

AMONG THE PIRANHAS: A JOURNALIST AND THE F.B.I.

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1976
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR/PRESS • RADIO • TV

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THE NEW BALLYHOO

THE WEATHER
Violent, tumid

All the news
that sells

THE '20S ROAR BACK!

DEAR! DEAR!
IT GRATES
ON MY EAR!

HONK! HONK!
THE SHOE-TREE
HAS SHRONK!

WOOF! WOOF!
I SHARPEN
A HOOF!

SCRATCH!
S-C-C-C-RATCH!
S-C-C-C-RATCH!

“A colonist cannot make a button, a horse shoe, nor a hobnail...”

So a Boston newspaper complained in the early 1700's.

The American Revolution was not caused by a quarrel started by a stubborn English autocrat. Nor by "taxation without representation" since most of the taxes at issue were repealed shortly after being imposed.

Most historians say it was the oppressive British restrictions on the freedom to pursue individual enterprise that led to the Revolution.

In 1776, the Declaration of Independence called for the right of the colonies to "establish commerce."

Twelve years later the Constitution of the United States permanently enfranchised American Industry.

Today, the single basic principle of freedom that founded this nation has remained constant through two centuries of unparalleled change.

One profound change has been the transformation from private individual enterprise to private corporate enterprise—a natural evolution due to the growth and increasing complexity of our society.

Yet the change to corporate enterprise came about without destroying opportunities for individual initiative or losing sight of the fundamental truths of a free economy.

As America enters its third century, we must affirm the principle of freedom of enterprise.

There must be the freedom to invent and innovate, to manufacture and market, to realize profits.

Our ability to manage the future will depend on the continued strength of our inherited free enterprise system.

No one can guarantee another 200 years of success—but we must be allowed to try

Monsanto

In our 75th year as The Science Company



I may not be the reason you fly Pan Am but I'll never be the reason you don't.

When you or your travel agent makes a reservation with us, you shouldn't have any reservations about the kind of service you'll get.

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Come to think of it, if we're not the reason you fly Pan Am, maybe we should be.

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America's airline to the world.

See your travel agent.



How International Paper helps mother trees have stronger, healthier offspring

The forester in the photograph is – well, you might call her a matchmaker.

She's using that syringe in one of our seed orchards to make just the right kind of match: the pollen of one very special pine tree to the flower of another.

It's all part of an effort to grow a better kind of tree – far taller, straighter and more disease resistant than its ancestors.

That effort could be critical to America's economy.

Nature under pressure

Nature needs help. For two centuries she has been supplying America – and other parts of the world – with all the trees we needed. Now the demand is increasing faster than nature alone can replenish the supply.

America uses more than half a ton of wood each year, for every man, woman and child. (That's the equivalent of a 55-foot tall southern pine tree with a 12-inch diameter for each of us.)

And, the demand will double by the year 2000 if we are to meet our needs for housing, protective packaging, communications and other critical demands of a modern economy.

So America must grow more trees – and trees with a lot

more usable wood fiber. That's where International Paper is helping.

Breeding better forests

For 20 years now, International Paper has been breeding better trees. They're not only taller and straighter than ordinary trees. They also grow *faster*. And they have fewer, smaller branches. That means they contain more *usable* fiber.

Our first man-bred tree, the Supertree, contained 25 percent more wood fiber. Now we're breeding a tree expected to yield 20 percent more fiber than that – to be grown in forests managed to give each tree optimum space for growth.

In fact, our tree breeding program is so extensive that by 1978 we expect to replace every southern pine we harvest with better, man-bred trees.

Hardwood trees, too

And we've extended our breeding program to hardwood trees like gum and sycamore, so that hardwood lands will be more productive, too. We've also developed a Landowner Assistance Program, to help small landowners do a better job of managing their forests.

Right now, there are over 500,000 acres of land involved in this program.

And there's still more. We're

finding ways to get more wood fiber out of the trees we harvest. We're involved in cooperative nursery programs and tree farm programs. We're working to improve tree harvesting techniques, while protecting forest soils and forest watersheds.

More to be done

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

At International Paper, we believe forest products companies, private landowners and government must work together to develop more enlightened policies for managing America's forests.

The wrong policies can make tree farming difficult and force the sale of forest land for other purposes. The right policies can assure continuation of America's forests – a renewable natural resource.

If you'd like more information about what has to be done to assure the world's fiber supply, please write to Dept. 162-A, International Paper Company, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.



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The Great Health Care Stakes

Odds favor higher medical care costs if prescription drug prices are arbitrarily cut. A gamble? Yes, considering the following:

Drugs markedly reduce the costs of hospitalization, surgery, psychiatry, intensive care, and other forms of health care.

Examples:

1. Polio vaccines eliminated iron lungs, lengthy hospital stays, and saved thousands of potential victims.¹
2. Since drugs to treat mental illness were introduced, the number of patients in mental hospitals has been more than cut in half: from 558,000 in 1955 to about 225,000 in 1974.²
3. Antibiotics save millions of lives and billions of health care dollars.³
4. Drugs that cure tuberculosis closed most sanatoriums.⁴

The stakes are these: new drugs to fight cancer, viral infections, heart ailments, psychoses and other diseases. But —

- New drugs come only from research, a very sophisticated form of roulette.
- Most new drugs are discovered by U.S. research-oriented pharmaceutical companies.⁵
- Their research funds come from current prescription drug sales.
- For every drug that's a winner, there are thousands of other



promising chemical compounds that never make it to the gate.

- Cutting drug prices arbitrarily is a sure-shot loss for research investment.

What may be gambled away is much of the future progress in health care for the sake of short term savings.

Dr. Louis Lasagna, a leading clinical pharmacologist, puts it this way:

"It may be politically expedient, for the short haul, to disregard the health of the United States drug industry, but its destruction would be a gigantic tragedy."⁶

One last point: Between 1967 and 1975, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index, the cost of all consumer items rose 61%, and medical care costs increased 69%, while prescription drug costs increased only 9%.

1. *Pharmacy Times*, March 1976, pp 36-39.

2. "Health in the United States," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975, p. 40.

3. National Health Education Committee, "Facts on the Major Killing and Crippling Diseases in the United States," 1971, p. 5.

4. Lambert, P.D. and Martin, A. (National Institutes of Health), *Pharmacy Times*, April 1976, pp 50-66.

5. deHaen, Paul, "New Drugs, 1940 thru 1975," *Pharmacy Times*, March 1976, pp. 40-74.

6. Lasagna, L., *The American Journal of Medical Sciences*, 263.72 (Feb.) 1972.



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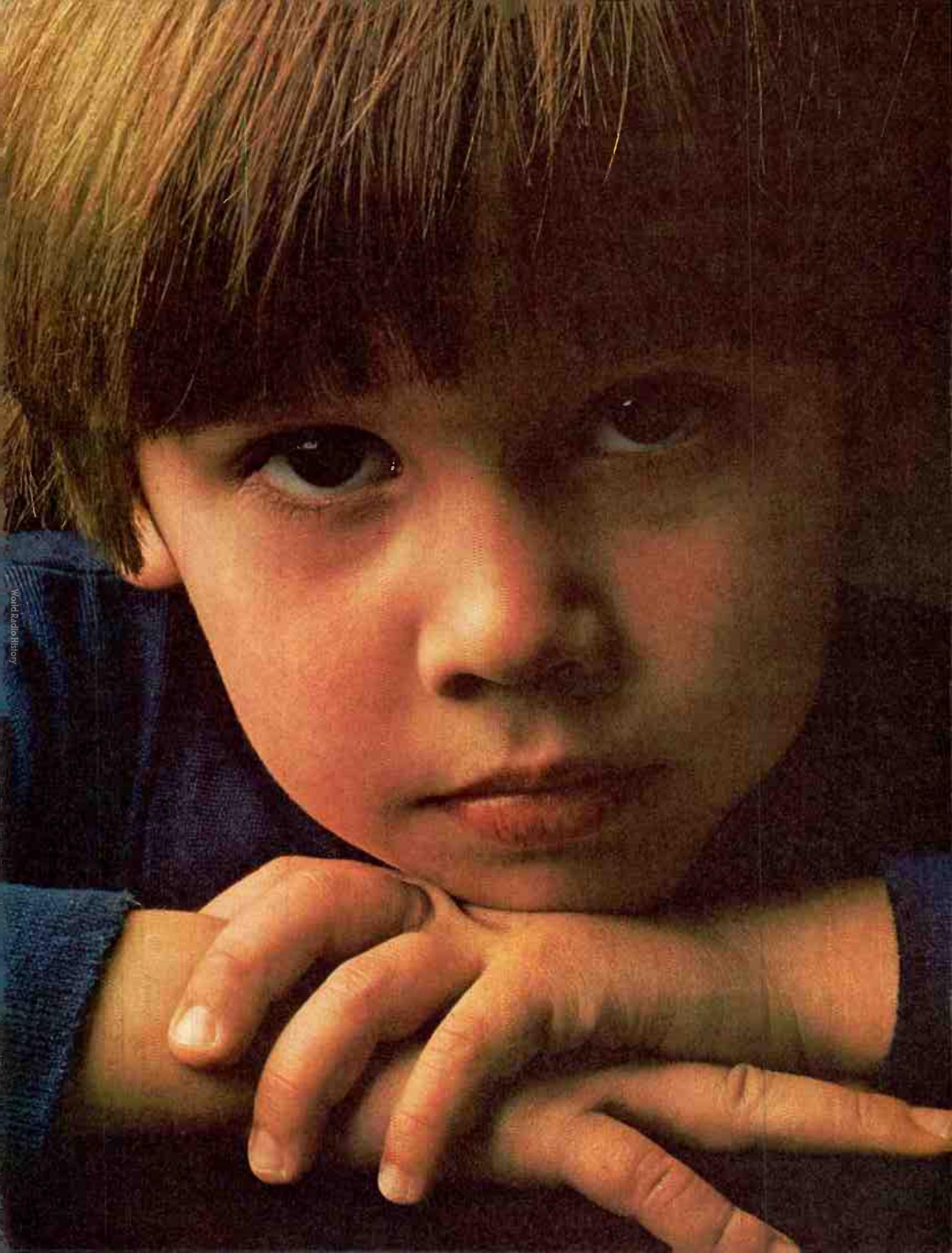
—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

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World Radio History

If we don't wash our wastewater he may have to drink it.

Every day, a million people living in a typical American city generate approximately 500,000 tons of wastewater.

Sewage systems in many cities cannot cope with these amounts. So wastewater isn't cleaned thoroughly before it's discharged into rivers and lakes, and contributes to their pollution. The same rivers and lakes we rely upon for our drinking water.

Union Carbide has developed a wastewater treatment system called UNOX. It cleans the dirty water of towns and cities faster, cheaper, and uses less energy and space than any system devised before it.

The Unox System uses high-purity oxygen instead of air. The oxygen is forced into a series of closed treatment tanks where it increases the efficiency of the microorganisms that feed on pollution and improve water quality.

Nearly 100 cities are now using or installing the Unox System. As the population of America grows, so does our need for clean water. And if we don't clean our dirty water, no one is going to do it for us.



**Today, something we do
will touch your life.**

COMMENT

Darts and laurels

Laurel: to the heroic copyreader who saved Congress from yet another blush with a timely correction of the galleys of the May 3 report of the "Subcommittee on Overnight Procedures."

Dart: to the *Tampa Tribune*, for innovative disservice. Teased by the June 26 page-one box proclaiming a special new feature in Spanish — a service many regard as long overdue in this city with a large Latin community — readers who turned to the page 6 "Columna Latina de Tampa" found only seven columns of paid advertisements.

Dart: to *The New York Times* for its timid headline (April 16) on the death of a figure known, as the obituary said, as "a purveyor of anti-Semitism and other forms of racial and religious bigotry." To wit: GERALD L. K. SMITH DEAD: ANTI-COMMUNIST CRUSADER.

Laurel: to *Newsweek* and senior editor Peter Goldman, for a golden gleam of realism in the Bicentennial glitter. Their July 4 cover story — a collection of concise oral histories by forty-six Americans from various parts of society — is an authentic document that may well be gleaned by Tricentennial scholars in search of our national character.

Dart: to ABC-TV's owned-and-operated stations, for compromising the wholesomeness of a worthy documentary on child malnutrition. The film was funded by a manufacturer of infant formula food.

Laurel: to James Fallows, for a unique effort in public disclosure. In a box accompanying his article on Senator Edward M. Kennedy in the June issue of *The Washington Monthly*, Fallows considered the degree, if any, to which the professional judgments he expressed in the article had been "co-opted" by the friendly hospitality extended by Kennedy during its preparation.

Laurel: to *Editor & Publisher*, for

celebrating the Bicentennial with a singularly appropriate compilation of 136 Supreme Court decisions involving the First Amendment.

Darts: to *The Wall Street Journal* and *Time*, for selective news judgment. "The nation's only national daily" evidently deemed it non-news when the Department of Labor overturned a national election that involved the union at Dow Jones & Company, the paper's parent. Likewise *Time* apparently judged as unworthy of a story the twenty-day strike affecting *Fortune*, *People Weekly*, *Money*, *Sports Illustrated* . . . and *Time*.

Laurel: to *Harper's Weekly* — now regrettably suspended after a two-year revival — for some disturbing investigative journalism about journalists. Recent articles have explored the tangled relationship between Jack Anderson, Sun Myung Moon, and the Diplomat National Bank; employment by I.T.T. of John Chancellor and John Scali as narrators for company films; and the hidden connections between U.S.I.A. and various academic journals.

Dart: to WLS-TV, Chicago, for presenting as news an in-house ad. On its five and six o'clock June 16 newscasts, the ABC affiliate ran segments of a Chicago speech by network president Elton Rule on the significance of television in assuring the survival of the Olympic games — a subject in which ABC had more than a sporting interest.

Investigators mobilize

It was a coincidence and yet appropriate that the death in June of Don Bolles, the *Arizona Republic* reporter assassinated while pursuing corruption in Phoenix, was followed almost at once by the first national gathering of investigative journalists. The conference in Indianapolis of the Investigative Reporters & Editors group attracted perhaps 300 partici-

pants. More important, the nonprofit association laid plans that may in the long run strengthen investigative journalism against what is almost certain to be a period of trial and frustration for many in the field. One such project is for a center to provide research services and to offer exchange of information; it will be housed at Ohio State University. The center, if it can obtain appropriate financing, can be a safeguard against the isolation and duplication of effort that sometimes handicap the work of investigative reporters.

A Don Bolles Family Education Fund, to assist Bolles's widow and seven children, has been established; its address is Valley National Bank, P.O. Box 71, att. A-500, Phoenix, Arizona 85001. There is also a Don Bolles Reward Fund, The Arizona Republic, 20 East Van Buren Street, Phoenix, Arizona 85004.

Sexual congress

Covering the congressional "sex controversy," as a *New York Times* reporter called it in the heat of battle last June, sometimes seemed to leave Washington reporters at a loss for words. In many news stories, especially those in the severely proper *Times*, the impulse to be both piquant and serious led to roller-coaster variations in tone, imprecise use of clichés, and maladroit double entendres.

As the "scandal" grew, sexual euphemisms were used up and discarded as quickly as starlets, or, if you believe the papers, congressional secretaries. "Sexual favors" was an early favorite, and the one we most hated to see retired. But that term soon yielded to "sexual encounter," which made the sexual favors in question seem less pleasant and more perfunctory. This change may have reflected the deepening moral sternness of the reporters and editors handling the "deepening scandal." But

it, too, soon fell to the reporters' need for verbal variety, which was every bit as strong as any congressman's physical needs.

"Sexual relationship" proved to be the most durable phrase of all. It became the favorite after reporters had lived with the story for a few days. Their familiarity with it led in some cases to contempt for whatever vague meaning it once may have had. John M. Crewdson wrote in the June 11 *Times*, for example, that Colleen Gardner "had been offered a salary increase immediately after her first sexual relationship with Mr. Young in 1970. . . ."

There were other phrases, sought out under deadline pressure when the need for variety became overwhelming: "sexual liaisons," "sexual activities," "sexual relations," and the cruelly terse "sex relations." And there were specialized terms for the finer gradations of misconduct: "sexual advances," "trysts" (venerable word!), and quaint references to "affairs" with "mistresses" and "paramours."

Washington reporters who found themselves temporarily on bedroom duty sometimes managed to amuse readers with double entendres. A *Washington Post* story on the second day of the scandal quoted Congressman Wayne Hays, his memories of Elizabeth Ray apparently still painfully fresh, as saying, "Her lies must be laid bare." And on June 12, Crewdson in the *Times* reported this mischievous speculation about Illinois Congressman Kenneth Gray's alleged "giving" of Ray to Senator Mike Gravel during a party aboard a houseboat: "The Justice Department . . . is reported to be investigating the possibility that this incident may come under a bribery statute that covers the offer of a thing of value for an official act."

Squabbling over the right of reply

A serious failing of newspapers is that they offer no dependable means of timely reply to those who believe they have been badly used in news stories. An instructive example of what that fail-

ing can lead to came in the aftermath of a December 1974 *Washington Post* story about the ballistics evidence in the Robert F. Kennedy assassination case. It was brought to our attention by Betsy Langman, a New York writer and coauthor of "Sirhan's Gun" (*Harper's*, January 1975), whose investigation of the *Post* story has served as the basis for this editorial.

The *Post* story, by reporter Ronald Kessler, began with this arresting lead: "The nationally recognized ballistics expert whose claim gave rise to a theory that Robert F. Kennedy was not killed by Sirhan Bishara Sirhan this week admitted that there is no evidence to support his contention." The expert, William W. Harper, quickly protested in a letter to the *Post*, saying that "at no time did I ever directly or indirectly repudiate my own findings" and that Kessler's story "apparently reflects an insufficient grasp of technical aspects of criminalistics." Harper asked the *Post* to publish a correction and the complete text of Harper's 1970 affidavit concerning the case.

Rather than publish a correction, the affidavit, or even a part of Harper's letter, the *Post* responded by sending him a ten-page questionnaire with fifty questions concerning his interpretations of the ballistics evidence in the case. Harper, with forty years' experience in the field, was insulted by the questionnaire, and refused to fill it out. Thus began seven months of correspondence, of proposals and counter-proposals, demands and demurrals, between Harper and *Post* editors, including executive editor Benjamin Bradlee, managing editor Howard Simons, assistant managing editor Harry Rosenfeld, and ombudsman Charles Seib. In June 1975 Seib wrote an article outlining the dispute. It was agreed that Harper would review the article, and could veto its publication, although he could not change it. Harper read it, and vetoed it, because he felt it still misrepresented what had happened.

Finally, on July 20, 1975, seven months after the publication of Kessler's article, *Post* readers were given, along with a reprint of a *Los Angeles Times* story headlined RFK SHOOTING

QUESTIONS PERSIST, a box briefly summarizing the disagreement and quoting from Harper's original letter.

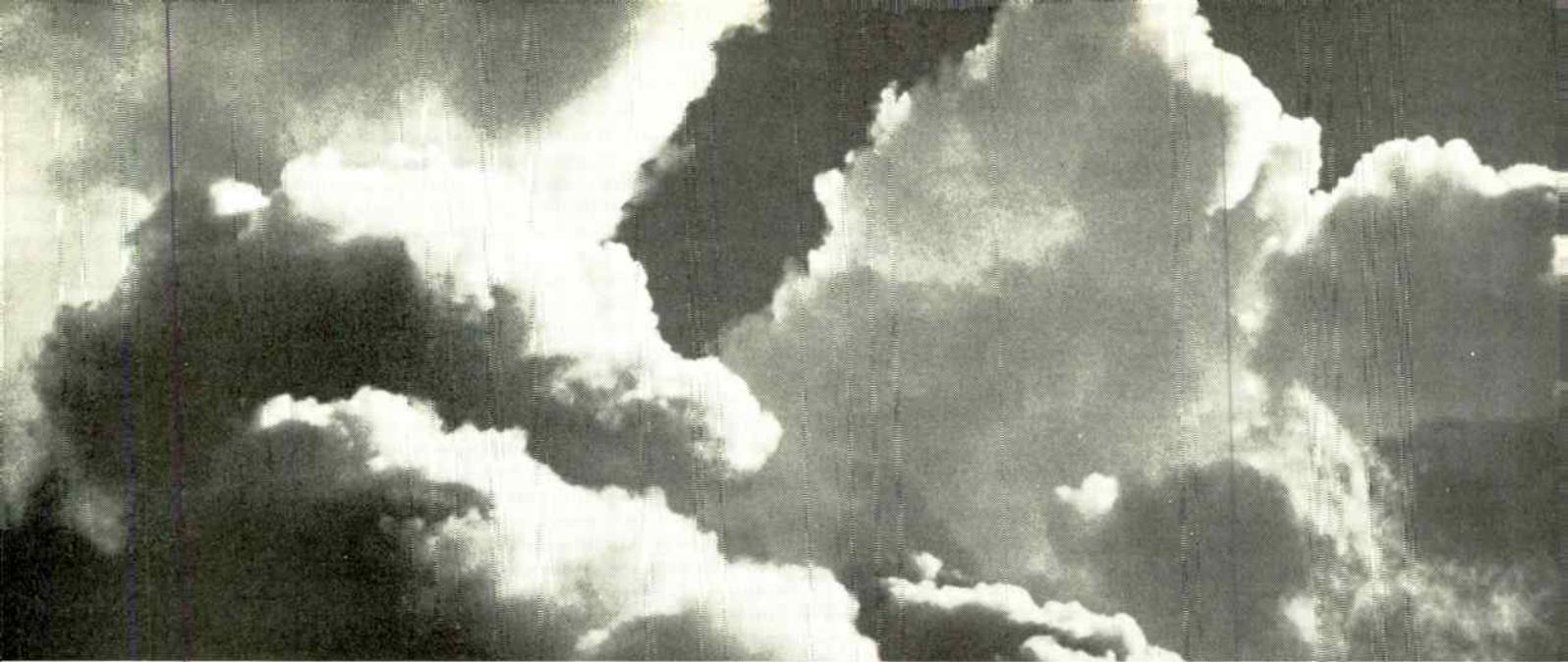
In the end, the dispute turned out badly for everyone. The *Post's* readers should have been told within a reasonable time, and in more detail, that the subject of a news story strongly disagreed with a reporter's version of what he said. And those, like Harper, whose views on matters of public importance are published in newspapers surely ought to be given timely access to argue that their views have been misrepresented. The *Post's* contentious and dilatory handling of the affair is a lesson in how not to accomplish these ends.

The Philadelphia story (cont'd)

A funny thing happened to *Hustler* this summer on its way to Philadelphia. It seems that when the boys at United News Company, the distributor in that city, beheld the August issue, they were sore offended by the words and pictures on page 10 — so offended, in fact, that they righteously ripped the shameful page from 40,000 copies. Page 10 carried an editorial that in crudely graphic *Hustlerese* criticized the mayor, Frank Rizzo.

What had Rizzo done to inspire *Hustler* to such heights of eloquent lowness? Aptly enough, it was the mayor's evident contempt for the First Amendment: a satirical article about him in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* this spring had provoked a series of appalling strong-arm attacks against the *Inquirer* (CJR, May/June).

Hustler's response to the act of mutilation was to order full-page ads in the three Philadelphia dailies, invoking Thomas Jefferson and offering free copies of the infamous page 10 to all comers. The *Bulletin* accepted the ad and ran it on July 9; over at the *Daily News* and *Inquirer*, however, publisher Sam McKeel rejected the ad, presumably out of concern for those unsuspecting readers who would be receiving material of an obscene nature — and found that he had aroused still another First Amendment storm of protest and



THE TRANSITIONAL STORM.

PART I. AN EXPLANATION.

HOW CRITICAL IS THE ENERGY “CRISIS”?

The energy situation in America today is serious. On the other hand, it is not the end of the world.

It is true there is an energy crisis in the sense that there is an increasing scarcity of certain *fuels*. But there is no scarcity of *energy*.

There never *has* been.

There never *will* be.

There never *could* be. Energy is inexhaustible.

Edward Teller puts it this way: “...*unlimited* energy exists. What is missing is the practical way to use this energy efficiently.”

No—there is no energy “shortage.” There is an energy “crisis” because we have reached a critical juncture in the availability of means to provide our energy.

THE TRANSITIONAL GAP

The end of the fossil-fuel age is clearly discernible. The beginnings of a *future-energy* age are not yet clearly established.

But that is not an earthshaking situation for us to be in. The phasing in and phasing out of fuel epochs is nothing new.

Roughly a hundred thousand years ago, man learned how to burn wood. This gave him a primary fuel for the production of energy when and as he needed it—in this case, energy in the form of heat.

By 1400 AD, man was capturing energy through windmills and through the flow of water over water-wheels. But even more important, he had learned how

to burn coal. And with that, the fossil-fuel age had begun.

Finally, in the last century, man discovered natural gas and petroleum. The fossil-fuel age was fully launched, and the advanced industrial society we know today was made possible, including the generation of electricity.

FOSSIL FUELS DISAPPEARING

Yet now we find the industrial society’s appetite for energy is so prodigious that some of our fossil fuels—natural gas and oil—are already fast disappearing, and coal is by no means inexhaustible. In hindsight, it is clear that from the first, man expected too much of the fossil-fuel epoch. Everyone alive today was born years after it began. We were born into it as we were born into the constants of rain, sunshine and the tides. It is understandable, therefore, that without giving it much thought, we more or less expected fossil fuels to go on forever.

As Dr. M. K. Hubbert of the U. S. Geological Survey has said, “It is difficult for people who are living now...to realize how transitory the fossil-fuel epoch will eventually prove to be when viewed over the significant span of human history.”

In a period of only 1300 years from beginning to end, Dr. Hubbert estimates, man will have consumed the world’s entire available supply of fossil fuels. Further, he estimates that 80 percent of that supply—all but the first and last ten percents—will have been consumed in the incredibly short period of 300 years.



Clearly, in historic perspective, this is a rather insignificant though at times troublesome period, and it is important that we adjust our thinking to accept this insignificance lest we fall victim to the despairing notion that the world will go out of business when the last barrel of oil is pumped.

It won't. The fossil-fuel epoch may be passing, but energy itself remains permanently with us. The challenge of the moment is for us to do everything possible to find ways of capturing that energy.

THE IMPERATIVES

The imperatives we face are these:

First, we must stretch the fossil-fuel epoch to its absolute limit. Conservation of *all* energy is a must—and especially conservation of petroleum resources. And we must substitute coal and uranium for other fuels wherever possible.

Second, we must speed the development of other sources of energy so that we can move into the future-energy epoch as soon as possible.

That sounds simple, but what makes it more difficult than it needs to be is the lack of public consensus—the notion promoted by some that there are other options, including a halt to growth.

But the fact is—given a growing population and a continuing desire by everyone for a satisfying life-style—no other options exist. Increased supplies of energy are essential.

OUR SEPARATE ROLES

It is also essential for all the players in this enormous drama to have a clear understanding of their separate roles.

The utility industry's part is to meet consumer demand at the lowest possible cost and with acceptable environmental impact. It must press ahead on research and development on new sources of electric

power. It must share in the task of seeing that people learn how to use electricity more efficiently.

Given today's complexity of environmental and energy regulations and the huge investment required for energy research and development, government, commerce and industry all have a vital role in the energy drama. They must join the utility industry in encouraging consumers to use energy wisely.

The consumers' role is in many ways the most important. Since they are the users of electricity, they are the ones that can make "wise use of energy" mean something. They must make it a way of life. They must encourage their neighbors to do the same. They must also support research and development that will lead to new sources of electricity. And they must face the reality that dwindling fossil fuels, staggering investments for research and development, and equipment for the protection of the environment are inevitably influencing electric rates.

Perhaps most important of all, consumers must give serious, practical, realistic thought to public decisions to be made regarding energy sources and environmental concerns.

None of these roles will be easy to perform. What makes the drama worth the playing, however, is the promise at its end: the discovery that satisfying lives need not come to a grinding halt and that a new, more abundant epoch will follow the old.

And in the final analysis, there is no alternative to our playing our roles conscientiously. As Dr. Glenn Seaborg, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said, "...the future of energy is the future of man. Without it we become nothing. With it, we become whatever we wish to be."

**Edison Electric Institute
for the electric companies**

90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

petition from his staff. Within a week, McKeel and *Hustler* reached an imaginative compromise: the ad ran, but carried a brief surgeon-general-style warning of possible hazard.

Undeniably, every page in *Hustler* is a testament to its boastful distinction as "the magazine nobody quotes." Whether it is to be the magazine nobody reads, however, is quite another matter.

Third world: reporters unwelcome

In July, efforts by developing nations to restrict or supersede Western-oriented news organizations moved decisively from the level of individual countries toward international cooperation. On July 13, in New Delhi, fifty-eight countries approved a draft constitution for a pool of government-controlled press agencies designed "to liberate their information and mass media from the colonial legacy." From July 12 to 21, a conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization met in Costa Rica to formulate mass-communications policies; although it did not adopt previously publicized measures to nationalize news organizations and restrict foreign correspondents, the meeting did mark an important shift from UNESCO's old emphasis on unhampered international communication. An appraisal of this trend appeared in the new British Journalism Studies Review, issued by the Centre for Journalism Studies, University College, Cardiff. The writer, Martin Woollacott, is Asia correspondent for The Guardian. The following are excerpts from his article.

