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REVIEW**

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CONTENTS

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

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

The CIA's 'man in the White House' by <i>Stuart H. Loory</i>	11
Boob rubes by <i>Jeff Greenfield</i>	16
Sharing the news with Justice by <i>Robert Walters</i>	18
The numbers magazines live by by <i>Chris Welles</i>	22
About that 'ambush' at Wounded Knee by <i>Joel D. Weisman</i>	28
Moscow: censorship of our TV news by <i>Murray Fromson</i>	32
Coppola's far-out new <u>City</u> by <i>Mary Alice Kellogg</i>	39
Reader's Forum:	
How 'hard-hat' is the public on crime? by <i>Irving Crespi</i>	40
A 'fairness' experiment by <i>Charles S. Steinberg</i>	41
Starstruck: would you welcome, please, Henry and Jackie and Liv and Erica! by <i>Edwin Diamond</i>	42
Kissinger and the press—revisited by <i>Roger Morris</i>	49
Why we haven't heard the Nixon tapes by <i>Benno C. Schmidt, Jr.</i>	53
International censorship by <i>Barry Rubin</i>	55
Source guide: land use by <i>Steven S. Ross</i>	61
Comment	5
Books	66
Reports	72
National notes	47
Letters	68
Lower case	73



What's a 'contact officer'? page 11



Magazine research, page 22



Land use, page 61



Kissinger revisited, page 49

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COMMENT

Darts and laurels

Dart: to the advertising department of *The Houston Post* for turning even the Declaration of Independence into an advertisement. The *Post* reproduced the Declaration in the paper and sold the right to sign it for \$125. Among the signers: a barge fleet service, a savings-and-loan association, the John Birch Society, and one anonymous "Concerned American."

Dart: to an editorial writer of *The New York Times* for doing extreme violence to metaphors, figuratively speaking. The writer praises employment guidelines for striking "a blow against the glacier of bias that imprisons . . . homosexuals" (an ineffective blow which seems to turn homosexuals from a minority group into an extinct species). Also, the same guidelines "still carry a bit of the baggage of old taboos. . . ." Carrying the baggage of a taboo is enough to make anyone hit a glacier.

Dart: to *The Wall Street Journal*, for another business-as-usual headline: EASTERN AIRLINES JET CRASHES IN NEW YORK; FIRM POSTS MAY LOSS . . .

Laurel: to *The Minneapolis Star*, for printing a blustering letter from Pet, Inc. threatening to withdraw advertising because the paper had called Pet's Downyflake Blueberry Easy Jacks "dreadful" and "mushy."

Laurel: to Robert Reinhold of *The New York Times* for his analysis of sociologist James S. Coleman's much-quoted research supposedly showing that court-ordered school desegregation speeded the white exodus from large cities. Reinhold found slim evidence for this in Coleman's data, got Coleman to agree that he perhaps had extrapolated beyond his data, and printed his findings — and Coleman's comments.

Dart: to New York radio station WNWS-FM, for sounding foolish fif-

teen minutes after it went on the air with a new all-news format. After that quarter hour of news, listeners were treated to a blurb from an anonymous man-on-the-street saying that he listened to the station all day.

Recycled Pentagon spokesmen

Old soldiers just fade away. And former spokesmen for the Department of Defense? Well, Jerry Friedheim, who faded out of the news shortly after he stepped down as assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, in September 1974, cropped up in the news again this summer. The news was that he had left Amtrak, where he had served briefly as vice president in charge of public and government affairs, to become executive vice president and general manager of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. Interestingly, the man whom Friedheim replaced, Stanford Smith, is a major general in the Army Reserve who had resigned as head of the publishers association in order to return

to active duty at the Pentagon.

Friedheim's predecessor — at the Pentagon, that is — was Daniel Z. Henkin, who held the job of assistant secretary of defense for public affairs from 1969 to 1973. Where is he now? He's vice-president of public relations for the Air Transport Association of America, the trade organization of the nation's scheduled airlines. Meanwhile, *his* Pentagon predecessor, Phil G. Goulding, now does "general counseling in public affairs" for Exxon.

And before Goulding came Arthur Sylvester, who served as the Pentagon's spokesman from 1961 to 1967. In an editorial that appeared in *The Washington Post* this June, Charles B. Seib referred to him as "the late Arthur Sylvester," an error for which he subsequently apologized. Sylvester is alive and well, at seventy-three, in Cold Spring, New York. He's the spokesman, you'll recall, who was alleged to have said, during the Cuban missile crisis, that the government has "an inherent right to lie to save itself" in times of national peril.

In a curious twist of fate, the way the quote was played up, the fact that it was played up at all, leads Sylvester to regard the ANPA (the outfit Jerry Friedheim now works for) as "my most unfavorable organization." According to Sylvester, "the ANPA took a garbled tape of my comments at a meeting of the Sigma Delta Chi and, on the basis of that and their own fill-ins where the tape was garbled, sent copies to editors throughout the country."

After talking with Mr. Sylvester, we found ourselves in the peculiar position of calling up one former Pentagon spokesman to ask him to comment on a comment made by another former Pentagon spokesman.

"I have no personal knowledge of the occurrences at that time," Jerry Friedheim, executive vice president and general manager of the American



Newspaper Publishers Association, told us, "therefore I don't think it would be appropriate for me to comment."

Squabbling over press credentials

Reporters from magazines such as *Consumer Reports* and *Science* have always been refused the credentials they need to cover the Congress. They are excluded not for any lack of professional qualifications, but because the magazines they work for are not for profit. They are excluded under the rules established by the executive committee of the Periodical Correspondents Association, which makes rules recommendations to Congress. One of the rules states that in order to be accredited, magazines must be "published for profit and supported chiefly by advertising or by subscriptions, and owned and operated independently of any industry, business, association, or institution. . . ." The intent of the rule, according to *Newsweek* correspondent Samuel Shaffer, the chairman of the association's executive committee, is to exclude lobbyists.

In July of 1973 the Consumers Union, which publishes *Consumer Reports*, sued the Periodical Correspondents Association in an attempt to overthrow the rules, on the ground that they violated the First and Fifth Amendments. Federal District Judge Gerhard Gesell ruled in favor of the magazine, but last July a three-judge panel in the District Court of Appeals reversed Judge Gesell's ruling, not on the merits of the case, but because the court held that the internal rules of Congress are not subject to judicial review. (Consumers Union says it probably will seek Supreme Court review of the case.)

Shaffer says the association is willing to admit reporters for nonprofit publications like *Science* and *Consumer Reports*, if only someone would come up with a workable new rule. Those arguing for such a rule, including Peter Schuck, the director of Consumers Union's Washington office, maintain that the periodical press gallery need only adopt the rules of the other con-

gressional press galleries, which simply prohibit lobbying. Schuck also points out that while neither Consumers Union nor the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which publishes *Science*, has ever lobbied, *Time* magazine, whose correspondent has credentials, also belongs to a parent "institution," Time Inc., which has a lobbyist in Congress. Schuck and others also point out that special-interest magazines are welcome in the periodical press gallery, as long as they are not part of a parent "association"; among the members now are reporters for *Modern Tire Dealer*, *Military Retirees Journal*, and *Chain Store Age*.

Solutions have been suggested to the association. Schuck, for example, suggested in February of 1973 that this phrase prohibiting lobbying by reporters should be inserted: ". . . that they are not engaged in lobbying of members of Congress and that they will not become so engaged while allowed admission to the galleries." Shaffer says his group has been told by its lawyers in the Justice Department that they should not try to change the rules, or even enter into discussions about it, while the case with Consumers Union remains before the courts.

This disagreement is not without its ironies: reporters establish a rule that invokes the search for profit as a way of excluding the magazines of special-interest groups; and an organization of word men says it would be glad to consider changing its rules — if only someone would suggest the words.

Clashing symbol

The Apollo-Soyuz flight was many things — a brave feat on the part of the five men who made the space trip; a costly venture; and, as the media relentlessly reminded us, a symbol. We have nothing but admiration for the three Americans and two Russians who, after docking 140 miles above our singular planet, shook hands, chatted in Russian and English, and exchanged gifts. But all the huffing and puffing about the symbolic import of this international rendezvous in space proved, in our

case, "counterproductive." (The astronauts themselves, we noticed, soon wearied of fielding the obvious questions lobbed aloft by earthlings about what their space mission "meant.") The more we heard about its grand significance, the more we wondered.

The price tag that went with this symbol was \$250 million. (The Russians spent a similar sum.) As Jonathan Spivak, who reports on the space program for *The Wall Street Journal*, pointed out in a recent article, "Only \$16 million represents science spending — a far lower ratio than on previous flights." Another \$4 million — an unusually high ratio — was spent on Apollo's television system, "mainly to get more and better camera angles of the astronauts."

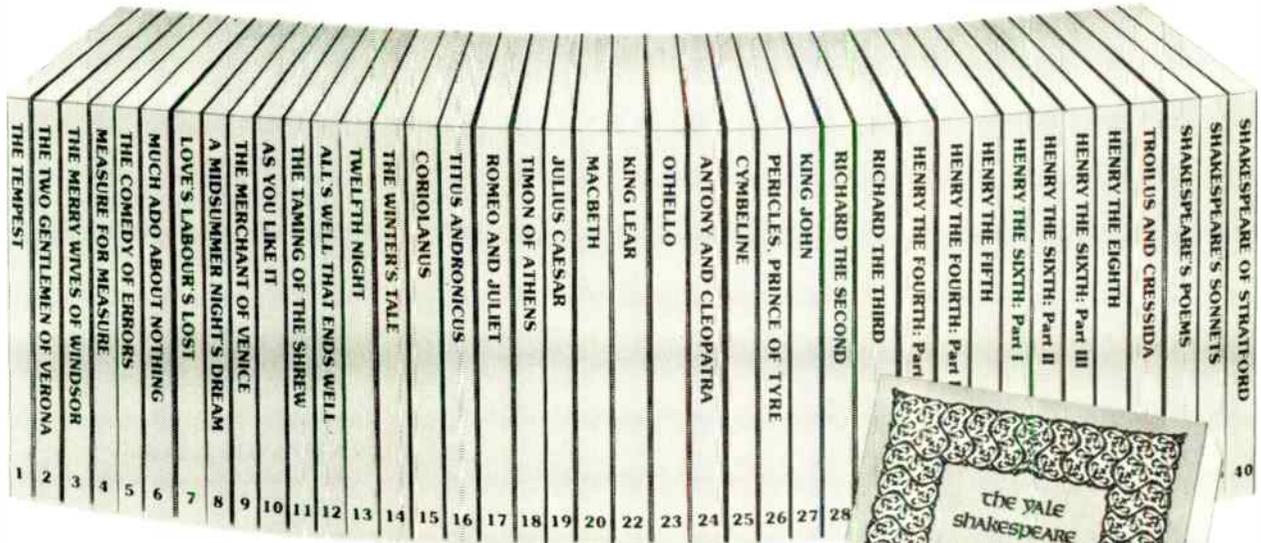
More generally, Spivak argues that "none of the arguments advanced by NASA and its supporters to justify Apollo-Soyuz stand up." And the points he makes struck us as cogent. The mission won't significantly help one nation rescue another nation's astronauts, Spivak wrote, since "this is the final Apollo flight and the \$40 million worth of equipment used to link it with the Soyuz won't be used again." Nor did the mission mark the end of an era of Soviet secrecy, inasmuch as the Soviets "refused to let NASA experts examine the Soyuz when it was being manufactured and they did not allow Western newsmen to observe the launching."

We are left with Apollo-Soyuz as a symbol — a symbol of friendship, of the new détente. Endlessly, we were told that this was its meaning, but apparently the story behind the symbol was one of friendship *and* conflict, like détente itself. "Facts don't wear their meaning on their sleeves," John Dewey said. Nor do symbols, we would add.

India censored

India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has exposed that country's democracy to great, and perhaps fatal, dangers. She has jailed many leaders of the opposition, closed several newspapers, and ordered other news media to wipe the words of opposition politicians from the public record. "When there are no pa-

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pers, there is no agitation," Mrs. Gandhi told Parliament. According to William Borders of *The New York Times*, she added: "That is why we imposed censorship. We found how right we were. Newspapers were spreading rumors, allegations, and inciting people into agitations."

Those who feel less sympathy for the people of India than we do may savor the news that the leader of this country so often critical of the United States has been reduced to the utterance of such awful and illiberal cant. But we take no joy in this reminder of how fragile are the threads of democracy in the third world, of how easily they can snap in a country closer than ours to a colonialist past and a present cultural and economic abyss.

There is a U.S. interest (in both senses of that word) in the fate of India. U.S. news organizations had to weigh this interest when Mrs. Gandhi demanded that the foreign press agree to censorship (and to keep the fact of censorship from their readers and viewers). Later, the government softened these demands — but not before some news organizations, including the Associated Press, ABC, NBC, and the *Los Angeles Times*, signaled that they might at least make a pretense of complying.

No doubt these news organizations were most concerned to keep their correspondents from being expelled. But the acceptance of censorship abroad —

along with even a paper agreement to conceal the censorship — mocks domestic press freedom. There was the argument that accepting India's demands would embolden other countries who seek to politicize journalism, to treat it like any other ingredient of foreign policy (the growth of such demands is discussed beginning on page 55 of this issue). More important, though, is the fact that agreement by U.S. media to Mrs. Gandhi's terms further weakens the threads of democracy — in India, of course, but also here at home.

Watergate: the view from the lecture bureau

by ROY BONGARTZ

Any moral compunction in the public mind against watching people profit from evil-doing has been pretty rare in the recent lecture-bureau business, where a number of Watergate figures have been drawing capacity crowds by confessing how bad they have been (and how their former associates were even worse). John Dean III wasn't out of jail a week before he was on the lecture trail last winter at as much as \$4,000 an evening. True, he was once picketed at Providence College by students protesting the use of their cultural-activities fees to pay the likes of this confessed criminal for what they thought of as his flaunting his lawbreaking conspiracies. But the Providence, Rhode Island auditorium was packed anyway.

They will be back again this fall and winter — Dean, James McCord, Jeb Stuart Magruder, Egil Krogh, and other Watergate figures — at somewhat reduced rates, admittedly, but the demand for them is still there. The reason, says Robert Walker, founder of the American Program Bureau which books many of these Watergate celebrities, is that "this is the biggest thing in American history — it led to the resignation of a

president! It's the biggest scandal in our history — beside it, Teapot Dome was like nothing." Walker, at thirty-nine, is a wide-eyed, fiercely enthusiastic, gesturing and pacing man of compact, wiry stature, a native of the Bronx with a stylishly long haircut and mod clothes that run to jump suits with white piping or slacks and knit turtleneck sweaters. He runs the world's largest lecture bureau — he cites an entry in the *Guinness Book of World Records* to prove it — with the help of a youthful staff of telephone salesmen who work out of offices in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. Things keep happening — continuing revelations about the CIA are one example — that keep interest high in his Watergate speakers.

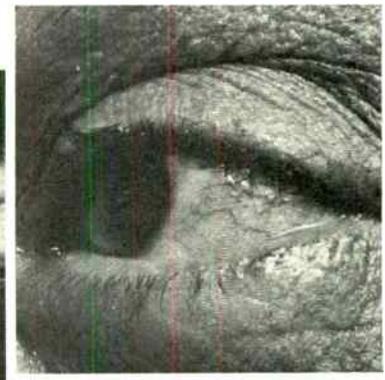
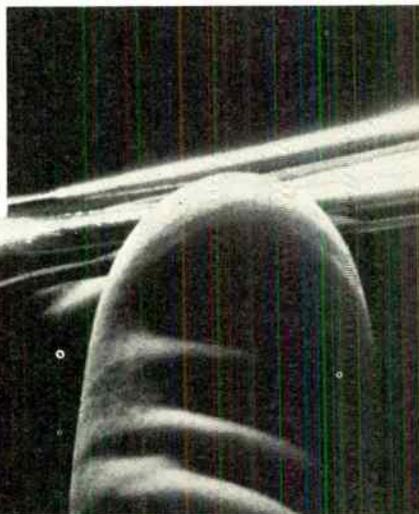
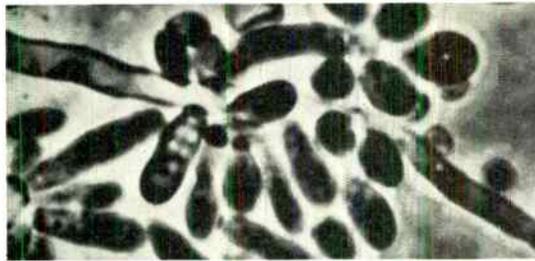
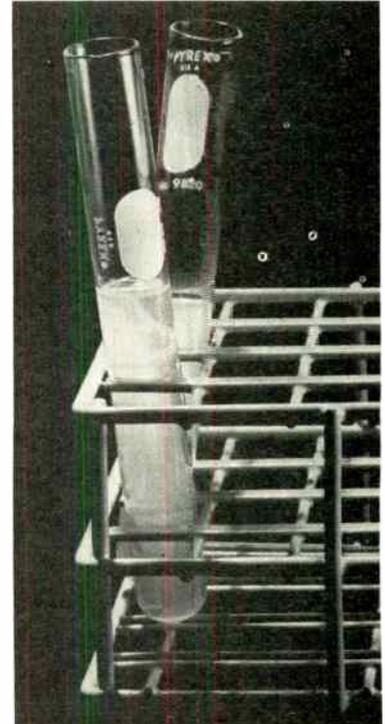
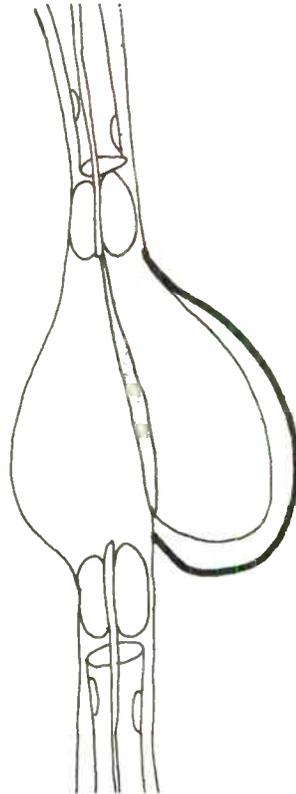
"People are curious about what these people have to say and they are willing to pay to hear them and especially to have the chance to ask them questions of their own, instead of having, say, Mike Wallace ask the questions for them on a CBS interview." As a corporation, a public one now, with some 800,000 shares of stock outstanding, Walker says, "We make no judgment. We are objective. Maybe personally I have an opinion of a person but maybe I am wrong."

Walker does not believe that the attraction in these speakers lies in the fact that they are bad guys — he sees no "bad-guy trend." He says any controversial figure would draw interest. "But," he adds, "there is a common interest everywhere in Watergate. And one thing that did help both Dean and McCord is that they both came clean and opened up, so that in a way they were heroes." Where Dean's lecture tour last spring — the most successful one Walker ever booked — brought him an average of \$3,500, plus expenses, for a tour of forty-three engagements that was all arranged on a week's notice, Magruder and McCord have been satisfied with between \$1,500 and \$2,000 for their appearances. "Usually the speakers' committees want weeks and weeks before they can make up their minds to book a speaker for their program, but with Dean it was 'We want him, we want him!' as soon as he got out of jail," says Walker. *continued*



Roy Bongartz is a free-lance writer who lives in Rhode Island.

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Walker believes these particular "draws" deserve the high fees because they run the risk of taking abuse from the audience, even though "the overall response has been positive." Walker points out that they are fair game for the queries or even taunts of any member of the audience: "A man raises his hand and there is no way for you to know what he is going to say." Walker says his was the first agency to send potentially unpopular speakers on radical and civil rights subjects to campuses and conventions ten years ago, and he believes a man has a right to be heard if there is interest in his subject. Ten years ago it was the leftists who were breaking new ground in lecturing; today it's the rightists.

The Watergate speakers have kept interest from flagging by talking on current topics or extending their experiences to comment upon the future. Dean, for example, talks about the "arrogance of power," while Magruder's subject is the "perpetual presidency," in which he discusses the Nixon gang's plans to keep the presidency among themselves permanently. "They were going to run the country forever," Walker says. "It's a hell of a story." Magruder further enlists certain sympathies by drumming up support for prison reform.

Walker says he believes that a lot of the questions raised by Watergate apply to everybody. "What do you do if you catch the president of the company you work for doing something immoral? What price loyalty?" Walker asks. This is the sort of material that cannot come second-hand, Walker believes. "Audiences need to see and hear the man who is under fire. If he has been to jail and has paid his dues then he ought to be well paid for his time and for the risk he takes." Admitting that this season's Watergate fees will drop to about half of the early rates, Walker concedes that the peak of interest has passed, but insists it will remain quite strong for a couple of years at least. The "peak" is always short-lived. "If tomorrow Henry Kissinger left the government he'd peak the next day at, say, \$5,000 a talk. But two years later it would have dropped way down even for him."

Segregated broadcasting?

by FREDERICK BREITENFELD, JR.

Broadcasters are caught in a dangerous squeeze. As America seeks to integrate itself racially, Congress pressures radio and television licensees to keep programming segregated.

The call is for more "minority programming," and licensees gurgle platitudes as they add up the broadcast hours that can be counted in a percentage race. (A licensee with 20 percent "minority programming" is somehow better, or perhaps more American, than a broadcaster with only 15 percent.) Rep. Torbert MacDonald, in the 1975 hearings on CPB's funding, castigates the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's executives for an apparent lack of "minority programming." Heads hang; sincere pledges are made in the hearing room. "Promises, promises," chides MacDonald. Other congressional sessions on broadcasting content sound the same.

We're in deep now. Anyone who questions the very idea of "minority programming" is too easily regarded as part of some callous, racist plot. "Minority programming" is recognized now as an end in itself. That means the broadcaster identifies it, adds it up for credit, and perhaps most unsettling of all, nods in frightened acquiescence to the urging that more of it is even better.

But while the Congress berates broadcasters for not airing more of this racially oriented programming, the FCC has often ruled that such programming is not desirable. In a 1965 case the FCC said:

. . . there is no requirement that a licensee divide his programming so that . . . (x)% would be of interest to the white community, and (y)% to the Negro, any more than there is a requirement that each minority group . . . be afforded a specific portion of a . . . TV station's time. . . . Such a pattern of operation would be "broadcast segregation."

Frederick Breitenfeld is the executive director of the Maryland Center for Public Broadcasting.

The FCC has made this overlooked point more than once. Here it is again in a decision made last March:

. . . a licensee is obligated to serve the public and . . . its programming must be directed to the public rather than the numerous individual racial, ethnic or other groups within the public.

The commission has taken the same position on at least two other occasions in recent years. There is a definite pattern of decisions, the underlying assumption of which is that we are a single society, and that integration — not segregation — is the goal in broadcasting. This includes staffs *and* programs.

If our schools and colleges don't present convincing plans for integration, including legally enforced busing if necessary, then federal funds are cut off. If our restaurants and hotels establish separate facilities for different races, they disobey federal law.

But while we demand adherence to these congressional mandates, broadcasters are made to scramble for congressional approval with their separate (and equal?) minority programming.

Broadcasters, among others, may well be delinquent in hiring practices. Station staffs and boards of directors should, quite simply, be integrated.

But we seldom suggest that schools and colleges are immoral if they don't establish separate classes for different races, and we shouldn't suggest it to those who provide educational services through television. Nor do we demand that companies deliver goods and services designed by and for specific ethnic "communities," and we fool ourselves by thinking that broadcasters are different. Racial problems are important, and they are important to everyone. We should *all* participate in the solutions.

Licensees have to operate in the public interest, convenience, or necessity. Public broadcasters must also "meet educational needs." The integration of education is a matter of federal law, so delivery of educational broadcast services on a segregated basis may well be unconstitutional.

The dilemma will probably hang over us until someone hauls this, too, before the Supreme Court.

The CIA's 'man in the White House'

Was he:

- contact officer
- liaison
- agent
- spy
- none of the above

by STUART H. LOORY

When a retired Air Force colonel claimed that Alexander Butterfield was a "contact officer" for the CIA while he served as a deputy assistant to the president in the Nixon White House, the "revelation" probably seemed to many observers to be a plausible development in the post-Watergate nothing-is-impossible atmosphere in Washington. Coming as it did in the middle of an unsettling parade of revelations about domestic activities of the CIA, it looked like it might be the ultimate Watergate story, its hour come round at last: Watergate was a CIA plot.

Of course. Just try out the conspiratorial theory for a moment: Alexander P. Butterfield, when he went before the Senate Watergate Committee in 1973 and revealed the existence of the White House taping system, really had not acted out of high personal integrity or a sense of duty to his country. Instead, he had been serving a hidden master — the CIA. Under orders, he had set out deliberately to drive the president of the United States from office. This

theory could help to explain why he told the committee about the taping system. And it could even explain why Nixon had never destroyed the tapes — he knew that the CIA had duplicates.

Butterfield became known as a "contact officer" shortly after 7:00 A.M. eastern time on July 11. Daniel Schorr was in the Washington studio of *The CBS Morning News* interviewing L. Fletcher Prouty, a retired Air Force colonel and now a press agent for Amtrak, about revelations during the previous thirty-six hours that the CIA had placed a man in the White House just below the level of H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman:

SCHORR: . . . [C]an I ask you of someone in the immediate office of the White House whose CIA background was not generally known?

PROUTY: I think the description would fit Alexander Butterfield, Colonel Butterfield as I knew him in the Air Force.

SCHORR: What was his CIA connection?

PROUTY: Assignments to the agency as a contact officer, this idea of being a contact officer for the agency to — as I was with the Defense Department — to open doors for CIA operations. And he was a contact officer in the White House.

Almost simultaneously, Prouty's picture was coming up on the news insert of NBC's *Today* show where Ford Rowan, a Washington correspondent, was doing the interviewing. (Rowan had filmed his piece at Prouty's home late the night before.)

ROWAN: Is there any doubt in your mind that Alexander Butterfield was a man with CIA connections, who went to the White House staff and [whose] CIA connections persisted



Jane Corbett

L. Fletcher Prouty on the air with CBS News correspondent Daniel Schorr

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at the time he was in the White House?

PROUTY: No, I've never had any doubts about that.

What a sensational story. Alexander Butterfield had been no ordinary White House staff member: during the Nixon years he ranked immediately below Bob Haldeman as doorkeeper to the Oval Office. He knew everything that went on inside. He read every piece of paper the president read and transmitted the president's orders to the rest of the government. It was Butterfield, for example, who had *arranged* the installation of that taping system. And not only that, Butterfield was well schooled in the workings of government. During the Johnson administration, as a colonel in the Air Force, he served as the liaison man between the White House and the secretary of defense. In those years, Johnson relied on the Pentagon heavily. Butterfield wrote speeches for the president. He prepared Johnson's basket of night reading on defense issues. He even wrote press releases for the White House and supervised the production of elaborate charts and graphs Johnson used in briefing congressional delegations and other VIPs on a whole range of Great Society issues.

If you wanted a man to represent you at the White House as a spy, or a "contact officer," you could do no better than Alex Butterfield, who had resigned from the Air Force to work for Nixon.

Now he was "fingered" by two television networks as a CIA "contact officer." Other reporters rushed to catch up with the Schorr-Rowan reports by seeking out staff members of the House committee investigating the CIA. They received confirmation. Prouty had told the same story to committee staff members. And furthermore, he was coming back to Capitol Hill on the morning of the broadcasts to tell more.

On his way to the staff offices, he stopped to talk to reporters at a "stakeout," a setup of cameras and lights in a hallway. There he repeated his charges against Butterfield and added a new filip. Not only Butterfield but also Alexander Haig, Nixon's last chief of staff and now Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, had been a CIA contact officer in past years. Haig, said Prouty, had represented the CIA in the Pentagon.

The stakeout reporters, like Rowan

and Schorr, asked Prouty how he knew about Butterfield. Well, first of all, he implied, it takes one to know one and he himself had been a CIA contact officer in the Pentagon from 1955 to 1963. (He had published a book in 1963 called *The Secret Team: The CIA and Its Allies in Control of the United States and the World* based on those experiences.) Secondly, he said he had been told by none other than E. Howard Hunt, now in jail for his role in the Watergate burglary, about Butterfield in 1971. At that time Hunt was working for Robert R. Mullen and Company, a Washington public-relations agency, and Prouty was representing a group of POW families. Prouty needed help from the White House and some of his old CIA friends had told him that the Mullen Company could be useful. At Mullen both Hunt and Robert G. Bennett, the president of the company, had told him that their contact at the White House was Butterfield and that through him they could get the group the help it needed.

Prouty knew that Hunt was a former CIA man. And he knew that the Mullen Company was a CIA front. He had been referred to the company by CIA people. It all fit. Butterfield was a CIA "contact officer." A spy? reporters at the stakeout asked.

"No." Prouty replied. And indeed, from the first TV appearance, and almost every time he was asked by reporters, he made clear that he was not charging Butterfield with spying. He never fully explained what a "contact officer" was. In fact, he did not even use that term all the time. That's what he said on CBS. On NBC he called Butterfield a "contact man." At the stakeout, Butterfield became a "liaison" or a "contact." On CBS he said contact officers presented CIA projects to their bosses without revealing the agency's sponsorship, which was as close as he ever came to imputing evil or illegal acts to them. The charge, then, was vague, but Prouty still managed to leave the impression that whatever contacts/contact officers/contact men/liasons did, it was bad.

His statements left newsmen to explain the term on their own. *The Washington Post* in its long story did not even try. *The Washington Star* said, "Prouty's description of the duties of a

CIA contact was sharply different from those hinted at by House investigators." The paper did not offer its readers either description. *The New York Times*, which did the most responsible job, buried its account of Prouty's charges on page 10, at the bottom of a long piece on CIA activities in other federal agencies. The *Times* said, "Asked what he meant by 'contact man,' Mr. Prouty described the function he had served during his military career as a sort of liaison between the CIA and the Air Force and, later, the Joint Chiefs of Staff." It, too, was a vague explanation.

The leased news lines out of Washington that day were full of Prouty's charges. The wire services ran the usual stream of leads, adds, and inserts, day leads and night leads, all carrying the Prouty allegations, background on the findings of the Senate and House committees investigating the CIA, denials from the White House and the agency, a backtracking on the denial from the traveling White House press office (President Ford was visiting Michigan and Chicago that weekend), and a little line saying that Butterfield was traveling and unavailable for comment but that his wife had called the assertion "ridiculous."

But Prouty's story soon began to crumble. He told Schorr he had known Butterfield in the Air Force; he later said that he and Butterfield had never met. He told Schorr he did not think the president knew of Butterfield's alleged role; he told the reporters on the Hill he thought the president did know. He told Schorr he had heard Butterfield's name mentioned by Hunt only; he told other reporters, including Rowan, that it was either Hunt or Bennett or both who had mentioned Butterfield. He told both Schorr and Rowan that he had confirmed Butterfield's CIA role by asking two Air Force colonels who knew of it. One of the colonels, subsequently reached by the Associated Press, denied the story. Bennett, now in Los Angeles working for the Summa Corporation, part of the Howard Hughes empire, was reached by the *Los Angeles Times* and denied his alleged role in the affair. (The following week Hunt, still imprisoned at a federal minimum security facility on

Eglin Air Force Base, Florida, would be interviewed on camera by CBS and deny the part of Prouty's story relating to him.)

But the wires kept tapping away, sending to all corners of the land and overseas repeated reports of Prouty's claim. In hourly radio newscasts throughout the nation, listeners got the impression that Butterfield was a CIA spy in the White House. The next day the *Los Angeles Times* carried this lead on page one:

A retired Air Force colonel who has written a book on the Central Intelligence Agency told House investigators Friday that Alexander P. Butterfield, a high-ranking aide in the White House, had worked secretly for the CIA.

The headline on an AP story in the *Chicago Tribune* read:

**'CONTACT' IN WHITE HOUSE
CHARGE BUTTERFIELD WAS CIA AGENT**

"Agent"? "Had worked secretly for the CIA"? Phrases of this kind add up to spying in the minds of many Americans, even though the news accounts never reported that such a charge had been made — because Prouty had not made it. And among the Americans who thought Butterfield had been called a spy in the press were sophisticated observers such as Charles Bartlett, the Washington columnist, who summarized the stories in a column: "Alexander Butterfield, mislabeled a Central Intelligence Agency spy in last week's Congressional comedy. . ."

And Mary McGrory, first leaving open the question of Prouty's truthfulness and then accepting it, opined:

What is more important than what he says about Butterfield, however, is what he says about countless other, lesser Butterfields planted throughout the executive and military branches. If true, it means that our government is one enormous secret lodge meeting, where untold numbers of CIA operatives bore from within by spying on their bosses.

If McGrory could make the jump from the rather innocuous assertion Prouty actually made to the cataclysmic implication that Butterfield had been spying on the president, then certainly less sophisticated readers, viewers, and listeners were entitled to make that leap as well. And, if that is the case, then the question of whether the news business



Former White House aide Alexander Butterfield (left) with CBS's Mike Wallace

— television and print alike — jumped too fast (or too carelessly) in ventilating the Prouty story deserves consideration.

Schorr candidly admits he did not check out Prouty's assertions before putting the retired colonel on the air live. The interview was booked the evening before. Schorr did not talk to Prouty until fifteen minutes before airtime on July 11. He spent most of that time listening to Prouty's claim about Haig and then deciding, because it was so vague, not to use it. He ad-libbed not only his questions but the report he used to wrap around a shortened version of the interview used later in the show. The first report had no denial. The second had a line in which Schorr quoted Mrs. Butterfield as denying the story. That second report, though, lent great credence to Prouty's claim. Schorr said on the air that Charles Colson had told him that he had begun to suspect Butterfield was a CIA man after Butterfield revealed the existence of the tapes in 1973. Schorr also said there was a secretary detailed from the CIA to another White House aide; it seems that the secretary often listened in on her boss's telephone conversations. Schorr, an experienced Washington man, never told his viewers what he knew very well — that such monitoring was standard procedure not only in the White House and government but in big business — including

businesses like CBS.

Schorr said later that he didn't make that clear because he was ad-libbing against a strict time schedule, and floor managers were waving signals and producers were shouting instructions at him through an ear-piece.

That may be an explanation, but it's no justification. There are obvious dangers in allowing reporters to go on the air with sensitive stories without editing and this incident points them out.

