senator William Proxmire to abolish the doctrine is adopted, Phillips points out, "issue advertising would no longer be threatened; cigarette advertising might be regained; no affiliate would ever again be asked to carry a 'counter-commercial' or redress a network documentary; no station would ever have to notify those it had attacked; no station would have to provide time for those it had attacked to reply; no station would have to carry views on a controversial public issue which conflicted with its own." Phillips's provocative conclusion is that the true motives be-

hind the movement to repudiate the doctrine have less to do with freedom from government interference than with the freedom to seek maximum profits.

"The Most Famous Journalist in America," by James Fallows, *The Washington Monthly*, March 1975. "Byline Mary McGroty: Choice Words for Bullies, Fatheads, and Self-Righteous Rogues," by Sara Sanborn, *Ms.*, May 1975

Whether or not the phrase that columnist Joseph Kraft likes to apply to himself is accurate, he is undeniably one of the more successful representatives of a certain class of columnists. This study of Kraft's work, therefore, illuminates the entire genre that Fallows characterizes as the reverent, loyal, elitist, respectable "cult of responsibility." Readily acknowledging the several significant occasions on which Kraft "has provided the best kind of analysis," Fallows concentrates on the many crucial instances of failed perspective. Further, he notes the uneven quality of the prolific journalist's writings, suggesting that the best goes to *The New Yorker*, the worst to the regular syndicated column — an unfortunate, but curable, symptom of the endemic disease of deadline pressure.

An entirely different species, as Fallows' essay has noted, is represented by Mary McGroty. "Remember, three million people in this country work in steam laundries," an editor once advised her — and McGroty never forgot it. Frankly admiring her subject, Sanborn follows the columnist's career from the writing of Sunday book reviews ("to which nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention") through the reporting of the Army-McCarthy hearings ("I was petrified!") to the syndicated column now carried by more than fifty newspapers. (This profile was published before the May announcement of McGroty's Pulitzer Prize in Journalism for Distinguished Commentary.) It was the Vietnam war, with its abundant material for moral passion and high irony, that made the great difference in her development as a journalist. The qualities she is attracted to in others — tenderness and toughness, and a sense of the world's sorrows — are clearly evident, says Sanborn, in

McGroty the person and the writer. "So gentle," a colleague is quoted as saying, "— until she gets to the typewriter."

"Broadcasting and Cable Television Policies for Diversity and Change," *Committee for Economic Development*, April 1975

The CED is an organization of 200 businessmen and educators whose purpose is to make national economic policy recommendations. This particular report examines problems, formulates guidelines, and endorses proposals relating to commercial broadcasting, public broadcasting, and cable television (dissenting opinions are also included). Among the major recommendations: gradual reduction in government regulation of commercial broadcasting, phasing out of certain kinds of restrictions on cable television, long-range federal financing for public broadcasting, and greater participation by the public in the shaping of our communications system. The report is of special interest because it represents a view of the future by an especially influential group.

"The Printed Word: Tune of the Time," by M. J. Sobran, Jr., *National Review*, April 11, 1975

What the de-Lucifying of *Time* has wrought, says critic Sobran, is the replacement of facility and irrelevance with facility and relevance — and the disappointing result, he grumbles, is a much less delightful magazine. With the exception of a few predictable swipes at *Time*'s "liberal slant" (its appraisal of Earl Warren, for example), Sobran's complaints are surprisingly nostalgic: he mourns the old linguistic mannerisms, the zany "Miscellany" department, the scrappy "Letters to the Editor." In exchange for its new priggish trendiness ("they don't call it *Time* for nothing"), the newsmagazine has, in his view misguidedly, traded away the special idiosyncracies, style, and humor that were its hallmarks.

DANIEL J. LEAB

Daniel J. Leab, a contributing editor of CJR, is director of American studies and associate professor of history at Seton Hall University.

The Lower case

Sun Sued in Puerto Rico By Conservation Trust

The Washington Post 4/3/75

"You couldn't talk to a nicer guy (than Taylor)," said Mrs. Doris Lauer, who lived across the street from the Taylors.

"You never would have thought he had mental problems," she said, asking not to be identified.

Detroit Free Press 5/24/75

Libertarians To Protest All Texas

Arkansas Gazette 4/11/75

(AUGUSTA, MAINE) -- THE PRESIDENT OF BANGOR'S STUDENT TEACHER ASSOCIATION HAS TOLD THE LEGISLATIVE EDUCATION COMMITTEE A QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTED TO BANGOR TEACHERS SHOWED THAT MANY USED CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN MAINTAINING ORDER IN THEIR CLASSROOMS.

UPI radio wire 3/12/75

A New Zealand tourist whose two two-headed children were climbing up the beams of "Ik Ook" (Dutch for "Me too") contemplated it with a bemused air.

The New York Times 5/17/75

Sewers Focus on the Bicentennial

Syracuse Post-Standard 5/9/75

Men Form Rape Group

The Nashville Banner 4/18/75

Playboy Enterprises estimates that removing ornamental pants from its offices will save \$27,000 a year.

Knight news wire 2/25/75

Public Notice

The Child Protection Unit of the Albany County Department of Social Services will present its Annual Plan for Child Abuse and Maltreatment.

Times-Union, Albany 1/7/75

Death causes loneliness, feelings of isolation

The Morning Record, Menden, Conn 5/6/75

3.00 (6) News.
3.25 (10) Movie. "The V.I.P.'s (1963) Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Nixon.

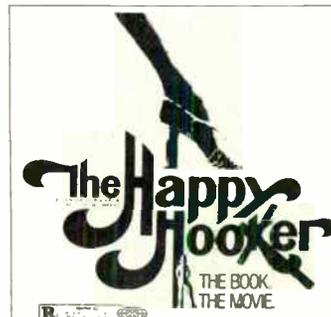
The Sunday Bulletin, Philadelphia 4/13/75



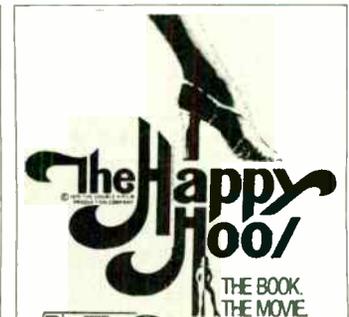
Buffalo Evening News 5/9/75



Buffalo Evening News 5/14/75



Buffalo Evening News 5/16/75



Buffalo Evening News 5/21/75



He worked all day for Lederle— then he worked all night to help save a little girl's life.

It was a cold Monday night in Tyler, Texas.

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