The Western press, it must be agreed, has since decolonization acted as a sort of international monitoring agency, whose inspectors — foreign correspondents — tour the Third World to measure how far from proper standards Asian and African societies have fallen. Their reports on famine, war, corruption, and governmental incompetence and repression are presented to the Western public in tones of moral outrage. A country can find itself lambasted

for not introducing authoritarian solutions to its problems, and then heavily criticized when it does.

The justice of many such points in the case against the foreign press must be conceded. [Coverage] is often shallow and inaccurate, relying on simple stereotypes, and it does concentrate on the bad news. And attitudes of moral superiority and Western cultural chauvinism do underlie much reporting.

But, for all of its defects, the Western foreign press corps is all that the world has got in the way of an efficient international news-gathering organization.

This organization, whose oddities are a product of history, is the only existing means of maintaining a flow of reasonably reliable information between countries. The news establishments of the Communist world hardly offer a feasible alternative. And the occasional efforts of Asian and African countries to set up their own systems of international news gathering have all been failures. Their own papers cannot afford foreign correspondents, and the few projects for Asian and African news agencies have collapsed for lack of money, expertise, and customers.

To shut out or restrict the Western press is thus an effective act of censorship. And the progress is well advanced: the Western press either has no free access or must tread very carefully indeed in countries containing over half the world's population. In the whole of Asia, for instance, there are now, apart from Japan, only six countries which correspondents can enter freely and operate without serious fear of expulsion.

Vietnam and Cambodia "watchers" have recently been added to that curious branch of the journalistic profession. Soon there may be India watchers, too. The great era of the Anglo-American foreign correspondent, a person as privileged in some ways as a diplomat, traveling around combining the roles of adventurer, entertainer, reporter, and moralist, is coming to an end. But it is to be hoped that the rising tide of censorship and other restrictions will in time recede for, in spite of all the excesses and stupidities of the Western press in Asia and Africa, there is nothing else to take its place.

More More

After five years as a lively monthly tabloid, [*More*], the New York journalism review, has dropped its brackets and has made a promising fresh start in magazine format under a new publisher, Michael Kramer, and a new editor, Ron Rosenbaum. As it did [*More*], CJR welcomes *More*.

Confidentiality: out of fashion

On June 30, a unanimous Supreme Court bathed the press in a glow of victory. Although it took five separate opinions to express the views of nine justices, the Court struck down firmly the "gag order" issued against the press in a Nebraska mass-murder trial and found that "high barriers" prevented further such intrusions on the freedom of the press.

The Court on that same day failed to take action in two cases involving another important but evidently out-of-fashion aspect of press freedom. Seven to two, the Court refused to review claims to confidentiality of sources by a former Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* reporter, William T. Farr, and by four news-staff members of *The Fresno Bee*. In both cases, reporters and editors were subpoenaed to disclose sources who were believed to have supplied information in violation of court restraining orders. In both, the courts had refused to apply the California shield law's protection.

While lead editorials in the nation's bellwether papers hailed the Nebraska decision or deplored its potential loopholes, few seemed immediately concerned that five California journalists might go to jail, or that the Court had again given approval — albeit tacit — to forced disclosure of confidences. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* mentioned the California cases only briefly in news stories, and the *Chicago Tribune* took no note of them

continued on page 16

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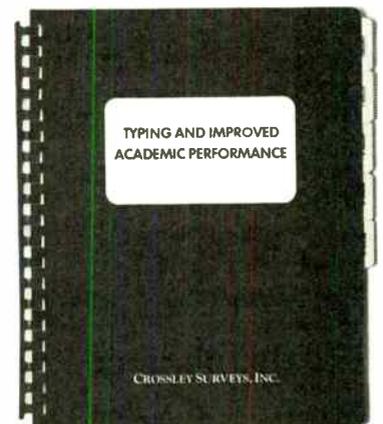
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CITIVIEWS

CITIVIEWS is distributed quarterly to Citicorp investors. It contains viewpoints on timely issues affecting the public interest. We believe the following may be of interest to you...

"Suppose they held a convention and nobody came?"

A television commentator raised this question during the unprecedented series of political primaries that launched the 1976 presidential campaign. It deserves to be answered. What, indeed, would happen if nobody came to the conventions? Or, for that matter, if no one bothered to vote in the election. Would anybody care? Does it matter?

It has become the custom in election years to urge everyone to vote. National advertising campaigns popularize slogans like "Vote for the Candidate of Your Choice — But Vote." It is considered somewhat of an embarrassment that, among all the Western democracies, the United States turns out the lowest percentage of voters on election day. And whatever he might secretly prefer, no candidate for office is heard to say, "Unless you intend to vote for me, please stay home." Even a vote for the opposition is presumed to be better than no vote at all.

Illogical as this presumption might appear, it springs from a sound historical instinct. For the history of democracy has been the continual rediscovery that all members of a society — rich and poor, wise and foolish — somehow contrive a better life for themselves when their political decisions are made collectively than when left to any one group in the society acting alone.

That is the one essential tenet of the democratic faith, without which democratic government becomes impossible. A citizen who fails to vote is, in effect, denying fellow citizens the benefit of his or her opinion. Were every citizen to behave likewise, the democratic process would grind to a halt. Intentionally or not, the voter who chooses to "sit this one out" is indulging in conduct that is fundamentally anti-democratic and perceived as such by those struggling to make the democratic system work. It is one more tiny leak in the ship of state.

Subversion of democracy consists of nothing more than placing the ultimate power to decide in the hands of some one citizen, or some group of citizens, to the exclusion of all the others. Whether the decision-making power comes to rest in the hands of a few because they conspire to seize it, or because others let it slip from their grasp, the result is the same. This is a point apparently overlooked by large numbers of Americans. For despite our relatively poor performance at the polling place, in opinion polls we continue to regard our own democracy as healthier than most others. People are able to believe this because, as one pollster recently reported, "If they did not actively participate in political affairs, they felt they could do so if they wanted to." This was also the view of the Roman Senate in the time of Augustus. Only when they attempted to renew their active participation, after the lapse of a generation or so, did they discover that while they were relaxing, Rome had ceased to be a republic.

Poor health in a democratic society infected by too many nonparticipating members becomes apparent, however, long before the disease becomes terminal. More than one hundred years ago, John Stuart Mill was able to write:

When nobody, or only some small fraction, feels the degree of interest in the general affairs of the State necessary to the formation of a public opinion, the electors will seldom make any use of the right of suffrage but to serve their private interest, or the interest of their locality, or of someone with whom they are connected as adherents or dependents. The small class who, in this state of public feeling, gain the command of the representative body, for the most part use it solely as a means of seeking their fortune.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the phenomena Mill described were not unique to early 19th-century England, nor to adduce further arguments for getting to the polls on election day.

Dissatisfaction with the candidates and issues put forward by our two major parties is the most commonly heard excuse for nonvoting. "If they want me to vote, let them put up somebody worth voting for" — like a dyspeptic guest at a smorgasbord waiting for the caterers to spread their wares on the table.

The citizen who feels this way is confusing the role of a voter with that of a consumer. In a free-market society, the consumer's disinclination to buy is a powerful creative force, eliminating wasteful surpluses and inspiring ceaseless innovation and invention as producers seek to overcome consumer apathy with more desirable goods and better services. But an election is not an auction, and the political arena is not a banquet hall. If we succeeded in turning it into one, and left the catering to others, the result would not be a more elaborate and tempting buffet to choose from, but service table d'hôte — one dish for everyone, with no substitutions allowed. This has, in fact, been known to happen. It is called the one-party state.

Those who call themselves "Independents" now slightly outnumber those who consider themselves Democrats, and are more than twice as numerous as those who consider themselves Republicans. But to express dissatisfaction with the performance of the political parties by becoming "independent" is not to create a new alternative, for it really means withdrawing from that part of the electoral process where people decide what this year's political options are going to be. Since there is no "Independent Party," it offers us no options of its own, and it is misleading to say, "She's a Democrat, he's a Republican, and I'm an Independent." For the first two represent coalitions of people engaged in a common political effort, whereas "Independent" refers only to an individual who is not so engaged.

Even Thomas Jefferson, who once wrote, "If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all," soon discovered that he could not impress his principles and beliefs upon the electorate of his day without the help of an organized political party. Does anyone really believe it can be done today? And even if there should arise among us one who could — through some singular mesmeric power over television, perhaps — would we really applaud the result?

The leader of a national political party in the United States, after all, represents far more than his party's platform. He stands atop a pyramid composed of party units in fifty states, each with its own problems to worry about, from local school boards to mayors and governors, senators, and congressmen (all functioning, presumably, without the help of our Independent voter). It is highly unlikely that any leader will ever arise who is wise enough to contain within himself such a sprawling diversity of aims and interests.

But even if such a paragon should be found, the rest of us would become hardly more than a "flock of sheep innocently nibbling the grass side by side," as Mill described the non-participating citizen, adding that "a people may prefer a free government, but if from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice, or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it... though it may be for their good to have had it even for a short time, they are unlikely long to enjoy it."

So perhaps the best way to respond to the question that occasioned this little essay — "Suppose they held a convention and nobody came?" — is to give no answer at all. The question is moot; in real life, it will never happen.

For you may depend on it, somebody will come. Someone always does. And there is still safety in numbers.

CITICORP



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at all. The *Los Angeles Times*, now Farr's employer, ran a separate story on the cases on page 1, and three days later followed with a lead editorial. Lyle Denniston, Supreme Court reporter for *The Washington Star* and a member of the Washington-based Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, also wrote a separate article. In general, however, the reaction was muted.

Four years before almost to the day — on June 29, 1972 — the Court had ruled five to four that reporters had to respond to valid subpoenas and divulge information in criminal investigations. That ruling, involving Earl Caldwell of *The New York Times*, Paul Branzburg of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and Paul Pappas of WTEV-TV of New Bedford, was made in a period of frequent, often indiscriminate use of subpoenas against journalists. The attorney general's guidelines and a change in administration helped cool things down, and a year or two after *Branzburg* privilege all but ceased to be a debated subject.

In both the California cases, news people were subpoenaed to tell who had given them information about trials and investigations in seeming violation of court orders barring lawyers and witnesses from communicating with the press. The Farr case centered on a statement made by a Manson family member on trial in the Tate-LaBianca murders and the Fresno case dealt with an investigation into government corruption.

"I don't think the implications are overwhelmingly significant or that failure to review the case means the Court won't act on the issue," remarked James Goodale, a *New York Times* executive and a lawyer who has written on the subject, after the ruling. "It would seem to me that the urgency or newsworthiness isn't what it was during the Nixon administration." James Clayton, an editorial writer who handles Supreme Court matters for *The Washington Post*, concurred, when he commented that no one "should read anything into" the denial of certiorari.

These two comments — and others — seem to reflect an attitude that attention will be paid only if Farr and/or the four Fresno people are sent to jail — this despite the active concern of such groups as the Reporters Committee and The Newspaper Guild, which expressed its interest in a resolution at its convention in July.

There was a belated flurry of publicity — including an article in *The New York Times* of July 25 — while the Fresno group flirted with prison. Even so, it appears, the privilege issue may not recover its lost luster. Farr and Fresno have struck the majority of editorialists as aging, uninspiring cases. Nothing less than prison walls, it appears, could get them back into the news pages and back into the consciousness of the profession.

JOSEPH SELDNER

Joseph Seldner, a recent graduate of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, has done research on journalism and law.

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SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DEREGULATE THE MOTOR FREIGHT INDUSTRY?

A Study by Researchers at the University of
Miami Concludes Poor Service and High Shipping Costs Would Result

At first blush, deregulation of any industry sounds like an attractive idea. You get rid of red tape, delays, and interference. And what industry doesn't want that?

But in the case of the motor freight industry, deregulation is a two-edged sword. You may cut some red tape, but careful study shows that you'll also end up cutting schedules to smaller communities...cutting service to parts of large markets...and cutting the throats of many small businesses.

One Year University Study

Operating under a grant from the Dana Corporation/ATA Foundation, Inc., three professors at the University of Miami: Doctors, Nicholas A. Glaskowsky, Jr.; Brian F. O'Neil, and Donald R. Hudson, spent nearly a year in research, study, and evaluation of proposed changes in regulation governing the motor freight system in the United States. They not only studied available statistics and reports but spent a large part of their time actually out in the field interviewing, observing, and participating in industry and regulatory activities.

Study Now Completed and Published

Major conclusions of what they term a "skeptical" look at arguments both pro and con include the following:

- Free entry and exit policies would end for-hire motor carrier service to thousands of small communities.
- Deregulation would cause poor service for many shippers in large markets because of traffic selectivity on the part of motor carriers.

- Rate bureaus provide a forum for input by shippers into determination of their transportation prices—a procedure unique to regulated transportation.
- Backhaul authority for non-regulated carriers contains a great potential for discrimination among shippers by carriers.
- The current "question" on a rate making zone of reasonableness is something of a sham.

Thoroughly documented and written in a highly readable manner, this authoritative study is one of the most complete, and unbiased discussions of the deregulation problem offered to date. It takes no stand other than that of logic and common sense. Anyone concerned with the trucking industry's impact upon the public good should read it from cover to cover.

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If the question of efficient, dependable, economic motor freight service is of interest to you, we invite you to write for your personal copy of the complete study for review or background. Use the coupon or write on your letterhead. The ATA Foundation, Inc., 1616 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036



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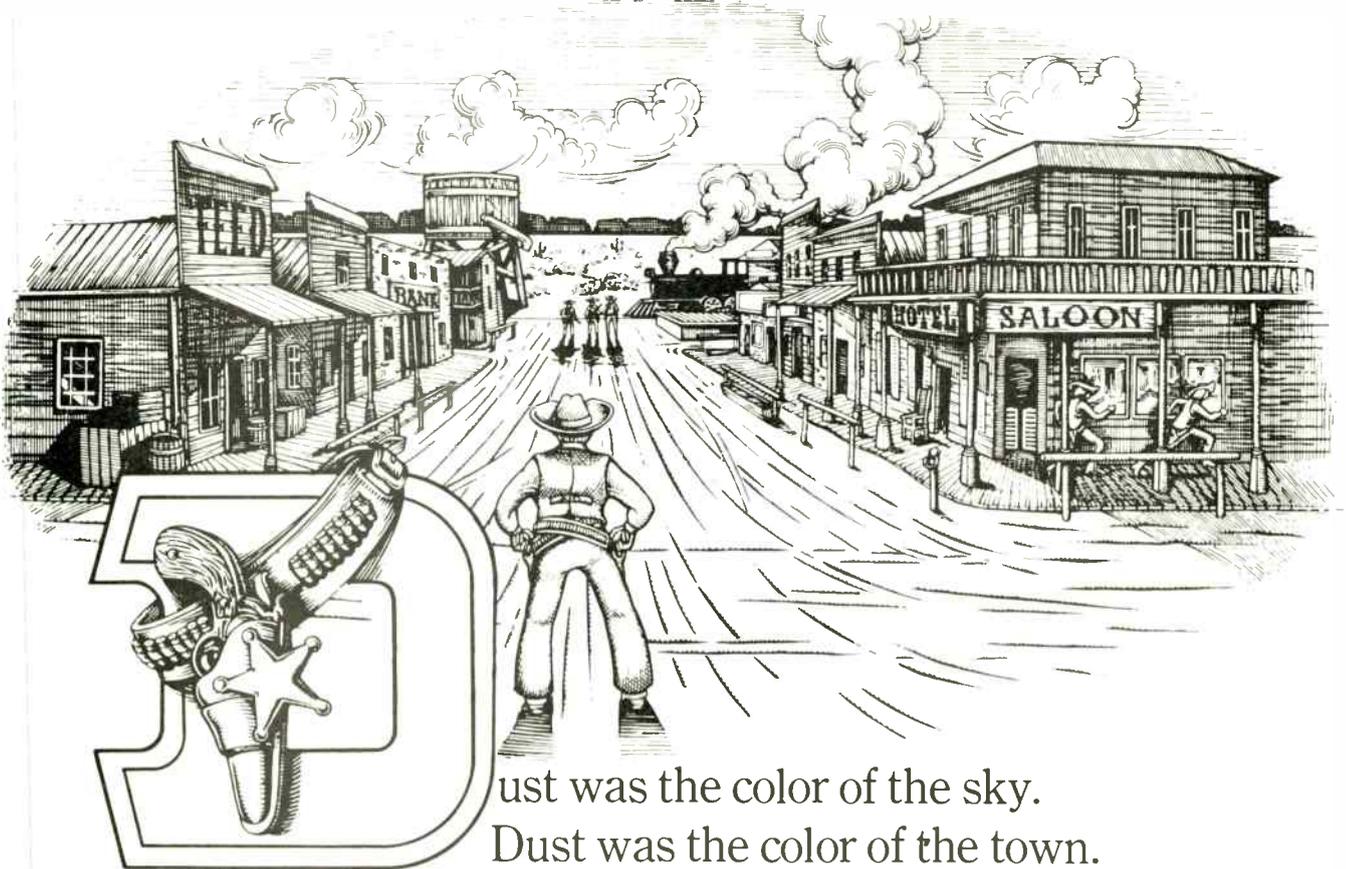
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Dust was the color of the sky.
Dust was the color of the town.

The young sheriff moved toward the railway platform, pausing only to wipe his moist palms on his holsters.

He watched the Union Pacific engine hurtle around the bend and screech to a clanging, hissing stop. Silently, the Dalton boys swung from the train onto the station platform. Suddenly the sheriff found himself staring down the barrels of three shotguns. The street behind him was empty but for the dust.

There was no turning for help.

As his hands crept slowly toward his gun belt he knew he had to say it now or forever hold his peace. A crooked smile played about the corners of his mouth, as he drawled, "Boys, I want you to hear me and hear me good. Just remember, that Xerox is a registered trademark of Xerox Corporation and, as a brand name, should be used only to identify its products and services."

Among the piranhas: a journalist and the F. B. I.

A 'special relationship' with the Bureau,
Jacque Srouji discovered,
is made up of equal parts of
dependence, suspicion and exploitation

by SANFORD J. UNGAR

The cast of characters would be ideal for best-selling fiction: a young woman fresh out of high school who gets a romantic job as a reporter and then is personally selected by her publisher for a higher patriotic mission. The author of a book on the controversial topic of nuclear energy who innocently calls on a Soviet scientist, only to be drawn into a web of international intrigue — complete with hidden cameras, safe houses, secret Russian-language lessons, and classified documents. A devoutly religious convert to Catholicism who is married to a Palestinian Arab in a ceremony performed in the Holy Land by the Archbishop of Jerusalem. The mother of three children who joins the Navy Reserve, both to bring in extra money needed for one child's medical bills and to compensate for an earlier failure in the Army. A mysterious and furtive F.B.I. informant whose indiscretions during testimony before a congressional subcommittee trigger an intensive Bureau investigation of at least a dozen of its own agents. The part-time copy editor for an important Southern newspaper who, desperate for a full-time reporting position, brings in hot tips from law-enforcement sources and ends up being subpoenaed as a witness in several criminal trials. A housewife suddenly in the public glare who escapes without explanation — but with her children and her parrots — on a well-subsidized Florida vacation. A person who has led a double, if not triple, life who encourages journalists to try to puzzle

out and match up those lives, yet then draws back in fear and declines to talk in any detail.

But there is a special twist to this story: all of those parts are played by the same individual. She is Jacque Srouji, thirty-two years old, of Nashville, Tennessee, and she has had what is probably one of the most tangled and bizarre relationships with the F.B.I. in its history. Her experiences and problems are in many respects unique, but she is also a walking workshop on the perils that face American journalists who, for whatever motive, succumb to the blandishments of the Bureau and seek to perform auxiliary services for their country.

Jacque Srouji would surely still be little-known and recognized were it not for the Subcommittee on Energy and Environment of the Committee on Small Business of the United States House of Representatives. That subcommittee, engaged in a study of the safety standards and precautions appropriate for the nuclear-power industry, came inevitably upon the baffling case of Karen Silkwood, an employee at a plutonium-processing plant in Oklahoma who died in an unexplained automobile accident in late 1974 while on her way to show health and safety records she had removed from the plant to union officials and a reporter for *The New York Times*. Srouji, in Washington on temporary active duty as a second-class petty officer assigned to the chief of naval information, got wind of the subcommittee hearings and — apparently egged on by her publicity-hungry book publisher and not, as widely rumored, by the F.B.I. — offered to testify about the Silkwood affair.

Srouji wanted to tell the congressmen that after seeing “a

Sanford J. Ungar, Washington editor of The Atlantic Monthly, is author of the recently published book, FBI: An Uncensored Look Behind the Walls.

'The reporter-turned-author went directly from the airport to the Soviet Embassy'

ton of material" direct from the Bureau files in the course of her research for her book, *Critical Mass*, she was convinced that the F.B.I. had conducted an excellent and thorough investigation, and that she believed the union itself could have had a role in killing Silkwood. Tell she did, at a sparsely attended but heavily covered hearing late on Monday afternoon, April 26, 1976; pressed by the subcommittee counsel to reveal her sources publicly, and unassisted by any lawyer or adviser of her own, Srouji spoke of making contact in Oklahoma with an old F.B.I. friend, once stationed in Nashville, who granted her access to a thousand pages or more of official documents. It was at that moment that Jacque Srouji's extraordinary "special relationship" with the Bureau (the subcommittee counsel's apt term) began to be revealed and to unravel itself. Things would not be the same for her for quite some time.

It had all begun innocently enough.* Back in the early 1960s, shortly after graduating from high school, Jacque von Stubbel went to work for the telephone company by day and took evening courses at the Nashville branch of the University of Tennessee. One course was in newswriting and editing, taught by an editor of the *Nashville Banner*, and when he took the class down to see the city room one night she was captivated and decided to apply immediately for a job. She was accepted, working initially as a secretary but gradually becoming a general-assignment reporter. Before long, she had a beat that was very much in the news — the student and antiwar movement, which fascinated and frightened someone who had led a relatively sheltered life in parochial schools. The cub reporter was energetic and enthusiastic — sometimes she rode along on the police beat at night on her own time — and she developed excellent sources both inside groups like Students for a Democratic Society and among the people assigned to watch them. Her stories attracted the attention of the venerable publisher of the *Banner*, James G. Stahlman.

Nashville's two newspapers have had a joint operating agreement since 1937. They are printed, distributed, and promoted by the same people. Their editorial offices are in the same building, divided down the middle by an impenetrable "Berlin wall." But there the similarity has traditionally stopped; while the morning paper, *The Tennes-*

sean, took a generally liberal view of the world, the afternoon *Banner* more than made up for it in the other direction. It fiercely resisted integration and refused, in fact, to print photographs of interracial groups. Stahlman, an ex-president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, was a rock-ribbed conservative of the old school. He always editorially supported the Republican presidential candidate, except in 1948, when he opted for Strom Thurmond on the States Rights Party ticket. Stahlman had the rare privilege of calling himself a personal friend of J. Edgar Hoover, and he instinctively believed in virtually everything that Hoover's Bureau did. It was only natural, then, for him to put his new young star reporter, Jacque von Stubbel, in touch with the F.B.I.'s resident agency in Nashville (Tennessee has long had two full-fledged F.B.I. field offices, in Memphis and Knoxville, with a smaller contingent in the "resident agency" in the state capital of Nashville, responsible to the Memphis office) to see how she could help the agents stem the tide of social change.

For at least four years, from 1964 to 1968, Stubbel (the name she used until her marriage to S. H. Srouji in 1967) worked for the *Banner* and, without any additional compensation, served as a very productive informant for the Bureau. "If there was anything wrong in what was being done at the time, it was not so perceived" by those involved, wrote Wayne Sergeant, the new publisher of the *Banner* (which is now owned by the Gannett chain), in a recent column. "None of it was done surreptitiously or away from the view of dozens of others." It is plausible, Sergeant said in reconstructing events, "that the FBI told Miss Stubbel where and how to get some stories and that whatever she learned she shared with the FBI." Indeed, she would often file more extensive reports with her control agent in the local F.B.I. office, Lawrence J. Olson, than she would with her own editors — and all this while *Banner* photographers developed extra sets of prints, or even shot extra rolls of film, to go to the Bureau along with her material on demonstrations by students and civil-rights groups. She traveled widely, to points as far apart as Berkeley and New York, and on one occasion that she remembers vividly, the *Banner* was reimbursed by the F.B.I. for her travel expenses to an S.D.S. conference in northern Michigan; on that trip she never wrote a word for the newspaper, but filed a fifty-page account with the Bureau. As Srouji now tells it, she had planned to write "a big exposé" about herself, revealing and explaining her dual role, before leaving the *Banner* to have her first child; "but I decided against it, because this was a private thing I had done out of patriotism."

It was in 1969 that Srouji first went to work for *The Tennessean* as a night copy editor. John Seigenthaler, then editor and now publisher of *The Tennessean*, recalls that she told him at the time that she felt "more mature" than during her *Banner* days and would not write the same nasty stories — generally questioning the motives and the credibility of

*This chronology has been reconstructed on the basis of interviews with a variety of sources in Nashville, Washington, and other cities. On some details, where there were conflicts among sources, the author selected the version that seemed to him most credible. The results of further official investigations, which were continuing when this article was written — along with new public statements by the principals — could affect some of those judgments. It seems likely, however, that as with so many other matters involving the F.B.I., there is no single objective truth, but rather a range of plausible interpretations that vary with the attitude, the role, and the vested interests of each of the actors.

protest groups — if she could do it over again. Besides, she came to Seigenthaler highly recommended by mutual friends in Nashville's small, close-knit, and influential Catholic community; and as a female in a predominantly white male newsroom, she could help improve *The Tennessean's* record at a time of high sensitivity on the issue of equal employment opportunities. After about a year and a half, however, when she could not manage a switch to day-time work, she left *The Tennessean* to spend more time with her family, to return to school, to work at less demanding jobs, and to do some free-lance writing. She remained prominent in the community and was named one of six "women of the year" by the Nashville Business and Professional Women's Club in 1974.

Whether Srouji ever really discontinued her role as a Bureau informant is not entirely clear. She apparently provided information to her agent friends about militant blacks she knew on the campus of Tennessee State University, and she may have talked with agents on several occasions about things she learned through her husband and his contacts about the Palestinian refugee community in the United States. One thing that is clear is that Srouji's husband, a deeply religious and intensely private man who has pressured her to give up career aspirations and devote herself to home and church, knew little, if anything, about her relationships with the F.B.I. There were times, Srouji says, when agents pried information out of her by threatening to tell her husband about her extracurricular activities and Bureau ties.

But the F.B.I. became intensely interested in Srouji again on both official and unofficial levels only when she went to work on her book about nuclear energy. (She had written two articles on the subject, pro and con, for *Nashville!* magazine and was given a book contract by Aurora Publishers, a Nashville firm launched several years ago by Seigenthaler and others.) The unofficial interest was aroused by her attention to the Silkwood case. The Bureau's chief investigator in that mysterious affair turned out to be none other than Olson, by now assigned to Oklahoma City, who was evidently quite eager to be publicly recognized for the quality of his work and, toward that end, willing to share his extensive material with someone he had reason to trust. Srouji's research visit to Oklahoma was successful and productive; Olson apparently lent her his files overnight, and she photocopied them at her motel.

The official F.B.I. interest came when Srouji decided, as she puts it, "to get the book out of the hills of Tennessee and into the international arena" and introduce an international element into her project: flying into Washington in April 1975 after a visit to Los Alamos, New Mexico, the intrepid reporter-turned-author went directly from the airport to the Soviet Embassy, in search of someone who could explain a Russian fusion process to her and



John Seigenthaler, publisher of The Tennessean, and Srouji at a House hearing held this May

would also be willing to discuss the Soviet view of nuclear power. She was put on to one Sergei Zaitsev, a second secretary in the embassy and supposedly a nuclear physicist. He was a fatherly type who, in that and subsequent meetings, not only gave Srouji some basic information but also played to her weaknesses, showing great interest in her book, discoursing at length with her on the need for international understanding on a person-to-person basis, and urging her to use her native intelligence by pursuing a career in medicine or some related field. Zaitsev "was shocked when I came to see him," Srouji recalls. "He said, 'No other journalist ever came to see us like this, to get our side of the story.'" The Bureau was shocked, too, when that day's product from the hidden cameras across Sixteenth Street from the Soviet Embassy included photographs of a prize

'The F.B.I. assigned her a control agent experienced in espionage matters'

informant from Nashville, and when it realized that she had been talking with a man the F.B.I. understood to be a colonel in the K.G.B., the Soviet intelligence apparatus.

Although the exact sequence of events is murky, at least two separate processes ensued: the F.B.I. confronted Srouji about two weeks later with its knowledge — and its photographs — of her embassy visits and demanded to know what she was doing. (Bureau officials apparently did *not* know at this point that she possessed such an arsenal of confidential F.B.I. documents on the Silkwood case.) Reassured, the Intelligence Division asked her to cooperate, gave her some counterintelligence briefings, rushed her out to the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California for a quick and intensive Russian refresher course (she and Zaitsev were already doing some of their talking in Russian, which she had previously studied at Vanderbilt University in Nashville), and assigned her a control agent experienced in espionage matters from the Washington Field Office. At the same time, Zaitsev made a clear attempt to recruit her as a Soviet intelligence agent, using some classic techniques. He "lent" her money, for example — several hundred dollars — ostensibly to be used to pay for an operation needed by her youngest child, who suffers from cerebral palsy (although she later told Seigenthaler that she turned this money over to the F.B.I.). Srouji is reluctant to discuss the matter now, but she told Seigenthaler during their eventual denouement that she had actually accepted and carried out assignments for the Soviets, including attending an energy conference in Washington and visiting a sensitive installation in Tennessee, presumably keeping the Bureau advised of her activities along the way.