Rowan, on the other hand, checked long and hard before airing his much shorter Prouty interview. The colonel's assertions were checked with a former Senate Watergate committee staff member who gave verification. So did a source from the intelligence community. Finally, he had tried to reach Butterfield for fourteen hours and did not get a call back. He suspected that Butterfield was stonewalling.

His two-minute report, however, was far more qualified than Schorr's. "We have no evidence that Butterfield was involved in any such relaying of information to the CIA," he said.

Schorr and Rowan were working under extreme competitive pressure from each other, ABC, and print journalists. Two days before their reports Sam Donaldson of ABC aired the original report claiming that the CIA had a high level "plant" in the White House. His

story came from the House committee. The day before the Schorr-Rowan reports, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* both carried stories about the White House plant based on leaks from the House investigating committee. The *Times* story was strong in the lead and then cautionary deep down. The twelfth paragraph, on the jump page, read:

The source pointed out, however, that although a "logical" reading of the CIA document would lead to the conclusion that the agency had placed a covert informer within the upper levels of the Nixon White House, there remained a "slim" chance that the language, which was not entirely explicit, "could possibly have been read another way."

Indeed it could have been. The report referred to was one by the CIA inspector general in 1973 which talked about CIA people "detailed" openly to other agencies. The White House had been using this device for years to accumulate a larger staff than Congress provided, and many Washington reporters knew it.

On July 13, *60 Minutes*, the CBS weekly news magazine of the air, gave Butterfield's response to the story that Schorr and Rowan had floated two days before. Butterfield and his wife, Charlotte, appeared for an interview with Mike Wallace and flatly denied the allegation that had been made during the past two days. Butterfield said he had never done any contact work at all for the agency and threatened a legal action against Prouty (which, at this writing, he is still considering, as well as action against some news organizations).

Wallace felt safe in allowing Butterfield the time to deny. He had checked various sources in the old Senate Watergate committee, the now disbanded impeachment staff of the House Judiciary Committee, Ronald Ziegler, John Mitchell, and Senator Howard F. Baker's staff. Everywhere the word was the same: Butterfield was clean.

By the end of July, both Schorr and Rowan were willing to admit, to a greater or lesser degree, that they had been misled by Prouty. And Prouty himself, unable to explain the discrepancies in his story, tells reporters he never meant to make such a big thing out of Butterfield.

"That was trivial," he said. "I meant

to call attention to the contacts the Mulen firm and all the other CIA proprietaries have in the White House and other branches of government."

He will not answer any questions at all about Haig and claims now he was only repeating what Hunt and Bennett had told him about Butterfield.

Says Rowan: "I still don't think we've seen the bottom line on this story yet. I've been accused of shooting from the hip. But [Sen. Frank] Church [chairman of the Senate CIA Investigating Committee] certainly shot from the hip in clearing Butterfield without even talking to him."

And from Schorr:

"Prouty was not frivolous. He had given me another story that was never denied. If I had not gone with the story and it turned out to be true, then I would have been criticized for suppressing a story. What would they be saying then?"

"We live in a time of enormous relativism about how credible people are and who we put on the air. We live in a time when, until the dust settles some, we cannot discard allegations made by people who are not frivolous. Until a balance is restored, I guess we'll just have to live through incidents like this. The lesson I do *not* draw is 'don't put guys like Prouty on the air.'"

Butterfield feels the stories hurt him at a time when he was looking for a job. (He was fired as Federal Aviation Agency administrator last spring.) However regrettable that may be, there is still a question of where a reporter's first responsibility lies: to the people who supply him with stories, or to the people who depend on his reporting.

All this controversy over contacts and liaisons could lead to some valuable reporting. Butterfield himself admits that there are networks of military and civilian officials detailed from one agency to another in government and from the agencies and departments to the White House. These officials keep in close informal contact with their home offices and do comprise a Byzantine side of Washington that is not fully understood. Prouty's charge did point the way toward an exploration of that network and reporters should look into it.

As for the specifics of the Butter-

field-Prouty controversy, there naturally is disagreement about who was hurt most and what it all tells us about how news is made in Washington. Schorr has his own ideas: "I hate to say it," he told me, "but the system did work. People very quickly made up their minds. I don't think Butterfield suffered from it. I think Prouty was hurt far more."

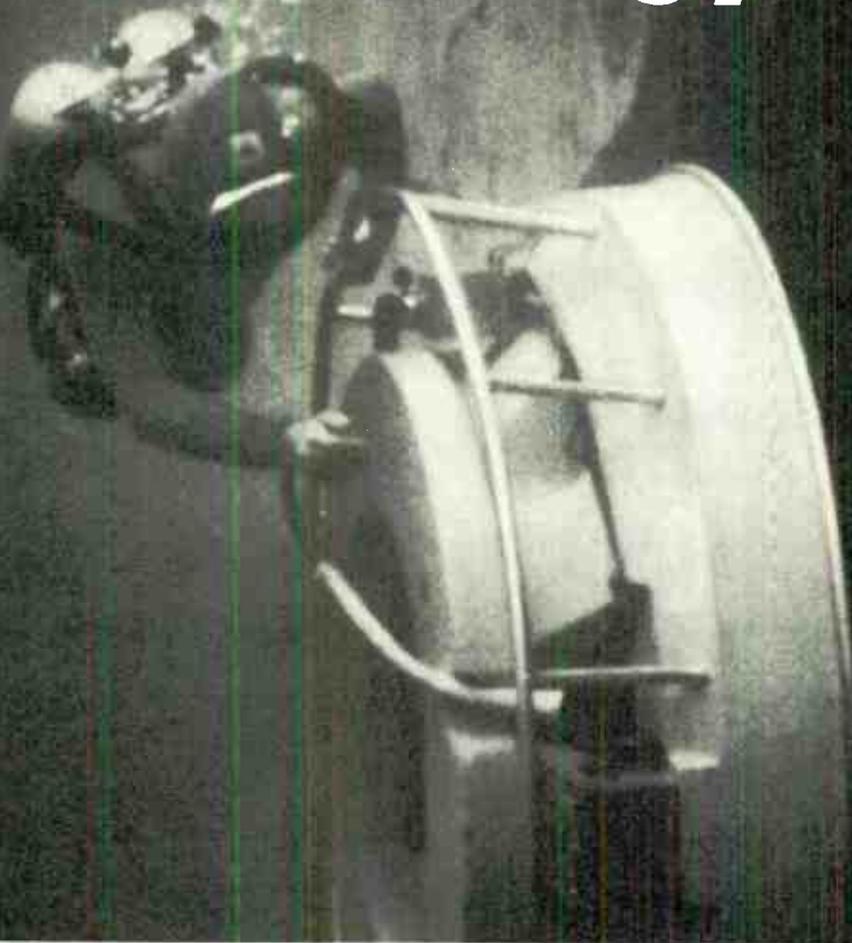
But that's not the point. The more important question is, did the system — the news-gathering system — work to the public's benefit in this case?

The preliminary indications are that it did not. There is no doubt that, as Schorr says, Prouty was entitled to air time if he had something important to say, particularly as an open and quotable source in a time when so many hide in anonymity. Reporters cannot, however, abdicate their responsibility to check sources carefully. Television stations cannot succumb to increased pressures to allow use of their air for the broadcasting of irresponsible statements. Too much of that is done already and some of it, unfortunately, is unavoidable. Presidents in the past have used television to deceive the public. Others, including lawmakers, have used it demagogically. But that is no excuse for broadening the practice.

Schorr plays down the role of competitive pressure in determining his handling of the Prouty interviews. Rowan admits to it. It was this pressure that induced these two very good reporters, as well as many a reporter and editor in print, to overlook the fact that Prouty was making basically an empty charge. These journalists committed the sin of making much more of it than was warranted. Then by the sheer volume of the copy that reporters filed and editors used they succeeded in making the story look bigger than it was, even though almost all the pieces contained the qualifier that Prouty was not accusing Butterfield of spying.

Schorr is almost certainly correct in saying Butterfield was not hurt in this incident. But he could have been. One shudders to think what would have happened if television in 1950 could have as easily put a source on live as it can today and Daniel Schorr had made an appointment to meet a man named Joseph R. McCarthy at 6:45 A.M. to put him on the air at 7:00. ■

New energy saver.



A remarkable new device is saving two kinds of energy—elbow grease and fuel oil.

Our photograph shows you a new invention in action—a scrubbing machine, named SCAMP™. It's solving an age-old problem for Exxon and other companies who operate large ocean-going ships.

Keeping any ship's hull free of barnacles and other marine growth has always been a headache for sailors. When the growth builds up, it slows a ship down. This wastes fuel. And fuel today is valuable energy.

The traditional way to get rid of marine growth is to haul your sailboat or ship out of the water and start scraping. But that's not so easy when your ship is a tanker that stretches the length of three football fields. Dry-docking this size ship costs you time and money.

Thanks to SCAMP equipment, that's no

longer necessary. An affiliate of Exxon developed it to clean the hulls of big ships—while the ships are at anchor, loading or unloading.

This new device is basically remote-controlled. As it travels underwater along the hull of a ship, its three rotating brushes whisk away marine growth. It's so fast it can clean the entire hull of a supertanker in just half a day.

In today's energy-tight world, SCAMP is performing a vital service. It is making the movement of crude oil around the world more efficient and more economical.

A clean hull can reduce the fuel consumption of a large tanker. For example, in a 10,000-mile voyage, a 1,100-foot tanker could save 60,000 gallons of fuel oil.

And that's 60,000 gallons of valuable energy that can be made available for other good uses.



Boob rubes

The new ruralism in TV advertising

by JEFF GREENFIELD

The city has been a repellent attraction throughout America's history; and the more we have become urbanized, the more our culture has reflected a longing for our abandoned rural past. Jefferson said of Americans that "when they get piled upon one another, in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe"; Benjamin Rush described cities as "pestilential to the morals, the health, and the liberties of man."

In the popular culture of our century, Norman Rockwell has given us visions of corner drugstores, village doctors, old swimming holes, and lazy summer evenings on the front porch. Hollywood gave us Indiana moonlit nights and heroes abandoning the wicked city for the farm, in dreams shaped by expatriate New Yorkers whose view of rural America was fashioned through the bar car window of the Super Chief. And today, *nostalgie pour le boue* is alive and flourishing, in the hands of the advertising community.

To watch television commercials over the last year or so is to find a yearning for the countryside that rivals that of the new Cambodian government. Home, hearth, fresh air are now as pervasive a cliché of the advertising community as were rock music and freeze frames a few years ago.

A country singer warbles that she "was raised on country sunshine" as a fetching young woman returns to her dusty farm home, to be refreshed by family, boyfriend, and Coca-Cola. Not to be outdone, RC Cola presents a

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young farm woman, barefoot and blue-jean clad, singing that her new country life "is the way to put down roots." Euell Gibbons touts Post's Grape-Nuts at family reunions, which feature breakfasts set out on huge tables in the yard of a country home. A folksinger on behalf of Country Morning (a new breakfast cereal) urges us to "let Country Morning take you back again," as a wholesome-looking family devours the stuff along a huge table in the yard of a country home. Come dinner time, and another apple-cheeked family is seen wolfing down Kentucky Fried Chicken at a huge table in the yard of a country home. Families snap Polaroid pictures of each other while gamboling in the yard of a country home. And Chevrolet helps bring ma and pa out to the country, where their children have set up housekeeping, finding once again the joys of gathering around the huge table in the yard of. . . . I assume you are getting the gist of the idea.

These advertisements represent a significant shift in Madison Avenue's judgment of what our yearnings are. In the postwar years, and all through the 1950s, the suburban home was the (assumed) centerpiece of our national longing. Whether it was an Oldsmobile ad with a family cruising along a Sylvan Acres development, or an ad in *The Saturday Evening Post* featuring a new ultramodern kitchen in the ranch house, the suburban sensibility was the critical frame of reference in our advertising. To a generation crowded into barracks, apartments, and war plants, the dream of a private house and a plot of land was dominant.

In the 1960s, much of the advertising message attempted to cash in on the new political sensibility. A feminine napkin advertisement promised "Freedom Now," a straight-faced echo of the civil-rights movement. A Jergens

lotion ad flashed the peace sign. And the sensual explosion of rock music, bright lights, quick cuts, and cross-dissolves crowded into the world of television commercials.

Now, however, there is a new mood in the land — at least, if we measure the national mood by the calculations wedged beneath the sell-lines of advertising. What these ads tell us is that the yearning for simplicity, for quiet, for roots, for a "real home" has once again surfaced, and with a vengeance. Few Americans are actually willing to throw over the traces of their lives and go back to the hamlets and villages their fathers and grandfathers deserted, but — if the massive research studies are to be believed — the disaffection with the living patterns of an overcrowded city or atomized suburb has made America's old way of living once again a compelling frame of reference for selling a product.

The evocation of this regional, isolated, slow-paced America on prime-time commercial television is awesome in its levels of irony. (One of the gratifying things about the mass media is that there is no need to root out the ironies; they run up to you and slam you in the face.) It probably goes without saying, in the first place, that any product with enough resources to use prime-time network television is an unambiguous product of homogenized America. Kentucky Fried Chicken is not dispensed by some white-suited colonel with a skillet; it is a nationwide operation which — according to Colonel Sanders — has moved substantially away from the quality controls he instituted (enough so that Sanders, who sold his interest some time ago, is now contemplating the opening of a rival chain). Country Morning may come in an old-fashioned-looking cereal box with old-fashioned graphics, but the product is made in a plant, not in a shed out behind the mill.

What is more ironic is that mass packaging and promotion itself helped to uproot so much of the stable, tranquil America in the first place. It was the power first of nationally circulated magazines, then of network radio, that made nationally distributed products feasible, and which, among other pressures, wiped out small, regional producers of everything from cigarettes to beer. It is the nationally franchised fast food chains — McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Hardee's — that are replacing the individually owned food shops all over the country. It was the reach of new fashions, new clothes, new ideas into the most remote hamlets of the country that helped trigger the wave of migration from rural to urban America in the first place, and the incredible power of television which continues today to eat away at the barriers of distance that once kept our humor, our politics, our customs distinctly regional.

The uprooting of Americans — either from their homelands or their homes within our heartland — is the central story of the twentieth century. And, almost as if in expiation, those institutions which helped in that uprooting seem most determined to celebrate what they destroyed. Just before the start of the Indianapolis 500 auto race, for example, a celebrity is introduced to the crowd of 300,000 people to sing "Back Home Again, In Indiana." Yet this race is essentially a celebration of the machine that gave hundreds of thousands of Americans the freedom to leave their homes in Indiana (or Kansas, or Dakota). This is what is happening on our television screens as night after night the products of an urbanized, industrialized, homogenized land are sold with the visual symbols of what that society has helped eradicate.

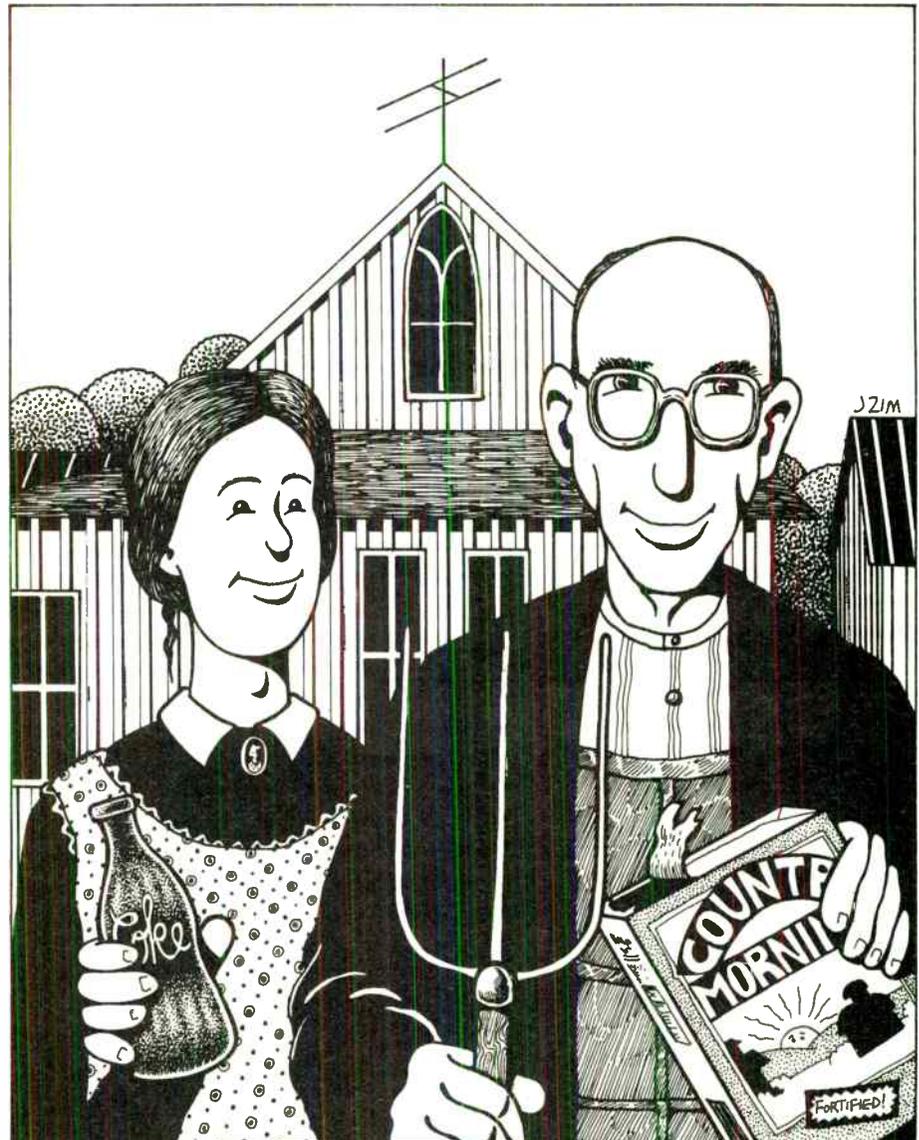
Perhaps the ultimate irony is to be

found in the audience intended to be reached by these paeans to the Older, Better, Country Way of Life. I recently completed a major study of the National Broadcasting Company's new television season. With unanimity, the network executives emphasized the demographic influence on their programming. Advertisers, they said, do not want just numbers; they want "the demographics" — the economically desirable audiences, who are young-to-middle-aged, relatively well educated, and urbanized. The older, rural audiences are considered so undesirable that television shows — like *Lawrence Welk* and

Guns Smoke — are canceled *despite* their ratings, because they do not deliver the right audience to the advertiser.

Thus we face the ultimate joke — the advertising community is busily engaged in appealing to a big city-suburban cosmopolitan audience by evoking for them a way of life whose current adherents are considered undesirable. They are selling products which have contributed mightily to the collapse of that way of life; and they are using a medium which, more than any other force, put the last coffin nails in that way of life.

See you at the corn-husking. ■



Sharing the news with

The Justice Department has violated its own guidelines governing subpoenas to journalists

by ROBERT WALTERS

Some of Attorney General John Mitchell's critics thought it a minor victory when he announced guidelines for federal prosecutors who sought to subpoena film, documents, or testimony from journalists. But a close look at journalistic subpoenas issued after that 1970 announcement shows that the Justice Department — under Mitchell and his successors — has often failed to follow the guidelines (which require among other things, that the attorney general approve such subpoenas). During the Ford administration, the hue and cry over subpoenas has lessened, but the number of news-media subpoenas has increased dramatically. More subpoenas were issued during the first eighteen weeks of 1975 than during the previous three-and-a-half years — and some of these were also issued without the attorney general's approval.

The Justice Department itself revealed some of these disturbing facts last May, in response to an inquiry from a House subcommittee. The department had conducted a survey of its news-media subpoenas that had been issued over the previous twenty-six months. The results of the survey were reported in a press release that the department's press office made public on a Friday evening before the Memorial Day weekend; reporters had to pick up copies of the report at a guard booth outside the closed department offices. (The

department said later that the timing of the release was accidental. The report had been scheduled to be made public earlier in the day, but disagreement about the wording of the press release caused a delay, and it was decided to go ahead and release it late Friday rather than wait until after the Memorial Day weekend.)

The survey reported that during the preceding twenty-six months — from March 1973 to May 1975 — there had been twenty-two subpoenas that had been issued by U.S. attorneys around the country without the required authorization of the attorney general. (During that same period, fifty-four others had been issued with the attorney general's approval, out of the fifty-seven that had been requested.) There were five other cases in which approval had been sought "to ratify the preexisting subpoena or to approve issuance of a new subpoena."

An earlier survey of Justice's Washington divisions covering only the period from Mitchell's announcement in August of 1970 through February of 1973, also revealed noncompliance with the guidelines: five of thirteen news-media subpoenas had been issued without the attorney general's authorization. In summary, the Justice Department has been in violation of its own guidelines governing news-media subpoenas in thirty-two of the ninety-four subpoenas mentioned in both surveys — a full third of them.

How serious a matter is it when the Department of Justice violates its own guidelines? The short way of putting it is that these particular guidelines have become part of the law of the land: when Justice violates its guidelines, it violates the law. They acquired the force of law in October of 1973 when Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson inserted them into the *Federal Register*. (The Supreme Court, as recently as July of last year, reaffirmed the quasi-legal status of such published regulations when it rejected President Nixon's argument that the federal regulation allowing the special prosecutor to subpoena materials — in-

cluding tape recordings — lacked the force of law because it had not been enacted by Congress.)

And the Justice Department itself, on some public occasions, has taken the guidelines very seriously indeed. In September of 1972, for example, Assistant Attorney General Roger C. Crampton invoked the guidelines during testimony before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. He was urging congressmen not to pass a "shield" law that would exempt newsmen from most court appearances, and one of his arguments against a new shield law was that the Justice Department guidelines governing news-media subpoenas had already done the job. "While the Department of Justice does not oppose in principle the creation of a qualified privilege, we believe that the successful experience under the attorney general's 'Guidelines for Subpoenas to the News Media' demonstrates that such legislation is unnecessary."

But at other times, and in other circumstances, Justice Department lawyers were capable of seeing the guidelines in a quite different light. In mid-1974 one of the subpoenas was being resisted by Will Lewis, the manager of Los Angeles radio station KPFK, who argued that the subpoena was invalid because the guidelines had not been followed. The department defended itself by citing an earlier court ruling (involving guidelines that had *not* been published in the *Federal Register*) and added: "The Guidelines on which appellants rely are directed to the handling of requests by United States Attorneys within the Department of Justice for permission to seek orders granting immunity. *They are not directed to the procedural or substantive rights of prospective witnesses.*" [Italics added]

Despite this apparent confusion within the department about the real import of the guidelines, it would seem that after the results of the May survey were known both by the public and by the department itself, one might expect some explanations and some changes in

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Justice

the way Justice enforces its guidelines.

In a memorandum to Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier, the chairman of the House subcommittee that had requested information about the subpoenas, a Justice Department official expressed chagrin at what the survey had revealed. Assistant Attorney General Antonin G. Scalia, head of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel, offered this explanation of the apparent pattern of noncompliance: "Usually, the failure to seek Attorney General approval was caused by the fact that the particular attorney was not familiar with the Attorney General's guidelines or believed that Attorney General approval was not required where the newsman was willing to testify or produce the material in question if subpoenaed."

Scalia, in an accompanying letter to Kastenmeier, was especially apologetic about the situation: "While we are convinced that the Attorney General's guidelines, when applied, assure a proper degree of deference for the First Amendment considerations involved in the subpoena of newsmen, we have frankly been disturbed by the relatively high number of instances disclosed in our study in which the guidelines were not initially followed, and subpoenas were sought without explicit Attorney General approval."

Noting that it was "apparent that strict compliance with the guidelines needs continuing reinforcement," Scalia outlined plans for a new effort designed to preclude future violations of the regulations:

"The Attorney General is addressing a letter to all United States Attorneys expressing his concern that the guidelines be scrupulously observed; and, in order to maintain the continuing personal supervision which appears necessary, requesting in the future a quarterly report of all newsmen's subpoenas actually sought."

Notwithstanding those promises, an

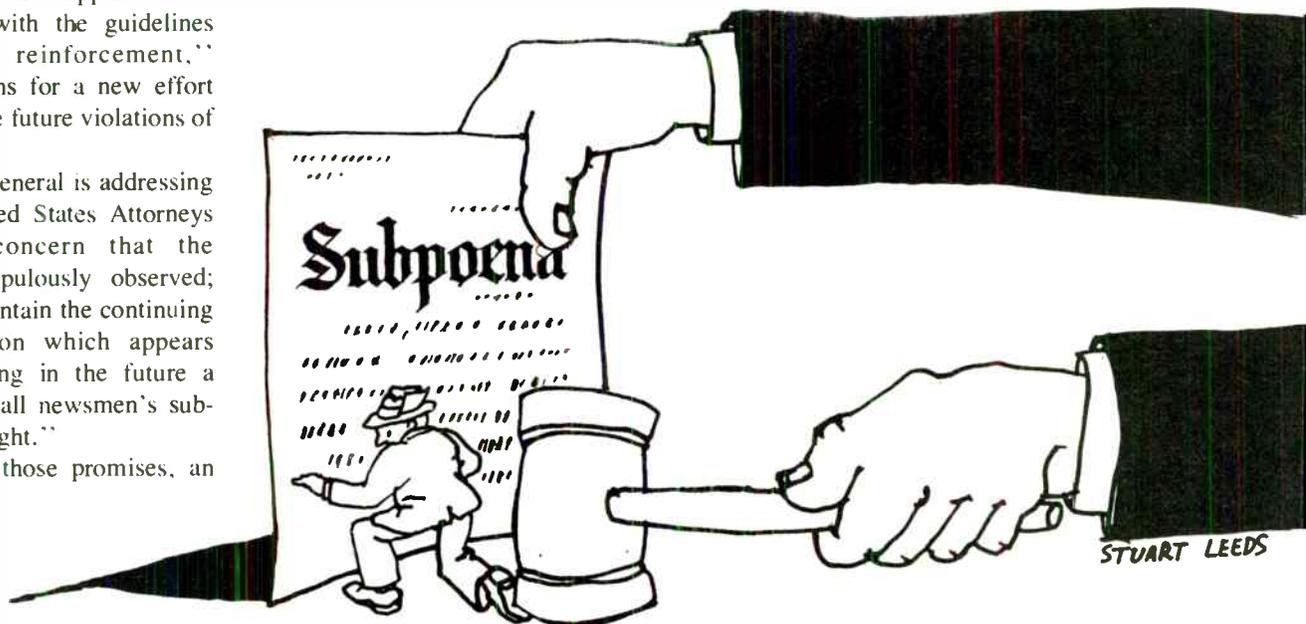
incident in Los Angeles only days after the announcement raised questions about the Justice Department's willingness and ability to enforce the guidelines. On May 22, exactly one day before the Scalia letter was sent to Congress and at a time when it presumably was in the final stages of preparation, the U.S. attorney's office in Los Angeles issued subpoenas requiring the grand-jury testimony of three producers of a documentary film on the radical group known as the Weather Underground — and once again no effort was made to secure the attorney general's approval.

In the last week of May — literally within a few days of Scalia's promise of reform — those subpoenas were served on Mary Lampson, Haskell Wexler, a Los Angeles cinematographer, and Emile de Antonio, a New York filmmaker. They were ordered to appear before a federal grand jury in Los Angeles on June 12 "and bring with you all motion picture film, including but not limited to, all negatives, working copies and prints, and all sound tracks and sound recordings made in connection with such motion pictures concerning a group known as the Weathermen or Weather Underground."

Scalia failed to respond to several requests submitted to his office for an interview to discuss that situation and other issues related to the use of news-media subpoenas. A member of his staff eventually referred the queries to David B. Marblestone, an attorney working under Scalia in the Office of Legal Counsel, whose only comment about the Los Angeles incident was that "the facts speak for themselves."

Justice Department sources who asked not to be identified said the subpoenas were issued without the knowledge of the attorney general apparently because of an initial belief that filmmakers did not fall into the "news media" classification. In fact, there is no known precedent for either the inclusion or exclusion of filmmakers under the regulations, but when both defense attorneys for the three subpoenaed individuals and Justice Department officials in Washington raised that question, the federal prosecutors in Los Angeles quickly quashed the subpoenas.

The twenty-two earlier instances of unauthorized issuance of news-media subpoenas cited in Scalia's letter and memo remain even more mysterious, because the Justice Department refused to provide Congress with any informa-



tion about the circumstances surrounding those cases.

The department prepared, and included in the materials distributed to Kastenmeier and the press, a summary sheet providing cursory information about the fifty-seven instances during the twenty-six-month survey period in which the attorney general's authorization was requested, but it withheld all data on the unauthorized subpoenas, explaining in a brief footnote in the memo: "Summary sheets have not been prepared regarding the subpoenas that were never submitted to the Attorney General. Regarding most such cases, only limited information was obtained."

The initial information about all of the news-media subpoenas was secured through the Justice Department's comprehensive survey of virtually all United States attorneys' offices and all Washington divisions. Further queries could easily have produced the information about the unauthorized subpoenas, although public disclosure of that information might have been embarrassing to the department.

According to David Marblestone of the department's Office of Legal Counsel, no effort was made to follow up on the initial twenty-two reports of non-compliance — a strange posture for the Washington officials who claimed to be "disturbed" by those abuses. "It's not a matter that it was not possible to get the information. It's just that the way we did the survey, we didn't try to get it," he explained. "We certainly could have gone back for more information, but given the available time we decided not to."

Another Justice Department official, who requested anonymity, suggested there was good reason for not conducting a further investigation in those cases — a hesitancy on the part of Washington officials to antagonize the country's U.S. attorneys, most of whom are politically influential.

That explanation, endorsed by others who were interviewed, suggests that the extraordinary high rate of failure to comply with the department guidelines regulating the issuance of news-media subpoenas can be attributed not to malice or to any organized campaign to place the press on the defensive, but rather to an organizational structure

unique to the Justice Department.

A veteran official at Justice explained the situation this way: "Every other federal department and agency has field offices around the country headed by career government employees. Those bureaucrats may have a lot of failings, but one of their strengths is that they have ingrained respect for their bosses and for the people who run the show in Washington — if for no other reason than their fear of being fired, disciplined or denied promotion.

"The people who run our field offices are U.S. attorneys — men who invariably are selected or approved by the

**"Most [U.S. attorneys]
are simply
good lawyers whose claim
to the job
lies in their
substantial political
credentials"**

senators from their states and who go through the political confirmation process in the Senate before they're sworn in. They're lawyers who typically have never before served in the government and have no plans to ever serve again in an appointed post.

"They know they're holding a political job which inevitably will change hands when a new party takes control of the White House. They're not interested in a promotion to Washington. Their short-term goals are to make a name for themselves — in terms of news coverage — in the relatively short time of two, four, or six years. That helps achieve their long-term goals — to run successfully for elective office or to be nominated for a federal judgeship.

"I know it sounds cynical, but that's what many of them want out of the job. I also realize that this analysis is a generalization which doesn't do justice to the minority of U.S. attorneys who are first-rate professionals. But most of them are simply good lawyers whose claim to the job lies in their substantial political credentials, longtime friendships with senators and so on.

"The result is that they don't worry a great deal about reading and complying with every directive from Washington. Effective control of the U.S. attorneys has been a problem for every attorney general, but it's never mentioned publicly because the political sponsors of those men include virtually every member of the Senate — and nobody wants to pick a fight with them."

That account helps to explain why the summary sheets which were made public also reveal questions about possible violations of other sections of the regulations on news-media subpoenas. For example, one section of those regulations states: "The use of subpoenas to members of the news media should, except under exigent circumstances, be limited to the verification of published information and to such surrounding circumstances as relate to the accuracy of the published information."

Many of the cases described in the summaries in fact involve nothing more than a legal request for a reporter or photographer to comply with judicial requirements that they appear as trial witnesses to identify as their work a story or picture previously submitted as evidence in the case and to certify that it is, to the best of their knowledge, an accurate reflection of the situation in question as of the date of publication or broadcast.

However, the department's descriptions of several of the cases where subpoenas were issued indicated that there had not been previous publication or broadcast of the information being sought. One instance, involving an investigation of perjury on the part of a police officer, was described as follows: "A woman who was a government witness had told a reporter that she had seen her husband, a gambler, make payments to a certain policeman. The Criminal Division sought to subpoena the reporter to obtain testimony to support the woman's testimony."

Another case, involving an organized-crime investigation, was described this way: "Two reporters happened to be at a restaurant when a conversation occurred between a person under investigation by the grand jury and another person. One of the reporters overheard the latter persons discuss the grand jury. The conversation was mate-

rial to the investigation. The reporter was willing to testify, but requested that a subpoena be issued."

Similarly, the summaries are replete with accounts of crimes "filmed" and letters from fugitives "received" by the news media, and then made the subject of subpoenas without any indication that the material had, in fact, been published or broadcast.

Another section of the regulations states that prior to the issuance of a news-media subpoena, "the government should have unsuccessfully attempted to obtain the information from alternative nonmedia sources." But the department's summary of events related to a bribery investigation describes these circumstances: "One of the defendants claimed that he had not been present at a particular event. A newspaper article written by a reporter who had attended the event stated that the defendant was present. The U.S. Attorney's office sought permission to subpoena the reporter to obtain her testimony regarding the defendant's presence at the event." The repeated use of the word, "event," connotes a public or quasi-public occurrence, but there is no indication that testimony was first sought from non-reporters who may also have been in attendance.

Finally, there is the question of compliance with that portion of the regulations which states: "Negotiations with the media shall be pursued in all cases in which a subpoena is contemplated. These negotiations should attempt to accommodate the interests of the trial or grand jury with the interests of the media"

Scalia sought to emphasize that cases in which the negotiations fail to produce voluntary agreement on the part of news media personnel to cooperate with federal prosecutors have been "relatively infrequent" and that "it is becoming a common professional practice for newsmen who are willing to testify to request prior issuance of a subpoena" before they do so.

However, those claims are questioned by the professional staff members of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, a Washington-based organization established several years ago to provide legal counsel and other assist-

ance to those engaged in gathering the news whose testimony, notes, photographs, film, or tapes are demanded by federal, state, or local prosecutors. Those staff members claim that there have been occasions when a federal prosecutor's concept of a "negotiation" has been to approach a reporter with a demand for testimony or documents, coupled with the threat of issuance of a subpoena. If the demand is rejected, the prosecutor can nevertheless claim to have technically complied with the requirement that he "negotiate."

