

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 1977
NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR / PRESS • RADIO • TV



CJ MIL58X427T029DEC 80 1 03
THOMAS FORD MAILLOUX
PO BOX 4277
LAS VEGAS NEV 89106

DID THE PRESS 'GET' LANCE?

Box or menthol:

Carlton is lowest.

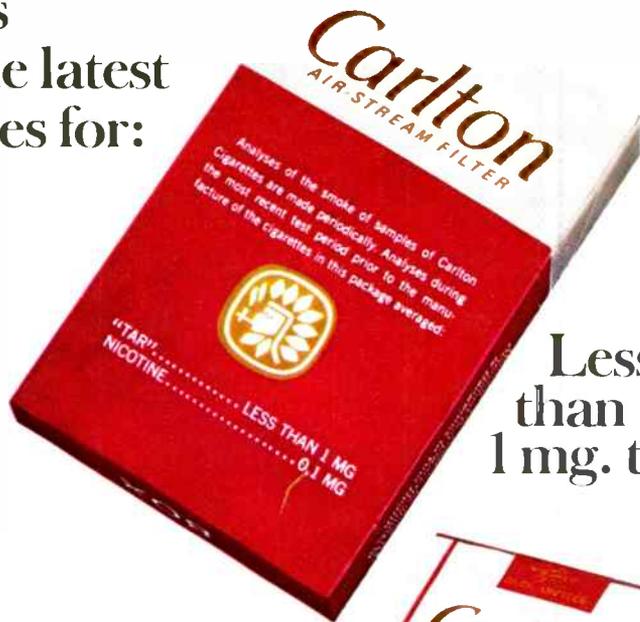
See how Carlton stacks down in tar. Look at the latest U.S. Government figures for:

	tar mg./cig	nicotine mg./cig
Brand D	12	0.8
Brand D Menthol	11	0.8
Brand V Menthol	11	0.8
Brand V	11	0.7
Brand M	8	0.6
Brand M Menthol	8	0.5
Carlton Soft Pack	1	0.1
Carlton Menthol	less than 1	0.1
Carlton Box	less than *1	*0.1

*Av. per cigarette by FTC method

Of all brands, lowest... Carlton Box:

1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.



Less than 1 mg. tar.

Carlton
brings you
the lighter
100.

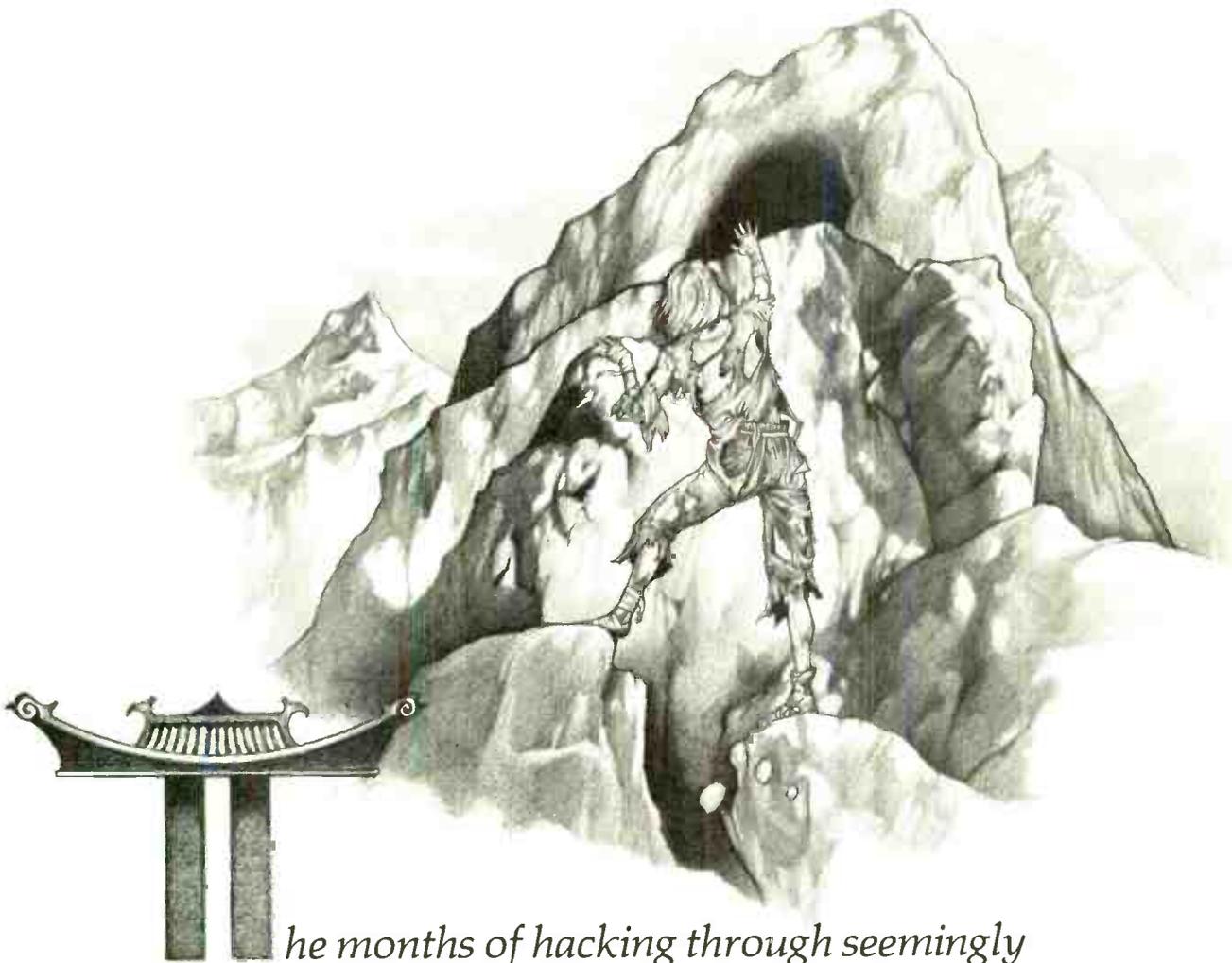


Only 5 mg. tar.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Soft Pack and Menthol: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Aug. '77.

Box: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine; 100 mm: 5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.



After the months of hacking through seemingly impenetrable jungles and scaling tortuous ice-covered slopes had taken their toll. With the last vestige of his strength, he dragged himself to the entrance of the mountain cave.

Forcing his torn and pain-wracked body the last few inches, he collapsed, exhausted at the feet of the great guru.

His quest was finally at an end.

"Tell me, oh great master, oh seer of visions never dreamed of by the pithy mind of ordinary man," he croaked, through fever-parched lips.

"Tell me the answer."

"The answer, my son," the great guru whispered, "is that Xerox is a registered trademark of Xerox Corporation and, as a brand name, should be used only to identify its products and services."

The Homelite story makes a point about something even more efficient than chain saws.

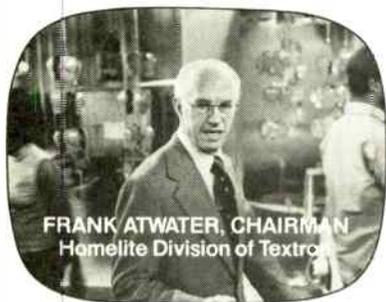
Ever since Homelite started building chain saws in 1948 its record has been one of continual growth and product improvement. Innovative thinking and responsive management have created thousands of new jobs at the Homelite Division of Textron.

This story makes a convincing case for the efficiency of the private enterprise system, according to an initial survey of viewer reactions to Textron's current television campaign.

Comments on the advertising, which includes com-

mercials about several other divisions of Textron, were overwhelmingly favorable. 93% of viewers with proven recall of the campaign said the commercials were informative. 96% found them believable. 84% thought corporations should do this kind of advertising.

Viewers also had some nice things to say about Textron. Which goes to show that making a case for Business can be good business. For more details on the research, write "Response," Dept. T, Textron, Providence, R.I. 02903.

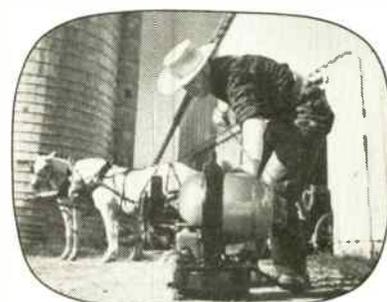


FRANK ATWATER, CHAIRMAN
Homelite Division of Textron

What I like about running a business is that it's creative. Take what happened here at Homelite.



Today there are 3,000 people at the Homelite Division of Textron, all working on products that didn't even exist thirty years ago.



Back then, Homelite just made generators for farmers, but we were free to use our knowledge of lightweight engines to get into the chain saw business.



In those days chain saws weighed up to a hundred pounds. The first one we made weighed 38.



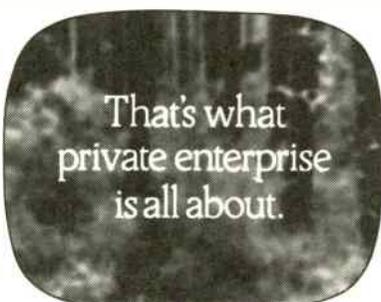
But right from the start, we had competition, so we've been building them lighter, quieter and safer ever since.



Our lightest model weighs just 8 pounds and it looks as if there's no end to the market for it. But no market grows forever.



That's why we've built this new Research and Engineering Center, to develop new products and more jobs for the future.



Creating things, and the jobs that go with them. To me, that's what private enterprise is all about.



And that's what we do at every division of Textron.

CONTENTS

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

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

Bert Lance, the newshounds, and dog days in Washington *by Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover* 27
Was Lance hounded out of office?

Soviet dissidents and the American press *by Peter Osnos* 32
On the difficulty of maintaining a proper perspective

The press harmonizes on a presidential theme *by Fergus M. Bordewich* 36
Carter's human-rights crescendo was echoed in the news

The Arizona project: an appraisal *by Melvin Mencher* 38
It points the way toward more sophisticated ways of reporting

Peddling a drug scare *by Edward Jay Epstein* 51
New evidence of media manipulation by the Nixon White House

Covering the politics of broadcasting *by Barry Cole and Mal Oettinger* 58
The trade press has a permanent seat at the F.C.C.

Chronicle	7	Unfinished business	70
Comment	16	National News Council report	79
Publisher's notes	22	Reports	87
Working	48	Lower case	89
Books	64		

Cover drawing: Julio Fernandez

Dean and Editorial Chairman Elie Abel **Publisher** Edward W. Barrett
Editor James Boylan **Managing Editor** R. C. Smith **Senior Editor** Jon Swan **Art Director** Christian von Roseninge
Associate Editor Gloria Cooper **Editorial Assistant** Cameron J. Cook
Contributing Editors Daniel J. Leab, Terrence L. Martin **Board of Advisory Editors** Harry Arough, Richard T. Baker, Marvin Barrett, W. Phillips Davison, Phyllis Garland, Kenneth Goldstein, Luther P. Jackson, Nancy Beth Jackson, Donald Johnston, Melvin Mencher, John Schultz, Donald Shanor, Louis M. Starr, Frederick T. C. Yu
Senior Publishing Consultant Robert E. Cowin
Business Manager Douglas P. Newton **Advertising Director** George C. Wright **Fiscal Consultant** John Justin Lyons
Administrative Assistant Mary Pittelli-Nieyer **Circulation Consultant** S. O. Shapiro

Columbia Journalism Review is published bimonthly under the auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. Volume XVI, Number 4, November/December 1977. Copyright © 1977 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. Subscription rates: \$12 a year; add \$2 a year for foreign subscriptions. Please address all subscription mail to: Columbia Journalism Review, Subscription Service Dept., 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302. Editorial office: 700 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027 (212)280-3872. Business office: 601 Journalism Building (212)280-2716. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at an additional mailing office. No claims for back copies honored after one year. National newsstand distribution: Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 West 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. POSTMASTER: send Form 3579 to Columbia Journalism Review, 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302.



“The only gusher I’ll ever see is at the movies.”

Gulf Production Superintendent Bob Valentine perforates a legend. “I don’t think I ever saw an oil movie where they didn’t have a gusher. Everybody gets greasy, and they laugh a lot.

“But today the only gushers are in the movies, not in real life. And a good thing, too. All that oil spraying all over the landscape. All those tools and pipe flying around — a man could get killed that way.

“The fact is that wells

just don’t come in as gushers anymore.

The easy oil is gone

“One reason is that drilling and well-completion technology has improved. These days, we bring the oil to the surface under carefully controlled conditions, in order to avoid spillage.

“Another reason is that the easy oil is gone. We’re drilling deeper — sometimes as deep as 20,000 feet. We’re drilling in tough, inaccessible, out-of-the-way locations we wouldn’t have attempted ten years ago.

Wet rock

“These days, an oil strike is a lot less dramatic.

At the end of a successful drilling operation, your best indication of oil may be a wet rock. The oil is in the pores of the rock, and you sometimes have to do some incredible things to get it out. Stimulation with chemical solutions; fracturing at eight or ten thousand pounds’ pressure; or steam injection flooding.

“These days, getting the oil out is a real challenge. But we’ve got the tools and the knowledge, and we’ll do it.”

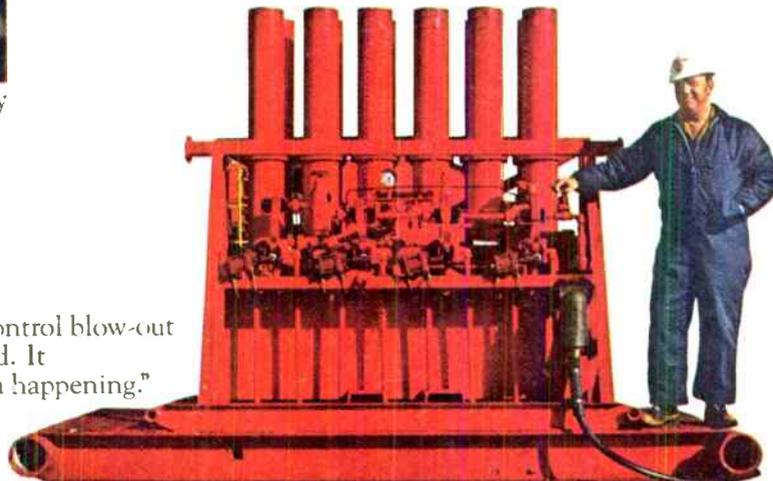


**Gulf people:
meeting the challenge.**



“A modern oil strike: rock with oily pores.”

“This is a remote control blow-out preventer manifold. It keeps gushers from happening.”



Gulf Oil Corporation

Energy for a strong America

Burning high sulfur coal cleanly: it's a hot subject at Exxon.

The fiery column next to Exxon research engineer Rene Bertrand holds the kind of coal that could add pollution to the air we breathe. But the coal here is being burned in a new, cleaner way called "fluidized bed combustion." In this process, crushed coal is burned in a bed of limestone granules while a stream of air is injected into the mixture. The air causes the powdered solids to behave like fluids so they can be moved through the process. Most of the sulfur gases that are released as the coal is burned react with the limestone and do not escape into the atmosphere. Later the sulfur can be recovered for use as a chemical raw material.

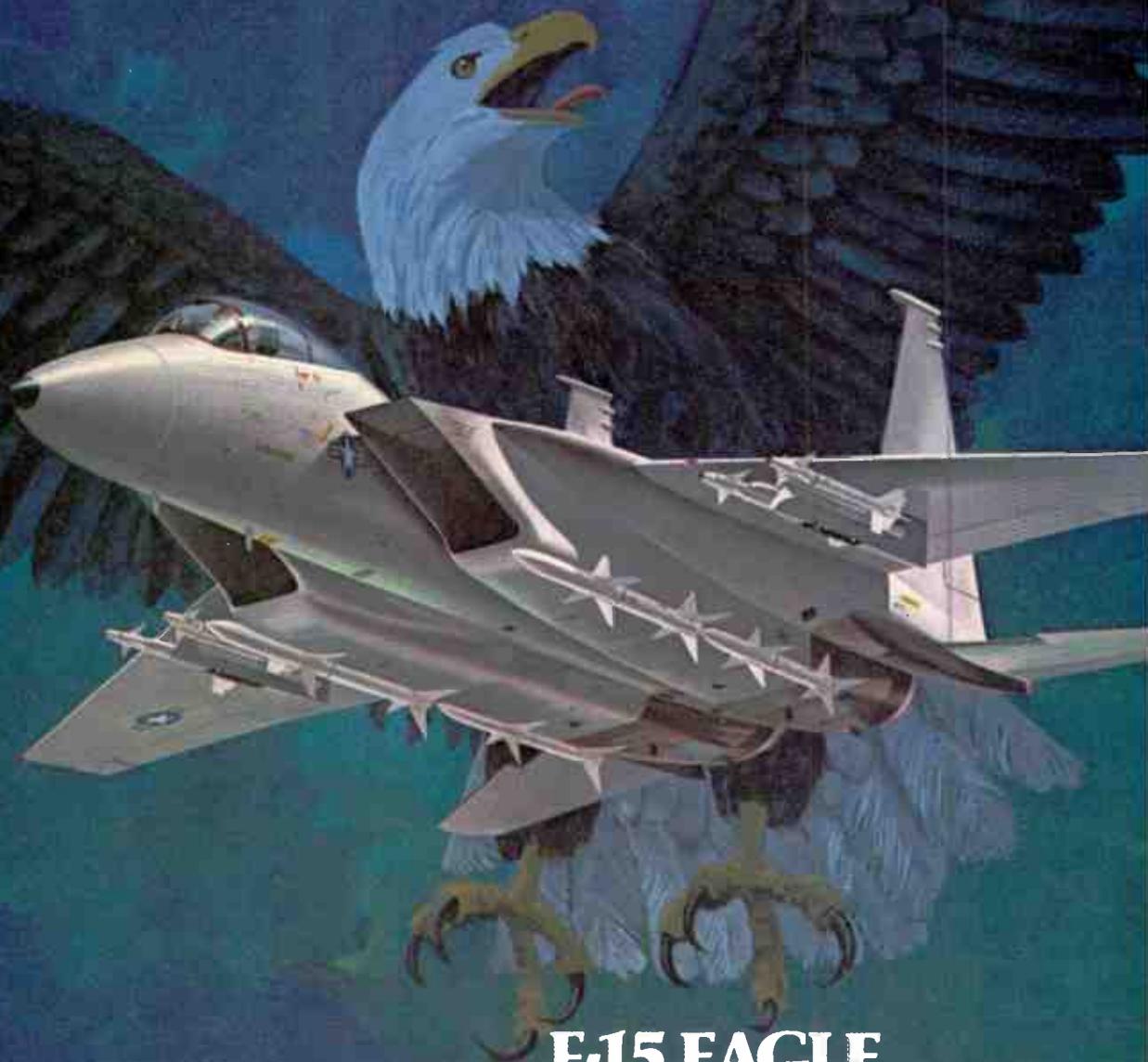
Exxon's research affiliate built and is operating a pilot plant for the U.S. Government to demonstrate the fluidized bed combustion process. Exxon is one of several firms involved in a national program aimed at developing this cleaner way to burn high sulfur coal.

We expect the process will someday help electric utilities and industrial firms make greater use of America's huge reserves of high sulfur coal.

Exxon pioneered the development of fluidized bed technology for refining gasoline and other fuels. Applying it in this new way to help satisfy our nation's energy needs is a good example of how experience in one form of energy can pay off in another.



**At any altitude, at any speed,
in any weather, at any time,
against any threat, the best
fighter in the world today
is the F-15 Eagle.**



F-15 EAGLE
The world's best fighter
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS



Energy shortages can mean real trouble for American agriculture.

For American consumers. For, in fact, our entire economic structure.

From farm to table, our marvelous food system uses more than one-sixth of all the energy consumed in this nation. Of that, 75 percent comes from gas and oil.

These supplies are dwindling, and competition for what remains is sharp. If our agricultural system comes up short in the energy scramble, food prices will come up sky-high.

But a shortage of energy for agriculture means more than scarcities or high prices for food. Its economic impact would be enormous, affecting people and jobs involved in every link in the food chain—from growing, through processing, packaging, transportation, wholesaling, retailing, storage and preparation. Moreover, the agricultural products we export are immensely important to our foreign policy and balance of payments.

Right now, in the midst of plenty, it's easy to forget how fragile the food chain is, how dependent on the vagaries of weather—on energy.

We of America's rural electric systems are concerned. For one thing, we provide power for two-thirds of the nation's farms—farms which produce more than 70 percent of the total U.S. agricultural output.

For another, we know that as American growers have become increasingly productive, they've become increasingly energy dependent. Looking ahead, they will need more energy, not less.

We believe national policies that recognize the absolute necessity for enough energy to meet our



country's basic needs must be developed and must require:

- Vigorous conservation of energy and stepped-up research on new technologies;
- Greater reliance on coal and nuclear power, including the breeder reactor;
- Regulations that encourage, rather than block, needed and environmentally sound development of energy resources;
- Promotion of load management techniques; stronger and more flexible transmission facilities and wider power pooling.

Very simply, these are our objectives . . . because we are working in the interests of rural America—of all America.

America's rural electric systems

For more information on rural electric energy positions, write Dept C, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.



Fertilizing: Its importance in creating superior wines.



Fertilizing the vineyard is a vital part in the art of growing premium wine grapes. It is not a simple operation.

Its Importance

A healthy grapevine can thrive for 80 years or more. In fact, the older its stock, generally the better its grapes.

During the vine's lifetime its nutritional requirements will change from its earliest years—when it is being trained to the desired form for grape growing—to its later years—as it gradually matures into an established vine.

Thus, any fertilizer program that is to be complete must take into consideration both the vine's long-term needs and its immediate requirements.

Different Needs

Fertilizing is not a simple operation. We know that even within a single vineyard, there are no homogeneous soils. Soil textures can range from fine or coarse sand, to a very fertile sandy loam.

These different soils require different fertilizers in different amounts to compensate for deficiencies. As a result, we have kept a precise history of all the fertilizing experiences in our vineyards over the past 30 years.

We know exactly when, how much, and what kind of fertilizer has been applied to each of our vineyards during that time.

We know the results of those applications—and how long the treatment lasted—down to small problem areas only a few yards square and even individual vines.

One of the methods we use to gauge these results is core sampling—the extraction of a cross-section of earth to be analyzed for nutrients—or the lack of them. Above, you see a rendition of our core sampler being used.

We take samples at various depths down to four feet from any part of the vineyard which may show abnormal vine growth or visual deficiencies for comparison with samples from normal areas. These soil samples are delivered to our winery for immediate analysis. They will be analyzed and compared for available nitrogen, pH, organic matter, and other important elements in order to de-

termine the source of the problem and the type and quantity of fertilizer which is required.

Fertilizing As An Exact Science

There are two good reasons why we take so much care when it comes to fertilizing: under-fertilizing and over-fertilizing. Under-fertilizing greatly reduces vine growth and bud fruitfulness, whereas over-fertilizing can produce such exceptionally heavy leaf growth as to curtail bud fruitfulness and grape production.

These phenomena are the result of an imbalance of what is known as the carbohydrate-nitrogen level of the vine.

A high carbohydrate-moderate nitrogen level produces moderate vegetative growth, early wood maturity, abundant fruit bud formation and good fruit production.

This is what we look for in the Gallo Vineyards.

Petiole Analysis

In addition to normal soil analysis in our vineyards we also employ a test known as "petiole analysis."

The petiole is the stalk of a vine leaf. By taking a sample of it and analyzing it, we can determine the current nutritional status of the entire grapevine.

If we find that a particular area of one of our vineyards is weaker than the rest, we will immediately gather 200 or more petiole samples from that section—plus a like number from a healthier area of the same vineyard for comparison.

By analyzing the tissues of all these samples, we can readily and specifically determine if the weaker area has a deficiency of nitrogen, potassium, zinc, boron or some other vital mineral.

Our Solution

These are only a few of the many special steps we take in the Gallo Vineyards to try to grow the finest grapes possible.

It is only by such meticulous care along the entire chain of grape growing and winemaking steps that we can hope to achieve our goal.

To provide you with the finest wines we can produce.

Gallo Vineyards, Modesto, California

CHRONICLE

also to the book publishing industry and the many booksellers around the country who use *The Times* [best-seller list] as a sales tool." Starting September 11, 1977, the new listing provided a roster of fifteen titles in each of four categories — hard-cover fiction, hard-cover nonfiction, trade paperbacks, and mass-market paperbacks. An immediate effect was the abrupt promotion of the animal-lovers' *All Things Wise and Wonderful* from eighth to first in hard-cover nonfiction; hard-cover fiction remained stable.

NBC Nightly News

Joseph Angotti, executive producer

On the day after Labor Day NBC introduced its new format for the *NBC Nightly News*. David Brinkley was moved to Washington, while John Chancellor continued to report from New York. They now work in a new setting, the main feature of which seems to be that the anchormen are seated more informally in chair-and-desk instead of being placed rigidly behind podiums, and they are encouraged to move around — David Brinkley, for example, in describing President Carter's four-continent tour, strolled over to a globe and traced the route with his finger.

The format of the show itself also changed. It is divided, says NBC News, into four segments: the night's top story in depth, the secondary stories ("A newsreel of the world," departing NBC News president Richard Wald called it), one story in depth not tied to breaking news, called "Segment 3," and, finally, a summary of the day's events and the usual closing story that Wald dubbed "poignant, moving, or humorous."

Segment 3 is the most significant of the changes, one directed apparently at the frequent charge that network news are incapable of being anything more than a headline service. Subjects have included homosexuality, organized crime on the waterfront, and 1978-model cars.

OPENINGS

Bookviews

John F. Baker, editor-in-chief; published by the R. R. Bowker Co. (a Xerox company); first issue: September 1977; monthly: 75 cents a copy; \$12 a year.

Published in New York by the same company that puts out *Publishers Weekly*, which it resembles in format, *Bookviews* is aimed at the book-buying public, with feature stories

about writers and short reviews of "more than 200 books" in each issue. The reviews, the editors tell us, "were originally written for *Publishers Weekly* and *Library Journal*," and seem to have been chosen, or edited, with an eye to recommending books, not savaging them: Their tenor ranges from enthusiastic (most often) to gently critical (seldom).

Outside

Jann S. Wenner, editor-in-chief; published by *Rolling Stone*; first issue: September 1977; monthly: \$1.25 a copy; \$10 a year.

A preservation-minded outdoor magazine for young people with money to spend. Published out of *Rolling Stone*'s old San Francisco offices, it features lively, generally intelligent writing, appropriately elegant design (old-style classy), the inevitable color photography, on heavy, glossy stock, of beautiful scenery, and a hard-to-read rustic typeface a size too small. *Outside* seems to

be nervous about itself as a travel magazine: Its writers and editors, like all who share knowledge of "unspoiled" places, may be uneasy in the knowledge that they can help ruin such spots by writing about them. So such articles in *Outside* tend to be about places already on their way to ruination (Telluride, Colorado, for one, and Kalalau Valley, on Kauai, Hawaii, for another) and the writers are careful to point out that fact. The tone is less edgy when equipment is discussed (knives, packs, cowboy hats), or nature ("Mysteries of the Egg"), or the politics of conservation. *Outside*'s editors have placed themselves, shrewdly but precariously, between their readers' dreams of life outdoors and advertisers' perception of the "upscale" buying power (there are ads for cars, cameras, liquor) of these same affluent young people.

(This is the magazine for which William Randolph Hearst III left the family fold — he's just plain managing editor Will Hearst

on the masthead — and for which Gerald Ford's son Jack, as assistant to the publisher, wrangles publicity and good will.)

Washington Journalism Review (WJR)

Peter McGrath, editor; Roger Kranz, publisher; a project of the Washington Media Education Center, Inc., a nonprofit organization; first issue: October 1977; monthly: \$2 a copy; \$16 a year; 3122 M. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

Here, after a year of preparation and publicity, is the premiere issue of a magazine of journalism for what is certainly the country's most journalism-conscious community. There is nothing tentative about this first issue; it springs forth as a full-blown magazine, cleanly edited and ample, if rather mild in tone. Altogether, it contains fifty-one editorial pages (approximately equivalent to the *Columbia Journalism Review*'s recent average) and seventeen pages of advertising.

continued

Advertisement

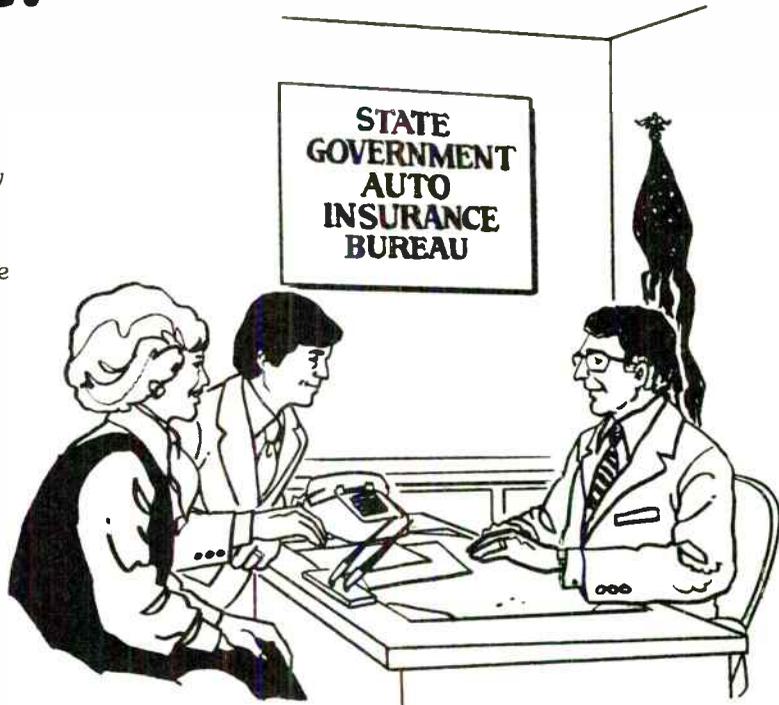
Should Government Sell Auto Insurance?

With auto insurance rates high and coverage hard to get in some sections of the country, suggestions are being heard that state government should sell auto insurance.

Government auto insurance plans have already been tried in Maryland and the Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia. The results of these efforts are spelled out in State Farm's *Insurance Backgrounders* on "Government As An Auto Insurer."

We have *Insurance Backgrounders* on other insurance-related topics of interest to the news media. Once you're on our mailing list, we'll send you new ones as they're published. For this free service, call us at 309-662-2625 or write to:

Insurance Backgrounders
Public Relations Dept.
State Farm Mutual Automobile
Insurance Company
One State Farm Plaza
Bloomington, IL 61701



The solution to high costs in If only the facts didn't get in

The health care industry is under attack because we spend more than any other nation on health care, and health care expenditures continue to rise each year. Health care has become our nation's largest industry, almost 9 per cent of the gross national product.