Srouji became deeply enough involved in the counterintelligence field to have access to yet another treasure trove of secret F.B.I. documents — dealing with visits to Tennessee by overt and covert Soviet representatives and with the location and activities of Soviet "illegals" (individuals who have been given new, pseudo-American identities and slipped secretly into this country to serve as espionage agents). With or without Bureau knowledge, she served as a contact person in Nashville for touring delegations from the Soviet Union; at one point she took a Russian "journalist" accompanying a Siberian scientific exhibit, who said he wanted to meet some "common people," to visit an experimental farm near Summertown, Tennessee. Occasionally her control agent from Washington visited her in Nashville, but at other times, on the pretext of going off to do more book research, she would meet him to be debriefed at a safe house near Winchester, Virginia.

In September 1975, her book completed, Srouji was back at *The Tennessean* looking for part-time work, and the chief of the copy desk gladly hired her on that basis. Before long, however, hoping to be taken on as a full-time reporter, she was also writing feature stories on the side and pitching in to help wherever else she could. There was a series of gam-

bling raids one night in December, for example, which hit a number of important Nashville addresses and left *The Tennessean's* reporters in the field baffled. Overhearing the confusion on the city desk, Srouji offered to check on the raids with some of her own contacts. As the city editor's memorandum to Seigenthaler the next morning put it, "Srouji turned out to be a lifesaver She made a couple of calls and came up with the names listed in all of the search warrants, including two addresses we knew nothing about."

That was only the beginning of a new phase of Srouji's access to the Bureau. She became a veritable courier of F.B.I. documents and information into the newspaper's city room: a detailed work paper on a complicated fraud scheme that the authorities were seeking to crack; communications about fugitives thought to be hiding in the Nashville area; figures on the official take in a bank robbery; a document concerning a federal investigation of Tennessee Governor Ray Blanton; written warnings that organized-crime figures might be moving into middle Tennessee. A few of the editors and reporters voiced private suspicions and resentments about Srouji's extraordinary sources — some even dared to wonder whether she might be doing some favors for her Bureau friends in return — but the paper was getting too many exclusives, and having too good a time, to consider holding her back. She was encouraged to turn up what she could and, on a few occasions, rewarded with a bonus in her paycheck for her initiative. In only one instance did Srouji's pals in the Nashville Resident Agency of the F.B.I. make a blatant effort to use her — when they urged that she undertake a series on Joseph Trimbach, the special-agent-in-charge of the Memphis Field Office, to whom they were responsible and whom they did not like. At their suggestion, and with the authorization of *The Tennessean*, Srouji flew to Minneapolis and the Dakotas to inspect records concerning Trimbach's role during the Indian occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 and the federal court trials growing out of it. During that trip there seemed little question that she was somebody with good connections: when at first the special-agent-in-charge of the Minneapolis Field Office refused to talk with her, a quick phone call to one of her friends at F.B.I. headquarters in Washington worked wonders; and, as a result of Bureau intervention, the clerk's office in one federal courthouse was kept open until midnight so that she could finish reading some trial transcripts. (The Trimbach series never ran, because Seigenthaler and his editors considered it a rehash.)

It did seem rather bizarre to some, but not many people at *The Tennessean* paid attention when Srouji went off on leave in April 1976 to serve on active duty as a member of the Naval Reserve. They were not aware (nor, initially, was Srouji) that she would be granted a "Confidential" security clearance and assigned to evaluate the Navy's

public-relations effort with respect to the controversial "Seafarer" program, a proposed extremely-low-frequency communications system intended to maintain contact with American submarines. Her reasons for enlisting in the military are obscure — she insists that it was a combination of needing the money and wanting to make up for her premature discharge from a stint in the Army after high school — but Srouji's accomplishments were once again noticeable and dramatic. According to a performance-evaluation report filed after she went off duty, she impressed others "with her depth of knowledge, ease of bearing . . . and initiative." One Navy captain was so pleased that he asked that she be assigned to travel to Michigan with him on a public-relations effort for Seafarer (but she couldn't be, since her duty was over), and her supervisor recommended her promotion to the rank of first-class petty officer.

The people in most of Jacque Srouji's worlds seemed to be taken aback by her testimony before the House subcommittee on April 26 and its repercussions. The Bureau soon went into a panic over the number of classified documents she apparently had access to during her contacts with Zaitsev, and an aide to the subcommittee called her three days later at the Pentagon, according to Srouji, to warn that "the F.B.I. intended to bring perjury charges against me." That same afternoon, Srouji turned up at F.B.I. headquarters and was referred to the External Affairs Division; still without any lawyer or outside advice, she dictated a sworn statement portraying herself as a defender of the Bureau and saying that "at no time did I officially receive any documents from an F.B.I. employee." She was asked to return on Friday, when the deputy assistant director of the Bureau's Inspection Division, J. Allison Conley, appeared at External Affairs and, along with a representative of the Intelligence Division, interrogated her for several hours.

On Monday, May 3, the day Srouji was due back at work at *The Tennessean*, Seigenthaler had a phone call from the subcommittee counsel, saying that there was a conflict between Srouji's testimony and Olson's statements (he was denying giving her the Silkwood documents) and that the F.B.I. seemed to be especially sensitive when asked about its dealings with her. The publisher immediately concluded that Srouji must have been in the category of reporters discussed in the then newly released final report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence who had really been employees of the intelligence agencies passing themselves off as journalists, or who had cooperated so extensively as informants for agencies like the C.I.A. and F.B.I. that they might as well have been on the agencies' payrolls.

Srouji refused to discuss matters with Seigenthaler on the telephone, but on that day and the next two she had emotional conferences with him at *The Tennessean* in which she dribbled out the story of her dealings with the



Jacque Srouji at a 1965 antiwar demonstration on the Washington Monument mall

Bureau over the years (some of which she later claimed he had misinterpreted). Among other things, she took credit for "smashing S.D.S." in Nashville during her days at the *Banner*, and she expressed fear that the F.B.I. would "get me as a K.G.B. agent." (With her publisher, as with others, Srouji's conversation was studded with references to the need for "communication" among people, and she said she had originally told Zaitsev that she was a Marxist looking for "ideological companionship.") She also acknowledged that her Bureau friends in Nashville had asked her about at least two of her colleagues in *The Tennessean* newsroom: Dolph Honicker, who writes a weekly column and is an outspoken critic of nuclear energy, and Gerald Hornsby, who had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party and edited a left-wing newsletter. That infuriated Seigenthaler, who suspected that the agents had also sought information about him, and he fired Srouji on May 5.

As the pressure on her began to build, Srouji left home three days later in her car for an extended "vacation" in Florida under an assumed name. The trip, which included stops at luxury resorts, was completely paid for by just the organization that was most on the spot, the F.B.I. (Whether the money came from vouchered F.B.I. appropriations or from an unvouchered discretionary fund used to pay informants is not clear; but Director Clarence M. Kelley later acknowledged in a letter to the House subcommittee that the

'Srouji became a veritable courier of F.B.I. documents into the paper's city room'

Bureau had at least thirteen known contacts with Srouji between April 22 and May 6.) She reappeared in Nashville on May 18 to hold a news conference, in which she declared, among other things, that "I have never volunteered any information to the F.B.I. on *The Tennessean* or any of its staff. I have never heard of COINTELPRO [the Bureau's notorious disruptive counterintelligence programs, which flourished during the 1960s] and am not a member of any federal, state, or foreign intelligence agency, either directly or indirectly."

An interviewer sees in Jacques Srouji a winning personality, a peculiar charm that seems alternately flirtatious and obsequious. She often adopts a joking tone in conversation, punctuated with chuckles, that can leave a listener confused — even tricked — about what she means to be taken seriously and what she does not. Yet that tone sometimes fades quickly into a tearful vulnerability; in those moments she gives the impression of being someone who might easily be exploited and hurt, and who has been, often. She tends to sound sophomoric, talking endlessly about the need for "communication" among the people of different countries as the world's most serious problem; but she also has a streak that almost seems violent, exhibited in such remarks as "I'd like to run over somebody some day." Srouji has a habit of exaggerating her credentials and her experience. It is easy to imagine, however, that people she deals with would initially be inclined to trust her.

Although she has talked with many reporters since, Srouji has declined, on the advice of her newly obtained lawyer (a church friend of her husband), to give the full chronology of her relations with the Bureau from her own perspective, so long as investigations continue. She is angry — with Seigenthaler and *The Tennessean* for dropping her, with the Bureau for suddenly treating her as a pariah, and with the press for dealing unfairly with her problems and tribulations. Her celebrity status has meant, on the one hand, invitations to give speeches to organizations like Sigma Delta Chi, but, on the other, subpoenas to testify in court about the F.B.I. leaks to her about criminal cases while she was at *The Tennessean*. The local commander of her Naval Reserve unit in Nashville has treated her as "a shipmate in trouble" who has done nothing wrong and deserves support; the Navy, however, has revoked her security clearance and changed her reserve duty from public affairs to secretarial work. Once the affair was in the open, the F.B.I. sent inspectors to the Nashville Resident Agency, where they searched the agents' desks, looking for evidence of contacts with Srouji and using forceps to handle papers that might have her fingerprints. Bureau officials predict that two or more agents might be punished for their dealings with Srouji.

She intends eventually to have the last word. As Srouji put it in a memo to Seigenthaler on May 5, "If my stream does become infested with piranhas — and a sacrifice is in

order — then I can certainly take some of Mr. Hoover's finest along for the swim. . . . It has been a rich and interesting thirty-one years — especially the Soviet trek. This provided a terrific glimpse at the Russian mind and the meaning of détente and an opportunity very few Nashvillians would ever have."

John Seigenthaler has had a complicated love-hate relationship with the F.B.I. over the years. As the son of a policeman and as a man who came up the hard way and eased himself into a position of power and influence in his hometown, he probably has a basic instinct to be sympathetic with law enforcement agencies and personnel; as administrative assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy for a year and a half, he appreciated that there were a good many decent, honorable, and effective agents laboring under the tyranny of J. Edgar Hoover. And yet it is surely difficult for Seigenthaler to forget that Bureau agents stood idly by and took notes while he was knocked unconscious by an angry mob of whites in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1961, when he was serving as the president's representative during the "freedom rides" intended to test and defy the segregation of buses and bus terminals. Although the *Banner* was the Nashville newspaper that tended to be more automatically in accord with the attitudes and policies of the F.B.I., reporters for *The Tennessean* also maintain generally good relations with the men in the Nashville Resident Agency. Seigenthaler, fully aware of the importance of such relationships in developing good coverage on the local level, rarely permitted his own residual resentments to get in the way of his hard-nosed news sense and his concern to build his newspaper into one of the best in the South.

Many of Homer Boynton's twenty-six years in the F.B.I. were spent in the typical, plodding manner of the great majority of agents who made their way through the ranks by not attracting too much attention to themselves. After brief service in Philadelphia, he was assigned to the New York Field Office, eventually becoming a supervisor in charge of espionage cases and then overseeing the huge clerical force in the Bureau's largest office. It was L. Patrick Gray III, acting director for almost a year after Hoover died in 1972, who rescued him from oblivion: hearing of Boynton's administrative talents and of his popularity among the rank-and-file, Gray brought him to Washington to supervise and reorganize the F.B.I.'s "legal attachés" in some fifteen foreign countries. Later, Clarence Kelley moved Boynton into the second-ranking job in the F.B.I.'s External Affairs Division, which handles press and congressional relations — after other appointees had failed to implement the new director's desire for a more open and candid relationship with the news media, especially in Washington. Boynton soon won high marks among reporters, his F.B.I. col-

leagues, and even Justice Department officials for being one of the most decent, modern-minded, and realistic people within a Kelley administration at F.B.I. headquarters that was dominated largely by Old Guard types interested as much in protecting the reputation of J. Edgar Hoover as in serving the public.

Seigenthaler and Boynton should, by 1976, have had a great deal in common and, because their interests would coincide, might have been expected to become professional friends, had they met. Instead, as an outgrowth of the perplexing events involving Jacque Srouji, they became mutual antagonists and accusers. Their own conflict, like the Srouji case itself, tells a good deal about the tortured and twisted course of relations between the F.B.I. and the press.

From the moment Srouji began telling Seigenthaler about her connections with the Bureau, the publisher criticized the F.B.I. openly and publicly for its handling of the situation. In firing her, he complained that the Bureau had not only "used her" improperly, but had also shown "terrible judgment" in its dealings with her. Finding that it was too late to get the special congressional committees investigating the intelligence community to look into the matter, Seigenthaler flew to Washington and filed a complaint on May 13 with the Office of Professional Responsibility at the Justice Department — a new unit established by Attorney General Edward H. Levi — asking for a full inquiry into Srouji's role at *The Tennessean* and elsewhere.

The same day, Boynton and an associate from External Affairs, T. J. Harrington (another F.B.I. man who has excellent relations with the press), visited the Washington bureau of *The New York Times*, ostensibly to complain about the play given by the *Times* to a speech by Kelley at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, in which he said the F.B.I. was sorry for its past abuses of authority. While talking with Washington news editor Bill Kovach and John Crewdson, who covers the F.B.I. for the *Times*, in Kovach's office, Boynton dropped a bombshell: that for all of Seigenthaler's criticism of the Bureau regarding Srouji, *The Tennessean* and its publisher ought to be scrutinized more critically because they were themselves "not entirely pure." According to the Kovach-Crewdson version of the conversation, Boynton went on to say, "There's a lot more there, and it's not all anti-F.B.I." Boynton still refuses to discuss the matter, but Crewdson's sources — perhaps including Boynton — elaborated later that day that Seigenthaler might somehow be implicated in a federal investigation of the suspected ties with organized crime of Lafayette Thomas, the sheriff of Davidson County, Tennessee, where Nashville is situated. (Boynton's material for his remarks at the *Times* office apparently came from a teletype with "background material" on Seigenthaler that the Nashville Resident Agency, in classic old-Bureau style, sent up to Washington as soon as he began criticizing the F.B.I.)

Kovach, who worked at *The Tennessean* for six years

and has remained a close friend of Seigenthaler, considered Boynton's comments to be on-the-record and did what the F.B.I. man should have known he would do: he called Seigenthaler at his Washington hotel to alert him that even while he was at the Justice Department filing a complaint against the F.B.I., the F.B.I.'s most trusted press representative was out complaining about him. But Kovach also asked Seigenthaler to sit tight for a few days while he sent Crewdson down to Nashville to look into any "impurities" in Seigenthaler's record. What Crewdson found was only the well-known fact that Seigenthaler and Sheriff "Fayte" Thomas had been close friends since childhood and that investigators at various levels of government had never been able to substantiate the allegations against Thomas.

As it happened, Crewdson was in Nashville on May 18, the day Srouji resurfaced and held her news conference. His story in the early editions of the next day's *Times* included Boynton's remarks from five days earlier about Seigenthaler and *The Tennessean*, but without attribution; by the late city edition, however, they were directly attributed to Boynton, and Seigenthaler was quoted in reply as saying that he intended to file yet another complaint with the Justice Department, this time against Boynton. Asked later about the discrepancy between editions, Kovach explained that Crewdson had initially resisted printing the name of Boynton, who was his friend and a valued source, but had finally agreed and rejected an opportunity to have his by-line removed from the story. "He's the last guy I'd want to burn," Kovach says of Boynton, but argues that it would have been improper to permit Boynton to avoid responsibility for what he had said. Kovach suggests that Boynton's indiscretion was "a step in the direction" of the F.B.I.'s practice in the 1960s of playing tapes of the late Martin Luther King Jr.'s private life for newspaper editors in an effort to discredit him, but then denying that it had done so.

The subsequent fallout was substantial: Seigenthaler, infuriated and yet vindicated, testified before the House subcommittee himself on May 20 and again attacked the Bureau and Boynton. He also filed under the Freedom of Information Act for all F.B.I. files on him. (The five days between Boynton's visit to the *Times* and publication of his remarks were a long, difficult, and even paranoid interlude for him, Seigenthaler later acknowledged; it was during that time that, as he puts it, he "went bananas" and tried to seize the microphone from a Nashville television reporter who asked him publicly whether he had surreptitiously tape-recorded his conversations with Srouji. Seigenthaler says that his lawyer recommended he do so, but he will not say whether he followed that advice.) Boynton, of course, was surprised and offended by the *Times*'s decision to use his name, and he virtually suspended diplomatic relations with Crewdson. In an affidavit filed in his own defense

'The Bureau should not be investigating the private lives of journalists'

with the Office of Professional Responsibility, Boynton reportedly claimed that on the day of his visit to the *Times* he had been confused between the *Banner* and *The Tennessean*. The F.B.I.'s press office, meanwhile, launched its own subtle counterattack, implying in conversations with other reporters that it felt *The New York Times* could no longer be trusted to protect its confidential sources. Many of those other reporters, regulars on the Justice Department-F.B.I. beat, expressed their own annoyance with Seigenthaler and the *Times* for stinging Boynton, whom they admired and depended upon — and who, they feared, would now be less available to them. Ail of which further angered Seigenthaler, who thought that his colleagues might see things in a different light on the day when they become the subjects of F.B.I. innuendo.

It would be possible to construct an elaborate conspiracy theory around the Jacque Srouji affair. Essential elements in the conspiracy would be that the F.B.I. intentionally made the Silkwood documents available to her and put her up to testifying before the House subcommittee in its defense; that the Bureau obtained her Navy assignment for her in the course of building a new cover in connection with her counterintelligence role with the Soviets; and that the F.B.I. agents in Nashville, by giving Srouji tips on criminal cases, were trying to build her up in the eyes of the editors of *The Tennessean* for their own purposes and for later use as a spy at the paper. At the center of this sultry and seamy intrigue would be Srouji herself, innocent enough on the surface but ultimately willing to exploit any and every situation, even her own marriage, in the name of a patriotism she had long felt and on behalf of a Bureau she had faithfully served for years. An additional suspicious element, of course, would be that one of the people who took her statement at the Bureau on April 29 was Homer Boynton, who later maligned John Seigenthaler after he had fired her.

"Nothing would surprise me any more," says one F.B.I. executive who has been disillusioned and become increasingly jaundiced under the bombardment of new revelations about the Bureau's perfidy, when confronted with the conspiracy theory; "but, frankly, I don't think we're clever enough to pull these things off these days, if we ever were."

What seems more likely and more persuasive, after a thorough look at the tangled circumstances and relationships, is that much of what happened was accidental and coincidental, the result of poor judgment all around. Some evaluations are easy to make: Boynton was wrong to gossip about Seigenthaler; the officials of a law-enforcement agency like the F.B.I. have a particular responsibility to be careful about what they do with unsubstantiated information in their files. Srouji was foolish to think that she could be counterspy, congressional witness, and newspaper copy ed-

itor all at once; she never should have talked with her F.B.I. friends about her co-workers and their political views, even in passing. The Bureau, of course, should not be investigating the private lives and personal philosophies of journalists, and it should no longer be able to get away with saying, as Deputy Associate F.B.I. Director James B. Adams did in his own testimony before the House subcommittee, that it is interested in persons opposed to nuclear energy because it is the policy of the Communist Party U.S.A. "to try to discourage the use of nuclear energy in the United States." Seigenthaler, after all his years on the firing line, probably should have suspected sooner that there was something strange about Srouji's unusual and productive links with the F.B.I. — especially since it was common knowledge in Nashville that she had taken on assignments for the Bureau while working for the *Banner*.

But in some areas, it is dangerous and unrealistic to judge yesterday's events by today's wisdom. What Jacque Srouji did while at the *Banner* in the early 1960s was not really unusual in the context of the times. Many reporters who covered the civil-rights movement in the South during the 1960s not only got a great deal of help from F.B.I. agents on the scene, but also provided a good deal of information in return. They, and others like them in other circumstances over the years, were generally as well protected in F.B.I. files — called "sources who have provided reliable information in the past" or some such — as their F.B.I. friends were protected in their own news stories.

Intervening developments have made society and the press more sensitive and wary about such symbiotic relationships. But even now, Bureau officials admit privately, although people at F.B.I. headquarters and in the Washington press corps are more circumspect than they once were, it is not at all uncommon for reporters and agents in the field to exchange information. The "enemies list" and "no-contact list" of the Hoover days are gone, but the F.B.I. still makes distinctions between "friendly news media sources" and others. It is nicer to, and more cooperative with, the people they perceive to be their allies.

Reporters, like investigators, will always have special relationships — sometimes confidential ones — with their sources. No competitive reporter on a police or court beat can survive without a few excellent law-enforcement people who are willing to violate the rules and talk. There are probably few newsmen or women who would hesitate to tell the authorities if they had information that a violent crime was about to be committed or that there was an imminent threat to the country. Those are good things, and they lie in an area that can probably never be precisely defined and wisely governed by guidelines. The problem comes when reporters and editors confuse their constitutionally protected mission with other tasks that would be exciting to perform and thereby risk losing some of their precious independence. ■

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World Radio History

Who needs gavel-to-gavel

A small hurrah
for TV's quadrennial
political show —
tedium and all

by PENN KIMBALL

The quadrennial party conventions, whatever else they may have contributed to the Republic in its Bicentennial year, reopened the argument over whether gavel-to-gavel coverage of these affairs on national television is really a viable — even a tolerable — form of public communication.

Mostly, the nays have had it. Shortly before the start of the Democratic convention in New York City, Sander Vanocur, a onetime NBC reporter now writing about TV for *The Washington Post*, predicted that the four-day assemblage would probably turn out to be the “political equivalent of Sominex.” Gordon Manning, executive producer of NBC’s convention telecasts, wryly observed that he “might well go down in history as the General Custer of gavel-to-gavel coverage.”

Nor does anyone deny that, although political conventions have capitulated to the needs of television in many respects, they are still full of insignificant speeches, irrelevancies, and downright tedium. Because television thrives on conflict and suspense, the long, dull stretches invite TV news organizations to contrive electronic theater. John J. O’Connor of *The New York Times* argues that the “package of selected convention scenes, interviews, features, commercials and self-serving plugs for the network” has relatively little to do with journalism.

Moreover, the bottom-line executives inside the networks keep pushing the thought that perhaps the \$10 million it costs each one to blanket both conventions live is too much for the size of the

audience attracted. It hurts them where they live to see local independent stations reap audiences and advertising with game shows and movies while the nets are engaged in a nationwide civics lesson.

Finally, it is argued that, as political institutions, the party conventions, like the parties themselves, may be on the wane. The proliferation of state primaries has undermined the power-broker game that once supplied conventions with a dramatic scenario. The inherent importance of what takes place may have diminished. Theodore H. White, withdrawing in July from his role as part of the CBS team of analysts, said that after attending eleven conventions the whole thing struck him as a bore and that “everything significant could probably be done in one day.”

As an aging observer, myself, of national conventions and as a past delegate to a few Connecticut state conventions masterfully run by the late James Moran Bailey, I find it hard to concede that conventions and full-scale TV coverage have had their day. But the issue has been raised and must be faced.

The first point that must be recognized is that, historically, exciting television and successful politics do not necessarily go together, as the Democrats learned to their sorrow in Chicago in 1968 and in Miami Beach in 1972. This conflict of interests is at the heart of most of the problems of gavel-to-gavel coverage. Television looks for the immediate and spontaneous; politicians hate to be surprised. Floor fights and factionalism are the red meat for TV correspondents who dart out of their caves onto the floor of the convention hall. The brokers of politics, whenever they have the chance, like to seek compromise in secret, leaving the rank-and-file in the dark until they are ready to pass the word. Even as the political leaders work toward consensus, television tries to convert rumor into insurrection. No wonder there is deep distrust between convention managers and the media. It is honestly come by.

The national nominating conventions

are perceived by their party organizers as a chance to air a giant commercial designed to sell the party and its candidates to the country. The zenith of this political art form was achieved by the Nixon team in 1972: blizzards of colored balloons, galleries shouting “four more years!” and when things dragged, the lights were turned down and a party film became the only option available to the TV cameras. The all-time flop, from a party point of view, was McGovern’s acceptance speech at 3:30 in the morning after a marathon wrangle on the floor.

This time Al Vechionne, the Democrats’ television consultant, came to New York with two chief targets in mind: to cut down the platform discussion to no more than half the thirteen hours required in Miami Beach, and to get the presidential candidate on the air at precisely 10:30 p.m., eastern daylight time, when, according to a Democratic official quoted in the *Times*, “no one’s asleep yet in the East and they’re all off the freeways in the West.”

Part of the durability of gavel-to-gavel coverage has come from within the news divisions of two of the three major networks. Convention coverage has been where television news could prove its mettle, as well as furnishing a showcase for the anchormen and correspondents who appear regularly on the network evening news shows. The theory was that the network which captured the rating competition during the conventions would reap benefits in the audience for its news shows over the next four years.

To surround all the possibilities of the week-long sweep of the convention story the networks have regularly assembled an apparatus which Robert Siegenthaler, ABC’s convention executive producer, has compared to a “medieval siege engine.” Anchor booths above the hall, multiple camera positions, roving minicams trailing floor reporters wired for sound, mobile vans for remote pickups from the hotel headquarters of the candidates and dele-

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convention coverage?

gations, separate control points for deploying the forces assembled around each of these sally ports, plus all the gear and the army of technicians and professionals required to make the whole thing work — the machinery is so huge and its direction has to filter through so many command posts that one wonders whether one day soon it may not self-destruct into a pool of melted solder.

Once started, the tremendous machine sometimes dominates and overshadows the story it is supposed to illuminate. Scolding the print media earlier this year for unfair criticism of their electronic brethren, CBS's Eric Sevareid urged them to understand that at live events, such as a political convention, "we do not have total control of the material, or anything like it. On these occasions, it seems to me the newspaper critic must also be a reporter; he must, if he can, go behind the scenes and find out why we do certain things and do not do other things; there is usually a reason." The catch-22 in that invitation is that the TV control centers at a convention are, for understandable reasons, off-limits to the visiting press when the broadcast is going on. CBS reached the ultimate in security in New York this year. At the Democratic convention — this was written before the Republicans convened in Kansas City — one had to be passed beyond a security checkpoint in order to ask a CBS press representative to take one past the next security checkpoint in order to ask a question of a producer. Eric Sevareid, of course, was locked up in his anchor booth, available to none of the peasants of print.

The persons calling the shots from the control room face an incredible battery of monitors and are tuned in to a babble of voices, all hawking story opportunities like rug merchants in an Eastern bazaar. The control room people are trying to find, as Manning of NBC describes it, "the rhythm of the story." This includes running down the advance list of speakers to decide which to put on the air, or making up advanced texts to

cue the cameras for crowd reaction. Gloria Schaffer, a photogenic candidate running against Connecticut Senator Lowell Weicker, managed to wangle a spot among the platform presenters only to be shut out on all three networks in the control-room lottery. The cameras panning the inattentive delegates, talking and milling about during Senator John Glenn's keynote address, didn't lie and may have destroyed Glenn's last shot at the vice-presidential nomination.

The nervous energy generated by this vast machine gives rise to a tension between the politicians putting on the convention and those putting it on the air. Television thrives on action. The Taft-Eisenhower confrontation at the 1952 Republican convention combined contest and suspense; Chicago, in 1968, offered struggle and violence; the McGovern convention in Miami Beach symbolized revolt and reform. The determination of the Democratic delegates this year not to lose their cool and to unite behind a candidate they thought could win resisted every attempt by the TV floor reporters to stir up a little telegenic controversy. As the convention wore on, the TV floor men tended to become a bit grumpy.

NBC's Tom Pettit compared it to a "great winner's circle" and charged that the whole show had been so well scripted it might better have been covered by a movie critic. NBC's John Hart complained that "things are so slow I haven't even heard any rumors." Up in the anchor booth, Walter Cronkite drily observed that "the delegates have been in no mood to tear the party apart."

For all their importance in setting an image for the campaign to follow, political conventions still fulfill functions of their own which have little to do with the flow of news: helping to weld together a loose federation of state organizations and energizing party workers to carry out the grub tasks of politics.

Meanwhile, to the working press in general, covering a national convention remains something like going to the World Series; it doesn't really matter how good the games are. The taste for

spectacle was apparent in the print press galleries on the night of the roll call for the presidential nomination. Although the result was preordained, *The New York Times* heavies — Reston, Frankel, Wicker, Lewis, and Apple — sat like ducks in a row, nobody taking a note except Apple, who had already filed for the first edition. *Times* managing editor Abe Rosenthal went over for a chat with *Washington Post* publisher Katherine Graham, while *Post* executive editor Ben Bradlee shooed interlopers out of the seats saved for children of *Post* staffers.

On the floor, the veterans of past conventions exchanged pleasantries and reminiscences as if at a reunion under campus elms. The crowds choking the aisles seemed to be made up mostly of visitors and dates who had wangled a pass to vicarious experience and, perhaps, a chance to be picked up on television for the folks at home. If political conventions make addicts out of the politicians and newsmen on the spot, it is because even the dullest of them becomes an identifiable piece of the continuum of our political history. News values aside, onlookers catch a glimpse of the fascinating diversity of a nation — ethnic and regional. They provide an opportunity to watch would-be leaders in triumph or disappointment. The audience can share a sense of participation in that mysterious process by which we manage to govern ourselves.