According to Jack Landau, a founder and member of the executive committee

'A federal prosecutor's concept of a "negotiation" sometimes has been a demand for testimony or documents, coupled with the threat of a subpoena'

of the Reporters Committee, that strategy often succeeds for the prosecutors. "A lot of people don't know they have the right to resist subpoenas. Even if they do know the law, legal defense often entails thousands of dollars in expenses," said Landau. "In one case, *The Boston Globe* spent \$35,000 to defend one of its reporters — and that case didn't even get to a preliminary hearing."

The Reporters Committee questions also the fact that the materials made available by the Justice Department earlier this year lack any identification of the individuals who were the subject of subpoenas. "The names of individuals served with subpoenas are, by law, a matter of public record at the appropriate court clerk's office," said Landau. "There was no reason why they should not have been included in the report."

Although this year's survey was far more elaborate and comprehensive than the 1973 memo, in some respects it provided considerably less information. For instance, the earlier memo repeatedly referred to cities, states, federal installa-

tions, and public figures by name, while the far larger package of recently released material rarely mentioned names.

The format selected by the government for its limited disclosure also had other failings. For instance, the Justice Department chose to count only the number of requests for the attorney general's authorization, although a single request often involved the issuance of more than one subpoena.

The decision to count cases instead of subpoenas led, in at least one instance, to an erroneous headline, over an Associated Press story in *The Miami Herald*: 54 NEWSMEN SUBPOENAED PAST 2 YEARS. In fact, the department's material disclosed the authorization for issuance of subpoenas naming reporters on twenty-three occasions, photographers and cameramen on twenty-two occasions, and editors, lawyers, publishers, and others associated with news-gathering organizations on forty-one occasions. In addition to those eighty-six individuals, their various organizations were named in twenty-one instances. The total of those two categories is 107, almost twice the number of fifty-four which Justice repeatedly used in its material.

Even if the Justice Department's method of counting is used, an analysis of the department's documents produces some striking statistics in terms of the growing popularity of news-media subpoenas among federal prosecutors. Counting only requests approved by the attorney general, the trend looks like this: From August 10, 1970, when the program began, to the end of that year, only one subpoena was authorized. In 1971, there were two. In 1972, there were five. In 1973, there were six. In 1974, there were thirty. From the beginning of this year until May 8, when the most recent survey stopped counting, there were eighteen.

Because the Justice Department has publicly recognized that its performance has been wanting, and has outlined a program of reform, there is some reason to hope that journalists will be better protected at least from unauthorized subpoenas. But the record so far suggests it still would be wise to remember the advice John Mitchell gave when he headed the Justice Department: "Watch what we do, not what we say." ■

The numbers magazines

Careers and fortunes depend on the data, but what if the data aren't dependable?

by CHRIS WELLES

Over the past few years *Newsweek* caught up with, then overtook *Time* in the race for ad sales — a feat due, in large part, to reports by advertising researchers that *Newsweek* had more readers *per copy* than *Time*: 6.43 as opposed to 4.17, according to 1974 figures. Similarly, sharp drops of ad pages in *Esquire* and *Popular Science* occurred shortly after research showed that these magazines were slipping in readers per copy. A researcher told me of another case involving the effect of such data. When research showed an unusually high percentage of Scotch drinkers in one major magazine's audience, the magazine (which must remain anonymous) was inundated with Scotch ads. The following year new data revealed that the percentage of Scotch drinkers was only average — and the extra liquor advertising dried up almost overnight.

Advertisers select magazines for many reasons, but underlying and usually justifying their choice are studies of magazine audiences. "When you come right down to it," says Art Edelstein, associate media director of the advertising agency of Post-Keyes-Gardner, "very few ad pages are bought without those famous numbers."

For over a decade, the numbers were virtually unquestioned by advertisers, ad agencies, and publishers. It was widely assumed that the techniques of magazine audience measurement had become so sophisticated that data indicating that 56.9 percent of a certain publication's audience drank Scotch or had advanced degrees were almost as precise as an audited corporate financial statement.

The most widely followed magazine audience figures are produced by W. R. Simmons & Associates Research, which published its first report in 1963, and the Axiom Market Research Bureau, which published its first Target Group Index (TGI) in 1973. The numbers these and other research agencies provide go a long way toward determining just which publications will receive the \$1.5 billion worth of annual magazine advertising.

Over the past year, however, Madison Avenue's confidence in the numbers has been shattered. The leading research organizations have published contradictory and sharply divergent data. Independent inquiries into data gathering have uncovered serious discrepancies. Publishers have lodged complaints and filed lawsuits against re-

searchers, alleging gross inaccuracies. Massive uncertainty now exists in the ad business about the numbers.

There is debate about such matters as sampling techniques, but the researchers' troubles seem also to derive from the fact that, perhaps inevitably, they have come to reflect, and eventually suffer from, the prevailing mores and morality of the advertising business. In a recent speech in which he discussed the "conflict between substance and salability" in magazine research, Paul Gerhold, former president of the industry-sponsored, nonprofit Advertising Research Foundation, commented: "The pressures to adapt research to furnish what the market wants are intense and continuous, and they have seriously altered the quality and impaired the objectivity of the research product. . . . [M]uch of what we call research is . . . a slick, plausible, commercially marketable, sales-oriented product." Researcher Don Bowdren, head of Don Bowdren Associates and a former executive with W. R. Simmons Associates, is more blunt — and perhaps more cynical: "What do you expect from an industry where the lie is the thing, where double-talk is valued over accuracy and images over truth?"

If the controversy over the numbers were merely an intramural affair among advertisers and their agencies, if all that were involved were the sales of a particular brand of breakfast cereal, then the rest of us would have little reason to become concerned. But in fact a great deal more is at stake. "If the numbers aren't very good and an advertiser doesn't make the best selection of magazines — if he chooses *Newsweek* over *Time* when *Time* would have been more effective — it really doesn't hurt him too much," says Charles Jacobson, market research director for Beech-Nut Corporation and a longtime media researcher. "But the way the numbers are used today can mean life and death for magazines. If the numbers are inaccurate, you can have one magazine putting a competitor out of business simply because a few quirks in the data give it an edge it doesn't deserve to have. I think that is a terrible state of affairs."

The research firms whose numbers are now in question evolved, somewhat ironically, from the desire by those in the ad business to obtain more reliable data than they previously had been getting. At one time, advertisers and ad agencies were given "proprietary" research reports issued by individual publications. Though prepared by purportedly "independent" research groups, the reports, commissioned and paid for by publishers, were regarded with good reason by advertisers and agencies as mere self-serving promotional devices.

To generate more disinterested information there arose during the 1950s purveyors of what is called "syndicated" magazine research. Sponsored not by one client but numerous publishers, agencies, and advertisers, the syndicators claimed to offer reliable numbers free of any built-in bias toward any particular subscriber.

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live by

The syndicators, though, were in business to make a profit. Inescapably, the way in which they conducted their research and the sorts of numbers they produced came to be influenced by those who paid their bills, particularly the major publishers who have always shouldered the bulk of the ad business's research costs. "The researchers have always shown favoritism toward their major subscribers," says W. Page Thompson, publisher of *Girl Talk*. "They can't afford to alienate those guys."

Though much lip service was paid to the need for accuracy, the publishers continued to see media research in terms of its promotional and sales value. The major concern of the syndicators since the 1950s, for instance, has been production of figures on magazines' "total audience." At that time, such mass magazines as *Life* and *Look* were losing much advertising to television, which offered larger audiences at lower costs. At the behest of Time Inc. and several other large publishers, the researchers produced data showing that magazines were read not only by subscribers but large numbers of "pass-along" readers who borrowed copies from subscribers or picked up issues on airplanes or in doctors' offices or other public locations. Though *Life* had a circulation of only seven million, the researchers produced numbers enabling it to claim a total audience of thirty-three million, the equivalent of many network TV shows. (Many of these publications eventually went under, in part because advertisers continued to believe that TV was more effective in selling mass-merchandised products.)

The researchers' work has been shaped, as well, by their desire to enlist the largest numbers of sponsors. Interviewing thousands of people face-to-face, which is the way most of them gather data, is very expensive. But once the fixed cost of a survey is covered, additional client fees are almost pure profit. Thus, the syndicators have included in their studies ever-increasing numbers of magazines. And, to lure agencies and advertisers into signing up, they have included questions about product usage and preferences. Ad agencies have encouraged this trend. Frequently, an agency will refuse to support a study unless it encompasses products manufactured by its important clients. The 1973 survey by W. R. Simmons, for example, included questions on sixty-two magazines and more than 500 products and product usages, including the number of adhesive bandages used in the past week, the amount of denture cleanser used in the past month, and the brand of dried prunes most often purchased. A TGI questionnaire has run as long as ninety-two pages.

The researchers, and their major sponsors, have shown little interest in differentiating the behavior of readers who purchase a magazine from readers who merely pick it up in a waiting room. "There is a big difference," says John Abely, manager of Dun-Donnelley's magazine division, which publishes *Dun's Review*, "between the flippers and lookers and the people who are seriously involved with a magazine, who put out money for it and regularly sit down

and read it." Of course, there are more "flippers" for the general-interest magazines with eye-catching graphics; in contrast, smaller special-interest magazines like *Dun's Review* have fewer flippers and, therefore, a disproportionately smaller total audience.

Small publications suffer in other ways. In their surveys the syndicators try to learn about more than 100 million potential readers by polling a sample of only 15,000 or 20,000. They are likely to encounter several thousand readers of a large magazine like *Reader's Digest* (circulation: 19 million), but only a hundred or so readers are usually found in such a sample for a magazine like *Saturday Review* (circulation: 500,000). Data on audience characteristics from such a small group inevitably contain a vast margin of error. Simmons figures released last fall indicate, for instance, that 12 percent of the female audience of *Forbes* (circulation: 652,000) live in households with incomes of under \$10,000. According to TGI's report for the same period, the percentage was 47. In its fall survey Simmons admitted that its total audience figure of 2.7 million for *The New Yorker* (circulation: 462,000), for example, could be off by as much as 661,000 either way. A few months ago, *Saturday Review* complained about a TGI report which indicated that only 45 percent of its readers had attended or graduated from college and that 30 percent had not even graduated from high school. Conceding that these figures were based on two samples of only 117 and 140 *Saturday Review* readers (the magazine's total readership, according to TGI, is 1.4 million, or 2.7 readers per copy), TGI admitted that its estimate "may not be descriptive of the current or future audience of the magazine." A 1974 statement of the Association of National Advertisers (ANA) concluded that "large scale syndicated audience research provides at best blurred focus on comparatively small population groups or magazines of highly specialized interest."

The proliferation of magazines and products which the syndicators attempt to cover in their surveys introduces other problems, particularly strain on those being polled.

continued



Asked in 1971 by *Media Industry Newsletter* about the validity of a syndicated research survey which attempted to study the readership of sixty or more magazines, Alfred Politz, who devised many of the currently used media research techniques during the 1940s, replied, "Are you kidding? Sixty books [trade jargon for magazines] is a farce. There's no reliability with any questionnaire or any technique when there are so many books. One can expect random answers to get rid of the interviewer or the questionnaire. . . . There can be no meaningful quality controls." According to the ANA statement, "The presence of this mass of questions in the operation gives more an illusion of utility than a fact."

Despite the abundant inadequacies of magazine research, Madison Avenue until recently regarded the numbers as tantamount to Scripture. "Use of the numbers got totally out of control," says one media director. "You got so you asked the computer for the numbers on women, twenty-five to thirty-six, households over \$15,000, suburban areas, kids six to twelve, doing five loads or more of wash per week, and when the printouts came rolling out you thought you had something useful. You didn't think that you were dealing with a sample of maybe two or three people."

The reason why few objections were raised about the syndicators' work is a dreary commentary on priorities in the advertising business. The question of which particular medium is most effective in selling a product, to begin with, is enormously complicated. Coming up with answers that are even close to definitive would be extremely costly and time-consuming. The traditional tendency of those in the ad business directly involved with ad placement has been to get around this problem by in effect pretending — to their superiors and even to themselves — that the most popular numbers are more or less accurate, regardless of whether in fact they really are, and to perpetuate the pretense by eschewing attempts to obtain verification. "All too often," wrote Stewart A. Smith of Lee Creative Research in the *Harvard Business Review* last year, "neither the media researcher nor the media buyer cares about the accuracy of the data he uses. . . . Fashioning media strategies from *valid* research is far less rewarding for them than providing media strategies accompanied by *impressive* research."

"Many people feel it doesn't really matter whether Simmons is right or wrong as long as enough people accept the

numbers so that you can do business," adds Erwin Ephron, until recently the media director of McCaffrey & McCall. "What people really want is one set of numbers which everyone accepts."

Impressiveness and wide acceptance are not the only qualities which are valued above accuracy. "People in this business like numbers that have stability and consistency," says an experienced media researcher. "It's more comfortable. It's easier. It avoids the extra thinking and extra explaining which is necessary when data are unstable and inconsistent. If there's a surprise in the data, people would rather not even know about it."

The numbers produced by W. R. Simmons since 1963 seemed for years particularly suited to this latter requirement. "One thing could be said for the Simmons study: it rarely offered any surprises," Stephen E. Silver, director of marketing and research for American Home Publishing Company wrote recently in *Folio*. "If a magazine had no change in circulation from one intervening period to another, one could be pretty well certain that its audience data would be very similar from year to year. Although overall population groups [estimates, for instance, of the number of people in households with an income of \$15,000 or more] might show dramatic changes from one year to the next, the position of individual magazines within their respective fields tended to remain quite stable."

"When you see this sort of consistent data rolling out year after year, it tends to confirm its own credibility," says George Simko, the director of media management for Benton & Bowles. "It makes you feel very comfortable and lulls you into a false sense of security. You figure: what difference does it make if I add another twenty magazines or forty-two more questions to a survey? It didn't seem to have affected the data in the past."

So popular did the Simmons numbers become that by the early 1970s its competition in the syndicated magazine audience field had dwindled into insignificance. Madison Avenue had attained something of a research nirvana, which it had already achieved in the field of television research with A. C. Nielsen: a monopoly supplier of data which everyone accepted. (Curiously, Nielsen retreated from a two-year venture into the magazine field when its two reports proved



so different from each other and from then-current Simmons figures that they upset admen and publishers.)

Quite a number of people, nevertheless, privately wondered just how, considering its often small samples, the inherent errors in statistical sampling, and the ever-changing dynamics of magazine readership, Simmons managed to come up with such consistent, predictable numbers year after year. Many researchers were sure they knew how. "The consensus of the research community," says Walter Reichel, the media director for Ted Bates & Co., "was that Simmons's numbers were too consistent to be true." Though he says that it is "not in itself proof of anything," Clark Schiller, director of research and information management at *Time*, concedes that "the probability of that degree of consistency is unbelievably small."

"Where were we for ten years?" asks Benton & Bowles's George Simko, shaking his head. Edgar Roll, the current president of the Advertising Research Foundation, has a simple answer: "A lot of us were asleep."

Willard R. ("Bill") Simmons attributes his "high order of consistency" mainly to the fact that his studies focused on the same geographical areas year after year. This, he asserts, "avoids artificial inconsistency." Still, critics of his studies feel that since wide variations in life styles, interests, and magazine readership occur even within homogeneous localities, particularly over time, the Simmons data were too smooth for too long to be accurate.

W. R. Simmons & Associates Research might still be grinding out surprise-free data had not several events upset the ad industry's somnolence. One was then-ARF-head Paul Gerhold's growing concern about magazine-audience measurement. For a long time, Gerhold had been concerned over the potential for bias when data used by advertisers are financed by the very media whose performance the data purported to measure. More specifically, he had been disturbed by the case of Brand Rating Index, once a Simmons competitor. For years, despite very different sampling techniques, BRI released figures which were extremely close to those of the Simmons reports — and which usually appeared about a month after the Simmons report. The question arose whether BRI adjusted its results to reflect the Simmons numbers. (Unfortunately for BRI, media men felt it only duplicated Simmons. In 1971, BRI expired.)

While BRI was still alive, Gerhold publicly proposed that

advertisers as well as the media finance an Advertising Research Foundation audit of magazine research groups. Because of its diversified sponsorship, ARF had never been known as a particularly adventurous or iconoclastic organization. Even so, publishers and ad agencies were wary. Finally, after two years of what Gerhold calls "horsing around," he managed to talk twenty-six organizations into putting up \$4,000 each and convinced Simmons, among other groups, to submit to an audit.

Shortly before the ARF started making its audit, in January 1973, Axiom Market Research Bureau released its first preliminary TGI report. TGI's research methods were quite different from Simmons's. Simmons was gathering all of its data from field interviews, but TGI obtained only demographic data from interviews; the remainder of its information came from questionnaires left with respondents to be mailed in. And while Simmons showed people copies of magazine logos and articles during its interviews, TGI relied on its respondents' memories. To the industry's profound surprise, the TGI numbers were widely divergent from Simmons. While Simmons reported that *Esquire's* total audience was 5.6 million, for instance, TGI claimed it was only 3.2 million. Again, while Simmons found that *Family Circle* was read by 12.4 million people, TGI set its total readership at 19.8 million.

TGI's numbers were disregarded by most in the business. "If space reps come around sounding off about TGI's figures," huffed one agency man, "we will not listen to them." But opinion began to change, when, in May 1974, ARF released its audits on Simmons and on TGI, which had agreed to participate.

In an industry which, like so many others, is less than scrupulous in its self-policing abilities, the ARF reports were shockers. The ARF was quite critical of TGI, especially its "disproportionate sampling design" and its 43 percent completion rate on questionnaires. (TGI's current completion rate is still only about 50 percent.) It was also critical of Simmons, particularly of inconsistencies and discrepancies in its sampling techniques. Given the fact that the Simmons reports had been accepted uncritically for so many years, the impact of the audit was devastating.

Particularly striking were the differences in "weighting." In an analysis of sample members, the ARF found that in some cases Simmons had given different weights to



equivalent individuals. For instance, one man was interviewed and found to be in the fifty to sixty-four age bracket, with income between \$15,000-\$24,000, and a college graduate; he was given a weight of 600, meaning that the answers he gave to questions were considered representative of 600 similar individuals. Yet another man with identical characteristics from the same geographical area was given a weight of 1,400.

The ARF audit was limited by Simmons's inability to provide many of the records and documents requested by the ARF team, including many of the computer tapes of Simmons's weighting system. Bill Simmons says that by the time ARF began its audit he had already completed his study and that much of the material used to prepare it had been discarded as a matter of routine. "Nobody ever told us they were going to need all those goddamn records," he says. He defends his weighting system on technical grounds, however, and says that his 1973 report was "a very accurate, well-done study."

The results of the audit served to accelerate some internal changes which were taking place at Simmons. In attempting to conduct his 1974 study, Bill Simmons had encountered such difficulties with field interviewing and such a low completion rate that he delayed the study indefinitely. Cordura Corporation, a West Coast conglomerate which had purchased the Simmons firm in 1971, replaced Bill Simmons with Frank Stanton, former research director of Benton & Bowles — and no relation to the former CBS president. (Simmons now heads a magazine research firm called Three Sigma Research Center, whose name derives from a statistical term indicating an extremely high degree of accuracy.) About the time the audit was released, Stanton and a group of investors bought Simmons from Cordura, which had met with financial difficulties.

Acutely aware of the growing criticisms of Simmons, Stanton swiftly made what he calls "drastic" changes in the firm's methods, such as a major reduction in the number of questions asked. In November 1974, Simmons published a new report. It drastically upset the industry's consistency expectations. The new figures were often glaringly divergent from the 1973 Simmons report.

By far the most publicized disparity involved *Time* and *Newsweek*. *Time*'s reported total audience dropped 6.5 percent, from 20.8 million in the 1973 report to 19.5 million in

the new report. *Newsweek*'s audience, though, climbed 36 percent, from 14 million to 19 million. Though *Newsweek* reportedly had 6.43 readers per copy, *Time*'s figure was only 4.17. According to these figures, then, although *Newsweek*'s circulation was only 60 percent that of *Time*, its total audience was almost identical to *Time*'s.

Numerous explanations were advanced to explain the apparent phenomenon. Some researchers claimed that while *Time* concerned itself with circulation drives focused on very affluent localities, *Newsweek* put substantial stress on promoting its readership in doctors' offices and other public locations where the magazine could obtain a high pass-along readership. Others attributed the difference to *Time*'s greater circulation promotion skills in converting pass-along readers into actual subscribers. John Mandable, *Newsweek*'s advertising sales director, suggests another explanation. "If you're a one-magazine company," says Mandable, "you've got to wonder what power over Simmons a five-magazine company might have. We had a lot of conversations over here whether there was some manipulation going on. But we decided we didn't want to get publicly involved in a big hassle." Time Inc. officials and Bill Simmons deny *Time* received any favoritism from Simmons.

Whatever the case, Time Inc. was shocked by the new Simmons study because of its potential effect on *Time*'s \$140 million in annual ad revenues, and the company was quite willing to get publicly involved in a big hassle. In January, charging Simmons with publishing "biased and unreliable statistics," the company filed suit to enjoin Simmons from distributing its new study. To prepare its case, Time demanded that Simmons disclose the names of its 600 field interviewers and supervisors. When Simmons refused, claiming that disclosure might jeopardize the integrity of current surveys, Time hired researchers to learn their identities anyway.

In what *Advertising Age* called "the most celebrated research squabble of the decade," Madison Avenue sided almost unanimously with Simmons. As one ad executive put it, "Here you had the biggest publisher in the U.S., which is supposed to be dedicated to the people's right to know, trying to suppress information [by halting the study's distribution], enforce prior restraint of information, and re-



ally put someone out of the information business simply because it doesn't like what that information says." "It is obvious," Frank Stanton said, "that research auditing firms cannot operate under circumstances where they must provide acceptable findings to powerful and well-resourced interests, in order to stay in business."

By June, Time Inc.'s position had become untenable. TGI had released new data which, though frequently differing greatly from Simmons, showed *Newsweek* with a slight total audience edge (16.8 million to 16.6 million) over *Time*. The Audience Research Foundation, at Simmons's behest, had conducted a new audit of Simmons which, while not attempting to verify the accuracy of Simmons's latest figures, found nothing to criticize in the execution of its methodology. Simmons lawyers warned Time Inc. that during the upcoming trial they intended to put heavy stress on Time Inc.'s efforts to suppress information. To reinforce the point, Simmons filed a countersuit against Time Inc. charging that Time Inc. was trying to "destroy" Simmons and organize a "boycott" against it. Advertising agencies, meanwhile, privately indicated to Time Inc. executives their extreme displeasure at the ruckus which had been created, and particularly about Time's tactics in combating Simmons. Finally, Time Inc. agreed to settle with Simmons. While Simmons agreed to some minor modifications in its research techniques, many people on Madison Avenue thought that Time's capitulation had been virtually total.

Many terms of the settlement, though, remain undisclosed, including whether Time made a cash penalty payment to Simmons over and above the \$250,000 in fees which Time Inc. had withheld from Simmons.

In releasing their latest study, Simmons's new owners had displayed unusual independence and intrepidity. However, as *Advertising Age* suggested, "If the next Simmons study [due in 1976] shows *Time* well ahead of *Newsweek* in total audience, no doubt there will be many questions reviving speculation about how the suit was settled." Meanwhile, though the magazine denies it, *Time* is reported to have introduced a new public-place cut-rate subscription rate and organized a large field force to promote pass-along readership and raise its total-audience figures.

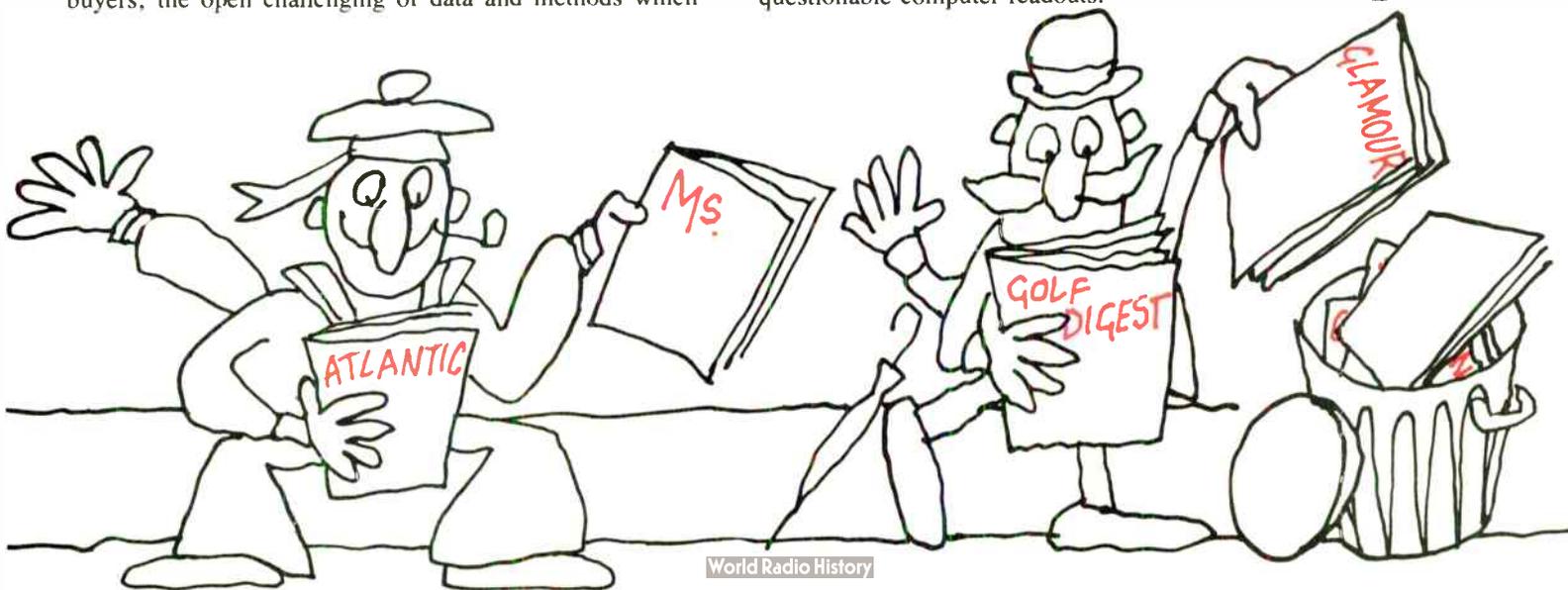
Despite the massive confusion which the events of the past year have generated among ad researchers and media buyers, the open challenging of data and methods which

previously had been regarded as sacrosanct must be regarded as healthy. A new ARF committee is preparing a "large scale experiment" to compare various methods for estimating magazine audiences and eventually work out some test to "confirm that the answers on magazine reading given by survey respondents actually reflect their magazine behavior." Though Simmons and TGI are maintaining, and are continuing to defend, their basic methodology, both are working to improve their techniques and learn more about reader behavior.

Despite these reforms, there is little evidence of change in other important aspects of magazine research, such as the media's notion of research as a sales tool; Madison Avenue's eschewal of surprising data and its penchant for monopoly suppliers of unquestioned, consistent information; a system in which syndicated researchers obtain most of their revenues from those they measure; and the syndicators' economic motivation to cater to the interests of their major clients and include in their surveys the largest number of publications and products.

Some ad executives have advocated letting a disinterested body with unquestioned credibility, such as the Audit Bureau of Circulations, which audits magazine circulation figures, monitor magazine research. Some advertisers, notably Brown & Williamson Tobacco Company, the second largest buyer of magazine space, have publicly argued that advertisers must take control of advertising research production unless what one B & W executive called "the audience research mess" is cleaned up. Some researchers believe that a major effort should be made to investigate the fundamental questions of advertising effectiveness. "There hasn't been any basic research in this field for over a decade," says Richard Lysaker, a senior vice-president of Audits & Surveys, a large magazine-research firm. Yet most people in the business seem uninterested in such basic and potentially disruptive changes.

In the absence of a fundamental reevaluation of how research is obtained, paid for, and used, it may not be long before the Simmons numbers are again worshipped, like the Niensens, and criticism of the studies is again muted. Magazines, especially the smaller ones, may again be left to wonder whether their success will depend on their ability to attract readers or their luck in avoiding an adverse set of questionable computer readouts. ■



About that

The events themselves were so tragic that embellishment was unnecessary

by JOEL D. WEISMAN

Ask almost any American how two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were shot to death on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota last June, and chances are he or she will say that they were “ambushed” or “executed” by Indians. People have that idea because most newspapers and radio and television stations reported it that way. And the wire services, in their turn, were forced to depend for their early stories on what they learned from “official spokesmen.”

It is true that three men were shot to death on the Oglala Sioux reservation; it is true that the FBI agents were murdered; and it does seem highly likely that they were killed by one or more Indians. There will be no attempt here to argue that the murders were in any way justified or less than brutal. But a tragic shootout on an Indian reservation is not necessarily an ambush of federal men by Indians — no more, say, than violence in a ghetto is a “black uprising.” The most that can be said about how the murders took place is that many explanations were — and still are — possible. They could have been panicky, unpremeditated killings, for example, or killings resulting from the tense, combative atmosphere brought about by the continuing violence on the reservation, which in turn had been a result of the leadership struggle between the American Indian Movement and the elected

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Kevin Barry McKernan

'ambush' at Wounded Knee

tribal leaders. The "ambush" and "execution" theories of events reflect an unfortunate commitment to clichés (and perhaps prejudice) on the part of newsmen and officials at the scene.

In the light of the facts, including a partial reconstruction of what happened given at a press conference by FBI director Clarence Kelley five days after the murders, it is tragic that eighty-five years after the original "battle" at Wounded Knee, at a time when many Americans are just becoming aware of the history of violence, exploitation, and mutual distrust that has characterized relations between Indians and whites, American journalism is still capable of rushing to embrace clichés about ambushes and cold-blooded executions by bands of savage Indians.

A UPI story that went over the wires just after midnight (central time) on June 27 began this way:

OGDALA, S.D. (UPI) — TWO FBI AGENTS WERE AMBUSHED AND KILLED WITH REPEATED BLASTS OF GUNFIRE THURSDAY IN AN OUTBREAK OF BLOODSHED APPEARING TO STEM FROM THE 1973 OCCUPATION OF WOUNDED KNEE. . . .

THE OFFICE OF SOUTH DAKOTA GOV. RICHARD KNEIP SAID THE AGENTS, ON THE OGLALA SIOUX RESERVATION TO SERVE A WARRANT, WERE SUCKED INTO AN AMBUSH, DRAGGED FROM THEIR CARS, AND SHOT UP TO 15 TO 20 TIMES WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS.

THE FBI CONFIRMED THE REPORT. AN AGENT SAID, "THIS WAS A REGULAR COUP DE GRAS [sic] BY THE INDIANS."

In a later paragraph the dispatch added,

THE AGENTS WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR CARS, STRIPPED TO THEIR WAISTS, THEN SHOT REPEATEDLY IN THEIR HEADS.

How UPI could say, only hours after the shooting had stopped, that it "stemmed from" the 1973 Wounded Knee disturbances, is anybody's guess. In a historical sense, of course, any violence between Indians and whites on a reservation could be said to stem from

past conflicts. But in a narrower *reporting* sense, there was little evidence at that time to lead to such a conclusion. It strengthened the lead, however, by placing the story in a quickly recognizable context of past Indian "uprisings" against federal authority.

This questionable link was also strengthened by references in UPI dispatches to shots having been fired from "surrounding bunkers." UPI also quoted "a federal source" as saying that the bunkers were "sophisticated," and similar to those used at Wounded Knee in 1973. These particular "sophisticated bunkers," it turned out, were nothing more than old root cellars and a covered ditch that served as a horse shelter. But, again, the references to bunkers helped to create the impression that the killers were a hostile military force that was "dug in," lying in wait for the agents.

Not only does the UPI dispatch place what happened in a questionable light, it also has a number of facts plainly wrong. Both dubious interpretations and incorrect facts tend to create a picture of premeditated, cold-blooded killings.

When FBI Director Kelley gave his version of events to reporters in Los Angeles on July 1, his account was quite different. First of all, he did not mention the possibility of an "ambush." In fact, Kelley said the two agents, Ronald Williams and Jack Coler, both twenty-eight, had decided that day to visit the area in search of a fugitive who had been seen there before. There is no way the agents could have been "ambushed," then, unless it can be assumed that the supposed ambushers were waiting for other unknown victims to happen by. Further, it is farfetched to suppose that even if Indians who lived in that area wished to set an ambush for anyone — let alone for FBI agents — they would choose their home ground to do it.

Other alleged facts that strengthened the idea of an ambush were incorrect. Perhaps most important, the agents were not shot fifteen or twenty times. They sustained a total of seven wounds that

came from either six or seven bullets. Jack Coler was shot twice in the head and once in the arm. Ronald Williams suffered four wounds: a fatal head wound, and three others in the hand, the side, and the foot. (Kelley suggested that the hand wound had resulted from

**'It may be
off the record, but it's
on the wire'**

an attempt to ward off the fatal shot to the head, but he emphasized that this was speculation.)

Williams had removed his shirt, Kelley said, and had made a tourniquet for Coler's arm wound — indicating that at least one of the agents was not "stripped to the waist" by his murderers, as UPI had reported.

The alleged savagery of the murderers also could be seen in the fact that the Indian who was killed in the subsequent shootout, Joseph Stuntz (who was not accurately identified by the FBI until three days after his death), was wearing a jacket that belonged to one of the agents. This detail was usually presented in ways that implied that the jacket had been stripped from the dead agent's body. But Kelley revealed that the jacket might have come from the trunk of one of the cars.

The AP, in a dispatch that went out on its wires just after 1:30 (central time), emphasized the "execution" view of the murders:

TWO FBI AGENTS WERE DRAGGED OUT OF THEIR CARS AND EXECUTED WHEN THEY TRIED TO SERVE WARRANTS ON PEOPLE WHO WERE HOLED UP IN A HOUSE ON THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION, GOV. RICHARD KNEIP SAID EARLY TODAY.