But the most important consequence of our massive investment is the fact that our health care system is the best in the world. We have a record of solid accomplishment that has been glossed over in the current health care dialogue:

Fact: Americans are living longer. Life expectancy is now an average of 72.5 years.

Fact: In 1931, low-income persons visited a doctor 2.2 times annually; by 1964, 4.3 times; and in 1975, six times (1.9 times more than high-income persons).

Fact: In 1960, 26 infants died per 1,000 live deliveries; in 1976 the number was 16 per 1,000 (a decrease of 38 per cent).

Fact: In 1960, 761 Americans died per 100,000 population; in 1975 the number was 642 (a decrease of 14 per cent).

Fact: In 1960 there were 37 maternal deaths per 100,000 population; in 1975 the comparative number was 11 (a decrease of 71 per cent).

Fact: Ten of the first 15 causes of death in the U.S. are down over the last 12 years.

Fact: In 1952 there were 20,000 reported cases of paralytic poliomyelitis; in 1976 there were eight.

No wonder the *public* has never indicated any desire to alter our health care system! The public expects to continue receiving services the system now offers—and that the quality of these services will constantly improve. These expectations grow despite the prospect of limits on health services that would be imposed by legislated cost controls.

The dialogue on health care led by the Administration has focused solely on costs and, thus far, has been unbalanced. In introducing the concept of controls, the Administration implies that our health care system is unconcerned about costs and is both wasteful and inefficient. However, some of the facts cited above belie that premise. In fact, as government

seeks to control the industry and so reduce costs, it has not addressed the consequences of such measures as they would affect the quantity of services and the level of their quality.

Comparisons of the costs of a hospital room in 1950 with one in 1975 are a familiar statistic. The offset—a comparison of what you got for the money in 1950 versus today—is never drawn. The story of the evolution of the hospital from custodial care for the sick-poor to the sophisticated, complex, highly technological medical center has little appreciation today. The dialogue has been truly unbalanced.

Rising medical costs have prompted the Administration to propose a stopgap plan to control

Health care could be simple. The way.

growth. ("Stopgap" is the Administration's word, not ours.) The approach seems sensible, because it's so simple, at first glance: slap a 9 per cent limit on all hospital revenues, gradually tighten the screws in subsequent years, allow virtually no exceptions.

We respect the intentions behind this proposal. But we must disagree most emphatically with the prescription for curing the ailment.

What troubles us most about the scheme is not the short-range financial impact of the proposal. American Medicorp hospitals—we own and manage 54 acute care community hospitals with one per cent of the nation's beds—already live within strict budgets that compel them to deliver the highest quality care on a cost-effective basis. As a privately-owned hospital management company, responsible both to our patients and our stockholders, we're accustomed to carefully watching costs.

What we're fearful of is the long-term consequence of an arbitrary system that inhibits competition, encourages inefficiency and produces unrestrained consumer demand. The proposal exacerbates all the wrongs that make health care costly, while taking no major steps to support those institutions striving to achieve economies.

To explain, some hospitals, admittedly, are high-rollers. Driven by the pressures of the system, they purchase every piece of technology available and their costs reflect this excess. At the same time, more than 20 per cent of acute care hospitals operate with annual cost increases of less than 9 per cent. Thus, the ceiling would really become a floor for these institutions—an incentive to increase costs to 9 per cent to protect against the day when controls are further tightened. And there are hospitals scrupulously

cost conscious: they spend prudently to meet community needs.

But the Administration's stopgap notion lumps all hospitals together. This creates inequities that get worse with time.

We're not seeking an unfettered industry. We recognize, perhaps even better than does the government, its shortcomings. American Medicorp favors structuring incentives to achieve the twin goals of constraining cost increases while assuring the delivery of quality care. And such an approach is not a far-fetched scheme to avoid control. Indeed, an approach we favor already has been introduced in legislation.

The chief sponsor is Herman E. Talmadge, the respected Senator from Georgia. The bill, which now also has been introduced by Representative Paul G. Rogers (D-Fla.), chairman of one of the two House subcommittees responsible for drafting health legislation, would authorize development of a performance-based reimbursement plan. This plan would introduce the concept of incentives and free enterprise into hospital management, rewarding the efficient institutions and penalizing the inefficient.

The Talmadge proposal is not quite as simple as the Administration's program. But simplicity is not necessarily a virtue when the problem is as complex and as vital as health care. The proposals for Medicare and Medicaid looked straightforward and simple 15 years ago.

American Medicorp strongly urges serious consideration of the Talmadge reform measure. It would achieve the twin goals of cost containment and broad access to medical care while moving the whole hospital system toward greater efficiency.

And that's a fact.



American Medicorp Inc

111 Presidential Boulevard Bala Cynwyd Pennsylvania 19004

The health care legislation debate is of such importance, we have devoted our current annual report to the subject. If you would like a copy, write Mr. Alan B. Miller, President.

In format, it roughly resembles the recent magazine incarnation of *More*, but is somewhat more restrained and orderly. Major items in the issue include a mildly favorable (and long) appraisal of the Rooney Arledge administration at ABC News by Edwin Diamond, senior editor; a relatively tame discussion of exploitation of free-lance writers, by Daniel Rapoport; general articles on Washington newsletters, the Advertising Council, and broadcast regulation; and an interview with Washington Redskins players on what they think of sports reporters. A touch of class is lent by the novelist Larry McMurry, who lays out goals for *WJR* to which other journalism reviews might attend as well: "The value of any journalism review seems to me to depend largely upon the kind of questions it chooses to ask. How much news is enough, how much is a surfeit, and how much a disaster? Does news do any harm, does it do any good, is it really an agent of culture or merely one of the innumerable idle pastimes with which we distract ourselves? Such questions may be hard to answer, but surely the first business of a journalism review should be to register them."

DEALS

Doonesbury

Switched August 15, 1977, from the *Philadelphia Evening and Sunday Bulletin*, which had carried Garry Trudeau's sociopolitical strip since its first commercial distribution in 1970, to its morning rival, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. The *Inquirer* offered the distributor, Universal Press Syndicate, not only a written contract to replace the oral agreement with the *Bulletin*, but a reduced area of exclusivity that permitted the syndicate to sell the strip to twenty-six additional newspapers in the region. Moreover, the *Inquirer* itself agreed to pay an unannounced amount in excess of the \$325 a week *Doonesbury* earned at the *Bulletin*. The *Bulletin* tried to block the change in federal court, but Judge Alfred L. Luongo declined to recognize the *Bulletin's* unwritten agreement because "it has been established that in every instance these matters are reduced to writing."

Esquire

Bought August 26, 1977, by an unnamed company headed by Clay Felker and Milton Glaser, with backing by Associated Newspapers Group Ltd. of London, a newspaper group headed by Vere Harmsworth. The monthly magazine, founded in 1933 by Arnold Gingrich, last year earned about one-sixth of the revenues of Esquire, Inc., a diversified corporation involved in publishing, educational products, and lighting. For almost three years, *Esquire's* profitability had been on the decline, with losses for the last completed year amounting to more than a million dollars. For Felker, the purchase represented both a return to *Esquire*, where he had worked in the 1950s, and to the magazine business, from which he had been temporarily absent after losing his fight with Rupert Murdoch early in 1977 for control of *New York*, *New West*, and *The Village Voice*. Glaser was a co-founder and the designer of *New York*.

Book-of-the-Month Club

An agreement in principle to merge with Time Inc., announced July 5, 1977, drew unexpected opposition later from the writing community. The agreement provided that the fifty-one-year-old club's stockholders could receive \$30 a share in cash or exchange each share for a new Time Inc. preferred stock; the acquisition price thus came to an equivalent of \$63 million. On August 2, the Authors Guild, representing 5,000 professional writers, sent a letter and memorandum to the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission urging those agencies to block the merger. The letter, signed by John Brooks, president, and John Hersey, chairman of the organization's book committee, noted that the Guild had previously opposed the merger trend in the book industry. Of this new instance, it complained that Book-of-the-Month would be in the hands of a company that already owned the trade publisher Little, Brown, and that Little, Brown might now have an unfair advantage in selling its titles to the club. Further, the Guild suggested, Book-of-the-Month might also receive unfair advertising access to Time Inc. magazines. In response, a club execu-

tive said: "If Time Inc. people had given us even the slightest indication that they might try to use influence, this merger would never have been considered."

CLOSING

The Rome Daily American

The English-language daily in the Italian capital published its last issue July 19, 1977. Founded in 1946 by a former American government information specialist and three former staffers of the Mediterranean *Stars and Stripes*, the paper passed through successive ownerships, including that of Doris Duke. A later part-owner was Langdon Thorne, Jr., a New York banker, who gained a controlling interest in 1956. In the September/October 1974 *Review*, Stuart H. Loory reported that during the Thorne period the Central Intelligence Agency became one of the *American's* owners and that, according to Thorne, Clare Boothe Luce, the American ambassador, and her husband, the publisher Henry R. Luce, had encouraged him to acquire the paper and had offered to help him finance it. In September 1977 Mrs. Luce wrote to the *Review* about her role in the acquisition, denying that either she or her husband had offered to help with the financing, while encouraging Thorne to seek control. She wrote that she had found, on her arrival in Italy in 1953, that the C.I.A. had covertly funded a number of Italian publications, and that she had told Allen Dulles, then C.I.A. director, that she "strongly disapproved" [emphasis hers] of this particular form of CIA covert activity, and that I urged him to discontinue it as soon as possible." She adds: "So far as I knew, this became CIA policy in respect of the newspaper and magazine business in Italy. . . . I did not know that CIA had become Mr. Thorne's 'fourth partner' in the ownership of (the *American*) until I read it in your article."

Loory reported that the C.I.A. interest amounted to 40 percent and lasted seven years. Thereafter the paper fell on hard times, with high turnover in both management and staff. At the end, according to its publisher, Chantal Dubois, it had to close for financial reasons and because of legal difficulties with its printers.

NO-FAULT IS TOO GOOD AN IDEA NOT TO IMPROVE UPON IT.

No-fault was the first real innovation in the sticky field of settling automobile claims.

The people liked it; we liked it; the Department of Transportation liked it.



Each state (16 at latest count containing 60% of all insured vehicles) that adopted it varied the rules according to its local needs.

And that worked out for the best, too.

If something could be done to make no-fault better, most people agree that it's in raising the no-fault limit.

What with inflation, and rising costs in general, a higher threshold would mean more

claims would be settled more quickly. And possibly reduce costs for everyone.

What do you think? We at The Travelers would like to know. Just write our Office of Consumer Information, One Tower Square, Hartford, Conn. 06115. Or dial, toll-free, 800-243-0191. In Connecticut, call collect, 277-6565.



THE TRAVELERS
Raising our voice, not just our rates.

COMMENT

Perching on the edge of the bed

The story of a *Philadelphia Inquirer* political reporter's affair with a Pennsylvania state senator was made public in August after the reporter was questioned by the F.B.I. as a potential witness in a federal tax-evasion case being prepared against the senator, Henry J. Cianfrani. The ethical problems for the reporter, Laura Foreman, and for her former editors at the *Inquirer*, indicate that reporters, like public officials, are increasingly subject to press and public scrutiny when their private and professional lives clash.

Foreman made mistakes much like those for which public officials have suffered. Her first mistake was to begin an affair with a news source. Her second mistake was to remain on her beat as the *Inquirer's* political reporter after the affair had begun, sometime during the summer of 1975. Cianfrani was an ally of Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo, whose successful primary campaign Foreman had covered during the spring of 1975. A third mistake was to accept gifts from Cianfrani that included a \$3,000 mink coat and jewelry.

Foreman would say in her own defense only that she had written nothing that violated her own sense of professional ethics. And, to her credit, she had asked for a change of assignment in the fall of 1975, during the general-election campaign. But in view of the facts of the case as they have appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers (most notably, in a 17,000-word report in the *Inquirer* on October 16), her self-justification is not persuasive, even when one doubts, as did Richard Cohen in *The Washington Post*, that similar standards would have been applied to a man in such a situation.

Nor was the newspaper's response as alert as it might have been. According to

Inquirer reporters, the editors were told of Foreman's involvement as early as the spring of 1975. After the 1975 election the defeated mayoral candidate complained about her reporting. But the *Inquirer* rejected these complaints and did not ascertain the facts until early in 1976.

This year, Laura Foreman moved on to the Washington bureau of *The New York Times*, from which she was forced to resign in September. With this all but inevitable ending, the question remaining is what effect it all will have on newsrooms. Will some editors now feel obliged to be on the lookout for information about the sex lives of their reporters? If so, will they be equally curious about men and women reporters? As *Inquirer* executive editor Gene Roberts said ruefully, "One of the problems with sex is that unless you are perching on the edge of the bed, how do you know for an absolute certainty?" Editors should not have to perch on the edge of the bed if they have taken pains to establish good and firm ground rules on reporters' independence. Such guidance — and the operation of the commonly recognized if unwritten code of rank-and-file ethics — should serve to obviate any need of F.B.I.-like tactics in the newsrooms.

Now that's more like it!

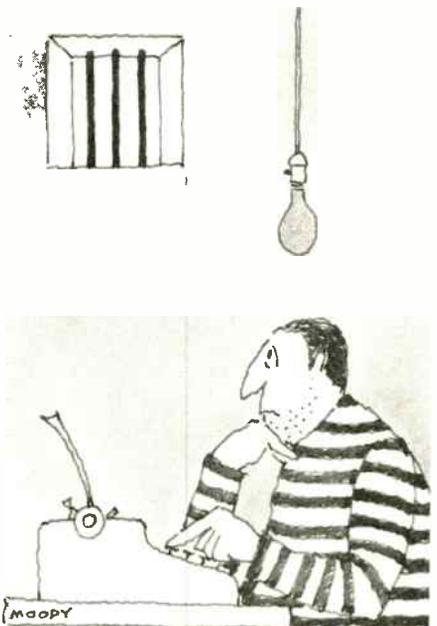
As children, we were told that "crime does not pay." Growing up, most of us learned there were exceptions. During the seventies, as books by all sorts of criminals made the best-seller lists, certain crimes came to seem a sure road to financial success.

Those crimes, of course, were the ones whose perpetrators had become celebrities as a result of massive press coverage. There were all those former White House aides sentenced by Judge

Sirica to serve penitential terms as writers. Many subsequently became highly paid lecture-circuit speakers.

But the payoff no longer stops with white-collar crime. The whole, dismal, horror-show, show-biz press treatment of New York City's "Son of Sam" murder case made the accused, David Berkowitz, another likely candidate for best-sellerdom — a prospect which, in New York State, has led to the passage of a piece of legislation that may well prove to be a potent deterrent to crime. The bill, signed into law by Governor Carey in August, requires that a suspect's proceeds from the sale of books, magazine articles, movies, television programs, or other retellings of misdeeds be turned over the state's Crime Victims Compensation Board. Profits will be released only after compensation claims have been processed or if the suspect is cleared of the charges.

A Son of Sam story prompted this bill. State Senator Emanuel Gold, of Queens, said he drafted it after reading a newspaper account stating that Berkowitz "stood to get rich" and that people would be waiting at the precinct house



to get him to sign a contract. "That," Gold was quoted as saying, "was just the last straw."

Perhaps United States senators will be interested in looking into federal applications of Gold's legislation. Think of it! If the idea had come up earlier, we might all have been compensated — in the form of tax rebates, for example — from the royalties accruing to White House aides who wrote books about their misdeeds. We the people might even have gotten a share of the residuals of the Nixon-Frost interviews.

Darts and laurels

Dart: to Neil Solomon, a medical columnist for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate, for promoting the consumption of saccharin, which has been designated a carcinogenic hazard. The doctor's August series of reducing-diet recipes called repeatedly — and specifically — for up to nine packs of Sweet 'n Low.

Laurel: to reporters Jim Raglin, Michael Holmes, and the *Lincoln (Nebraska) Evening Journal*, for an August investigation of alleged sales by Army personnel of private insurance-investment plans to recruits. Currently under inquiry by the F.B.I. and the Army Criminal Investigation Division, the allegations involve the passing of Army recruiting information to the Roosevelt National Life Insurance Company and the use of Army time, telephones, and office space in the conduct of the company's business.

Laurel: to *Time*, for its August 29 cover story, "The American Underclass" — a bleak report on millions "stuck more or less permanently at the bottom."

Dart: to the *Journal Tribune*, Biddeford, Maine. After winning top prize for excellence in the Maine Press Association's best-newspaper competition, it contradicted its peers' judgment by playing the prize in its September 9 ban-

ner: JOURNAL TRIBUNE JUDGED MAINE'S BEST DAILY.

Dart: to the Gainesville, Georgia, *Times*, for relieving sentimental readers of some \$600 by charging two bucks a throw to publish their personal signatures as a "salute to Elvis" in an August 25 Souvenir Edition.

Laurel: to Mary Bishop Bob Hodierna, and *The Charlotte Observer*, for a June 26 revelation of evangelist Billy Graham's carefully unpublicized \$23 million fund and its equally unpublicized investments in Exxon, General Electric, A.T. & T., and I.B.M.

Dart: to the nodding editors of the New Jersey section of *The New York Times*, for a monumental slip. The July 17 edition carried two versions of a feature on the Princeton Gothic battle monument, one on page 3, another on page 18, each complete with a photograph of the memorable sculpture.

Laurel: to Mark Dowie and *Mother Jones*, for a September/October article, "Pinto Madness," an appalling tale of how the Ford Motor Company produced a car it knew to be susceptible to gas-tank explosion on rear-end collision, and then waged an eight-year anti-safety fight.

Laurel (for possibly unintentional frankness): to the Torrance, California, *Daily Breeze*, for publicly including in its twenty-six member "advertising team" not only executives and sales people but also the restaurant "editor."

Laurel: to KFYV, Arroyo Grande, California, for banning the use of those wonderfully convenient prepackaged phone feeds that p.r.-conscious politicians send to radio stations. Not only are they "misleading," wrote news director Paul Talbot to Congressmen Leon E. Panetta and Robert J. Lagomarsino; they are "insulting to me as a journalist and a broadcaster."

Dart: to the National News Council, for using four columns of space in the September/October 1977 *Review* to

explore charges of inaccuracy in the *National Enquirer*. Trying to establish standards of accuracy for the *Enquirer* is like setting up a dress code for a nudist colony.

'A rational, reasonable, and sensible corrective'

"Power is legitimate only if accountable to the people. Governance is legitimate only if derived from the consent of the governed."

Presumably, most Americans would agree with these propositions, at least as far as government is concerned. What bearing do they have — or should they have — on the life of the American reporters? *Washington Post* reporter Morton Mintz, the author of the lines quoted above, had some interesting things to say on this subject when, last March, as a member of a Newspaper Guild bargaining committee, he presented "four innovative proposals" to representatives of the Washington Post Company.

Of the four proposals, the one advocating the formation of a "voice" committee was, perhaps, the most important and the most broadly interesting, for here Mintz attempted to describe and resolve the problems arising from the dual nature of the newspaper reporter: a professional, with the pride of a professional in his or her work, who is also an employee. The proposal itself, though "innovative" at the *Post*, was by no means new. As Mintz pointed out, a joint management-Guild worker participation committee has been functioning successfully at the Minneapolis *Star* and *Tribune* for five years and a similar (non-Guild) voice committee at the *Los Angeles Times* has, for the past four years, helped to minimize the "incestuous relationships in which editors talk only or mainly to each other about the larger issues affecting the newspaper," as *Times* labor reporter Harry Bernstein told Mintz. In western Europe, mean-

while, many major newspapers have ceded rights to reporters and editors that in the U.S. are still very much the prerogative of publishers. (A notable example is *Die Zeit*, of Hamburg, whose by-laws state that the publisher cannot act against the wishes of the majority of editors who have held their positions for more than two years and require that major changes in editorial organization must be discussed with the editors. Another is *Le Figaro*, run by a twelve-member supervisory council, seven of whom represent the noneditorial workers.)

If the idea of a voice committee was hardly novel, Mintz's argument for it delineated with unusual clarity some of the problems perceived by newsroom employees. A few examples must suffice:

... our primary case for a Voice Committee ... is that News Department employees need such a mechanism to protect themselves from actual or potential abuse of their rights

by management, to determine and clarify what in fact those rights are, and to deal with misunderstandings or problems while they are small or confined to prevent them from becoming serious. . . .

[A] case in point emerged a few months ago when *More*, the journalism review, somehow obtained, and the Managing Editor then posted in the newsroom, a copy of the September 26, 1975, memo written by Bob Baker on "the decisions made at [a management conference] in Bermuda." As you know, Baker designated the memo "CONFIDENTIAL." He addressed it to the Executive and Managing Editors. . . .

[One of the decisions read:] "Approval was given the concept of switching reporters among beats and between departments to avoid staleness and provide rejuvenation." We do not suggest that the concept is a bad one, or that the "right to manage" does not include such switching. We do suggest that the policy concerning switching ought to evolve in frank consultation within a Voice Committee, mainly because switching is a technique which can have drastic impacts on the persons involved, especially as to their career prospects and as to their morale (and,

inexorably, on the morale of their mates and families). . . .

Other instances cited by Mintz involved retractions and replies to letters to the editor published without consulting the reporter whose reputation was at stake or without letting the reporter draft his or her own reply. "In such unilateral decision-making by editors on matters bearing on reporters' reputations," Mintz argued, "we see a serious potential for abuse; and we see the Voice Committee we propose as a rational, reasonable and sensible corrective."

In conclusion, Mintz wrote:

Surrounding the whole issue of a Voice Committee is the tension . . . created in a newsperson by being at once an employee and, at least in attitude, a professional. "The working journalist has only as much freedom as his employer chooses to give him," the late A. J. Liebling once wrote. "The First Amendment guarantees the journalist protection from the government's abridgment of his right to report and publish. To date, it has offered no protection from an employer's

Advertisement

THE JOHN HANCOCK 11th ANNUAL AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL JOURNALISM

Once again, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance will honor professional writers judged to have contributed significantly to reader understanding of business and finance through articles published during 1977.

Winners will be chosen in six publication categories with individual awards of \$1,000, plus participation in an awards presentation program, to be held at one of America's leading academic institutions. The 1976 awards were presented at a program co-sponsored by the George Washington University, on October 20-21, 1977.

Basic objective of the annual Awards for Excellence is to foster improved public understanding of business and finance, with particular emphasis on lucid interpretation of the complex economic problems which affect the lives of all citizens.

Entry blanks and complete information may be obtained by writing "Awards for Excellence", T-54, John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, P. O. Box 111, John Hancock Place, Boston, MA 02117. Postmark deadline for submitting entries is January 31, 1978. Six unmounted copies of each entry must be submitted. Each entry must be accompanied by an official entry form.

This year cash awards of \$1,000 will be presented in each of the following classifications:

Syndicated and News Service Writers
1976 winner: Lee Mitgang, Associated Press

Writers for National Magazines of General Interest
1976 winner: Steven D. Brill, *New York Magazine*

Writers for Financial-Business Trade Publications
1976 winners: William Wolman & Philip B. Osborne
Business Week

Writers for Newspapers with Circulation above 300,000
1976 winners: Susan Trausch & Laurance Collins
The Boston Globe

Writers for Newspapers with Circulation 100,000 to 300,000
1976 winners: James Asher & Paul Schweizer,
Camden Courier-Post

Writers for Newspapers with Circulation under 100,000
1976 winner: Judd Cohen, *Yonkers Herald Statesman*

JUDGES

Margaret Klein, Financial Services Editor, North America,
Reuters Limited

Lawrence M. O'Rourke, Washington Bureau Chief
Philadelphia Evening and Sunday Bulletin

Leonard Silk, Columnist, *The New York Times*

Dr. Peter B. Vaill, Dear,

School of Government & Business Administration
The George Washington University

Donald C. Wilder, Editor,

Quincy Patriot Ledger

John Hancock

Mutual
Life Insurance
Company

arbitrary denial of that freedom. And yet, the professional integrity of the journalistic function itself demands it."

Mintz's presentation — to which the *Post* has yet to respond — may prove useful as a stimulus to reporters and managements elsewhere to rethink the reporter's role and status and potential usefulness. Can the intelligence and dedication of persons "who, among other things, routinely and often superbly report and edit news of great complexity and importance" be systematically tapped by management for the benefit of all? Can democracy work in the newsroom? *J.S.*

Another case in point

The need for a staff voice in the policies of a newspaper was underlined by the protest, early in October, of five-sixths of the reporters at the *New York Post* against that paper's coverage of the local mayoral campaign. Because there was

no regular channel for such a protest, it was presented in a petition, which the publisher, Rupert Murdoch, reportedly rejected. Perhaps a "Voice" committee would not work in this particular situation in any case, but at the least, had one existed, the controversy could have been explored through discussion, rather than confrontation.

At issue: breaking up network news

The time has come to confront the unthinkable: Has the network newscast become a relic whose prime time has passed and whose worth is no longer obvious? To answer the question requires an examination of those elements that make television news distinctive.

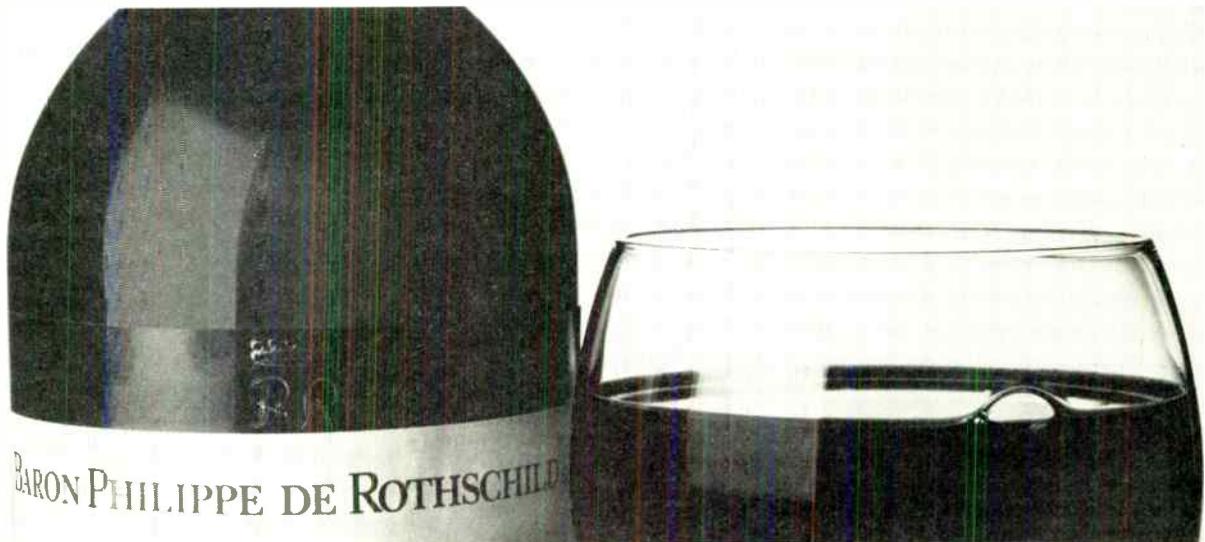
The importance of anchors and program producers in television news cannot be exaggerated. Walter Cronkite's

presence on the news is more than a convenience. He is the glue that holds it together. His presence guarantees acceptance, regardless of what is being reported by the correspondents in the field who, after all, occupy most of the broadcast time. Behind the scenes, but equally indispensable, are the producers, who select what stories will be aired and often set the editorial tone.

Newspapers, by contrast, require the active participation of their customers in the editorial process. After the newspaper's reporters and editors have done their jobs, the readers do theirs, choosing, perhaps, to skip the front page in favor of the comics. But on television, as David Brinkley has noted, everything is on the front page. The only decision left viewers is to pay attention or not, to turn it off or leave it on.

This comparative lack of choice and what some perceive as the editorial slant of network newscasts have helped create a favorable climate for attacks on network television news. Among those

Advertisement



**The second
most impressive thing
about Mouton-Cadet.**

The first.

As impressive as the label is, the ultimate mark of a fine wine is in its taste. And the taste of Mouton-Cadet is a delight.

The grapes used in Mouton-Cadet are selected from some of the best vineyards in Bordeaux. The result is a superbly-balanced red. And a crisp, delicious white.

Mouton-Cadet. A fine wine because it's a Rothschild. And a Rothschild because it's a fine wine.

Mouton-Cadet
Red and White.



IMPORTED BY THE BUCKINGHAM WINE CORPORATION
SOLE U.S. AGENTS NEW YORK, N.Y.

most sympathetic to such assaults in the early seventies were many owners of the networks' own local affiliates. But even though they were irritated by seeming arrogance and high-handedness, few, if any, of them were upset enough to cancel their affiliation agreements with the networks — partnerships that have been likened to licenses to print money.

But there are signs of change in that symbiotic relationship. Last year, when the network chiefs confidently announced plans to expand network news into time now controlled by the affiliates, there was a revolt among the local stations, and the networks beat a hasty retreat. This new mood is a sign that it may be time to examine the very notion of a national news program.

Any overhaul, I contend, should have two objectives: the decentralization of editorial control over television news, and the gradual transformation of network news divisions into suppliers rather than programmers.

There is considerable precedent, in and out of the industry, for the latter. The major wire services — United Press

International and the Associated Press — are the preeminent suppliers of news in the United States. Their worldwide systems, and the staffs of their subscribing or member newspapers, radio, and television stations, supply written words, photographs, and audio services to thousands of news outlets around the country.

What separates such suppliers from network news programs is the right of those who buy their materials to choose to run them as they please. Their features usually can be edited by the subscriber and played at will. A network news program has to be run, generally speaking, when the network says so, and with no local editorial judgment involved. This despite the fact that a local station, under Federal Communications Commission regulations, can be held accountable for what the network airs, even when the affiliate has no advance knowledge or control.

Yet within the present network news organizations there is in existence a nucleus that could serve as the core of a

new kind of network news organization. Each network has a syndication service which, for several hours weekly, when there are no network programs being transmitted, sends news material down the closed-circuit lines to affiliates for inclusion in their local broadcasts. At NBC it is called Network Program Service (N.P.S.); at ABC it is the Daily Electronic Feed (D.E.F.). CBS calls it simply CBS Afternoon News.