The question is whether we need to see it all. The argument made for more selective coverage of political conventions on television is the same as that made for newspapers which cannot print the full text of every speech. News is always a small part of the whole and deciding what to leave out can be the most significant part of the judgment. Television's lack of flexibility makes this process difficult, as illustrated by CBS being locked into broadcasting a Gallo wine commercial in the segment following a convention nominating speech by Cesar Chavez, leader of the grape-

workers' boycott.

Television's real problem with moving in and out of the important run of news at a convention is simply that when the action grinds to a halt at all the available story locations in and around the convention hall, there is simply nowhere else for the network to go except to a commercial. If the tube should go black in the living room, the viewer would switch to another channel. If, on the other hand, the viewer is unexpectedly transported to a piece of convention action in the midst of his favorite situation comedy show, the reaction would be guaranteed to be apoplectic.

CBS began to fudge a little this year, promising only "comprehensive" rather than "gavel-to-gavel" coverage of the 1976 conventions, reserving the right to cut away from the dead spots. The network stuck with a half-hour game show instead of being on deck for the opening gavel of an afternoon session at the Democratic convention which promised to be dull. Both NBC and CBS cut away those evenings the convention was assembled during the dinner hour to their local and network news programs. But for all practical purposes they stayed pretty much with the proceedings as spiced up by their own features and commentary. Interestingly, WCBS-TV, the network-owned-and-operated station in New York, seemed more alert in its coverage to the deeper dimensions of the convention story: the real relationship between Jimmy Carter and black voters; frank talks with delegates on Carter's possible problems in Jewish and Catholic constituencies. The station, which had never covered a convention before, came up with fresh ideas, while CBS and NBC generally stuck to the old formulas in covering a different sort of convention: the vice-presidential guessing game; looking for dissension in such obvious non-Carter territory as the New York and California delegations. The elaborate logistics of network coverage, it would seem, have made the networks somewhat muscle-bound.

ABC's approach, "selective" coverage including edited highlights, started back in 1968. Walter F. Pfister, Jr., vice-president for special television news programs at ABC, concedes that the initial decision to go to selective

coverage was prompted by financial considerations. He makes the point, however, that ABC now spends about as much as the others covering everything going on in order to edit the tapes into a summary report and to telecast live the predictable peak events such as the presidential roll call and acceptance speech. ABC's financial edge derives from the entertainment programs it keeps on the air and the boost they give to the highly competitive overall network ratings.

Pfister, a serious newsman, sees the convention as "a news story, not a pageant." He contends that network news organizations no longer need the political conventions to prove their manhood. The moon shots, China trips, and Watergate have provided plenty of other opportunities for broadcast organizations to muster their resources and show their stuff. "The papers don't report all the dreck; when things are slow, they cut down the size of the news hole. Why shouldn't we do the same?"

A conspicuous example of this selective approach was the ABC telecast of the All-Star baseball game on the second night of the New York convention. In the half-hour before the network was scheduled to cut away to the baseball attraction in Philadelphia, it dutifully started a detailed rundown of the platform due to be presented during the hours the game would be on. Suddenly and unexpectedly, Senator George McGovern, the 1972 standard-bearer, made his first appearance on the podium, forty minutes ahead of the advance schedule.

Pfister recalled afterward the "psychological push" to go live to the speaker, a decision made even tougher for the ABC control room by the fact that McGovern might be considered a house property since he had been signed to be an ABC commentator at the Republican convention in Kansas City. ABC stuck gamely with the platform until it had finished with its analysis, cutting to McGovern for a few minutes at the end. Then, as Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles began to talk about the urban crisis, it was out to the ball game.

ABC grabbed an estimated 60 million TV viewers that night, 52 percent of the

total audience and nearly double the ratings of the other two networks combined. On the convention's first night the network put on a movie — *Future Cop*, with Ernest Borgnine — instead of the opening ceremonies, scoring ratings three times those of either CBS or NBC. The possibility that when ABC returned to its convention coverage, it might bring with it a new cohort of convention viewers was not to be. Its audience immediately dwindled to third place of the three.

The peak viewing night at the Democratic convention, the nomination of the presidential candidate, attracted an estimated 80 million Americans to their sets at one time or another, with maybe 35 million out of a total possible adult audience of 140 million looking on at any given moment. The total number who saw some part of the gavel-to-gavel coverage of a rather dull convention in New York approximated 100 million. These are formidable numbers except when compared with the prime-time audiences assembled by network entertainment shows on a cold winter's night.

Despite the misgivings of the news types, there is not all that much difference in the size of audiences who watch different conventions on TV, lively or otherwise, and since the number of TV households keeps growing, it is hard to make an accurate comparison over the years. But since the total viewing audience for all stations everywhere is up at convention time, it seems fair to conclude that persons who are not regular television watchers are tuning in on gavel-to-gavel broadcasts.

Russ Bensley, executive producer for CBS, has said: "Every four years, after it's done, everybody sits around and asks is it worth it — all the money, all the man-hours, all the strain? And every time, we reach the same conclusion: it is worth it, and there isn't a better way."

When I asked another otherwise hard-bitten TV news executive if he honestly believed gavel-to-gavel coverage of every moment of a party convention was really worth the candle, he replied, "It's only your country, you know. Eight afternoons and evenings once every four years doesn't seem to be asking very much." In a tightly programmed world, that may be the nub of the matter. ■

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

Why the cost of telephone service has gone up less than the cost of almost anything else.

In the late 1920's, in a Chicago factory, the history of industrial relations reached a turning point. The plant, the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company, made telephones and telephone equipment for the Bell System. And in 1927 its managers had a puzzle.



The Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company, scene of what one economist called "the most exciting and important study of factory workers ever made."

For more than two years the company had been studying plant lighting and its relation to efficiency. (It was the era of the "efficiency expert" and "scientific management.") Increases in illumination were followed by increases in production, as expected. But decreases in light levels were also followed by increases in production. Two young women even maintained good production under light no brighter than moonlight.

It became clear that light had only a minor effect, and that there were many other variables to be identified. To solve the puzzle, the company undertook a further study, carried on jointly with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. The researchers selected a group of six competent, experienced women, explained what

they were trying to do, and requested their cooperation. Over a period of twenty-six months, the researchers added rest periods and snacks to the group's work schedule, shortened the work day, and then returned to the original schedule. The group showed an al-

most unbroken rise in average hourly production and also in total weekly production, even when the week was five hours shorter than at the start. At the end, their production was 30 percent above the beginning level.

The Hawthorne Experiments made it clear that the "scientific management" theory of the day relied too heavily on methods borrowed from the physical sciences. Two major conclusions are widely accepted now, but then their application to factory work was new:

People work better when they feel they are part of a team.

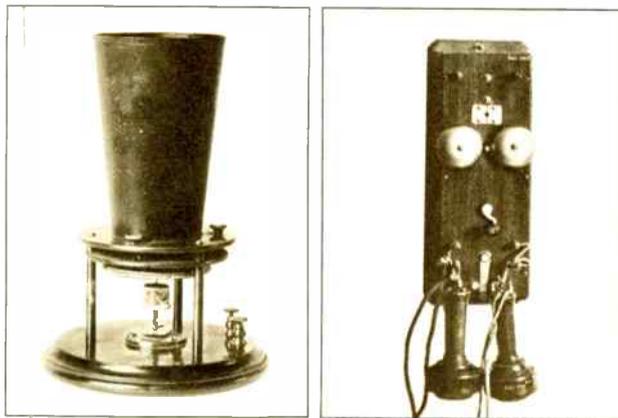
People work better when they feel what they are doing is important.

Today most businesses are aware of "group dynamics" and "job enrichment." But the lessons of Hawthorne have shaped

policy for many years, not just in Western Electric factories but in all parts of the Bell System. And the Bell System is still a leader in the exploration of factors affecting industrial productivity.

The prices of most telephone equipment made by Western Electric currently average 20 percent below the prices of other suppliers. Why?

New products for the Bell System are usually designed at Bell Laboratories, the research and development arm of the System. Bell Labs also sets quality standards. But at an early stage manufacturing engineers from Western Electric sit down with the designers and look for ways to save. All companies know that's the best time to cut costs; in the Bell System, that knowledge guides practice. The search for reduced costs continues after production begins. Every aspect of manufacturing is under constant reexamination. Western Electric's engineering cost reductions alone totaled \$198 million in first-year savings in 1975.



An early improvement in Bell's 1876 laboratory model phone was the addition of a bell.

Yet none of these achievements would take place unless the people involved were convinced that it is important to produce good telephones at low cost. Phillip S. Babb of McKinsey and Co., management con-

sultants, made this analysis in an interview published in the journal *International Management*:

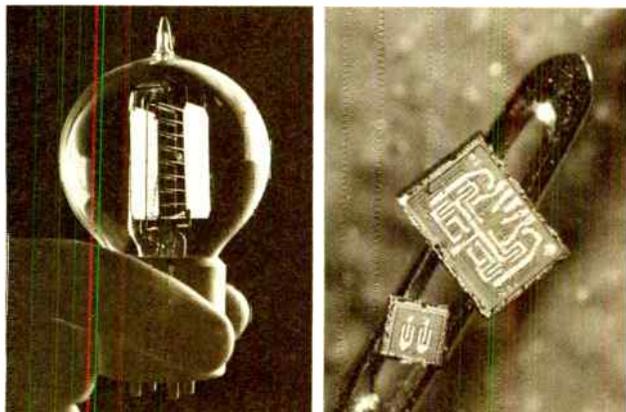
Western Electric has succeeded in making cost-cutting a central part of the ethos, the value system, by which their people live. Driving costs down—with retained high quality—is what they spend their working lives at. It is what they take their pride in. It is their way to the corporate top.

To put it another way, the business of the Bell System is providing good telephone service at reasonable cost; Western Electric's activities are directed toward that service goal, rather than toward simply making products.

That service goal characterizes all parts of the Bell System, including the twenty-three regional operating companies and the Long Lines Department. All the parts work closely together to achieve that goal, and all benefit as a result. The operating companies provide telephone service and report, through AT&T, to Bell Labs and Western Electric their needs and the needs of telephone users. Bell Labs and Western Electric design and manufacture equipment to meet known needs as well as the best estimates of expected needs. And the local companies are assured of having the products customers want. To use the vocabulary of the economist, vertical integration with organizational feedback enhances productivity throughout the Bell System.

Touche, Ross & Co., acting as consultants for the staff of the Federal Communications Commission, made a study of how this corporate structure affects costs for telephone service. According to their report, written in 1974:

Western Electric's efficient performance has resulted in lower costs than otherwise would have been incurred. Because of Western's pricing policies and practices, these lower costs have not increased profits, but have been passed on to operating companies in the form of lower



Western Electric's first commercially successful vacuum tube (left) was used in 1915 in the amplifiers that made possible the first transcontinental telephone call. Solid-state electronics, begun at Bell Labs, makes it possible for tiny integrated circuits (right) to do the work of many vacuum tubes.

prices....The effect of the interrelationship between Bell and Western Electric is to operate Western, not as a manufacturing concern, but as an integral part of a vertically integrated communications firm. These interrelationships result in a favorable impact upon Western's costs, prices and service to operating companies.

Another major factor affecting productivity is investment in new technology—in research and development. Bell Laboratories is recognized worldwide as one of the leading development and research institutions anywhere. The achievements of Bell Labs people have won two Nobel prizes, one for the demonstration of the wave nature of matter, and the other for the invention of the transistor.

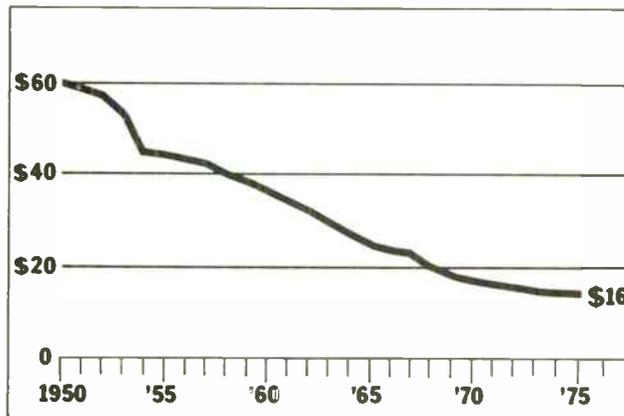
The search for new and better technology has always been a part of the telephone industry. On March 10, 1876, Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas A. Watson achieved that famous first telephone message, "Mr. Watson, come here. I want to

see you." At once they began to improve the instrument, and make it more usable. The goal, then as now, was to provide good telephone service at a price almost every American could afford.

The effect of research and engineering on costs can be seen most readily by considering how it has changed methods of transmitting calls. Bell Labs scientists found ways to send many conversations simultaneously through a pair of wires, and later through coaxial cables. They incorporated microwave radio into transmission systems for long distance calls.

In just the last quarter century, such improvements have reduced the average cost per circuit mile of the Bell System nationwide long distance network from \$60 to \$16. (See graph.) The cost of the newest coaxial cable system is less than \$2 per circuit mile.

Average cost per circuit mile of interstate transmission facilities.



But Bell engineers are not satisfied. Already they are preparing the technology for even greater economies and capacities when call volumes reach a level to justify using it. The new Comstar domestic satellite—being used jointly by the Bell System and GTE Satellite Corporation—in addition to standard communications traffic will

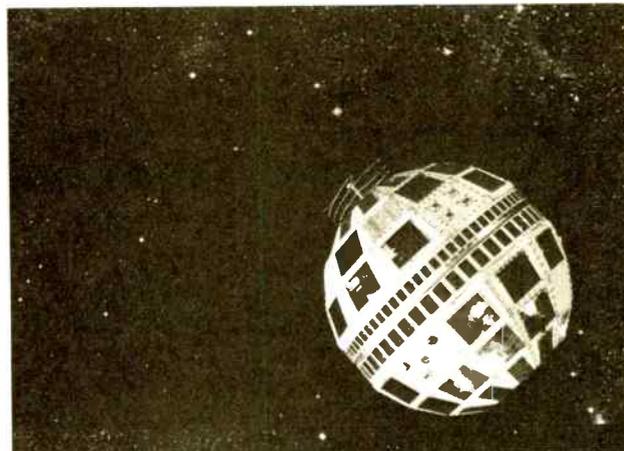
beam experimental signals to an extraordinarily precise antenna so that Bell Laboratories scientists can investigate super-high frequencies that could provide increased satellite capacity in the future. And new systems, using millimeter waveguides or laser light and glass fibers, are expected to reduce transmission costs and add new capacity also.

Another simple way to measure how technology improves productivity is to look at the number of Bell System people required to serve each 10,000 telephones. In 1925 it took 246. In 1958 it took 148. Today it takes 65.

Finally, the Bell System seeks to improve productivity by improving the methods used to manage the telephone business. For instance, the teamwork of Western Electric and Bell Labs people was cited earlier. To facilitate their interaction, some Bell Labs people work adjacent to Western Electric plants. A significant reduction has resulted in the time required to get a new design from drawing board to actual production.

The Bell System is placing greater emphasis on computerized information retrieval for the mountain of data connected with serving 118.5 million telephones. It is moving toward a standardized format for recording and storing data, to make more efficient use of computers.

The Bell System is placing greater emphasis on new methods of employee training, on the restructuring of jobs, and on



The Bell System's 'Telstar' satellite demonstrated the feasibility of using space satellites for communications.

efforts to build more responsibility, challenge and satisfaction into jobs at all levels. Experience to date indicates that these changes help people do a better job, reduce employee turnover, and consequently improve productivity as well.

That is exactly the result one would expect, on the basis of the 1927 Hawthorne findings. The Bell System has changed a lot since 1927. But it still emphasizes people, research, manufacturing efficiency and an organizational structure that fosters teamwork.

Data issued by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics show that overall the productivity of the telephone industry has increased 50% since 1965. That is two-and-a-half times the productivity increase of the United States economy as a whole.

In that same decade, the cost of living rose 75%. Telephone rates for local service went up only 40%. And interstate long distance rates went up about 4%. Now 95% of all American homes have telephones.

One Bell System. It works.



Bell System

The high cost of owning The Denver Post

In fighting to maintain control, have *Post* executives mortgaged the paper's credibility?

by BILL SONN

Ever since 1901, when it passed its rival *Rocky Mountain News* in circulation, *The Denver Post* has been the dominant paper not only in Denver, but in the vast region that in the 1940s the *Post* took to calling the Rocky Mountain Empire. In fact, its dominance has been such that historians have come to adopt the *Post's* outrageous, often irresponsible, and stubbornly colorful view of the young West. As the city grew larger and more prosperous, it strained for respectability. So did the *Post*. Yet while the paper dressed itself up and toned itself down, its owners retained at least one traditional characteristic: stubbornness.

Helen Bonfils, daughter of co-founder Frederick G. Bonfils and after his death the paper's major stockholder, was, like Denver itself, intent on achieving respectability. She developed an intense interest in the arts, and throughout her life was determined to see that Denver imported a thriving cultural life. She was also stubbornly convinced that the *Post* should remain privately controlled and in Denver hands, particularly her own. Later she fought to keep control of the paper by placing the stock in two foundations, which she also controlled.

For a newspaper as prominent — and, until recently, as lucrative — as the *Post*, maintaining control has not always been easy. The fiercest battle was waged by Samuel I. Newhouse, who tried over a period of more than thirteen years to gain control over the paper by buying stock from those who held it under various trusts set up by the paper's co-founders. Newhouse finally gave up, but only after Helen Bonfils and the *Post* had spent more than \$14 million to buy back stock and pay court-imposed penalties and legal fees.

Such has been the history of the *Post*. But the struggle to keep the *Post* from the hands of what Helen Bonfils used to

call "outsiders" still goes on and now has entered a new phase — one that threatens to compromise the journalistic integrity of the paper. Since Bonfils's death in 1972, the man in charge of keeping the *Post* in the right hands has been Donald R. Seawell, Bonfils's principal agent in the struggle with Newhouse, and now chief executive not only of the newspaper but of the two foundations that control 91 percent of the *Post's* stock. And since Newhouse gave up trying to buy the paper in 1973, the face of the "enemy" has also changed. Now it's the Internal Revenue Service.

One of the provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 was that private foundations could no longer hold majority interests in profit-making corporations. This meant that the private Frederick G. Bonfils and Helen G. Bonfils foundations would have to sell all but 20 percent of their interests in the *Post*. In other words, even as it was successfully fighting off Newhouse, it appeared that the *Post* would pass into outsiders' hands after all.

If the enemy had changed, Don Seawell's job description had not. Once a New York theater lawyer, Seawell had met Helen Bonfils in the mid-1950s when both were American National Theatre and Academy board members. Seawell soon became Bonfils's financial and legal adviser, and later her partner in several Broadway productions, including *A Thurber Carnival*. When, in 1959, Newhouse's attempt to gain control of the *Post* turned serious, Bonfils turned to Seawell for help. "Before I knew it," Seawell remembers in Bill Hosokawa's *Thunder in the Rockies*, the most recent history of the paper, "I had the job of saving the *Post* from Newhouse."

Searching for a way to save the *Post* from the I.R.S., Seawell and corporate counsel Robert Yegge promptly found a

Bill Sonn is a free-lance writer in Denver.

loophole in the Tax Reform Act of 1969. The private Bonfils foundations could avoid selling their *Post* stock by turning the revenues from that stock over to a public foundation. (The I.R.S. defines a public foundation as one which receives some of its money from public — i.e., government — sources, and which also has public officials and “community leaders” on its governing board.) Seawell, though, had to be careful just which public foundation to affiliate with, since whichever one he chose would by law have to be represented on the boards of the Bonfils foundations. Hence, once again, outsiders could gain some control over the foundation-owned *Post*.

So Seawell simply created a public foundation of his own, the Denver Center for the Performing Arts (D.C.P.A.). On its executive committee he put himself, Yegge, *Post* editor-publisher Charles Buxton, Earl Moore, the paper’s business manager, and a close friend (all of whom already were serving on the boards of the Bonfils foundations). He gave executive titles, but no real power, to a wide range of public officials (including Colorado Governor Richard Lamm) and “community leaders,” in order to meet the I.R.S. requirements. The D.C.P.A. would build a modest performing-arts complex, using monies from the Bonfils foundations and from the city of Denver, thereby meeting another of the I.R.S.’s requirements. Thus Helen Bonfils’s two fondest wishes — to make Denver culturally respectable and to keep control of the paper in her name — would be accomplished at the same time.

The details of the agreement between the *Post* and the city to build the arts complex received only occasional attention until this spring, when a series of articles in *The Straight Creek Journal*, a small local weekly, raised the question of whether the *Post* had the money to meet its financial obligations to the city. The paper also outlined ways that Seawell, in his best efforts to protect the *Post* stock, may have made it more vulnerable to outsiders than ever before.

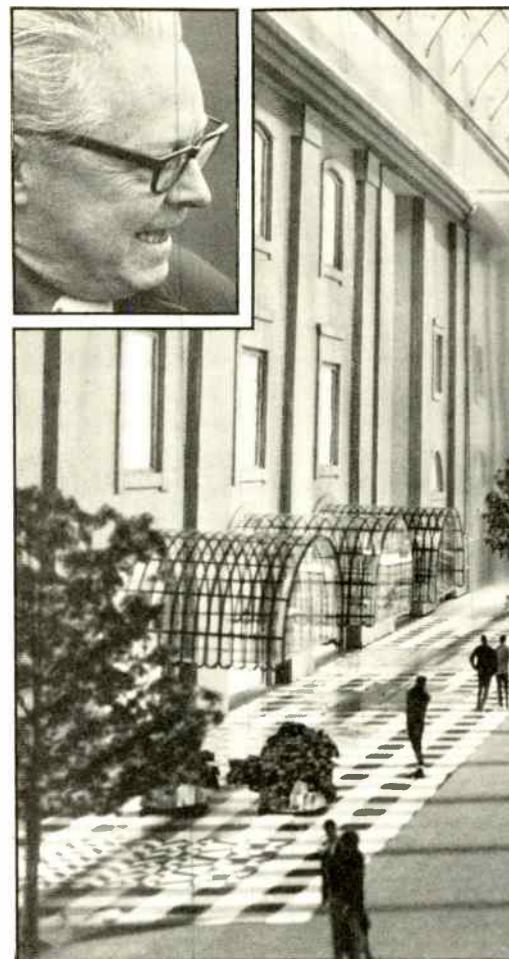
There is another issue involved, only peripherally mentioned in *Straight Creek*. By linking the profits and assets of the *Post* first to Seawell’s concern for maintaining control over the *Post* and

then to a project run jointly with the city government, the *Post* editors may be compromising the paper’s ability to report the news from city hall. The paper is, after all, committed to a public project that, if junked or even questioned by the city administration, could force Seawell and the foundations to sell the paper. As one *Post* reporter puts it: “We’re not about to blow it all with an anti-city hall attitude.”

One *Post* executive, who requested anonymity, thinks that the paper has been “playing footsies with the city administration” editorially in order to preserve control by present management. He worries that the D.C.P.A. has put the paper “in a horrible ethical bind. . . . Here we are, the most important paper in the Rocky Mountains, and to stay that way we’ve got to take it easy on [Denver Mayor William] McNichols. . . . There’s not an editor or reporter here who doesn’t know the score. We could lose *our* jobs, too. That’s why I say nobody needs any written guidelines to know how to report on the administration.” Other editors and reporters say the same thing, although none cite anything more specific than this implied pressure not to offend the mayor.

Post executive editor William Hornby says that there is no conflict of interest between reporting “professionally” (his word) and ignoring the machinations of the newspaper’s management. He maintains that it is wrong to assume city hall “has something we want.” If the D.C.P.A. fell through, he says, the executives could find another way to protect themselves. He adds that the owners have never asked him to slant coverage.

The *Post* has always treated the mayor carefully, even before the D.C.P.A. was born. In editorials, the mayor’s policies are sometimes criticized without mentioning the mayor by name. For example, when the new McNichols Sports Arena exceeded its construction budget, the *Post* condemned cost overruns, not the mayor, who was denying there had even been any cost overruns. In the news pages, the *Post* can point to relatively few (compared to the rival *Rocky Mountain News*) detailed investigations of city



government during the McNichols years. And a few investigations that have been carried out have been killed — most notably one involving a major housing development that not only was one of the mayor’s pet causes but also would have raised the value of some *Post*-owned land.

Post clips do show that the paper has not always been so kind to the mayor. McNichols was criticized for firing two city employees who had supported his opponent in the last election. The *Post* called it an “act of petty vindictiveness.” A year earlier, the mayor had made “a churlish attempt” to block city funding for the Denver Symphony Orchestra, long a sacred cow of the paper and particularly of corporate counsel Yegge. A recent news story suggested that a member of the city administration might have some connections with organized crime; executive editor Hornby remembers that McNichols called the paper and was “hopping mad.”



Denver Mayor Bill McNichols (left), Post chief executive Donald Seawell (right), and an architect's model of part of the Denver Center for the Performing Arts, to be financed by the newspaper and the city

Yet, out of the twelve editorials and staff-written columns I could find directly concerning the mayor since August 1974, eight praised him enthusiastically. The paper has endorsed McNichols in primary and general elections in 1971 and 1975. In these endorsements, the paper called the mayor himself "sensible," his budgets "cautious and flexible," and his record one that proved "Denver is fortunate to have Bill McNichols." When editorial page editor Robert Patridge interviewed the mayor, he began his first question by saying, "With your political acumen, you aren't easily awed. . . ."

Even Hornby concedes the situation "is not ideal. . . . Every newspaper has owners" who have interests and opinions they want reflected in print. Yet the *Post's* owners have respected editorial integrity, he says, and allegations that coverage has been slanted to please the mayor are "simply not true." The anonymous *Post* executive puts it

another way: "You don't need to actually see a nuclear warhead to know someone could drop it on you."

Then, too, there is the paper's coverage of the D.C.P.A. itself. The arts complex had been highly controversial even before the *Straight Creek* series began in late March. In September 1972, it was presented to the public by Seawell and Mayor McNichols as an \$11-million concert hall and theater. By 1973, for reasons few except Seawell, McNichols, and Deputy Mayor Harold Cook (the beneficiary of an all-expenses-paid tour of European arts centers) understand, the D.C.P.A. had become an \$80-million complex. It included the concert hall, a remodeled arena, five theaters (one for movies), a refurbished amphitheater, a parking garage, and a renovated police building to be used for administrative purposes. All these buildings were to be placed on four valuable downtown blocks, condemned by McNichols for the complex, and con-

nected by galleries of shops. While the *News* editorially expressed wonderment at how Denver had suddenly found itself with this grand complex and a public commitment to it totaling \$60 million, the *Post* never thought to question this enigmatic decision-making process. (The process, not incidentally, gave the Bonfils foundations a virtually incontestable claim to an exemption from the Tax Reform Act of 1969).

The *Post*, moreover, never saw fit to cover the local arts community's unremitting criticism of the way the D.C.P.A. has been run and designed. Various local directors and actors have questioned the propriety of having a newspaper in effect controlling Denver's performing arts. They have complained of feeling coerced into cooperating with the D.C.P.A. for fear of having their work ignored or panned in the *Post* if they refused.

"Are we doing a fair job on the D.C.P.A.?" a *Post* columnist asks rhetorically. "We really aren't," the columnist says, and provides an explanation not only for the paper's questionable involvement with the D.C.P.A., but also for its customary support of nearly all incumbents: "We're the original boosters. There's a very strong emotional tie to the business community. We're just for things."

Yet the rival *Rocky Mountain News* did not adequately cover the D.C.P.A. story either, until *Straight Creek* made it fair game. *Straight Creek* editor Ron Wolf tried to prove that the Bonfils foundations, which turn over their revenues to the D.C.P.A., did not have enough money to fulfill their obligations to the arts complex (and the city) without selling their treasured *Post* stock. The foundations' commitment to the complex, according to *Straight Creek*, was \$22.35 million, while they could raise only \$22.2 million. Moreover, the foundations couldn't raise the \$22.2 million unless they sold the *Post*. If the foundations refused to sell the *Post* to pay for the D.C.P.A. — and it's a good bet they would refuse — they would have only some \$8 million left to build the arts complex. So, Wolf concluded, if the complex was to be built at all, Denver taxpayers might well end up paying far more than they'd bargained for. continued

The articles caused a furor in Denver. With a copy of *Straight Creek* in hand, a city councilman demanded that Deputy Mayor Cook answer the allegations. (The mayor was out of town.) Cook replied, somewhat evasively, that to demand an official audit of the foundations' assets would be "like asking Santa Claus where he gets the gifts." The *News* and other local papers followed up with investigations of their own, although the *News*, reportedly fearful of looking as if it were taking a cheap shot at its rival daily, concentrated on city hall's involvement in the D.C.P.A., not the *Post*'s.

To calm the controversy, Seawell called a public meeting to explain the foundations' commitments to the D.C.P.A. and their ability to meet them. He said the Bonfils foundations' assets were worth \$50 million, much more than *Straight Creek* had claimed, while their obligations were only \$13 million, much less than *Straight Creek* had claimed. The money, he said, was there.