Both the UPI and the AP gave South Dakota's Governor Kneip as the source for the view that the agents had been

“sucked into an ambush” (UPI) or “lured into an ambush” (AP). (AP added that shots “continued into the night” although authorities agree that the shooting stopped before nightfall.) Governor Kneip himself denies having said that the agents were lured into an ambush. His administrative aide and press secretary, Daniel Garry, however, said he

The ‘sophisticated bunkers’ were nothing more than root cellars and a horse shelter

was called by reporters from the wire services and several other media, and that he “may have said that, but I later sought to correct it.”

The AP story was only slightly more careful than UPI’s. The agents were not there to serve warrants, but to look for someone who was named in an arrest warrant. And the AP also reported that there had been an ambush, and that the agents were “shot 15 or 20 times.” The story further asserted that the agents were dragged from their cars and executed. Yet Kelley said at his press conference that Williams had time to attempt to save Coler’s life with a tourniquet, and this is hardly consistent with their being suddenly ambushed, wounded, and then executed at close range — all in a quick sequence — as implied in the dispatch.

(Both agents were shot from a foot or two away, according to FBI Director Kelley — which is the best, and practically the only, evidence for the “execution” version of what happened.)

The sources for the most important — and most inaccurate — parts of the wire-service reports were the governor and attorney general of South Dakota. Attorney General Janklow had gone to the scene, as he said later, because he had heard that lawmen were in trouble. (The state of South Dakota lacks jurisdiction on the federal reservation unless South Dakota residents are involved.)

When he left the scene, he told both Associated Press and UPI reporters that it looked like an execution “because it did,” he says.

That both wire services depended to a large extent on Governor Kneip and Attorney General Janklow for their information was unfortunate, to say the least. Kneip and Janklow can hardly be said to be impartial observers of events on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation — although it could appear that they are, since, as state officials, they are neither federal nor Indian. In fact, however, both the governor and the attorney general have gotten considerable political mileage out of a get-tough-with-the-radical-Indians approach to the conflicts on the reservation. The day after the shooting, Attorney General Janklow was on statewide radio calling the murders “assassinations” and arguing that it was time to stop being soft on the Indians just because they were a minority group.

The dramatic but inaccurate and inconsistent wire-service stories did result in large part from the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of what the reporters and deskmen at the wire services were being told on the phone by less-than-impartial “official spokesmen” such as Kneip and Janklow. (Nor, for that matter, could the spokesmen for the American Indian Movement be counted on for impartial accounts of events on the reservation.) But the wire-service dispatches, and most of the stories that were printed and broadcast around the country, in one sense were models of consistency: all were based on the assumption of premeditated treachery by Indians, the assumption that these were planned murders that were carried out mercilessly, and in cold blood.

Both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* reported the murders as an ambush in their first stories, which were largely based on the wire-service dispatches and reporting in Washington. But after their own reporters arrived on the scene, the judgments about ambushes and executions vanished from their by-lined stories.

One of the problems for reporters who wished to discover what had really happened on the reservation was the at-

titude of the FBI itself. Never known to be forthcoming in the release of information about its cases, the FBI was true to character in its handling of this case. Following the initial stories, the FBI brought an external affairs officer, Tom Coll, in from Washington to the FBI’s command post in Pine Ridge. He was there, he said, to “make sure the correct information was put out.” It was the first time, to my knowledge, that such a press spokesman had been sent from Washington to handle an FBI case.

During his briefings Coll gave estimates of the number of men being sought — first twenty to thirty, then sixteen to twenty, and finally sixteen. (On July 27, James Theodore Eagle, a nineteen-year-old Oglala Sioux, was charged by the FBI with the murders of both agents. Eagle was one of the four Indians the agents had been seeking when they were killed. He had given himself up on July 9.)

Asked what the agents were doing on the reservation, Coll repeatedly said they were trying to serve warrants. He also said the Indians escaped via bunkers, although he declined to call them “sophisticated.” Also, he refused to reveal the transcript of the agents’ last conversations over their two-way car radios. Tape recordings made by the state of South Dakota of those conversations had been impounded by Attorney General Janklow on FBI orders, according to Janklow.

Coll said he had urged the release of the autopsy report, but he never denied another FBI spokesman’s use of the term “riddled with bullets,” or indicated that the agents had been hit fewer than fifteen or twenty times. It was Coll who announced that FBI agents had found ammunition, explosives, and one semi-automatic weapon in the area of the killings, but he refused to say where, or to give any other details. Finally, three days after the killings, Coll said he wanted to clarify the warrant matter. He explained that the agents had no arrest warrants on their persons. “They were trying to effect an arrest under a warrant,” as opposed to serving a warrant, he said.

By the time Coll canceled his daily briefing sessions on the Monday after the killings, all other officials — local, state, and Bureau of Indian Affairs —

were declining to speak with reporters. Several of them said the FBI told them that it would make all statements. As one official put it, "They advised us that they would take care of it."

This pattern of let-them-talk-first-and-shut-them-up-later is the way the FBI often uses local law-enforcement agencies. During the early stages of an

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investigation, the bureau will remain silent while local officials comment on its cases. Information from such sources will usually place the actions of law-enforcement officers, including the FBI, in the best possible light. If some of that information later turns out to have been incorrect, the FBI will decline to make corrections, offering as one reason (with some justice) reporters' practice of pitting one law-enforcement agency against another in a search for discrepancies. In fact, the bureau often then "puts the lid on" a case by asking local officials also to cease commenting, thus making corrections or the release of new information impossible.

Kelley's press conference on July 1 was an extraordinary FBI effort to set the record straight, and that effort was commendable, even if the results were somewhat incomplete. But his version of events came long after lasting public impressions of what did and did not happen had been firmly implanted.

All this is not to say that the FBI alone could have told us the full truth about the murders if only it had chosen to do so. Because of the size of the reservation — it is roughly twice the size of the state of Delaware — and the traditional distrust that exists between officials and Indians, finding out what is happening or has happened on the reservation has always been difficult at best.

Reporters were denied ready access to

the scene, which only added to the dependence on official accounts of what had happened. (Even two days after the shooting, when a *Newsweek* reporter and I attempted to visit the scene, we were told by an FBI man, "You'd better go away, for your own safety." When we didn't move, he cocked his weapon. We left.)

And added to all this were the pressures and unspoken laws of daily journalism. Particularly with the wire services, it is just as important to be first with a breaking news story as it is to be right. The wire services were always on deadline, and always in competition with each other. A governor's aide said that when he tried to change a statement he meant to be off the record, he was told, "It might be off the record, but it's on the wire."

Time and *Newsweek*, their deadlines approaching, forced their reporters to reach conclusions literally within hours after they arrived on the reservation. A *Time* correspondent made the error of saying that the agents were wounded in a crossfire from twenty-foot embankments flanking the road where the bodies were found. "Up to that time I hadn't visited the scene," he said. When he got there, he saw one hill and a grassy pasture.

One alternative to getting something reported quickly by attributing it to whomever appears authoritative is for reporters to confront their editors frankly with uncertainties. If reporters and editors could agree to run stories saying the facts were unclear, until they became clear, pressure to get it right would be brought to bear on both officials and reporters. If this were done often enough (instead of rushing into print with the first official utterances, as officials expect), pressure eventually would build for these officials to divulge information that is true, or at least that makes sense.

But until the unlikely day when large numbers of reporters and editors are willing to go about their business in this way, citizens and newsmen alike would do well to be skeptical of the first news reports of complicated emotionally and politically loaded stories such as the latest deadly encounter between the federal government and the American Indians. ■



FBI external affairs officer Tom Coll talks to the press in Pine Ridge, South Dakota two days after two FBI agents and an Indian were shot and killed on the Oglala Sioux reservation.

Dateline Moscow: censorship of our TV news

Hands across the sea
are fine —
if only they'd
let go
of the cameras

by MURRAY FROMSON

In spite of the much-talked-about spirit of détente between the Soviet Union and the West, it is harder than ever for a foreign television reporter to work in Russia. Much of the blame for this lies with the Novosti Press Agency, on which all foreign television correspondents must depend for camera crews and, frequently, access to news sources. For more than two-and-a-half years following my assignment as the CBS correspondent in Moscow in 1972, I was often frustrated, bemused, or simply puzzled by Novosti's policies and practices, which ranged from the ominous to the laughable.

No one doubts that the atmosphere in Moscow is more relaxed than it was in Stalin's day. Khrushchev ended most prior censorship in 1963, during his brief flirtation with liberalization. Nowadays, newspaper, wire-service, and magazine copy is rarely interfered with, although it is almost certainly scrutinized. Oddly enough, however, restrictions on television coverage have increased. In the 1960s, the networks at least could hire their own Russian cameramen, although they were not allowed to use foreign camera crews.

Like all Soviet organizations, Novosti (which means news) must fulfill annual objectives as part of the nationwide five-year plan. Allegedly, it has two goals: to raise a certain amount of foreign currency every year, and to guarantee that a specified number of (favorable) minutes about Soviet life appear on foreign television screens. (Novosti also "interprets" Soviet policy in books, pamphlets, and articles distributed around the world. Some leading U.S. newspapers publish articles furnished by Novosti without making it clear to their readers that Novosti is not a "news agency" in the Western sense of the term.) Once these objectives are

achieved, cooperation with foreign reporters drops off drastically. For six months, from September 1973 to March 1974, I obtained the services of a crew for a total of three hours, even though more than three dozen story requests were pending. But the agency's ability to help the networks is also restricted by the Soviet bureaucracy. There are doors that simply cannot be opened. Every ministry or factory official is suspicious of outsiders, especially foreign reporters who want to visit under the aegis of Novosti. To a Russian, Novosti is almost synonymous with the KGB. (John Barron, in his book *The KGB*, has identified Ivan Udaltsov, the chairman of Novosti, as the chief KGB representative in Czechoslovakia during the "Prague Spring" of 1968).

Before cameramen are made available, each story idea has to be described in a letter to Novosti, with a copy sent to the Foreign Ministry Press Department. Any deviation from the outline leads to endless disputes.

The competence and personal habits of some crews would be grounds for dismissal in most Western countries. In Novosti's eyes, however, they're politically trustworthy, which apparently counts for more than technical skill. The cameramen know what not to film: old buildings, old people, old streets. They avoid anything that's not sparkling or new. A supervisor, referred to as a coordinator, accompanies every crew. The coordinators are paid for by the networks, which complain frequently about their uselessness. Not once did I encounter a coordinator with a fundamental understanding of news or television production.

Every correspondent has had problems with Novosti, and they run the gamut. Once, while preparing to record a narration after a U.S.-Soviet track-and-field meet in Moscow, the sound technician was so drunk he couldn't untangle himself from the ca-

Murray Fromson is a foreign correspondent for CBS News.



CBS Correspondent Murray Fromson with Novosti film crew at the Kremlin

bles of his amplifier.

Just before Communist Party General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev's most recent departure for Washington, American correspondents were invited to the Kremlin for an unprecedented meeting with the Soviet leader. It lasted three hours. Novosti officials assigned a cameraman and sound technician to work for CBS News. What they also did, without telling me, was to place one of their own cameras alongside ours, and assign the crew operating our camera to operate theirs simultaneously.

A camera can malfunction in any country, but only in a freak situation would focusing be a problem — especially if the cameraman checks his equipment before an important assignment like an interview with a national leader. To ask anyone to operate two sound cameras simultaneously, however, is inviting a disaster. That's precisely what we had at the Brezhnev news conference: two thousand feet of sound film, and not one frame of it in focus! Novosti offered neither an explanation nor an apology; in fact, it even had the gall to send us a bill for the job.

CBS and ABC had the most difficulty with Novosti, because they maintained full-time bureaus in Moscow. Inevitably, there was day-to-day friction over stories and crews. NBC avoided the problem to a degree by covering the USSR with a Berlin-based correspondent. He went to Moscow usually with a pre-arranged understanding with Novosti to film specific stories.

It was nearly always impossible for me to obtain a Novosti crew to film political stories or analyses of Soviet policy decisions. But none of us could ever understand why we were unable to film some stories that might have cast a positive light on the Soviet Union. In 1972, the government announced in *Pravda* that it was making a huge financial and technical commitment to clean up the Volga River. It was a natural story for us: how many Americans have not heard of the Volga? Four of my letters, sent within a year, asked to film both the problem and the cure, but they went unanswered. ABC News had a similar experience. In personal meetings, Novosti officials would laugh and say: "Not the Volga again?"

Other nonpolitical stories that were

unsuccessfully sought by Western TV correspondents: the government's campaign to discourage smoking; a plan to preserve the sable from extinction; a profile of the Hermitage Museum at a time when one of its collections was being sent to the United States on exhibition; a rock concert in Moscow; a jam session between American and Soviet musicians; a profile on a clown school; a report on a nationwide chain of theaters that showed only children's movies, and a story on a new Soviet car powered by natural gas.

None of these stories was filmed by Novosti during my time in Moscow. Nor were air crashes, forest fires, or the spawning season of the sturgeon (which produces caviar).

Restraints sometimes bordered on the absurd. A cameraman was asked to film two elderly men playing chess in a Moscow park when a coordinator stopped him. No, she said, it would be embarrassing because the two men were blind!

And when Novosti is positive instead of negative, the agency is *too* positive. Ask to film at a meat store, and Novosti arranges a set-up at the best one in Moscow; walk through the streets of

Novosibirsk to find a shop that sells Pepsi-Cola, and Novosti takes you to the only one where a crowd of Russians is clamoring for it. (The next day, there was no crowd.) Or try to visit a fuel depot, and Novosti shows you one without a trace of oil on the ground, where truck drivers wear long black coats over business suits, ties, and white gloves while purging the tanks (a ludicrous vignette, to be sure, which we filmed, but it was difficult to make it into a story that could compete for time on a daily news broadcast).

The political climate also affects the degree of cooperation in Moscow. When U.S.-Soviet relations are in a downturn, so is the help we receive. Before summit meetings, Novosti is unusually responsive. Before Brezhnev's visit to Washington in 1973, arrangements were made for my visit to the Kama River truck factory, 500 miles east of Moscow. The foundry and some of the assembly-line equipment had been purchased from an American company, making it the most visible evidence of how U.S.-Soviet deals could be consummated in the current spirit of détente.

But Intourist refused to confirm my flight reservation, because the plane was leaving from an airfield closed to foreigners. Seven agencies were contacted: the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Light Trucks and Industry, Civil Aviation, and Interior, as well as Novosti, Intourist and Aeroflot. A solution was found. I was sent to Vnukovo, an open domestic airport near Moscow, and there, to my astonishment, was the plane I supposedly could not board. The Soviets had ordered the airliner to collect its load of passengers at the closed field, then make a ten-minute flight to the other field to pick me up!

News correspondents in Moscow, myself included, assumed that détente might truly help to reduce the stereotypes used by both Soviets and Americans. Every correspondent appealed for more access to travel, to report more freely about life in the USSR. But trying to reason even with thoughtful Soviets who had visited the United States proved futile. Few Russians who are part of the Soviet system want to be front-runners, advocates of change. The risk to career and privilege are too great.

As a result, many newsmen turned to the dissidents and Jewish activists. They were accessible. They had insights, information, and rumors, which were more than we were getting from official sources. Whether their troubles or their objectives were as important as they seemed to us at the time, whether their protests, harassment and emigration overshadowed the broader aspects of U.S. relations with the Soviet Union may be debated for years.

(The CBS Moscow correspondent I replaced, William Cole, had been expelled from the Soviet Union for filming unauthorized interviews with Soviet dissidents, including Andrei Amalrik and Vladimir Bukovsky; both Russians were tried, convicted, and sent to prison for talking to Cole. Twenty months passed before CBS was allowed to replace him.)

In a society all but closed to foreign correspondents except in the most superficial way, the Jews and Dr. Andrei Sakharov were the only ones who ever opened their homes to us. They were rational and literate, if rather naive about the world beyond Soviet frontiers. Many became our friends. Often, we had to decide the difference between a story that was significant and one that might merely be helpful to people we liked. Can anyone doubt for a moment that Valery and Galina Panov would not be dancing before Western audiences today, had it not been for their contacts with foreign newsmen in Moscow and the subsequent publicity they generated abroad?

Aside from the wheat deal, I saw no other story get so much attention during my nearly three years in Moscow as the plight of the Jews and other dissidents. For the 1974 summit, the Soviet government had allowed the networks to bring their own staff camera crews to Moscow. While Washington-based correspondents covered the summit, those of us normally reporting on the USSR focused, with our American camera crews, on the Jews and the dissidents. The Jews wanted higher emigration quotas. Sakharov pleaded for the release of political prisoners, dramatizing his appeal by going on a hunger strike.

The broadcasting of the stories about Russian dissidents from the Moscow

Broadcast Center led to a Soviet gaffe that attracted more attention worldwide than anything Messrs. Nixon, Brezhnev, and Kissinger did or said during their summit meeting.

On the evening of July 2, the director of the Moscow Broadcast Center summoned network representatives to a meeting, and told them she could no longer guarantee that her technicians would transmit what she described as "anti-Soviet material."

Later, the coordinators for the three networks agreed among themselves to first transmit their non-sensitive stories about the summit meeting, and follow with the stories about the dissidents. When it came time to cue up the dissident footage, tension in the control room mounted. ABC transmitted first, then NBC and CBS. Each transmission was interrupted moments after Jews, dissidents, or jail were mentioned. The technicians had pulled the plug, so to speak; videotape machines in New York were unable to record an image. (Ordinary Russian workers would never have taken responsibility for interfering with satellite coverage; experienced Moscow hands suspect that the decision was probably made by someone in the Kremlin or on the Communist Party Central Committee.) Apologies were offered by studio officials. But the following night, when CBS News tried to transmit my second interview with Sakharov, the technicians walked out of the studio.

The foreign correspondent who goes to Moscow is absorbed in his work — day and night — talking and thinking about nothing but the Soviet Union. It's like no other assignment I can recall. Perhaps the isolation is a contributing factor. Every foreign resident quickly recognizes the gulf between an open and a secret society. Whatever might be said about the shortcomings of our system, the difference between it and the Soviet way of life is enormous, perhaps unbridgeable.

The pros and cons of keeping a television correspondent in the Soviet capital have been debated for years. From the standpoint of the networks, it's prestigious, but not always productive: during my thirty-two months in Moscow only three minutes of film unrelated to summitry was broadcast on *The CBS Evening News*. ■

One of a series of reports on the first hundred years of the telephone.

How there came to be only one telephone company in town.

“In many cities of the United States, and in rural communities as well, there are dual and competing telephone systems, doing both local and long-distance business... Patrons of these telephone systems are put to endless annoyance and increased expense. In order to reach all the people using telephones, the telephone patron finds he must install two telephones in his house and office... Double systems of cables, wires and conduits burden the streets and highways.”

— Report of the House of Representatives Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 67th Congress (1921)

When Alexander Graham Bell's telephone patents expired in 1893 and 1894, new telephone companies sprang up almost overnight. The accepted way of organizing communications was to have the “dual and competing telephone systems” cited in the Congressional report.

“Call us. We're on the Bell,” was a frequent invitation in those days, to friends or customers. Central, the voice of “Number, please?”, spent a lot of time explaining



“Number please.”

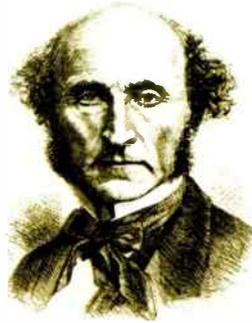
to customers that the number wanted was on the town's other telephone system. And each month there were two telephone bills to pay.

A solution to the problem had been worked out long before by John Stuart Mill.

In 1847 Mill had studied the situation of two other new industries that supplied water and gas through pipes to the homes and businesses of London:

“It is obvious, for example, how great an economy of labour would be obtained if London were supplied by a single gas or water company instead of the existing plurality. While there are even as many as two, this implies double establishments of all sorts, when only one, with a small increase, could probably perform the whole operation equally well; double sets of machinery and works, when the whole of the gas and water required could generally be produced by one set only; even double sets of pipes, if the companies did not prevent this needless expense by agreeing upon a division of the territory. Were there only one establishment, it could make lower charges, consistently with obtaining the rate of profit now realized.”

Such a consolidation, Mill saw, was clearly in the public interest. The concept of a “public utility” was reinforced.



John Stuart Mill

When Edison’s electric light superseded illuminating gas, the parallel was obvious. It was not quite so obvious for the telephone.

It was not hard to see that the public benefited from having water piped into homes. But while some viewed the telephone companies as providing a similar vital service, others regarded them as being more akin to manufacturers selling ingenious machines in the luxury class. When only a few people had telephones, one observer called them “electric toys.” Should Bell’s invention be compared with Edison’s new electric light, or was it more like his phonograph? As the proportion of homes and businesses with telephones grew, the usefulness of the telephone increased greatly.

Then there was the matter of geographic area served. An exclusive franchise for a specified area is a natural corollary of Mill’s concept of a public utility. And exclusiveness was a troublesome subject.

When two or more rivals supply a similar service, competition keeps each up

to the mark, or else some eventually lose customers and go out of business. If in the public interest, government removes that rivalry by granting exclusive franchises, then government must provide the mechanisms for preventing arbitrary or excessive charges or unreasonable or discriminatory regulations.

The doctrine of public regulation of privately owned resources has its roots in Roman law and the tenet of *justum pretium* —“just price.” English common law provided a rationale for regulation. In an essay on rates for wharf services, Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England, established in 1670 the criterion that private industries “affected with a public interest” may be regulated by the public:

“If the King or subject have a public wharf unto which all persons that come to that port must come and unload their goods...because they are the only wharfs licensed by the King. ..or because there is no other wharf in that port...there cannot be taken arbitrary and excessive duties...but the duties must be reasonable and moderate....For now the wharf and crane and other conveniences are affected with a public interest.”

Various municipal boards did undertake to control the quality of service provided by water, gas and electric companies, usually through periodic reviews of franchises granted. It was no easy task. For quality of service leads quickly to questions of cost: good service for the price charged;

equal prices for all customers for services of a similar nature, so that no one is discriminated against; adequate service capacity so that anyone able to pay for the service can have it.

Local officials had their hands full regulating the three industries already mentioned (water, gas, electricity). They were not eager to take on the responsibility of regulating the telephone business. And so redundant companies continued to exist in many towns. Confusion multiplied geometrically as the companies strung long distance lines to connect various cities.



Theodore N. Vail

Soon after he was elected A.T.&T. President in 1907, Vail enunciated the goal: “One policy, one system, universal service.” He saw that the future of the business depended on having one unified telephone service for the entire nation—a service that every family and business could enjoy. That meant ending duplicate telephone companies, replacing them with exclusive telephone franchises. In other words, Vail understood that it was not enough for the nation to have telephone companies. What was needed—and what he sought to create—was a *telephone system*. Vail saw, too, that the very “exclusivity” of the franchises invited—

indeed, demanded—regulation by officials elected or supported by the public to protect the public interest.

Vail thus agreed with the efforts of Gov. Charles Evans Hughes of New York and Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin, who were working to persuade state legislatures to try a new approach to regulation through state utility commissions—responsive to the public at the state level—as best serving the public interest.

The state commissions, supported by public desire for efficient regulation, worked. Most public utilities came to be regulated on a statewide basis, and a framework of efficient regulation was set.

Vail recognized, however, that national regulation also was a necessary complement to state regulation, particularly since one company—A.T.&T.—was chiefly responsible for interconnecting the individual telephone companies into a telephone system.

As noted earlier, regulation of telephone companies already had begun to develop at the state level. But on the national level—for telephone lines and services crossing state boundaries—there was no federal counterpart to the state regulatory commissions, although telegraph companies had been regulated to some extent by the Postmaster General and the Interstate Commerce Commission under statutes dating back to the 19th century.



Alexander Graham Bell

The first effort at comprehensive federal regulation came in the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, amending the Interstate Commerce Act. Telephone, telegraph and cable companies were declared to be common carriers sub-

ject to ICC regulation.

Federal regulation took a new turn in 1934 with the passage by Congress of the Communications Act, which established the Federal Communications Commission. The intent of Congress — as it had been the intent of both Bell and Vail — is outlined in Section I of the Communications Act:

“For the purpose of regulating interstate and foreign communications by wire and radio so as to make available, so far as possible, to all the people of the United States a rapid, efficient, nationwide and

worldwide wire and radio communication service with adequate facilities at reasonable charges...”

Almost alone among the nations of the world, then, this country entrusted the development and operation of its communications resources to private enterprise. It endowed companies with the rights and responsibilities of common carriers, each solely privileged to purvey its services within its territory but all in turn strictly accountable through state and national regulation to the public they serve.

Has it worked?

In 1968, President Johnson’s Task Force on Communications Policy concluded, “It can be truly said that the United States has the finest telephone system in the world.”

That kind of service didn’t just happen. It was planned that way, right from the start.

One Bell System. It works.



Bell System

Coppola's far-out new City

The method and reason behind *The Godfather's* father's apparently madcap publishing ideas

by MARY ALICE KELLOGG

Above a full-page picture of Francis Ford Coppola's face are the words: "Dear Francis: Here's \$9.95 for 22 issues. It's worth it to see you fall on your face." With those ads in San Francisco newspapers, movie man Coppola announced his acquisition of the faltering *City* magazine, to love and to cherish, to shape and to guide, till its profits came up or his money ran out. At first glance the venture seemed an exercise in naiveté, and more than a few people wondered what Coppola *really* had in mind. To quote further from the recent advertisements: "What makes the man who made *The Godfather* think he can publish a magazine on San Francisco? Is he looking for power? What's his angle?"

It seemed that the angle was to build a magazine that would get regularly shaken up for its own good. Making a clean sweep of things in May, when his 10 percent (\$50,000) ownership leaped to a \$1 million investment, Coppola canned the staff, changed the format from slick magazine to tabloid newsprint, and began leaking forthcoming editorial changes. In the one-month incubation period between the old *City* and the new *City of San Francisco* magazine, it be-

came known that Coppola planned to have guest editors for several issues each year. These editors would run the whole show, choose the content and format. Among the proposed editors were Cesar Chavez, poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and rock star Sly Stone. "It's very healthy for a weekly to get punched in the face every four or five weeks," Coppola said. "It's good to have its principles challenged by an outside person of some competence." He stressed the competent part, insisting that some of the most unlikely names on the list were thrown in as afterthoughts. But the first guest editor, in August, was San Francisco author and former *Ramparts* editor Warren Hinckle, who did so well that a week later Coppola made him the new editor of the magazine. Hinckle promptly fired most of the staff and began hiring his own — the third in five months for the magazine. Only Black Panther Party leader Elaine Brown was scheduled to guest edit an autumn issue.

"These people are going to be people we can learn from," Coppola said. "Through this trauma the format will have to be tested, and will have to stand up under their input. We also might change the format permanently under the influence of their ideas." Such departures from conventional publishing techniques "come from my feeling that what the magazine can give more than anything else is the opportunity for the audience to change it. What we need most is to connect with the people we are writing for, in real ways, to have them collide with us."

There was some conjecture as to whether this slightly schizophrenic format might confuse those very readers, but Coppola didn't see it that way. "One of the greatest sins of television and film is that they are constantly worrying

about how they are going to confuse people. They really turn the public into a pile of cretins. Television has committed suicide. Radio committed suicide a few years ago and motion pictures have always tried to. I've made films that are not slick audience pictures; the audiences do struggle with them and they are tough. I've been successful despite the fact that I haven't pandered to the public. Anyone who is not smart enough to realize that when you have a guest editor the publication is going to be different than it was when you didn't have a guest editor . . . well, if that's what we're up against, then we'll forget the whole thing."

The participation idea extended to what he called a weekly Closing Night, when readers could show up at Coppola's Little Fox Theatre to chat with the editors. All of that week's issue would be laid out except for one page, which would be a "living letters to the editor" composed of comments, gripes, and suggestions from the (expected) 400 assembled. "Basically it will be an opening to the magazine," Coppola says. "They can read the material and then comment on it or things that have happened to them."

Whether this kind of entrée and editorial trauma will help or hurt the magazine is a question that has already been raised by staff members. Some are convinced that such upheavals are demoralizing and shouldn't be attempted until the magazine becomes more stable. (Half of Coppola's investment of \$1 million was spent in three months, and Hinckle reportedly has to make the rest last until Christmas.) But apart from all the impracticality and confusion, it is interesting that serious purposes seem to lurk amid Coppola's wacky-sounding plans. ■

Mary Alice Kellogg is a reporter in Newsweek's San Francisco bureau.

READER'S FORUM

How 'hard-hat' is the public on crime?

It is widely assumed that the public is conservative if not downright reactionary on the issue of crime and punishment — interested solely in getting criminals off the streets and into the prisons as fast as possible, with no thought as to what happens to them afterward. Many politicians make this assumption, and tailor their campaign speeches accordingly; journalists, editors, and television commentators often appear to accept it as valid, too. By sheer repetition, the cliché that the majority of Americans are "hard hats" when it comes to crime has come to seem a self-evident truth.

How hard-hat is the public? Back in 1970 — a year in which "law and order" was a front-page political issue and 56 percent of those polled selected "reducing the amount of crime" as the most important domestic problem — the Gallup Poll conducted several surveys that throw light on this question. Many of the findings support the reactionary stereotype. For example, 75 percent of our sample said that the courts in their area did not deal harshly enough with criminals, and 70 percent favored giving judges power to refuse bail when they think a suspect is likely to commit a crime before his case comes to trial.

But to leave it at that is seriously to distort the totality of public thinking. For example, about as many as said they favored preventive detention also said they would empower a judge to waive bail if he thinks a suspect who does not have bail money is a good risk (67 percent). Again, when asked what measures should be taken to improve the country's system of law and justice, 57 percent gave "law-and-order" re-

sponses — for example, "stricter judges and courts" or "increase police authority." Yet in answer to the same question (to which people replied in their own words and many people expressed a variety of attitudes) an almost equivalent majority of 54 percent gave such non-"law-and-order" responses as "upgrade the police" and "fairer treatment of the poor." (Interestingly, 78 percent felt that poor people suspected of having committed a crime are more likely than rich people to be convicted and sent to prison.)

The public, then, makes finer distinctions between the various components of the system of law and justice than it is usually given credit for. In fact, these distinctions relate in a very sensible manner to the duties and responsibilities of each part of the system. Attitudes regarding police, judicial, and correctional agencies differ in a way that meaningfully relates to the disparate functions of each. Thus, when we asked what should be done to make the police, the courts, and the prisons more effective in reducing crime, a very different pattern of responses was given regarding each. For the police, a "law-and-order" orientation predominated (65 percent to 46 percent); for prisons non-"law-and-order" answers were more important (64 percent to 21 percent); while for courts there was an almost even balance (49 percent on the "law-and-order" side, 48 percent showing a more liberal orientation).

The Police

Giving police more authority, and more support from other law enforcement agencies — types of improvements wanted by large numbers of those we interviewed — are expressive of the public's strongly felt fear of crime. However, it should be noted that this is tempered by the often-voiced feeling

that the police need proper training and qualifications as well as authority.

The Courts

Leniency in the courts is the target for much criticism in our surveys. At the same time, court inadequacies are also seen to be a function of clogged court calendars and mediocre personnel. Thus, criticism is balanced between fear of criminal depredations and a desire that justice be rendered fairly.

The Prisons

Of particular interest is the pattern of responses regarding the prison system. Typical of the kind of unprompted suggestion for prison improvements are "provide rehabilitation," "job training programs," "better facilities," and "more humane treatment." It appears that once the public's need for protection is satisfied by effective police and court action, its priorities change. Prisons are seen as having an important correctional function, in which the public believes they are failing.

The contrast in public attitudes regarding prisons versus police is dramatically illustrated when charges of brutality are evaluated. Charges of police brutality are greeted with majority skepticism in all segments of the public except blacks. Among whites 63 percent believe that such charges are not too likely or not at all likely to be justified, whereas 52 percent of blacks believe they are fairly or very likely to be.

Reactions to charges of prison brutality contrast sharply. When asked an open question as to their reaction when they hear about prisoners rioting, a clear majority of 58 percent gave non-"law-and-order" responses such as "shows how bad conditions are" and "they must have some reason." In contrast, only 40 percent gave "law-and-order" reactions, such as "prisons are too lenient," "prisoners have no rights," and

“punish them severely.” Moreover, in answer to a direct question as to how likely it is that prisoner complaints are justified, 66 percent took the position that it is very or fairly likely that in fact they are justified.

It would undoubtedly be an exaggeration to imply that the public is as concerned with prison conditions as with “crime in the streets.” At the same time, it is equally a distortion to assume that the public’s attitude is “lock them up and throw the key away.” Along with a demand for law and order, there is widespread endorsement for reform to correct failures in our courts and prisons, considerable sympathy for those felt to be abused by inequities, and belief that more emphasis is needed on rehabilitation rather than a merely punitive treatment of inmates.

The neglect of this aspect of public opinion by the news media is particularly interesting. In recent years many have claimed that the news media have been naively “soft” regarding crime, and that they have been unjustifiably critical of the police. These claims have been accepted by a large segment of the public. For example, 38 percent said that newspapers treat criminals too sympathetically and only 5 percent too critically. In contrast, 48 percent claimed that newspapers are too critical of the police and only 7 percent felt they were too sympathetic. In its concern for protection against crime, the public has sensed a conflict between the roles of the news media and the police, and it has tended to align itself with the latter.

Yet, despite this alleged softness on crime, the news media, with few exceptions, have paid little attention to what happens within prisons, or to the failure of prisons to function as genuinely “correctional” institutions. Only recently has the mass of evidence that prisons are schools for crime received much publicity, even though I remember learning about this some thirty years ago in an undergraduate course in criminology.

No doubt, editorial writers and television commentators imagine that they are striking a responsive chord when they fulminate against “soft” judges and

“cushy” prisons. But the public, it appears, is not so readily convinced by such routine fulminations.

IRVING CRESPI

Irving Crespi is executive vice-president of The Gallup Organization.

A ‘fairness’ experiment

The Supreme Court ruled recently that a newspaper, *The Miami Herald*, was not obligated to offer space for reply to a disgruntled office seeker who was the subject of critical editorials. This decision rescinded a Florida law which, in effect, applied to the print media the principle of the Federal Communications Commission’s fairness doctrine. The doctrine states that broadcast licensees must seek out and present issues of public importance, and that reasonable opportunity must be provided for the airing of contrasting views on such public issues. From the standpoint of broadcast licensees, the court’s ruling in *The Miami Herald* case confirmed a double standard in which time for reply is legally enforced on stations, but mandated space is declared unconstitutional for newspapers.