Affiliates pay the networks sizable fees (\$1,500 to \$2,000 monthly in a medium-sized market) for the use of this news material, usually reports not good enough to make the networks' own programs and feature stories done by other affiliates around the country and sold to the syndication service for a small fee. News directors complain that not only are many of the pieces of inferior quality, but that what most stations are really paying for is only the right to rerun material from network news programs. The syndication agreement stipulates that affiliates cannot replay material from the network newscasts — the good stuff — unless they

Other opinions

With clearly recognizable characters, incidents and even words, one can foresee staggering confusion in the minds of millions of Americans about what happened for sure, what *may* have happened and what was merely imagined about this still partly shrouded period of tumultuous history. — *Daniel Schorr, commenting on ABC-TV's six-part drama, Washington: Behind Closed Doors, in The New York Times, August 7, 1977.*

I can say that when the media is waging a "war" against some particular unlawful act such as burglary and someone

charged with a burglary enters the county jail, the other inmates . . . look at that alleged burglar as if he was a condemned man. — *Gerard Peacock in the Fortune Society News, July-August 1977.*

We do not believe that the press may be required under the First Amendment to suppress newsworthy statements merely because it has serious doubts regarding their truth. Nor must the press take up cudgels against dubious charges in order to publish them without fear of liability for defamation. The public interest in being fully informed about controversies that often rage around sensitive issues demands that the press be afforded the

freedom to report such charges without assuming responsibility for them. — *U.S. Court of Appeals opinion, May 25, 1977, reversing a libel judgment against The New York Times and a National Audubon Society official.*

The Court of Appeals . . . has magnanimously handed the media of this country a license to tell lies that damage the reputation of others, even if they know them to be lies, without running the risk of having to pay a libel judgment. . . . If this incredible opinion is not overturned by the Supreme Court, the sewers of defamation will be flooding the nation. — *AIM Report, Accuracy in Media, June 1977.*

have aired the original program and subscribe to the syndication service. So the syndication agreement is a kind of insurance for network news programs.

To rebuild network news could mean, in its simplest form, to remake the existing syndication services. Instead of directing its major efforts toward one early-evening show, with its high production costs, the network could produce self-contained "packages" of news material and feed them down the closed-circuit line each day to the affiliates. Local stations then could pick and choose among the stories offered, and incorporate them into their own news programs.

For most stations this would involve only minor adjustments. Many affiliates already have expanded their local news to an hour or more. Because they usually abut the network news, local newscasts often avoid national and international news. The result is a curious state of affairs in which local stations, with fewer resources and less interesting stories to draw from, often do longer newscasts than their network counterparts. The result has often been inane, time-consuming chitchat and fillers.

The networks view this as a good reason for taking over some of the local time for network news. My counterproposal is that networks supply their first-run material to the affiliates, allowing the locals to lace together the pieces with their own anchor people.

Network correspondents would continue to file their stories from the centers of news here and abroad. The main difference would be that a local station would be able to decide, for example, whether a debate over Medicare or a story about the Alaskan pipeline was of more interest or importance to its viewers.

I would expect three objections to eliminating the network newscasts. The objections, and my responses:

□ *If they don't have daily programs, with their advertising revenues, networks can't afford the kinds of news departments they now operate.*

Network news departments are considered by many to be wasteful and inefficient. Eliminating high production costs and ultimately reducing the need for high-priced news stars would cut costs. And there are plenty of ways to make up the difference, including increased syndication fees.

□ *Local stations are irresponsible, or subject to too much local pressure, and might not do as good a job as the networks.*

Although it is hard to imagine the networks making such a charge publicly, it is clearly a danger. But it is also one of the dangers inherent in allowing local newspapers to decide what the community should read. Yet who ever suggests that the answer to irresponsible newspapers is to put out a national newspaper and require local newspaper "affiliates" to reprint it, untouched and unedited?

□ *People want, and ought to be able to have, the news delivered by their favorite newscaster.*

They might prefer a different news format if given the chance to see it. The new "whiparound" format on the *ABC Evening News*, which deemphasizes anchor people, is a move in this direction. At any rate, I am not suggesting an overnight change in the system, nor am I suggesting that the "stars" of TV news be taken off the air completely.

The arguments favoring a new kind of television journalism seem to me to be persuasive:

It would lead to a decentralization of the awesome power of network news, yet would permit the continuation of its major function as a collector of news, even on an expanded scale.

Decentralization also could extend to the establishment of regional news

bureaus on a larger scale, further reducing the control now centered in New York. Bureaus in major population centers, feeding regional-interest stories to affiliates in their areas, could supplement the stories of national interest being fed down the main network line.

Such an arrangement could go a long way toward ending the cult of personality in network news. No single newscaster would have the power, as some suspect is now the case, to alter substantially the nation's perception of events by the lifting of an eyebrow.

And it might very well lead to a higher degree of professionalism by local news programmers. As it stands now, local news is too often glib and superficial. Local news departments have been kept in a state of extended adolescence by the fact that the networks control the major decisions regarding what national and international news is worth reporting. Requiring affiliates to make more of these editorial judgments could force a new sense of responsibility upon local broadcasters.

We know that changes are coming in the entire structure of television. More advanced cable technology, the ability to transmit programs by satellite instead of land lines, the growth of electronic news gathering — all these developments herald changes in news as well as entertainment programming. Richard Wald, until recently the president of NBC News, has talked about modifying the role of the anchor; Roone Arledge, his counterpart at ABC News, has begun doing it. But do we not eventually have to address the possibility of a total change in the way network news operates — a no-anchor system?

RICHARD TOWNLEY

Richard Townley is news director of WCMH-TV in Columbus, Ohio.

PUBLISHER'S NOTES

Ego deflator

For editors with an inflated idea of their own importance, *Newsprint Facts* uncovers an antidote in the form of choice quotes from a publisher of so-called Pennysaver shopping guides. Tracking down the source, we find it to be Ms. Cal Tremblay, chief executive of the Pennysaver Group affiliated with Harte-Hanks newspapers, speaking before a seminar of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association. Among her sales arguments:

- Without the additional overhead of an editorial department we can make our [advertising] prices more competitive.
- The *Pennysaver* stays in the home all week and is not thrown out with the next day's garbage like the newspaper.
- Display ads are more likely to be seen and read with no editorial content to distract.
- There is no editorial content to offend readers.

Lance in retrospect

To those interested in lessons to be learned from the Lance fracas, we commend the major article in this issue by Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover. By way of independent observations from one who formerly served in the Washington press corps and later in Washington officialdom, we offer these brief reflections:

- A few newspaper editorials (and senators) were premature, in our view, in calling for Lance's resignation before he had had his day in court before a Senate committee.
- News stories occasionally overstepped wise limits, as seems the case with some reports linking Lance with the Campbell embezzlement. On the whole, however, the reporting was a responsible exercise of the watchdog function. It disclosed Lance as involved not in crime or major law violations but in a type of venturesome wheeling and dealing hardly expected of a bank chief executive or a U.S. director of the

Office of Management and Budget.

□ Jody Powell became more enmeshed, operationally and emotionally, in the Lance defense than is appropriate for a White House press secretary. While he made a few valid points (as well as missteps), he took over functions that more appropriately should fall to Lance's attorney or aides. And his attempt to encourage stories damaging to Senator Percy was, by his own frank admission, "dumb."

□ Senator Ribicoff employed a tired dodge when, after the second of his committee's three series of Lance hearings, he charged the news media with having unjustly "smeared" Lance's reputation "from coast to coast." He admitted the mistake later. Actually, the media performed certain functions that should have been performed by the senator's committee had it been effectively organized and staffed.

□ In the light of the performance of government functionaries, sometimes eager for promotion or retention, in sweeping Lance items under the rug, the continuing need for the watchdog (or even "busybody") role of press and broadcasting seems to have been significantly reaffirmed.

To new subscribers

The *Review* owes apologies to some hundreds of new subscribers (and a few returning former subscribers). In preparation for the fall subscription solicitation, we increased the print order by about 10 percent. But subscriptions exceeded expectations to such a degree that the later subscribers could not start with the September/October issue as planned. Their subscriptions will begin with this issue.

If we have to be surprised, we prefer it this way. But we express sincere regrets for the inconvenience to our new readers and welcome them with gratitude.

About Review policies

Editorially the *Columbia Journalism Review* seeks to champion standards of honest, fair, and decent journalism, dispensing praise or criticism where it seems appropriate. Beyond that the *Review* espouses no partisan positions, no movements, no causes. It does so for the simple reason that the *Review's* central mission is enough to keep it fully engaged, and the baggage of other causes would impair its primary function. It seeks to give full play to dissenting views, as in its "Unfinished Business" department.

Much the same spirit of free speech has governed advertising in the *Review*. Legally, of course, the magazine could reject any advertising it wishes. It has preferred to date to avoid that course. It naturally declines advertising that clearly misrepresents facts, that exceeds the limits of good taste, or that makes extravagant and unsupportable promises. To date it has preferred not to go beyond that in selecting ads and, indeed, has published ads whose messages conflict with the views of many of us responsible for the *Review*.

It has been a happy development that advertising, new to this magazine, has been a major factor in keeping the *Review* alive and in making it progressively stronger without affecting its editorial independence.

Happy coincidence

In the last issue, this column replied to a *New Yorker* article and questioned that worthy journal's refusal to print the reply or, indeed, any reply or any correction over a period of some years. Without claiming credit, we note with pleasure that *The New Yorker* of October 3 carried a detailed reply to an article about New York City employees, along with comment from the author of the original piece. By our count it was the first such case since 1972. *E.W.B.*

Commentary



George F. Will



David S. Broder



William Raspberry

Lifestyles



Ellen Goodman

George F. Will

The 1977 Pulitzer Prize winner for distinguished commentary. His twice-a-week columns are a regular feature in 235 newspapers.

Economics



Hobart Rowen



Jane Bryant Quinn

Sports



Joan Ryan

Media

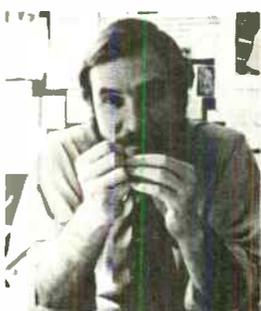


Charles B. Seib

Illustration



Geoffrey Moss



Tony Auth

Ellen Goodman

This Boston Globe columnist takes a lively, discerning look at contemporary issues, for editorial or lifestyle pages. Twice weekly.

Hobart Rowen

Economics Editor of The Washington Post. He is one of the top five business writers in the country, according to a poll conducted by MORE. Two columns each week.

Jane Bryant Quinn

The Hancock award-winning author of "Staying Ahead," a personal finance column filled with down-to-earth advice for consumers and investors. Three columns a week.

Joan Ryan

A newly-syndicated weekend sports column with a woman's viewpoint that attracts both male and female fans. Once weekly.

Charles B. Seib

The Post's Ombudsman writes a weekly "News Business" column on national media issues. Helps assure your readers that the press is not afraid to monitor its own performance.

Geoffrey Moss

One of America's outstanding young artists, his stylish drawings can help perk up Sunday and editorial page features. Ten illustrations monthly.

Tony Auth

A Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist who captures the issues with a light touch, making readers laugh even when it hurts. A minimum of three cartoons each week.

For rates and availability on any columnist or feature, call collect, or write William B. Dickinson, Jr., (202) 223-5177, The Washington Post Writers Group, Washington, D.C. 20071

Bylines that build readership

Ten great ways to strengthen different pages and departments of your newspaper.

David S. Broder

Winner of the 1973 Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary and one of the most influential and respected political columnists in America. His twice-weekly columns are now being carried by 210 newspapers.

William Raspberry

"The most respected black voice on any white U.S. newspaper," said *Time*. His new urban affairs/minority issues column has become an instant winner. Twice weekly.

The Washington Post Writers Group

A syndicated service from The Washington Post



Alas, hospitals are only human.

They've got to keep up with the Joneses.

For the hospital board, it must seem a simple logic of survival. Beds are filled by patients. Patients are provided by physicians. Physicians, understandably, are attracted by the latest equipment.

But for us who pay the bills, that logic costs dearly.

Unnecessary duplication of expensive technology is fueling a rampant inflation.¹ The hospital bill — and the health insurance which pays it — is now one of the fastest-rising costs in our whole economy.²

Can we slow it down? Aetna believes so. If doctors were to assign patients to *any* of several hospitals nearby, expensive equipment could be shared. Specialized facilities, staff, even beds would be more efficiently used.³

Establishing state commissions to set limits on hospital expenditures could help, too. In Maryland and Connecticut, such commissions have been at work since 1974. They've lopped some big numbers off hospital budgets,⁴ without reducing the quality of care.

And Aetna is encouraging local medical societies to monitor doctors' use of hospitals. Was the length of stay appropriate? Was admission necessary in the first place?⁵ If all of us involved continue to raise such questions, insurance costs *can* be controlled. Don't underestimate your own influence. Use it, as we are trying to use ours.

Aetna wants insurance to be affordable.

¹ Consider the cost of the CAT scanner, the latest thing in diagnostic machinery. (The CAT—Computerized Axial Tomograph—takes pictures of cross-sections of the body.) If every one of the 6,000 general hospitals in America bought a CAT, the initial investment alone would cost us all nearly *three billion dollars*.

² Ten years ago, health care costs consumed about 6% of the gross national product. Today it is close to 9%. Center stage in this inflationary drama is the hospital bill, which has doubled in the last five years!

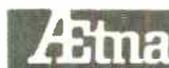
³ This principle could eliminate many wasteful situations. In Philadelphia, for instance, 16

hospitals have open heart surgery programs. But according to a government study, only five used them enough to be considered efficient. Waste applies to much simpler equipment, too, like beds. The government estimates there are at least 100,000 unnecessary hospital beds empty each day, at a cost of \$2 billion a year.

⁴ As much as \$45 million saved in Maryland alone, in 1975.

⁵ Most medical societies have a "Professional Standards Review Organization" created for just this kind of review for Medicare and Medicaid patients. Aetna believes the potential savings justify such review of all patients.

Further information may be obtained by contacting Henry L. Savage, Jr., Public Relations, Aetna Life & Casualty, 151 Farmington Avenue, Hartford, CT. 06156, Telephone (203) 273-6545.



LIFE & CASUALTY

World Radio History



In Sunnyside, Utah, they've always had too much water.

You wouldn't guess it from the parched, scrubby desert that's all around.

But at Kaiser Steel Corporation's Sunnyside Coal Mines, too much water has been a problem since the original miners began working them back in 1896.

Three million gallons of water must be pumped up every day. Or the mines can't be worked at all.

To do the job, Kaiser Steel turned to some rugged, hardworking Flygt pumps, developed by the people of ITT.

These submersible pumps, squatting in grit-laden water, pump out the mines continuously,

day and night. (Some have been at it 12 years now.)

Some of the water is sprayed on the coal being mined, to keep down the coal dust.

Some is used to wash the coal before it's sent off to its destination.

And some of the water is stored in 500,000 gallon tanks that some of Sunnyside's neighbors tap for farming when their water supply's low.

Around Sunnyside, Utah, they need all the water they can get.

Everywhere but in the mines.

**The best ideas are the
ideas that help people. ITT**

Bert Lance, the newshounds, and dog days in Washington

August and September were the cruelest months
for Carter's budget director,
but was a vicious press to blame?

by JACK W. GERMOND and JULES WITCOVER

At his press conference on September 21 disclosing the resignation of his friend Bert Lance as director of the Office of Management and Budget, President Carter was asked whether he felt that Lance had been "unfairly drummed out of the government." Considering the heavy media coverage of Lance's troubles, and the climate of the debate in Washington at the time, the question seemed to be an invitation to the president to blame the press for Lance's political demise. But Carter demurred, observing instead that while some stories about Lance were "greatly exaggerated . . . actually untrue [and] not unbiased . . . in general, I think the media have been fair."

That was by no means a universal view in Washington. Lance's Democratic supporters on the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee repeatedly pictured the inquiry as a product of what Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri called "excesses" in the media. Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, Lance's chief defender on the committee, said "It is time to lower the curtain on this media festival which has been conducted for so long at the expense of one man's honor and reputation," and he complained specifically about "scores of investigative reporters nipping at his [Lance's] heels." Other politicians agreed. Senator James Allen of Alabama said he was "apprehensive of the great

power of the media to influence the course and direction of government," and, as Lance packed for Atlanta, Allen warned, mixing his metaphors: "I don't know who their guns will be turned on next . . . they've gotten his scalp."

Even the politically astute Speaker of the House, Thomas P. O'Neill, while not subscribing to the conspiracy theory, suggested that press attention, rather than the facts of the case, forced Lance to resign. "I think he just felt that with the press continually on him," O'Neill said, "he would think the best thing to do for his pal [Carter] was to leave." And the attitude of the politicians was shared by Lance's friends outside the political community. In the crowd that welcomed him back to Calhoun, Georgia, one sign read: "News Media: Who's Next?"

Blaming the bearer of the bad news is, of course, nothing new. Anyone so brash as to write a critical word about Richard Nixon these days is sure to receive letters raving about how the press "hounded him out of office." And in the aftermath of Watergate, the critics suggest, the press has been inspired to a new aggressiveness and tenacity in its determination to look impartially into the dark corners of political corruption, Democratic as well as Republican. There is, certainly, something to that: Many Washington reporters are still embarrassed by their failures on Watergate — but not as much as the outsider would imagine.

There were other reasons for the heavy coverage of the Lance case. One was simply that the story broke during an extraordinarily dull news period and continued through the

Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover write a column on national politics for The Washington Star and the Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate.

dog days of August when Congress was in recess and Lance's woes were "the only show in town." This probably made it possible for news organizations to assign more reporters to the story than might otherwise have been the case. And unquestionably there was some feeling that Carter's pious declarations of a higher ethical standard for his administration were a gauntlet thrown down for the press, much as his campaign promise that "I'll never lie to you" became a challenge to the press to catch him lying.

But whatever the reasons, it is indisputable that the press zeroed in on the Lance affair through most of August and September. Exclusive stories appeared in, among others, *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and even that citadel of rewrite, the Associated Press. But to acknowledge this much is not to say that the media "got" Bert Lance. Things much more substantial forced him out: separate investigations still underway at the time of his departure by the Justice Department, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Securities and Exchange Commission, all examining soft spots in Lance's banking practices uncovered by their own investigators.

Unlike the Watergate experience, in which aggressive investigative reporting independently produced important disclosures, most of the stories about Lance all through the summer were based on information obtained from or leaked by government investigators, either in the agencies or on the Senate committee staff. So it cannot really be argued that Lance would have survived if the press had ignored the story. The facts were in the hands of the investigators; the most that can be said is that the press, through disclosure, hastened the process that led to his departure.

At that, the media were slow to react to the dimensions of the story, considering the mob-scene pursuit in the final weeks. Clues to Lance's problems were available at the time of his original Senate confirmation, but were not pursued. In early January, stories by A.P. and *The New York Times* discussed Lance's 1974 gubernatorial campaign overdrafts, the sudden closing of the U.S. Attorney's investigation of them, and personal Lance family overdrafts. But the Senate committee breezed Lance through and those stories were largely forgotten.

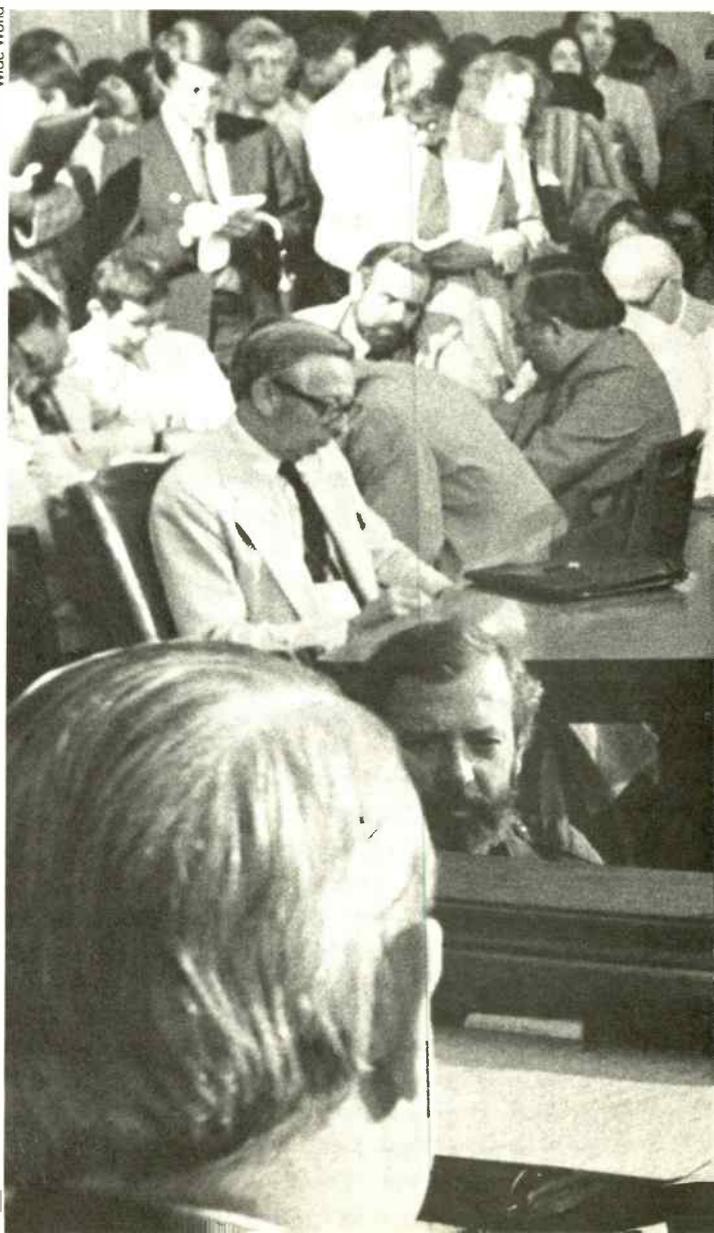
Again, in May, *Time* magazine ran a full-page article detailing Lance's personal indebtedness, including his \$3.4 million loan from the First National Bank of Chicago to cover a \$2.7 million loan plus \$700,000 of "accumulated interest and debts" from the Manufacturers Hanover bank of New York. The story described Lance as "hip deep in debt" as a result of declining stock values and quoted him as saying he wouldn't "hesitate to ask the President for some relief" from a pledge he had made to the Senate committee that he would sell all his stock by the end of 1977. That, of course, is what Lance finally did, and it was Carter's request to the committee in early July to give Lance more time to sell the stock that ultimately opened the whole can of worms.

This is not to say, however, that there were not turns in the road in which the press played an important role, both in

impact on officials and in forcing the rest of the press to react. On July 9, for example, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a story by Gaylord Shaw of its Washington bureau reporting that Lance had asked for the extension. Another turn in the road, although it may not have seemed to be one at the time, came on July 21 when William Safire wrote the first of a continuing series of outraged columns in *The New York Times* about what he eventually chose to call "Lancegate."

Safire has a special place in the Washington press corps and it is not one most people would envy. The *Times*'s decision to give a column on its op-ed page to a former government flack and speechwriter — and, ye gods, one who worked for Nixon — has always been considered by many in Washington a crime against nature. Nor has Safire quietly and even-handedly tried to reclaim his journalistic virginity. On the contrary, he has frequently been a shrill apologist in hindsight for the Nixon White House and Nixon himself and, with more justification, has repeatedly demanded that the media apply the same standard to Democrats like the Kennedys and Carter as they did to Nixon. So when the first

Wide World



of his Lance columns appeared, there was a strong inclination to look in the other direction. And that inclination continued through the next two months.

To some extent, that attitude was justified, because Safire's zeal stretched him too far. For example, in that first column, headed "Carter's Broken Lance," he tried to make a federal case out of the fact that Lance had introduced Carter to officers of the Manufacturers Hanover bank in June 1975, shortly before borrowing the \$2.7 million. The implication, of course, was that Carter as a prospective president added weight to Lance's loan application. But to anyone who followed the Carter campaign the idea is laughable. In June 1975, Carter was still so obscure a candidate, so far out of the conventional political reckoning, that it is probable that he, not the bankers, welcomed the occasion. As the controversy wore on, Safire's ludicrous attempts to equate the Lance affair with Watergate compromised the credits he earned by writing early and often on the issues. (At one point Safire telephoned Hal Gulliver,

editor of *The Atlanta Constitution*, and asked whether it was true that Lance had leaned on him to drop Safire's column. Gulliver assured Safire that it was not true, and that the *Constitution* had run all of his columns on Lance without editing, precisely because they were critical of hometown-boy Lance.)

Whatever Safire's motivation, however, there is no question the weight of his columns was felt, whether others in the Washington press corps cared to admit it or not. (Almost no one did. The *Post*, for example, later carried two news-section pieces about the press role in the Lance case without ever mentioning Safire.)

There were, of course, other stories that set the competitive juices flowing. On July 22, the *Post* reported that Lance's bank had opened an interest-free correspondent account in the Chicago bank shortly before he obtained his personal loan there. On August 10, James Coates of the *Chicago Tribune* Washington bureau disclosed that the comptroller of the currency was delving into the financing of Lance's political activities, as well as his dealings with

Lance, the committee, and the press: "Much of the press fell into the trap of seeing the hearings in sports-page terms."



other banks. Two days later, the *Los Angeles Times*'s Washington bureau chief, Jack Nelson, broke the story of Lance's use of his bank's plane for personal trips. And there were others.

The story that had the most influence on White House strategy in dealing with the Lance problem was, perhaps, the August 26 Associated Press story by Mike Sniffen and Rick Meyer of its Washington bureau about Lance's use of the same stock as collateral for two different bank loans. In itself, the story was not that much of a bombshell, but it came at a time, shortly after the release of the first comptroller's report (on August 18), when the White House was conducting its celebrated counteroffensive — Jody Powell taking to television and other forums to challenge the press to name one thing that Lance had done that was illegal or unethical. The A.P. story took the steam out of the counteroffensive. "That double collateral thing," an influential White House strategist said later, "was a bitch."

Whatever the investigative reporters were doing, the press clearly was not conducting what by any means could be called a concerted campaign to "get" Lance. After the first one-day hearing in the Senate committee on July 25, in which Chairman Abraham Ribicoff decided Lance had been "smeared" by the press, a week passed with very little in the way of disclosures. And when Carter held a press conference on July 28, not a single question was asked about Lance.

The budget director, for his part, apparently felt secure. On August 3 he took two of his sons — at taxpayers' expense — on a government helicopter ride, then went on a motor launch trip to spend several hours on the *Eagle*, the Coast Guard's four-master, off Long Island. On August 8, Charles Seib, the *Washington Post* ombudsman, wrote a column about "the parlous times" that had befallen investigative reporters in Washington. "For a time," Seib wrote, "it looked as though the personal finances of Bert Lance . . . might enliven the summer doldrums. But that story hasn't reached the 'Lancegate' stage and it probably never will."

Over the next ten days, however, there was a spate of minor disclosures about what the investigators were finding, much speculation about what would be included in the report of the comptroller of the currency, and — more to the point — how Jimmy Carter would respond to it. The press corps may have had its best moment as a group on the day that report was released and Carter declared that Lance had been vindicated ("Bert, I'm proud of you"). Lance and most of the White House political operatives were stunned when the press refused to accept the comptroller's conclusion that Lance was not guilty of anything illegal and instead pursued him on the fine print, of which there was plenty.

Nonetheless, the judgment of most of the press seemed to be that the report and Carter's very public embrace would be enough to see Lance through. The *Washington Post* banner the following day said: INVESTIGATION CLEARS LANCE OF WRONGDOING. And although that was not what the *Post* story said, it did reflect a rough consensus that the matter

was settled. (We were not immune to that notion. In a column the following Monday, we wrote that Carter was playing high-risk politics by seizing on the report so unreservedly, but our lead read: "Barring the sensational disclosure of a long-secret conviction for mopey or some such, Bert Lance is probably out of the woods." Farther down, we added: "By this time next month, there probably will be a new rhubarb for page one and, unless there are striking new findings, the Bert Lance story will be back with the truss ads." As it turned out, just a month later Lance was back on page one — resigning. Oh, well. So it goes.)

Over the next two weeks the story did not die. Investigative reporting or leaks from the investigators (depending on whether it was your story or the other guy's) made it plain that the Carter embrace was not enough to settle the case. By September 2, the Friday before Labor Day, the accumulation of questions about Lance — including the "double collateral" story — had reached the point where such senior political advisers as Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell were telling Lance he probably could no longer hope to save his job. He should now concentrate, they told him, on salvaging his personal reputation in his appearance before the Senate committee. Lance didn't agree with the first proposition, but he did hire Clark Clifford, which is what people in Washington do when they're in bad trouble.

Then, on Labor Day itself, the media again played a significant role, through a story in the *Atlanta Journal* and *Constitution* headlined SWINDLER IMPLICATES LANCE. Staff reporters Beau Cutts and Jerry Schwartz wrote that Senate

'Reporters, broadcast and print alike, seemed to be taking everyone's temperature at the White House hourly'

investigators had interviewed Billy Lee Campbell, who had been convicted of embezzlement while working at Lance's Calhoun bank, and had been told by him that Lance had been involved in that episode. The story also quoted the prosecutor and the defense lawyer in the embezzlement case to the effect that Campbell had never made any such allegation at the time. But, as we know all too well, it is the headline that often determines the impact a story will have on the public. And that headline, juxtaposed with demands for Lance's resignation from Senators Ribicoff and Charles Percy, tore it at the White House. It was now obvious there, if not to the press, that Lance needed a masterly performance before the Senate committee just to make it possible for him to go back to Atlanta as something other than, as a White House adviser put it, "Bert the embezzler."

As it turned out, though, the story proved a kind of blessing for Lance. Over the next few days the implication was repudiated by everyone remotely involved in the Campbell

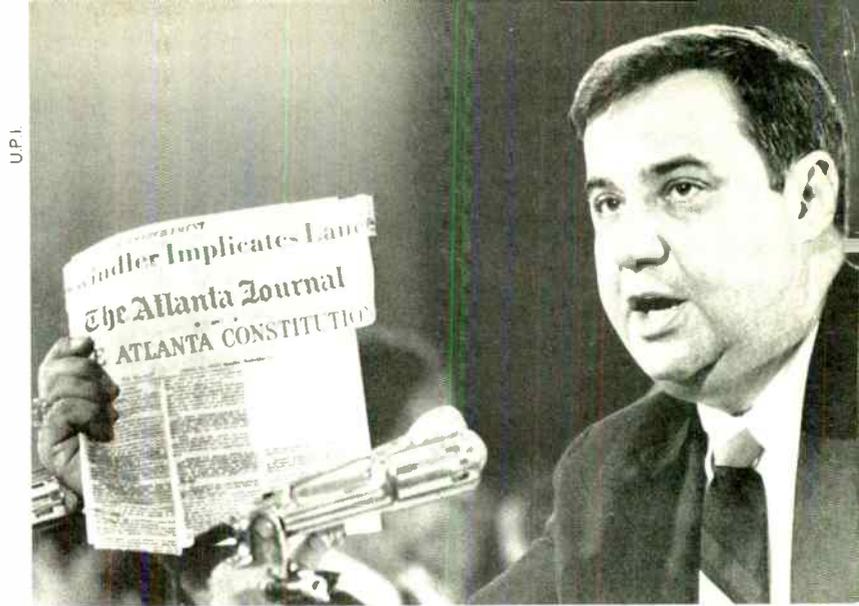
case and many who were not. And the White House operatives realized that it was as much an opportunity as a problem — that it was a straw man at which Lance could focus his fire and vindicate himself in the hearings. Indeed, the whole climax of the story — the three days of Lance's testimony televised before the Ribicoff committee — proved to be straw.