His explanations did not satisfy everyone. In calculating the foundations' assets, Seawell had figured their *Post* holdings to be worth \$45 a share. The last customer to pay that much for *Post* stock was the *Post* itself in 1967. Even then the *Post* complained that the price was too steep, inflated by competitive bidding with Newhouse. That same year, the *Post* was selling stock to its employees (under a special Employee Stock Trust plan established in 1961) for \$13 a share. In 1973, the foundations had bought out Newhouse for the equivalent of \$32 a share. Then again, says a *Post* executive, "I think we would have paid anything to get rid of that guy." In their 1974 tax returns the two Bonfils foundations valued their *Post* stock at \$21.74 and \$17.06 a share. At last report, *Post* employees were buying stock at \$17.50 a share. Moreover, the paper has had a rough couple of years, its profits down and its rival *News* closing the circulation gap rapidly. How Seawell figured the *Post* stock was worth \$45 a share is at best problematic. Asked to defend the calculation, Seawell simply responds that "the facts speak for themselves." In any case, whether the foundations have enough money to meet their arts complex

obligations is still an open question.

The *Post* itself has covered this ongoing story grayly. The first notice it took of the money issue raised by *Straight Creek* was in a piece covering a city council demand for an official audit of the foundations. Neither Seawell's role in the D.C.P.A. nor the D.C.P.A.'s relationship to the *Post*'s future was mentioned. A month later, Seawell's public meeting story was headlined DCPA FUNDS CALLED ADEQUATE on page 3 (the *News*'s ASSETS OF BONFILS FOUNDATIONS BARED topped page 1), and, several days later, in MCNICHOLS PLEASED WITH ARTS CENTER STATUS REPORT, it was said that the mayor "sees no need for panic and talk about bond issues for additional financial support." In its one editorial comment on the controversy, the *Post* praised Seawell for his public meeting and called the D.C.P.A. "the largest and most solid, strings-free benefaction in the history of municipal association with the performing arts." Again, there was no mention of the D.C.P.A.'s role in protecting the interests of the paper's management, or, for that matter, any hint that Seawell's estimate of the *Post*'s worth might be anything less than gopsel.

Yet the paper's conflict of interest seems to transcend just one story. The partnership with the D.C.P.A. and the city seriously threatens the credibility of the *Post*'s coverage of all urban affairs. For the *Post*'s role as a Denver institution has made its financial health and owners' success dependent on the course of municipal politics.

Seawell, for one, sees no personal or institutional conflict of interest. In fact, he simply dismisses the question, saying, "There is no possible conflict of interest." Executive editor Hornby admits it is not "a textbook organization for a newspaper," yet feels "the situation is far from being a dangerous one."

It has, however, become dangerous for Seawell and the other owners. Foundation trustees are by law required to manage their foundation stock portfolios as profitably as possible. Since the Bonfils managers have had to sell off most of their other securities to help pay for the D.C.P.A., the holdings of the Bonfils foundations are by now almost

wholly *Denver Post* stock. Neither the stock nor the paper, though, has been all that profitable. The 26-percent profit from gross revenues in 1946 shrank to 5.29 percent in 1959, and to .87 percent in 1974. The usually reliable *Colorado Business Magazine* reported a 1975 profit of .006 percent. Seawell laughs at the figure, but refuses to confirm or deny it. The paper has recovered from its troubled times, he says. But the fact remains that the stock has not matched the earnings of, say, a 5-percent savings-and-loan account since 1959, or an 8-percent Treasury note since 1949.

In short, the trustees of the Bonfils foundations — which include Don Seawell — might not be adequately fulfilling their legal responsibility to manage the foundations' portfolios as profitably as possible. Their option, of course, is to sell the *Post* stock for more lucrative securities. But Seawell's attitude toward that is the same as it's always been. Asked about the possibility of selling the *Post*, Seawell maintains, "It won't happen in my lifetime."

But there are those who might have legal standing to *force* the Bonfils foundations to sell the *Post* in order to meet their obligations, first as trustees and second as participants in a public project. The Colorado attorney-general's office is currently "studying the situation." Rumors are circulating of two "conspiracies" to force the sale of the *Post*. While sale rumors have always been plentiful, this time the *Post* appears to be especially vulnerable.

Indeed, as this is written, it appears that the paper's efforts to keep outsiders outside *The Denver Post* may have left the paper more vulnerable than ever. It is vulnerable to charges that it has misled the public in its drive to build the D.C.P.A. It is vulnerable to legal challenges that could force the sale of the paper. It is vulnerable to charges that it has failed to cover thoroughly a major story in which its managers are the central figures. And, finally, it is vulnerable to a charge that it has compromised its editorial credibility by getting into a dangerous situation in the first place. For the paper's connection with the D.C.P.A. not only threatens the *Post*'s financial soundness and the interests of its owners, but also the independence and security of its journalists. ■

THE NEW BALLYHOO

'All the news
that sells'

THE WEATHER
Violent, tumid

THE '20s ROAR BACK!



Composograph by Harry Grogin

Sex 1920s style: One of the famous composographs (composite + photographs) that ran in Bernarr Macfadden's *New York Evening Graphic* — this specimen part of the series dealing with the stormy boudoir life of "Daddy" Browning and his teen-age bride, "Peaches." Of the story, Silas Bent wrote in *Ballyhoo*: "The eight-column papers, which had helped make the affair nationally notorious, took fright when police . . . began barring from the newsstands sheets displaying details . . . and left the tabloid papers alone in the mire."

1976 Trends Recall 'Jazz Journalism'

"News standards, like conventions of morality, are subject to change. . . . The preoccupation of the American newspaper with [sex] is . . . manifested not only in the avidity with which pornographic detail is devoured, but in the glorification of short-lived newspaper idols. The truth is that the press has developed this characteristic while developing a new technique of salesmanship and showmanship. . . . Metropolitan newspapers, according to this formula, need not

contain a line of useful information. . . . The inflation of matter appealing to unconscious passions and hungers continues. The news which startles, thrills and entertains is blown up as vigorously as [a] toy balloon. . . . Thus does the American press exemplify day by day the grandiose, the brobdingnagian art of ballyhoo."

So ran the indictment issued nearly fifty years ago by a leading press critic of the 1920s, Silas Bent. As he surveyed

1976 Trends Recall 'Jazz Journalism'

the era's media fads and excitements, he found in them a new journalism, outdoing in artfulness and impact the notorious yellow press of the turn of the century. In calling his 1927 book *Ballyhoo*, Bent employed a term (of debatable etymology) long associated with carnivals and circuses, for he saw the press in the role of barker, luring the public into an endless series of sideshows, from monstrously overplayed murder trials to overpromoted prize fights. But if the content appeared frivolous, the purpose was pragmatic — to provide a merchandisable product, called (loosely) news, a staple that would gain and hold a mass audience for publishers and advertisers. The stuff of the press came close to a definition later offered by Evelyn Waugh in his journalistic epic, *Scoop* (quoted by "Aristides" in the summer 1976 *American Scholar*): "News is what a chap who doesn't care much about anything wants to read."

From Ballyhoo to Hype

In the decades since the publication of *Ballyhoo*, the term has acquired a faintly antique patina and has given way to successors (*hype* is a current favorite). There has been a widespread belief among journalists that not only the word but the practice has been laid to rest — by the increasing literacy and maturity of the mass audience, the professionalization of journalism, and the urgency of public debate.

Yet it now appears that ballyhoo was not dead, but merely lurking in journalism's dark corners, awaiting its next moment in history. Possibly it needed a time like the mid-1970s, a period like the mid-1920s in its lack of the overriding domestic or foreign crises that have fed the press for more than four decades. Perhaps, too, the stresses of competition — particularly the efforts of metropolitan newspapers to hold an increasingly evanescent readership — contributed to its rebirth. In any case, there appears to be a resurgence of the policy of seizing audiences, in Bent's term, by "salesmanship and showmanship." Among the outcroppings:

□ The widely noted rise of gossip and celebrity journalism, ranging from such relatively chic forms as *The Washington Star's* "Ear" column to Time Inc.'s new-style fan magazine, *People*.

□ The decision of a few major papers to subordinate deliberately news of public affairs in favor of sensation. The *San Francisco Chronicle* pioneered in this pattern more than fifteen years ago; now it has been joined, in intent if not in execution, but such papers as *The Detroit News* and *The Cincinnati Post*. In addition, British-style sensationalism, based on the techniques of the frankly trivial London popular press, has cropped up in the American holdings of the international magnate K. Rupert Murdoch.

□ The conversion this spring of the resources of investigative journalism to an inquiry into the sexual practices of public officials, in which issues of public policy were smothered in prurient detail.

□ The revival of created news via self-promotional stunts, involving such respectable institutions as *The New York Times* and the National Broadcasting Company, which helped sponsor the search for a legendary underwater beast.

Democracy or Trivia?

These are but recent variations in a broader trend that had already produced tabloid-style, personality-centered television news, increasingly shrill graphics in periodicals, and the growing popularity of quasi-news publications in news format, such as Murdoch's weekly *Star*. A few critics see in this



Wide World Daily News

End of a carnival: New York *Daily News* of January 14, 1928, published a covert photograph of the execution of Ruth Snyder, electrocuted with Judd Gray (inset) for the murder of her husband. Bent commented: "In the Snyder case there was no element of mystery . . . or any pronounced element of suspense. Yet 120 reporters were assigned to this case, more than represented all the American newspapers and news agencies in the Far East."

shift from conventional news a democratization of content analogous to past popularizations that opened new audiences to journalism. Others, such as *The American Scholar's* "Aristides," blame these tendercies for "the circus quality of much of our national life." Both conclusions may contain truth.

Journalists, however, may look on these developments with deeper concern. Those who see news selection as an important aspect of setting society's agenda must view the new ballyhoo as an abandonment of responsibility. Moreover, it could force both beat reporters and investigative journalists to face tougher competition for news space or time, as well as for economic resources.

It is unlikely, of course, that journalism will revert to the crudities of the tabloids of Bent's day. This new ballyhoo springs from the styles and sensitivities of its own age: it may not find a Charles Lindbergh, or make a national event out of such a routine murder trial as the Snyder-Gray case, or build sports heroes on the dimensions of Babe Ruth and Red Grange, or titillate the public with the boudoir capers of the likes of Peaches and Daddy Browning, or bow to the pseudo-profundities of such a philosopher as Emil Coué ("Every day in every way. . ."). But it will do nicely with Patty Hearst or Charles Manson, with Muhammad Ali and Joe Namath, with Wayne Hays and Elizabeth Ray, with Werner Erhard or Sun Myung Moon.

The pages that follow scan some of the forms of the new ballyhoo.

THE BALLYHOO SIDE OF THE NEWS

Liz Becomes Best-seller With Boost by Wash. Post

Best-selling author Elizabeth Ray owes a lot to the smash send-off she got from *The Washington Post*. *Post* executive editor Ben Bradlee (better known as portrayed by Jason Robards in *All the President's Men*) gave her page-one play on May 23 with two photos (one with cleavage) accompanying a plug for one of the chief incidents in her novel, her liaison with a powerful member of Congress.

Her publisher, Dell, already had in hand a manuscript produced by Ray and Yvonne Donleavy, who had helped Xaviera Hollander with *The Happy Hooker*. On the strength of the *Post* publicity, Dell speeded production and had copies on sale in

Washington in less than three weeks. By mid-July, 1,725,000 copies of *The Washington Fringe Benefit* were in print.

A lucky accident? Not at all. The Dell publicity director said: "I asked her not to give the story until we were ready. . . ."

Times Bags Own Rep.

On June 10, eighteen days after *The Washington Post* story on Rep. Wayne L. Hays, *The New York Times* aired charges by Colleen Gardner that she had been required as part of her office duties to have sexual relations with Rep. John Young of Texas. However, as of the end of July, she had not published a novel.



Rumania's Queen Marie: Bent wrote: "It is impossible to estimate how many acres of white paper the American press covered with trivial details of [her] trip."

a speech by Detroit's mayor, Coleman Young. In response, Martin S. Hayden, editor of the *News*, said that "the memo did not represent a *News* policy directive as to the full contents of Page One." He added: "Mr. McCormick was not addressing himself to the whole of Page One. What he ordered

EVILS OF GOSSIP DEPLORED BY EXPERT

"The general trend of gossip . . . has something to do with simple curiosity, much to do with snobbery, envy, cruelty, the fostering of antagonism, knowingness rather than knowledge, the creation of coteries and a perversely heightened sense of the trivial." — *Alexander Cockburn*, "Why People Are Talking About Gossip," *New York*, May 3, 1976.

"Jann Wenner rushed up to Sally Quinn after her disobliging account of the Rolling Stone party for the Carter staff and called her a sleazy little bitch." — *Alexander Cockburn*, "Press Clips" column, *Village Voice*, July 26, 1976.

was a continuing search for a single Page-One story or picture each day which would attract and grip readers because of its dramatic value."

P.S.: McCormick got his promotion.

Editor Climbs Ladder of Success

Early in June, Michael McCormick, night news editor of *The Detroit News*, and in line for promotion to news editor, proposed a revised page-one policy for the paper, the country's largest evening daily. His memorandum read, in part:

"We are aiming our product at the people who make more than \$18,000-a-year and are in the 28 to 40 group.

"Keep a lookout for and then play — well — the stories city desk develops and aims at this group. They should be obvious: they won't have a damn thing to do with Detroit and its internal problems. A fine example is Waldmeir's column on the bottom of 1A Monday [a rape-robbery story]. I think it should have been on top of 1A.

"While it was Detroit and its horrors, it went beyond that. It was an example of just the horrors that are discussed at suburban cocktail parties. Notice I said suburban —

that's that \$18,000-plus and 28 to 40 group.

"What to do when the city desk doesn't come across? Go to the wires. I want at least one, preferably two or three, stories on 1A that will jolt, shock or at least wake up our readers. Go through the last few weeks of the early edition and you'll see what I want: 'Nun charged with killing her baby,' 'Prison horrors revealed,' 'They chummed together — and died together.'

"Sure we've got to cover hard news — but you've got the whole rest of the paper for all but the hardest news. Look for sex, comedy and tragedy. These are things readers will talk about the next day — and that's what I want. I want 'em to talk about *THE NEWS*. I don't care if we step on toes or piss people off or make them laugh or cry. If we get them talking about our product I think our circulation will pop. Up!"

After the memorandum was leaked it was attacked in

Tots Pick Top Heroes

"A nationwide survey of 500 pupils in fifth through 12th grades conducted by the *Ladies Home Journal* turned up an odd assortment of 'top-50' hero figures, including porno star Linda Lovelace and convicted mass murderer Charles Manson.

"Football star O. J. Simpson was tops among both girls and boys surveyed by the *Journal* . . . Behind the Buffalo Bills running back in the poll were rock singer Elton John, Moonwalker Neil Armstrong, John Wayne, Robert Redford, Chris Evert, Mary Tyler Moore and Billie Jean King . . . Miss Lovelace placed 40th and Manson 44th." (U.P.I., July 20, 1976)



Hero worship: "The *New York Times* asserts editorially that Babe Ruth 'wears the laurel amid the deafening plaudits of the American nation.'"

MONSTER SWAMPS 'TIMES'

Event Linked to Loch Ness Fling

CONDITION OF SCIENCE
REPORTERS TERMED SERIOUS
BUT NOT CRITICAL

Reporters are, according to a legend as persistent as the Loch Ness monster, a skeptical lot. Robert Semple, Jr., London bureau chief of *The New York Times*, was still lending substance to this legend back in December 1975. With the irreverence of an employee whose bosses had not yet invested \$20,000 in a search for the alleged denizen or denizens of the Loch Ness deeps, Semple started off a December 5 story from London, bearing the light-hearted headline **LOCH NESS MONSTER AGAIN MAKES WAVES**, as follows:

Without even surfacing, so to speak, the Loch Ness monster has again shown that he, she or it can cause all sorts of commotion among the otherwise sensible people of Britain.

Ten days later, the world's most famous unidentified swimming object was again treated without undue deference in the *Times*. Semple's December 5 article had described, among other things, the cancellation of a Royal Society of Edinburgh symposium whose purpose was to determine the value of photographic evidence relating to the monster in question. The photographs had been taken during the summers of 1972 and 1975 by Dr. Robert Rines, president of the Boston-based Academy of Applied Science. One picture showed, or could be "computer-enhanced" to show, a "flipper-like object"; another, a beastly head topped with two hornlike protuberances. The December 15 story — filed by AP from Glasgow — dealt with the latter picture. Headlined **LOCH NESS 'EXPERT' THINKS**

PHOTOS SHOW MOVIE DUMMY, the article said that the dummy theory had been advanced by a retired Scottish librarian named Roy Muir, "who had been seeking the elusive monster for fifteen years," who "claims to have seen it four times," and who was "one of the first to congratulate the team from the Boston Academy of Applied Science on its photographs." He was obviously no scoffer. Muir, however, had been at Loch Ness during the filming of an unnamed movie — it was *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* — for which a model monster had been made; he had seen the model, and he had witnessed its accidental sinking into the loch. "When I heard the descriptions of a 'gargoyle-like' head with two appendages," the article quoted Muir as saying, "my memory immediately clicked about the model. I remember watching it capsize and sink during the film making." The article concluded: "He said the model almost exactly fitted the descriptions of the monster" revealed in the Rines picture.

Irreverent references of this sort were soon to go out of style at the *Times*, and, as luck or oversight would have it, the front-page article that established the *Times*'s new tone was accompanied by an artist's drawing of the very Rines photograph that had jogged Muir's memory. The article, which appeared on April 8, was headed **LOCH NESS MONSTER: A SERIOUS VIEW**, and it was written, with suitable sobriety, by *Times* science editor Walter Sullivan. The caption beneath the drawing carefully defined "the object" as "said to be the head of a living creature with hornlike protuberances"; Sullivan's lengthy story made no reference to believer Muir's variant reading

of the photo. The gist of the article was that about half a dozen American and Canadian scientists associated with prestigious institutions had found the photographic evidence gathered by the Academy of Applied Science "sufficiently suggestive of a large aquatic animal," as Dr. Alfred W. Crompton, director of Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology, was quoted as saying, to call for more intensive investigations. Sullivan also noted that Rines and his academy colleagues were planning "a more ambitious effort" during the summer to establish "the true identity of the creature, widely known as 'Nessie.'"

Monstrous Tales

Should the *Times*, perhaps, back this more ambitious effort? Ahead lay a summer of politics that threatened to be as tedious as a candidate's grin. Ponderously, the good gray *Times* rose to the monstrous occasion and, like a hippopotamus trying to swing a little, undulated toward Loch Ness. *Time* magazine would subsequently quote *Times* assistant managing editor Peter Millones as saying that the paper had been looking for a chance to sponsor "an adventure done in good taste." Also in search of adventure, NBC acquired exclusive television rights to whatever the expedition might come up with.

The announcement that the *Times* was joining forces with Rines's academy to go monster hunting came on May 28. Written by John Noble Wilford, the *Times*'s director of science news, it made the front page and it was long. Slipping off page one to cover page three, the nearly six-foot-long text was accompanied by four photographs, which introduced the reader to an underwater cam-

era and leading members of the hitherto unheard-of academy; a diagram entitled "How Cameras Will Be Set Up in Loch Ness"; and a map of the Loch Ness region, complete with inserts showing all Scotland and the loch site where the underwater search would be carried out. A hippo plopping into a bathtub could not have made a bigger splash.

Huge harbinger of things to come, Wilford's May 28 story was followed by nine June pieces in which he made much of increasingly little. The landmark day for puffery of the monster story was Sunday, June 6. On that day, the monster all but swamped the paper. On page one there was **THE SEARCH BEGINS AT LOCH NESS**, a twenty-seven-paragraph-long story; in "The News of the Week in Review," there was not only **LOCH NESS: THE LOGIC IS THERE**, another nineteen paragraphs by the *Times*'s indefatigable director of science news, but a five-paragraph summary of the expedition, to boot. The most specious story of the June lot was filed on June 10. It bore the headline, which told all, **UNDERWATER PHOTOS TAKEN IN LOCH NESS SHOW OTHER CAMERA**. Manfully, Wilford parlayed this dim tidbit into an eight-paragraph cliffhanger artificially brightened by these words from Charles W. Wycokoff, "photographic coordinator of the Loch Ness expedition of the Academy of Applied Science and the *The New York Times*":

"What a difference between this year and last," he said, commenting on the quality of the pictures [which showed one camera's portraits of another]. "We ought to have something really good if old Nessie just played ball with us."

On June 11, the *Times*, giving Wilford a well-earned

THE NEW BALLYHOO!!!

rest, allowed Robert Semple to file a story on the beast that refused to play ball. The title, EXPEDITIONS, TOO, ARE A LOCH NESS LEGEND, led one to hope that this once-skeptical reporter might show up his scientific colleagues by putting the whole *Times* academy expedition in some sort of historical context, for over the years many publishers and other media people had plunged into Loch Ness in an ecstasy of self-promotion. But Semple apparently understood that dwelling on the hoopla would not do. Thus, in his twenty-three-paragraph story on expeditions, Semple cited only a "Japanese expedition" conducted "several years ago," and "nearly a decade of dedicated watching" by the "now more or less moribund" Loch Ness Phenomena Investigation Bureau. No mention was made of the fact that the three-month-long Japanese expedition, carried out in 1973, had come up with nothing more monstrous than a six-foot eel, or that its sponsor was Yoshio Kou, who, as an article in *The Christian Science Monitor* pointed out at the time, "has already been the impresario for such Tokyo happenings as the Moscow State Circus, Muhammad Ali's first prize fight in Asia, and a regular brouhaha of a Tom Jones performance." Nor was mention made of the fact that newspapers had been chasing the monster, for their own obvious promotional reasons, from the moment the first sighting in this century was claimed, in 1933. It was in the noisy *Daily Mail* of London that, in May of that year, the monster first made headlines. The paper offered £100 for a picture of it, the Bertram Mills Circus offered £10,000 for a live Nessie, and the *Daily Express* constructed a cage to contain the beast.

Scotching the Hoopla

Among other monster expeditions and/or promotional stunts which Semple scanted in his article on expeditions were these:

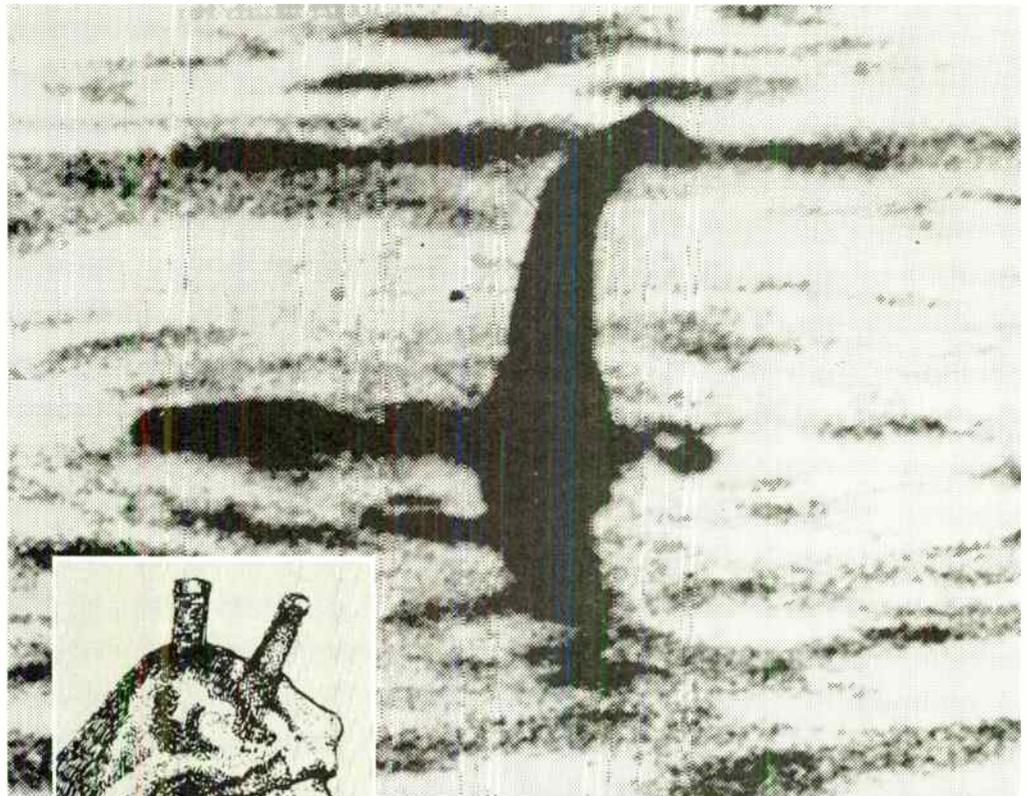


Photo Trends • Copyright, Academy of Applied Science

Wide World

The Loch Ness monster, as it were, as photographed from a distance of four-and-one-half miles in 1934; and an artist's rendering of a photograph, taken by an underwater camera in Loch Ness in 1975, of what some say may be a monster's head.

□ a 1958 search, employing underwater TV cameras and radar, carried out by the British Broadcasting Corporation

□ a two-year photographic search sponsored by the Field Enterprises Education Corporation, publishers of *World Book Encyclopedia*, in collaboration with the Loch Ness Phenomena Investigation Bureau, which began in the summer of 1967

□ a six-month search, which began in the summer of 1969, sponsored by the B.B.C.'s competitor, Independent Television News, in collaboration with the Loch Ness Phenomena Investigation Bureau and Field Enterprises Education Corporation, which paid for a yellow submarine

□ a summer of 1970 search conducted by Dr. Robert Rines, in which, according to an article by David Blundy that appeared in the *Sunday Times* of London on November 30, 1975, Rines

attempted to lure the monster into making an appearance "with tape-recordings of salmon and sea-lion mating calls"

□ a Cutty Sark Whisky promo stunt that offered a £1 million prize to anyone who could catch the Loch Ness monster alive between May 1, 1971, and May 1, 1972, and a case of Cutty Sark every month to anyone who could come up with a twelve-second color movie film of the beast

□ a 1975 fund-raising stunt conceived by the firemen of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, which consisted of touring the countryside with a thirty-foot-long artificial female monster named Nellie, which was equipped with a mating call ("a recording of a bull-walrus — the nearest thing to Nellie blowing a kiss," as a fireman was quoted as saying in the *Daily Mirror*), and which was subsequently launched on Loch Ness.

While Semple was overlooking these details, which might have made the *Times* academy expedition appear more of a lark than had previous *Times* coverage, *Times* op-ed page editors were declining to publish another set of potentially disconcerting revelations. On June 10, CBS News reporter Andrew Rooney submitted an op-ed article on past monster coverage and on Dr. Rines and his academy. Walter Sullivan had waffled on the academy in his **SERIOUS VIEW** piece, writing only:

The Academy of Applied Science was formed in 1963 to support "unusual areas of research." The fact that it was little known contributed to the suspicion with which early reports of the Loch Ness project was received. Its advisory board of governors, however, includes a number of prominent M.I.T. professors.

Quod erat demonstrandum. In his November 1975 *Sunday* (London) *Times* article, David Blundy had been less

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reverential. After pointing out that Rines's first search for the monster had involved the use of taped salmon and sea-lion mating calls, Blundy described two other unusual areas of research the academy had looked into — a 1970 search "for the legendary fleet of King Jehoshaphat, mentioned in the Old Testament as having been sunk somewhere in the Red Sea," and a 1973 search for Big Foot, "the American Yeti." Blundy concluded: "Under the circumstances, it is easy to see that Nessie is the apple of the academy's eye."

Rooney's article — which was rejected by the op-ed editors on the grounds that "it poses a lot of difficulties for us" and would require extensive checking — was similarly disrespectful. One section dealt with past press coverage:

In checking back [Rooney wrote], I found and read 157 magazine and newspaper articles about the monster, dating back to 1933. The last-laugh theme runs through many of them. Those who have ridiculed the idea were about to be humbled. Incontrovertible evidence was about to be presented in half the articles.

CLOSING IN ON THE LOCH NESS MONSTER, *Reader's Digest* called one article.

In 1963 *Life* said: "Locked in a safe somewhere in London surrounded by security measures such as an atom bomb might require, is a very valuable spool of film." The film, the article went on to say, might show the monster.

Time has reported the impending proof of the monster's existence as far back as 1934. In 1968 *Time* said the University of Birmingham was about to find it: "This time, after centuries of myth, speculation, and hoax, there was apparently scientific evidence that some kind of creature may indeed roam the depths of Loch Ness."

Again in 1972 *Time* said: "Now the skeptics may have to reexamine their doubts. The latest observations of the Loch Ness monster came. . . from a group with apparently impeccable credentials: the Boston-based Academy of Applied Science."

Another section dealt with the academy and, among other things, Dr. Rines's title. What does the academy do



Underwood & Underwood

Lindbergh and ticker-tape welcome: "His modest and attractive personality was a Golconda for newspaper exploitation. . . . Time and again his flight was compared in importance with the Armistice; and vastly greater space was devoted to it."

when it's not out looking for Big Foot, the sunken fleet of King Jehoshaphat, or a sub-aqueous legend as persistent as the innate skepticism of reporters? "Duke University handles a youth science program for the Army, and Duke farms out part of the program conducted in New England to the Universities of Massachusetts and New Hampshire," Rooney wrote. "Duke funnels the money, a total of \$11,515, to the two institutions through Rines, who told me this was the academy's principal work. . . ." And how did Rines acquire his title? "He uses the title 'Doctor' on the strength of a degree he was given after a brief visit to Taiwan by National Chiao Tung University," Rooney wrote. "It followed the occasion of the gift of an electrical engineering research building to National Taiwan University by his father, David Rines, in 1969." (A Rines associate adds that the degree was awarded "after submission of a paper on how to start high-technology companies in developing

countries.") Rooney, who interviewed Rines in Boston last winter, found him "charming and disarming."