At this juncture, opinion on the fairness doctrine is hopelessly polarized. The broadcasters, with the support of Senator William Proxmire, who has introduced a bill to that effect, would like to see the rule rescinded. But many consumer and public-interest organizations, as well as many academics, insist that the doctrine does not go far enough, because it does not call for a direct access hearing from groups and individuals who have something to say.

The FCC is clearly uncomfortable with the fairness doctrine, but it faces a dilemma. If the doctrine is rescinded, Congress can expect the vociferous disapproval of those who believe that the rule is not only necessary but is not sufficiently enforced. If the uneasy status quo continues, the broadcaster can claim that he is effectively prevented from presenting strong documentaries.

And, beyond both positions, there is the undeniable fact that the courts have reversed a large number of the FCC’s fairness decisions which would have obligated the networks to offer time for reply.

The impasse, however, is not hopeless. There is a step that can be taken which, while it might not provide an immediate solution, would at least permit an interesting experiment, the results of which might offer evidence on the basis of which a rational decision ultimately could be made. That step is to suspend the fairness doctrine — in a way analogous to the suspension of the so-called equal time rule which allowed for the Nixon-Kennedy debates in 1960 — for a determined period of time. Such a moratorium on “fairness” should yield some substantive information on the basis of which the FCC could act. Primarily, it would give the broadcaster an opportunity to do what he says he can’t do now — move more aggressively into documentary programming.

But how would a determination be made and by whom? Several alternatives might be considered. The FCC could set up a task force which would issue reports both during and at the end of the experimental period. Congress, through its subcommittees on communications, could order a continuing study to be made. Or an independent agency could be given the task of monitoring, evaluating, and making recommendations. The National News Council, which was established for the specific purpose of serving as a kind of media ombudsman, could do the job.

An experiment of this kind should be of considerable help to the FCC, which has been floundering in its effort to find a solution to the fairness problem. More importantly, the public might be the ultimate beneficiary. If, indeed, the result is an increase in informational and investigative television documentaries, that could be sufficient proof that both press and broadcast journalism function best when they are unrestricted and free.

CHARLES S. STEINBERG

Charles S. Steinberg is a professor of communications at Hunter College and a former vice-president of the CBS television network.

Would you welcome, Henry and Liv and Jackie

With new zeal, the media
exercise
their right to be trivial

by EDWIN DIAMOND

Word is that California bachelor Governor Jerry Brown has a girl friend tucked away someplace. Reporters think that the reason Brown is reluctant to give many interviews is that he doesn't want to be grilled about his private life. In fact, his press secretary, in responding to requests for interviews, warns writers that Brown will not discuss personal matters. Listen, Governor, it's spring and we're all for a little romance.

"The Gossip Column," *New York Daily News*

More than a decade ago, the historian Daniel Boorstin worried that we had gone from the celebration of heroes — people who had actually achieved something — to the celebration of celebrities — people well known simply for being well known. It was a keen insight, but it has had hardly any slowing effect on the ways of the press. We seem to celebrate celebrity even more these days, for the flimsiest of reasons and for ever shorter spans of attention. Margaux Hemingway, Ernest's granddaughter, streaks on the scene — this year's Lauren Hutton, who was last year's Jean Shrimpton. Did you miss Margaux? Wait a microsecond, here's her sister Muffin, for a flash. Cher's navel simultaneously dimples a thousand newsstands across the country, and then vanishes like the first crocuses of spring. Everybody has "done" her.

At the same time, the *Daily News's* gossip "item" about the governor of California ought to tell us that something has been happening to our heroes, or at least to those men and women of genuine power or accomplishment who are in the public eye: they get the same trivializing celebrity treatment. What kind of star is Governor Brown, the gossip column seems to ask. Why hasn't he been entertaining us

as much as he should? The secretary of state or the head of the Federal Reserve Board — as much as the model of the moment — now exist principally as personalities. Almost every media consumer can tick off the "girls" from Henry Kissinger's salad days, while his views on nuclear-weapons policy first enunciated in the 1950s still are not widely appreciated.

There is an apparently insatiable desire for "items" about "beautiful people" and public figures alike. Sensing this, the gossip machinery of the press works around the clock to feed the appetite. The normal rules of journalism are often suspended. Indeed, that's what the word "gossip" means: the story doesn't have to be true (the law of libel, from *Sullivan v. New York Times* on, implies as much; the press can say just about anything it wants about "public persons" as long as what it says isn't recklessly untrue or malicious). It can be half-true — a factoid, to use Norman Mailer's term. A certain plausibility is all that is necessary, as long as an item is *readable*. No news retailer is above churning out these *frissons*; a few months ago, a speculative story that Aristotle Onassis had cut his widow out of her inheritance earned page-one space in *The New York Times*.

Such a situation ought to be impossible. In the old Hobbesian days, it's true, a glimpse of royalty served to lift us commoners out of our nasty, brutish, and short lives. With the growing affluence and sophistication of the media's audience, the need for vicarious living should have subsided a bit. But, in a perverse, populist way, the national "mood" after the Watergate scandals may have helped stimulate a taste for revealing "items." As a young magazine editor explained to me recently, "The people have a right to know what their leaders are doing *all* the time; that's what Watergate was about . . ." She added, "We want to see them squirming a bit, too . . ." The right to know now has a corollary: the right to undemanding entertainment. Public figures, it seems, exist for both the gossip press and its audience to *use*. Around newsrooms, you hear a blunt phrase for this expropriation; it is called "star-fucking."

In our post-industrial society, then, we no longer need public figures to revere or to emulate. Instead, they are there, as temporarily interesting equals, to *entertain* us. It is the boredom of leisure times, rather than the boredom of the assembly line or the farm, that must be assuaged.

Edwin Diamond is a commentator for the Post-Newsweek stations in Washington. His book The Tin Kazoo: Television, Politics, and the News will be published in October by M.I.T. Press.

please, and Erica!



Henry
Kissinger



Erica
Jong

Newspapers, magazines, and television in their various ways have all been responding to — and helping to create — this new celebration of celebrity. Walter Winchell, Leonard Lyons, and Ed Sullivan may be dead, and the old-style Broadway column buried with them, but the journalistic gossip form still lives. It has merely moved a few blocks across town, to raise a new crop of celebrities. *New York* magazine has its “New York Intelligencer” page; *The New York Times* offers “Notes on People.” *Women’s Wear Daily’s* “Eye” gossip column proved so popular that wwd now runs “Eye II.”

At least one new magazine has been created to meet the growing hunger in the larger cities and suburbs for “more sophisticated” gossip. The magazine, of course, is Time Inc.’s *People*, which offers well-honed gossip in the form of “personality” stories.

People is the only national weekly magazine to be started since 1954, but its real importance lies in what it tells us about ourselves. Time Inc. has a magazine-development group which for the past several years has been doing meticulous research into possible new ventures. The group has weighed, among other projects, magazines about television, about photography, and about health; *Money* magazine was its first child. The idea for *People*, it is said, was a *coup de foudre* from Mrs. Marion Heiskell, the wife of the chairman of the board of Time Inc. According to one Time Inc. editor, Mrs. Heiskell reasoned that most people are interested in other people. But of course! After *Money* and before *Health* comes people. After just one year, *People’s* circulation had reached some 1,250,000.

The magazine is a weekly celebration of the new entertainers of our post-industrial society. It is a magazine for people who really don’t want to read *too* much about the stars; *People* readers don’t get “into” the Jackie story the way the less urbane readers in the heartland do. In the cities, there is less time for true celebrity worship. *People* makes fewer demands; it can be “watched” like television. *People* subjects are “profiled” in a few hundred words. In fact, some of *People’s* people, as the writer Nora Ephron recently pointed out, can be handled in a caption — “here the name Telly Savalas springs instantly to mind.” If Boorstin was concerned that

the media celebrity had replaced the genuine American hero, then what would he make of the rise of the four-hundred-word “personality” in *People*? The magazine has surpassed Andy Warhol’s prediction that “in the future, everyone would be famous for fifteen minutes . . .” The personalities of *People* live only until the page is turned.

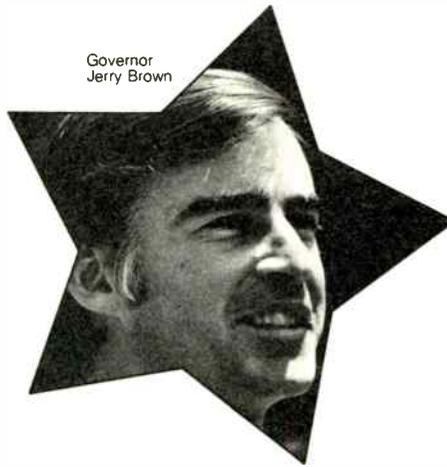
People works. It has a low overhead and a small, dedicated staff that labors long hours: it uses only black-and-white photography, and is sold solely at newsstands. With its growing circulation, *People* may be the magazine success of the 1970s. The urban, educated, high-income reader — the “upscale” audience sought by advertisers — wouldn’t be caught dead with the *National Enquirer* or *Modern Screen* magazine. *People* is respectable enough to buy or “scan” under the hair dryer. It is the perfect reading material for the dentist’s or doctor’s waiting room — not too long and not too tacky. In the *National Star*, we read the detailed predictions of “top psychics” who say Jackie will soon remarry; in *People*, we drop in on Betty Friedan teaching at Queens College. Class, but not too much class: *middle class*.

The success of *People* has not gone unnoticed, particularly at the older news magazines. Each week the reader can sense *Time* and *Newsweek* straining their traditional forms in order to pack more “personalities” into the pages. They want to become Easy Readers, too. The irony is that *People* is the logical extension of the weekly news-magazine idea into the personality-hungry seventies. *Time* and *Newsweek*, since their inceptions, have covered both heroes and celebrities, political leaders and pop-culture figures, as well as serious artists. It is all part of the passing parade, which is, as news-magazine editors will tell you, “the franchise” — the weekly summary of the world’s events for the hurried.

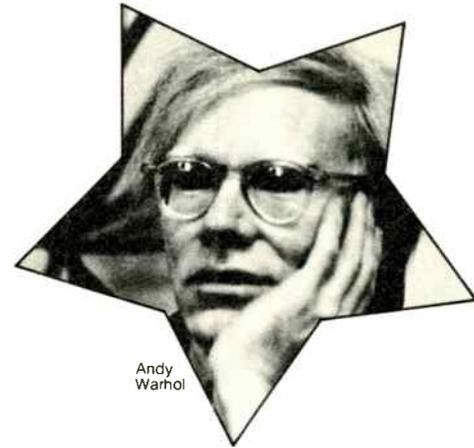
In the normal run of events, the newsweekly cultural departments produce a cover story every two months or so. After a series of gloom or doom covers, *Time* and *Newsweek* managing editors are seized by a powerful editorial urge: “Let’s get off the reader’s back.” Successive stories on Gerald Ford, the recession, and Arab oil are enough to bring on this feeling. This means: it is time to run a features cover. The back of the book is regarded as visual relief for readers bowed over with the cares of the world. It is not art for art’s sake (as it should be), but art for the read-



Liv Ullmann



Governor Jerry Brown



Andy Warhol

er's sake. One week after "The Agony of Cambodia" on the cover of *Newsweek* and "The American Jews and Israel" on *Time's* cover, the actress Liv Ullmann appeared on the front of *Newsweek* and the singer Cher appeared on *Time*. It could easily have happened the other way around; a few cycles ago on the celebrity circuit *Time* had Ullmann on its cover, while *Newsweek* had Shirley MacLaine. *Time's* timing was the appearance of Ullmann in the American-made film *Lost Horizon*, while *Newsweek's* was her opening in Ibsen's *A Doll's House* in New York. While the "news peg" is not really required in the 1970s-style *People* magazine, the traditional news magazines still find it necessary to justify their personality stories; usually the justifying peg can be found no more than two or three paragraphs down in the story. It must explain to the busy reader why non-public affairs material is must reading that week and not some other week. Thus, *Newsweek*: "[Ullmann is] at the moment possibly the most charismatic actress in the world" And *Time*: "Cher proves that at least one American dream lives; she gives evidence that show business can still reach out among the adolescent millions and — with a little luck and a lot of hype — transform a mildly talented woman into a hot, multi-million dollar property." Few editors are above this sort of thing, including the editors of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, who wondered if an article on the rise of the personality story offered a rare opportunity to put Liv Ullmann on the cover of *this* magazine.

The daily newspapers are also deeply in the gossip business. Many newspapers, to their credit, have cut back drastically on the Lolly-from-Hollywood column fixtures, just as many newspapers have finally abandoned the old "Women's Pages" rubric and the columns of "club" news. Sections are now called "Family" or "Living" or "Tempo" or "Style" or "Accent." These changes have visibly raised the quality of newspapers across the country, most notably in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Los Angeles. But no one should be fooled by the new graphics and titles. Newspaper gossip has been re-packaged in a form somewhere between the *National Star* and *People*. Perhaps the two most striking examples of the new newspaper pages are *The Washington Post's* "Style" section and the *Washington Star's* "Portfolio." Both sections are well read, according to the readership surveys conducted by

the papers. Both sections are well written; one *Post* editor believes that the "Style" section is "the only place in our paper with any bright passages." Both sections go in heavily for personality stories and both sometimes look alike; both the *Star* and the *Post* had almost identical over-size close-up photos of Cybill Shepherd in their feature pages a few weeks back.

Television has its own versions of the newspaper "Style" sections and the magazine personality pieces. Shows such as NBC's *Today*, ABC's *A.M. America*, and the syndicated *Dinah's Place* (Dinah Shore) are like newspaper feature pages or news-magazine cultural departments; they are the TV "back of the book" to the "serious" front of the book of the Cronkite or Chancellor or Smith-Reasoner evening news. These television feature shows are more voracious consumers of star personalities than the newspapers. Even local shows in major markets have "producers" who are nothing more than full-time bookers of celebrity talent. Dianne Ellis, a former associate producer of *Dinah's Place*, recalls a hard and fast rule: "With five shows a week, in four of them we must have a name . . ." Some personalities became "names" mostly for being on the talk shows; Orson Bean or Totie Fields, for example. But others are names who are usually interested in appearing to plug something; everyone scratches each other's back. To break up the appearance of too-obvious promotion for the guest's new film or book or record album, the *Dinah's Place* producers hit upon an "on-your-feet-demo" format. Guests would be asked to demonstrate a hobby or a cooking skill — and then segue into the "sit-down talk segment," where the talent can work in the plug.

Ellis now coordinates the talent for *Take It From Here*, a mid-morning program on WTTG (Metromedia) in Washington, where everyone's gossip antennas continually quiver and the personality form has taken over the mid-morning television dial. *Take It From Here* and its rivals, WTOP's *Nine in the Morning*, and *Panorama* (WRC) — as well as the dozens of other television talk-and-hawk shows across the country — receive almost no attention from communications scholars or social critics. But they should be seen for what they are: electronic reflections of *People* magazine, which in turn, as we saw, is modeled on a television style of brevity. Judith Martin of *The Washington Post*, a sharp-

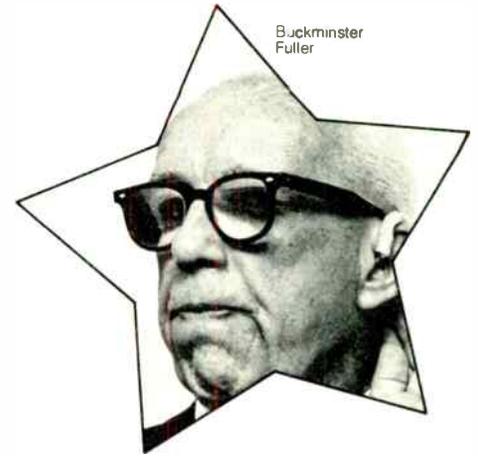
Jacqueline
Onassis



Ralph
Nader



Buckminster
Fuller



eyed "Style" writer who used to be known as a "society reporter," has developed an intriguing theory to explain why so many people like to listen to the small talk of star personalities. She believes that the talk shows, morning, noon, and night, are substitutes for traditional social discourse. If you invite real people into your house, then you have to make real conversation with them, which requires real thought. But if you invite television company, you don't need to cook, keep your shoes on, or make "even one civil comment." So every day and night, Martin says, "for hours and hours, a small group of actors and their friends relax on sofas placed in front of cameras and have mild, polite, social evenings. Sammy Davis, Jr. tells Dinah Shore that she is looking just great — that, in fact, she is the greatest! Dinah Shore smiles and says, Sammy, *you* are the greatest. Remember the time you were on my show and we had such fun? And Sammy Davis says, Yes, that's why I'm so happy to have you here on my show. And then they and the others talk shop talk. . . ." The viewer can "have" these people without moving from bed or board. It is the mass media's realization of the comment made by one of the young homosexuals in Mart Crowley's play *The Boys in the Band*: "One nice thing about masturbation is that you don't have to dress for it. . . ."

Most "serious" journalists pay little professional attention to the celebrity explosion. The gossip style is generally perceived as harmless stuff. "It's almost not worth getting upset about," Nora Ephron has written about the success of *People* magazine. Anything that can be disposed of in less than fifteen minutes should perhaps be treated like Kleenex. But the cult of personalities has steadily infiltrated the "front of the book" in magazines, newspapers, and TV.

This kind of empty entertainment uses not only show-business types (who gladly seek it out as perhaps their only way to make a living by building a career of ephemeral media appearances). The voracious appetite for personalities, the growing demand for *People*'s kind of respectable middle-class gossip, has made the celebrity circuit lucrative and tempting even for artists, writers, musicians, politicians — who also gladly, naively, or fearfully, allow themselves to be offered up as sacrifices to the people's

right to a constant diet of undemanding entertainment.

When artists or scientists or politicians are turned for a brief time into celebrities, they are presented to the public emptied of complexity, inevitably trivialized by the show-business imperatives of the thousand-word feature article, the ten-minute talk show appearance. Erica Jong? Sexy poet and novelist. Leonard Bernstein? Sexy conductor, knows Jackie Onassis. Henry Kissinger? Used to date a lot, now married to Nancy, who is very tall. What about literature, music, foreign policy? To use the media's own deadly phrase: they are turn-offs. Boring. They make people switch channels, read the sports section, read *People*. *Get off the reader's back.*

But when editors of magazines that pride themselves on their seriousness are confronted with one of these accomplished celebrities — as opposed to Boorstin's celebrity, who is well known only for being well known — they tend to be wary of serious content. *Newsweek* posed Erica Jong for a cover picture and *Time* had a Matina Horner story in preparation for almost a year. Jong was a poet before she became a celebrity. She may not be the best woman poet around, but she is fast becoming famous as the best-looking. Horner also had achieved professional status before she became president of Radcliffe College, and therefore a celebrity.

But while the Ullmann and Cher stories zipped right through the newsweekly editorial blenders, the Jong and Horner stories got stuck week after week. Jong eventually appeared inside the magazine — after a series of grim guerrilla struggles between the writer (a woman) and her editors (all male) — the week the Saigon regime collapsed. The personality "profile" format can't always carry the serious ideas of feminism or women's education. For the traditional news magazine, it is often easier to handle personalities in the bite-size format of the "Newsmakers" and "People" sections of the book, which are the best-read pages in any case.

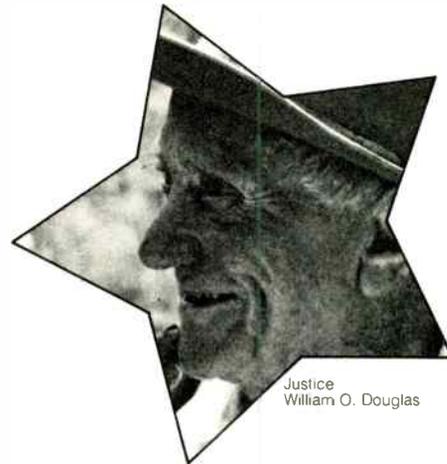
The newest accomplished people to be transformed into celebrities are journalists themselves. Mike and Lorraine Wallace and Tom and Pam Wicker have been recent couples in *People* magazine. The April 1975 cover of *The Washingtonian* magazine features a story on "The New Society" ("Power and Media are In/Money and Manners



Maharishi
Mahesh Yogi



Margaret
Mead



Justice
William O. Douglas

are Out”). The cover is a photograph of a blonde reporter coyly identified as Sally Starr of *The Washington Post*. For someone from out of town who doesn’t immediately get the reference, the story makes it all clear. The media have become our newest aristocracy; they are more important than the people they cover. One day Gerald Ford shows up at the Sans Souci and can’t get served; the media stars — from Buchwald to Quinn to Woodstein — have all the reserved tables.

The idea of a media aristocracy looks progressively less ridiculous every day. While *The Washingtonian* was still on the newsstands, the *Post* “Style” section devoted a long, multiple-by-line article to the making of the film *All the President’s Men* — written by *Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein — and to the production’s effect on the reporters and their editors and associates. The resulting corridor-of-mirrors effect — editors editing copy about themselves — was so mind-bending that Alexander Cockburn was led to complain in *The Village Voice*.

The piece ends up on some sort of mad further shore of journalism where [*Post* executive editor Benjamin C.] Bradlee portentously allows himself to be quoted as saying, “The press has a profound effect on life in America. If we are going to support the people’s right to know then we’re going to have to support the people’s right to know about us.”

Evidently Bradlee feels “the people” are right to demand their right, and wants to spend as much time as possible adjusting his tie and combing his hair in the mirror of his own newspaper

But viewed logically, the *Post* looking at Hollywood looking at the *Post* looking at Watergate in the name of reader interest, is the inevitable result of personality journalism. As a *Post* writer explained to me, “We made the old society with our attention, and now they turn on us when we direct the publicity spotlight somewhere else” And, anyway, the *Post* writer adds, “Press people are more interesting than a lot of other people. . . .”

In real life as well, public figures have learned to play their roles as interesting, accessible entertainers. Presidential candidates arrive at airports and throw their arms around local politicians they have never seen before — just like the show business folk at the Tony Awards. Academics develop *shlick*. John Kenneth Galbraith is tall and dour; Milton

Friedman is bald and deflating; Eliot Janeway is the rude one (Johnny Carson actually does a Janeway imitation). The new Attorney General always wears a bow tie. Dr. Rae Goodell of MIT in her research has hit upon the idea of the “visible scientists” — experts who are expert on using the media. The Margaret Meads, Linus Paulings and Barry Commoners know how to make news on public-policy issues; visible scientists are issue-oriented, controversial, articulate, colorful, credible — and consequently they are usually called upon for issue-oriented, controversial, articulate, etc., etc. comment by reporters who have come to expect headline-grabbing quotes and “colorful” copy.

Finally, as complex problems are reduced to personality stories, world events and the news itself becomes trivialized. A recent *Newsweek* cover depicted Henry Kissinger as Gulliver being swarmed over by lilliputian figures representing the fighting in Indochina, Greek-Turkish tensions, the Ninety-fourth Congress and the collapse of Arab-Israeli negotiations. Caricature is an old art; but in *Newsweek*, the Kissinger personality has replaced the traditional Uncle Sam figure and literally dwarfs the biggest issues of the day. It was a kind of cartoon justice, then, when one public response to the fall of Saigon was to demand the resignation of the star, rather than to call into question the underlying assumptions of American policy in Indochina (and around the world).

Of course, the demand for Kissinger’s resignation subsided quickly enough, and the spectacle of the most decisive military defeat in American history and the wreckage of twenty-five years of foreign policy soon sank with hardly a trace in the big media. A few months later, Kissinger was helping provide new entertainment again, albeit unwittingly this time. An enterprising reporter had gone to Henry’s and Nancy’s garbage cans on a Georgetown street and dutifully described his findings in the *National Enquirer*. After the first shock had worn off, the act that the Kissingers had called “disgusting” could be seen for what it was: the logical final extension of the media search for “items” (actually, rock writer A. J. Weberman did the same garbage number on Bob Dylan years ago). The free press has become garbage scavengers. Was that what the founding fathers — or even *People* magazine — had in mind? ■

NATIONAL NOTES

Faulk talks back

MADISONVILLE, TEX.

John Henry Faulk, the homespun Texas humorist blacklisted from radio because an outfit called AWARE Inc. considered him pro-communist, recently finished his first talk-show stint since he was fired by WCBS in New York almost twenty years ago. CBS, meanwhile, is scheduled to broadcast in early November a two-hour dramatization of Faulk's book, *Fear on Trial*, which is about his blacklisting, his 1956 firing by the CBS flagship station in New York, and his ultimately successful legal fight against those who defamed him. Faulk, who at sixty-three comes across as wise and uncynical, says he is "amused and impressed" by this development.

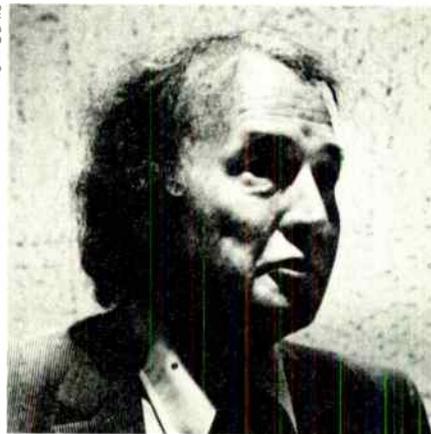
Faulk was hired by Dallas's WRR last January and put on the air from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Friday. He quit in May when he was told that the station was subscribing to the new NBC all-news radio service which would have cut his show to fifteen minutes.

At the time he was hired, Faulk says, WRR's management "told me I could have anyone I wanted on [the show] and could discuss any subject I wanted to." His guests included Barry Commoner, George McGovern, a Texas commercial airline pilot labeled subversive in a state police dossier because he opposed construction of a nuclear power plant, Texas's conservative U.S. Senator John Tower, and a naval rear admiral whom Faulk twitted about the size of the nation's defense budget. Faulk took phone calls, and his ratings soared.

"I built up an image as a congenial fellow from down the road a piece," explains Faulk. "When I introduced myself, I stressed that I was native born and educated at the University of Texas. Once I got 'em comfortable, I hit 'em over the head just a bit." Faulk regarded his talk show as a dialogue on the Bill of

Rights, especially the First Amendment. His commitment led him to assail Texas liberals who opposed one of Governor Dolph Briscoe's nominees to the University of Texas board of regents because of the nominee's past membership in the John Birch Society. "I thought that approach was completely unfair,"

Tom Curtis



John Henry Faulk back on the radio

says Faulk. "What they should have been discussing were his feelings on education." Faulk was bemused when Dallas members of the Birch Society phoned his show "with high praise for me for supporting that fine, white, Christian association. I had to tell them that I didn't support the Birch Society but that I was for anybody's right to join it, and I told them I felt the same way about the communists and the KKK." Faulk continues, "You know, I've always felt that one of the greatest American rights is the right to be wrong and not get punished for it." Tom Curtis

Bureaucrat bites reporter, gets mauled

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

We're used to hearing about investigative reporters who win prizes by exposing wrongdoing among politicians and

bureaucrats. But when a California bureaucrat named Jack Keppel turned the tables and did some reporting on a newspaper columnist who Keppel felt was abusing his powers, he was rewarded with a reprimand and a lawsuit.

Keppel, a mid-level manager in the California Department of Veterans Affairs, was angered by a series of columns by Earl Waters, a Sacramento-based writer whose daily column appears, Waters says, in about fifty newspapers around the state. The offending columns generally criticized the veterans department for its handling of the Cal Vet program, under which eligible veterans receive low-interest home loans from the state. Keppel, it seems, felt Waters had distorted several facts and, in at least one instance, a quotation in an attempt to strengthen his case. A check of the record shows that Waters did, in fact, suppress part of a quote. Waters wrote in a 1974 column:

Johnson's [H. J. Johnson, manager of the program] lack of knowledge of the lending business was even more clearly revealed in his testimony before the committee.

Asked by Assemblyman Peter Chacon if he knew the average costs of homes currently being purchased by veterans, he responded: No, I can't say precisely what it is."

But the committee transcript shows that the full quote was: "No, I can't say precisely what it is. It is around 25,000 [dollars]."

What particularly angered Keppel was Waters's failure to acknowledge that he himself held a Cal Vet loan and that he had been denied special treatment in connection with it (Waters asked that Cal Vet make advance payments of his property taxes. Cal Vet refused and was upheld in its decision by an advisory panel).

Keppel wrote letters to the editors of several of the publications that printed Waters's column, charging the columnist

with distorted coverage, disclosing that Waters had a Cal Vet loan, and outlining the special treatment he had sought.

Waters responded with several columns charging that Keppel's action broke a state law that prohibits opening the contents of a veteran's loan file to public inspection. According to Waters, bureaucrats were using illegal means to stifle their critics in the press.

Waters did not mention that he himself had already referred publicly to the case when, at a public meeting of the veterans board in 1973, he complained about the veterans department's handling of his loan and reviewed the same situations (though not in identical detail) that Keppel described.

However, none of this stopped the then- department director, Frank D. Nicol, from apologizing to Waters in writing and stating that Keppel had been admonished.

But Waters apparently still wasn't satisfied. Earlier this year, he filed a \$1.1 million damage suit against Keppel and five John Does, charging them with conspiracy, libel, and other crimes, including violation of the confidentiality law. Waters says the suit will cost little because an attorney friend took it for a contingency fee. But for Keppel, so far it's meant \$1,000 in legal fees. Says Keppel, "If I had it all to do over again, I wouldn't." *Robert Fairbanks*

New wrinkles in forecasting

BOSTON, MASS.

"And here I always thought I was their token old guy," says meteorologist Fred Ward. Last April, WNAC-TV, a CBS affiliate, relieved the forty-five-year-old Ward of his weather forecasting duties on weeknight broadcasts and replaced him with twenty-five-year old Stuart Saroka. Ward, a TV weatherman since the early 1960s, then filed suit with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, charging the station with removing him because of his age.

The case promises to be a milestone, one of the first dealing with the common practice among TV stations of shuffling



TV weathermen Ward (top) and Saroka

personalities in their scramble to attract viewers. A WNAC official told the press that the switch was made simply to appeal to a younger audience, the eighteen-to-thirty-four set. A lawyer for the station later amended that to read "appeal to audiences generally" and said that WNAC had its ratings to think about. He went on to say that there were other reasons for the change (none of which he chose to cite), adding that to say Ward was removed purely because of age was ridiculous.

Where all of this leaves the Commission Against Discrimination remains to be seen. From WNAC's standpoint it can be argued that the station has a right to appeal to whatever audience it chooses and if that means Saroka and not Ward, so be it. Still, if the station admits that the audience it seeks is younger and replaces an older man with a younger, it's hard to see how age wasn't the motivating factor.

"Let's face it," commented one Boston newsman, "Fred knows his weather, but he's being sacrificed because he looks fifty." *Peter Nichols*

For lack of a shield

COCOA, FLA.

Florida, which prides itself on being one of the few states in the nation to permit

live broadcasts of state legislative sessions, lacks a journalists' shield law. For lack of such a shield, two reporters are currently working their way through the state courts, appealing convictions for refusing to reveal sources or to answer questions before a grand jury.

Lucy Ware Morgan, a reporter for *The St. Petersburg Times*, was found in contempt on both of these charges. Morgan won a reversal of her first conviction (for refusing to answer a district attorney's questions about her sources) on narrow legal grounds; she has appealed her conviction for refusing to answer questions before a grand jury.

Mary Jo Tierney, a reporter for *Cocoa's Today*, a 55,000-circulation daily belonging to the Gannett group, was sentenced to six hours in the Brevard County jail for declining to answer questions before a grand jury. But that was only the beginning.

The judge in the case refused to grant Tierney bail, saying that to do so would defeat the purpose of the sentence: to compel her to testify during the limited life of the grand jury. An appeals court, however, granted her temporary bail pending a hearing on both the bail question and the contempt citation. In the meantime, Tierney was hauled before the same grand jury and, once again, she refused to answer questions. This time the judge sentenced her to thirty days in jail for contempt. That sentence is also being appealed.

What makes the Tierney case unusual is the grand jury's apparent failure to cite any specific stories in *Today* as the reason for the attempt to compel her to testify, although news reports earlier this year suggested that the grand jury was reopening an investigation of the Melbourne police department and was unhappy with the way the state's attorney presented criminal cases. In fact, reporters who are familiar with the case suggest that no news stories were involved, but that witnesses before the grand jury have alleged that other witnesses talked to Tierney.

Both the Morgan and Tierney cases appear to be strong arguments for a Florida shield law. The state legislature shows no sign of enacting one.

David R. Branch

Kissinger and the press – revisited

Is tearing him down
the new cliché?

by ROGER MORRIS

“I don’t mean to say that all this will last forever. In fact, it may evaporate as quickly as it came.”

Henry Kissinger on his popularity with the press and public
Interview with Oriana Fallaci
November 4, 1972

Last year he was the miraculous “Super K.” Muscles rippling beneath the familiar blue suit and cape, his sleek caricature on the cover of the June 10, 1974 *Newsweek* soared in upward flight. Détente in Moscow and Peking, a Nobel Prize for peace in Vietnam, arms control, disengagement in the Sinai — his apparent feats, and an admiring press to match, made the cartoon seem almost plausible.

Only ten months later, the same man on the cover of the same magazine had been transformed, and again the symbolism reflected a widespread trend in the media. The superman had become a pudgy Gulliver, watching helplessly as lilliputian figures of Vietcong, U.S. Congressmen, Arabs and Israelis, Portuguese Communists, and other assorted international protagonists tied him down. For *Newsweek’s* cover illustrators, as for much of journalism in 1975, Henry Kissinger, diplomat extraordinary, had been brought abruptly back to earth. (The magazine’s editors even emphasized his fall by running both covers on the contents page.)

The curdling coverage of Kissinger mirrored in the *Newsweek* covers seems in some respects an inevitable result of the dramatic international setbacks suf-

fered by U.S. foreign policy in recent months. In relentless succession there came the Greek-Turkish clash in Cyprus and a bitter congressional fight over U.S. diplomacy in the crisis, new revelations of covert intervention in Chile, fresh doubts about détente with the Soviet Union, an ominous leftist coup in Portugal and a weakening of NATO, the collapse of Mideast shuttle diplomacy, and, perhaps most shocking, this spring’s final debacle in Indochina. Just as he was personally celebrated by the media for earlier successes, Kissinger has become the focus of these seeming foreign policy failures. At the least, as a usually applauding *Time* magazine put it in an April 7 report entitled “What Now for Henry?”, the secretary of state faced “a time of testing and questioning.” To other commentators, the gathering troubles in American foreign relations were, in Jack Anderson’s words, “Kissinger’s mistakes . . . catching up with him.”