This turn marked the most serious failure by most of the press in the whole Lance story — the failure to recognize that it had become as much a political story as an investigative one. More details of Lance's machinations and the rebuttals of those details were important only to the degree that they affected his ability to achieve a limited objective — saving his reputation. Accordingly, much of the press fell into the trap of seeing the hearings in sports-page terms: Lance was "fighting back" and "scoring points" against the generally inept committee. The mail at the White House shifted dramatically in Lance's favor. It was Lance 28, Ribicoff 10. It was Lance 42, Percy 0. And, to carry this thinking a step further, if Lance was smiting the Senate committee so successfully, then couldn't he be "winning" his job back, after all? The answer in reality was an emphatic "no," but you couldn't tell that from the newspapers over the three days of the hearings.

An editorial in *The Washington Star* on the Tuesday after the hearings said: "At this writing, in the view of those who measure such things, Mr. Lance has improved his chances of staying on as director of the Office of Management and Budget." And a report on the first day of testimony in the *Baltimore Sun* observed: "All in all, Mr. Lance emerged from reading a 49-page defense with the possibility that he might be able to fend off demands for his resignation from Sens. Ribicoff and Percy."

The *Chicago Daily News* put it this way: "There had been widespread agreement in official Washington that Lance would resign after he made an all-out effort to clear his name at the Senate hearings. That attitude has changed, however, with the odds increasing that he would survive the furor over his personal finances and banking conduct." There was this carefully worded paragraph in *The New York Times*: "Before his 'day in court' on Thursday, most observers appeared to believe that the budget director would either resign or be dismissed. But public reaction, which the White House seems to be weighing, is said to have been running ten to one in favor of Mr. Lance after the first two days of hearings." *The Washington Post* described Carter aides as "exuding increased confidence that Bert Lance can be saved." White House reporters, broadcast and print alike, seemed to be taking everyone's temperature at the White House hourly.

But what the media were not focusing upon was the hard reality of Lance's position — and that of others in the political community. Ribicoff had already reversed himself once, from defending Lance to demanding his resignation; he could hardly be expected to do it again. And would Majority Leader Robert Byrd be likely to repudiate a Democratic committee chairman — particularly one who had been so instrumental in his becoming majority leader in the first



Lance displays a Labor Day revelation: "White House operatives realized that it was as much an opportunity as a problem — that it was a straw man. . . ."

place? Public opinion or not, could Jimmy Carter function in Washington if he bent his criteria for ethical standards the first time they were severely tested? And what about Lance himself? Could he continue to hold down the job of budget director with a pack of governmental investigative agencies — as well as the investigative reporters — still on his neck?

The Saturday night the hearings ended, as Sunday papers rolled off the presses with stories about the White House "exuding confidence" and "enthusing" about how well old Bert had done in the hearings, a senior White House adviser was telling a reporter: "I still don't see any end to it." That morning, *The Washington Star* had published a story about Lance's excursion on the *Eagle*, and the White House man mentioned it. "Whatever he does from now on," he said, "it's going to be a big deal."

So the hearings had accomplished their limited objective of restoring Lance's reputation to some degree, but, as another White House political man put it, "the dynamics of the thing" had not been altered. And to the extent the press suggested otherwise, readers had been misled.

In the Lance case, the press performed essentially as it almost always does — some hits, some misses. It was slow to react at first, and uneven in its sophistication in dealing with a complex story. It did not do the pure investigative job that was done on Watergate. But the Lance story was, after all, not Watergate — not for the press and not for the Carter administration. No scandal in Washington or anywhere else in the country is likely to be for a long time to come.

In the meantime, it is probably enough for the media to do the kind of job they did on the Lance story — aggressive and, for the most part, conscientious and fair. The American press did not "get" Bert Lance, nor should it have tried. What it did do was keep important and revealing developments about a major public figure of considerable power before the public, until that figure — and his sponsors in the White House — faced up to the one decision "the dynamics of the thing" dictated. ■

Soviet dissidents and

The two groups serve each other's needs, but does this bond distort our view of the U.S.S.R.?

by PETER OSNOS

As a rule, the press conferences best attended by American journalists in Moscow are announced in telephone calls closely monitored by the K.G.B. and held in stuffy little living rooms. These are sessions where dissidents — liberalizers, religious believers, would-be emigrants — denounce Soviet repressiveness and appeal to world public opinion to support their stand.

The atmosphere at those press conferences had become somewhat desultory of late, what with the departure to the West of such celebrities as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Andrei Amalrik, author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, and others. But the pace of "ideological struggle," as *Pravda* would say, quickened markedly this year because of President Carter's espousal of human rights, which so infuriated the Kremlin. A crackdown on dissidents, already under way for different reasons, seemed to gain new impetus. Harassment of Western, particularly American, correspondents who cover the dissidents was stepped up. Repression in the U.S.S.R. once again made the front pages, the covers of the news weeklies, the evening news.

No right-thinking person would deny that Soviet citizens should be entitled to speak their mind to Western journalists and to advocate political reforms without fear of official retaliation. Nevertheless, there are some disturbing questions about the very close contacts between dissenters and the Western press in Moscow. Are these dissidents really as important as our attention to them would indicate? What actually is their constituency among Russians? Are we encouraging dissent merely by writing about it? Indeed, do we sometimes act more as spokespersons for dissidents than as reporters?

Tough questions those, because to answer them with anything less than a ringing endorsement of that small group of people who take on the massive Soviet security apparatus, and who dare to speak freely in a totalitarian state, may imply reservations about them — which is precisely the problem. Westerners find it difficult to be completely objective or critical about dissidents because we are instinctively sympathetic to their views, even when we don't fully understand them. Since the Soviet Union is considered our country's most formidable adversary, opposition expressed

to its negative features finds ready approval here. There is something reassuring, moreover, about the persistence of a courageous few ready to challenge the Kremlin. Their testimony provides confirmation of Soviet flaws.

The dilemma, therefore, is not whether to write about dissent — it is obviously a significant story — but how better to place it in a perspective that gives readers a picture of what it means.

The antecedents of contemporary dissent in Russia are very old, dating back at least to the Decembrists of 1825, a group of liberal officers who tried to block the ascendancy of Nicholas I. The current era began in the mid-1960s, after the downfall of Nikita Khrushchev, whose denunciation of Stalinism inspired hopes of a lasting thaw in official attitudes towards freer expression. In 1966 came the trial of the writers Yuli Daniel and Andrei Sinyavsky for sending manuscripts abroad to be published under pseudonyms. Scores of intellectuals signed protests. And some, in turn, were prosecuted.

Demonstrations in 1968 against the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia produced more arrests — and new dissidents. The great physicist Andrei Sakharov issued his first

Wide World



Peter Osnos recently returned from Moscow, where he had served as correspondent for The Washington Post since 1974. He is now foreign editor at the Post.

the American press

stirring call for democratization. Amalrik's bold polemic appeared in the West. Young Vladimir Bukovsky charged that nonconformists were being incarcerated in mental hospitals as punishment.

The anti-Zionist campaigns that followed the 1967 Middle East war prompted many thousands of Jews to seek permission to emigrate. Their fate became a major issue in Soviet-American relations because of the effective pressure on Congress by Jewish groups and many liberals. Solzhenitsyn, regarded by many as Russia's greatest living writer, described efforts to suppress him and spoke out against the destruction of traditional Russian values. Sakharov became a symbol for the defense of human rights around the world and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The signing in 1975 by the Soviet Union and thirty-four other nations, including the United States, of the Helsinki Accords on European Security and Cooperation placed human rights on the agenda of East-West relations and set standards for such items as the flow of information, ideas, and people across frontiers. To the chagrin of Soviet leaders, the document proved a new rallying point for dissent.

The dissident "movement" in the Soviet Union today is

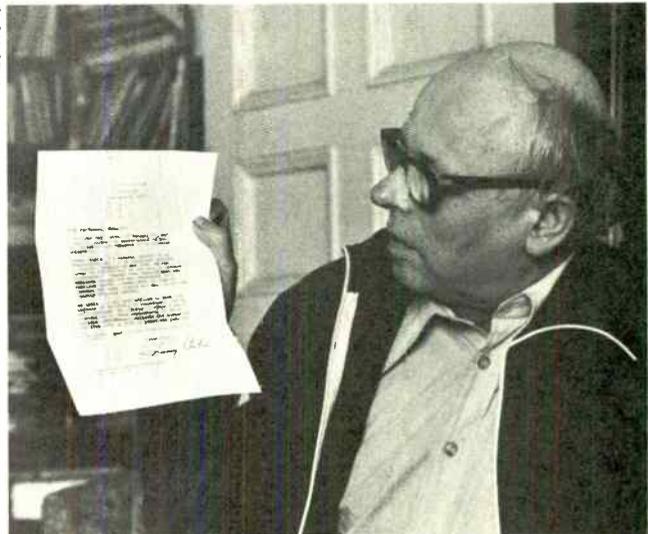
actually a disparate assortment of people that includes Marxist reformers like the historian Roy Medvedev, underground Pentacostalists, minority nationalists such as the Crimean Tatars, Jews, and others refused permission to emigrate, as well as some liberal intellectuals and artists. The number of people willing to take public action, such as signing a petition or making a statement, is in the hundreds — although that is only an informed guess. There are countless others who sympathize but keep quiet for reasons of prudence. (More than 100,000 Jews and thousands of ethnic Germans and other minorities have been allowed to emigrate since 1970. Only a tiny number ever joined a political protest before leaving.)

For a decade now, foreign correspondents in Moscow — especially the two dozen Americans and some of the West German, British, French, Italian, and Scandinavian reporters — have provided the bulk of news about what the active dissidents were doing. The press serves two distinct audiences: Westerners (and their governments who have virtually no resources of their own for openly contacting Soviet dissenters) and the Soviet people themselves, who follow events from news agency and newspaper accounts broadcast by the BBC, the Voice of America, the West German *Deutsche Welle*, and, when it can penetrate the jamming, Radio Liberty. Radio listening has become an increasingly important factor in recent years as the Soviets relaxed interference with most stations, a consequence of improved relations with the main Western powers.

Covering these events brings reporters into close touch with dissidents, their families, and, often, their friends. The rapport from the beginning was understandable. Corre-



Wide World



Physicist Andrei Sakharov (left) at a 1975 press conference held in his Moscow apartment and (above) displaying a letter from President Carter

spondents in Moscow had always found it exceedingly difficult to meet “real” Russians as opposed to their occasional stiff encounters with officials or cultural figures. Now at last there were people who would talk, who would invite the outsiders to share unforgettable evenings around crowded tables, sharing information and insights into life in the U.S.S.R.

Initially there was also the undeniable novelty of any form of protest from a Russian. An obscure intellectual in his twenties like Amalrik, who had been kicked out of university and sent into Siberian exile for nonconformity, achieved international stature because correspondents of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, who were his friends, wrote admiringly of his bravery. When his essay suggesting that Russia might collapse tumbled up in the West in 1969, it caused a sensation. The Book-of-the-Month Club was so impressed that paperback copies (padded out with letters from Amalrik and an introduction) were sent free to all members. Amalrik was sentenced to prison camp in 1970 and emigrated in 1976. Primarily because of that early notoriety, today he would probably rank only a few notches below Brezhnev and Kosygin on a list of the most famous Russians of recent years.

For reporters, the inherent drama in the struggle and suffering of individuals like a Bukovsky (who was traded from a prison cell last winter by the Soviets for imprisoned Chilean Communist leader Luis Corvalan) pitted against the powerful Soviet state has the strong appeal of a story that sells. There is none of the fuzziness or dry speculation of Kremlinological and foreign-policy analysis, none of the

frustrations of writing on vast, complicated subjects like health, housing, or agriculture.

And dissident stories — conforming as they do to the editorial notion of hard news — get prominent play in the press and on television.

Dissidents well know the importance of getting their message out — and in, via the radio broadcasts — and so make matters as easy for correspondents as they can. They type their statements in multiple copies, provide interpreters at press conferences, and travel for hours by bus and subway to meet with busy reporters on street corners. (Such encounters are commonplace, which is why *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert C. Toth had no qualms about meeting a parapsychology buff near his home in what turned out to be a K.G.B. setup to accuse Toth of collecting “secret” information.)

In short, the relationship is a symbiotic one of overlapping purposes: the correspondent wants to know Russians and get a good story. Dissidents offer both. The dissidents want to tell the world what they think. They also believe that if their names are recognized abroad, authorities will treat them less harshly — a belief for which there is probably some validity.

The result of this mutual usefulness, as well as the relatively easy access of news about dissidents compared with other kinds, is what seems at times to be a disproportionate emphasis on them. It is rather like viewing the United States from the perspective of our most disenchanting and persecuted citizens. Not that the Soviet Union is any less repressive than it is commonly portrayed as being. But Americans hear so much more about the repression than anything else



How some other Russians see themselves

The self-portraits shown here were taken in the summer of 1976 at an American Cultural Exchange exhibit in Kiev. The Russians were given the Polaroid positives of the pictures they took of them-



Wide World

Other dissidents and friends, from left: Alexander Ginzburg, AP correspondent George Krinsky and Paula Krinsky, Gyusel Amalrik, Yuri Orlov, Arena Ginzburg, Valentin Turchin, and Andrei Amalrik

that we have a limited picture of what is happening in the U.S.S.R.: sociological and economic problems, for instance, that in the long run may be far more important in the development of the Soviet Union than the fate of a handful of admittedly admirable radicals.

Even when reporters do focus on more general aspects of Soviet life, much of their information tends to come from dissident friends, which compounds the correspondents' narrowness of perception — for which, of course, the Soviets have themselves primarily to blame since they re-

strict the availability of other sources. Some dissidents can be as dogmatic as *Pravda*. When I set out to do a series of articles on the handling of routine criminal cases in Soviet courts, several dissidents criticized me (one wanted to send a complaint to the *Post*) for even considering the premise that there could be any form of justice in Russia. They were saying, in effect, that I wasn't anti-Soviet enough. Ironically, several months later I was ordered to the Foreign Ministry and accused in a formal declaration of being "systematically" hostile to the U.S.S.R. in my writing.

The impact of the tight link between dissidents and the press on events can be substantial. Take the case of Yuri Orlov. He is a scientist in his early fifties, an associate of the Armenian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Several years ago, Orlov signed a few petitions in defense of human rights and was dismissed from his job. He moved to Moscow and soon, through dissident friends like the physicist Valentin Turchin, president of Moscow's small chapter of Amnesty International, and Amalrik, met a number of correspondents. Orlov became a frequent signer of statements on specific issues and participated in press conferences. In the spring of 1976 he organized a group to monitor Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accord's human-rights provisions. The group included Alexander Ginzburg, a twice-jailed activist (who, it was later disclosed, ran a fund for the families of political prisoners with money sent into the country by Solzhenitsyn), several Jewish "Refuseniks," and Anatoly Marchenko, a worker-writer then in Siberian exile.

The Helsinki group, as it came to be called, held press conferences almost weekly to issue reports on subjects as



selves as seen in a full-length mirror; American photographer David Attie kept negatives made simultaneously on other cameras. This selection is taken from Russian Self-Portraits, to be published

in November. Reprinted by permission Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. Copyright © 1977 by David Attie.

diverse as official interference in telephone and mail communications to harassment of the religious. Offshoot committees were established in Georgia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania. The authorities lent credibility to the effort by seizing Orlov on the street and warning him that his activities were illegal. Reporters came to refer to Orlov as "a leading dissident." Committee findings, as carried in the press, were analyzed by foreign ministries in Western Europe. Additional data were forwarded to a special U.S. congressional-executive panel keeping track of compliance with the Helsinki document in advance of the Belgrade conference, now underway, whose purpose is to assess how well governments have lived up to the accords.

Thus a small number of little-known private citizens in the world's most powerful totalitarian state had an influence on opinion in the West. Only Western reporters in Moscow could have brought them so prominently to the public eye and then kept them there.

Stung by the group's success and evidently determined that it would not be active at the time of the Belgrade meeting, the Soviets cracked down. Nine members from Moscow, Georgia, and the Ukraine were arrested, including Orlov, Ginzburg, and Anatoly Scharansky, one of the Jewish "Refuseniks." Scharansky was later formally accused of treason. Associated Press correspondent George Krimsky, who was particularly active in dissident coverage, was expelled. Several other Western correspondents, including myself, were attacked in the press with suggestions that we served intelligence-gathering functions. And in June, Toth was picked up and questioned for fourteen hours. The purpose was clearly to intimidate both reporters and dissidents.

The arrests, attacks, and expulsion in February and March drew specific criticisms from the Carter administration which were instrumental in creating the strain between Moscow and Washington on the human-rights issue.

There is no doubt that the activities of a Helsinki group or the pronouncements of a figure like Sakharov highlight Soviet repression. They certainly keep the heat on the Kremlin in the sensitive area of personal liberties. But it is a mistake to confuse the work of these individuals with movements of mass dissent. The worker strikes and riots in Poland in June 1976, which forced the government to rescind steep food price increases overnight, reflected a pervasive discontent that could have ended in an uprising. Nothing on that scale is conceivable in the U.S.S.R. The hundreds of thousands of East Germans who sought permission to emigrate last year represent that country's core population — not people of a "second-class" nationality who had long been subjected to discrimination, as have the Jews in Russia.

Dissidents in the Soviet Union say what most Americans want — and expect — to hear about the evils of communism. Excessive dependence on them, however, creates a picture of that complex country as oversimplified in a way as Soviet reports about the United States being a land of little more than poverty, violence, corruption, and racism. The Soviet press may not be able to do a better job. But we can. ■

The press harmonizes on a presidential theme

American journalists have been alternately annoyed at and amused by the coverage of the United States by journalists from the Soviet Union, notorious for their ability to see only those aspects of America that conform to official preconceptions. Yet, in their own way, America's best newspapers were almost equally narrow in their coverage of the Soviet Union earlier this year. During the first third of 1977, readers of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times* could have been forgiven for thinking that not much was happening in the Soviet Union beyond the controversies over dissidents. This burst of coverage matched, in crescendo and diminuendo, President Carter's vigorous offensive for human rights abroad, particularly within the U.S.S.R.

How could it happen that, after more than two decades of hard lessons in the dangers of fronting for American policy, American newspapers lined up so promptly? There is not the slightest indication — in the reading of the papers — that there was any official request for help or any front-office directive ordering support for Carter's human-rights policy. Rather, as is suggested by Peter Osnos of *The Washington Post* in the accompanying article, coverage of dissidents early this year reflected a confluence of the publicity for the issue created by the president, available news sources, and the natural sympathy of journalists brought up under the First Amendment (and of publishers and editors for dramatic stories that conform with their prejudices).

While internal critics of the Soviet system have received coverage for nearly a decade, the Helsinki accords of 1975 gave American correspondents a formal basis for applying American civil-liberties standards to the Soviet Union. Coverage of the dissidents, to the near-exclusion of other potential news (excepting military affairs and arms limitation), offered American readers the image of a Soviet Union pulsating with internal discontent. This may or may not be an accurate image (Osnos suggests that it is not), but the striking thing about the coverage was the degree to which this discontent became apparent in the news with the change of administrations in the United States.

In November 1976, a month in which the United States raised the human-rights issue at the U.N., *The Washington Post* carried (by my count from the files at Columbia University) only three stories relating to Soviet dissidents, would-be emigrants, or human rights in the U.S.S.R.; the *Los Angeles Times* carried five. By contrast, in January 1977, in the midst of Carter's early pronouncements on human rights, the *Post* carried thirteen such articles, the *Los Angeles Times* nine. In February, the *Post*'s tally increased to thirty-six, the *Times*'s to twenty; the March figures were, respectively, twenty-eight and twenty-nine. By April, when the administration was starting to back off, the *Post*'s output fell to eight, the *Times*'s to four.

The New York Times far outdid its two competitors. As early as November, when the *Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* between them carried eight stories dealing with the dissident problem in the U.S.S.R., the *Times* weighed in with fourteen — just over half of the paper's total of twenty-six items on Soviet politics in general. By January 1977, both the number and the proportion had risen: Coverage of dissidents and Carter's concern for them accounted for thirty-one of a total of thirty-eight stories. In February, the dissidents claimed fifty-four stories of sixty-one; in March, fifty-eight of sixty-two. In April, as news of the dissidents ebbed from the pages of the *Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*, the New York paper hung on: Twenty-seven of thirty-five items on Soviet politics that month were devoted to human rights.

Because of its intensity, the coverage in *The New York Times* deserves closer scrutiny. By defining the critics of the Soviet system as a dissident "movement" and by repeating the term in many stories, the *Times*'s Moscow staff left the impression that the dissidents were more numerous and more active than details of the stories proved. A January 14 story by David Shipler illustrated the problem: The correspondent told of a young Jew who had wanted to emigrate to Israel and who "was sentenced to three years in prison for failing to have an internal passport, which the authorities themselves had taken away." Although previous coverage in the *Times* had suggested that repression was becoming increasingly severe, the reporter had to concede in this case that "the first substantial prison sentence of a dissident in several months, it seemed at least partly the result of an odd series of bureaucratic foul-ups." Thus the *Times*, having committed itself to a news framework in which both the dissident movement and repression were growing, fitted this story into that framework even when the reporter, scrupulously, wrote that it was not clear that the story fitted. On at least one occasion the tenor of the *Times*'s coverage appears to have stimulated a *Times* reporter to imagine facts to fit the framework: on February 20, Bonn correspondent Craig Whitney referred in an article to the "almost daily arrest of Soviet dissidents," when arrests simply were not taking place with such frequency.

The uncritical tone with which correspondents tended to report on the dissidents was epitomized by press treatment of the interrogation by the K.G.B. in January of Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov, the physicist and human rights advocate. In a public announcement, Sakharov had denied that dissidents had had any part in a fatal explosion in the Moscow subway and had then gone on to suggest that the K.G.B. itself might have planned the bombing in order to frame the dissidents. The Soviet state prosecutor's office called Sakharov in and warned him that such statements would make him liable to prosecution. On the evening of January 25, Christopher Wren, of *The New York Times*, Peter Osnos, of *The Washington Post*, and Robert Toth, of the *Los Angeles Times*, were among correspondents gathered at a press conference in Sakharov's apartment to discuss the prosecutor's warning. With the sole exception of Toth, the journalists used the

conference only as a device to assert that a new crackdown on dissidents was looming.

In the next day's *New York Times*, Wren called the warning "the most serious official response to Dr. Sakharov's activities since a concerted Soviet press campaign against him in 1973." Wren did not challenge the physicist's allegation against the K.G.B., thereby leaving readers with the impression that the charge might well be true and that the government was perhaps persecuting Sakharov because he had struck too close to the truth. In *The Washington Post*, a similar story by Osnos allowed readers to conclude that the allegation was at least reasonable, if not accurate on the face of it.

Toth, however, took pains to note in his story that "few people here believe the authorities would deliberately set off a lethal blast . . . just to blame dissidents and set them up for repression. Lesser excuses would serve that purpose. . . . At the same time, few doubt that Soviet authorities would exploit the tragedy to harass dissidents, as they seem to be doing." Toth alone observed, too, that at the press conference Sakharov "appeared a bit defensive about his Jan. 14 statement" suggesting K.G.B. involvement in the bombing. The article went on to make clear that Sakharov's charge had been impulsive and based on a fear that the crime would be pinned on dissidents, rather than on any real knowledge of K.G.B. involvement.

In addition, only Toth among the Moscow correspondents considered here made a serious effort to examine Carter's human-rights policy. While his sympathy for the dissidents remained clear, he noted as early as February 6, in a lengthy article on his newspaper's op-ed page, that Carter's outspokenness seemed "poorly thought through" and was as likely to harm the dissidents as help them, by encouraging a crackdown — which did, in fact, occur in the spring.

A spot check of *The New York Times* during the two-week period from August 22 to September 5, 1977, found a total of twenty items on Soviet politics. Five dealt with the dissidents. Of these, two were 150-word briefs, two were substantial follow-ups on the cases of the imprisoned Aleksandr Ginzburg and Veniamin Levich, while the last was a column by Anthony Lewis decrying Soviet abuse of psychiatry to intimidate nonconformists.

Perhaps the single most important story during this period was not by a *Times* writer but by Roman Szporluk, a Michigan history professor. In an article that appeared on the *Times*'s op-ed page, Szporluk described the massive demographic change under way in the Soviet Union, in which the various Asiatic non-Russian peoples are expected to form a majority of the Soviet population by the year 2000. What the Tatars are thinking these days may be as important for us to know about as the plight of a small group of Moscow activists.

FERGUS M. BORDEWICH

Fergus M. Bordewich is a New York-based free-lance writer and a teacher of journalism.

THE ARIZONA

The team that investigated statewide corruption in the wake of a reporter's murder got bad notices before it had written a word. Here is an evaluation of the product — and of the criticism

by MELVIN MENCHER

Last March, when newspapers across the country began to publish the series on corruption in Arizona prepared by the Investigative Reporters and Editors, one of the first to challenge it was Senator Barry Goldwater, who was charged in an early article with condoning crime by associating with underworld figures in his state. In an interview on ABC's *Good Morning, America*, Goldwater challenged the I.R.E. to name "one nationally known gangster in Arizona today." Robert Greene, the *Newsday* reporter and editor who directed the investigative team, responded later with asperity: "I could give him a list of two hundred." Greene contented himself with one name — that of Joe Bonanno, a resident of Tucson who figured prominently in the series. An aide to the senator replied that Goldwater had thought Bonanno was dead.

This fruitless exchange was typical of much of the debate over the series: First, it was doubtful that Goldwater had read the articles and, second, he did not wait for the end of the series before attacking it. In Goldwater's case, this was probably forgivable, since he was under attack. But professional critics, with less at stake personally, did not do much better.

From the outset, when the I.R.E., a group organized in 1975 to exchange information on investigative methods,

Melvin Mencher, of Columbia's Faculty of Journalism, has worked for newspapers and wire services in the Southwest and in California. He is currently completing a book-length study of investigative journalism and is the author of Reporting and Writing the News (1977).

decided to send a team to Arizona, there were many pertinent questions. Was the I.R.E.'s "journalistic response" to the murder of Don Bolles of *The Arizona Republic* of Phoenix, himself an I.R.E. member, "journalistic" or vengeful? Could the volunteer team — which ultimately numbered thirty-six reporters and editors from twenty-seven news organizations — work effectively? Would such an operation set a useful precedent, or would it — as some charged — undercut competition for news?

The project started at an inauspicious moment in the history of the craft. If the Watergate revelations had raised the investigative reporter to a crest of fame unmatched since the muckraking days of Lincoln Steffens and Ida M. Tarbell, the Arizona project began in the inevitable post-Watergate trough. By 1976, many observers inside and outside journalism had begun to ask publicly whether investigative reporting had not gone too far. Even at *The Washington Post*, of all places, the ombudsman, Charles B. Seib, criticized the I.R.E. plan and dismissed investigative journalism in general as "the latest journalistic fad. . . ."

The most damaging of the early responses were those from the top editors of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. A. M. Rosenthal of the *Times* said: "One of the great strengths of the American press is its diversity and competitiveness. We shouldn't be getting together; if a story is worth investigating, we should do it ourselves. If you do it on this story, why not on other stories? Why doesn't everybody get together and investigate everything; you'd soon have one big press and no diversity."

Benjamin M. Bradlee of the *Post* decided not to assign anybody to the project, because, he said, he did not believe in team journalism. Moreover, he remarked later, his reporter would have been "ineffectual" because he "wouldn't know the local turf." (So much for journalism history: Steffens traveled from town to town and managed to produce *The Shame of the Cities*.)

Coming as they did from the editors of the country's two most influential newspapers, such curt dismissals hurt the project at a critical moment, for it was still seeking support, and Rosenthal and Bradlee handed publishers reasons not to become involved with a venture that was not only dangerously novel but potentially expensive.

A second round of criticism arose with the start of publication of the series early in March 1977. For example, *Newsweek*, a corporate sibling of *The Washington Post*, concluded on the basis of three of the twenty-three articles that "the final lesson of the Phoenix project may be that the

PROJECT AN APPRAISAL

interests of both the press and the public can best be served by a single newspaper, acting conscientiously on its own.” Otis Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, also disapproved, without reading the series. “What I’ve heard about the report is a lot of innuendoes and guilt by association with very little proof, and it falls short of results,” he said. “Group journalism isn’t a good idea.”

One of the most serious setbacks the series received was the reluctance of major newspapers to print it, or at least to print very much of it. The editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, Maxwell McCrohon, explained in an editorial: “Eighty thousand words of investigative reporting contains an overwhelming collection of facts, allegations, solid information, not-so-solid information and conclusions that need to be checked and re-checked. . . . it would be, in our opinion, less than responsible for us to print the report simply because it is completed and has an arbitrary release date attached to it.”

The worst shock to the I.R.E. team was the refusal of *The Arizona Republic*, Bolles’s own newspaper, and the *Phoenix Gazette*, its morning counterpart, to use any of the series. Although the papers had not been formally aligned with the project, they had been cooperative and had been expected to be the major outlet for the I.R.E. findings on their state. But the *Republic* wrote: “Some of the material had been published previously in *The Republic* or *The Gazette* after satisfactory documentation of the information. . . . Some of the previously unpublished material contains statements and allegations for which *The Republic* and *The Gazette* have not yet been able to obtain sufficient documentation and proof to justify publication.”

Thus, criticism before and during publication fell almost entirely into two schools — those who said that team journalism could not work, or at least could not do so as well as one-newspaper journalism, and those who said that it had produced too much, at least too much to be taken on faith.

Once publication was completed, however, comment about it ceased abruptly. The scale of the series apparently dissuaded even press critics from reading it, for nobody has claimed to have read the series or, more importantly, has taken on the task of an overall assessment. This summer, I spent most of two weeks reading the series in the reprints that ran in New York’s *Soho Weekly News*, and I have re-examined the major criticisms. What follows is an individual assessment of the series, and of the criticisms.

As we have seen, the project started under a cloud. There were predictions that it would never work, that personalities would clash, that the state’s working press would resent the intruders. An “eastern reporter” was quoted in the *Times* as saying, “Most investigative reporters I know are egotistical and extremely competitive and resent authority. How are you going to get all those egos to work together?”

Defying such predictions, the egomaniacs developed a mutual respect and camaraderie that was evident when they were reunited at the 1977 I.R.E. convention in Columbus last June. “We became very close, like a family,” said a team member. “We worked together, we ate together, seven days a week, twelve to fourteen hours a day.”

The smooth functioning of the team was, to a large extent, the result of Robert Greene’s direction. “He has the leadership quality that squeezes the most and the best out of those under him,” said Harry Jones of the *Kansas City Star*, a team member who has covered the police and organized crime in his twenty-one years with the *Star*. “He has an encyclopedic mind, excellent memory, uncanny ability to link up seemingly unrelated facts, and the energy and enthusiasm of a cub reporter out to prevent World War III.”