Rooney's revelations, together with Blundy's, are an exposé only in the sense that they fill us in on details the *Times* declined to mention in its otherwise excessively thorough coverage of the expedition. The details do not reflect badly on the academy, which has never concealed its commendable penchant for taking on "unusual areas of research" and whose chipped grandeur had been thrust upon it by the *Times*; their exclusion from the *Times* coverage does reflect the *Times*'s self-interest in making the paper's plunge into ballyhoo appear an eminently respectable undertaking.

Doggy Persistence

As of mid-July, the story which *Time* in its June 21 press section had described as "already providing *Times* readers with an old-fashioned whopper of a story for summer reading" had begun to seem more wheeze than

whopper, a shaggy dog story that was all shag and no dog. After filing a twenty-paragraph June 27 piece that ended ". . . and so the search for the Loch Ness monster goes on, unflagging and ever optimistic," the *Times*'s director of science news had returned to the States to cover the Viking landing on Mars. Would the *Times* persist, and would Wilford go back to Drumnadrochit, Scotland? *Times* foreign news editor James Greenfield — it was the foreign desk that, together with the science people, had pushed the monster on the paper — said yes. (Greenfield also said that he had never heard of Rooney or read Rooney's rejected article.) John Osenenko, manager of special features at the *Times*, supplies a good reason for persisting: the pick-up on the story by other newspapers has been "marvelous." *National Geographic* magazine, incidentally, has picked up on the story on its own hook, dispatching a crew of searchers — equipped, a la mode, with underwater photographic equipment and sonar — to Loch Ness. However, as the *Times* reported on July 18, "this party is preparing a general article on [the loch] and will not spend long looking for the monster."

Of the various *Times* folk who dipped into the murky depths of Loch Ness during the early summer, only one, Russell Baker, surfaced with aplomb and brought up a gem. His June 19 column ALL THE NESS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT — a spoof that concludes with a sighting of "Mr. Seymour Hersh, the *Times*'s investigative reporter" — was the closest thing to mockery of the *Times* that has ever appeared in the *Times*. Or had John Noble Wilford's reportage, with its many splendidly Gothic passages, been a put-on all along? Wilford does not lack wit. Colleagues at the *Times* say that he has remarked in jest that when the search is finally abandoned, the headline will be LOCH NESS MONSTER ESCAPES.

— Jon Swan

The coup at Excelsior

Mexico's most influential daily lost its independence in a scenario of conspiracy and intimidation

by ARMANDO VARGAS

In a 1970 study of the Latin American press, the London *Times* called *Excelsior*, Mexico's leading daily, the most influential daily newspaper in Latin America. Founded in 1917, it became a cooperative in 1932 and has since achieved fame as one of the few successful newspaper cooperatives in the world. Journalists and workers were paid out of the proceeds of the newspaper operation; meeting in general assembly, they elected their own general director, or editor-in-chief, and business manager. In recent years, *Excelsior* became known as the only Mexican daily that dared to criticize the Mexican government. This summer, in a series of moves reminiscent of the tactics of Indira Gandhi or of the anti-media threats of the Nixon administration, *Excelsior* was silenced by an internal coup that could not have been carried out without the encouragement and support of the nation's president, Luis Echeverría.

Julio Scherer García, the newspaper's editor-in-chief, Hero Rodríguez, the business manager, and five of its leading executives were expelled from the newspaper amidst a riotous and patently illegal assembly held on July 8, 1976 by the cooperative which owns *Excelsior*. The meeting was dominated by a minority group of conservative reporters and printers who had enlisted the aid of armed thugs, thus barring any possibility of democratic debate.

Armando Vargas served as Excelsior's chief correspondent in Washington until his resignation in July.

More than 200 writers, reporters, and photographers walked out of the newspaper's offices in sympathy with their ousted colleagues, convinced that the assembly had been only the final act in a plot, financed by the government, to silence the one newspaper in Mexico that had put Echeverría's promised press freedoms to the test. In spite of Mexico's style of political action, which is normally characterized by secrecy, there is ample evidence in the public record of the government's direct intervention. Such governmental offices as the secretary of the presidency, the secretary of national patrimony, the federal attorney's office, the district attorney's office, the metropolitan police, and the Institutional Revolutionary Party (P.R.I.) — Mexico's governing party — participated in the orchestration of the takeover of the newspaper. "*Excelsior* was killed by the Mexican state," said the paper's legal counsel, Adolfo Aguilar y Quevedo. "Brute force defeated legality. And taking our case to court would be of no use, since the state itself would be judge and jury."

In New York, the Council of Hemispheric Affairs, a nonpartisan organization concerned with U.S.-Latin American policy, described the coup at *Excelsior* as "one of the most significant setbacks to the orderly development of Latin American institutions which have occurred since the military overthrow of the constitutionally elected government in Chile in 1973. . . ." Leading European and American newspapers were similarly critical of the coup. *Le Monde*: "The most important Latin American newspaper has been reduced to a mere shadow of its former self." *The New York Times*: "The bully boys of Lenin in 1917 or of Hitler in 1933 could not have done a more efficient job of enslaving a once proud and free newspaper." *The Washington Post*: "President Luis Echeverría . . . is personally behind the crude economic pressures and the nasty strong-arm tactics which resulted in the ouster of *Excelsior*'s editor, Julio Scherer, and some 200 of his leading

staffers."

The Mexican government had powerful reasons for curbing *Excelsior*'s independence. The newspaper had given substance to presidential promises concerning freedom of expression. Having fulfilled its purpose, its lease on freedom could be terminated. After all, had not the paper carried freedom of expression too far? Many officials felt that the paper had overstepped propriety in its criticism of Echeverría's economic and foreign policies. By U.S. standards, *Excelsior*'s editorials on these subjects would be considered only mildly critical. In Mexico, with a long tradition of authoritarian rule, failure to toe the government line is tantamount to treason. *Excelsior*'s independence, the government concluded, was a threat to its stability. It also presented an example which other newspapers might be tempted to emulate, an example that must be eliminated.

President Echeverría had reasons of his own for moving against *Excelsior*. As a rule, when a Mexican president leaves office, he may be expected to lead a graceful but apolitical life of retirement. Echeverría, however, clearly intends to continue wielding a decisive influence in the Mexican political process after he hands over the presidency to his successor, former finance minister José López Portillo, on the first of December of this year. He has let it be known that he is interested in becoming the next secretary general of the United Nations. He has sent Mexican diplomats around the world in a bid to obtain the Nobel Peace Prize. He has also become a shareholder in a company that owns the country's largest chain of newspapers.

Political analysts both in Mexico and in Washington reason that Echeverría's stifling of the nation's one independent newspaper was part of a plan to use the chain papers to influence Mexico's political life and to enhance his own power. By silencing a critic while he was still president, then, Echeverría had

also destroyed a competitor that could give him trouble, economically and otherwise, after he steps down as president. These same analysts suggest that, had Echeverría not moved against *Excelsior* when he did, his successor would have tried to protect the newspaper's independence in order to counterbalance Echeverría's influence in the rest of the Mexican press.

Echeverría's attitudes toward freedom of expression have shifted according to political need. In 1968, he was secretary of internal affairs, and thus the head of government security forces, when hundreds of students were shot to death by the Mexican army in what has since been called the Massacre of Tlatelolco. The wave of popular discontent crested just before the 1968 Olympic Games were to be held in Mexico City. The government dramatically increased repression to avoid having to cancel the games, a step that would have brought shame to its image abroad. At the same time, government officials also realized that the long-term stability of the Mexican political system could be guaranteed only by sprucing up its image at home.

In 1969, Echeverría was hand-picked to become the presidential candidate of the P.R.I., the party that has dominated Mexico's political scene for the past fifty years. In his electoral campaign, he began to appropriate the language and symbols of the restless students and intellectuals he had so violently repressed during his term as secretary of internal affairs. When he became president in December 1970, Echeverría found in *Excelsior* the ideal vehicle through which to show that he would make good on the promises he had made during his campaign. *Excelsior* would show that, under his benign rule, Mexicans could give vent to their frustrations and express their diverse ideologies through a free press.

Two years before, the members of the *Excelsior* cooperative had elected Julio Scherer García as editor-in-chief. Scherer, as he is known outside of the Spanish-speaking world, was then forty-two. He had served as a political reporter on the paper since 1947, as assistant director general since 1963. As editor-in-chief, he became one of the

leaders of the dissident intellectuals and journalists in the country. Echeverría personally assured him that no adverse repercussions would affect *Excelsior* so long as he remained president.

In 1969, Scherer launched a one-man crusade against the corruption that has traditionally plagued the Mexican press. (It was, and still is, customary for Mexican reporters to retail a section of their newspaper to a publicity-seeking client. At *Excelsior*, for example — until Scherer put an end to this practice — a client could buy a front-page, second-headline story for \$8,000.) The young reporters he brought to the newspaper straight out of college started investigating social problems that had so far remained untouched in the Mexican media. On the editorial pages, such prominent intellectuals as Daniel Cosío Villegas, Gastón García Cantú, Ricardo Garibay, and Vicente Leñero called attention to the vices of the Mexican political system, particularly its lack of response to the needs of the people and its corruption. Such criticism, though still relatively tame, was unheard of in Mexico, and it brought *Excelsior* growing prestige throughout the rest of Latin America.

Excelsior also repeatedly exposed and denounced the widespread repression under Latin American military governments. In many cases, its reporting had an immediate impact on Mexico's foreign policy. A series of articles on torture in Chile, which appeared in the paper in 1973, was certainly a factor that led Mexico to break diplomatic relations with Chilean president Pinochet's military junta. *Excelsior*'s 1975 investigative reporting on the plight of thousands of Latin American political refugees throughout the continent helped to persuade the government to grant asylum to many whose lives were in danger.

Last winter, Scherer himself traveled to Uruguay to write a follow-up series on the Amnesty International report on the violations of human rights by the Montevideo government. While there, he obtained a copy of a secret memorandum sent by Uruguay's president, Juan María Bordaberry, to the country's military chiefs proposing an indefinite prolongation of military rule. The army commanders cited the

publication of this report in *Excelsior* to justify their overthrow of Bordaberry several weeks later. In the U.S. Congress, Representative Edward I. Koch, of New York, included Scherer's stories in *The Congressional Record* as evidence supporting Koch's efforts to cut off U.S. military aid to Uruguay.

Under Scherer's editorship, *Excelsior* established links with several of the world's leading dailies — *The New York Times* in the United States (the Times News Service had formerly been carried by *El Universal*), *Le Monde* in France, *The Guardian* in England, *La Corriere della Sera* in Italy, and *O Estado de São Paulo* in Brazil. For many reasons, it seems safe to assume that Echeverría regarded *Excelsior*'s growing prestige with concern.

In November 1975, Mexico decided to support a highly controversial U.N. resolution, chiefly sponsored by the Arab states, equating Zionism with racism. *Excelsior* condemned the decision in terms so critical that many readers were astonished. It pointed out that the decision came directly from Echeverría and not from the foreign ministry. And, with an audacity without parallel in the Mexican press, the paper called for the resignation of foreign minister Emilio O. Rabasa after he returned from a trip to Israel in which he had sought an agreement that would end the damaging boycott of Mexican tourism by Jewish-American organizations.

Echeverría made Rabasa the scapegoat, but he apparently never forgave *Excelsior* for this unprecedented use of its critical powers. On December 29, the foreign minister dutifully tendered his resignation; *Excelsior* was to pay a dear price for its audacity.

During the six-month period following Rabasa's resignation, various government agencies spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in placing advertisements attacking *Excelsior* in other Mexican media; the principal charge was that the paper's editorialists lacked patriotism and were irresponsible, but some advertisements resorted to personal insult. Newscasters of the government-controlled television network, Televisa, joined in this anti-*Excelsior* campaign with rare enthusiasm. At the same time, government

officials started systematically to challenge any story in *Excelsior* in which they were quoted. Some officials even wrote letters to the editor correcting the punctuation used in the newspaper's articles. *Excelsior's* reporters and executives, accustomed to being greeted with bear hugs by government officials, now found themselves being shunned. A usually friendly source at P.R.I. headquarters told one reporter that it was "necessary to cancel our friendship for political reasons."

Scherer and his associates, although worried by and increasingly preoccupied with this campaign, found hope in recalling how they had survived a 1972 boycott by American firms doing business in Mexico; at issue had been the newspaper's acid criticisms of President Richard Nixon's policies in Latin American and Vietnam. General Motors, Sears Roebuck, and other firms involved in the boycott eventually returned to the advertising columns of *Excelsior* when they realized that they needed the newspaper more than it needed them.

In the early months of 1976, while the anti-*Excelsior* campaign was being vigorously waged, the Organización Editorial Mexicana (O.E.M.), of which Echeverría and several close associates had recently become shareholders, announced an ambitious expansion program and purchased the Mexico City daily *El Universal*. Echeverría's link to this organization became evident to Mexican viewers when, in January, the president and his entire cabinet appeared in a five-hour televised tour of *El Universal's* new building.

Latin America's largest chain of newspapers, *El Sol*, which controls thirty-seven newspapers in Mexico, also was soon acquired by O.E.M. This summer it was announced that the organization plans to increase its number of dailies to sixty within the next two years. O.E.M. is also expected to buy a television network and thus become a full-fledged information empire.

Echeverría's closest associates have taken over key executive posts at O.E.M. Emilio O. Rabasa, the former foreign minister, is now a member of the editorial board at *El Universal*. Echeverría's former ambassador to the Peoples' Republic of China has also

joined the board. The manager of the *El Sol* chain was formerly the private secretary of Fausto Zapata, the former under-secretary of the presidency of Echeverría. (Zapata himself, now a senator-elect for the state of Potosí, has been busy trying to bring new talent to O.E.M.; at least four foreign correspondents in Mexico have received lucrative job offers.) The director general of O.E.M. was formerly chief of film and radio services of the under-secretary of the presidency, a highly political position akin to a United States president's director of communications. Echeverría's ambitions as a press mogul ex-

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tend beyond Mexico's borders. His envoy to the meeting of the ministers of information of non-aligned countries, held in New Delhi in July, offered Mexico City as the headquarters for a proposed Third World news agency. Mauro Jiménez, the Mexican delegate at the conference, told his colleagues that the Third World media would be able to use services provided by the Institute for Third World Studies, which is due to open in the Mexican capital in September of this year and which will be headed by Echeverría when he leaves the presidency.

By obtaining a firm grip on O.E.M., Echeverría assured himself of a political future beyond the end of his term of office. One threat remained to be dealt with: *Excelsior*. For six months the government had attacked the newspaper's loyalty and credibility; now it would threaten its economy.

On June 10, 1976, dozens of slum-dwellers invaded a 218-acre property owned by the *Excelsior* cooperative on the outskirts of Mexico City. The property was to be the site of a middle-class housing development that would even-

tually be worth some \$40 million. The cooperative had purchased this land in 1959 as part of a long-range plan to assure its economic independence, to build a new printing plant, and to distribute a portion of the benefits in social welfare programs for the members of the cooperative.

The swift and well-organized invasion was led by an unlikely squatter — Congressman-elect Humberto Serrano of the P.R.I. Serrano vowed that the squatters would not leave "until Scherer is expelled from *Excelsior*."

Land invasions are common in Mexico, and they are usually violently repressed by the federal police. The squatters who took over the newspaper's property, however, were brought in on comfortable buses belonging to a company headed by the governor of the state of Guerrero. And, during the next few days, not only was no effort made to evict the squatters, but government-owned trucks brought them hot meals and materials with which to build makeshift shelters. On the news broadcasts of the state-controlled media the squatters were treated like celebrities.

Excelsior's lawyers obtained a statement from the secretariat of agrarian reform recognizing the cooperative's full legal rights over its land. With this document in hand, the lawyers formally petitioned Mexico City's district attorney, Fernando Narváez, for the expulsion of the squatters. A spokesman for the district attorney's office told the lawyers, "We have been instructed by our superiors not to receive any complaints in this case." The lawyers then asked the chief of the metropolitan police, General Daniel Gutiérrez, to evict the invaders. Again, no action was taken. When, finally, the lawyers asked attorney general Pedro Ojeda Paullada to enforce the law, he said that he would do so only after the extraordinary general assembly, which had been called for by rebel leaders within the *Excelsior* cooperative and which was set for July 8, had been held.

While public officials refused to heed *Excelsior's* request for protection and the attacks from the government-controlled media increased in intensity, government-supported rebel leaders within the newspaper started a campaign of agitation. Disregarding the facts, Re-

gino Díaz, the leader of the conservative minority, formally accused Scherer and other newspaper executives of jeopardizing the cooperative's economic future by failing to obtain any government action toward the removal of the trespassers. Díaz sought the support of the printers by claiming that they were being discriminated against by the newspaper's editors and by telling them that the editors' criticisms of government policies endangered their jobs. Marlise Simons, *The Washington Post* correspondent in Mexico, observed in a dispatch that "Díaz was coordinating his campaign with senior officials of the ministry of [internal affairs] and he had ample funds with which to assure the cooperative members' votes." Díaz had also met with Serrano, the P.R.I. politician who led the invasion of *Excelsior's* properties, and he later boasted to his followers: "Scherer's fate has been sealed in this historic meeting." Mauro Jiménez, the under-secretary of the presidency, confided to an *Excelsior* reporter before leaving for New Delhi: "Our victory is assured. There is nothing to worry about."

Excelsior publicly denounced the government plot in an editorial published in its July 7 edition. "The passivity of the police and the authorities is alarming. Nearly a month has passed since the crime was committed and nobody has lifted a finger against it. We have to ask ourselves if this governmental passivity is caused by its lack of will to act or in its lack of power to enforce the law." That evening, the main television news program devoted forty minutes to a special feature attacking the newspaper.

At 3 A.M. on July 8, some sixty men took over the newspaper's printing presses and forcefully removed a page containing a manifesto drawn up by fifty distinguished intellectuals supporting Scherer's policy of journalistic independence. The manifesto, entitled "Freedom of Expression," said that the attacks on *Excelsior* had reached unforeseen dimensions. "The nation must be informed: a grave aggression against the free press in Mexico is about to take place." On the morning of July 8, for the first time in sixty years, *Excelsior* appeared mutilated by the censorship of its own workers. Those who removed

the manifesto argued that its publication constituted "a grave provocation against the government." At 5 A.M. that morning, 200 journalists had assembled in the newsroom to support editor Scherer. Outside, on the empty Paseo de la Reforma, one of the main boulevards of Mexico City, two police cars stood guard, wailing their sirens each time a journalist entered the building.

At midday, the extraordinary assembly called by the rebel group got off to a tumultuous start. The anti-Scherer forces had gathered in the main assembly hall. Many of the printshop workers could be distinguished by their white hats and red armbands. Their ranks were swelled by many others who had never before seen the inside of *Excelsior's* plant. Chanting slogans and jeering any attempts by Scherer's supporters to speak, they effectively disrupted the meeting. The Scherer group, which subsequently proved to have the support of 812 out of the 1,302 members of the cooperative, left the hall in protest. In their absence, Scherer and six of his associates were shouted out of the cooperative. The rebels then decided to invade the editorial offices and, if necessary, forcefully expel Scherer. A band of seventy men, some of them armed, marched up to the editorial offices.

Scherer asked for, and was refused, police protection. A policeman told him that "he had instructions not to intervene in this case." In order to avoid an armed confrontation and probable bloodshed, Scherer left the building. Some 200 of his journalists accompanied him.

The next morning neither the press nor the television networks reported the coup d'état that had taken place at *Excelsior*. Such a major story could only have gone unreported in Mexico's tightly controlled media on direct instructions from the government. Only readers abroad were able to learn that Latin America's leading daily had been silenced by a conspiracy of Echeverría's associates.

Under its new editors, *Excelsior* was quick to proclaim its allegiance and undying loyalty to the Mexican government. The newspaper that had waged a long, single-handed struggle for jour-

nalistic independence had been reduced overnight to the servile prose that in Mexico passes for journalism. The newspapers that only the day before had bitterly attacked *Excelsior* now rushed to the aid of a prodigal son who had mended his ways. Messengers from *El Universal* and *El Sol* were seen bringing to the office of *Excelsior* copies of stories that were to be hastily inserted in the latter's next edition by the few journalists remaining in the newsroom.

Excelsior's news editors rapidly found replacements for the columnists and editorialists who had chosen resignation rather than subservience to the political line of the Mexican government. *Excelsior* hired, among others, Eduardo Borrell, a former minister of education under the Cuban dictator Fulgenicio Batista; David Orozco, who headed a small fascist movement in Mexico in the thirties; and Iñigo Laviada, principal legal counsel for big business in Mexico.

Díaz, the leader of the rebels, denied allegations that the new *Excelsior* was about to become another mouthpiece for Echeverría's government. "We will continue to criticize, but it will be an elegant and humane criticism," he said.

President Echeverría denied that he had had a hand in the coup — "The present government has never, particularly now, bothered to take a position regarding an internal crisis of a newspaper cooperative" — and claimed, once again, that he was being victimized by powerful forces abroad. "It is symptomatic," he said, "that criticism of the Mexican government over a problem which arose spontaneously in *Excelsior* has not been played up in the Mexican press, radio, or television, but rather in some papers, very rich papers, in New York City — newspapers which are extremely dissatisfied with our nationalist position."

Later, in an impromptu press conference, Echeverría stated: "The world is full of criticism, from editorials in the United States or Israel. There's a struggle. There's violence. And these opinions are coming from countries which use plenty of violence."

It took sixty years of labor and devotion to create the makings of a great newspaper in *Excelsior*. It was all undone in one day of the long knives. ■

NATIONAL NOTES

The case of the one-part series

CHICAGO

The story had all the elements of a good, gritty circulation grabber. Its star was a Chicago lawyer; it featured the Chicago crime syndicate and its connections with labor and politics; for spice, it had Las Vegas gamblers — even Hollywood entertainers like Dinah Shore, Debbie Reynolds, and Tony Martin.

But Seymour Hersh's mammoth *New York Times* portrait of lawyer Sidney Korshak didn't arouse much interest at the *Chicago Tribune* — or much coverage, even though the *Trib* subscribes to the Times News Service. In fact, *Trib* readers saw only an abbreviated version of the first story and none of the subsequent three parts.

That seemed odd to some Chicagoans, because Hersh's lengthy series, which began June 27, was loaded with Chicago connections. The subject of the series was born and brought up in Chicago; his brother, Marshall Korshak, is also a familiar figure in Chicago — he is a former Illinois state senator, Chicago revenue director, and ward committeeman.

The *Trib*, however, decided to run, on page 3, only a condensed version of the first story, under the headline, SID KORSHAK'S OTHER LIFE — PROBE LINKS HIM TO MOB (Korshak was obviously no stranger to the headline writer). The newspaper picked up the first five paragraphs of Hersh's story almost verbatim, then dropped a paragraph that said, "Federal officials contend he [Korshak] has been involved in such activities as bribery, kickbacks, extortion, fraud and labor racketeering and that he has at times given illegal advice to members of organized crime." The *Trib* then selected about nine more inches of

background material from the original, eliminating all detailed references to Korshak's Chicago activities, including a boast that he had fixed a Chicago judge.

The *Tribune* failed to print the other three parts of the series. As a result, readers did not see a discussion of Korshak's early success in arranging labor peace for Joel Goldblatt, whose family's department store chain is a heavy *Trib* advertiser. Nor did they see the quotation of an unnamed reporter from an unspecified Chicago newspaper saying that in two instances, unfavorable references to Korshak were removed from his stories at the request of high-level editors. "You couldn't get a story about him in the paper," the reporter was quoted as saying. Hersh also reported that a close Korshak friend recalled he had often heard Korshak boast he was able to influence the *Tribune* to soften or tone down stories about him.

It wasn't until the following Sunday, July 4, that Chicago readers finally got the gist of Hersh's portrait when the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Tribune's* rival, printed a rewrite of the *Times* series. The *Sun-Times* couldn't reprint the series because Times News Service material is permitted to appear only in the *Tribune*. So the *Sun-Times* instead attributed its story to the *Times*. "Since the *Tribune* chose to ignore the story, we thought it was interesting enough to put on the record, especially because it [Korshak's career] had a local genesis. Since it had not appeared elsewhere, we thought it was worthy of printing."

Tribune managing editor Maxwell McCrohon thought otherwise. "We looked at the first shot. The Sunday editor took what he thought was necessary. But frankly, we couldn't find a hell of a lot that had not already been printed. I think Hersh did a clip job." McCrohon said that what had been

printed already had been in the *Los Angeles Times*.

In Hersh's story, McCrohon denied Korshak's reported claim that he could influence the *Tribune*. He said he knew of no such incident, adding, "I would say the *Tribune* has fairly and adequately described his importance."

Asked later if the *Tribune's* failure to reprint the bulk of the Hersh series was itself evidence of Korshak's alleged influence at the paper, McCrohon said, "No, no. Not in any way."

Gary Cummings

Texas-sized mix-up

AUSTIN

There were lots of red faces among the state's press corps and lawyers following the shocking results of the state's Democratic primary on May 1 for state supreme court justice. Don Yarbrough, a relatively unknown Houston lawyer, defeated Charles Barrow, an experienced San Antonio appeals court judge who was backed by newspapers and many lawyers, by almost 300,000 votes. People apparently thought they were voting for Don Yarborough (spelled with an additional "o"), another Houston lawyer, who gave John Connally a tough race for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1962, and made two subsequent tries for the governor's office. Yarborough is, of course, a well-known political name. Another Yarborough, Ralph (no relation), served as U.S. senator from 1957 to 1970.

Normally, such a fluke would cause little second-guessing among pundits — especially in a race that received almost no coverage, in part because so much attention was fixed on the hot presidential primary, Texas's first. But since the primary, Texas media have revealed that Yarbrough not only lacks judicial experience, but also has been involved

in at least fifteen law suits, most of them related to a series of banking and business deals; damages totaling more than \$700,000 were pending against him at the time of his election. So far, Yarbrough has lost one suit and has been ordered to pay \$97,350.

How could the Texas media have missed such a story before the primary? Several reporters admit that they just didn't take Yarbrough's candidacy seriously enough to do any reporting about



Don Yarbrough

Don Yarbrough

it. A poll of the state bar had revealed that Texas lawyers favored Barrow by almost ten to one. Reporters also point to Yarbrough's trouncing at the hands of veteran Jesse James in the state treasurer's race in 1974 — and Yarbrough's reputation as a perennial loser, even in contests for student office in his days at the University of Texas.

Moreover, newspapers evidently took for granted that voters could distinguish between Yarbrough and the Yarbroughs. Although some early stories mentioned that Yarbrough was not related to the other two, neither the *Houston Chronicle* nor the *Dallas Morning News* made this distinction in their voters' guides, published the Sunday before the primary.

Four days after the primary, *The Houston Post*, which before the election

had given almost no attention to the contest, ran a front-page story about Yarbrough's being the defendant in eleven lawsuits. The following day, another front-page story in the *Post* revealed additional lawsuits against Yarbrough. Later, the *Post* reported that he was being sued for recovery of more than \$1,500 in unpaid student loans he had obtained while attending law school. Yarbrough was said to have admitted in sworn testimony in a 1970 trial that he had "lied repeatedly" to qualify for the loans.

When angry *Post* readers pointed out that the newspaper was a little late with the story, the editors replied: "The *Post* cannot print a story until it gets the story."

Bo Byers, veteran *Houston Chronicle* Austin bureau chief, noting that "editors and their political reporters are wondering whether they met their responsibility to inform prospective voters adequately on the background and qualifications of Yarbrough and Barrow," said that, after all, Yarbrough met the requirements of the Texas Constitution in order to get his name on the ballot. Those requirements are that a candidate be a citizen, at least thirty-five, and a practicing lawyer or judge for at least ten years.

Yarbrough does indeed meet the requirements and will, in all probability, be elected to the \$45,600-a-year job come November, since the Republicans have no nominee for the position.

In the meantime, *The Texas Observer* reports that the *real* Don Yarbrough is said to be joking about filing for the supreme court seat on the grounds that

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everybody meant to elect him anyway. "I could have been elected God this year," Yarbrough said "Where were all those votes when I needed them?"

Hoyt Purvis

Beating a hasty retreat

NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Nowhere is media sensitivity more rampant than in this small city on the Hudson. People here still speak bitterly about the news blitz that hit Newburgh in the early 1960s, when a controversial city manager tried to enforce stringent welfare restrictions. Many claim, rightly or wrongly, that unfair, distorted coverage then did irrevocable damage to subsequent efforts to reverse municipal decay and bring in new business.

Given this sensitivity, it came as a shock to Newburgh when the city's stodgy old daily, *The Evening News*, made a boisterous effort to establish, as the publisher put it, "a new posture of more aggressiveness." It was not long before Newburgh's political establishment made it clear that it was not prepared to tolerate an uppity press, and the efforts of the *News* to fight back soon turned into a fiasco.

The paper, after its purchase by the sprawling international chain of Thomson Newspapers, set out late in 1975 to reverse a gentle decline in circulation. The local publisher, John J. Prizzia, Jr., began to change its image by bringing back to Newburgh a native who had been out winning awards with abrasive, outspoken reporting. Michael Krawetz was given a free hand as reporter-at-large and op-ed columnist.