Yet the images of Superman and Gulliver may say more about the continuing woes of diplomatic journalism than about Kissinger and his policies. If the star-struck “Henry” press clippings of 1969 to 1974 have become fewer (they have not, alas, disappeared entirely), many of the underlying weaknesses of that kind of coverage persist — and ironically, they have come to haunt the man who benefited so much from them. Superficial analysis and reporting on personalities rather than issues often exaggerate Kissinger’s responsibility for diplomatic failures, much as those flaws earlier inflated his role in favorable developments. A refusal to probe beyond conventional diplomatic subjects once hid Kissinger’s neglect of human rights and economic issues; lately, the same narrow journalism has tended to obscure some of his most promising initiatives in the energy and food problems, and has largely ignored his only major reform of the State Department bureaucracy. Whether pro or con for Kissinger, there

are still signs in foreign-affairs coverage of the self-invented and crippling pressures for news “today” and for jolting headlines. There remains a too ready reliance on “highest sources,” and a similar reluctance to look independently and thoughtfully at long-run developments.

As a general proposition, of course, the media’s more critical approach to Kissinger, as to any public official, is no doubt a healthy expression of the adversary relationship between the press and government. It has been a corrective to his virtual enthronement by some reporters, and to the almost mystical view of foreign-policy questions among some editors and correspondents. Beyond that, however, there has been little in either the manner or substance of Kissinger’s comeuppance to indicate that the new journalism needed in international affairs has arrived.

“Even *Parade* is against us,” the secretary of state reportedly complained to an assistant when a recent issue of the widely circulated Sunday magazine supplement ran an article mildly critical of his record. It has been a mark of the recent criticism — the *Parade* piece, an attack on détente by Melvin Laird in *Reader’s Digest*, and several editorials by CBS commentator Eric Sevareid are notable examples — that much of it has come from quarters where Kissinger used to enjoy warm support, or at least a bland tolerance. Among the numerous ironies in this disaffection is the fact that Kissinger aides are now pointing ruefully to such criticism as evidence of a sameness of reporting. “The press is living proof of the domino theory,” said one official. “Jess Gorkin [the editor of *Parade*] was always hard on Henry in private, but he didn’t go into print until everybody else began to go after us.”

Whatever the validity of this particular “domino theory” of media disillusionment with Kissinger, a wide sam-

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pling suggests that many in the broadcast and print media seem to have discovered Kissinger's flaws around the last week in March, sometime between the assassination of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and the evacuation of Danang. The "dismal catalog" (*Newsweek*), "accumulation of deficiencies" (*The New Republic*), "coming apart at the seams" (*U.S. News and World Report*) continued through April and the fall of Vietnam, was relieved in mid-May by the gunboat dramatics of the *Mayagüez* raids, and then trailed off, as headline events subsided, in June and early July.

Such reports also tended to follow similar and familiar themes. As they manage with uncanny frequency, for instance, *Time* and *Newsweek* in their matching cover stories on April 7 described Kissinger's blunders in almost identical formulas: "unwilling to delegate authority" (*Time*) and "urge to manage every crisis" (*Newsweek*); "unable to deal with Senators and Representatives" (*Time*) and Congress "chafing under Kissinger's control of foreign policy" (*Newsweek*). "Policy failures implicate him personally," said *Time*, while *Newsweek* echoed his "tendency to take criticism and setbacks personally."

The more serious problem is not that these characterizations are depressingly alike, or even grossly inaccurate. They are as valid in that sense as the blurbs of not so long ago about the "Merlin of American diplomacy," or Kissinger's "magic mastery of the policy process." Then glib admiration, now facile indictment; for many reporters these clichés are a substitute for the hard, precise journalism needed as much in diplomacy as in legislative politics.

Not that better reporting would assure a more or less sympathetic portrayal of Kissinger himself. For example, State Department officials now argue (with impressive backing from several sources on Capitol Hill) that Kissinger's stock in the Congress was never so low as last spring's news reports suggested. The broad congressional support of the administration's actions in the *Mayagüez* crisis, they contend, demonstrates Kissinger's basic strength on both sides of the aisle. On the other hand, as *The Washington Post's* Laurence Stern showed in a Summer

1975 article on the Cyprus crisis in *Foreign Policy* magazine, a thorough investigation behind the clichés can also reveal a chilling story of neglected intelligence reports, diplomatic deception, and indifference to human costs — all with implications that go beyond any single episode, and all forming a more stinging indictment of Kissinger than any phrase or cartoon.

One of the more conspicuous failures of the media's six-year separate peace with Henry Kissinger was the aversion of both to important economic issues. Though the energy crisis and world famine put economic policy in the headlines in 1975, the earlier indifference of the press became little more than a ritual observation that Washington lacked a coherent policy and that Kissinger lacked any real competence in the subject. With few exceptions, such as Dan Morgan's reports on the bureaucratic politics of food policy for *The Washington Post* or Joseph Kraft's profile of OPEC in *The New Yorker*, most journalists continue to steer away from cluttered, undiplomatic matters like commodity policies or indexing of international prices to comparative costs of living. The irony here is that at last Kissinger seems to be devoting more serious and sustained attention to economic questions, only to discover that his hard-earned initiation is generally no better reported than his previous unconcern. Officials point in particular to the media's relative neglect of two major speeches by Kissinger in late May, one proposing a \$1 billion world food reserve, and the other delivering to Europeans a diplomatically touchy admonition to reform their domestic economies to develop alternative energy sources independent of Arab oil.

Coming from Kissinger, the supreme political determinist, the two speeches seem almost revolutionary. According to several official sources, both speeches were the product of heated bureaucratic battles inside the Ford administration. That the battles took place is evidence of the significance of Kissinger's conversion to more sophisticated economic theory, as well as evidence of the often decisive but largely unknown grip of the Treasury and Agriculture Departments on foreign policy.

Both speeches opened opportunities for further investigation and analysis of U.S. policymaking in these crucial areas. Equally important, the subjects of both speeches offered examples of the inherent limits of any diplomacy, however skillful or sophisticated, to deal with problems deeply rooted in the social and cultural organization of other societies. Yet, in much of the press, reports of the speeches ran a poor second to post-crisis reports on the *Mayagüez* episode. "It was like selling manure while the Pentagon was giving out roses," said one Kissinger aide about efforts to promote attention to the speeches. "In economic policy Henry's the radical and Simon and Butz are straight out of the twenties," observed another high official familiar with the bureaucratic skirmishes, "but we can't even get credit for that."

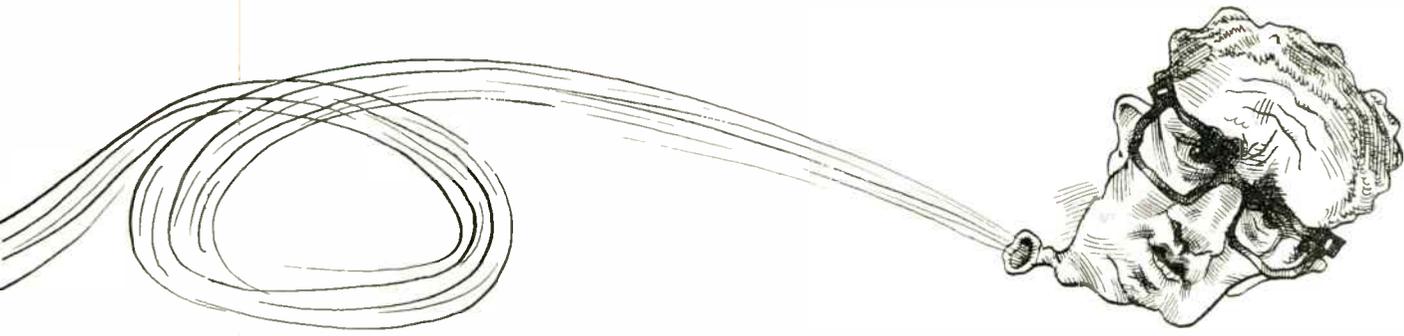
Some officials complain even more sharply about similar inattention by the press to recent administrative reform in the State Department. If Kissinger's economic myopia is now part of the media's conventional wisdom, his "one-man diplomacy" and failure to shake up the notoriously slothful Foreign Service bureaucracy have also been among the staples of the new criticism that reached its height amid the disasters of last spring. In late June, though, the State Department announced with special fanfare what was termed a "significant" change in long-established administrative procedures. The heart of the reform was that State's regional bureaus, the traditional power base of the permanent bureaucracy, were to be divested of the financial resources and authority to make key middle-level personnel assignments. That function was to go henceforth to a new task force directly under the secretary of state. To suggest a rough analogy to the organizational politics of journalism, it was something like the New York headquarters management of a newspaper chain taking from its editors in Cincinnati or St. Paul the power to hire, fire, and re-assign local reporters. Potentially, the change could be the beginning of the revitalization of the bureaucracy that some of Kissinger's critics have faulted him for neglecting.

My own guess is that the reform impulse will peter out in the long run, ex-

hausted both by Kissinger's distraction with policy and the dogged staying power of the bureaucracy whatever the procedural changes of the season. But once more the important point is not so much the specific merits of the action or fairness to Kissinger for his effort. The fact that a secretary of state even addressed this critical structural issue, adequately or not, should have been important news. Kissinger's predecessors certainly left the monster untouched. And to understand the enormous behind-the-scenes impact of personnel practices and budget control is to begin to understand the making of foreign policy. Like Kissinger's May economic speeches, at the least the reform announcement should have pointed the media toward issues and personalities *they* have long neglected. One might think the stories would have flowed if only because "Henry" said it was "significant" — which in some quarters was once all a potential news subject needed for generous coverage. But the reform was simply snubbed or buried by most papers, ignored almost entirely by the television networks, and scarcely noticed by commentators.

In addition to the economic and administrative issues, there is still another subject in which relative lack of coverage seems to reflect a larger problem than merely the question of fairness to Kissinger. While recent policy failures have been headlined, replete with predictions of Kissinger's departure, few reporters have looked closely at the alternatives, at the rival men and policies that stand to replace Kissinger's extraordinary command over our foreign relations. During the collapse of Indochina, for example, CBS commentator Eric Sevareid suggested in a pungent evening news editorial that it might well be time for the secretary of state to step aside for other "wise" and "experienced" men such as former undersecretary of state George Ball or former ambassador to Moscow and author George Kennan. But neither Sevareid's nominations nor numerous other similar suggestions have appraised in any depth the records of such men. Without dwelling here on specific personalities, it should give journalists at least some pause to reflect that the vast





majority of men waiting in the establishment line for Kissinger's job also bear substantial responsibility for the involvement in Southeast Asia, were privy to some of the more sordid covert intelligence exercises of pre-Nixon administrations, generally have scorned any meaningful bureaucratic reform of the State Department, and in many cases have been less sensitive to economic issues than Henry Kissinger has been recently.

Once again, it is not the press's responsibility to keep Kissinger in office or try to embarrass his rivals or would-be successors. But as current policies come under fire and the 1976 election nears with the very real prospect of Kissinger's retirement, the public is surely owed some thoughtful reporting on the men and actions that may lie in our future. If there is, after all, one overwhelming lesson in the past seven years in foreign affairs, it is that men like Kissinger can become more important, and perhaps more powerful, than even the presidents they serve. Alert journalism might begin now to investigate the personalities and public records of the likely candidates for Kissinger's office, whether under President Ford or a Democratic newcomer.

To look ahead at such subjects, however, will require an escape from the ingrained habits that still stunt diplomatic journalism. It was the uncritical editorial insistence on current, conventionally "dramatic" news, for instance, that seems to have accounted for the lavish coverage of the *Mayagüez* to the neglect of events like Kissinger's speeches, though the latter will be relevant long after Tang Island or the Marine landings are a footnote. Similarly, as press critics like Charles Seib have argued, it was the chronic reach for headlines that ex-

plained much of the media's splashing of Kissinger's now famous *Business Week* interview of January 13, 1975. "I'm not saying that there's no circumstance where we would not use force," he said about possible military action to secure oil supplies. His statement came only in response to a direct question, and his first words were: "A very dangerous course. We should have learned from Vietnam. . . ." But the din of subsequent headlines drowned out his caveat and highlighted the threat. The same fondness for drama probably explains the flurry of stories this summer about a possible invasion of South Korea by the North. Influenced by officials trying to salvage something of the discredited rationale for Vietnam, watching the maneuvers of the South Korean regime to wheedle more military aid from the U.S. by the time-honored tactic of a war scare, reporters have suddenly "found" North Korean belligerence, which, like the tunnels under the demilitarized zone, has been there for years.

Perhaps we soon will have come full circle. In a column scheduled for publication in July, for example, commentator Tom Braden found that Kissinger was "No. 1 once again." The "sources" in the oval office have "changed their tune," Kissinger "has moved from opinions he was voicing last spring," and "has succeeded in so posturing himself that he cannot be blamed if the next effort fails" in the Mideast. But so long as we judge and report foreign affairs in such terms, both the media and the public will continue to be unwitting prisoners of "sources" and "posturing."

The task of a new journalism in foreign affairs is no more beyond the profession now than it was a year ago.

As always, it is a question of recognizing the difficulties, habits, and pressures, and moving independently to look at and practice reporting on a fresh basis.

There is a vast ground for responsible diplomatic journalism between the current facile disillusionment with Kissinger and last season's cozy co-option with "Henry." Ironically, the problem still seems to be a lack of the very quality the media are supposed to have cultivated to excess after Watergate: confidence. The confidence to dig beyond handouts or the assumptions of colleagues, the confidence to recognize foreign policy as simply politics and human nature under a fancy canopy, would lead journalists beyond the misleading formulas they have used to explain Kissinger's failures just as it would have exposed the earlier clichés about his success. In that sense, one of Kissinger's greatest services, in his passage from Super K to Gulliver, is that he has demonstrated so vividly the importance of luck and chance and vulnerability in the conduct of foreign policy — just as they are important in the conduct of all human affairs.

The new reporting needed in foreign policy will not be easy. There remains in diplomatic journalism, as in government, an inbred establishment that for obvious reasons resists the demystification of its subject and a return to shirt-sleeve journalism. The toughening coverage of Kissinger last spring, albeit flawed, could be a start. But trimming personalities to size is only a beginning. Beyond that task are stark issues of power and suffering in the world, issues which will haunt the American public long after Henry Kissinger has become a society-page note, and issues which American journalism has a long overdue responsibility to make plain. ■

Why we haven't heard the Nixon tapes

The courts' distinction between broadcasting and printing the tapes is instinctive as well as legal

by BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR.

Almost everyone has heard phrases, and even jokes based on phrases, from transcripts of the Nixon tapes. And yet, while the published transcripts have become widely known, the courts have yet to permit public broadcast or copying of the tapes that were publicly admitted into evidence during the Watergate trial.

The unsuccessful attempts of broadcasters and one record company to obtain aural copies of the tapes raise a host of fascinating legal questions: why does the judiciary seem to be less trusting of broadcast than of printed dissemination of evidence? And, does the constitutional mandate that criminal trials should be "public" apply only to the few who can squeeze into American courtrooms?

During the Watergate trial, all persons present — judge, jury, lawyers, journalists, members of the public — were furnished with earphones to listen to the portions of the tapes that were admitted into evidence. Written transcripts of the tapes that were played were provided by the court to journalists and were widely published. When, during the trial, a consortium of broadcasters petitioned for an aural copy of the tapes,

the matter was initially referred to Judge Gerhard Gesell, a federal district judge in the District of Columbia. He rejected the broadcasters' First Amendment claims to aural copies of the tapes on the ground that the Amendment was satisfied if the press and the public heard the tapes during the trial, and if no restraints were imposed on their reporting about the tapes. Nevertheless, he initially upheld the broadcasters' right to receive copies of the tapes on the basis of the custom of Anglo-American courts that members of the public (including journalists) have the privilege of inspecting and copying documents or photographs received in evidence. However, Judge Gesell did not order that the copies of the tapes be provided forthwith. Court personnel, needed to oversee the making of copies, were preoccupied during the trial, Judge Gesell noted, and should not be given additional responsibilities until the trial was concluded. Moreover, Judge Gesell concluded that release of a copy of the tapes must be conditioned on submission of a plan for distribution of copies

JOURNALISM AND THE LAW

"which does not permit overcommercialization of the evidence," and which allowed all persons who wanted copies of the tapes to be accommodated without favoritism.

Within the month, the broadcasters came up with a plan whereby a master copy of the portions of the tapes admitted in evidence would be created (at the broadcasters' expense) by an engineer appointed by the court, and then one of a suggested number of private or governmental organizations, as Judge Gesell would determine, could reproduce and sell the tapes at or near cost to anyone who wished to buy them. (The cost of a complete set, it was estimated, would run about \$88.)

Judge Gesell rejected this plan last January. The broadcasters, he said, had "failed even to consider" that "commercialization of the tapes or any undignified use of the material be minimized." Moreover, the proposed plan was said to "suggest no responsible agency or person to administer the plan." Judge Gesell transferred the matter back to District Judge John Sirica.

In April the effort to have the tapes released for public consumption also failed before Judge Sirica. His main concern was to protect the defendants from prejudice due to unfavorable publicity (and the opportunity of having subsequent convictions overturned) in the event of a reversal of their current convictions by an appellate court and a new trial.

But it was not only the risk of prejudice to the defendants in the event of retrial that concerned Judge Sirica. He referred to "the sensitive nature of the presidential tapes," and to the likelihood that release of the tapes

"would result in the manufacture of permanent phonograph records and tape recordings, perhaps with commentary by journalists or entertainers; marketing of the tapes would probably involve mass merchandising techniques designed to generate excitement in an air of ridicule to stimulate sales. It is further implied that the tape copies would be put to untold varieties of inappropriate and scandalous uses, just as any other commercial recording would be."

He noted that because transcripts of the tapes played in the trial had been released to the public, "The argument that the public's right to know presents a compelling reason for granting immediate access to the tapes must be rejected."

Does the withholding of the tapes square with accepted traditions about the public availability of information about criminal cases? We start with the propositions that criminal trials routinely are covered by the press, that

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evidence admitted at trials may be reported by constitutional right and that our judicial tradition of facilitating this public scrutiny by making available copies of evidentiary documents is consistent with, if not required by, the principles of press freedom and public trials embodied in the First and Sixth Amendments. In a trial of great and legitimate public interest such as the Watergate prosecution, no judge true to these constitutional principles would bar the courtroom to members of the press and public, would withhold transcripts of evidence, or would condition the right to receive transcripts or report trials on a promise to keep information from "overcommercial" or "undignified" use. The danger that defendants might have a colorable claim of prejudicial publicity in the event of a new trial, the possibility that someone might derive some commercial advantage, or, heaven forbid, the hazard that cynically jocular or vulgar usage might be made of information disclosed at criminal trials — none of these is ground for limiting dissemination of information about criminal trials, or for preventing the reproduction and public appraisal of tangible evidence, such as pictures or documents.

The refusal to yield aural copies of the evidentiary portions of the Nixon tapes must be measured by the standards that routinely call for public release of copies of other sorts of evidence. Is there anything special about aural copies of these tapes that calls for withholding? No one could deny that there is a possibility of prejudice to defendants from the general public's hearing the tapes, but this danger was not thought to justify withholding from the public transcripts of the tapes introduced in evidence. The danger in the event of a new trial with a fresh jury does not override the public interest in information about criminal trials.

One can concede that copies of the tapes might cause greater prejudice than cold transcripts, but any additional modicum of prejudice is surely offset by the further public enlightenment to be gained from hearing the words and sounds rather than reading their printed translation. There are sounds like "uh-huh," which convey quite different attitudes depending on tone of voice; even

words and phrases may change meaning, depending on how they are uttered. If tapes were available, no court or other fact-finding body would accept transcripts as an adequate evidentiary substitute. Precisely the same considerations should apply to assessment of the public's interest.

To the judges' other concern that aural copies of the tapes might be put to undignified or commercial uses, the response consistent with the First Amendment must be: "So what?" As with the problem of possible prejudice to the defendants in the event of retrial, making public aural copies does not differ in principle from making public transcripts. Comedic and commercial use doubtless has been made of the transcripts — who has not enjoyed a timely "but it would be wrong, that's for sure"? No doubt such use would be made of aural copies. But, if the prospect of such use did not, and could not, justify keeping the *transcripts* from public view, how can aural copies be treated differently? Perhaps the reasons lie in judicial instincts that didn't surface in the judges' opinions.

A story has it that a network news executive met Chief Justice Earl Warren more than a decade ago, and told that great man of two of his ambitions. One was to put television cameras on the moon; and the other was to televise proceedings of the Supreme Court. "You'll get the former," the Chief Justice is said to have replied, "before you get the latter."

The judiciary in the United States has a deep suspicion of television in the courtroom, a suspicion that extends to other means of mass reproduction of courtroom experience, such as photography or radio broadcasts. In reviewing the trials of Dr. Sam Sheppard and Billy Sol Estes, the Supreme Court has strongly expressed its concern that justice may miscarry if criminal trials are allowed to become *causes célèbres*.

Unfortunately, there is no doubt that community pressures and the desires of authorities to convey lessons to the public can impair the judicial process. That the public aspect of criminal proceedings not overwhelm the capacity for discriminating, individualized justice is a goal which should be cherished by all

devoted to civil liberties — and not least by the press. Ultimately, press freedom rests on legal procedures that protect the long-run interest in free expression from pressure to bend to expedient demands of the moment. But the desire to insulate the legal process from public pressures does not justify judicial secrecy, or withholding information because the public may not handle it with dignity and respect. Equally to be avoided are the characteristics of mass trials in Havana Stadium, and the methods of the Star Chamber.

An accommodation between publicity and insulation is required if we are to protect individual rights and the public interest from the damage of either extreme, and an accommodation is what our legal tradition provides. Our courtrooms are not theaters, but some space is set aside for the press and the public. No limit may be imposed on the right of the press and the public to discuss what they have seen and heard, but the courts have so far sought to prevent unfiltered reproduction of trials before a mass audience. An essential element of this accommodation is the right of the press freely to present to the public information about the evidence that is admitted at trials, and where the evidence is in physical form that may be replicated, to provide the public with a replica.

Withholding the Nixon tapes from the public does not comport with our laws' experienced accommodation between openness and insulation of judicial proceedings. The trial is over; even if it were thought that public release of the tapes would further contribute to the extraordinary publicity that has surrounded the case from the beginning, the traditional right of access of members of the public to evidence, as opposed to mass merchandising of the trial itself, should govern. There may be a few exceptional types of evidence or categories of cases where public access to evidence should be barred. Juvenile proceedings are a recognized exception; perhaps certain types of graphic evidence that intrude on privacy very greatly, for example in a rape case, should be kept out of the public domain. But the Nixon tapes lie at the opposite extreme. It is hard to conceive of evidence in which the public in a democracy has a greater interest. ■

International censorship

The pressure for favorable coverage is on — and the world's media are feeling the squeeze

by BARRY RUBIN

A number of governments are trying to use political and economic pressure to enhance their "images" and to push their policies in the Western press. Major targets so far have included France, which has buckled on more than one occasion, and Japan, where China has managed to guarantee itself a good press image. The U.S. media are just beginning to feel the pressure. For example, U.S. news media were asked to comply with the Indian government's new requirement that foreign correspondents sign a pledge to abide by the country's strict state-of-emergency press-censorship laws. But this is only one of the more recent incidents in a worldwide conflict between the press and power.

This June, Uganda's president Idi Amin threatened to execute British subject Denis Hills for passages critical of Amin in an unpublished manuscript confiscated by Ugandan police. Amin made a number of demands before unconditionally releasing Hills — among others, that the British government stop the BBC from spreading "malicious propaganda" against Uganda and the British press from publishing "wild and baseless" reports that Uganda was in a state of chaos.

This was actually a continuation of a dispute begun a year earlier when Amin threatened to expel 1,200 British residents from that country because the BBC had aired what he called "anti-Ugandan propaganda." This consisted of reports on the International Commission of Jurists' accusations of severe and bloody repression in Uganda. Six months later, Amin repeated his threat as a result of an article which appeared in *The [London] Observer* reporting renewed internal conflicts in his nation.

"One cannot accept that General Amin is still so misinformed about the workings of the British system," wrote Peter Enahoro about the Uganda issue in *Africa* magazine, "that he would seriously believe that he can control what is said about him in the British press by waging a war on the British diplomatic staff in Kampala."

Enahoro seems to be wrong. Indeed, the question now arises how long nationals of any given country living and working abroad will be safe from reprisals for news reports critical of the local government.

Barry Rubin specializes in international affairs.

A few months ago *Deutsche Welle*, the West German foreign radio broadcasting service, stopped beaming its local-language news bulletins to Ethiopia after threats were made on the lives of German citizens living in Addis Ababa, according to the West German government. The Ethiopian government had particularly objected to press coverage of the war in Eritrea. Since the threats were published in Ethiopian government newspapers, the West Germans concluded that they had been approved by the military regime.

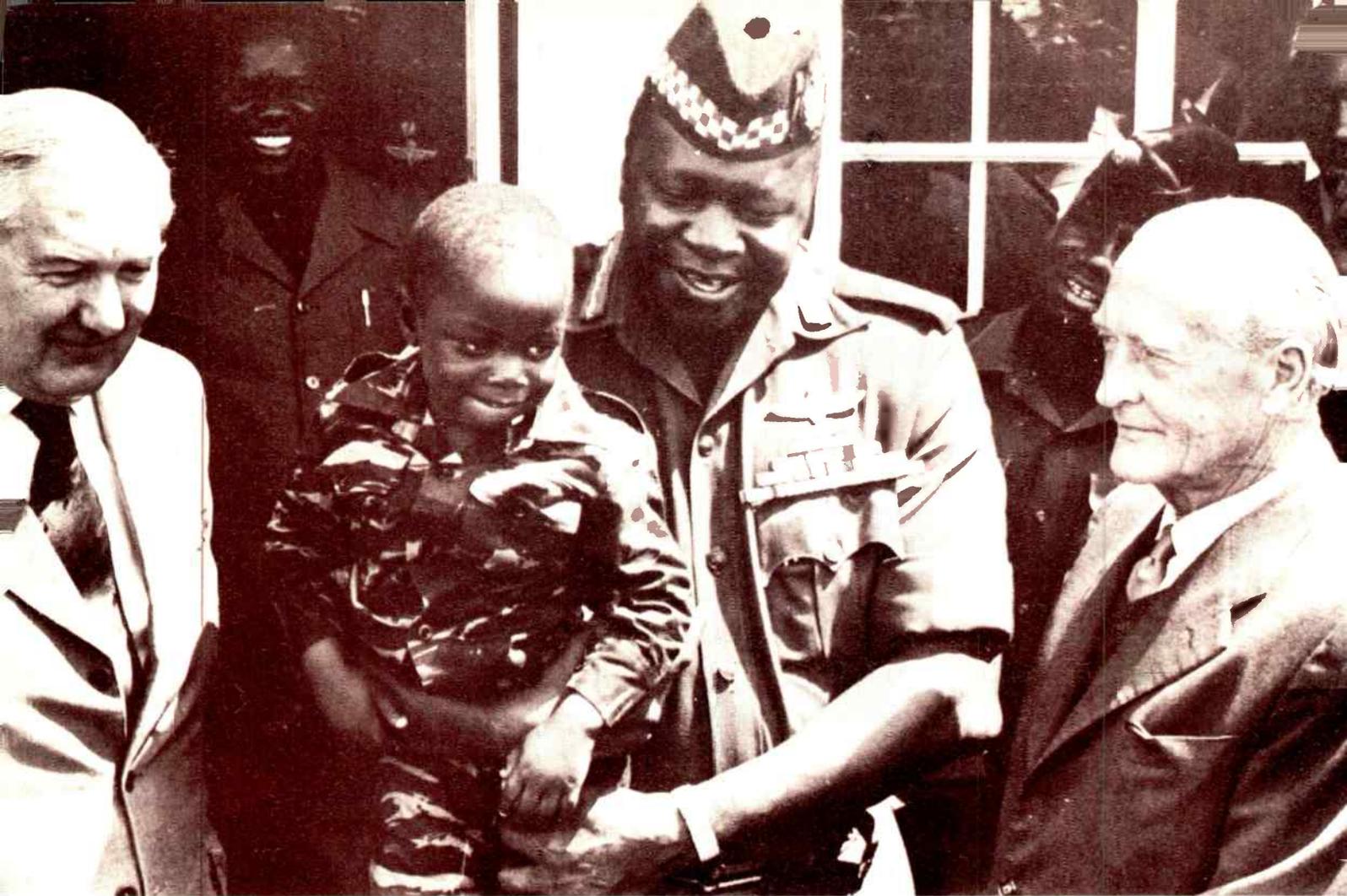
The government of drought-stricken Chad used its own people as hostages in a recent dispute with the U.S. press. Chad banned further direct American food relief efforts last October after a *New York Times* article charged "incompetence, apathy, and participation or toleration of profiteering on the part of persons close to the national leadership" in regard to aid supplies. Some 10,000 tons of grain due for delivery were refused. An American official was quoted as saying that Chad's then-President Ngarta Tombalbaye "feels insulted, and if taking food means taking insults, he'd rather do without the food."

Over the last two years Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko has successfully pressured the French government into banning distribution of three unfavorable biographies of himself. The first two were prohibited under Article 36 of the French press code for "offending a foreign head of

The Chinese in Paris: *The Chinese wanted it banned.*



French Film Office



Uganda's president Idi Amin releases British writer Denis Hills (right), whom he had sentenced to death for critical comments in an unpublished manuscript.

state." In the case of the second book, Mobutu specifically requested that the publishers be tried for libel, but out of this trial came the third biography — *The Rise of Mobutu*, by Jules Chomé, a Belgian who was one of the defense lawyers. Chomé accused Mobutu of having been helped into power by the CIA during the Congolese civil wars of the early 1960s and of having murdered several political rivals. The book was banned under Article 14 of the French press code, which permits the minister of the interior to prohibit distribution of works of foreign origin.

Chomé subsequently published his book in Belgium. The Mobutu regime had demanded that the book be banned there, too. The Belgian government replied that to ban the book — which was, after all, being published in Belgium, not in Zaire — would constitute a breach of freedom of expression. As a direct result of the book's publication, Zaire canceled its friendship treaty with Belgium last spring.

These incidents reveal some interesting premises on the part of Zaire's government. The Mobutu regime obviously felt it had the right to censor not only what its own population reads but also what people thousands of miles away read. In France, where government resistance was weak, Zaire succeeded in this international censorship; in Belgium it failed — and exacted political revenge. The concept advanced was that if a government allows a publisher to sell a

book which the head of a foreign state finds unflattering, it thereby becomes an accessory to an act of political unfriendliness. Political censorship is seen as the norm, freedom of expression as a culpable act, rather than the other way around.

When these attitudes become a cohesive press policy in the hands of a powerful country they are particularly disturbing. Peking's reaction to a French film called *The Chinese in Paris* is a case in point. The film, made by Jean Yanne in 1973, was a satire aimed at showing how, now as in the forties, the French would collaborate with, say, the Chinese, if they were to occupy France. Peking demanded that the French government ban the film and backed up its demand with a threat to cancel an \$800,000 exhibit of French technical goods scheduled to open in Peking. The French government felt obliged publicly to deny involvement in the movie; China allowed the exhibit to open on schedule but canceled several cultural exchanges. "If the cinema is going to cause diplomatic crises," Yanne commented, "then it's time to worry about the mental health of the great powers."

Over the last four years the Chinese have increased the number of resident foreign correspondents in Peking from eighteen of forty-six, about half of them from non-Communist nations. The increase was, at the same time, a re-

minder that good behavior brought rewards: only reporters from countries that had never recognized or had broken relations with Taiwan were allowed in. No U.S. journalists have been able to set up bureaus in Peking, although in a pact signed in February 1973 the U.S. and China agreed "to broaden contacts in all fields" after liaison offices were opened. Since then, the ostensible reasons for barring permanent American correspondents have been the presence of Taiwan reporters in Washington and the lack of full diplomatic relations. A possible additional factor was revealed in May 1974 when, coincident with the opening of the U.S. mission in Peking, Chou Nan, counselor at the Chinese U.N. mission, requested a meeting with a *Times* executive in New York. The diplomat strongly and formally protested the *Times*'s acceptance of advertising from the Taiwan government and from anti-Peking groups, calling this an "unfriendly act." Chou Nan went on to ask the *Times* to refuse such ads in the future and he hinted broadly that the newspaper would not be allowed to open a Peking bureau until it changed its advertising policy. The *Times*, which published the details of this conversation, refused the apparent deal. The Chinese seem to have learned from this experience; so far as is known, these demands have not been raised again to the U.S. press.

While such tactics have not intimidated a leading American newspaper, they drive home a message to the media at large: unless they conform to Chinese specifications they are unlikely to get direct access to Chinese stories. The Chinese probably understand that censorship is most effective when self-imposed; a threat to the *Times* can encourage others to conform of their own accord.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission was a recent target of a Chinese attempt to persuade the media to censor themselves. Last June China's foreign ministry warned Australia's ambassador and Australian correspondents in Peking about "anti-Chinese statements" in that country's press and about the plan to show Michelangelo Antonioni's documentary *China* on Australian television. The documentary had been strongly attacked by the Chinese government, although most critics found it pro-Chinese. (One proof of the film's "perfidy" printed in the Chinese press was that "U.S. imperialism" shows the film.) ABC postponed screening the film and referred the decision on whether to show it to its national governing body. Allan Martin, head of the Australian Broadcasting Commission's public-affairs programming department, advised the broadcasting commission in a memo that airing the film "could place our representative in China at some risk of expulsion."

"We want the film stopped," said Wang Kuo-ch'uan, China's ambassador to Australia, "but it is up to the Department of Foreign Affairs to decide whether it goes ahead." Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs — which, of course, has nothing to say on such matters — reportedly passed on the Chinese protest to ABC. The commission decided to show the documentary.