Nor was there serious resentment from the Arizona press. Greene had gone to Arizona early to test the reaction to outsiders. The reporting team would be welcome, he was told. *The Arizona Republic* and *Gazette* allowed the team to use its morgue, and assigned a reporter to work with the team. The city editor was enthusiastic.

The *Arizona Daily Star*, in Tucson, sent two reporters, who stayed with the team for the duration. (Most reporters stayed a few weeks, giving the team a complement of five to ten at any one time. Only a handful remained the full term — October 1976 through February 1977.)

Nor did Bradlee’s concern over the reporters’ unfamiliarity with the local situation seem to have been justified, probably because of the extensive groundwork laid by Greene and Tom Renner, *Newsday*’s crime reporter. As soon as the decision was made to go to Arizona, Greene and Renner began compiling files. Over the summer of 1976, part-time help made card indexes of the names of mob figures who had migrated to Arizona. In September, Renner left for the Southwest to do undercover work, and he remained under cover for a time after the team had gathered in Phoenix. Leads were sought from I.R.E. members. Jack Anderson supplied many.

When the team assembled on the nineteenth floor of a Phoenix hotel, much had been done. Greene had already

concluded that land speculators had found a haven in Arizona, that drug traffic apparently was flourishing across the Mexican border, and that law enforcement had been lax in coping with the invasion of mob figures. Greene's and Renner's research led them to believe that when organized-crime figures arrived in Arizona they found a welcome.

The team was broken into three sub-teams: political corruption; narcotics, with which Greene was familiar from his heroin series for *Newsday*, which won a Pulitzer Prize; and land fraud, one of the subjects Bolles had dug into.

The advance work and the daily reporting of team members turned up a huge amount of material. "You just lifted up a rock and there it was," said Richard Cady of the *Indianapolis Star*, an assistant team leader. "In one county, it was found that the sheriff and undersheriff were running a house of prostitution. Things like that."

One after another, file cabinets were filled with memos and more card indexes. The plan for the series came to be vast and detailed, and the size of the written package was to

**'Newspapers
will have to recognize
that systemic investigation
is risky
and often cumbersome'**

become one of the most-debated issues. Realizing that the package was large and that some of the charges were touchy, a week's study period was set between the day the series was mailed and the release date in February 1977. Newspapers would have time to edit the copy and could call Phoenix to talk to Greene about any problems in their copy.

Five days had been set aside (February 21-25, 1977) for all participating news organizations to send their libel lawyers to Phoenix, where they could read the final stories and question Greene, who apparently had at his fingertips — or could locate immediately — the material in the 40,000-plus memoranda and index cards. Only the *Kansas City Star* sent its libel lawyer, and he worked on the copy with two I.R.E. attorneys and Greene.

The three lawyers and Greene killed one story and made many changes in the wording of others. Partly because of its lawyer's review of the series, the *Star* ran all but two of the twenty-three major stories.

Jones, the *Star* reporter, had no patience with the criticism made by the *Chicago Tribune* and *The Arizona Republic*, both of which claimed that much of the material was unsubstantiated. Neither sent a lawyer to look over the files. "The *Republic's* law firm was located one block away," Jones observed.

In their criticism of the series, several editors complained that it was impossible for them to talk to a team about questionable material, as an editor could with a staffer.

However, one editor who made this comment immediately recognized an inconsistency, for he conceded that editors were in the same position in dealing with material supplied by an outside news service.

The team's reporters could understand the hesitation about copy from the Arizona project. By contrast with, say, most of the routine wire-service copy that fills many newspapers, the project offered investigative reporting. Newspapers find it easier to accept stories from the statehouse or from Washington, where politicians and officials set the news agenda, than stories like the I.R.E. series, where investigative reporters determined the nature of the story.

It was not an inability to quiz Woodward and Bernstein about their Watergate copy that caused many client papers of the Washington Post News Service to spike it. It was uncertainty about the solidity of the reporting itself, the fear that all the reporters had was innuendo, mere allegations from enemies of Nixon.

Similarly, much of the Arizona copy must have seemed insubstantial to editors because it was supported only by human sources, by what somebody said to a reporter. There was limited physical evidence — few of the vouchers, audits, and transcripts that editors like to see for confirmation. Deep Throat was hardly a documentary source, and even Bradlee's requirement that Woodward and Bernstein buttress every allegation with a second source did not constitute verification of physical evidence.

Every reporter searches for the smoking gun, the clinching physical, visible evidence. Clark Mollenhoff advises reporters to seek "direct evidence" — a tangible document — in preference to "direct testimony" — the oral statement, which he says "is often unreliable even when the witness has no personal interest." Moreover, he continues, "chances for error increase geometrically as your source is removed one, two, or three steps from the event." Even so, Mollenhoff concedes, sometimes "the interviewing of second or third hearsay witnesses may be the best or even the only avenue open to us to what took place." Such material does not provide proof or even solid evidence, he points out.

Mollenhoff's advice, which was printed in the May issue of the I.R.E. newsletter, sums up standard procedure for investigative reporters. For want of more solid evidence, they will often accept convincing detail from interviews (direct testimony) as the basis for stories. If such detail is confirmed by a number of sources, it begins to form a pattern; if the pattern is sufficiently logical and reasonable, the reporter can base a story on it.

Some of those who rejected the team's work were unwilling to take the risks inherent in investigative reporting, particularly with stories that lack physical evidence. Others said they preferred to take their risks with local investigative reporting rather than with the work of journalists unknown to them reporting from a state hundreds of miles away.

Nixon's tapes ultimately proved Woodward and Bernstein right on their major points. But Joe Bonanno has no sense of history. He keeps no recording apparatus in his basement, or none we are likely to discover. Nor does he

turn over transcripts of his telephone conversations to reporters. Moreover, he uses a pay telephone, so there is no record of his calls. Bonanno's daily use of a pay phone is an interesting fact, but meaningless in itself, as one of the critics of the I.R.E. series pointed out in a column criticizing the work. But the calls were part of an overall picture the team reported:

□ The police reported that Bonanno's bodyguard had been sent to meet "four top mobsters at the Tucson airport, place them in a station wagon, cover them up with rugs and drive to the Bonanno house where they were unloaded around the back."

□ The car of a major drug exporter was parked outside Bonanno's house last spring.

□ Federal sources said that Bonanno flew from Tucson to Culiacan, Mexico, and at the airport was met by Victor Savela, one of Mexico's two top heroin dealers. "They drove to the Camino Real Hotel in Mazatlan and were met by Demetri Alanzo of Bogota, Colombia, a close Savela associate and major trafficker in his own right."

A reporter can look this over, decide there is no physical evidence, and do nothing with it. Or he or she can simply report the details. Or the reporter can see a pattern and conclude, as the I.R.E. team did, that Bonanno is "the man behind the efforts to establish La Cosa Nostra control over the Arizona drug corridor. . . ."

The team did turn up physical documentation that was damaging enough: records revealing Senator Goldwater's attempt to help a convicted gambler, his endorsement of a land-sale scheme backed by the man the team described as the land-fraud king of the country, and his association with underworld figures going back twenty-five years.

From both types of sources — direct testimony and direct evidence; human and physical — the team reached the conclusions that some editors and critics described as innuendo, unproved, guilt by association. Some of those named in the series have sued.

While the criticism of their colleagues bothers team members (they shrug off the libel suits as the inevitable consequence of investigative reporting), they are convinced that they read the evidence correctly. A midwestern reporter who spent two weeks with the team said, "The first night, I read things in the files that I wished I had never seen. The political situation in Arizona is wide open. The shadow of corruption goes from bottom to top. I was particularly impressed that the lowest form of life in Arizona — hookers, dopers, bookies — associated with the highest politicians and their friends." This kind of association, which was the primary basis of the team's conclusion that Senator Goldwater had condoned crime in his state, undoubtedly was not expected by editors, who are accustomed to the traditional exposés of criminal activity or wrongdoing rather than exposure of a systemic malfunction. Yet such was the Arizona project's purpose from the start — to show the operation of a system in which the planned murder of a reporter was possible.

Whether many newspapers have an appetite for such journalism is, on the evidence provided by the fate of the Arizona series, debatable. Greene charged that the refusal of the Phoenix newspapers to run the series resulted from their disinclination to threaten the state's power elite. Be that as it may, newspapers will have to recognize that systemic investigation is risky and often cumbersome. The Arizona project was a step in the direction of such journalism, but many newspapers were not ready to take the step.

Although the Arizona Project was a one-shot effort — if twenty-three main articles, an equal number of sidebar articles, in a ten-pound packet of 80,000 words can be so summarily described — it should have continuing impact in journalism. Clearly, the hefty package boggled the minds of editors, especially those who had convinced themselves of the validity of the maxim that less is more, that tight writing is next to godliness. This creed crumbles before the evidence: Given a good story, readers will dawdle over every quote, deed, and description set before them. Project Arizona was no exception. A California newspaper, the *Riverside Press*, which used about one-fourth of the material, had "a good response" to the series, said Norman A. Chermis, the executive editor. Even farther from Arizona, Boston readers followed the series closely; when the *Globe* skipped three of the articles, readers complained.

The wire-service abridgements, which attributed the series directly to the newspapers that ran the story and only indirectly to I.R.E., were used all over the country. Peter Costa, who edited the material for U.P.I., said, "A lot of the smaller dailies used the U.P.I. version in full or nearly in full."

In Phoenix, after the *Republic* decided not to run the series, the *Arizona Daily Star* in Tucson, which had a normal circulation of 350 in Phoenix, shipped in 1,400 copies the day after the series began, 2,000 the next day, and 4,000 daily for the duration of the series. *The Denver Post* also flew in extra copies. A local radio station devoted a long period each day to a reading of the material.

There was, as critics have maintained, a considerable amount of previously published detail in the series. But the criticism is all but meaningless in a journalistic context, for any report in depth will use background material. Such material is especially necessary in a report that is directed at a national readership unacquainted with a local situation.

The charge that the series was old stuff nettled Greene, and he was particularly irked by *The Arizona Republic's* observation that it had published "some of the material" previously. In a talk to an Arizona college group, the *Republic's* general manager added: "Of the documentable information in the report, eighty-five percent came out of our files — some as long as twelve years ago. Of the remaining fifteen percent, we had no documentation for it." He said that the series was "one of the poorest written pieces I have ever seen. It was lousily written and poorly edited."

Greene responded in kind, and in a way that revealed the

animosity and charged feelings that the series had generated. He replied to the general manager by asking, if 85 percent of the information came from the newspaper's files, "How come you never presented it to your readers in the *Republic*?" He went on: "If all this were so old, why, three days after the I.R.E. series started running, did your managing editor call the general manager of the Associated Press in New York and ask A.P. to break the embargo on the daily release of the series so that the *Republic* could print the A.P. version first? Obviously, you were in a rush to get this 'old' news into print just as long as A.P. could be cited as the source rather than *The Arizona Republic*."

The charge of old news is old hat to old-timers. In the era of sharp competition, newspapers and wire services beaten by the opposition would often reply that the revelations were rehashed facts that everybody knew. Today, in cities where news competition has survived, or when an outside publication moves in on a local story, the beaten and embarrassed publication still resorts to this hoary rebuttal. So it was when the *Chicago Tribune* declined to print most of Seymour Hersh's *New York Times* series on Sidney Korshak, a lawyer with reported mob connections who got his start in Chicago. A *Tribune* editor said that the decision was made because "we couldn't find a hell of a lot that had not already been printed. I think Hersh did a clip job." And the argument was brought out again to explain the rejection of the Arizona series, when a subsidiary editor at the *Tribune* said that the project had "turned up virtually nothing new." Jack Wimer of *The Tulsa Tribune*, who spent two weeks with the team, makes the obvious response: "If nothing was new, why are we being sued for \$60-some million by five or six individuals?"

When Lincoln Steffens was asked about his exposures of American cities, which included material already well known in the communities he studied, he replied: "The exposition of what people know and stand for is the purpose of these articles, not the exposure of corruption." Steffens's "what people know and stand for," rather than the mere rehearsal of fact, was an essential ingredient of the series.

Some of the charges of critics seem justified. Although team members say that considerable material was dropped, including three stories on sports figures, because of potential legal problems, some of what remained appears poorly supported. Jerry Colangelo, general manager of the Phoenix Suns professional basketball team, is reported to have "a chair reserved for him at the New York Bagel Shop," a place frequented by gamblers, and to have borrowed money from a "close associate . . . of a bookie-extortionist." Colangelo, whose career could be ruined by association with gamblers, is suing, and it seems the evidence in the piece is slight.

There is no question that the series was too long for most newspapers. Had it been half as long it would have been used more widely. But, given the nature of the documentation and the scope of the series, the length was a natural consequence.

Cuts could have been made of such throwaway lines as, "Several Phoenix lawyers and judges have mob connections and have been described to I.R.E. reporters as availing themselves of prostitutes and orgies." Without printable evidence of the mob connections, drop it.

It is possible that more clinching physical evidence might have surfaced, in time. Then the painstaking accumulation of circumstantial evidence, Mollenhoff's "testimony," might have been buttressed. But the team had spent five months reporting and it was broke.

The criticism of the writing — "hyperfervid," "New York street slang," "gee-whiz style" — may also be sound. There was no one writer for the pieces, and this may have caused some of the problems. Some pieces seemed under the spell of southwestern scenic grandeur; others reflected the tough-guy character of the hoods and lowlifes from Detroit, Chicago, and New York, one of whom "enjoys breaking a girl's finger when she talks back."

The process by which the stories were handled may have had something to do with the writing style. Following a briefing by Greene or Cady, the reporter-writer would put together information from as many as fifteen to twenty reporters. Every story was rewritten at least once, some five or six times. Tony Insolia, drafted from *Newsday* as the team story editor, did many of the rewrites, and Jack Driscoll of *The Boston Globe* might rewrite Insolia. Greene then might rewrite Driscoll. Driscoll recalls rewriting one story to twelve typewritten pages. Greene found that two facts were missing and added four pages. Then Greene rewrote the piece and added seven more pages. Insolia then cut the twenty-three pages back to twelve.

Then there were the changes that the lawyers insisted on. Jones of Kansas City said the series "read as though rewriting, heavy editing, and even heavier lawyering had prevailed. Ideally, the final product sent to participating newspapers would have been placed first in the hands of a top rewriter, with Greene by his side, for a literary polishing job."

But those who concentrate on the story's literary failings are quibblers. Investigative reporting is essentially without style; it persuades by accumulated detail rather than by elegant writing. Such a plain style will win no writing awards, but it is the natural voice for exposés, and reporters who try to dress up their writing — unless they are gifted — make themselves vulnerable to the suspicion that their facts are too weak to carry the story. The *Los Angeles Times* press-affairs writer, David Shaw, said the team members had "obscured their failure with heavy-handed prose." Perhaps it is progress that we ask of our diggers and revealers that they not only make sure of their facts but write as deftly as E. B. White.

This vast sea of words does reveal a way of life long gone in most of the country. Busy growing, making money, breaking new lands, Arizona is one of the three fastest-growing states in the country, and its citizens have been too busy to keep their house in order. As the editor of the *Nogales Daily Evening Herald* said in commenting on the influx of

Who needs futures trading?



Tracy McDonald does. Tracy McDonald may never have heard of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange nor any other futures market. It is also quite probable that if we told her that we help stabilize food prices, she would laugh in our collective face—food prices being what they are.

But the fact remains that food prices would almost certainly be less stable without the shock ab-

sorbing functions of futures markets such as the Chicago Mercantile Exchange.

Farmers—even those who don't actually trade futures—use our markets as a barometer of price conditions. Food processors and manufacturers do likewise. Both can therefore plan their activities more intelligently.

Those who do utilize commodity futures do so to reduce risk, to determine costs accurately, to free working capital, reduce storage costs and add to their borrowing capacity.

All of which contributes to the fact that Tracy McDonald can select from a greater variety and a higher quality of food for a smaller percentage of her income than in any other country in the world.



CHICAGO MERCANTILE EXCHANGE

International Monetary Market

Associate Mercantile Market

The Chicago Mercantile Exchange is located at 444 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60606. It lists for trading the following commodities:

Live cattle
Feeder cattle
Live hogs
Frozen pork bellies

Frozen skinned hams
Boneless beef
Copper
Gold

U.S. silver coins
United States treasury bills
Deutschemarks
Japanese yen

Canadian dollars
British pounds
Swiss francs
Mexican pesos

French francs
Dutch guilders
Lumber
Russet Burbank potatoes

Eggs
Milo
Butter
Turkeys

A Federally Licensed Contract Market

“Take ar

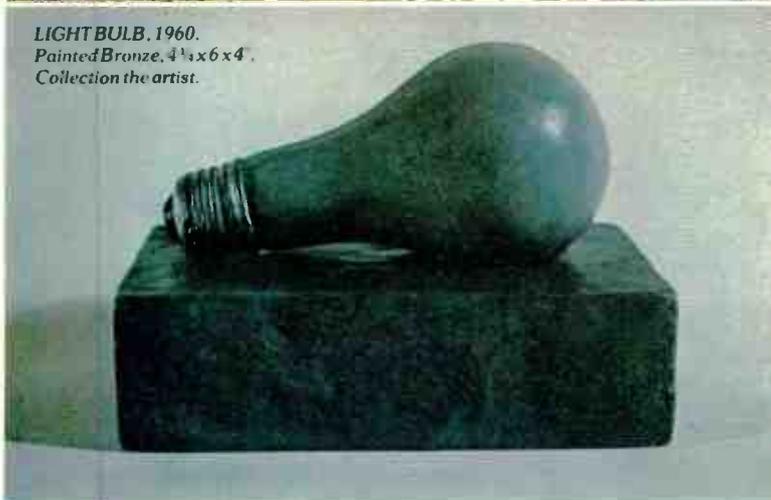
GRAY NUMBERS, 1958. Encaustic and collage on canvas, 67 x 49 1/2". Private collection.



MAP, 1963. Encaustic and collage on canvas, 60 x 93". Private collection.



LIGHT BULB, 1960.
Painted Bronze, 4 1/4 x 6 x 4".
Collection the artist.



object.

**Do something to it.
Do something else to it.
Do something else to it.”**

That's a quotation from the notebooks of Jasper Johns, and you can see some of the classic results on the left—and a comprehensive exhibition of his works at the Whitney Museum of American Art this fall.

It's not a prescription for every artist; it's a description of the art of becoming, of a way of traveling from the known to the unknown.

And for more than 20 years, Johns has taken the journeys and brought back not merely things to see, but a fresh way of seeing the things we see.

That's one reason we sponsored this survey of the artist's work, and why we invite you to see it at the Whitney Museum or at the other museums listed below. In our business, as in yours, it's necessary to see fresh promise in familiar things, and to be reminded that our best guides in the journey toward the unknown are individual imagination, individual creativity and individual innovativeness. Sponsorship of art that reminds us of these things is not patronage. It's a business and human necessity.

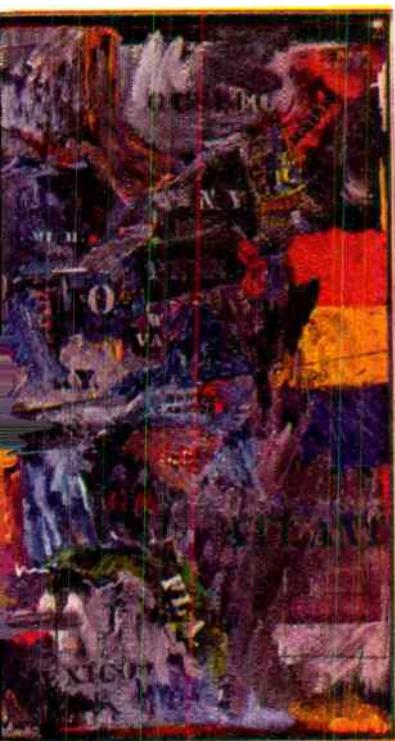
If your company would like to know more about corporate sponsorship of art, write Joseph F. Cullman 3rd, Chairman of the Board, Philip Morris Incorporated, 100 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Philip Morris Incorporated
It takes art to make a company great.



Makers of Marlboro, Benson & Hedges 100's, Merit, Parliament, Virginia Slims and Multifilter; Miller High Life Beer, Lite Beer and Löwenbräu Light and Dark Special Beer.

"Jasper: Johns," an exhibition organized by the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, N.Y. appears there from Oct. 18, 1977 to Jan. 22, 1978; Museum Ludwig, Cologne, Feb. 12 to April 9, 1978; Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, April 30 to June 29, 1978; The Seibu Museum of Art, Tokyo, July 28 to Sept. 20, 1978; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Oct. 15 to Dec. 10, 1978. The exhibition is made possible by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and Philip Morris Incorporated.



FLAG, 1955. Encaustic, oil and collage on fabric. 42 1/4 x 60 3/4. The Museum of Modern Art, N.Y.

It's Pay Up Or Quit

For Ollie Robinson and 36 co-workers for the Housing Authority of Kansas City, Mo., the wheels of justice are rolling, but slowly.

Without the help of a national legal foundation they might not be rolling at all.

When Ollie Robinson first came to work for the Housing Authority in 1960, there was no union. Robinson voluntarily joined the union in 1966, when it came in, because he believed workers needed the protection of strong labor unions.

All new employees hired by the Housing Authority after July, 1966, for maintenance jobs were forced to join the union and pay dues to keep their jobs. "I didn't have any idea," says Robinson that "the requirement to join was illegal." He didn't know that Missouri state law prohibits public officials and unions from requiring public employees to join a union to work for their own government.

But one day Ollie Robinson and his co-workers started paying more attention to "their" union. Officials doubled their dues — without asking them.

Robinson and his co-workers

tried to resign from the union but were told they couldn't. They had no money for a lawyer. Many were afraid of losing their jobs.

Finally, one of them contacted the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation and the wheels of justice started moving. A law suit was filed. The Housing Authority quickly agreed to a consent decree — permanently preventing it from requiring employees to maintain union membership to keep their jobs.

The union, however, did not join in the decree. So today, the fight goes on — with costly proceedings and trial delays.

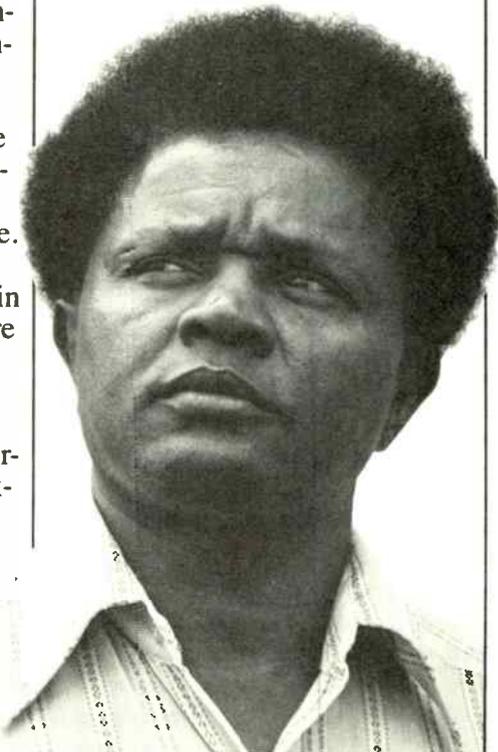
Ollie Robinson was fortunate. He found help. But how many other Ollie Robinsons are there in America who don't know where to go for help?

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can. It is currently assisting individual workers in more than 75 cases involving academic freedom, political freedom, freedom from union violence, and the right to work for govern-

ment without paying a private organization for that privilege.

For more information on how you can help workers like Ollie Robinson write:

The National Right to Work
Legal Defense Foundation
Suite 600
8316 Arlington Boulevard
Fairfax, Va. 22038



organized crime into his state, "Who else has the money to build up the state?"

The I.R.E. exposures come at a time of shifting attitudes toward the wheeling and dealing in the West. For years, those of us who worked in the Southwest wrote of the outrageous bleeding of small investors through fraudulent land sales. Nothing was done by state or federal officials. Paying a dollar or two for desert land, much of it tax-delinquent, land speculators would get \$500, \$750 an acre. Some of the land would be sold over and over as one speculator would turn over the property to another. Those of us who covered those frauds in the 1940s and 1950s recall reading letters in the offices of county officials from investors asking for a deed or instructions to reach their property. Officials had form letters to tell them there was no record of their owning any property in the county. Twenty years later, the asking price for such land had risen to \$100 to \$200 an acre, and land companies were asking, and receiving, \$6,000 to \$12,000 an acre.

There was no real opposition to the speculators in Arizona and in neighboring states because of their obvious local benefits. Those operations that were not outright frauds did put in a few roads, some water lines. This brought jobs, widened the local tax base. The few newcomers who settled on their land became purchasers of furniture and groceries. But most of the purchasers never saw more than a glossy, four-color photograph of their property. Attorney General Bruce Babbitt of Arizona said that "virtually all sales of unimproved land in Arizona have been swindles."

Now that the federal government has taken an active hand in prosecuting the land speculators, and state officials like Babbitt indicate that they will act — Babbitt says the I.R.E. series gave him leads for prosecutions — the wheelers and dealers will be turning to other schemes and scams. The press will be hard put to keep up with these con artists of the white-collar underworld unless it becomes more adept at digging and understanding complicated business ventures.

The Arizona project was a small step toward an adequate press response to high-level and low-level crime. It is unfortunate that the project became a kind of poultice, drawing out all the confusions and hostilities that have come to be associated with investigative journalism, with the project itself being hurt in the process.

The project did not provide a definitive verdict on the merits of cooperative journalism. Although Rosenthal and Bradlee came down firmly on the side of going it alone, team members, looking back on their work, now talk of other stories that might have benefited from a similar project — the assassinations of the 1960s, corruption in a nationwide union such as the Teamsters, and indeed any project that could use the diverse talents and knowledge of a group of reporters from a nation's, or a region's, or a state's press. In fact, the Associated Press has been testing that concept in Illinois since 1973. There a statewide task force draws not only on A.P. staffers but on reporters from member newspapers. In August, the team completed its fifth project, this one on the state power structure.

Team journalism need not be limited to investigative reporting. Almost any project calling for the diverse talents and resources of reporters in different cities might benefit. The realization in the 1950s of the need for regional planning to cope with such problems as transportation, urban sprawl, and waste-disposal sites has brought no parallel awakening in journalism. Just as cities, counties, and states ultimately realized that these problems do not stop at political boundaries, newspapers may have to design new methods to handle news that leaps circulation boundaries.

Individual newspapers find it difficult to cover comprehensively a growing number of vexing problems: pollution, nuclear plants, welfare, tax reform, and, in the West, the dilemma of the oasis city and the scarcity of water. In New York State, no newspaper has made an adequate examination of a proposed electric-power consortium that would affect many major cities. Few newspapers have the resources of the *Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, or the press associations, which do roundups of these problems every so often. Most of these problems are scratched at by one or two reporters, much as Bolles scratched at organized crime in Arizona. Could not such problems be handled more effectively on a continuing basis by a group of reporters from several newspapers or broadcasting stations?

In my judgment the Arizona project has demonstrated the practicality of the team method. It has also raised theoretical questions, such as those implied in the criticisms by Rosenthal and Bradlee: Does the press have any business forming reportorial cartels "at a time when one of the most serious problems of the press is diminishing competition," as Charles Seib put it in his column? If not, and if it is impossible for a single organization to handle some of the complex problems that are — and should be — on the public agenda, where does society look for appraisal of those problems?

Thus, while the Rosenthal-Bradlee criticisms raise one set of questions, they fail to address another: If the choice is between journalistic cooperation and, say, a Watergate inquiry left to a captive Justice Department, where does the public interest lie? Would appraisal of water rights in the West best be left to the attention of a state agency sympathetic to agribusiness? Finally, given a choice between waiting for a large news organization such as *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*, to take up a subject, or forming a reporting group from smaller newspapers or broadcasting stations, isn't the pooling of resources the more responsible course?

The answers to such questions, it seems to me, affirm the worth of the Arizona project and point the way to further experiments of its kind. The Arizona team, rather than being a posse on the rampage, was engaged in an enterprise designed to match the means to the scale of the problem. In short, it was a vigorous attempt to give new vitality to the "literature of intense concern," as Justin Kaplan, Steffens's biographer, termed muckraking. Like the original muckraking, the Arizona project helped to create, again in Kaplan's words, "an informed and aroused citizenry." ■

Association for Education in Journalism Publications

JOURNALISM QUARTERLY

Journalism Quarterly is devoted to research in journalism and mass communication, presenting the latest developments in theory and methodology of communication, international communication, journalism history, social and legal problems. Contains book reviews and world bibliography. 1 year \$12.00; single copy \$3.50 current issue, \$2.50 back issues.

JOURNALISM EDUCATOR

The Journalism Educator is a quarterly publication addressing itself to the teaching and professional needs of the journalism educator. It contains articles on teaching techniques, workshop items, what's happening in journalism education, personals and other highly read news and ideas. 1 year-\$6.00; single copy \$1.50, January issue \$3.00.

JOURNALISM MONOGRAPHS

Monographs has 49 titles, all in print. Each gives a complete single study. 1 year \$10.00; single copies (four most recent issues) \$2.50; back issues \$3.50.

JOURNALISM ABSTRACTS

Abstracts will simplify the task of keeping abreast of the multitude of research in mass communication. It is estimated that Abstracts contains summaries of more than 90% of all master's theses and doctoral dissertations submitted from 57 schools of journalism throughout the country. These are indexed by both author and subject areas, and range from studies on professional journalism to sociological and psychological research as it relates to mass communication. 1 year \$7.00.

for further information:

AEJ PUBLICATIONS OFFICE
431 Murphy Hall
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

WORKING

Coming: new and revised C.P.I.s

Early next year, reporters and a possibly bewildered public will have to deal with revisions in the monthly Consumer Price Index that will make the key economic indicator more representative and more accurate — and more complicated.

The C.P.I., published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, measures the fluctuations in the cost of a "market basket" of about 400 consumer goods and services, all weighted according to the spending habits of a group the B.L.S. calls "urban wage earners and clerical workers." Items include food, clothing, household goods, medical care, transportation, and recreation. The items indexed range from tonsillectomies to underwear, from frozen shrimp to funeral services. The index is based on the prices in 1967 (1967=100), with increases or decreases since then appearing as percentages of the 1967 cost.

Seven years and \$43 million worth of research by the B.L.S. has led to updating in two broad areas. First, a new, more representative index was developed. The old index covered only about 40 percent of the population — the urban wage earners and clerical workers. The new index will also include professionals, managers, and the self-employed, as well as the retired and the unemployed — a sample that, according to the B.L.S., represents 80 percent of the "noninstitutional civilian population."