Krawetz lost no time in setting the paper's new tone. In commenting on the political farewell of a former Democratic mayor, he wrote: "Back in Newburgh's shameful early 1960's, it was

Mayor Bill Ryan — the lone Democrat surrounded by cunning GOP politicians — who single-handedly attempted to stop the desecration of Newburgh's character. The GOP hacks had imported, hired and supported a racist city manager impostor named Joseph M. Mitchell who soiled and violated Newburgh's reputation nationally." Other Krawetz fare included an interview with a former city manager (not Mitchell) who claimed the city had blown its chance to obtain millions in federal aid, and a series on a recently returned Newburgh resident who vented her dissatisfaction with the city's progress. Of the last, Krawetz says: "I think the city council considered that sedition."

Not surprisingly, the politicians retaliated. The city council threatened to shift some of the city's \$18,000 annual legal-advertising budget to another town. When Krawetz was not silenced, the Republican town chairman, Richard A. Howard, went over the head of the local publisher and wrote to the North American headquarters of the Thomson group on March 21. In his letter, the chairman added a new threat — that he would urge the twenty-eight party committees in the News's area to impose a boycott of campaign advertising.

The paper's handling of the threat only compounded its problems. After an apparently fruitless talk with the offended chairman, the publisher, Prizzia, counterattacked in a Kiwanis luncheon speech, asserting that the newspaper would not "buckle under" to pressure, although he didn't specify where the pressure was coming from. He also made a promise that he was not entirely prepared to keep: "If you ever disagree with the newspaper, you can always state your opinion in letters to the editor." The paper's account of the Kiwanis speech was the first Krawetz had heard of the chairman's threat. He re-

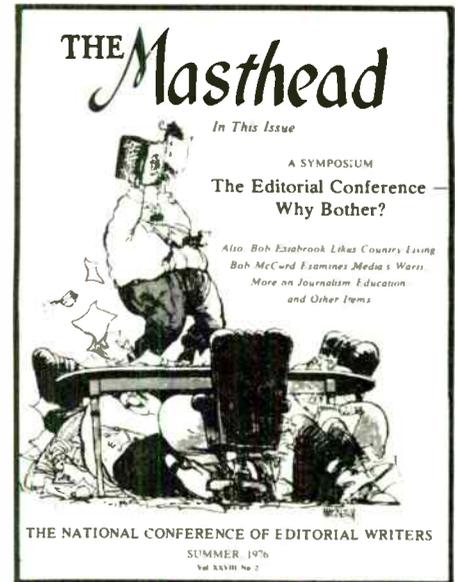
sponded by writing a sizzling column, which the editor, Hillard Gordon, killed. Instead, Krawetz was told to write a "news story" about the threat. The article appeared in the paper, unsigned. It erroneously attributed to the G.O.P. chairman a demand that Krawetz be fired. Howard was incensed at the News account, both by its claim that he demanded Krawetz's discharge and by the unacknowledged authorship of Krawetz (which he learned from sources at the paper). Howard sent a copy of his March 21 letter to *The Evening News*, demanding that the paper print it. But the newspaper failed to keep its promise, and didn't print the letter. Meanwhile the paper began cracking down on Krawetz. Gordon killed several of Krawetz's columns without telling him that he was being "officially muzzled."

Then, on May 17, under circumstances that both editor and publisher have refused to discuss, Krawetz was put on general assignment. Krawetz says that Prizzia told him, "The experiment is over. Newburgh isn't ready for this kind of journalism. I think we moved too soon. I'm catching hell." Two days later, Krawetz was fired for alleged disloyalty and for "bad-mouthing the paper." Krawetz, however, is firmly convinced that he was fired on orders from Thomson headquarters. The chain's general manager emphatically denies Thomson had anything to do with Krawetz's dismissal.

With Krawetz gone, *The Evening News* has hustled back into line. The Republican chairman says that the paper will get party advertising after all. Michael Krawetz, out of work, was seeking an investigation of his case by the National News Council. And Newburgh seemed assured of freedom from abrasive journalism for the indefinite future.

Francis Pollock

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What E. B. White told

January 21, 1976

Or, how a solitary man of letters talked a corporation out of funding magazine articles — and helped redefine a free press

The Xerox Corporation, which has underwritten programs of quality for both public and commercial television, ventured into sponsorship of print journalism this year with an investment of \$170,000 in a magazine "special" — \$55,000 in fee and expenses to a writer, Harrison E. Salisbury, for a twenty-three page article, "Travels Through America," and \$115,000 in advertising to Esquire, which published the article in its February issue (see "Comment," CJR, March/April). Although Xerox, Esquire, and the writer all professed satisfaction with the arrangement, a distant dissenting voice was raised in the letter columns of The Ellsworth (Maine) American. Such a letter might have been little noted had not its author been E.B. White of nearby North Brooklin, essayist and a senior statesman of American letters. His protest led to an invitation to him from W. B. Jones, then Xerox's director of communications operations, to present the argument more fully. This White did, in a letter so felicitous that it may stand as a classic statement on the relation between a free press and its commercial support. Xerox, in any case, found the argument persuasive; it abandoned plans for further print sponsorship. The correspondence between Jones and White is presented here with permission of White, of Xerox, and of the Authors Guild Bulletin, which printed the letters in its March-May issue.

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Mr. E. B. White
Ellsworth, Maine

Dear Mr. White:

As a long-time admirer of your work and also one of the people responsible for the Xerox sponsorship of the Salisbury piece in *Esquire*, I read your editorial in the *American* with a great deal of interest — and, frankly, some dismay. Because we're now considering sponsoring some other magazine projects, I'd like to understand better why you see the shadow of disaster in the idea before we decide whether to go ahead.

I understand your point that corporations shouldn't underwrite an article that promotes their commercial interests in any way. No argument. Salisbury's piece didn't (enclosed is a reprint), nor will any other project of this type that we touch.

We got into this as an extension of what we've done for years on television: sponsoring programs of substance that might not otherwise have gotten on the air. The programs were never about our business in any way; in some cases, they were so controversial that customers tossed out their Xerox machines. But most viewers seemed to see them as programs of high quality and value, and they seemed to think better of Xerox as a result. That's worth something to us. Now, however, a number of other companies are sponsoring the same kind of television fare. We thought we might be able to do something useful for Xerox by extending this same sort of support for projects of quality and significance in magazines, and that this support would also be useful to magazines and their readers. We saw this as supporting the free press, not corrupting it.

It seemed to us that the sponsorship was not subject to question provided:

- Both the magazine and the writer had earned reputations for absolute integrity.
- Our sponsorship was open and identified to readers.
- The writer was paid "up front," so that his fee did not depend in any way

on our reaction to the piece.

□ The writer understood that this was a one-shot assignment and he'd get no other from Xerox, no matter what we thought of the piece.

□ The magazine retained full editorial control of the project.

With these ground rules, do you still see something sinister in the sponsorship? The question is put seriously, because if a writer of your achievement and insight — after considering the terms of the arrangement — still sees this kind of corporate sponsorship as leading the periodicals of this country toward the controlled press of other parts of the world, then we may well reconsider our plans to underwrite similar projects in the future.

Sincerely,
W. B. Jones
Director
Communications Operations

North Brooklin
January 30, 1976

Dear Mr. Jones:

In extending my remarks on sponsorship, published in *The Ellsworth American*, I want to limit the discussion to the press — that is, to newspapers and magazines. I'll not speculate about television, as television is outside my experience, and I have no ready opinion about sponsorship in that medium.

In your recent letter to me, you ask whether, having studied your ground rules for proper conduct in sponsoring a magazine piece, I still see something sinister in the sponsorship. Yes, I do. Sinister may not be the right word, but I see something ominous and unhealthy when a corporation underwrites an article in a magazine of general circulation. This is not, essentially, the old familiar question of an advertiser trying to influence editorial content; almost everyone is acquainted with that common phenomenon. Readers are aware that it is always present but usually in a rather subdued or non-threatening form.

Xerox's sponsoring of a specific writer on a specific occasion for a specific article is something quite different. No one, as far as I know, accuses Xerox of trying to influence editorial opinion. But many people are wondering why a large corporation placed so much money on a magazine piece, why the writer of the piece was willing to get paid in so unusual a fashion, and why *Esquire* was ready and willing to have an outsider pick up the tab. These are reasonable questions.

The press in our free country is reliable and useful not because of its good character but because of its great diversity. As long as there are many owners, each pursuing his own brand of truth, we the people have the opportunity to

**'The press . . . is reliable
and useful not because of
its good character
but because of
its great diversity'**

arrive at the truth and to dwell in the light. The multiplicity of ownership is crucial. It's only when there are few owners, or, as in a government-controlled press, one owner, that the truth becomes elusive and the light fails. For a citizen in our free society, it is an

enormous privilege and a wonderful protection to have access to hundreds of periodicals, each peddling its own belief. There is safety in numbers: the papers expose each other's follies and peccadillos, correct each other's mistakes, and cancel out each other's biases. The reader is free to range around in the whole editorial bouillabaisse and explore it for the one clam that matters — the truth.

When a large corporation or a rich individual underwrites an article in a magazine, the picture changes: the ownership of that magazine has been diminished, the outline of the magazine has been blurred. In the case of the Salisbury piece, it was as though *Esquire* had gone on relief, was accepting

E. B. White at work in his study at North Brooklin, Maine



Jill Krementz

its first welfare payment, and was not its own man any more. The editor protests that he accepts full responsibility for the text and that Xerox had nothing to do with the whole business. But the fact remains that, despite his full acceptance of responsibility, he somehow did not get around to paying the bill. This is unsettling and I think unhealthy. Whenever money changes hands, something goes along with it — an intangible something that varies with the circumstances. It would be hard to resist the suspicion that *Esquire* feels indebted to Xerox, that Mr. Salisbury feels indebted to both, and that the ownership, or sovereignty, of *Esquire* has been nibbled all around the edges.

Sponsorship in the press is an invitation to corruption and abuse. The temp-

**'The funded article
is not in itself evil,
but it is
the beginning of evil,
and it is an invitation
to evil'**

tations are great, and there is an opportunist behind every bush. A funded article is a tempting morsel for any publication — particularly for one that is having a hard time making ends meet. A funded assignment is a tempting dish for a writer, who may pocket a much larger fee than he is accustomed to getting. And sponsorship is attractive to the sponsor himself, who, for one reason or another, feels an urge to penetrate the editorial columns after being so long pent up in the advertising pages. These temptations are real, and if the barriers were to be let down I believe corruption and abuse would soon follow. Not all corporations would approach subsidy in the immaculate way Xerox did or in the same spirit of benefaction. There are a thousand reasons for someone's wishing to buy his way into print, many of them unpalatable, all of them to some degree self-serving. Buying and selling space in news columns could become a serious disease of the press. If it reached epidemic proportions, it could destroy

the press. I don't want IBM or the National Rifle Association providing me with a funded spectacular when I open my paper, I want to read what the editor and the publisher have managed to dig up on their own — and paid for out of the till.

My affection for the free press in a democracy goes back a long way. My love for it was my first and greatest love. If I felt a shock at the news of the Salisbury-Xerox-*Esquire* arrangement, it was because the sponsorship principle seemed to challenge and threaten everything I believed in: that the press must not only be free, it must be fiercely independent — to survive and to serve. Not all papers are fiercely independent, God knows, but there are always enough of them around to provide a core of integrity and an example that others feel obliged to steer by. The funded article is not in itself evil, but it is the beginning of evil, and it is an invitation to evil. I hope the invitation will not again be extended, and, if extended, I hope it will be declined.

About a hundred and fifty years ago, Tocqueville wrote: "The journalists of the United States are generally in a very humble position, with a scanty education and a vulgar turn of mind." Today, we chuckle at this antique characterization. But about fifty years ago, when I was a young journalist, I had the good fortune to encounter an editor who fitted the description quite closely. Harold Ross, who founded *The New Yorker*, was deficient in education and had — at least to all outward appearances — a vulgar turn of mind. What he did possess, though, was the ferocity of independence. He was having a tough time finding money to keep his floundering little sheet alive, yet he was determined that neither money nor influence would ever corrupt his dream or deflower his text. His boiling point was so low as to be comical. The faintest suggestion of the shadow of advertising in his news and editorial columns would cause him to erupt. He would explode in anger, the building would reverberate with his wrath, and his terrible swift sword would go flashing up and down the corridors. For a young man, it was an impressive sight and a memorable one. Fifty years have not dimmed for me either the spectacle of Ross's ferocity or

my own early convictions — which were identical with his. He has come to my mind often while I've been composing this reply to your inquiry.

I hope I've clarified by a little bit my feelings about the anatomy of the press and the dangers of sponsorship of articles. Thanks for giving me the chance to speak my piece.

Sincerely,
E. B. White

February 17, 1976

Mr. E. B. White
North Brooklin, Maine 04661

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your ringing, strong letter telling me what I didn't want to hear.

We have a couple of Salisbury-like projects now in the works, but your letter has stopped us in our tracks.

We're trying to sort out our dilemma now. When I know what we're going to do, I'll give you a report because we very much appreciate the care you have taken to spell out the issues clearly and forcefully so that we can understand the risks of what we believed would be useful support of substantive journalism.

Sincerely,
W. B. Jones
Director
Communications Operations

May 3, 1976

Mr. E. B. White
North Brooklin, Maine 04661

Dear Mr. White:

I promised you a report on further Xerox-sponsored articles like the Salisbury piece in *Esquire*.

We had two projects in development at the time we received your letter. Since then we've aborted them both, and, although that process involved some discomfort, we now feel better for it.

Your correspondence was a primary factor in our reconsideration, and we do appreciate your help in reaching what I am convinced is the right decision.

Sincerely,
W. B. Jones
Director
Communications Operations

Nobody rides free on the Interstate. Especially trucks.

The cost of building the Interstate Highway System currently averages \$1.4 Million per mile, but it's still a good deal for the people who foot the bill and for the nation as a whole.

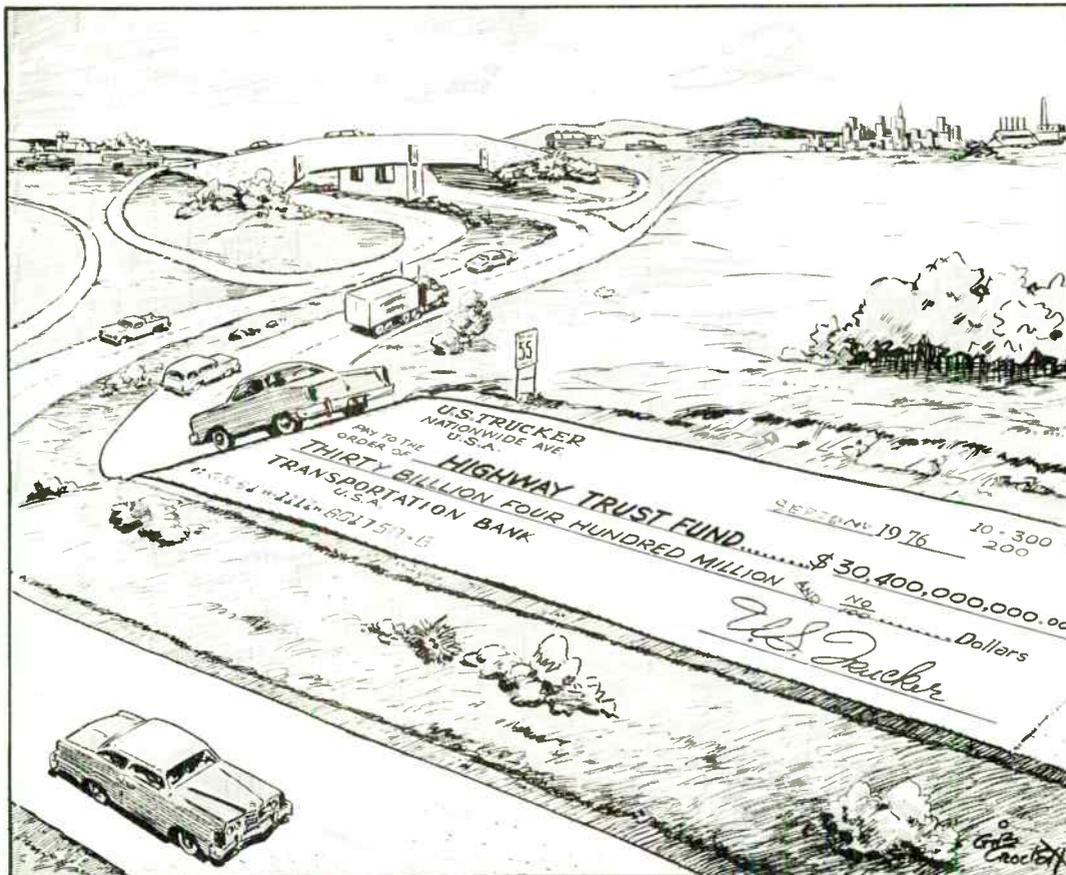
As federal spending programs go, this one is unique: an outlay of over \$40 Billion so far, without adding a penny to the national debt! This is because highway users pay special taxes levied to fund it and other road building and maintenance. The taxes are fair to all concerned: the more miles a vehicle travels, the more its owner pays.

And because heavier vehicles require costlier highways, more taxes are levied on trucks than on cars. The way it adds up, trucks, which represent 17.7% of the vehicles on the road today, pay 43% of the federal highway taxes. To put it another way, the typical annual contribution to the Highway Trust Fund is \$38 for a car owner and over \$1,335 for a 5-axle tractor-semitrailer rig.

Historically, special taxes collected from vehicle owners by the several states and the federal government have amounted to more than the total expenditure for highways. Highway Trust Fund taxes alone have been over \$76 Billion since the program began.

Highway users pay their own way, and then some.

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BOOKS

The banners never dipped

The Lardners: My Family Remembered

by Ring Lardner, Jr. Harper & Row.
371 pp. \$12.95

by HEYWOOD HALE BROWN

"If Ring had written only what he wanted to write, he would have lived fifteen years longer." That, according to the late Morris Ernst, was a deathbed statement by my father, Heywood Broun. Morris, who was a family friend since my father's boyhood, got the statement from the doctor who was with Heywood at the end, and passed it on to Ring Lardner, Jr. in a letter many years later.

It is a very odd statement from a man who, famous for always writing what he wanted at whatever cost to his career and fortune, died at the age of fifty-one, worn out by anxieties and the shifts, like drinking too much, he used to allay them. It is an odd statement from a man who once wrote of Lardner, "He was the only man of genius I ever met." Heywood Broun had met most of the lions of British and American writing in the twenties and thirties, had reviewed most of their books during his tenure as a critic, and had chosen Lardner's work for preeminence.

What was it, then, that the dying Heywood Broun thought Lardner wanted to write? What was it that would have prolonged the life which, in fact, was three years shorter than Broun's? What Heywood meant can now only be a subject for guessing, and consanguinity, as any analyst can tell you, probably makes me a poorer prospect for correct-

ness than most others who might care to try. Still, it seems to me that the meaning is clearly to be found in the oddly similar background that they shared.

The wonderful world of Booth Tarkington's Penrod Schofield produced Ring Lardner. It was a wide-porch, slow-gear, lemonade-cooled contrivance, a place where the strongest negative emotion was exasperation. The only difference between Lardner's early idyll and Broun's was that Heywood came from the big city. If Lardner grew up in the world of Tarkington's Penrod, Heywood spent his childhood in the world of Richard Harding Davis's Van Bibber, that insouciant clubman who could pass through a slum righting wrongs without getting any garbage on his patent-leather evening shoes.

Of course, for some, the front-porch lemonade and the brownstone tea contain a dangerous drug. Young idealists take in with the cup that cheers, but does not inebriate, all the values of their placid and therefore rigid societies. They were encouraged to take on heavy knapsacks of honor with all the dangling impedimenta of guilt, and they did it cheerfully, with no knowledge of what it would later cost them. So they marched off into life like a pair of 1914 volunteers and found it more like the Marne than like Main Street or the smoking-room of a first-rate club.

It is a psychological truism that children who are raised by standards of behavior that are difficult to meet are often remarkable performers and, more often, candidates for adult melancholia. These high standards are rarely, in families like the Brouns and the Lardners, imposed with harshness or schedules of punishment. The method, at least in our family, was the gentle, inexorable voice of reason. My youthful coltishness, for instance, was not curbed by any sharp tugs of the reins. My mother had only to remind me quietly of the words of Oscar

Wilde, "A gentleman is never unintentionally rude," and my hands and feet at once became big red balloons.

I thought of this when I read in *The Lardners* that Ring's mother was a writer of rigidly moral essays, a woman who had the advanced idea that children should be raised and educated without punishment, and who possessed a wide literary taste which she shared with her children. It occurred to me gloomily that here was one of those admirable people one wouldn't want to disappoint, and would inevitably feel that one had disappointed. My grandmother Broun was a lot like that.

Certainly Heywood Broun and Ring Lardner were men of remarkably high accomplishment, and certainly they carried high the banners of honor and high moral standards. They did it very differently, in the paradoxical manner which makes psychoanalysis so much less logical than algebra. Heywood would rather ride in a crowded elevator — to mention one of his phobias — than tell a dirty story in the presence of women, but he was always campaigning against censorship and trying to end the suppression of books of which he disapproved. Ring Lardner, more directly, campaigned against what he considered smut and suggestiveness, to use two wonderfully old-fashioned words, and he wrote unabashedly earnest newspaper columns crusading against many widely accepted popular songs in which the Lardner sensibility detected a nudge and a leer.

These two oddly assorted romantic idealists used very different weapons in their war with the imperfect world. Heywood turned to radicalism and, at last, to a combination of radicalism and religion. Ring, politically a Republican, turned to raillery and attacked brilliantly, wittily, and savagely, not the system, but the people who lived in it.

Despite his father's apparently

Heywood Hale Broun works for CBS Sports and is a free-lance writer and actor.



derwood & Underwood

The Lardners at home on Long Island, 1923: (from left) Ellis, Ring, David, James, Ring, Jr. (standing), John

somber view of human nature, I agree with the younger Ring when he expresses impatience with critics like Edmund Wilson, Maxwell Geismar, and Clifton Fadiman, who wrote that Ring loathed humanity and, worst of all, himself. Much that he wrote was just plain funny, the unbridled gaiety which loosens the tight fiddle string before it snaps. Much of the self-denigration of which his critics complained was obviously the ironic scorn of a Cyrano making clear that he sues for no approval.

No one who took the uses and misuses of the language as seriously as Lardner did could take his own work other than seriously, and the comic, mocking prefaces with which he adorned his books of short stories were no more than a proud man's flourish of his white plume. He didn't hate humanity; he hated what the world was doing to humanity.

Heywood Broun thought Ring Lardner was a genius and apparently said he would have lived longer had he written what he wanted to write. We are back to the riddle at last. I think that Heywood sensed in his friend the same vaulting vision of utopia which both sustained and wearied him. He thought, I believe, that if Ring could have won through the dynamite phase of building the brave new world to the exciting work of architecture, he would have been happier, would have had an outlet for the dreaming warmth that the painfully shy Broun sensed in the painfully shy Lardner.

In one of his more desperately optimistic columns, my father wrote, "We are tinder for the coming of a great revival. We do care even if we still seem sodden to every spark." Perhaps, he may have thought, if Ring could see the glowing embers under the gray ashes that seemed to make an even layer between the horizons, he would be revived and could bring his zest to puffing up a flame.

Heywood's own turn to religion at the end of his life suggests that he felt the need of faith to support the optimism which had, like St. Christopher's burden, grown heavier with every step. To an exhausted man whose life was ebbing away it must have seemed for a moment a splendid fantasy, Penrod and Van Bibber full of the old fire, writing wonderful happy stuff now that the new was in view, a waving pink line just above the gray horizon where the ashy mountains end.

The task was, sadly, left to others and we live in an age when many believe that the task is not accomplishable at all, given certain certified scientific "facts" about humanity.

We need more Brouns and Lardners now. They didn't have the long and happy lives that folklore promises to the good, but they had lives to be proud of, even if their stern codes didn't permit them to think so.

Ring Lardner, Jr.'s account of the family indicates that, tragically, the good didn't do much better in the next

generation even though the banners never dipped. Jim Lardner was killed in Spain fighting the fascism which still flourishes there; Dave Lardner was killed while serving as a war correspondent in 1944; John Lardner, the one closest to his father in character and style, was closest to him in life span, dying of a coronary at the age of forty-five.

Ring, Jr., or Bill as the family called him to spare him the horrors of juniority, lives with the memory of a couple of decades on the blacklist and a stretch in jail as a member of the Hollywood Ten. Oddly, he seems to have pulled out of all this a most unLardnerian optimism. While he does not gloss over any of the tragedies of this family chronicle, whether they were self-inflicted or the result of cruel chance, he points out that the Lardners were not a Dostoevski clan lost on Long Island, and that Penrod Schofield still sometimes grinned through the dark eyeholes of his father's mask of melancholy. He even proposes the theory that his father's depression may have arisen from an inability to stop drinking, rather than the more orthodox notion that one drinks to blunt the teeth of the ghost fox in the vitals. It's not likely, but it's loving.

For all of the dark streaks in this narrative it is not one of despair and defeat, and it is interesting to note that a startling number of the descendants of Ring Lardner, including all four of his sons, took to professional writing. I hope that somewhere in that line is the man or woman who will write what my father thought Ring wanted to write.

Depolarizing the language

Words and Women

by Casey Miller and Kate Swift, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 197 pp. \$7.95.

When one who is hardly a late arrival in the feminist movement realizes, on reading this book, that even he still lugs around a heavy burden of linguistic stereotypes of women, it is a valuable although unsettling experience. Such

stereotypes, long taken for granted and often still defended, should be discarded; *Words and Women* tells us why and how.

There is something of a hazard in assigning this book to a male reviewer, not because he is incapable of fairness but because, even with the best intentions, he is bound to stumble. With trepidation, then, I must observe that this slim, serious book is not only stimulating and informative but entertaining. It may be blasphemous to find sheer entertainment in an account of injustices done to women by the structure of English — its built-in tendency, here termed *patrimony*, to give primacy to things male and, all too often, to denigrate things female. But there it is: *Words and Women* is entertaining.

The proper study of the problem can begin with the word *man*. Research, the authors remind us, has shown convincingly that the word is usually taken to mean “male person or persons.” Other words conveying sex and gender are similarly flawed. Pronouns are a particular trap; the book recommends the use of *they* as a democratic alternative in constructions where *he or she* would otherwise be required to avoid suggesting that the antecedent is just plain male.

Because there has been a lot of scoffing at *Ms.* (favored by the authors), *chairperson* (acceptance foreseen), and other terms that avoid stereotyping, condescension, or contempt, *Words and Women* may seem like overkill, with its exhaustive record of what it terms “semantic polarization.” However, the patterns are so deeply ingrained — and not solely in English — that a swatter laden with data and argument is necessary to destroy the merest fly.

Maintaining that the “rules” governing “correct” English are not immutable, Miller and Swift propose that loaded language be examined against this criterion: “Does the term or usage contribute to clarity or accuracy, or fudge them?” This may not always be an easy question to answer, but it is a starting point. Thus job titles can be brought up to date, plural constructions should be used whenever possible, *-ess*

and *-ette* endings should disappear, and the tendency to assume that maleness is the norm or typical should be overcome.

There are difficulties, of course, in making a conscious effort to discard prejudicial terminology with the aim the authors propose of freeing us of deeply rooted assumptions about the secondary or inferior status of women. Not the least difficulty may be the hostility of those, mostly men, who consider themselves guardians of linguistic purity and the inertia of journalists, again mostly men, who cannot leave *blonde*, *coed*, *divorcée*, and *widow* alone.

Perhaps there is something to be said for erring on the side of overkill.

MAX LOWENTHAL

Max Lowenthal is a copy editor at The New York Times.

Managing the First Amendment

The Good Guys, the Bad Guys, and the First Amendment — Free Speech vs. Fairness in Broadcasting

by Fred W. Friendly. Random House. 268 pp. \$10.

Freedom of the Press vs. Public Access

by Benno C. Schmidt, Jr. Praeger. 296 pp. \$17.50 and \$6.95 paper.

These books are pungent reviews of the problems this country faces in the management of its journalistic freedoms. The First Amendment put that management somewhere “out there,” beyond the control of government. The authors — one a journalist, one a professor of law — conclude that it is going to have to stay in that vague “out there” if such freedoms are to survive.

Both see dangers of creeping — aye, galloping — monopoly of information control. They worry about economic pressures that reshape our communications media for the worse. They sense the growing frustration of the consumers who want access to that big horn themselves. They worry that the media have grown so big, powerful, and remote that they no longer represent the diversity

the First Amendment sought to assure.

While both authors suggest possible solutions, the reader must infer that even the most hopeful suggestions are to be taken, at best, as mere palliatives.

In *The Good Guys*, etc., Fred W. Friendly concentrates on broadcasting. In entertaining style, this veteran broadcast newsman describes how the Fairness Doctrine has developed from a shadowy principle to iron rule. His book is history as well as analysis, and fascinating history it is.

Friendly begins twenty-two years ago when his colleague and friend Edward R. Murrow used the program *See It Now* to expose the deceit of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. That program, on the evening of March 9, 1954, opened with these words: “Tonight *See It Now* devotes its entire half-hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, told mainly in his own words and pictures. . . . If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures, and desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program.” McCarthy did ask and was granted his reply, but the impact of the two broadcasts was to leave a gaping wound in the senator’s credibility.

The moral of that *See It Now* confrontation is as valid today as then. In such exchanges as that with McCarthy, broadcasting has demonstrated that the Fairness Doctrine is superfluous; yet to the degree that others’ performances have failed to honor the right of reply, the doctrine has been proved necessary. Friendly’s analysis appears to emphasize the latter.