Far more serious has been China's intervention in the Japanese press. In 1964 a number of leading Japanese newspapers, representing a combined circulation of 36 million, promised not to pursue a "hostile" policy toward the

Peking government in exchange for being allowed to station correspondents in Peking. Four years later this accord was put into writing and, as a condition for maintaining their resident news staffs, the Japanese media involved promised not to participate in any "two-China plot" and not to "obstruct" restoration of normal Japan-China relations. This agreement was exposed in 1972 by critic Osamu Miyoshi in a magazine article and confirmed by government officials to *Los Angeles Times* reporter Sam Jameson. Jameson wrote: "Since the agreement was made in 1964,

'The Chinese probably understand that censorship is most effective when self-imposed'

articles and editorials critical of China have all but disappeared from the mass media [in Japan]." And most major Japanese newspapers have withdrawn their correspondents from Taiwan.

Chinese officials have interpreted the terms of the accord in their own strict fashion. Three Japanese correspondents were expelled because their papers carried "anti-Chinese cartoons and reports"; a fourth was expelled because his paper underwrote an exhibit of Tibetan art in Tokyo, a fifth because Taiwanese delegates attended a meeting of the Organization of Asian News Agencies which his agency had sponsored. Japanese editors did not protest these incidents; indeed, more than one has apologized, sometimes on Chinese demand.

There is no doubt of the agreement's intention. Seiichi Tagawa, a Liberal Democratic member of the Diet who helped draw it up, denied that the correspondents themselves would have to pass any ideological test. "The individual correspondent is not the problem," he said. "It is the policy of the news company itself that is the criterion" for determining whether such companies would be allowed to station journalists in China. The *Los Angeles Times*, in an editorial entitled "Japan's Press Sells Out," analyzed this exercise in self-censorship by referring to the "intense competitiveness and status-consciousness [of Japan's press] China is a big story and it is important in terms of prestige to have a man stationed there. Never mind what or how he reports, so long as the Peking dateline can regularly appear. And never mind, either, about ethics or serving the public or press freedom. Those are expendable concepts."

According to some sources, North Korea, South Korea, and North Vietnam have also tried to set up their own criteria for what appears in the Japanese press about them as a basis for admitting correspondents from that country.

During a 1973 visit to Cuba, several American journalists, including myself, were invited to the North Korean embassy. After a sumptuous dinner, the embassy's first secretary urged us all to go home and write favorable stories on

North Korean policies. "If you or your newspapers need any money to carry on this good work," he added, "we would be happy to provide financial assistance." The North Koreans take a head-on approach to winning foreign friends, buying full-page ads containing speeches by leader Kim Il Sung. One British paper refused further ads after learning that the North Koreans were making it appear that the ads had been published as regular articles.

With their new economic power, the Arab countries can be expected to be especially active in demanding a good media image. In January 1974, relations between Libya and Italy became strained as a result of a satirical article about Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi which appeared in the Turin daily *La Stampa*. The Libyan government demanded that the editor-in-chief

**'France and Japan
have been made particularly
vulnerable
by their press traditions'**

and two writers responsible for the article be fired. Encouraged by strong support from Italian journalists, *La Stampa* refused. The Arab Boycott Committee then intervened and requested that Fiat, the paper's owner, oust the journalists, threatening to blacklist the automaker in the Middle East if it failed to cooperate. The paper and its owner stood firm. No action was taken against Fiat. The boycott was a bluff.

Within the Middle East, virtually every newspaper follows the line of one Arab state or another. In Beirut, press center of the Arab world, each Arab nation has a close relationship with and apparently subsidizes a different newspaper; for example, Egypt backs *Al Anwar*, Libya *As Safir*, and Syria *As Sharq*. Arab conceptions of the Western press seem to spring from their experience with some of their own newspapers — namely, that editorial policy can be influenced by money or pressure.

The U.S. may shortly see some of this media style. The Beirut daily *Al Anwar* announced in February that it was interested in buying an American newspaper "to get our voice heard in influential economic quarters." Bassam Freiha, general manager of the company which publishes *Al Anwar*, says that he received encouraging replies from several U.S. newspapers. There are laws regulating radio- and television-station ownership here, but no laws to prevent foreign control of newspapers. As for more orthodox public relations, Jack Anderson revealed last December his discovery of a \$7.7 million proposal to Saudi Arabia to publicize that country through favorable stories and supplements in the U.S. press. Again, *Reader's Digest* executives visited the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries' Vienna offices in January, taking with them proposals for a \$4 million advertising campaign, featuring large ads in

Reader's Digest editions here and abroad. In the majority of such cases, the advertising agencies and magazines are the promoters. Whether these efforts will affect editorial policies or coverage remains to be seen, but with recognition by various countries of the importance of U.S. public opinion one may expect similar campaigns from other quarters in the future.

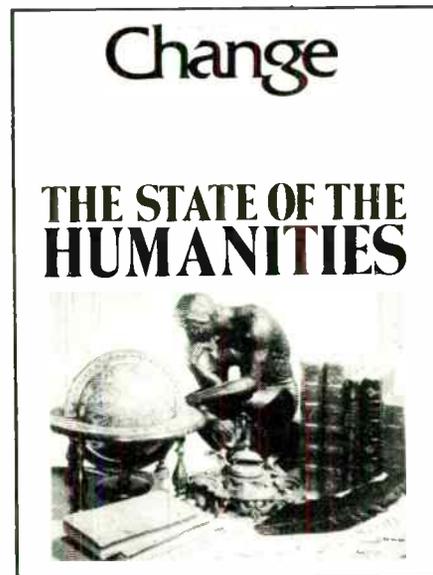
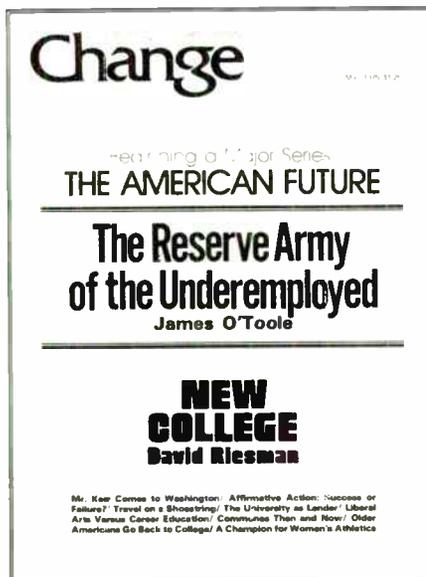
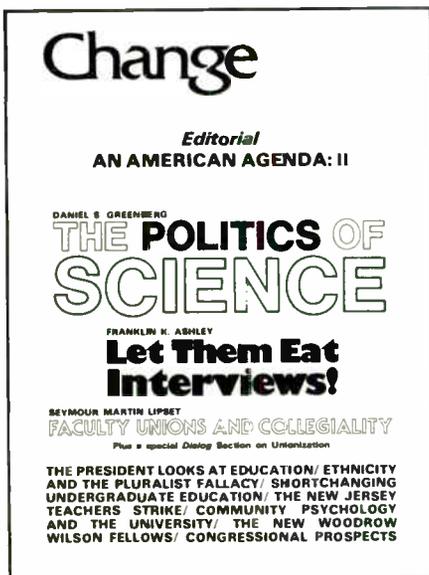
Xerox was blacklisted by Arab states for merely sponsoring a 1966 television documentary about the creation of Israel. (Xerox representatives won't say how damaging the boycott has been or whether, in fact, it has been carried out.) This March, the Arab Organization for the Boycott of Israel announced that it would allow NBC and CBS to continue news activities in the Arab world only "under supervision." Mohamed Mahgoub, head of the boycott, said: "The Arab governments are allowed to deal with the news activities of the two companies . . . only on condition that this activity is beneficial to the Arab cause and under supervision of the Arabs." Needless to say, both networks rejected this fascinating concept, and so far neither network has been harassed.

Obviously, Arab governments are not going to ban important television networks or newspapers — it would be like strangling the golden media goose — but it seems clear that they intend to try to use other means to alter news coverage. Every network and newspaper company is, of course, a business, and many of them have industrial and advertising or film interests — all of which can be targets for pressure.

Many third-world regimes control their domestic media by censorship, subsidy, or state control. They are used to having their fourth estate echo the government line and refrain from criticism or from publishing investigative reports that challenge their institutions. They tend to interpret these activities on the part of foreign newspapers in the light of their own experience as representing hostile propaganda by foreign states.

Certainly third-world countries have some legitimate complaints over their treatment in the Western press. Inaccurate reporting and a patronizing and colonial mentality have, in the past, all helped to foster sensitivity. In most of the cases described, however, the threatening reactions have been brought on not by inaccurate reporting but because the press has hit too close for comfort against local repression or corruption.

An old lesson can be drawn from these incidents — the only way to deal with this trend is to resist any pressure applied. France and Japan have been made particularly vulnerable by their press traditions — in France's case, acceptance of a good deal of government intervention in media affairs; in Japan's case, the press's extreme competitiveness and its self-image as a political force. Thus, both countries have attracted many attempts to undermine their international reporting. Although major U.S. media are not likely to cave in under any such pressures or demands, it is important to remember that a great many people around the world read newspapers or listen to radio stations that will be easier to sway. ■



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SOCIAL ISSUES

James O'Toole on The Reserve Army of the Underemployed □ Kenneth Boulding on the Management of Decline □ Richard Lester on the Equal Pay Boondoggle □ Cynthia Secor on Lesbians in Academe □ John Egerton on Adams v. Richardson □ Seymour Martin Lipset on Harvard's Economics Department □ Marilyn Gittell on the Failure of Affirmative Action □ Daniel Greenberg on The Politics of Science.

THE WORLD OF EDUCATION

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ARTS & LETTERS

The Future of the Humanities □ Cullen Murphy on Campus Best-Sellers □ Gerald Holton on the Humanistic Basis of Scientific Work □ Joan Baum on Anthony Burgess's Clockwork Testament □ Sara Blackburn on The Academic Novel □ Harold Taylor on Student Expression □ Vermont Royster on The New Illiteracy □ Easy Klein on the Custom-Made Textbook.

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SOURCE GUIDE

AN AID TO FINDING INFORMATION

Land use

Anyone who has observed the jumble of motels, gas stations, and restaurants crammed together on a short stretch of highway, or watched the character of a neighborhood permanently altered by the arrival of a fast-food outlet, realizes the impact of land-use decisions. That impact has not escaped the attention of the federal and state governments, which lately have become more active in the whole area of land use, perhaps because so many local communities have been so venal in dealing with such a sensitive subject.

More important, though, land-use questions have simply outgrown the boundaries of local communities:

- A new shopping center may be acceptable under local zoning regulations, but unacceptable to state and federal air pollution officials because of the pollution caused by shoppers' automobiles.*
- Straightening a small brook may cause serious flooding during storms for towns many miles downstream.*
- Construction of a new sewage treatment plant may attract housing developers, putting extra strain on other local services.*

The growing involvement of both federal and state governments together with the proliferation of laws and regulations governing land use suggests that the sources listed below might prove useful.

MAGAZINES

Area Development

Halcyon Business Publications, Inc., 114 East 32nd Street, New York, New York 10016; monthly, \$12 per year. This trade magazine for planners offers usually readable articles on such topics as "Five Basic Steps for Successful Expansion," and case histories of successful development efforts.

Journal of the American Institute of Planners

American Institute of Planners, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; bimonthly, \$12 per year. Look here for fine, comprehensive survey articles on the esoteric ("Design with Nature: A Critique") and the sublime ("The Effect of a Large Urban Park on Real Estate Values").

Journal of Ekistics

Athens Technological Organization, Box 471, Athens 136, Greece monthly, \$24 per year. Each issue of this journal is usually devoted to a dozen or so articles on a single topic. The May 1974 issue ("Using Urban Simulation Models") and the January 1974 issue ("Judging Environmental Impacts") are particularly useful. The late Constantine Doxiadis, who was chairman of the journal's editorial executive committee, popularized the term "ekistics" (the science of human settlements) in the mid-1960s. Many of his fellow planners criticized his flair for the dramatic. The journal's editorial work is now done by an American, Gwen Bell.

Land Economics

The University of Wisconsin Press, Box 1379, Madison, Wisconsin 53701; quarterly, \$20 to institutions, \$13 per year to individuals. Articles range from theoretical studies on such topics as the effect of industrialization on a city's tax base, to actual case studies of such phenomena. Stories tend to be mercifully short by journal standards — about ten pages each, on the average.

Natural Resources Lawyer

American Bar Association Section of Natural Resources Law, 1155 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637; quarterly, \$20 per year. Long, detailed articles cover such bread-and-butter issues as floodplain zoning and eminent domain.

Parks & Recreation

National Recreation and Park Association, 1601 North Kent Street, Arlington, Virginia 22209; monthly, \$10. Lightly written articles that should give you a few ideas on how that vacant land can be

developed for recreation — and what mistakes to avoid.

Planning

American Society of Planning Officials, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637; eleven times yearly, \$20. Frank case histories of planning successes and failures, along with occasional articles discussing the profession itself.

Professional Builder

Cahners Publishing Co., 5 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60603; monthly plus irregular supplements, \$24 per year. As the name implies, this trade magazine concerns itself more with construction details than with planning. But sections on finance and marketing are quite useful.

Real Estate Law Journal

Warren, Gorham & Lamont, Inc., 89 Beach Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02111; quarterly, \$36 per year. Provocative, detailed articles on such topics as "Fair-Share Housing Distribution: Will It Open the Suburbs to Apartment Development?" and surveys of state land-use laws make this a fine source of information on nationwide trends. Unlike most publications in the field, this one is a newcomer — in its fourth year.

Real Estate Review

Warren, Gorham & Lamont, Inc., 89

Note to our readers

Source Guides are a relatively new feature of the Review, and we invite your comments. Should we continue to publish Source Guides? We would welcome a letter — or, if you prefer, simply check one of the responses below.

Source Guides are: *a very good idea*
 a fair idea *a bad idea*

Are there subjects you would especially like to see us treat?

Please send your letters, or this form, to: Source Guides, Columbia Journalism Review, 700 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Beach Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02111; quarterly, \$28 per year. Wider ranging than its stablemate (above), the review also tends to publish shorter, more upbeat articles, too: "Rising Vacancy Rates Aren't Always Bad" and "Profits for Lenders in the Inner-City Housing Market" are examples.

Soil Conservation

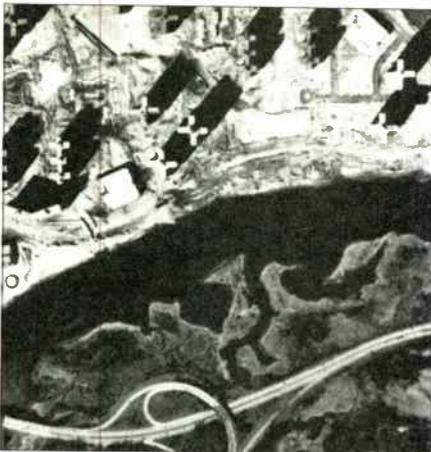
Soil Conservation Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250; monthly, \$6.85 per year, order directly from U.S. Government Printing Office. The sun always smiles upon the good works of the Agriculture Department, it seems. But this magazine is often informative anyway.

The American City

Buttenheim Publishing Co., Berkshire Common, Pittsfield, Massachusetts 01201; monthly, \$18 per year. No self-respecting city manager or purchasing official would be without a subscription to this venerable trade magazine, in which even stories on garbage trucks sound interesting. But there are also plenty of stories on planning, especially the nuts-and-bolts kind (where do we put the new dump?), in just about every issue.

Traffic Engineering

The Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1815 North Fort Myer Drive, Suite 905, Arlington, Virginia 22209; monthly, \$13 per year. Don't sink to the level of a "he said, they said" story when quoting the consultant's estimate of traffic expected from the new mall. Be ready to ask probing questions about how such estimates are arrived at. Articles in this publication will tell you how — and give some appreciation for the mundane details that save lives and tempers during crowded rush hours.



BOOKS

Environmental Quality:

The Fifth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality

U.S. Government Printing Office 4000-00327, 1974, 597 pp., \$5.20 paperbound. This latest annual report (the next one is due out late this year) includes nearly 100 pages on land use specifically, with summaries of major government studies and legislation of the past year. This makes the report a fine quick reference. But it is something more; reading the other chapters on air and water quality, pesticides, and wildlife preservation gives the feeling that most environmental problems are really land-use problems — too many people and factories in too small an area, for example. Although the CEQ's annual report has been censored in the past by the White House Office of Management and Budget (the missing chapters tend to be leaked to journalists anyway), the writing is remarkably unbureaucratic — lucid and concise. The CEQ has been hiring journalism students for summer work to edit the reports.

Land Use Proposals

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; 1975, 30 pp., \$2, paperbound. The best analysis I've seen of land-use legislation currently pending on the federal level, along with a brief summary of the pros and cons of the whole issue of federal land-use planning. Current to May 28, 1975.

In-Zoning: A Guide for Policy-Makers on Inclusionary Land Use Programs

Herbert M. Franklin, David Falk, and Arthur J. Levin; The Potomac Institute, 1501 18th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; 1975, 212 pp., \$3.50 paperbound. Read the title carefully — this book is not about exclusionary zoning, but rather *inclusionary*, "the application of local government's regulatory powers over land to facilitate the development of new housing for low- and moderate-income families." Few localities have been forced to do this yet, but they may be if exclusionary zoning policies are successfully attacked in the courts. The authors offer a readable and comprehensive review of the subject (including a summary of the March 24, 1975 New Jersey Supreme Court decision in *Southern Burlington County NAACP v. Township of Mount Laurel*, in which the

court ruled that the town's zoning plan was invalid because it failed to provide opportunities for housing for all classes of people who lived in the general area and wished to reside in Mount Laurel itself). This unusual study also notes that exclusionary zoning can backfire, even without a court's intervention. For instance, large-lot zoning can help restrict development to expensive, single-family homes, but by depressing raw-land prices, it may help a developer to buy up land for eventual high-density housing or commercial use, if he can rezone.

The Use of Land: A Citizens' Policy Guide to Urban Growth

William K. Reilly, editor; Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1973, 318 pp., \$3.95 paperbound, \$10 cloth. This report of Laurence S. Rockefeller's Task Force on Land Use and Urban Growth was praised by some environmental groups when it was issued because, among other things, it called for "a changed attitude toward land — a separation of ownership of the land itself from ownership of urbanization rights." But it was damned by a few, because it concerned itself more with channeling money into "quality" development, than with banning development entirely.

Encyclopedia of Urban Planning

Arnold Whittick, editor; McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1974, 1,218 pp., \$29.50. Articles — varying in length from a paragraph to over thirty pages — are arranged alphabetically from "Hugo Aalto" (the Finnish planner) to "zoning and zoning laws." This makes the book a delight for journalists needing to look up facts on a tight deadline. The encyclopedia is long on international projects, biographies, and historical facts, but has some gaps. Jay Forrester, for instance, is not listed, nor is there any mention of his technique of computer modeling of urban systems.

Highways to Nowhere

Richard Hébert; Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1972, 214 pp., \$7.95. In a chatty, yet well-documented style, the author describes the past and recent histories of five American cities: Flint, Dayton, Indianapolis, Atlanta, and Washington, D.C. He notes how transportation facilities (especially highways) have shaped these cities, and the interplay between politics and the fortunes waiting to be made on land speculation and development.

Jetport: The Boston Airport Controversy

Dorothy Nelkin, Transaction Books, Rutgers, the State University, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903, 1974, 197 pp., \$3.95 paperbound, \$10.95 cloth. The battle of East Boston residents over expansion of Boston's Logan International Airport, described in this case study, has been replayed many times albeit in different places over different kinds of developments. Nelkin is clearly on the side of the residents in this book, but she displays uncommon sensitivity to the problems of the airport's administrators, too, and explores the airport's effects on housing, transportation, public health, and employment.

Urban Planning and Design Criteria

second edition; Joseph DeChiara and Lee Kopelman; Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, 1975, 646 pp., \$35. This one is only for those who are really going to make a commitment to land-use reporting. Rather than design philosophy, this book concentrates on the raw mechanics of planning — what projections of population growth to use, what items to consider in the plan itself, and even details such as how far apart the stripes should be in a parking lot.

Air Quality Management and Land Use Planning: Legal, Administrative, and Methodological Perspectives

George Hagevik, Daniel R. Mandelker, and Richard K. Brail; Praeger, New York, 1974, 332 pp., \$16.50. The relationship between land-use planning and air pollution control has become more important since the federal Environmental Protection Agency used the Clean Air Act as justification for setting up a land-use office, and since officials realized that without land-use planning such problems as automobile-caused pollution will be difficult or impossible to control. This is a difficult, detailed book, which I recommend to all those who have ever been bounced from local to state to federal officials, and back again, while trying to unravel a review of some proposed project.

Planning and Design of Tall Buildings

Volume Ia; T. C. Kavanagh, Fazlur Khan, K. F. Reinschmidt, and H. J. Cowan; American Society of Civil Engineers, 345 East 47th Street, New York, New York 10017; 1973, 1, 195 pp., \$20. This volume, one of five comprising the proceedings of an international conference on

tall buildings held at Lehigh University in 1972, summarizes the major building techniques for "skyscrapers," and their effects on surrounding communities. Those ordering it also get Volume C, containing the index for the whole set.

Environmental Planning: Law of Land & Resources

Arnold W. Reitze, Jr.; North American International, P.O. Box 28278, Washington, D.C. 20005, 1974, 896 pp., \$22.50. This massive, comprehensive reference text by the well-known professor and director of the environmental-law program at George Washington University touches on legal histories and technology of almost any conceivable type of land use, from power-plant siting to stream channelization, to weather modification and strip mining. It is current to December of 1973.

Urban Dynamics

Jay Forrester; MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969, 285 pp., \$17.50. The use of mathematical "models" to predict changes brought about by proposed development has been both damned and praised. In this landmark book, Forrester describes the technique and its limitations, then goes on to suggest a rather complex "dynamic" model taking into account not only the variable factors — population, wealth, industrialization and so forth — but also the variables' interaction with each other over a long period of time. The book has been criticized in part because there are contradictions in some of Forrester's premises, but mainly because he advocates moving the poor out of the city, rather than trying to solve their problems within it. Where do the poor go? No answer. But the alternative is already happening in many American cities, whose tax revenues shrink as the need for services increases. Such models are so complex that they can only be calculated by computer. If the technique sounds familiar, it should — the famous Club of Rome report, *Limits to Growth*, was based on Forrester's work.

ORGANIZATIONS

Note: Groups that publish journals or books which are mentioned elsewhere in this source guide are not listed here.

American Farm Bureau Federation

425 13th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20004. (202) 638-6315.

American Industrial Development Council

215 West Pershing Road, Suite 707, Kansas City, Missouri 64108. (816) 474-4558.

American Institute of Architects

1735 New York Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. (202) 785-7300.

American Paper Institute

260 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016. (212) 883-8000.

American Petroleum Institute

1801 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. (202) 833-5600.

American Public Works Association

1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637. (312) 947-2520.

American Water Works Association

6666 West Quincy Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80235. (303) 988-1426.

Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.

1615 H Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. (202) 659-6170.

Council of State Governments

Iron Works Pike, Lexington, Kentucky 40505. (606) 252-2291.

Council on Population and the Environment

100 East Ohio Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611. (312) 787-1114.

Desert Protective Council

P.O. Box 4294, Palm Springs, California 92262. (213) 332-9634.

Environmental Defense Fund

162 Old Town Road, East Setauket, New York 11733. (516) 751-5191.

Friends of the Earth

529 Commercial Street, San Francisco, California 94111. (415) 391-4270.

continued



National Association of Conservation Districts

1025 Vermont Avenue NW, Rm 1105, Washington, D.C. 20005. (202) 347-5995.

National Association of Counties

1735 New York Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. (202) 785-9577.

National Association of Regional Councils

1700 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. (202) 296-5253.

National Association of State Development Agencies

1015 20th Street NW, Suite 411, Washington, D.C. 20006. (202) 331-7880.

National Coal Association

1130 17th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 628-4322.

National Industrial Zoning Committee

2459 Dorset Road, Columbus, Ohio 43221. (614) 488-4433.

National Water Resources Association

897 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045. (202) 347-2672.

National Wildlife Federation

1412 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 483-1550.

National Resources Defense Council

15 West 44th Street, New York, New York 10036. (212) 869-0150. Washington office: (202) 783-5710.

The Population Institute

110 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. (202) 544-2202.

Water Resources Congress

1130 17th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. (202) 223-0652.

FEDERAL AGENCIES**Environmental Protection Agency**

401 M Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20460; (202) 755-0700. EPA decisions bear on land use in many ways. Most policy is coordinated through the Office of Transportation and Land Use Policy, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27711. (The office's director, Jack Hidinger, is at the Washington address; 202-755-0480.) EPA's Office of Water and Hazardous Materials, Water Planning Division, is responsible for planning regional wastewater treatment under Section 208 of the Water Pollution Control

Act of 1972. So-called "208 planning" is just getting under way; Mark Pisano, (202) 755-6928, is planning director.

Council on Environmental Quality

722 Jackson Place NW, Washington; D.C. 20006, (202) 383-1415. CEQ coordinates environmental-impact statements required for most projects that receive federal funding, including highways, or that require federal permits, such as nuclear power plants. Impact statements must be circulated for comment to state and local officials. In fact, the review is supposed to take place before federal funds are applied for. (The procedure is described in Office of Management and Budget Circular A-95.)

Department of the Interior

18th & C Streets NW, Washington, D.C. 20240; (202) 343-6416. Agencies with important land-use functions include the Bureau of Indian Affairs, (at 1951 Constitution Avenue NW, 20245), Bureau of Land Management (administering, among other things, mineral leases on federal land), Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Bureau of Reclamation, Office of Land Use & Water Planning, and the U.S. Geological Survey (at the National Center, Reston, Virginia 22092). Under the 1964 Wilderness Act, the Interior Department has authority to declare specific federally owned tracts "forever wild," and therefore protected from development.

Department of Commerce

14th Street & Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20230; (202) 783-9200. The most important Commerce Department office dealing with land-use matters is the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 6010 Executive Boulevard, Rockville, Maryland 20852; (301) 496-8243. Over the past year, NOAA has been disbursing funds to states for planning the use of coastal areas (transitional and intertidal lands, salt marshes, wetlands and beaches), landward areas "the uses of which have a direct and significant impact on the coastal waters," and the ocean itself, within our territorial waters. Under Title III of the Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act of 1971, the commerce secretary has authority to "designate as marine sanctuaries those areas of the oceans, coastal and other waters, as far seaward as the outer edge of the continental shelf . . . which he determines necessary for the purpose of preserving or restoring such areas for

their conservation, recreational, ecological or esthetic values."

Department of Agriculture

14th Street & Independence Avenue SW, Washington, D.C. 20250; (202) 655-4000. Agriculture is more than just farming. The Forest Service administers 155 national forests and nineteen national grasslands — 187 million of the nation's 2.27 billion acres (of which 761 million were owned by the federal government in 1972). The Soil Conservation Service, in some respects like the Army Corps of Engineers, builds dams and channels streams in the name of flood control. Its policies directly affect such issues as which floodplains should be developed, and it advises farmers on how their lands should be farmed.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

451 7th Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20410; (202) 755-5111. Coordinates federal activities influencing urban or suburban development, and provides funding for community-development projects. (But beware: on August 22, 1974, new housing legislation was signed into law which reduced the federal commitment to subsidized housing, and expands community development grants. Such "block grants" are linked to a community's housing program for low-income residents. Much that was written before this sweeping change is now obsolete.)

Water Resources Council

2120 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037; (202) 254-6303. Availability of water — and the rules under which the water can be used — affect industrialization, transportation, population, and agriculture. The WRC has issued guidelines for water resources planning.

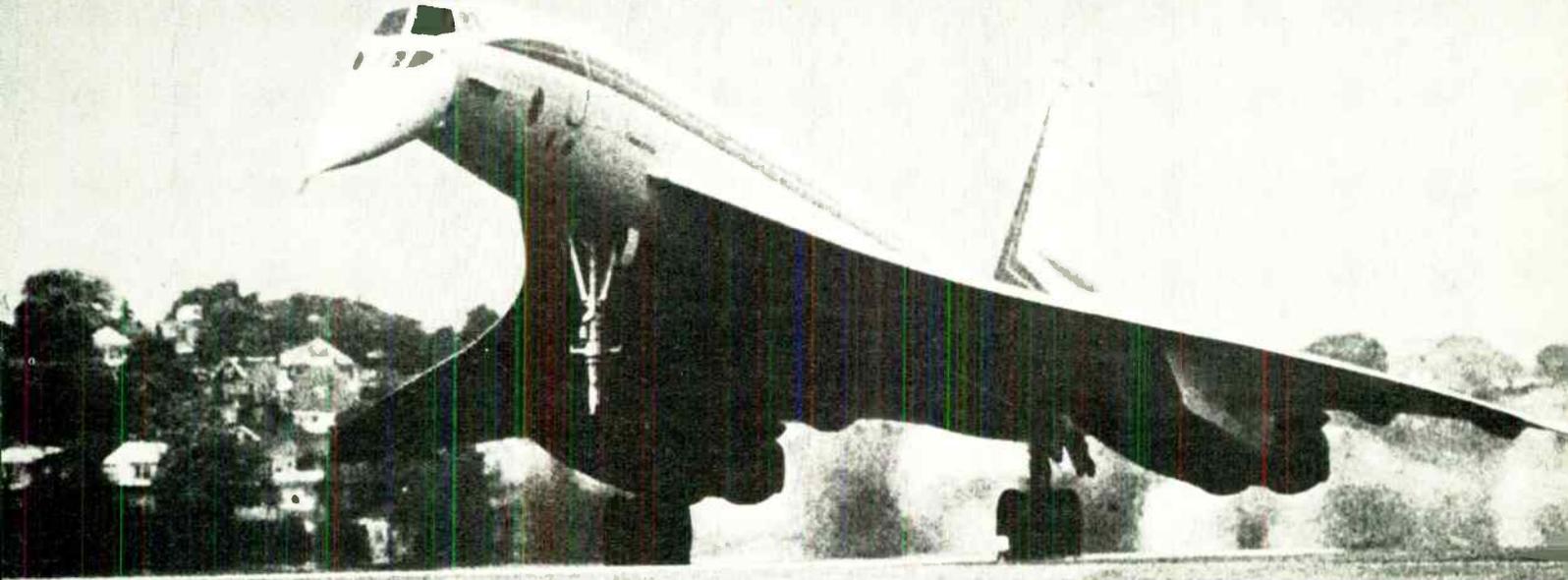
Army Corps of Engineers

Forrestal Building, 1000 Independence Avenue SW, Washington, D.C. 20314; (202) 693-6326. Almost anything that has to do with navigable waterways and their shores may be affected in some way by the corps. Normally, it is easiest to work through the corps district office for your area (there are four dozen in all).

STEVEN S. ROSS

Steven S. Ross is editor of New Engineer magazine and director of special projects at the Environment Information Center. His latest book, Land Use Planning Abstracts, was published last December.

Is Europe only 7 hours ahead of us?



In Britain, television watchers will soon be tuning in to an electronic newspaper which will allow them to read the news on their TV screens.

In France, the government now has a Secretary of State for the Condition of Women.

In Germany, there's a plan to place workers at the center of economic decision making by requiring that labor is represented on the boards of industrial corporations.

In Denmark, the ballet is so well subsidized that it is said the "artists and staff positively bask in tax money."

In Sweden, there are no slums, no one is poverty stricken or without assistance in times of illness or accident, and everyone can look forward to a secure old age.

Quite obviously, all these countries know something we don't. The United States cannot be secure in the claim that we are foremost in social and technological progress. And the more we learn about what's being done in other countries, the more we can apply that knowledge to our own.

But where do you get news of these developments?

Rarely through our own press, which barely has time and space to cover domestic affairs.

You could subscribe to a lot of foreign newspapers, but then you'd need translators and more time to spend on reading than you could possibly manage.

There's one good, solid source for information about major developments not only in Europe, but in all the countries of the world.

It's called *Atlas World Press Review*.

Atlas has one serious goal: to keep you informed on what is happening outside America, by bringing you the best of the world's press.

Each month we cull articles and items from more than 1,000 foreign publications. (We read them all, so you won't have to, and we translate when necessary.) From London to Zurich to New Delhi to Moscow to Tokyo and beyond, we present the views of each country's most influential papers and magazines: *The Times* of London, *Le Figaro*, *Der Spiegel*, *La Prensa*, *The Peking Daily News*, *Pravda*.

In fascinating articles, departments, cartoons, and an absorbing monthly "Atlas Report" we focus on issues like The Mideast, Women Today, Abortion, "Oil Shock," Recession, and The Future of the U.N. And we give a clear picture of what other nations think of us. On Henry Kissinger: "There are

[in Kissinger] kernels of Metternich, plus others of Casanova and, in unguarded moments, of the Marquis de Sade." (*Excelsior*, Mexico)

On Gerald Ford: "Mr. Ford looks as if he might be the most conservative American president since Hoover in 1929-33, and just might have the same economic consequences." (*The Economist*, England)

What do our readers think of *Atlas*?

Walter Cronkite: "We need this supplemental information from abroad more than ever. . ."

Isaac Asimov: "Absolutely vital [so] we may react to the world as it is. . ."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.: "Little would seem more necessary now. . ."

Alvin Toffler: "First-aid for culture-blindness. . ."

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50b.

BOOKS

Prophetic liberal

J. W. Gitt's Sweet Land of Liberty
Compiled and edited by McKinley C. Olson. Jerome S. Ozer. \$8.95

"You know newspapers have really changed," J. W. Gitt once said shortly before his death in 1973 at the age of eighty-eight. "Before, the person who started a newspaper did so because he had something to say. There wasn't much money in it. Enough to live good sometimes. But money wasn't the thing. It was having your say. There was none of this business of not saying this about one group or another group like there is now, afraid of hurting someone's feelings — an advertiser's feelings. Then . . . it changed. The men who started newspapers because they had something to say dropped out and the businessmen were left in charge. The same old story. Money, money, money." In the fifty-five years he published *The Gazette and Daily* of York, Pennsylvania, the progressive and homespun Mr. Gitt left quantities of ad revenue in the wake of his own ruminations on all matters of reform from suffrage to Vietnam, but it mattered little. By the time it was sold in 1970, *The Gazette* had earned a national reputation and Gitt stood as "a living monument to the best Jeffersonian tradition."