The second broad area of revision has to do with the actual list of items in 256 major categories included in the survey, and the relative weight they are given. These revisions reflect changes that have taken place in how people spend their money since the last C.P.I. revision in 1963. Examples: color television sets have been added, and the money spent for eating out has been given more weight. This new information will be

used both on a revised Index for Urban and Clerical Workers (the 40 percent index), which will continue to be published, and the new Index for All Urban Households (the 80 percent index). Differing weights will be given to some items on the new and revised indexes, the B.L.S. says, because the spending habits of the two groups are different. And to make things even more complicated, the old, unrevised 40 percent index will continue to be published for six months after the new and the revised indexes become available.

The Consumer Price Index is important not only as an economic indicator, but also as the index that is tied to "escalator" clauses in labor contracts (nine million postal and other union workers have such contracts). Also, the sixty-two million Americans who receive Social Security, military and other government pensions, or unemployment and food-stamp payments are affected by movements in the C.P.I.

Of course, neither the old nor the two new Consumer Price Indexes are a true measure of the "cost of living," as news stories sometimes seem to assume. The C.P.I. does not include income or social-security taxes — two of the highest costs of living. Nor does it register short-term fluctuations in spending as people control expenses by ceasing to buy something expensive, or by switching to something less expensive.

Although the "new" spending information on which the new and the revised C.P.I.s are based already will be five years old when the first new indexes are issued, probably in February 1978, they still represent a great improvement over the old index. The trick for reporters will be to help the public make sense of it all.

ALAN MENDELSON

Alan Mendelson, an associate producer at CBS News, specializes in business and economic news.



THE JDS GARNEAU CO., NEW YORK, NY 01176

In 1778, Louis XVI probably welcomed the new ambassador from America with a glass of Martell.

Louis XVI, King of France, awaits the arrival of Benjamin Franklin—philosopher, scholar, inventor, and now, statesman.

What better way to greet a renowned ally than with fine cognac from the House of Martell.

Even then, French royalty knew that making fine cognac, to a

Martell, was a matter of honor.

It still is.
Martell. Taste history.

FONDEE EN 1715.
V.S.P. · V.S.O.P. · CORDON BLEU

When you need background on why insurance rates are high, ask a well-backgrounded source.

Ask The St. Paul.

We've been concerned with this subject for a long time.

Reason? We don't like high insurance rates any more than the public does. And we think an informed public is the best way to effect change for the better.

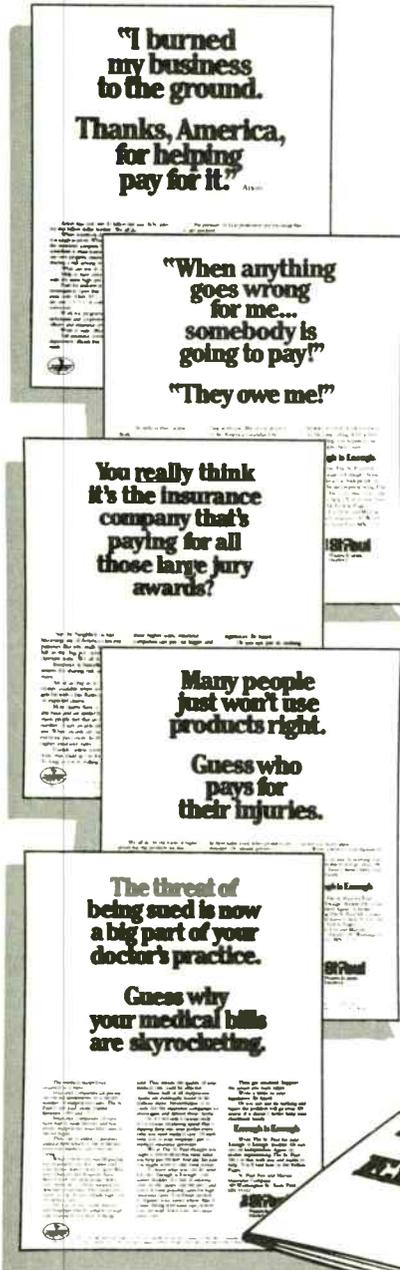
So we're using a series of ads and the offer of a consumer booklet to tell the public, as fully and objectively as we know how, the causes of high insurance rates. And the pros and cons of possible cures.

If you're assigned to report on this subject, The St. Paul is a good source for key information.

Feel free to tap us. Just call Dave McDonnell at 612-221-7024. If we don't have what you need, we'll steer you to a source who does.

We want the public to know.

The St Paul
Property & Liability
Insurance



Serving you through Independent Agents. St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company/St. Paul Mercury Insurance Company/The St. Paul Insurance Company/St. Paul Guardian Insurance Company/The St. Paul Insurance Company of Illinois: Property and Liability Affiliates of The St. Paul Companies Inc., Saint Paul, Minnesota 55102.

Peddling a drug scare

How Nixon and his aides sold a heroin horror story to the national media

by EDWARD JAY EPSTEIN

Edward Jay Epstein's book Agency of Fear, portions of which are presented here, throws new light on Nixon-era efforts to manipulate the media. Epstein shows how Nixon and his aides, by creating a national drug scare and reorganizing drug law enforcement agencies into a superagency responsible to the executive branch, sought to establish what was, in effect, a presidential police force with almost unlimited powers. The first step — scaring the public — was one in which the media played a crucial role.

The extraordinary measures that the White House planned to undertake in its war against crime depended heavily for their success on the organization of public fears. If Americans could be persuaded that their lives and the lives of their children were being threatened by a rampant epidemic of narcotics addiction, Nixon's advisors presumed they would not object to decisive government actions, such as no-knock warrants, pretrial detention, wiretaps, and unorthodox strike forces — even if the emergency measures had to cross or circumvent the traditional rights of a suspect. To achieve this state of fear required transforming a relatively small heroin addiction problem — which even according to the most exaggerated estimates directly affected only a minute fraction of the population in 1971 (see box, page 52) — into a plague that threatened all. This in turn required the artful use of the media to propagate a

simple but terrifying set of stereotypes about drug addiction: The addict-dealer would be depicted as a modern-day version of the medieval vampire, ineluctably driven to commit crimes and infect others by his insatiable and incurable need for heroin. The victims would be shown as innocent youth, totally vulnerable to the vampire-addict. And the federal law-enforcement officer would be shown as the only effective instrument for stopping the vampire-addicts from contaminating the rest of society. The most obvious medium for projecting these stereotypes on the popular imagination was television.

The plan to mobilize the media de-

Edward Jay Epstein is the author of Agency of Fear: Opiates and Political Power in America, from which this article has been excerpted. Reprinted by permission of G.P. Putnam's Sons. Copyright © 1977 by Edward Jay Epstein.

In an event staged for the media by the White House in October 1970, a German shepherd sniffs for marijuana as radio station executives and President Nixon look on.



U.P.I.

veloped in March 1970. President Nixon had instructed his chief domestic advisor, John Ehrlichman, to "further utilize television as a tool in the fight against drug abuse." Ehrlichman then turned the project over to Egil Krogh, his assistant, and Jeb Stuart Magruder, the deputy director of the Office of Communications in the White House. Magruder, a thirty-six-year-old former advertising salesman and merchandise manager for a department store, found initially that officials in the various federal agencies resisted his plans for a publicity hype of the drug issue. He recalled in his autobiography, "The first meeting we called was hilarious — I couldn't believe those people [in the federal agencies] were working on the same problem. . . . We encountered the usual hostility the White House people meet in the bureaucratic world." But eventually "everyone agreed that television was the single most effective

means to reach young people and alert them to the hazards of drugs." On March 11 the White House held a press conference, and the memorandum by Magruder summing up the "feedback" noted that:

the media interest sparked by the press conference has been favorable. . . . We have been getting calls from all over the country . . . ranging from network television to rural weeklies to professional journals. . . . A good many of those calling indicated enthusiastic support for the Administration [press] programs and inferred [sic] that they would be doing supportive and follow-up pieces, including editorials.

The White House strategists, however, were more interested in prime-time television. On March 18, 1970, Jeffrey Donfeld, the enterprising assistant to Krogh, sent a memorandum to the White House proposing that since "the President expressed his desire to have

more anti-drug themes on television," the president should personally attend a meeting of television producers that Donfeld was arranging for April 9, 1970, at the White House. Among those being invited, Donfeld noted, were:

1. The vice-presidents in charge of programming of the three networks.
2. The vice-presidents in charge of continuity acceptance [who approve the contents of the programs] of the networks.
3. The heads of production of the six major television production companies.
4. The producers of select programs which can accommodate narcotics themes . . . this group will represent at least 90 percent of prime-time shows.
5. Television programming vice-presidents of the three major advertising agencies.

Donfeld explained that the day-long program would be held in the White House theater and that the purpose of the meeting would be to "stimulate these

Manipulating Statistics

We must now candidly recognize that the . . . present efforts to control drug abuse are not sufficient in themselves. The problem has assumed the dimensions of a national emergency. I intend to take every step necessary to deal with this emergency. . . .

President Richard M. Nixon,
in a message to Congress on June 17, 1971

President Nixon justified his request for emergency powers to deal with drug abuse in 1971 by citing an uncontrollable heroin epidemic which, if not brought under immediate control, "will surely in time destroy us." According to official statistics supplied to the media by federal agencies, the number of addict-users had increased from 68,000 in 1969 to 315,000 in 1970 to 559,000 in 1971, or what Myles J. Ambrose, soon to become director of the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, declared in 1971 to be a "tenfold increase." Such a geometric progression threatened the entire American citizenry with "the hell of addiction" in a few short years, the president suggested, because every individual infected with heroin was in turn driven to infect at least six others. Nor could such an epidemic be brought

under control by ordinary means: the president explained that the suppliers of heroin "are literally the slave traders of our time. . . . They are traffickers in Living Death [and] they must be hunted to the ends of the earth."

A tenfold increase in the number of heroin addicts would certainly be a cause for national concern; the magnitude of the 1971 epidemic was, however, more a product of government statisticians than of heroin traffickers.

The prodigious increase from some 68,000 addicts in 1969 to 315,000 in late 1970 and 559,000 in 1971 came not from any flood of new addicts reported to federal authorities in 1970 or 1971 but from a statistical reworking of the 1969 data. Rather than continuing to publish estimates based on the *Federal Register*, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs (B.N.D.D.) decided to apply a new formula to the old 1969 data, which produced first a quintupling, then an octupling, of the estimated number of addicts.

Although White House officials had originally encouraged the B.N.D.D. in 1969 to reinterpret its statistics and find "higher numbers" in order to justify the

entire drug crusade, Haldeman and Ehrlichman subsequently became "agitated and concerned" when the bureau continued to boost the estimated number of addicts in the election year of 1972, according to B.N.D.D. director John Ingersoll. It will be recalled that when the reinterpretations reached 559,000 and the press was reporting *increased* addiction under the Nixon administration, Krogh ordered Ingersoll not to release "any more numbers" and to clear all his public statements with a special White House press officer, Richard Harkness. The epidemic thus peaked at 559,000 addicts — and then was arbitrarily reduced to 150,000 addicts. The elimination of 409,000 addicts (who might never have existed) was subsequently cited as evidence of success in the Nixon crusade.

In any case, through the magical projection of a statistical "invading army of addicts," the White House strategists were able to manufacture an epidemic of crisis proportions, even though, as data from treatment centers indicated at the time, the number of new cases of heroin addiction had been on the *decrease* for several years. E.J.E.

producers to include in their fall programming antidrug themes." In a March 19 memorandum John Ehrlichman recommended personally that the president meet the television executives in his office for a "photo opportunity." On April 2 a detailed scenario was drawn up for the meeting of the following week. "To expedite the meeting and give it a little novelty," the scenario recommended.:

The Attorney General will just be finishing his remarks before the group in the White House theatre [at 9:30 A.M.]. At that time Steve Bull [the White House assistant] would enter and hand the Attorney General a note. The Attorney General would then announce that the President has asked us to step over to his office. Prior to that time, the men attending the conference would not know when they would be seeing the President. Therefore, the Attorney General's announcement would be the first indication that they were about to go over and meet with the President.

H. R. Haldeman approved this spontaneous moment in the scenario, even though it broke "the President's rule of not doing something before 10:00 A.M." After this minor success, Magruder sent a background paper to Attorney General Mitchell, stating:

We intend to make available to the television industry information on anti-drug themes that could be used in a broad expanse of appropriate television programs. . . . The President thought that an effort should be made to have one television series with a drug theme analogous [*sic*] to the *FBI Story* [a continuing series on ABC television]. . . . As a consequence, invitations to forty-eight persons who were responsible for over 90% of prime-time television between 7:30 P.M. and 11:00 P.M. were sent over your signature on behalf of a President greatly concerned over the drug problem.

Magruder further explained, "The individuals being invited think in dramatic terms. We have therefore tailored the program to appeal to their dramatic instincts. Your personal presentation will be virtually the only 'straight' speech. The remainder of the program will consist of audio-visual and unusual presentations."

The unusual presentations that Magruder had planned were described as follows: "The Bureau of Narcotics and



Actors David Janssen and Jack Carter in a scene from *O'Hara, U.S. Treasury*, a television series inspired by the White House's "war on drugs."

Dangerous Drugs will have one of its special agents interview one of its undercover agents"; "The Bureau of Customs will bring in shepherd dogs to demonstrate how they are used to detect concealed marijuana"; "The National Institute of Mental Health will conduct a group therapy session with addicts"; "The Department of Defense will present a slide and film presentation depicting the relationship of . . . dissent and drugs." One specific goal of this program was to "provide a telephone number in Washington which television writers [could] call in order to obtain information for inclusion in their scripts, plus access to federal activities (training sessions, Customs Inspection points) so that their scripts would have a high degree of realism." Finally, Magruder sycophantically reminded the attorney general, "National attention will properly be focused on you as the principal individual in the Nixon administration whose concern is with drug abuse." Mitchell agreed to give the "straight" speech and announce that he had just received an impromptu message from the president.

John Ehrlichman got a slightly different explanation for the purpose of this "White House Theater." Jeffrey Donfeld stated in an April 3 memorandum: "The government has a difficult time

changing the attitudes of people. . . . Television, however, is a subliminal stimulus." In other words, viewers would receive a hidden, or subliminal, message which they would not be conscious of receiving but which would all the same stimulate their fear of heroin addicts. "If indeed television is a subliminal stimulus," Donfeld suggested to Ehrlichman, "you are urging the producers to focus their creative genius to effect changes in people's attitudes about drugs . . . [and offering] to guide them in presenting efficacious programs." The talking points Donfeld prepared for Ehrlichman included such instructions as: "Program content should be carefully designed for the audience that is likely to be tuned in at a given time"; "It would not be accurate to portray the drug problem as a ghetto problem. . . . It is a problem which touches all economic, social and racial stratas of America"; "You will receive a drug information kit. . . . Included in that kit will be a telephone contact list so that you or your script writers can call government officials for clarification and additional information"; "Television subtly and inexorably helps to mold the attitudes, thinking and motivations of a vast number of Americans."

The remarks that the president made to the television producers were pre-

pared by Patrick J. Buchanan, the speech writer who delighted in writing hard-line speeches which closely paralleled the rhetoric then being used in New York State by Governor Rockefeller. In this "impromptu" speech the president warned ominously that "the scourge of narcotics has swept the young generation like an epidemic. . . . There is no community in this country

'The television producers left the White House believing they were part of a war on drugs'

today that can safely claim immunity from it. . . . Estimates of it are somewhere between five and twelve million people in this country have used illicit drugs." (When Buchanan redrafted this speech for Nixon six months later, he increased the estimates to "between twelve and twenty million people"; he thus added some seven million new drug users to government estimates.) The president then pointed out to the television producers that "between the time a child is born and he leaves high school, it is estimated he watches about 15,000 hours of television. . . . The children of this country are your captive audience for a good segment of their growing years in which their whole future can be determined." Then he warned, "If this nation is going to survive, it will have to depend to the great extent on how you gentlemen help raise our children." Finally, the advanced scenario called for the president "spontaneously" to summon the press to the Oval Office to photograph the television producers.

The conference went precisely as scheduled by the scenarists. The executives and producers, rounded up for the president by John Ball, of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency (where Haldeman had formerly been employed), met at the White House and were greeted by the attorney general. At 9:30 A.M., in the midst of his introductory remarks, Mitchell received an "urgent message" from the president, summoning the television producers to the Oval Office, where he delivered the

"off-the-cuff" remarks prepared by Buchanan. The production then adjourned to the White House Theater, where the German shepherds demonstrated how they could sniff out marijuana in mail pouches. At lunch, in the State Department dining room, John Ehrlichman added drama by saying that the dogs had actually discovered a packet of hashish during the demonstration. Afterward, the forty guests were shown one and a half hours of "shocking" films of narcotics addiction in the president's private projection room. The carefully staged demonstrations were highly successful, as Krogh recalled. Meanwhile, the advertising agency executives, who provide sponsors for most of the programs on television, were brought into the East Room by Jeb Stuart Magruder. To their surprise they were greeted by the president himself, who listened attentively as Magruder explained how the advertisers could use their influence to encourage television producers to incorporate the drug-oriented scenes, selected by the White House, into their programming. Never fully realizing the extent to which they themselves were part of a production, most of the television producers and executives left the White House that night believing, at least according to subsequent interviews, that they were part of a war on drugs.

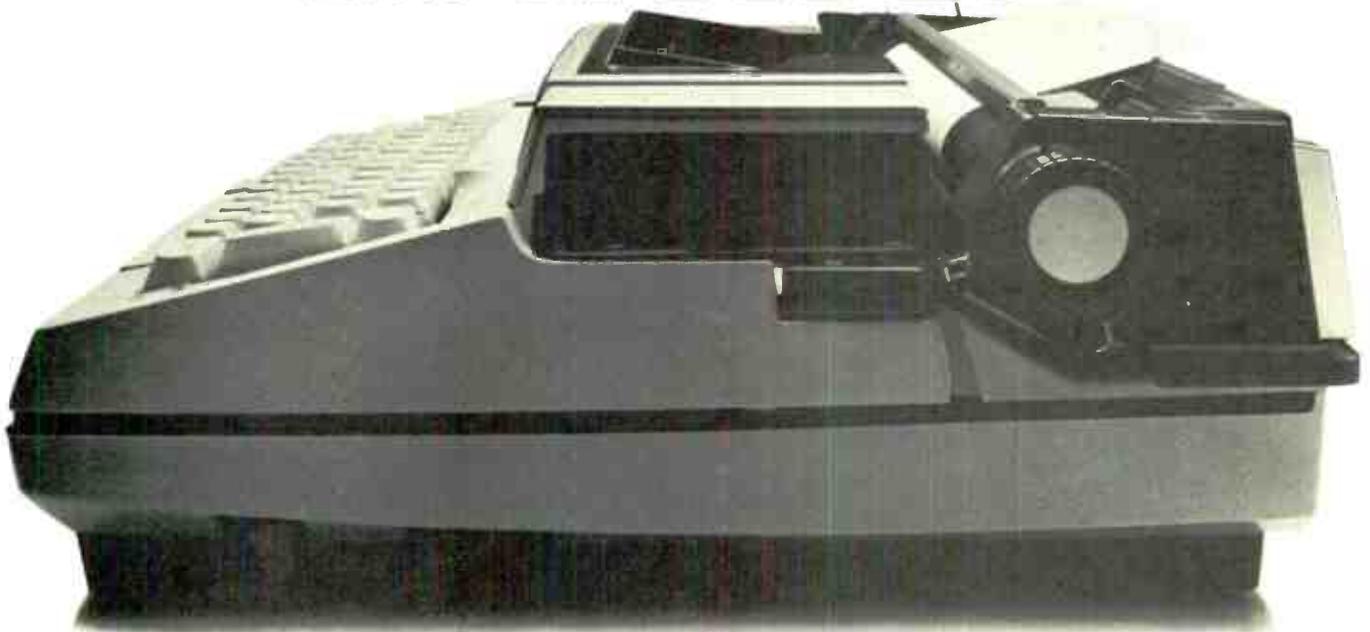
"The producers loved it, and in the weeks following they flooded us with letters about new drug-related programs," Magruder later noted, and added, "Shows like *The Name of the Game* and *Hawaii Five-O* added segments on the problem, new series were planned, and dozens of documentaries were produced." Such programs as *The FBI*, *Mod Squad*, *Marcus Welby, M.D.*, *Matt Lincoln*, *Room 222*, *The Young Lawyers*, and *Dan August* all promised to produce segments on the narcotics problem. In addition, producer Jack Webb began negotiations with the Treasury Department for an entire television series which would give continuous coverage to the administration's heroin crusade. (The series, called *O'Hara, U.S. Treasury*, ran for a year on CBS — from September 1971 to September 1972.) On September 21, 1970, Magruder advised Ehrlichman in a memorandum, "At least twenty televi-

sion programs this fall will have a minimum of one anti-drug theme in it as a result of our conference" and recommended in the following month that there be a "White House Conference on Drugs for the radio industry."

The purpose of the meeting with radio-station owners and managers would be "to urge increased drug education programming and to curb pro drug music and jargon of disc jockeys," according to an October 13 memorandum for the president prepared by Egil Krogh. "This conference is a continuation of the effort to enlist mass media's support . . . to fight against drug abuse," Krogh further explained. In the press plan for the conference he advised the president that there would be "no press coverage of your remarks to the group in the Cabinet Room, but there will be press coverage of the German Shepherd marijuana sniffing demonstration." To add weight to the conference, Dean Burch, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates the broadcasting industry, agreed to attend this meeting of seventy leaders of the radio industry. The scenario further suggested that "the President will have a colorful opportunity to emphasize the stepped-up federal law enforcement effort against illicit drug traffic and can praise the initiative of law enforcement people" on news cameras that would televise the event.

As scheduled in the press plan, the White House conference on the radio industry began promptly at nine, the morning of October 14, 1970, with a speech by Dean Burch on "The FCC and Public Service Time." He suggested that the Federal Communications Commission would look favorably on licensees who provided more time for antidrug commercials. Then came the same dog show that had been prepared for the television producers, complete with German shepherds, shock films, and demonstrations of law-enforcement techniques. John Ehrlichman repeated his lunch remarks. The president continued by telling the radio owners, "We have brought you gentlemen here today because we very much need your active help to halt this epidemic. . . . Ninety-eight percent of the young people be-

IT UNTYPES AS EASILY AS IT TYPES.



THE TYPER

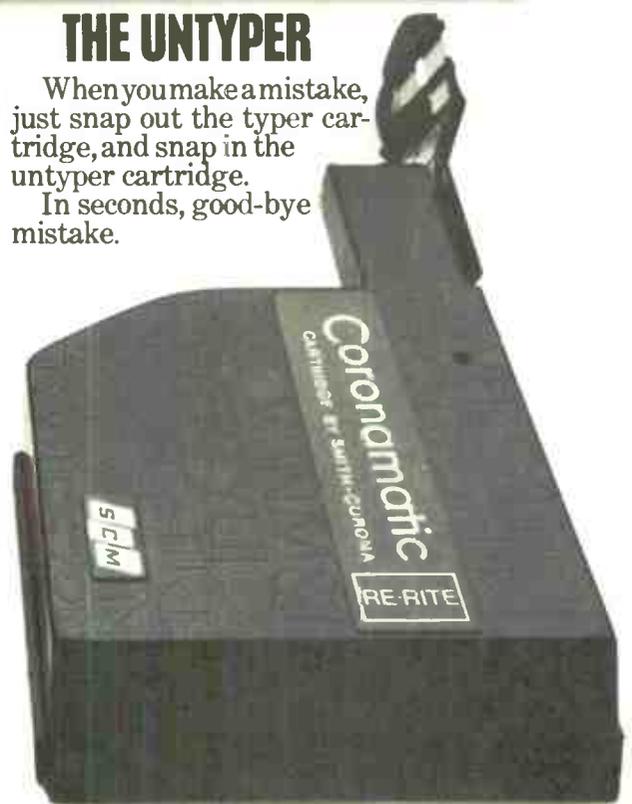
Typewriter cartridges come in black, red, blue, green, and brown executive quality film for the sharpest image of any portable; as well as everyday black nylon.



THE UNTYPER

When you make a mistake, just snap out the typer cartridge, and snap in the untyper cartridge.

In seconds, good-bye mistake.



SCM SMITH-CORONA
SCM CORPORATION

tween the age of twelve and seventeen listen to the radio. . . . No one is in a better position than you to warn our youth constantly against the dangers in drugs." Again, according to White House evaluations, the conference proved successful in injecting the drug menace into radio programming. "Our costs were minimal and the results, measured in terms of television and radio programming, were remarkable," Magruder concluded.

The media campaign continued with the highly publicized Drug Abuse Pre-

vention Week; the National Drug Alert (to coincide with the opening of school); high-level briefings for media executives; drug seminars, in which dramatic law-enforcement stories were given to newspapers; and a White House meeting for religious leaders on the drug problem. By 1971, responding to continual White House pressure, television stations and sponsors had donated commercial time worth some \$37 million (at times which might have gone unsold anyway) for administration messages about the war on drugs, according to an

estimate done by the Advertising Council in 1972. In large part because of this massive "subliminal stimulation" campaign in the media, President Nixon could point out in his June 1971 declaration of a national emergency that "the threat of narcotics . . . frightens many Americans." The generation of fear had succeeded: Even in cities which had few, if any, heroin addicts, private polls commissioned by the White House showed that citizens believed the drug menace to be one of the two main threats to their safety. ■

Reporting on government agencies: four models

A number of alternative ways of describing the activities of a government agency are available to a journalist. In the most conventional model of reporting on the government the journalist simply describes the changes in the top executives of the agency, changes in its performance as reported by these executives, or charges of misbehavior on the part of members of this agency. This form of reporting simply involves rewriting press releases from the bureau itself — or possibly from other bureaus in the position to criticize it. Most newspaper reporting of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs and its successors falls into this category.

A second model of government reporting involves chronicling the exploits of a particular agency. In this model the journalist reconstructs a particular operation — the seizure of a large quantity of heroin, the arrest of top figures in a crime ring, or even an adventure story on the part of agents. Journalists who wish to use this form and be critical simply report the excesses of drug agents and the way that they violated the rights of citizens, such as in the Collinsville raid. Public-relations officials at the drug agency would spend considerable time reconstructing the exploits of drug agents for the benefit of reporters interested in publicizing them (the more critical reports usually come from rival agencies interested in discrediting the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement). Some of the reporting was found

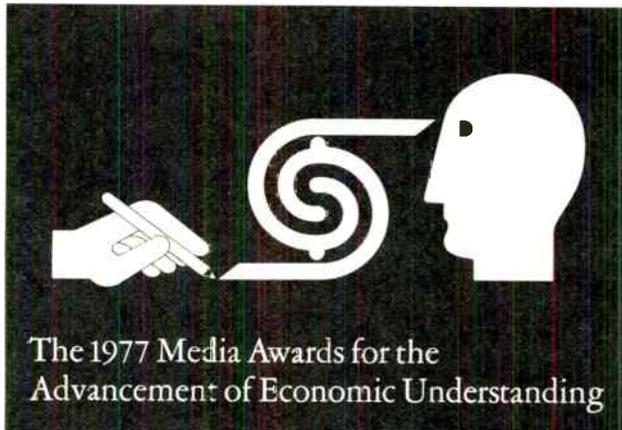
in *Time* and *Newsweek*, and in such books as *The Heroin Trail*, an extensive leak by the B.N.D.D. and its agents to reporters for *Newsday*; *Contrabandista!*, a leak to Evert Clark and Nicholas Horrock by inspectors in the Bureau of Customs; *The Secret War Against Dope*, a leak to Andrew Tully, again by the Customs Bureau; and *Heroes and Heroin*, a leak directly provided to ABC News by Egil Krogh and the White House staff. An article on Nixon's new Drug Enforcement Agency by Frank Browning in *Playboy* magazine, and some excellent reporting in *Rolling Stone* magazine on the world of "narks," provide fine examples of "negative" adventures or exploits in this style of reporting.

A third way of organizing information about a government agency might be called the power-struggle model, and involves the reporter's delineating the various bureaucratic interests which were at stake. This is the model that I use in my book. It assumes that much of the activity of government agencies results from the actions of those in the organization attempting to maintain their position or power. As is necessary in this mode of reporting, I relied heavily on disgruntled officials in the various drug agencies and their rivals in the government. Other examples of this power-struggle model as applied to the drug agencies can be found in Ron Rosenbaum's article "The

Decline and Fall of Nixon's Drug Czar," in *New Times* (September 1975) and to a lesser extent in John Finlator's book *The Drugged Nation*.

Finally, there is a model of reporting which is more difficult to employ in the time frame available to a journalist and which would attempt to correlate the actions of an agency with the changes in the environment in which it exists. This model might be called the natural-history model. It might be possible, for example, to understand the evolution of what began as the Nutt unit in the Alcohol Tax Division into the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in the Justice Department, and so on, if one could also chart the psychological and political changes in the population to which the government was reacting. There was, no doubt, heightened anxiety over crime in the 1960s, and this was connected to the fear of drugs promoted by a whole range of public officials, police officials, and politicians. To focus entirely on the bureaucratic power struggle neglects the "environmental changes" that occurred in America. (Conversely, focusing on the natural history of the drug agency in relation to the psychological environment in America might neglect the very real power struggle that took place.) I know of no journalistic work that has attempted to study the natural history of a government agency, but it would add a much-needed dimension to our understanding of political phenomena. E.J.E.

An award for excellence in economic reporting.



For entry blanks or
additional information write:

Program Administrator
Media Awards for the
Advancement of
Economic Understanding
Amos Tuck School of
Business Administration
Dartmouth College
Hanover
New Hampshire 03755

Purpose:

The 1977 Media Awards for the Advancement of Economic Understanding is a new program to give recognition to outstanding economic reporting directed to the general public. Patterned after the Pulitzer awards, the program is designed to stimulate media to initiate economic reporting that is imaginative, interesting and easily understandable.

The goal of the program is to improve the quality and increase the quantity of economic reporting in the general media. It aims to encourage and reward outstanding submissions by media which effectively explain aspects of the economic system to typical audiences—in terms that have meaning for the average reader or viewer.

Awards:

A total of \$105,000 will be awarded in 14 media categories, competitively grouped according to circulation or scope of market. In each category, there will be a First Prize of \$5,000 and a Second Prize of \$2,500.

Eligibility:

Entries must be original works published, broadcast or telecast between January 1, 1977 and December 31, 1977.

Judges:

Winners will be selected by a panel of judges consisting of the following:

Alexander Calder, Jr.
*Chairman &
Chief Executive Officer
Union Camp Corporation*

Arthur C. Deck
*Executive Editor
Salt Lake City Tribune*

Roy M. Fisher
*Dean, School of Journalism
University of Missouri*

Norman E. Isaacs
*Chairman
National News Council*

Paul Miller
*Chairman
Gannett Co. Inc.*

Rudolph A. Oswald
*Director of Research
AFL-CIO*

Kenneth A. Randall
President, The Conference Board.