Friendly’s reporting on the Red Lion case, which gave the Fairness Doctrine the sanction of the courts, makes fascinating reading and digs up fresh information that heightens the historic significance of Red Lion. Red Lion is, of course, the hamlet in Pennsylvania, home of radio station WGCB, which claimed modestly to be “word of God, Christ, and the Bible.” A radio preacher, the Reverend Billy James Hargis, bought fifteen minutes of the station’s time in November 1964 for \$7.50 and preached a political “sermon” that brought a basic precept of the Fairness Doctrine to a historic court test.

Hargis spent less than two minutes to establish the cause for action; but it took nearly five years for the courts finally to rule that his attack on a free-lance writer, Fred J. Cook, required WGCB to provide Cook free air time to answer Hargis's innuendos, in which Cook came off as something bordering on a fellow traveler. By the time the Supreme Court decided that Cook was entitled to defend himself, the charges were so irrelevant that Cook never replied.

Despite Cook's denials, Friendly alleges that the Democratic National Committee encouraged Cook to demand reply time. The committee's purpose was to so harass WGCB with the Fairness Doctrine that it would discourage broadcasts such as Hargis's, not only at Red Lion but at many other stations. Friendly makes a convincing case that in this instance the doctrine did, indeed, become an instrument of government policy to inhibit for political purposes free — albeit irresponsible — speech.

Good Guys is far more than a good investigative job on the Red Lion case. It traces the development of present broadcast doctrine through a series of similar case studies. We suspect the author's experience in researching this work led him to see the value of such a case-history approach to the study of our present national dilemmas on communications policy. As communications advisor to the Ford Foundation, Friendly is encouraging the journalism and law communities to take this approach to their constitutional conflicts.

Benno C. Schmidt, Jr., a lawyer who, like Friendly, teaches at Columbia University, has done a companion book that views the entire communications spectrum. He brings a lawyer's eye for legal niceties — if not Friendly's storytelling charm — to *Freedom of the Press vs. Public Access*. The work was fostered by the National News Council and the Aspen Institute Program on Communications and Society.

Recognizing the increasingly monolithic nature of the mass-communications industry, Schmidt is concerned mainly with the legal problems and concepts surrounding the question of public access. His book divides the subject into four major parts: general

principles; developments in libel law and the concept of the media as a "public forum"; access to broadcasting; and the impact of the reply case, *Miami Herald v. Tornillo*, on access to print. It is up-to-date, carefully footnoted, and comprehensive.

Schmidt, more than Friendly, is concerned with the shifts of information control toward corporate centers. As he points out, "The typical American lives in a city served by a newspaper that is a local monopoly and is owned by the same interests that control one of the local television stations. Both the newspaper and TV stations are, in turn, likely to be either part of a centrally controlled chain that holds numerous other broadcasting stations or newspapers, or part of a conglomerate corporation with numerous interests that are potentially in conflict with unbiased reporting."

What suggestions do these authors offer for getting us back to the original concept of presses numerous enough to be everyman's champion, small enough to serve each social sliver, and autonomous enough to face every truth without fear of economic, political, or social pressure? Both echo suggestions that have been made by others, such as Henry Geller, a former F.C.C. commissioner, and, indeed, by the F.C.C. itself. "Increasingly detailed commission regulations militate against robust, wide-open debate," quotes Schmidt from the commission's 1972 self-criticism.

Friendly says that "to enforce the Fairness Doctrine on a case-by-case basis is clumsy and unworkable; yet to deny the goals of the Doctrine by completely repealing it would be unrealistic, if not irresponsible." He calls for a "middle course" in which broadcasters would be judged at license-renewal time on their overall performance.

Friendly's most devastating criticism of broadcasting — and his most promising suggestion for improvement — is more implied than bluntly stated. He reminds his readers that the Fairness Doctrine has two basic tenets and that only the second tenet deals with access for reply. The first is simply "that a reasonable amount of broadcast time

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must be devoted to the discussion of controversial issues.”

If the commission would take care to implement Tenet One — as it has shown signs of doing in one recent case — Friendly thinks Tenet Two would begin to take care of itself.

Who would consummate this seemingly simple reform? Not the F.C.C., he surmises; and not the courts. Friendly says it is high time for Congress to make Fairness Doctrine applications more explicit, by law. Give the F.C.C. a statutory standard.

He might have added that Congress could also encourage diversity of media ownership in a number of ways that would not intrude into hazardous areas of government control. Tax law, which now encourages chain operators to swallow up the few remaining independents, could be turned around to work the other way. Existing policy against cross-ownership of print and broadcast outlets could be strengthened. Perhaps other creative legislative proposals would emerge if Congress were to clearly establish diversity of media ownership as basic national policy.

Perhaps, as Friendly suggests, Congress will one day attend to these matters. A more likely hope, however, lies in the notion that somehow the news business will move to a higher level of professionalism.

NBC News and CBS's *60 Minutes* are beginning to give more attention to viewer response as a counterbalance to their own views. While these efforts thus far are more cosmetic than substantive, the less grudging attitude towards consumer criticism goes in the right direction. Schmidt points out that *Miami Herald v. Tornillo* made right of reply in newspapers solely the prerogative of the editor. Let's use this autonomy, he says, to open the presses to still more outside points of view, "to institutionalize methods of correction and self-criticism, and to support responsible, external, nonofficial bodies for review of . . . performance."

Friendly would like to see all newscasts and documentaries routinely include talk-back from the dissenting public. If they did, broadcasters would undoubtedly learn, as many newspaper

editors already have, that public rebuttal is good not only for the soul, but for readership (and ratings) as well.

Other forces are at work. Technology, which in recent years has hastened the concentration of mass media, will increasingly serve a diversity in the future. Cable television surely, after it rids itself of the economic blahs, will add to this diversity. Also, new printing processes are opening publishing opportunities to entrepreneurs who could not afford it before.

So while these two distinguished authors look for some slight improvement in the government's regulatory role, they see the ultimate resolution of the press freedom dilemma where the First Amendment first put it, "out there." The controlling forces will be technology, economics, consumer expectations — and journalists' own professional perceptions and integrity.

In this respect, we're talking about a new brand of journalistic ethic, an ethic that defines itself not as a creed or a set of rules, but as a self-imposed standard which makes law and regulation unnecessary. That will take a bit of doing.

ROY M. FISHER

Roy M. Fisher is dean of the University of Missouri School of Journalism.

Son of News Twisters

The Gods of Antenna

by Bruce Herschensohn. Arlington House. 155 pp. \$7.95.

Herschensohn, a late bloomer among the Nixon administration's media commandos (deputy special assistant to the president, 1973-1974), herein elaborates his charge, borrowed from his own speech in 1973, that the United States has suffered "its most immoral and irresponsible decade that had yet occurred in terms of our domestic communications." In short, here is a direct descendant of Edith Efron's *The News Twisters*, a nephew of Spiro T. Agnew's declaration of Des Moines, and a cousin of Patrick Buchanan's dark musings. But

this is a rather spindly relative, which tries to disguise a lack of muscle in punchy writing — one-sentence paragraphs, one-word sentences. Not that *Gods of Antenna* is necessarily without substance, or that television news is not guilty of many of the flaws the author lists in his A-to-Z roster of crime. But, like others of its kind, Herschensohn's tract is so eaten with political animus that it cannot keep its attention on its subject. In a critique allegedly aimed at television, Herschensohn cannot forbear to include in his indictment the print villains — *The New York Times*, *Time*, *The Washington Post*, *Newsweek*, all attacked repeatedly. Moreover, like the other works in this genre, it is written in a scholarly vacuum, deigning to refer only to a few works of conservative chic.

This slender volume is being offered as a book bonus by Accuracy in Media, and further subverts that organization's claim to being nonpolitical.

James Boylan

Investigators' manual

Investigative Reporting

by David Anderson and Peter Benjaminson. Indiana University Press. 307 pp. \$15; \$3.95 paper

This is a practical — even excessively practical — manual for urban and suburban investigative reporters based largely on the authors' own experiences on newspapers in Chicago and Detroit. Anderson and Benjaminson do not trouble themselves with philosophy or history. After twenty-five introductory pages, they concentrate on nuts and bolts — six chapters on using records and other sources, nine chapters on techniques, and six reprinted examples from their own and others' work. There are many real-life examples cited, the bulk of them centering on exposés of political rascality — the kind of thing that may put somebody out of office or into jail but may do less to change a corrupt system. As a textbook, *Investigative Reporting* will serve to tell young journalists how to function efficiently, but it will give them little insight as to why they are doing it. *James Boylan*

LETTERS

The way it wasn't

TO THE REVIEW:

It is to your credit that you printed excerpts from Walter Cronkite's speech to CBS affiliates, even though you did manage to have him delivering it 3,000 miles or so from where he actually spoke — which was, in fact, in Los Angeles, rather than in New York [“On Choosing — and Paying — Anchorage.” CJR July/August].

It is to your discredit that you allowed Judith Hennessee to vent her spleen against male anchormen by quoting Cronkite out of context [“The Press's Very Own Barbara Walters Show,” CJR July/August]. As your readers could see from the excerpted version of Cronkite's speech, he did indeed say that his first reaction to the news that Barbara Walters was moving to ABC's evening news was “the sickening sensation that we were going under.” But the major portion of that part of his speech which dealt with Barbara Walters was much more positive. He said, “she is an aggressive, hard-hitting interviewer” and he said further, “I came to feel that some of us might be indulging in just a bit of hypocrisy when we accused ABC of plunging our profession into show business with the Walters contract.”

You have no valid defense if you claim that you did print an expanded version of Cronkite's speech following Hennessee's article. You should have made sure her article was balanced enough to stand alone, as it no doubt will in the minds of many readers. Shame on you!

DON DALE
News Director, WTVR
Richmond, Va.

Judith Hennessee, it seems to me, has certainly missed the important points in ABC's decision to hire Barbara Walters. In her seeming desire to see sex discrimination in most of the comments about the hiring of Walters, she overlooks the fact that Barbara Walters was hired by ABC for all the reasons that Ms. Hennessee, I would think, would deplore.

Walters was hired not because she is a talented newscaster, editor, or reporter. Rather she was hired because she is sexy, controversial and well-known. And hope-

fully she will boost the ratings. Regardless of what she is paid, it looks like sexploitation.

I really believe the TV newsmen would have been just as unhappy if, for example, Hugh Downs, Barbara's old *Today* show partner, had been hired for a cool million as co-anchorman.

KEITH E. EVANS
St. Joseph, Mo.

Judith Hennessee replies: *Spleen had nothing to do with it. Like most other television news watchers in America, I think Cronkite is terrific — but he's not God. If Mr. Dale would read more carefully, he would see that Cronkite's "sickening sensation," widely quoted in newspaper stories, was placed in the context of a gut reaction at CBS. His speech, however, was the result of careful thought and reflection. In it, he came to realize that much of the criticism against Walters was hypocritical. Careful thought and reflection have a tendency to modify gut reactions — but not to change the fact of their existence.*

As for Mr. Evans, I'm afraid that only a determinedly blind woman could have avoided noticing the tenor of the press's comments. Of course ABC hired Barbara Walters for "sexploitation," among other reasons. The press, however, focused its attack on Walters, not ABC. Television newsmen would doubtless have been unhappy if Downs had been hired — he isn't even a journalist. But in that event, the press would have attacked ABC, not Downs.

That Brill piece

TO THE REVIEW:

Phil Stanford's critique of my Carter article [“The Most Remarkable Piece of Fiction” Jimmy Carter Ever Read,” CJR July/August] was the kind of fair, constructive criticism that any writer should appreciate. It was extremely well researched, and it raised several excellent points.

However, I do have two relatively minor quarrels with Mr. Stanford. First, I think his characterization, in the last paragraph, of my work as “careless” is imprecise and, in fact, inconsistent with much of the rest of the article. To disagree, as he does, with my interpretation of two of Governor Carter's

statements (on Wallace as a vice-presidential nominee and on Calley) is one thing. (In fact, in the Wallace case I now agree with him.) But to conclude from this that I was “careless” is something else. I discussed both these interpretations with Mr. Stanford and thought he may have disagreed with me yet still understood that my conclusions in this regard and throughout my article were not quick or cavalier but were based on the same kind of long thought process he went through in writing his article. Had Mr. Stanford found me wrong on any of the facts I used in the article, then he could say I was careless. But he didn't, and I don't think the adjective fits. It's a small point, but one that's important in assessing “the most remarkable piece of fiction” Jimmy Carter ever read.

Second, I think the criticism of my use of “unverifiable” quotes is overdone. I didn't take the quotes that I attributed to Governor Carter and his staff from secondhand sources; they were all based on my own interviews with the people whose quotes I used. I think I had a right to assume that a man running for president, and his staff, wouldn't lie about what they said in on-the-record interviews. At worst, I was naive in using standard reporting practice for an article on Governor Carter.

These quibbles notwithstanding, Mr. Stanford's piece was excellent. And his conclusion is sound. The questions that have been raised about Governor Carter do indeed still need to be answered.

STEVEN D. BRILL
New York

Knotted cable

TO THE REVIEW:

We must take issue with some things said, and some things implied, in the article on cable television in your July/August issue (“Cable TV: the Bottled-Up Medium,” by Ronald P. Kriss). The author is cavalier in his treatment of siphoning. He selected one quote from the House Communications Subcommittee staff report (and it is a report of the staff, not the subcommittee) which appears to put down siphoning, but in his references to the report he failed to mention that it specifically states that “one of the more

troublesome aspects of the growth of cable television is the possibility that cable will destroy the viability of broadcasting services in markets below the top 100, without providing an adequate replacement."

Your article's main point is summed up by the author this way: "Until recently, broadcasters have had little cause for alarm, because government has supervised cable to the point of strangulation." On this point, we call your attention to the latest report of the Hopkins Cable Project. Conducted by the Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research of the Johns Hopkins University, this continuing project is jointly funded by the Federal Communications Commission and the National Science Foundation. The Hopkins report concludes: ". . . Except for a few specifically affected cities, cable expansion in the top 100 markets is only marginally affected by current Federal regulations." Cable's problems in expanding in these urban markets are ascribed by the Hopkins study to "natural circumstances in the markets," such as availability of substantial free commercial television, high construction costs, etc., rather than to the cable rules of the F.C.C.

VINCENT T. WASILEWSKI
President, National Association
of Broadcasters
Washington, D.C.

I have just read Ronald P. Kriss's piece in the July/August issue. It is a fair and comprehensive assessment of cable television and the issues surrounding it.

For years impartial study groups and commissions have been calling for a clear national policy on cable television. It hasn't happened yet — and your article points out why. We hope the current round of House hearings on cable television policy is the first step in ending that policy vacuum.

ROBERT STENGEL
Vice-President, Public Affairs
National Cable Television Association
Washington, D.C.

Straw men?

TO THE REVIEWER:

I see we're all taking potshots at the beleaguered National News Council again ["Books," *CJR*, July/August]. In reading the unsigned review (and I prefer knowing who is doing the reviewing), two "straw men," conveniently set up only to be knocked down again, loomed large.

First, the reviewer claims the council's first biennial performance report substantiates fears the N.N.C. would serve more to defend the media than improve them. One of

the goals of press councils has been to educate the public on the proper role and behavior of a free press. At the very least, council explanations of why complained-of conduct is proper and important to a free press are as good a stab at educating the people who "consume" the news product as anyone's taking right now.

The fiasco at the Nixon White House is attributed to the news council's "having to wait for complaints" rather than being free to seek out "important issues." I fail to understand the illustration. Nixon's charge of "vicious, distorted" reporting seemed pretty important at the time. That the White House evaded and finally reneged on its promise to cooperate isn't as much the fault of the N.N.C.'s procedures as it is of the media. After all, if the media don't care about the council, why should any media antagonist take its attempts — either to defend or improve them — seriously?

THOMAS L. ROOT
Columbus, Ohio

The reviewer was James Boylan, CJR's editor.

Schorr affair: author's reply

TO THE REVIEWER:

On May 20 Mr. Daniel Schorr wrote *CJR* that he found my article on his case "shockingly tendentious and demonstrably inaccurate in places." He went on to say, however, "I have generally regarded it as an unproductive use of my time to make detailed replies to what is written about me. I could perhaps be persuaded to make an exception if I thought the effort worthwhile."

I am glad that Mr. Schorr has, after all, found the effort worthwhile. In the normal course of such an exchange this would have completed the record. The reader would have been perhaps more than fully served.

But since Mr. Schorr has chosen to mutilate beyond recognition major factual and analytical aspects of my article, I am obliged to accept your invitation to make this counter-reply. For once again Mr. Schorr, posturing and declaiming in his passion play role of self-proclaimed constitutional martyrdom, has muddied issues of journalistic conduct and ethics which should be crystal clear.

One such issue is the episode involving Mr. Schorr and his colleague at CBS, Lesley Stahl.

Although I quoted directly from his account to me of the incident as well as those of other participants at the CBS Washington Bureau — by name and in direct quotation

— Mr. Schorr suggests a comparison with what he calls "Woodward-Bernstein difficulties in reconstructing scenes they did not witness."

Mr. Schorr goes on to say that the Stahl episode was "gossip unworthy of attention," a matter he said was "turned down by other publications that queried me."

This is pure rot. I refer Mr. Schorr to the June issue of *Esquire* magazine. There as he knows — and as he knew at the time he wrote his reply — is a media column on the case by the magazine's senior editor, Nora Ephron, a journalist whose credentials need no testimonial from Mr. Schorr or from me. In her June column Ephron devotes careful and extensive attention to the very episode which Mr. Schorr dismissed as unworthy gossip. (Stahl felt it was sufficiently worthy to contact an attorney about instituting legal proceedings against Schorr for defamation.)

Ephron's investigation of the incident, completely independent of my own, included interviews with Schorr. Since he makes such a point of questioning the disinterestedness of my account and maintains that other publications ignored it completely, let me quote from Ephron's narrative.

After alluding to the effort to implicate someone else at CBS in the transmission of the Pike committee report to *The Village Voice*, Ephron writes:

The "someone" Daniel Schorr was trying to implicate at that shabby point was Lesley Stahl, a CBS reporter who is one of several CBS employees (along with Eric Sevareid, Phil Jones and Dan Rather) who do not get along with Schorr.

The rest of Ephron's account in *Esquire* and my own in *CJR* correspond in all essential respects, including the quoted comments of Schorr and CBS Washington bureau chief Sandy Socolow. I concur, as well, in her conclusion:

"It is impossible not to be angry with Dan Schorr for having made it so difficult for the rest of us to march in his parade."

I would like also to deal with what Schorr himself concedes to be "the central issue" of the case, the First Amendment question.

Mr. Schorr appears to conclude, in an inference that I can only call grotesque, that I maintained that the publication of the Pike committee report was illegal once the House voted to suppress it.

I did say that the press (and I included *The Village Voice* in this generic reference) was wholly within its constitutional rights in publishing the report. I also said the House was acting within its constitutional powers in voting to suppress it.

In other words — and this should not tax Mr. Schorr's powers of intellectual subtlety

— no constitutional issue had arisen at that point in the so-called Schorr affair, nor has it at this writing.

The constitutional and free press issues arise when and if Mr. Schorr is summoned before the House Ethics Committee. *then* declines to say who gave him the copy of the Pike report and *then* is cited for contempt. This is the constitutional moment of truth which Mr. Schorr, understandably, has shown no great eagerness to confront. And there is little evidence, so far, in the antic behavior of the House Ethics Committee that it is looking for a First Amendment confrontation. Nonetheless this is the contingency for which CBS has retained for Schorr one of the foremost legal authorities on the media and the law, Washington attorney Joseph Califano. CBS News officials have said that the network will continue to pay Schorr's legal bills, if necessary, through a full course of appeal to the Supreme Court. (I cite this not to advertise the generosity of CBS News, whose role in suspending Schorr from the air is highly arguable, but to make the point that Schorr is not uniquely sensitive within his organization to First Amendment-free press issues.)

These are the major points with which I wanted to deal in this space. It is distressing to have Schorr, in his panting quest for self-vindication, impute to me a view on the legality of *The Village Voice* publication of Pike report excerpts which I consider both abhorrent and asinine. Another foul, it would seem, in an already crowded record.

On the Butterfield matter: Schorr makes a large point of the fact that *The Washington Post* published a page-one story on the charge he first ventilated on CBS News (7/11/75) that Alexander Butterfield had been a C.I.A. "contact officer" in the White House. Mr. Schorr does not trouble to make a point of the fact that the first report on the alleged existence of a high-level C.I.A. agent in the Nixon White House preceded his own by three days on the ABC network, reported by Sam Donaldson. He ignores the fact that reporter George Lardner, author of *The Washington Post* story, took the trouble to reach one of the sources cited by Schorr's source, L. Fletcher Prouty, whom Schorr put on the air. Schorr does not mention that Lardner's story quoted Prouty's own source as saying that the Prouty account, as aired by Schorr, was "not true."

Schorr's description of *Washington Post* executive editor Ben Bradlee raging through the newsroom at Schorr's televised Pike committee exclusives is absolute crap.

LAURENCE STERN
Washington, D.C.

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"Anybody but Broder: Our Stop-the-Columnists Movement," by Tom Bethell, **The Washington Monthly**, July 1976

It may be ungracious, now that the Democratic nomination is all wrapped up and delivered, to examine too closely the columns our top political mavens wrote along the way, but as an approach to history the where-did-they-go-wrong angle can be enlightening — and fun. Appraising the commentary inscribed in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* — with special attention to what he regards as the more egregious misperceptions of Joseph Kraft and the more surprising insights of James Reston — Bethell shows that "any connection between what the columnists, editorial writers, and political savants said would happen this year and what actually has happened was purely accidental."

Reporter's Guide: Drugs, Drug Abuse Issues, Resources. Allan Parachini, The Drug Abuse Council, Washington, D.C., 1975

Was hard-drug journalism just a passing fad? According to this handy reference guide, the need for solid drug reporting is greater now than ever. The booklet includes a list of resource organizations and reporting research tips, as well as information on drug laws, addicts' rights, and therapies. Bibliography and glossary.

The Do-It-Yourself Guide to Alternative Publishing, Edited by Ron Lichty. Alternative Press Syndicate, New York, 1976

On the Liebling principle that freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own one, this handbook offers an encouraging initiation into the mysteries of publishing. The first section includes clear explanations of such basics as copy and copyrights, design and distribution, printing and promotion. The second section offers information on particular areas of expertise (photojournalism, investigative reporting) by a group of experienced alternative journalists.

"Cinderella West," by Gail Sheehy, **New York**, May 17, 1976; "The Winning Ways of William S. Paley," **Broadcasting**, May 31, 1976

The queen of the Copley newspaper dynasty and the king of CBS are the subjects of this

pair of unusual articles. Sheehy gives full dramatic play to the Copley saga and Helen Copley's astonishing metamorphosis, on her husband's death, from doting spouse to powerful publisher. Barely used to her heavy new crown, Copley is proving an able administrator who has let some welcome fresh air into the kingdom. On the other hand, Paley has been on his throne for nearly half a century. In two lengthy interviews with *Broadcasting* editors, the Chairman touches on many aspects of CBS operations, past, present, and future. As an implicit response to many of the questions raised in David Halberstam's two-part series on CBS that ran in *Atlantic* this winter, the interview may have a platitudinous and defensive ring, but it is worth reading nonetheless.

"Citizen Participation in Broadcast Licensing Before the FCC," by Joseph A. Grundfest, **The Rand Corporation**, March 1976; "Projecting the Growth of Television Broadcasting: Implication for Spectrum Use," by Rolla Edward Park, Leland J. Johnson, and Barry Fishman, **The Rand Corporation**, February 1976

The first of these two informative studies examines developments in the process by which citizens' groups petition, on various grounds — unfair employment practices, for example, or objectionable programming policies — for denial of a broadcaster's application for license renewal. Tracing the course of such citizen participation and the F.C.C.'s response, the report recommends that in the interests of nurturing a responsible citizen lobby, the commission take steps to increase access to legal and other resources that are necessary for representation before the F.C.C. The second study addresses the question of whether the number of available U.H.F. commercial television stations will be adequate to accommodate projected growth (to 1990). The answer is yes.

"Truth and Consequences: Making a Controversial Documentary for Television," by Eric Schwartz, **Filmmakers Newsletter**, May 1976

Controversy in the television business is the kiss of death, claims documentary filmmaker Don Widener. If his judgment is harsh, so is his experience: since 1971, when his critically acclaimed investigative film on the nu-

clear power industry was aired on Los Angeles's KNBC-TV, Widener has been unable to find work. He has also been embroiled in legal battles with Pacific Gas and Electric Company (they didn't like the film). Although at the time of this interview a California jury had just awarded him \$7 million in punitive damages from the West Coast utility — a verdict that a California judge has since overturned and is presently under appeal — Widener was not sanguine about the future of television documentaries. "The whole industry is bound up in fear," he says, and offers his own experience to support a view that management cowardice can lead to suppression and betrayal.

"News Media Coverage of Texas Government: The State Capital Press Corps," by Hoyt Purvis and Rick Gentry, **Public Affairs Comment**, February 1976

Urging that the press in state capitals serve as local watchdog much as the Washington press corps serves nationally, the L.B.J. School of Public Affairs has prepared a useful report on the relationship of the media and government in Austin. The conclusion is encouraging: the press in Texas has made significant progress in its watchdog function. Future growth and complexity of state government will require even more.

"How to Unclothe an Emperor," by Jonathan Cott, **Rolling Stone**, June 17, 1976

Almost as legendary as the subjects of her famous interviews, Oriana Fallaci — "the greatest political interviewer of modern times" — here sits on the other side of the tape recorder. Her tough candor affords an instructive glimpse into the moral, aesthetic, and political passions that make Fallaci a uniquely formidable journalist. Sprinkled in her discourse are some fascinating remembrances of interviews past — Arafat shouting, Thieu and Meir in tears — but what impresses one most are two aspects of the Fallaci character. First, a sure aim that cuts to the human essence of everything she looks at ("Are you scared?" was her singular question to the astronauts), and second, a fierce sense of self that makes her a worthy match for the Kissingers of the world: "Oh God," exclaims Fallaci on Chou En-lai's death before she could interview him, "he shouldn't have done it to me!"

The Lower case



The Courier-Journal, Indiana Edition 7/23/76



The Courier-Journal 7/23/76

Death legal, rules court

Newport (R.I.) Daily News 7/2/76

Before the platform was adopted, Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota, the platform chairman, added an unofficial endorsement of the Israeli commando raid that rescued more than 100 delegates from Palestinian terrorists in Uganda.

The (Ann Arbor) Michigan Daily 7/14/76

SCSC Graduates Blind Senior Citizen

Journal Inquirer (Manchester, Conn.) 5/24/76

"The state has a duty to all its awful residents, resident alien or citizen," Judges Gurfein and Neafer held.

The New York Times 3/26/76

Man Eating Piranha Mistakenly Sold as Pet Fish

The Milwaukee Journal 7/16/76

Sterilization Solves Problems For Pets, Owners

San Jose Mercury 5/13/76

Speaker of the House Carl Albert has announced that he will retire from the Senate after 30 years of service.

Banner-Herald (Athens, Ga.) 6/6/76

Queen ducks ride to U.S. on Concorde

The (Cleveland) Plain Dealer 5/21/76

Few have entered Miss Carmichael

Although entry forms for the third annual Miss Carmichael pageant have been available for nearly a month, few applications have been returned to the Carmichael Chamber of Commerce office.

Carmichael (Calif.) Courier 3/26/75

Cambodians Move Arms

Fort Wayne News-Sentinel 1/29/76

New Book Out By Former Writer

The Main Line Times (Ardmore, Pa.) 5/20/76



ALL IN THE FAMILY — Sen. Walter Mondale on Minnesota, chosen by Jimmy Carter for the vice presidential position, poses with his family in a recent photo.

The Austin American Statesman 7/15/76



The children of Minnesota Sen. Walter Mondale leave their Washington home to fly to New York to be with their father at the Democratic convention.

The Houston Post 7/16/76

Connie Tied, Nude Policeman Testifies

Atlanta Journal 6/17/76

What's north of Annapolis, a little east of West Point, and a long way from Colorado Springs?

The *fourth* Service Academy — the Coast Guard Academy in New London, Connecticut.

Like the Army, Navy and Air Force Academies, the Coast Guard Academy's job is to educate and train men and women as officers for our branch of the service.

But we go about it differently. Appointments to the Coast Guard Academy are awarded solely on the basis of an annual, nationwide

competition. There are no congressional appointments, state quotas or special categories. Once enrolled, a Coast Guard cadet earns his sea legs aboard the training Barque EAGLE — America's host to the Tall Ships during our Bicentennial.

Because the Coast Guard's the smallest service, much of what we do often goes unheralded. Well, our responsibilities are broadening. Yes, we're still saving lives at sea and during natural disasters. But we're also intercepting narcotics traffic. Improving vessel traffic safety in major ports. Monitoring the new 200-mile fisheries conservation zone. Maintaining aids to navigation. And promoting recreational boating safety.

What all this means is that we need the finest young

men and women to help us do these jobs. Officers to carry out our charge. Cadets at the Coast Guard Academy preparing for command. And that means more young people have to know about us.

So the next time you hear about something new that we're doing, you may even want to pass it on yourself. The Coast Guard Academy just might be the best way for these young people to get where they want to be in life.

The Coast Guard.