Two of the more striking elements in *The Gazette* story were its locale and origins. "The *York Gazette*," said I.F. Stone, "was really unique in American journalism . . . [It] showed you could turn out a progressive — even radical — paper in a small town and make a go of it." Gitt himself was an erstwhile lawyer from a liberal-thinking tribe on the right side of the tracks who one day "got to writing editorials and never did go back." In *Sweet Land of Liberty*, former *Gazette* reporter McKinley Olson has collected examples of the best

of them and created a paean to one man's ability to articulate his spontaneous social conscience with innate simplicity and foresight. Gitt's editorial themes are recurrent over the fifty-five years and almost always visionary: monopolistic business practices; police brutality; civil rights; racism; tax reform; problems of aging (all of these first editorialized on in the twenties); militarism and arms peddling; pollution and consumerism (both of these discussed in the forties); mine reform; witch hunting for communists; narcotics; auto safety (years before Ralph Nader, who admires Gitt, *The Gazette* was exploring mechanical failure as a cause of car crashes); and invasion of privacy.

And, of course, prominently and not least eloquently, there is Gitt's decades-long discussion of freedom of speech and press, of freedom generally. "Could it be," he wrote in 1962, "that we are persecuting some of us who neglect to conform to the thought control conjured up by some and are turning our backs on the liberty and freedom upon which our fathers set us forth. . . . Could it be?"

PETER NICHOLS

Peter Nichols is an associate editor of the Review.

A star is shorn

We're Going to Make You a Star
by Sally Quinn, Simon and Schuster.
\$7.95

"I really feel like one of those ancient Aztec virgins who has been chosen to be sacrificed on top of the temple of the gods," Sally Quinn reflected one day during the *Walpurgisnacht* that was her life as co-anchorpersion (with Hughes



Pennsylvania editor and publisher J. W. Gitt

Rudd) of *The CBS Morning News*. "All the other virgins are wildly jealous of her because she has this fabulous honor bestowed on her. What they don't know is that she doesn't want her heart cut out with a knife anytime by anyone. It hurts."

In this short memoir, Quinn describes her tenure as a CBS supernova in terms of such bleakness and horror as to make Solzhenitsyn's experience in Siberia seem like a ski trip. The network wooed her away from *The Washington Post* where she had served as one of its best feature reporters, telling her they were looking for a woman "who can knock Barbara Walters off the air."

She warned them gamely that she was "controversial, opinionated, flip" and had no intention of changing. That's okay, they assured her. "[CBS board chairman William] Paley wants controversy." And controversy they got — in spades — but not as they expected. Quinn turned out to be — on camera, at

least — as opinionated and flip as an Easter Island monolith, with (in her own, self-deprecating description) “an upper-class Eastern-debutante, Smith-College accent and sense of humor” which merely bewildered early-morning television watchers west of the Hudson River, and quite a few on West 57th Street where CBS News has its headquarters.

In the weeks before her TV debut, she received the biggest publicity buildup ever afforded a TV newscaster — and (in her version) hardly a word of counsel or instruction about how to behave in the anchor role. The resulting self-doubt and apprehension brought on what appears to have been a violent, psychosomatic flu attack on the morning of her debut performance; a bad case of acne later on, which required layers of makeup to disguise; and an incipient ulcer which curtailed the lunchtime drinking bouts to which her depression and despair had driven her. (“How could I sleep without getting bombed?” she wondered, after being ordered by her doctor to cut out alcohol. “I was desperate.”) She also spent a great deal of time throwing up, and in the throes of weeping binges which left her exhausted. Through it all, one of the very few people who proffered advice, support, warmth, and encouragement was Quinn’s putative archenemy, Barbara Walters.

Toward the end of her calamitous nexus with CBS, the network sent her to London to help cover the wedding of Princess Anne — out of which experience grew unflattering portraits of CBS newscaster Charles Collingwood and producer Don Hewitt.

After four months of floundering in full view of the nation, Quinn wisely (while she still had an ounce of journalistic credibility left) hauled anchor to Washington and began contributing

filmed interviews to *The CBS Morning News* from there. By then, CBS had made it clear to her that they would be relieved and grateful if she found another job. In a poignant exchange with CBS News executive Gordon Manning, who masterminded the Quinn misadventure (and who now works for NBC), Sally asked tearfully: “Gordon, why did you do it? Why did you hire me and then throw me on the air like that with no training? Why did you do it to me?”

Indeed, it was a lunatic notion from the start, and it is to Quinn’s credit that she understands, probably better than anybody else, that she was miscast as a star of TV news. She relates that, on the program, “I said anything that came into my head (and it wasn’t much at that hour of the morning), I couldn’t write essays, and most important, I just ain’t no newsreader.”

A refrain runs through her recollections of the Hollywood-style buildup and the hurried “rehearsals” for her debut. It is the benign belief that, no matter how chaotic and unfocused the preparations for her launching appeared, CBS News — the class act of TV journalism — “knew what they were doing.” They didn’t, as it turned out — at least in her case. And they done the poor girl wrong. The network had subtly fostered the notion that she was, indeed, a blonde bombshell who might not shrink from using sex to get a story. (Paley “went bananas,” she claims, after reading an article in *New York* magazine which purported to describe her rather unbuttoned private life.)

Her book is a cautionary tale for our time, dramatizing the fact that television news has a strong and irredeemable component of show business — no matter how hotly its practitioners deny it. “In the end, ratings determine everything because the news has to have sponsors,” writes Sally. “Advertisers



Reporter Sally Quinn: wiser, not sadder

want their products to sell, and the products won’t sell unless people watch the broadcast.” To which one can only append, “You’re learning, kid.” Within that framework of commercial TV’s operative principles, Sally Quinn was masticated and dispatched, just as surely as will be *The Waltons* when the spectators in this electronic coliseum turn their thumbs down.

Her experience leaves her with the conclusion that “everyone in television is basically motivated by fear” — a judgment from which she excludes Hughes Rudd, to whom the book is dedicated. For those who wonder what, indeed, has become of Sally, she’s back at *The Washington Post* and once again covering high life in the capital — doubtless wiser and, one hopes, not noticeably sadder.

NEIL HICKEY

Neil Hickey is the New York bureau chief of TV Guide.

LETTERS

Plumber's rebuttal

TO THE REVIEW:

I read with interest the recent article by Roger Morris, "Taking AIM at Jack Anderson," but as an alumnus of the White House "plumbers" (more properly the "Special Investigations Unit"), I was perplexed by (1) Jack Anderson's statement that [Reed J. Irvine, chairman of the board of AIM] "has certain similarities to that of the notorious White House plumbers, whom President Nixon assigned to hound the press," and (2) Morris's subsequent summary suggesting that the plumbers had used "federal . . . facilities, telephones, and stationery to prepare broadsides against the press."

Let me suggest that Anderson's premise was fallacious. Despite countless reams of testimony — and one trial — concerning the operations of the SIU, I have never heard it even suggested that the SIU was either assigned "to hound the press" or did so spontaneously. And while I appreciate Morris's even-handedness in noting parenthetically that "Anderson and Whitten did *not* accuse Irvine of breaking and entering or obstructing justice," the obstructing justice charge is one that was made against a number of defendants (Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, etc.) but to my knowledge never against a member of the SIU — the "plumbers."

So there, for what it is worth, it is.

I realize these distinctions are perhaps more important to me than to journalists or to the general public. However, since the Watergate prosecutions have been reported in great detail, and the trial records are freely available — even certain grand jury transcripts, thanks to Jack Anderson — I wonder whether such continuing inaccuracies are the result of journalistic bias or sheer slovenliness in reporting the facts.

HOWARD HUNT
Eglin Air Force Base, Fla.

Stale pie

TO THE REVIEW:

The discussion of the so-called fairness doctrine in your May/June "Comment" makes the excellent point that it is anachronistic to think that "the air, like a pie in the sky, can be divided into only so many slices." It does not, however, specifically mention the ad-

vent of cable TV — which means that in economic terms it is now at least as easy to achieve access to a viewing audience in a metropolitan area of the U.S. or Canada as it is to launch a newspaper in such a region.

So far as I can see, the concept that radio and television are inherently different from newspapers or magazines in a public-interest sense rests upon economic and technological premises that are now almost wholly obsolete. And the argument that government supervision of broadcasting serves to insure more responsible coverage of public affairs overlooks the painfully plain fact that governments and government agencies are scarcely dispassionate bodies. My own heretical conclusion is that for the FCC to have any voice in radio or television coverage of public affairs is just as flagrant a violation of freedom of the press as it would be for a government agency to have a voice in the editorial management of newspapers.

ROBERT C. CHRISTOPHER
Editor, Newsweek International

Vietnam: Ernie Pyle syndrome?

TO THE REVIEW:

I have to admit that Mr. Arlen is correct in his assessment that television news did not give us an accurate perception of events in Vietnam, but his notions are equally wide of the mark ("The Road From Highway One," *CJR*, July/August).

My own analysis is that television reporting was obsessed with the Ernie Pyle tradition. We never saw anything but small unit actions. Fascinating as these vignettes were, they obscured the significant features of the conflict and its outcome. . . . On the other hand, I don't recall *The New York Times*, or *The New Yorker* either, doing much better than television in making the country aware of the significance of these facts.

STUART T. MARTIN
President, WCAX-TV
Burlington, Vermont

Marx for the Trib

TO THE REVIEW:

It was with increasing wonderment that I read Professor Stanley Rothman's review of *Karl Marx: On Freedom of the Press and Censorship* (*CJR*, July/August). How could

anyone write a review of a book on Marx the journalist, especially for the premier professional publication on American journalism, without mentioning the fact that Marx wrote for the *New York Tribune* under two of America's most outstanding editors — Charles A. Dana and Horace Greeley? Not only was it his only steady source of earned income from 1851 to 1862 . . . but he contributed over 500 articles and editorials to the *Tribune*. . . . Surely among [these] can be found a few observations on press freedom and censorship. . . .

RAYMOND P. EWING
Kenilworth, Ill.

Quaint coverage

TO THE REVIEW:

Susan Cohen obviously has never been a "newscarrierperson." She displayed a quaint perspective on the role and importance of newscarriers in her article, "Building Self-Reliance!" (*CJR*, July/August). Although she has never learned to throw a newspaper, she somewhere learned to throw the bull.

RICHARD E. TRACY
Editor, *San Gabriel Valley Tribune*

I wish Ms. Cohen had supplied balance to her article by mentioning that the California Newspaper Publishers Association did not raise any objection to recent California legislation to remove a longstanding exemption for newscarrier employees from workers compensation insurance requirements.

The CNPA represents virtually all daily and most weekly California newspapers. Many of its members have voluntarily provided "work comp" coverage for newscarriers for years. It is the policy of the CNPA to encourage such coverage.

MICHAEL B. DORAIS
Legal Counsel, CNPA

It must have been moonglow

TO THE REVIEW:

I suppose we are so conditioned now that we expect advertising to take little liberties with the truth, but I was still irritated, but also amused, by the Lederle ad in the July/August *Review*. The only thing in the ad illustration

A SECOND CHANCE

From **ENVIRONMENT** Magazine

If you don't subscribe to ENVIRONMENT Magazine, you miss THE JAUNDICED EYE.® Here is another opportunity:

the jaundiced eye®

With a nice sense of timing, Male Comfort Spray appeared just as certain scientists were warning that aerosol spray products will lead to the end of all life on earth.

It seems that the gas in aerosol cans slowly drifts upwards to the stratosphere where, as a result of chemical reactions too dull to describe here, it can destroy the ozone layer which shields the surface of the earth from lethal ultraviolet sunlight.

I don't know whether the gas used to pressurize Male Comfort Spray is of the type the scientists are worried about. The advertising doesn't say. The only ad I've seen says that Male Comfort Spray is "for under your shorts." It also says that the spray is intended to do "just one thing. To help keep a man's crotch comfortable." The manufacturer evidently does not intend such unfortunate side effects as the end of all life on earth.

Of course, the sterilization of the earth's surface is not certain, and the benefits of Male Comfort Spray are indubitable. Women who have felt discrimination in the intense marketing of previous inguinal deodorants can take comfort in the fact that now men, too, will become conscious of odors seeping through their waist bands. A blow is struck for sexual equality. The energy crisis will be relieved if we worry less about sweating in the summertime. And, certainly, the relief of the discomfort "only a man can get" is worth taking some risk.

Congress's new Office of Technology Assessment should look into the whole matter. Male Comfort Spray is as useful and probably more characteristic of modern technology than, say, the supersonic transport or the fast breeder nuclear reactor. On the one hand, it has clear benefits. On the other, speculative risks. The balancing of profit and loss is a difficult question and certainly should not be decided precipitously.

Given its potential hazards, we might begin by clearly labeling the Male Comfort Spray to indicate its chemical ingredients. Further and more drastic action might lead to a label warning: "Caution: Use May lead to the End of the World." Extensive study of these alternatives is clearly called for.

In the meantime, sprays directed at the remaining bodily orifices can be confidently expected. From hair spray to foot spray, from one end of the digestive tract to the other, private enterprise will continue to meet the challenges of modern life. And if we can't see those gases drifting slowly upward, we can at least imagine their steady rise toward the sun. Ever upward, like private enterprise itself. S.N.



Without ENVIRONMENT Magazine, you miss not only THE JAUNDICED EYE,® but also timely, informative articles on what troubles our technological world. And we discuss sensible solutions ranging from fuel cells for our electric power needs to squeeze-spray dispensers for our personal needs.

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that could be seen within seventy miles of Tyler, Texas is the moon. No tall cactus. No flat desert. No high mesa. I imagine it is just such stereotypes that the *Texas Monthly*, whose ad appeared ironically in the same issue, would like to demolish.

BOB HOSKINS, Ph.D.
Dean, College of Communications
Arkansas State University

As Dr. Hoskins and others have observed, an advertising artist seems to have been too imaginative. It should be added, however, that the advertiser caught the slip before the ad was printed, but it was too late to change the drawing.

The Editors

Heat from *The Sun*

TO THE REVIEW:

Fairness is the issue that Bob White purports to discuss in his distorted and inaccurate article, "Maryland: Getting the Governor," (CJR, July/August). But he seems to have deliberately omitted a number of key facts in order to support his attack on the Baltimore *Sun*. For example:

□ In writing my stories on Governor Mandel's use of the Medevac helicopters for campaign purposes, I looked at more than just state police helicopter logs. I examined Mandel's own campaign schedules, put out by his staff, to corroborate the logs. This comparison showed conclusively that he used the helicopters for transportation to campaign events.

□ The story was not meant to imply — as Bob White took the liberty to suggest — that Mandel's use of the helicopters endangered lives of others. Instead, the story *explicitly* stated, but White chose to ignore, that Mandel's use of the craft increased twofold during the campaign months of 1974, as compared to the same period of 1973 (a non-campaign year).

Mandel has not explained his use of the helicopters, other than to deny misuse. White, in focusing on the side issue rather than the main issue, has aided the governor in covering up. Does this serve the public interest?

STEVE LUXENBERG
The Sun, Baltimore

I found your article on Marvin Mandel and *The Sun* one of the worst pieces of reporting I've seen. It was, in short, biased and inaccurate.

Whether or not *The Sun* did the "right" thing in not letting Mandel have his say about the contents of public records until the day after the initial story is, of course, in-

teresting discussion for a newsroom. (And there was plenty . . .) But Mr. White never brought out the fact that the governor never has successfully defended his use of state helicopters for campaigning and, as far as most people are concerned, the story still stands.

But then again, perhaps Mr. White did not bring it out because Mr. White is a full-time public-relations man for the Anne Arundel county school system — which receives 35 percent of its budget from the state. Mr. White is also known by some as a sycophant who covets a state job — with any administration, at any time. That may explain the personal views expressed in your magazine.

Nevertheless, it does not explain the factual errors that appeared — the different spellings of Mr. Luxenberg's name; the fact that Mr. Luxenberg is a full-time reporter, not a "newsroom intern;" and that he never changed his version of events — or referred to Billy Schmick, the city editor, as Bill. Only an outsider trying to doctor quotations — as well as a story — would have come up with that nickname.

But after all, Mr. White deals in public relations and manufactured events.

And so, apparently, does the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

TRACIE ROZHON
The Sun, Baltimore

As a Columbia alumnus and a CJR reader, I was dismayed to find you printing Bob White's pap about Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel and *The Sun*. . . .

Mr. White concludes that reporter Steven Luxenberg's comments on the story changed after *The Sun*'s columnist, Peter A. Jay, filed a column on the subject. Has Mr. White considered that other newspapers may not have printed Mr. Luxenberg's every word in the articles on initial reaction to the helicopter story? In fact, Mr. Luxenberg's comments never varied, a fact which Mr. White could have learned had he checked. . . .

Mr. White, whose allegiance to Maryland's public officials is unquestioning and almost pitiable, knows so little of what occurs at *The Sun* or any other newspaper that he produced twaddle unbecoming to your magazine.

RICHARD BEN CRAMER
The Sun, Baltimore

Bob White replies: *The point of the story was not whether Mandel is guilty or innocent of the charges published by The Sun, but whether the newspaper handled the story in a manner which reflects the highest stan-*

dards of journalistic ethics. The story indicated, rather clearly I thought, that Mandel never responded to the charges fully. It was not my purpose to either defend or indict the governor.

I apologize to Mr. Luxenberg for describing him as a "newsroom intern." A year earlier, Mr. Luxenberg had been one of the editors of The Harvard Crimson. He had been at The Sun a matter of months when he wrote the Mandel helicopter story. It was this brevity of professional experience to which I wished to allude. As he was on the payroll as a full-time employee, however, he was a reporter and not an "intern."

As for the two different spellings of Mr. Luxenberg's first name, and the dropping of the "y" from "Billy" Schmick, these errors were not in my original manuscript, but resulted from editorial and proofreading mishaps at CJR, which both CJR and I regret.

With regard to Mr. Luxenberg changing his story, I simply said he was quoted in The Washington Post as having said he was never ordered by anyone not to call Mandel prior to publication of his story, and that this version of how things went crumbled almost immediately when the facts became clear. As for my personal contacts with Mr. Luxenberg, I talked with him before and after the Jay column appeared, and I repeat here my comment in the story — that he discussed the entire incident much more freely after Jay's column was published.

I am sorry that neither Mr. Luxenberg, Mr. Cramer, or Ms. Rozhon chose to address themselves to the central point of the article they so severely criticize, the latter two opting instead for personal attacks. It may be significant that such low blows were apparently the only weapons these Sun employees could find to defend the charge that The Sun threw low blows in the first place.

About letters to the Review

The Review welcomes comments on articles. We give first priority, within limited space, to letters that offer forceful and relevant challenges to points raised by our articles. Generally, we do not print two letters from the same person in a single issue.

(With reference to the ad on the opposite page: The Review chose the strongest of two letters from AIM available for the July/August issue. We printed an additional four paragraphs of the letter not reproduced in the ad.)

CORRECTION PLEASE!

Accuracy in Media knows that editors can seldom print all the letters they receive, but this should not be used as an excuse for failing to correct statements that are factually inaccurate.

AIM sent the following letter to the *Columbia Journalism Review* to correct a statement in the March/April issue which we believe was incorrect. The editor has not contested the accuracy of our letter, but he has not printed it. We are therefore paying the CJR to bring it to your attention.

April 23, 1975

Sir:

Ted Morgan in his article in your March/April issues states that Cuban newspapers "were curiously uncritical of the Batista regime." He attributes this to the fact that journalists received "botellas" or bribes from the government.

We understand that the "botella" is an old tradition in Cuba but that these payments did not, in fact, keep the press from being highly critical of the government which made them.

Evidence that supports this is found in a letter written by the former editor of the very influential Cuban magazine, *Bohemia*, Miguel Angel Quevedo, prior to his suicide in Mexico in 1969. Quevedo had been a Castro supporter, and he accepted some of the blame for bringing Castro to power. He said:

"I know that after I am dead, a mountain of accusations will be heaped upon me. They will attempt to present me as 'the only one to blame' for the misfortune of Cuba. . . . We were all guilty. Newsmen, who filled my desk with damning articles against all administrations. They were applause-seekers who, in order to satisfy the futile and brutal morbidity of the masses, and to feel flattered by the approval of the common people, would clothe themselves with the hateful uniform of 'systematic oppositionists.'

"It did not matter who the president was. Nor the good things he may be accomplishing for Cuba. He had to be attacked. And he had to be destroyed."

Reed J. Irvine

In the July/August issue of the CJR, the editor printed part of our letter commenting on the article "Taking AIM at

Jack Anderson" by Roger Morris (May/June issue). An important portion of this letter relating to the accuracy of Mr. Morris's article and the accuracy of Jack Anderson was omitted.

We would like you to read what was omitted. The italicized sentences were printed. They are included here to provide context.

May 19, 1975

Dear Mr. Pierce:

...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. . . ."

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.

However, he does suggest that our criticism of Anderson's column on loans to Chile may have misrepresented Anderson's position. It is Morris who misrepresents Anderson's assertions.

He says, "Anderson had described a 'policy' of financial strangulation, rather than charging that the embargo led to economic disintegration."

Here is what Anderson said: "The 54-page congressional study. . . charges that the Inter-American bank totally cut off new loans to the Allende regime. Since Chile had come to depend on these loans, the policy amounted to financial strangulation." Several paragraphs later: "The economic strangulation left Chile gasping for money, its inflation gone wild and its production disrupted by strikes."

What AIM pointed out was that IDB loan disbursements in the pre-Allende years were equal to only a tiny fraction of Chile's foreign exchange expenditures and that the drying up of such disbursements could not possibly have accounted for the economic chaos that emerged under Allende. We also noted that the disbursements did not dry up. While new loans were not authorized, disbursements under outstanding loans continued. It is disbursements, not authorizations, that pay the bills, and there is typically a long lag between authorizations and disbursements. We did make one error in saying that disbursements were actually larger in the Allende years than in the

preceding three years. We subsequently learned that one of our figures was wrong and that disbursements in the Allende years were \$3 million a year lower than in the three preceding years. The amount is insignificant compared to Chile's annual expenditure on imports of over \$1 billion. Nevertheless, in line with its policy of correcting errors, AIM did write a letter to the *Washington Post* correcting this mistake in its original letter. It was not printed.

Morris is correct in saying that Anderson mentioned the IDB's statement that disbursements against old loans continued in the Allende years. This was mentioned in a footnote in the concluding paragraph of the column, giving no figures and not pointing out that the economic impact of loans must be measured by disbursements, not authorizations. Had such a statement been included in the body of the column, together with the disbursement figures, AIM would have had no complaint. But Anderson would not have been able to make the case that the IDB had caused the economic strangulation of Chile. . . .

Reed J. Irvine

AIM invites your support of our effort to keep the media accurate and honest. Keep abreast of the serious errors of the media by subscribing to the AIM Report.

- I want to support the work of AIM. Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____, which I understand to be tax-deductible.
- Please enter my subscription to the AIM Report. I enclose payment of \$15.00.

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REPORTS

"Life Can be Beautiful Relevant," by Anthony Astrachan, **The New York Times Magazine**, March 23, 1975

The latest darling of the pop culturists is the soap opera. With more than seven collective network programming hours a day and estimated viewing audiences of 2 to 3 million, the soaps occupy a special place in the American cultural landscape. Astrachan's analysis of the genre is entertaining and literate. While traditional conventions of the form are still dominant, there are considerable signs of realism and relevance (in the appearances of blacks and ethnics, for example, and in endless troubles about drugs, venereal disease, Vietnam, and abortion). All this lather in Soapland, Astrachan believes, reflects a conflict in American society as a whole: "the need to keep up with changing realities, and the desire to stick to . . . formulas that have never expressed reality — to tell it like it isn't."

"The Future of the Metropolitan Daily," by Leo Bogart, **Journal of Communication**, Spring 1975

The healthy future of the nation's fifth largest manufacturing business, says Bogart, depends upon its recognition of patterns of social change. Drawing upon a wide variety of research, he examines not only the big-city demographic data, but also aspects of race and language, apartment house living, and television in their relation to newspaper-buying trends. His findings produce a number of thoughtful challenges: converting Negroes and Spanish-speaking Americans to regular readership; improving the reading level of schoolchildren; recognizing the reality of the feminist movement; and encouraging the consideration of newspaper-circulation questions by academic students of communication. But the most important question, in Bogart's view, is "whether newspapers have been sufficiently responsive editorially to the changed outlook of the people who will soon be running this country."

"Memoirs of a Consumer Reporter," by Melinda Nix, **The Washingtonian**, May 1975

Where have all the activists gone? This one went to action-reporting — and had a won-

derful time. Nix gives a lively account of her two-year stint at WMAL-TV's "Consumer Scene" in Washington, D.C. She wryly recalls some of her team's misses (the complaint about a sofa lined with a re-dyed flag that insisted on showing its stripes, to the literal discomfort of its patriotic owner, who couldn't bring himself to sit on it), and she disarmingly delights in some of their hits (the now-required credentials verification of those listing themselves as M.D.s in the yellow pages). A realistic idealist, Nix concludes that despite its shortcomings, the medium has the muscle to achieve changes that would otherwise not be effected.

"Forming Journalists," by Joseph P. Lyford, **The Center Magazine**, July/August 1975

Here are some remarkable reflections on the development of excellence in reporting and interpreting our environment. Observing that characteristics of art and of science — heightened perceptions, and logical thinking, for example — are just as fundamental to journalism, Lyford argues that journalists may learn some valuable lessons from these "seemingly remote" disciplines. Artistic qualities — sensitivity, insight, and the ability to see things other than one-dimensionally — should characterize the journalistic sensibility as well. And archeology — the random probing, the educated guess, the concentrated excavation, the putting together of pieces — suggests essential parallels with journalistic practice. But most provocative is Lyford's analogy of journalist and cultural anthropologist; practically applied, it is a persuasive argument for an unorthodox approach to professional training: the "storefront reporter" who "inhabits" his beat rather than simply covering it.

"Keeper of the Playboyese," by R. D. Rosen, **New Times**, May 16, 1975

Party Jokes Editor Tells All! This offbeat tour between the lines of the most popular page in *Playboy* is both funny and fascinating. For all its flippancy in describing the mechanics of putting together the "fodder for businessmen's lunches, stag parties, and cocktail hours," the article offers unique insight into the magazine's editing process — and, not incidentally, into its audience.

"The Presentation of Blacks in Television Network Newscasts," by Churchill Roberts, **Journalism Quarterly**, Spring 1975

Thoroughly analytic and thoroughly dull, this report very nearly succeeds in preserving the obscurity of a neglected issue. But chi-squares and contingency tables notwithstanding, the distinction between fantasy-type and reality-type television programs is a useful one, and in its focus on the latter, the study reveals some significant evidence: during the period studied (1972-73), blacks made relatively few appearances in newscasts; in the news segments in which they did appear the majority of them were seen but not heard; and the type of news story in which blacks appeared most often had to do with civil rights. Roberts urges a follow-up to his survey on the local level, but the message to the networks is clear.

"The Hottest Newsweekly in Town," by Andrew Tobias, **New York**, April 21, 1975

No, it isn't *Time* or *Newsweek*, it's McGraw-Hill's *Business Week* — and it's a gold mine. Why? And how? To be sure, the news these days is business news; but more to the point, management must be doing something right. In his trenchant analysis of every aspect of the magazine (circulation, direct-mail promotion, advertising, and "oh yes — editorial"), Tobias provides some penetrating glimpses into the secrets of its enviable success.

"Daniel Schorr: Hype and Chutzpah in the Newsroom," by Ann Pincus, **The Village Voice**, May 26, 1975

Who is Daniel Schorr? You won't find out by reading this slick, self-conscious "profile." What you will find is a little moldy news (Schorr against the White House), a little fresh gossip (Schorr against the network bosses), and a little leftover analysis (Schorr against "his biggest enemy: his own competitive spirit").

DANIEL J. LEAB

Daniel J. Leab is director of American studies at Seton Hall University. His latest book is From Sambo to Superspade: The Black Motion Picture Experience.

The Lower case

20 Pound Killer Monk Destroyed By ASPCA

Daily Record (Morristown, N.J.) 7 9 75

Of Sunday's drama, Ryan's closet friend, coach Jimmie Reese, 70, said, "I'm going to go home and faint."

Los Angeles Times 6 2 75

Corection

The Mountain Echo (Yellowville, Ark.) 5 15 75

But the real breakthrough is in producing a flexible cable which lends itself to use in a wide variety of applications.

Up to now the company has been able to make niobium-tin semiconductors only in tape instead of wire. While the tape is suitable in some applications it is not sufficiently stable magnetically and tape-wound magnets have to be energized very slowly. The new cable can be energized rapidly and remains truly superconductive

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution 6/22/75

Police officer Bill Avery relied on intuitive judgment when he exposed himself to an armed suspect who had abducted two children. The gamble paid off when the man surrendered.

The Arlington Citizen Journal 6 11 75

Police Can't Stop Gambling

Detroit Free Press 7 1 75

Lot of Women Distressing

Spokane Daily Chronicle 7 4 75

American Sentenced To Life in Scotland

The Washington Post 6 25 75

Poet doesn't want audience of illerates

The Raleigh Times 7 11 75

110 Refugees Hit by Ford Poisoning

The Washington Star 6 6 75

LON060609-6/6/75: LONDON: Prime Minister Harold Wilson, standing on the doorstep of Ten Downing Street 6/6, announcing that the British people had voted overwhelmingly to stay in Europe.

UPI photo wire 6 6 75

Steve Canyon



Steve Canyon



Des Moines Register 4/16/75



Omaha World-Herald 4 16 75

Some people think all we have to do is stick holes in the earth to find oil.

To pinpoint the oil and gas you need, we've got to do much more than that.

To begin with, there's the geophysical exploration and the leasing of the land. Last year, we paid over 500 million dollars for offshore leases alone — just for the right to look for oil and gas.

Next we have to drill to see if there actually is oil or gas underground. Drilling can take up to a year or more. If oil or gas is discovered, we then can begin development drilling.

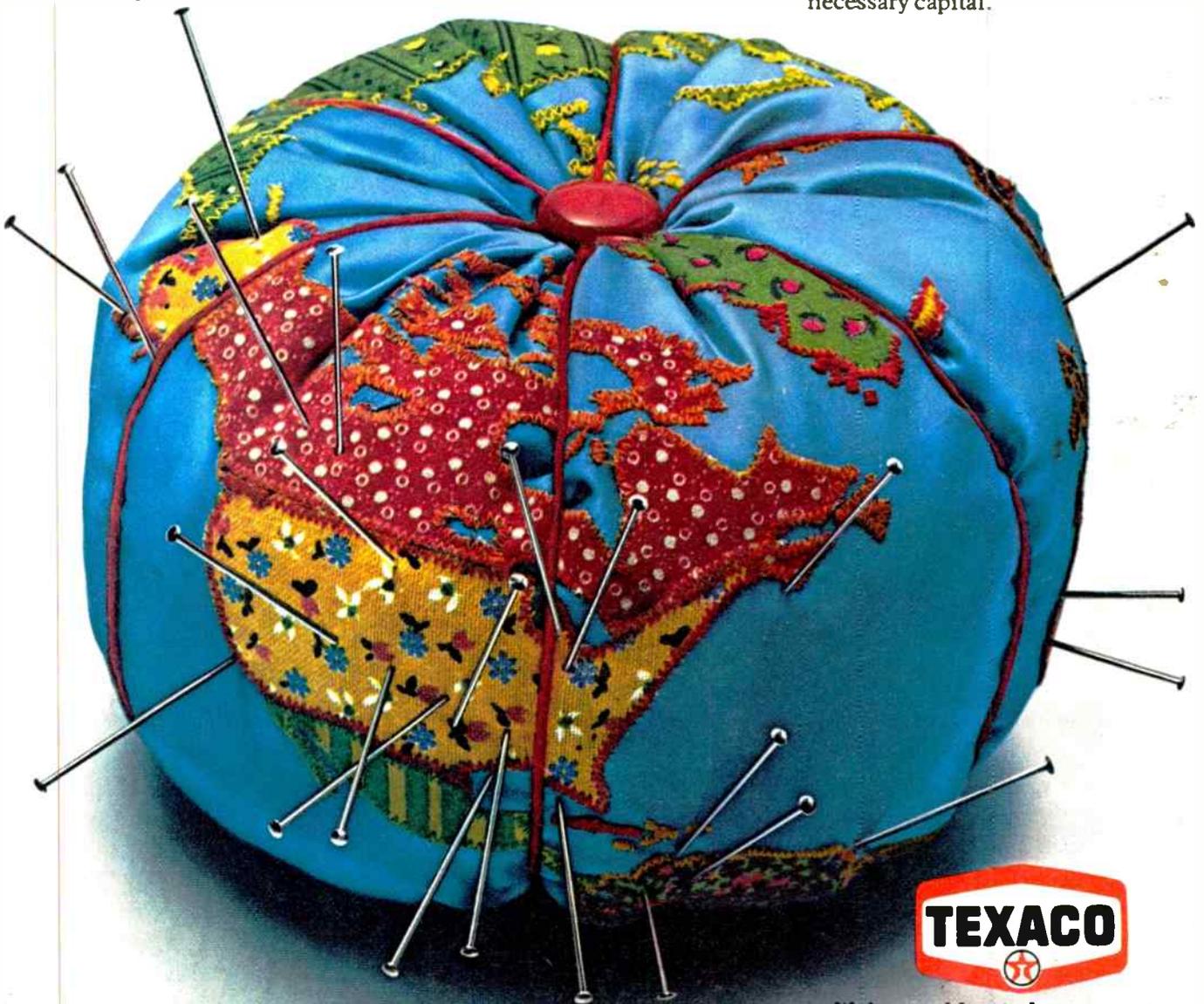
But drilling is risky and costly. Out of every 50 exploratory wells drilled in search of new oil or gas... only one on the average finds enough to be recovered in commercial amounts.

Then there's the cost. By the latest available figures, the average onshore well in 1973 cost \$107,000, and offshore the average cost of a single well was \$687,000. And if deep drilling is required, the well could cost as much as 1 million dollars or more.

And even if we find oil or gas,

our job isn't over. If a pipeline or storage system is needed, that's at least a two to six month job or even longer — at great cost. Then we have to get the oil to the refinery and manufacture it into the hundreds of products you need.

From the day we start looking for oil or gas to the day we can turn it into a finished product...it could take years and cost millions of dollars. The best way to supply you with the petroleum energy you need is through a free enterprise system that will enable us to generate the necessary capital.



We're working to keep your trust.