Irving S. Shapiro
*Chairman
E. I. du Pont de Nemours*

Otto A. Silha
*President
Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co.*

Frank Stanton
Former President CBS

Murray L. Weidenbaum
*Director of Center for the
Study of American Business
Washington University*

Administration:

The Amos Tuck School of Business Administration of Dartmouth College is sole and independent administrator of the Media Awards for the Advancement of Economic Understanding.

Media Awards for the Advancement of Economic Understanding is being sponsored by the Champion International Corporation, Stamford, Connecticut.

Deadline for Entries:
January 15, 1978

Covering the politics of broadcasting

F.C.C. commissioners come and go, but the power of the broadcast trade press endures

by BARRY COLE
and MAL OETTINGER

Watch out for the trade press reporters. They read the papers on your desk upside down. . . .

Advice from a seasoned F.C.C. official to Barry Cole when he became an F.C.C. consultant in 1970

Basically, you can't get the word out. You have to rely on the press, the trade press . . . to pick it up. If they don't pick it up — or if it is only in the trade press, it doesn't get the distribution that all this stuff should get.

Leonard Weinles, chief of the F.C.C. Office of Public Information.
Testimony of House Committee on Government Operations, 1972

Broadcasting and *Television Digest*, the two Washington trade journals of the broadcasting industry, are published each Monday. Copies are delivered to the homes of F.C.C. commissioners and influential broadcasting industry people over the weekend. At other Washington offices, the small groups gathered on Monday morning are probably discussing the fate of the Redskins; but at the F.C.C., they are talking about what appeared in the trade press. As the mail comes in, secretaries extract copies of *Broadcasting* and *Television Digest* from the huge

Barry Cole, an adjunct professor of communications at Indiana University, is a former consultant to the F.C.C. and the House Communications Subcommittee. Mal Oettinger has been a reporter at Broadcasting and Television/Radio Age.

mail pile and dispatch them to impatient bosses. Bureau chiefs, commissioners' legal assistants, and lawyers roam the halls with rolled-up copies.

The arrival of the trade publications turns the F.C.C.'s offices into Sardi's, where producers, angels, and stars anxiously await the critics' verdict on their latest extravaganza. But Commissioner Nicholas Johnson took a darker view of the trade press's influence, accusing the publishers, editors, and reporters of belonging to a "subgovernment" that pressures the commission to act favorably toward the broadcasting industry to the detriment of the general public.

One reason for the trade press's impact was explained by a participant in a Brookings Institution conference on reforming regulation. He said that a commission appointee realizes soon after coming to Washington "that nobody ever heard of him or cares much what he does — except one group of very personable, reasonable, knowledgeable, delightful human beings who recognize his true worth. Obviously they might turn his head just a bit." This group comprises avid readers of the trade press, which reports the comings and goings, wit and wisdom of F.C.C. commissioners in the same touching detail that the daily press devotes to Farrah Fawcett-Majors and Jimmy Carter.

The patriarch of the trade press, Sol Taishoff, has published *Broadcasting* for more than forty-five years and has educated generations of commissioners in the same manner that Arthur Krock and James Reston have tutored presidents. *Broadcasting* reports and analyzes all major F.C.C. decisions and records the thousand routine actions the agency takes. The magazine's news stories are generally straightforward (with an occasional editorializing headline), but the editors' viewpoints are hammered home to even the dullest bureaucrats through the editorial page and a venerable page of inside dope,

speculation, and gossip called "Closed Circuit," the first page insiders turn to.

Television Digest is a weekly newsletter printed on a dozen or so yellow pages, half of which are devoted to broadcasting and cable and half to consumer electronics. Unlike *Broadcasting*, this magazine carries no advertising, but depends on the impact of its reporting and its concise but comprehensive summary of the week's news.

In addition to *Broadcasting* and *Television Digest*, other publications cover broadcasting regulation. *Variety*, the weekly show business newspaper, covers the F.C.C. as part of the general entertainment scene. This publication traditionally encourages its reporters to write as they please, mixing analysis and news; but since one person is responsible for all Washington coverage, from movies to nightclubs and theater, the depth of *Variety's* F.C.C. coverage depends on the ability and the schedule of the correspondent of the moment. *Television/Radio Age*, a biweekly trade magazine, includes a regular F.C.C. column, which emphasizes feature material and agency trends rather than spot news. To some extent, *Advertising Age* also reports on the F.C.C., particularly on how its actions affect advertisers and their agencies. Other trade journals in the cable TV, common carrier, and telecommunications industries also cover F.C.C. activities.

Coverage of the F.C.C. occasionally appears in less specialized publications. Reporters from the wire services and the daily press may swoop down on the F.C.C. for an exposé or for a story on an agency action of overriding general importance. Generally, however, these reporters cover several regulatory agencies at once and are seldom thrilled with that beat. The more talented reporters are assigned to greener pastures before they can make the kinds of contacts that produce intel-

ligent, influential articles. For broadcasting journalists, the F.C.C. is a treasured beat, and the experienced reporters know as much about the agency as communications lawyers.

In the past, television critics like Jack Gould of *The New York Times*, Robert Lewis Shayon of *Saturday Review*, and Lawrence Laurent of *The Washington Post* devoted considerable column space to regulation of radio and television. Nowadays, television columns are devoted almost exclusively to programming. One reason for this change is revealed in a 1973 survey of newspaper TV columnists: Only 7 percent of those queried believed that anything they wrote might significantly affect F.C.C. policy. The survey revealed also that of fifty-eight writers, more than a third had been writing about television for only four years or less, and two-thirds had had no previous experience writing about mass media.

Les Brown, who for years was the chief broadcasting reporter for *Variety* and more recently has been covering industry affairs for *The New York Times*, summarized the problems and shortcomings of daily newspaper TV critics in a 1975 speech:

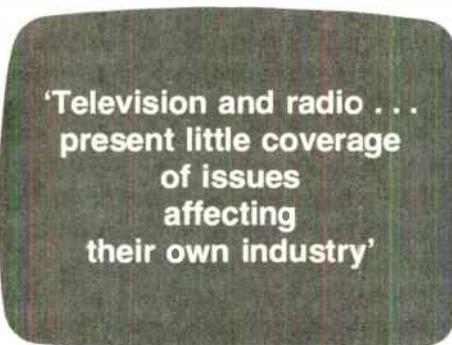
What every critic should know is how the trustees of the public airwaves are allowed to carry such small freight. . . . Newspapers are content to give television a perfunctory wink. [They still consider] TV one of those extras that serves as a come-or-for readership instead of a part of the day's legitimate news. . . . Most TV columns are made up of network handouts and "gonna" stories — NBC is "gonna" do this or CBS is "gonna" do that. . . . Covering TV from Topeka must be like covering baseball from a scoreboard.

On rare occasions the daily press comes through with the kind of story the trade press doesn't dare touch. In a thoroughgoing "the empress is wearing no clothes" exposé, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Karen Elliot wrote that Commissioner Charlotte Reid "lacks apparent qualifications for the job, and she doesn't display much interest in the work." The story was there to be picked

Excerpted from Reluctant Regulators: The FCC and the Broadcast Audience, by Barry Cole and Mal Oettinger, to be published in January 1978. Copyright © 1978. Reprinted by permission of Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc. All rights reserved.

up, but there was no open season in the trade press on Mrs. Reid as there was on Nicholas Johnson, perhaps the most controversial commissioner ever to serve on the F.C.C. The front-page story on October 25, 1974, could not have been written for a trade publication because the reporter, and to some degree the publication that printed the story, would have become persona non grata throughout the F.C.C. Elliot wrote:

Probably the most notable thing Mrs. Reid has done so far in her seven-year FCC term is to spend \$4600 of government money installing in her office a private bathroom with a large gold-framed mirror. She has also distinguished herself by her absence; she's gone from the FCC more than any other Commissioner. . . .



At the FCC, Mrs. Reid can best be described as uninterested. Although she says children's television is a favorite issue, she admits she hasn't given any speeches on the topic or pressed for any new Commission action in that area. Although she is the first woman on the Commission in 25 years, she says, "I'm not a women's advocate. I came here to represent everyone."

Instead of zeroing in on complex issues, Mrs. Reid has turned more and more to travels and speeches. In fact, Commission insiders say, she appears to have given up on really grasping the narrow legal technical issues before the FCC, relying instead on her legal assistant or on Commission Chairman Richard Wiley to cue her votes.

The article reportedly shook up Mrs. Reid. She began defending her record of travels and speeches in her out-of-Washington addresses. Chairman Wiley came to her defense in speeches, referring to "that *Wall Street Journal* article." Such references made broadcasters in the audience look puzzled and ask, "What article?" If it had been in *Broadcasting*, everyone would have

known about it. Nevertheless, observers at the F.C.C. noted that Mrs. Reid's interest in the job, participation at meetings, and knowledge of communications issues increased between the time the article appeared in 1974 and her retirement from the F.C.C. in 1976.

Television and radio, which, as the National Association of Broadcasters likes to point out, are the main sources of news for the American people, present little coverage of issues affecting their own industry. Except for a brief flurry of panel shows on whether broadcasting news had a "liberal bias" after the attacks of Vice-President Spiro Agnew, TV networks usually have avoided trade stories altogether.

The handling of stories on regulatory agencies reflects caution. For example, in June 1973, the *CBS Evening News* devoted time to the pending Senate confirmation vote on Robert H. Morris, an oil company lawyer named by President Nixon to a term on the Federal Power Commission. Many senators opposed the Morris appointment on the grounds that he had been too close to the industry he would be called upon to regulate. During the Morris hearings, Senator Warren Magnuson, Democrat of Washington, chairman of the Commerce Committee, stated:

The public is legitimately skeptical toward regulatory agencies whose important positions are assumed from the industries to be regulated. . . . The Senate should serve notice on the President that it expects revision of his criteria for the selection of nominees to all regulatory agencies. Now, more than ever, the Senate should not be asked to confirm appointments to regulatory agencies which appear to have been designed as rewards for politically supportive industries or other special interest groups.

The Morris nomination was defeated after a close vote of the full Senate.

One of the very next regulatory-agency appointments proposed by President Nixon was that of James Quello, a former Detroit TV station manager, to a term on the F.C.C. Quello, whose association with the broadcasting industry had been severed only shortly before his nomination, was vigorously opposed by citizens' groups. His hearing was the longest ever conducted on a regulatory-agency nominee; one senator noted, "We've spent more time on this hearing

than on the hearing to confirm the Secretary of State.” Despite the controversy engendered by the Quello appointment and the similarity to the Morris fight, no television network covered the hearings.

During the past six or seven years, network TV has paid little or no attention to the critical issues affecting the industry, such as pay cable, the F.C.C. fairness doctrine, license-renewal legislation, or network policy on children’s programming. When the networks volunteered to devote the first hour of prime evening time to “family viewing,” they did so with a minimum of broadcast promotion. They did not air announcements explaining to families how the concept was supposed to work.

The networks’ let’s-not-talk-shop attitude was once challenged by a Los Angeles citizens’ group, which petitioned the F.C.C. to require network coverage of license-renewal legislation that had passed both houses of Congress. The group claimed that such legislation was a controversial issue of public importance and deserved coverage under the fairness doctrine. The F.C.C. denied the petition.

Unlike the housewives who wash their dirty linen incessantly on TV commercials, the networks generally manage to handle their internal affairs with the discretion becoming billion-dollar businesses. However, the networks’ attitude toward coverage of industry news was illustrated in an exchange of letters reported in the trade press in December 1973. Richard Dudley, chairman of the Forward Communications television stations, asked the three television networks to cover the F.C.C.’s pay cable hearings. Dudley insisted that the hearings were “just as newsworthy as many of the routine government stories covered by the networks and far more important from the average TV viewer’s standpoint.” He suggested that if a network was “too sensitive” to put this coverage on the national news, “Let’s automatically put it on the station program feed and leave it to the discretion of the local news directors to use.”

NBC President Julian Goodman offered a rationale for what Dudley called “meek silence”:

Most issues of concern about TV are controversial, in the sense that there are opposing

views about them. To the extent that we used our facilities to argue our own case, we would be required under the fairness doctrine to give a free national platform to our detractors — one that they would certainly exploit — and I don’t think that would advance the cause in which we all believe. . . . In addition, it is probably true that most of the audience prefers to enjoy broadcast programs rather than to watch or listen to broadcast arguments about TV. If this is true, the use of the medium to advance its interests may be addressing the wrong audience — the people who rely heavily on broadcasting, like it and are not very much influenced, in their viewing and listening, by its detractors.

Similar considerations may well have prompted N.A.B. executives to use the newspapers, instead of broadcasting, to lobby Congress regarding pay television. The association spent \$25,000 putting forth its position in the Washington newspapers — avoiding any fairness doctrine responsibilities and any risk of stirring up the animals. Some broadcasters resented this advertising strategy.

Because coverage of F.C.C. regulatory functions by the general media — newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting — is inadequate, the coverage that counts is invariably that of the trade press. The media fail to bring issues of public importance to the attention of the very public that has shown such interest in broadcasting, its programs, and its commercials.

The trade press sometimes manipulates the F.C.C. by getting word of a contemplated action to the readership before the F.C.C. is prepared to make a final decision. This is simply enterprising journalism, of course, whatever the motivation of the person who leaks the information. *Broadcasting* magazine, especially, through a combination of reporting and editorializing, often seeks to influence the F.C.C.’s actions.

A classic case of an F.C.C. staffer’s incurring *Broadcasting*’s wrath occurred in 1962 when Kenneth Cox (later a commissioner) was chief of the Broadcast Bureau. Following a somewhat vague commission policy requiring television stations to present live, local programming in prime time, Cox asked all stations that devoted less than 5 percent of their prime time to this kind of programming why they had so little.

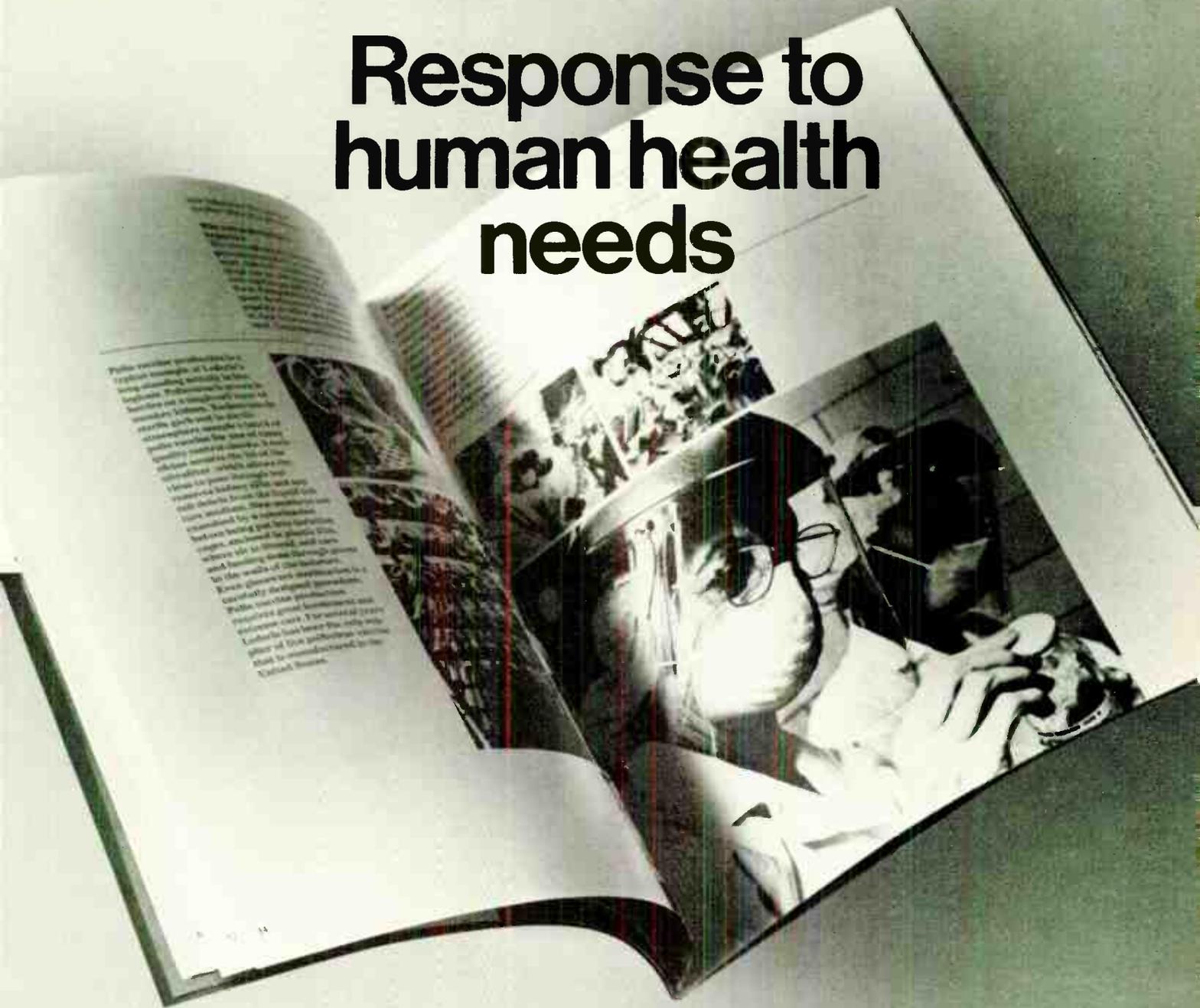
(Partly on the strength of their promises to present just such programming, broadcasters had obtained valuable licenses for TV stations a decade earlier.) *Broadcasting* reported the Cox procedure in December 1962, and editorialized against it as a form of censorship and regulation by raised eyebrow. Broadcasters and their representatives complained to the commissioners, who promptly ordered Cox to desist. The whole episode constituted a notorious example that is still occasionally cited by staff members who are disinclined by nature and training to stick their necks out.

Broadcasting struck again in September 1971 when Dean Burch established a special unit on children’s television and hired an economist, Alan Pearce, to study the economic impact various alternatives would have on the networks. *Broadcasting* moved quickly to put Pearce and his mentor on the defensive. A snide “Closed Circuit” noted that Pearce was a former British broadcaster, and that in 1946 another British broadcaster had helped prepare an F.C.C. policy pronouncement that was the “agency’s first large-scale foray into area of program surveillance. . . . FCC watchers with long memories wonder whether history will repeat itself. . . .” An editorial in the same *Broadcasting* said:

We would have more confidence in an impartial resolution [of] that ‘core issue’ — whether commercial television and television that is good for children can be compatible — if Mr. Burch had not confirmed in the same speech that one of the FCC’s two new employees had been assigned to investigate the “economics of children’s programming.” That can mean only one thing: the employee, an Englishman with a recent Ph.D. from Indiana University, is to judge whether broadcasters can afford to spend more money than they have been spending on children’s fare.

In addition to attacking suspect people and programs, *Broadcasting* occasionally campaigns for rapid action on individual cases. During F.C.C. deliberations over a \$137 million sale of broadcast properties from Corinthian Broadcasting and Dun & Bradstreet, *Broadcasting* reported that the commissioners had tied 3-3 in a closed-meeting vote — and named the commissioner

Response to human health needs



Spend 20 minutes reading Lederle's booklet and discover:

- How new drug ideas are born
- The astronomical cost of creative drug research
- What research facilities and methods are used to turn a biochemical theory into a reality
- How one of the Virgin Islands was defended against a dangerous tropical disease
- How the polio vaccine is made
- The role of the computer in drug research
- How drugs are marketed
- The nonprofit services available to physicians and other healthcare professionals

For your copy of **Response to Human Health Needs**, fill out and mail the coupon:

Lederle Laboratories
Dept. PR
Pearl River, New York 10965

I'm interested. Please send me your new 28-page booklet, **Response to Human Health Needs**.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NEWSPAPER OR MAGAZINE AFFILIATION _____



LEDERLE LABORATORIES,
A Division of American Cyanamid Company
Pearl River, New York 10965

who held the deciding vote. Of course, such a leak could put the swing vote under considerable pressure. The next week the transfer was approved 4-3.

The trade press serves industry lobbyists as an early warning system in the appointment of commissioners. As lawyers James M. Graham and Victor H. Kramer stated in a congressional report, "There are very few trade journals which are more politically potent than *Broadcasting* magazine; the number of F.C.C. aspirants who have had their ambitions either assisted or quashed as a result of this magazine's coverage defies estimation."

Throughout the years, publisher Taishoff has been able to command an audience with commissioners to supplement the advice he gives them in the pages of *Broadcasting*. During the Eisenhower administration, Taishoff met regularly with F.C.C. members, more or less in rotation, at a Colony restaurant table, which became known in the trade as the "Confessional Booth." He still lunches regularly with some commissioners. For years Taishoff's advertisers were given inside news long before it was published.

Broadcasters are not always pleased by trade press coverage, however. At a National Association of Broadcasters regional meeting in 1971, board chairman Richard Chapin was criticized by state broadcasters for not doing enough to gain passage of renewal legislation. Chapin replied that the N.A.B. had invited the powerful chairman of the House Communications Subcommittee, Torbert Macdonald, Democrat of Massachusetts, to speak at an N.A.B. regional meeting in Las Vegas "not just because we like the way he parts his hair." Dawson ("Tack") Nail reported the remark in *Television Digest* despite N.A.B. officials' pleas. Some N.A.B. members later said they thought the report seriously alienated Macdonald.

Since 1974, the trade press has been getting some competition from *Access* magazine, which is spearheaded by former commissioner Nicholas Johnson and his National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, and which calls itself the "first public interest 'trade journal.'" Its avowed goal is to "provide communication within the communications reform movement." Staffed primarily

by volunteer students, *Access* handles F.C.C. news differently, emphasizing actions (or inaction) that the regular trade press considers unimportant; but *Access* seldom gets the scoops that are commonplace for trade reporters who have been covering the F.C.C. for twenty years or more. F.C.C. staff members don't compete for the monthly copies of *Access*, but the magazine has developed readership.

When President Ford was about to nominate former F.C.C. Commissioner Robert Wells as director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy in August 1975, *Access* documented Wells's financial holdings, as well as the hiring practices (of minorities and women) of stations in which he had an interest. It is impossible to measure what effect the

'Throughout the years, publisher Taishoff has been able to command an audience with commissioners'

article had (or who used it as ammunition) as it is to measure *Broadcasting's* influence on F.C.C. nominations. However, Wells withdrew his name from consideration for the position.

In the tight little community of broadcasters, cable operators, and regulators, *Broadcasting*, *Television Digest*, and other trade publications serve the functions of community bulletin board, gossip fence, and volunteer fire brigade. They even report such minutiae as commissioners golfing feats, vacation plans, quips, and quirks.

Before F.C.C. meetings were opened to the public in April 1977, trade reporters relied on their F.C.C. sources to tell the reporters what happened in the closed meetings. So much important business is still discussed outside the official agenda meetings that reporters need inside sources despite "government in the sunshine." Usually the reason that participants in closed discussions are willing to tell reporters

what happened is that the participants believe the leak will further their objectives. In this symbiotic relationship, reporters and news sources "use" each other.

Often an F.C.C. source will reveal information to a reporter to make the source's own actions appear more acceptable to others on the commission or within the regulated industry. Sources may leak information to try to force a colleague's hand on a matter they consider important — or to scold or punish someone in the agency. Sometimes a commissioner or staff member feeds a story to a reporter simply to earn goodwill, to ingratiate the source with the press.

Of course, not all leaks to the trade press are "plants" by an F.C.C. player jockeying for position. Sometimes leaks result from a sincere effort to be helpful in informing interested parties about what is going on. When a *Television Digest* reporter asked newly appointed Commissioner Quello what he thought of a pending decision on a commission fairness doctrine report, Quello simply handed the reporter his concurring statement and said, "Here's what I think." The reporter asked if he could take the statement, tucked it in his briefcase, and was out the door. After pondering a little, Quello decided out of fairness to give the statement to *Broadcasting*, too. As a result, both publications would be able to print direct quotations from a concurring statement to an important decision, which — officially — had not yet been made. When Quello told Chairman Wiley, Wiley considered "calling in some chips" by asking that the publications not print the statement until the decision had been issued; but Wiley decided to save the chips for more serious matters.

The most serious leaks involve adjudicatory matters — cases in which the commission is acting as a court to review the opinions of administrative law judges. Any case may be appealed to the full commission if a party disagrees with the law judge's "initial decision." Counsel for both sides present oral arguments before the commissioners after such an appeal; then they vote a tentative conclusion and direct the Office of Opinions and Re-

view to draft a decision.”

Such a decision is patently news for the trade press, but premature disclosure can have serious consequences. For example, in January 1975 *Television Digest* revealed that the commission had reached a tentative 4-3 decision to disqualify Teleprompter, a cable systems operator, from owning systems in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and Trenton, New Jersey, because the president of Teleprompter, Irving Kahn, had been convicted of bribing a Johnstown city official. When the tentative decision was published, Teleprompter’s counsel claimed that publicity had “irreparably impaired” the commission’s ability to continue consideration of the merits of the case and that the article would rush the commissioners and perhaps “lock in” their decisions. The lawyer asked that the staff prepare two opinions — one of which would favor Teleprompter — so that both opinions could be “fully considered.”

The Commission responded to this request by issuing a special statement on February 4, 1975:

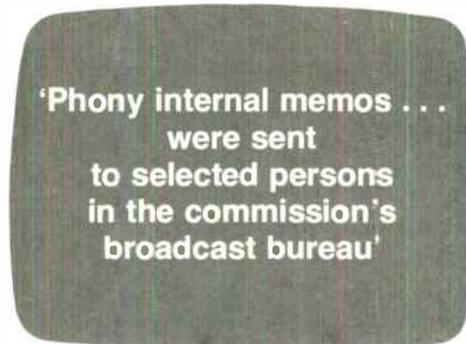
The Commission disapproves of and greatly regrets the unauthorized reports concerning our deliberations in Teleprompter Cable Systems, Inc. . . . which have appeared in recent trade publications. The Commission confirms that it has given instructions to the staff to prepare a decision in this matter under the supervision of a designated Commissioner. Consistent with normal practice, the Commission’s instructions are tentative and each member reserves the right to make a final determination upon review of the draft decision. The Commission plans no further consideration of this case until the draft decision is prepared.

Despite lawyers’ cries of foul and the commission’s apparent anguish, the Teleprompter leak was not the last adjudicatory decision published before F.C.C.’s final action. In late 1975 *Television Digest* revealed that the commissioners were narrowly divided on whether to renew the license held by Cowles Communications for Channel 2 Daytona Beach-Orlando, Florida. The publication stated that the commissioners had asked for alternative decisions — rare at the F.C.C. — one granting renewal, the other licensing a competing applicant. “If decision goes against Cowles, added impetus will be provided

in industry’s drive for renewal bill in Congress,” the magazine predicted, adding that a “top broadcast lobbyist [said], ‘If something like that happens, it certainly would show the need for stability.’”

Although the effect such comments might have had on the commissioners’ eventual decision is impossible to determine (they voted 4-3 to renew the license), such a leak unquestionably applies to the decision-making process a pressure that is incompatible with a judicial posture.

Sometimes leaks help abort F.C.C. actions. In such cases the source of the leak may be calling for reinforcements to bolster what he or she fears is a minority position within the commission. In late 1972, Chairman Burch,



after consulting the Justice Department, directed a member of his staff to draft a notice of inquiry into whether networks should be forbidden to own production facilities and to produce their own entertainment programs. Before the notice was even discussed by the commission, leaks had activated network lobbyists, who had issued press releases and launched crusades in visits to commissioners’ offices. The vote was 4-2 against the proposal.

Periodically the F.C.C. tries to take the offensive against leakers. In the Newton Minow era (1961-63), serious consideration was given to referring the problems of leaks to the Justice Department, and on one occasion phony internal memos announcing forthcoming special meetings were sent from the chairman’s office to selected persons in the commission’s broadcast bureau in the hope of tracing leaks. In 1970, during Dean Burch’s regime a staff member’s telephone was tapped by his

superiors to learn if he was leaking. Members of Congress were outraged when they learned about it.

The broadcast trade press clearly serves its readers — primarily station managements, communications attorneys, and lobbyists. The magazines alert industry insiders to what regulators and congressmen are doing or may be about to do. Broadcasting lobbyists learn what cable lobbyists are up to, and vice versa. Advocates may get to read drafts of F.C.C. proposals in time to urge changes. *Broadcasting* magazine, through its editorials, coordinates campaigns — in favor of Chairman Richard Wiley’s deregulation efforts, for example, or against more stringent standards for the renewal of broadcast licenses.

The trade press performs such functions that help the F.C.C. *Broadcasting*, as a journal of record, prints summaries of commission actions. Major broadcasters are informed of these actions by the Washington attorneys they retain, but because the F.C.C. cannot as a practical matter send all its public notices to all licensees, the managements of smaller stations rely on *Broadcasting* to learn of commission policies and regulations.

Both *Television Digest* and *Broadcasting* compile exhaustive annual factbooks, garnering statistics from questionnaires sent to licensees. The F.C.C.’s own research facilities are severely limited, and the staff and commission members often base proposals and decisions on trade press statistics.

The trade press is influential with regulators regardless of what administration is in power, or the philosophical bent of commissioners. Members of Congress charged with overseeing the F.C.C. read the publications. If they miss something, their broadcaster constituents are likely to bring it to their attention. Trade press reports affect regulators’ perceptions of what they are doing are how well they are doing it. Just as politicians have grown wary of putting anything in writing that they wouldn’t want to see on the front page of *The Washington Post*, many a commissioner contemplating an action has joked nervously, “I wonder how this will look in *Broadcasting*.” ■

BOOKS

Two of Uncle Walter's toughest boys

Clearing the Air

by Daniel Schorr. Houghton Mifflin Company; 384 pp. \$11.95

The Camera Never Blinks

by Dan Rather, with Mickey Herskowitz. William Morrow & Co. 320 pp. \$10

Clearing the Air offers a series of related essays on, in Daniel Schorr's words, "some of the central conflicts involving government, the news media and society." The work was prompted by Schorr's celebrated run-in with Congress, with CBS, his longtime employer, and with reportorial colleagues for having passed a copy of the unreleased House Select Committee on Intelligence (or Pike Committee) report on the C.I.A. to *The Village Voice*. The book's purpose broadened when Schorr weathered a threat to cite him for contempt of Congress and became a national spokesman for press freedom.



For those whose aversion to Schorr has developed into an allergy, his text is dusted with pollen to aggravate the condition. The book, which spans his twenty-three-year career at CBS, combines anecdote and analysis in order to show the pernicious influence of government and its chief operatives on broadcast journalism. Schorr speculates on the coincidence of CBS chairman William Paley's lunches with presidential aides like Charles Colson and the network's subsequent adoption of policies congenial to the White House. He also speculates about the Warren Commission's C.I.A.-inspired apathy about the agency's Cuban activities, and the commission's decision not to follow clues about Oswald's Cuban connections — even though, to Schorr, the evidence of those ties is stronger than that for Oswald's links to the Soviet Union.

Schorr's critics will find that he passes quickly over potentially embarrassing questions: for example, his willingness to let a network colleague be falsely accused of having leaked the Pike report. His version of these events emphasizes the overarching First Amendment problem of reporters' protection of sources, and he even enlists two former officials, William Colby and Henry Kissinger, in his cause. To leave his detractors in a fit of displeasure, Schorr closes with an attack on television — in particular, its tendency to air entertainment instead of news.

None of this is surprising in a book whose title so plainly puns its intention: Schorr had a lot to get off his chest. For readers who have puzzled over the dilemmas of openness in government vs. national security, freedom of the press vs. government regulation, freedom of the press vs. pressures of the purse, and who understand that there are no definitive answers to these dilemmas, Schorr's speculations are provocative, his personal examples often persuasive.

Schorr's prose is crisp, his themes clearly presented, his challenges to television journalism strengthened by the range of experiences that led him to make them.

Even a sympathetic reader, however, will occasionally tire of Schorr's zeal. Even if, for example, his view of a deal between former Presidents Nixon and Ford on Nixon's pardon is correct, it seems overly peevish and out of place in *Clearing the Air*. Schorr's notion that Nixon's confidence in his ability to control TV kept him from destroying the White House tapes is cranky.

But Schorr's is a cogent and informative volume, full of disciplined emotion about his persistent preoccupations (the case of Richard Helms's and the C.I.A.'s involvement in domestic surveillance and assassination of foreign leaders and the C.I.A.'s role, however indirect, in President Kennedy's death, to cite two). The book ends with a vexing treatment of the ticklish relations between government, corporate, and broadcast news policies. Schorr's perspective on Watergate coverage and his reconstruction of events that led to his arrival at #17 on the infamous "Enemies List" is in curious contrast to his romantic view of reporters as "untouched observer[s] seeing the whole picture because" they are "not in the picture." *Clearing the Air* moves beyond the predictable apologia about the publication of the Pike report to a call for feisty and free-functioning news gathering and reporting.

The Camera Never Blinks reads like the premature memoir of a military man, a recap of adventures written in order to reestablish his credentials as a moderate professional. At this writing, Dan Rather's book (written with Mickey Herskowitz), an anecdotal account that is didactic, provocative, and sometimes disjointed, is climbing the best-seller

lists. Presumably, readers find Rather's conversational prose easy and engaging, take pleasure in hearing the author's confident, reserved tone, and enjoy his stories on skirmishes (with Presidents Johnson and Nixon, in Vietnam, at the border of India and China). Presumably, too, they do not mind his unabashed appreciation of his own notable career as a broadcast journalist, where getting the story first is high on a list of priorities and presenting an unflappable professional face close behind.

From promotional material, we know that Rather originally intended this memoir as a journalism textbook. While the narrative of Rather's rise from print journalism and radio in college to his present range of duties as a CBS correspondent is entertaining, it also contains lessons. Among them: the importance of trusting instinct and experience while pressing to beat the competition on a story; the advantage print journalists have over broadcast colleagues in treating a complex question; the power of government to intimidate the press; the

dangers of checkbook journalism. Rather presents these matters in a chatty style, but he also can be terse, dryly witty, and tough-talking.

Although the book darts from topic to topic at the same fast pace as the correspondent's career, his views on some of the issues raised by Schorr in *Clearing the Air* are respectably firm. Rather, like Schorr, fears the consequences of television's becoming a celebrity business. In a chapter about sources, Rather casts his lot with Schorr on the Pike report imbroglio. He condemns selective leaks to the press by high-ranking government officials who want to tell their sides of stories. And, like Schorr, he makes no bones about the fact that there was no love lost between the two CBS correspondents.

Reading Schorr and Rather in tandem nonetheless emphasizes the differences between them. Schorr pieces together items to illustrate the impact of big institutional decisions. If he is insistent about clarifying a complex problem (he's usually called aggressive, arrogant, and able), he can be patient, too. He acknowledges his debt to print journalism in molding this style. Years of work on television have taught Schorr to highlight his conclusions with colorful language, but his comments gain strength from arguments that are built sequentially.

Rather is a product of the electronic age. In his stories action and ambience are often more important than analysis. Rather identifies difficulties of decision and puzzles of policy, but his explanations are elementary. I do not mean to say that Rather's reporting is occasionally cockeyed or compromised, as Schorr suggests. Instead, I concur with Rather's observation that journalists are products of their training. His came in the realm of sports, weather, and local TV reporting, tasks which call for setting the scene and making it vivid, hit-



Fred Marshall

"News reporting is a serious affair, but this doesn't mean that it has to be pondered like original sin or taught like geometry."

on reporting the news

by

William E. Burrows

An experienced journalist and professor grapples head-on with the daily realities of news reporting in witty, often irreverent terms.

345 pages, index, glossary, \$12.95



New York University Press
Washington Square,
New York, N.Y. 10003

The Information Process

World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century

Robert W. Desmond

This comprehensive survey of world news reporting has a new focus and detailed presentation that make it a unique contribution to communications history. Supplementing a description of how news was gathered and disseminated through the centuries is a detailed account of the great advances that came in the nineteenth century. This book assembles in a coherent form facts little known or found elsewhere only in diverse places.

"This book is something that those of us familiar with [Desmond's] earlier work have long awaited with keen anticipation."—Raymond B. Nixon, Professor Emeritus of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota

445 pages, 6 x 9. Cloth, \$22.50.

University of Iowa Press
Iowa City, Iowa 52242

ting the high points, without much conjecture. Rather was well-equipped for national television reporting, where a correspondent rarely has more than a minute and a half on the air to convey the significance of a story, and he has mastered its techniques.

Both Schorr and Rather present themselves as principled professionals. The intensity of Schorr's arguments suggests that his experience as reporter and subject of scrutiny has heightened his awareness of what is at stake in the conflicts he covers. Rather's writing indicates that he feels bound by the First Amendment precepts that reporters often tout in defense of their deeds. A telling difference between them comes in Schorr's eagerness, and Rather's reluctance, to emphasize the contrast between company journalism, represented by CBS, and independent reporting, exemplified by print journalism at its best.

Since Schorr was a company man longer than Rather has been, it is misleading to pigeonhole Schorr as a lone invigilator (though circumstances made him seem like one) and Rather as a corporate mouthpiece. Each book tells of its author's sentimental, if not iconoclastic, traits. But in discussing the journalistic quandaries of an organization that is vulnerable to pressures, by personalizing the problem in a way that makes it pointed, Schorr grounds his writing in bedrock. He questions whether a corporate news outfit sensitive to the passions of affiliates and the pressures of politicians can fulfill its responsibility to report the news. As he put it in a recent speech, "freedom of the press" should not be "a hypocritical cover for the freedom of personal and corporate profit. . . . The First Amendment was not meant to be exercised only when prudent and profitable for the news purveyors."

The questions Schorr raises tend to deflate some of Rather's loftier pro-

nouncements, although they do not lessen the enjoyment and occasional enlightenment provided by Rather's chronicle. (There is enough of the "how to" in both books to satisfy the professional voyeurism of readers.) Nor do they reflect on Rather's interest in the idea of Edward R. Murrow's scholar-correspondent and the integrity and intelligence that identified him. But Schorr makes clear how Rather treads lightly on issues of moment to him, substituting a gloss of reportorial challenges for a realistic reckoning of their complexity. Each author, according to Frank Mankiewicz, plays his part as a member of "the classic American family," "Uncle" Walter Cronkite's news team: Schorr as the "wayward" older son, Rather as "the nephew who is almost accepted as a member of the family" and wants to please with his stories and studied seriousness. Of course it makes all the difference that Rather has kept his seat at the table, while Schorr breaks bread at his own.

LINCOLN CAPLAN

Lincoln Caplan is a lawyer and writer in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Charisma and the press

The Visible Scientists

by Rae Goodell. Little, Brown. 242 pp. \$9.95

The visible scientists are, as defined in this book, those few scientists who, largely by virtue of a knack for exploiting the press and television, have achieved celebrity status and wide publicity for their opinions on public-policy issues. The author, who is not a journalist but an assistant professor of science writing at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a Ph.D. in communications from Stanford, draws a sharp distinction between these scien-

tists — Margaret Mead, Barry Commoner, Linus Pauling, Paul Ehrlich, B. F. Skinner, Carl Sagan, and William Shockley are the ones chiefly discussed — and other scientists. Among the latter are "establishment" scientists such as Glenn Seaborg or Joshua Lederberg who show up on the Washington scene as agency officials or as part of the system of government advisory committees, which Goodell feels has fallen into some disrepute. Then there are also the many thousands of scientists who confine themselves to their laboratories and academic routines and are scarcely known beyond their immediate fields of research.

As Goodell acknowledges, there can be something meretricious about any media celebrity. But whatever may be said about the visible scientists, the picture presented here of science reporters — who by lending themselves to such "pseudo events" as press conferences and formal interviews are said to help create the celebrities they then look to as news sources — is distinctly unflattering, though it does not appear so intended. Goodell writes, "Charismatic and articulate, the visible scientists bias the news: celebrities always do. The press is addicted to the visible scientists, and vice versa. The comfortable symbiosis is a source of uneasiness even [sic] to science reporters and editors."

Yet, in truth, her thesis is much overdrawn. It is by no means clear that the visible scientists are as important and influential as she suggests or that science reporters depend on them for news as much as is implied. (Indeed, as for the latter point, the journalists perhaps most likely to make uncritical use of what these scientists say are general reporters for provincial newspapers, for whom it is really news when Margaret Mead comes to town.)

Something curiously lacking in the book is any hard evidence, or even any detailed discussion, of what these scientists have achieved in the way of influ-

Nobody makes “band-aids.”

(Not even Johnson & Johnson.)



Lots of people make adhesive bandages. So, everyone puts a brand name on his product. BAND-AID_® is the brand name for the adhesive bandages Johnson & Johnson makes. That's why, when you mean our bandages, please say BAND-AID BRAND Adhesive Bandages. Because nobody makes “band-aids,” not even Johnson & Johnson.

© Johnson & Johnson 1974

encing public policy. Goodell credits them with having “leverage in Congress” and “playing a key role in congressional hearings,” but the only support offered for this important conclusion is the word of the information director of the National Academy of Sciences.

In the absence of evidence that they have played a crucial part in the shaping of policy, it is hard to credit most of these scientists with much more than amplifying the concerns with which they are identified — fear of nuclear fuel recycling, or the population explosion, or race and I.Q., for example. This may not be a negligible function, but in the case of any particular scientist-celebrity it is likely to amount to a lot less than (to quote Goodell) serving as “catalysts in the process of converting problems into visible issues.”

In fact, it is a gross oversimplification to suggest, as Goodell seems to do, that, without the visible scientists, science would often be weakly represented in the public debate of the many issues on which science and technology have an important bearing. Rather, it is more a matter of the scientist-celebrities doing their thing in bringing certain issues to wider public attention — by such means as popular writing, frenetic speaking tours, and appearances on the Johnny Carson show — while other scientists do theirs.

For instance, although for the most part they are virtually unknown to the public at large, the bench scientists who confirmed the carcinogenic effect of numerous chemical compounds no doubt contributed far more to the passage of the Toxic Substances Control Act of 1976 than did media celebrities. Solid citations in the scientific literature will generally weigh as much to members of Congress and their staff people (many of whom are good at sifting wheat from chaff) as the mail generated by what some attractive academic says on a midnight talk show. Furthermore, no sensible and experienced reporter writing on a cloudy or controversial issue — whether it be earthquake hazards in California, the capabilities of arms-control verification

technology, gains from the “war on cancer,” or whatever — will bother to seek the opinion of a scientist-celebrity unless this person has some direct expertise in the matter at hand or can speak authoritatively for a lobbying or citizens activist campaign that may be having an impact. Certainly it is pointless to chase around getting predictable responses from polemicists whose positions are already well known.

It is a measure of the analytical shallowness of this book that whereas Johnny Carson as a host to — and maker of — scientist-celebrities is mentioned in four different chapters, Ralph Nader and the scientists associated with the growing number of “public interest groups” he and other activists have founded or encouraged are mentioned only in passing. Yet, in terms of focusing scientific information on the making of public policy, Nader and the other public-interest activists have really been onto something. For example, the Environmental Defense Fund, started in 1967 as the brainchild of a Long Island attorney and a young biologist at the University of New York at Stony Brook, has through lawsuits and government administrative proceedings brought relevant research to bear on a variety of important environmental and public health hazards. Barry Commoner, one of Goodell’s subjects, had made his mark on public policy as a prime mover behind the scientists’ public information movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s, while he was still relatively obscure as far as the general public was concerned.

Not having made any systematic review or evaluation of the work of his journalistic colleagues, this reviewer cannot know to what extent it is true that they have, as Goodell claims, fallen into a symbiotic relationship with the visible scientists. I do know that this cannot be said of the ones whose work I know best. But, for those of whom it may be true, I can only say that they should regard it as a professional weakness calling for the most sober introspection.

LUTHER J. CARTER

Luther J. Carter is a reporter for Science magazine's "News and Comment" section.

Been down so long . . .

Up from the Footnote

by Marion Marzolf. Hastings House. 310 pp. \$12.95

While this book adds little that is new to the exploding mass of research on the subject of women and journalism, it does collect the widely scattered fragments of that research and assemble them in one accessible place. The resulting structure is perhaps necessarily awkward and occasionally unbalanced, stretching as it does to accommodate such disparate items as the 1854 resolution of the National Typographical Union not to encourage employment of female compositors, the number of women contributors to *Journalism Quarterly* from 1960 to 1971, and Eileen Shanahan’s advocacy of picking up the check when lunching with a news source, just like the guys do. Marzolf, a teacher of journalism at the University of Michigan, has drawn upon biographies and histories, dissertations and interviews, newspaper copy and broadcasting scripts, and professional and student papers in a no-stone-unturned effort to bring the woman journalist “up from the footnote” and into the mainstream of journalism history. She traces her development through her various roles from colonial widow printer to sob sister to foreign correspondent to television anchorwoman, with additional chapters on the changing concepts of women’s pages, the history of the feminist press, women in journalism education, and their situation in Europe. The author does not pretend to offer an original thesis of her own, and what emerges as the major theme is the ongoing struggle for equality in a profession dominated by men. If the approach is pedestrian, the facts are not, and happily wherever possible Marzolf has allowed the journalists to share their experiences in their own words. It is a book that scholars may find useful, male supremacists enlightening, would-be women journalists instructive, and practicing ones a comfort. G.C.

COMPLIMENT YOUR FRIENDS THIS CHRISTMAS

with a gift subscription to the Columbia Journalism Review.

Compliment their taste and judgment. Keep them abreast of the national monitor of the media and the internationally quoted media critic.

Your friends will receive this gift all through the newsmaking year, long after most other gifts are

worn out or put away. And, at \$12 for the first gift or renewal and \$9 for each additional gift, you'll find this an easy and much appreciated way to do your shopping without leaving your chair.

Just return your gift order soon for speedy pre-holiday handling.

Your Christmas gift of CJR will be heralded by attractive announcements, hand-signed as you instruct us.

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Complete and mail to Columbia Journalism Review, 200 Alton Place, Marion, Ohio 43302.

Please send 12 months (6 bimonthly issues) of CJR at the special Christmas rate of \$12 for the first gift and \$9 for each additional gift to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Card to read: From _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Card to read: From _____

I enclose \$ _____ for _____ subscriptions.

- First gift at \$12 or
- Renew mine at \$12.
- _____ additional gifts at \$9 each
- Please bill me.

Gift cards

- Send gift cards to recipients with my greetings.
- Send gift cards to me for mailing.

Your name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please list additional subscriptions on a separate piece of paper and enclose with your order. MD67X

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

To market, to market

TO THE REVIEW:

The timing of my receipt of your September/October issue featuring Fergus M. Bordewich's article "Supermarketing the Newspaper" was timely, to say the least. *CJR* arrived on my last day of work as managing editor of the *Evanston* (Illinois) *Review*, an 18,500 circulation weekly owned by Pioneer Press, Inc., a Time, Inc. subsidiary. It was my last day at the *Review* because the new editorial leadership had decided that I had a "negative attitude" toward the company and the marketing strategy it had devised for the news package.

The *Evanston Review* is one of ten suburban papers along Chicago's affluent North Shore, but with a population of 80,000, a substantial (25 percent) minority population, and Northwestern University, the city it serves is unique among the bedroom communities that compose the rest of the chain.

I resisted marketing changes so aptly described by Bordewich as "to design newspapers that will not only give readers what the consultants say the readers want, but that will also, most desirably, serve as vehicles for new and affluent advertisers."

The president of Pioneer Press, Inc. says that he no longer reads the village board coverage in his own Pioneer newspaper; he waits for the "official" village newsletter to give him a summary. He and his new editor have also decreed that editorials and opinion columns shall be no longer than thirteen column inches while solicited columns from local clergymen are to get a fourteen-inch limit.

But enough of this. While my parting from a nearly two-year tenure as managing editor of the *Review* was indeed a bitter one, the Bordewich article was a comfort to me in my time of trial. At least I won't be likely to catch pneumonia from the breezy air "blowing through the holes where the news might have been."

JACK B. SWANSON
Former managing editor
Evanston Review

TO THE REVIEW:

Now that our newspaper readers have discovered their power as "consumers," why shouldn't they demand from their newspapers "a truthful, comprehensive, and in-

telligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning"? They are demanding — and should be getting — information about the things that are meaningful in individual lives. What gives us as journalists a completely free hand to determine relevance? Who says that the editor is omniscient, and therefore competent to fully determine what his readers *want* to read?

I contend that it's time we in the newsroom take cognizance of what our paying customers want to buy. Why is it so (apparently) unprofessional to cater to the desires — indeed, the demands — of our clientele?

Before I am branded as a non-news journalist, though, let me add that there is no need to diminish the amount of news hole given to what the Bordewichs consider to be news. Indeed, public affairs are certainly in need of greater explanation in our complex society; equally deserving of more informative writing is the state of the economy, the complex social issues that tear across all levels of society, and the things that people do for themselves.

It is a recognition that people are interested in themselves that has prompted many newspapers to accede to such "unjournalism" practices as sections catering to youth, special magazines about cooking, home decorating, vacations, education, and other non-critical (or should I say non-scandalous) areas of life.

I think it is something of a modern miracle that advertisers have been willing to support such efforts with their dollars. Those same dollars only a few years ago were being diverted to radio, television, and direct mail, or into profits. Now the advertiser has recognized a market potential, and is willing to re-invest in newspapers as the best medium to reach the target audience. That should be wonderful news to the editors who have long complained of shrinking news holes caused by decreasing advertising revenues and escalating costs. Now advertisers are beating a path to the newspaper's door asking for additional pages, and the corollary to that is increased news space — even if for special purposes.

It seems that Bordewich's main criticism is directed, after all, to the "breezy" writing that characterizes many newspapers today. In this, his criticism is well justified: not enough emphasis on writing is made either in

journalism schools or newsrooms. Neither is sufficient emphasis given to properly training a student (or reporter) in the subtleties of the subject about which he or she will be expected to write. What other kind of writing can we expect but "breezy" (read that not-even-scratching-the-surface) when the reporter is as ignorant of the subject as the people for whom he is writing?

But I question Bordewich's assault on the non-news and feature sections that present new challenges and new opportunities of the journalism industry and profession as being in the same category as the "breezy" writer. The orientation of the newspaper is always going to be toward what the readers want. From the days of Greeley, through the Hearst-Pulitzer era, to the contemporary "investigative" period, the newspaper has always, in the end, catered to what the buyer wants. But in the past, emphasis and recognition has been on clear, concise, informed writing. We still need that now.

RICHARD MCKINNEY
Instructor in journalism
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

TO THE REVIEW:

Come, come, Fergus Bordewich and *CJR*, your provincialism is showing:

"Elsewhere in the country where neither New York's pool of writers nor the richness of its cultural life is present, the results may be considerably thinner." Horse manure, I say unculturally.

KENNETH F. TEACHOUT
Managing editor
La Crosse Tribune
La Crosse, Wisc.

TO THE REVIEW:

No one seems to remember the old *American*, which folded in the 1930s after its success-story formula failed to attract new readers or to hold the readers who had grown tired of the Scattergood Baines stories. Trivia becomes repetitious very quickly. This is one of the problems which do not appear on the surface, this rapid loss of reader appeal in the material offered, and the limitation of circulation to that group of people which will find such material worth the price. People do not pay for advertising; they get enough of it without charge.

What sort of market is reached by the newsless newspaper? How much disposable income does it offer to advertisers? How much does advertising increase sales in each category and price range?

Advertising is used to achieve several ends: to achieve domination of the market, to divert profits away from tax payments, as an automatic reaction to being in business at all, as a means of securing product recognition, as a means of increasing sales volume without reducing prices. There is some question as to whether anyone really knows the relationship between advertising and profit, but accountants and boards of directors are quick to sense any indication that profits do not warrant advertising costs that do not increase sales or profitability. When money gets tight, advertising budgets are aimed at the prime market, and the prime market is television.

What happens to the second-class mailing privilege when newspapers and periodicals lose public support by becoming nothing more than disguised flyers and throw-aways? What happens to the First Amendment protection of freedom of the press when the public comes to believe that the press is merely an instrument of the advertiser?

The publishers may regard these questions as being academic, since they will rely on newsstand or supermarket sales, rather than on subscriptions, and they will have no intention of handling controversial subjects. However, if they are to retain their circulation, they must continually skirt the laws of libel and the bounds of good taste, and without public support in the right quarters, they could find themselves deprived of protection. Taxpayers and citizens will see no point in extending a mailing subsidy to a press which has only a commercial value, or in providing protection to a press which is the servant of its advertisers.

NORMAN HANKINSON
Basking Ridge, N.J.

TO THE REVIEW:

As journalists increasingly examine our own institutional belly-button, the kind of critical generalizing attempted in your September/October issue becomes increasingly useful. I hope you will give us more. I hope, too, that your next effort is more insightful.

There are a number of things wrong with Fergus Bordewich's analysis.

First, you cannot infer anything about the generality of American newspapers from either an internal memo by a second-level editor on *The Detroit News* or the desperate groping of the floundering *Miami News* for a lifeline. ("Not atypically," says Bordewich, "the *Detroit News* memo called for more

rapes, robberies, and accidents on page 1." Just look at the pages displayed with the article. Not a single rape, robbery, or accident.)

Second, the *Los Angeles Times*, one of the country's best, hardly exemplifies the "purity" Bordewich extols. The *Times* has for years been heavily into zoned editions to satisfy suburban readers. It devotes a great deal of space to coverage of nonserious, nongovernmental life. It even converted its good, serious Sunday magazine into just the sort of life-style supplement Bordewich scorns in lesser papers. Could it be that those strategies — all of which seem to me defensible on journalistic as well as economic grounds — have something to do with healthy circulation?

Third, if Bordewich had looked at A.P. or U.P.I. instead of N.E.A., he might have found, instead of increased emphasis on "trivia," dramatically larger investments of money and manpower in just the kind of investigative and analytical coverage he urges.

Finally, it isn't true — at least, it isn't in the papers I read — that all this frivolity is crowding out the real news. Much of the new life-style coverage occupies space generated by new advertising. Newspapers are, like many of us, getting fatter. And, to the extent that the existing news hole is being taken over, much of what is thrown out is the spongy gray filler that added little to anyone's understanding of the world.

The biggest problem, though, is that there are other and better explanations of what is happening to newspapers.

I am no apologist for the American press. Many, perhaps most, newspapers still bear witness to the truth of A. J. Liebling's observation that asking a publisher to spend money on news gathering is like asking the owner of a prize-winning milk cow to enter her in a horserace. Lord Thomson's little mints and the Newhouse papers come to mind.

And Bordewich is correct, if unoriginal, in noting a move away from "hard" news in many papers, including the best ones. *The New York Times* does not lead trends. It certifies them. So when you see life-style sections in *The New York Times*, you can be sure they're not just coming; they're in.

I would suggest, however, that this change is a healthy and hopeful one, not a signal for despair. My suggestion, also unoriginal, is that the best American editors are reacting belatedly to their accurate perception that the real cause of declining circulation has been a decline in the newspaper's relevance to its readers' lives.

The conservatism of the American press is not restricted to editorial pages. Many

readers realized long before any but a handful of editors did that important aspects of their lives had little to do with the city council meetings and presidential speeches we insisted on telling them about, often at interminable length.

While we were writing about Latin America, the Far East, and local politics, people were living the women's movement, the emergence of youth culture, the dilemmas of unsatisfying work and empty leisure time, sweeping changes in the structure of the family, the growth of ethnic consciousness. The press's myopic misdefinition of "news" as being either political action or catastrophe (or a combination of the two) is only now being rethought.

The real trend-setters — the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Miami Herald*, *Newsday*, the Louisville and St. Petersburg combinations and others — appear to me to be trying to illuminate these previously ignored areas while doing more, rather than less, investigation and analysis. That may be smart marketing, but it's also good journalism.

Bordewich asserts that editors "are not talking about attracting and educating readers" with better reporting, better writing, or more expertise. I suggest that he just hasn't been listening.

GEORGE KENNEDY
Columbia, Mo.

Common Centsitivity

TO THE REVIEW:

You're well off base in assessing the appeal of *Common Cents*. ["The Common Cents Approach to Consumer Reporting," by Francis Pollock, CJR, September/October]. Publisher Howard Cohen is an honest guy who shares with many thoughtful people the belief that, in the main, our land's security depends on an informed citizenry.

Unlike the Consumers Union reports and Nader-school advocates, Cohen is not attempting to influence brand name purchasing decisions because he believes his approach is one more appropriate to long-term advancement of the "consumer movement." That Howard Cohen's approach to this important issue also appeals to publishers in now more than 100 markets is not a valid basis for tagging him a sellout. He is sincere and consistently adhering to a more than just superficially plausible philosophy.

As we contend with the changing needs and aspirations of our readers, we see *Common Cents* as an important editorial addition. Personally, I doubt it will affect advertising one way or another. No doubt a good deal of the lineage appearing in these sections was

simply shifted from R.O.P. placement elsewhere in the edition.

RALPH INGERSOLL II
Ingersoll Publications Company
Kingston, N.Y.

Asbestos fallout

TO THE REVIEW:

While I agree with the basic premise of Betty Medsger's article on asbestos ("The California Story," *CJR*, September/October) — that the state's newspapers have not done a good job covering all aspects of the danger — I object to her flexibility in dealing with facts.

It is true that I wrote many of the asbestos stories for the *San Jose Mercury*, but she failed to place that in the context of my beat. At the time I covered Cupertino and mental health. The story arose from my beat in Cupertino and was in no way an attempt to provide an in-depth analysis of the presence of asbestos in the workplace. My work schedule was very heavy and I had no time to wander off my beat. I was concerned with the general problem and was especially concerned about the possible presence of asbestos in California's largest elementary school district, as I'm sure our readers were. One would hardly expect the mental-health writer or the Cupertino writer to provide the last word on such a technical problem.

And allow me one important correction — a good example of Ms. Medsger's flexibility with the truth so that it would fit properly into her story. She quoted me as saying, "The experts at the Berkeley laboratory of the Department of Health also said there was no asbestos in factories here." What I actually said was, "The experts at the Berkeley laboratory of the Department of Health also said there was no asbestos factory here." It makes quite a difference, doesn't it?

DENNIS ROCKSTROH
Staff writer
San Jose Mercury

TO THE REVIEW:

Betty Medsger is an able reporter, and much of her indictment of the failure by our Bay Area newspapers to pursue the asbestos story is valid. But the sin called quoting-out-of-context has afflicted her.

When she and I discussed the California asbestos situation here I talked specifically and solely about the use of asbestos as fireproofing material pumped into buildings under construction — a practice long since discontinued as a consequence of Dr. Irving Selikoff's persistent campaign in New York. I could never have dismissed the entire

California asbestos hazard with such callous ignorance, since I know as well as Medsger that this state is the nation's largest asbestos producer. The quote she attributes to me is absurdly incomplete.

Ms. Medsger correctly refers to the dreadful legacy of casualties from asbestosis and mesothelioma caused by the exposure of workers in World War II shipyards here. But when she writes that "one would not know it from reading the major California newspapers," she obviously hasn't read the *Chronicle*. On October 20, 1975, under a five-column head saying GRIM WATCH FOR ASBESTOS CANCER DEATHS, I wrote a long story about the monitoring of 475 living members of Asbestos Workers Union Local 16, and the recorded deaths of seventy-four others. Enclosed is a Xerox of it.

It may seem incongruous for a reporter to holler "foul!", but in this case, I really wuz robbed.

DAVID PERLMAN
Science editor
San Francisco Chronicle

Betty Medsger replies: *As my story said, I asked Dennis Rockstroh of the San Jose Mercury if "the paper," not he, had "looked into the use of asbestos in local industry." Rockstroh's letter recites only half of his answer to that question. He refers to the fact that Mercury reporters asked experts at the Berkeley laboratories of the state's Department of Health and says these experts said there "was no asbestos factory here." He claims that is a correction of my quote, which had him saying that the experts at the laboratory said "there was no asbestos in factories here."*

Rockstroh omits from his letter reference to another statement by him, also used in the story: "We asked that question [whether asbestos was used by local industry] of some scientists in the area. They told us there were no plants in the area that used it, except one in San Benito, and we didn't follow through on that."

Rockstroh apparently wishes to draw a sharp distinction between whether the experts said asbestos was used in local industry, the question I had asked him, or whether there were asbestos factories in the area. The distinction implies there would be a substantial health difference between a factory that uses asbestos exclusively and one that uses it along with other materials. That's not so. One does not have to work in a factory that uses only asbestos to be among the 40 percent of asbestos workers who will die from asbestos-related diseases. One need only work in a workplace that uses asbestos

regularly without adequate control to eventually be killed by it.

Including brake installation shops and numerous factories, there probably are scores of asbestos-using workplaces in the San Jose area. My point was that the Mercury didn't talk to the most obvious sources, the workers in those workplaces, and therefore found no story. The workers and their union representatives might have been far more informed sources than the "scientific experts" Rockstroh said the papers went to.

*As for the letter from David Perlman, Perlman says, "I know as well as Medsger that this state is the nation's largest asbestos producer. The quote she attributes to me is absurdly incomplete." That is not reflected in what he said to me, a quote used in its entirety in the story: "There's so little asbestos here. In fact, it seems illogical to me that *CJR* would want a story about asbestos as an occupational hazard in California. To write about asbestos here seems to me like choosing the Belgian Congo in 1947 as a place to write about nuclear reactors. I don't think it's used much here."*

Frankly, I felt protective about Perlman when he said that, for I knew by that point in my research that California was the largest U.S. producer of asbestos. So he would understand the import of what he had just said, I told him that fact and he responded, "Oh, no, I don't think so."

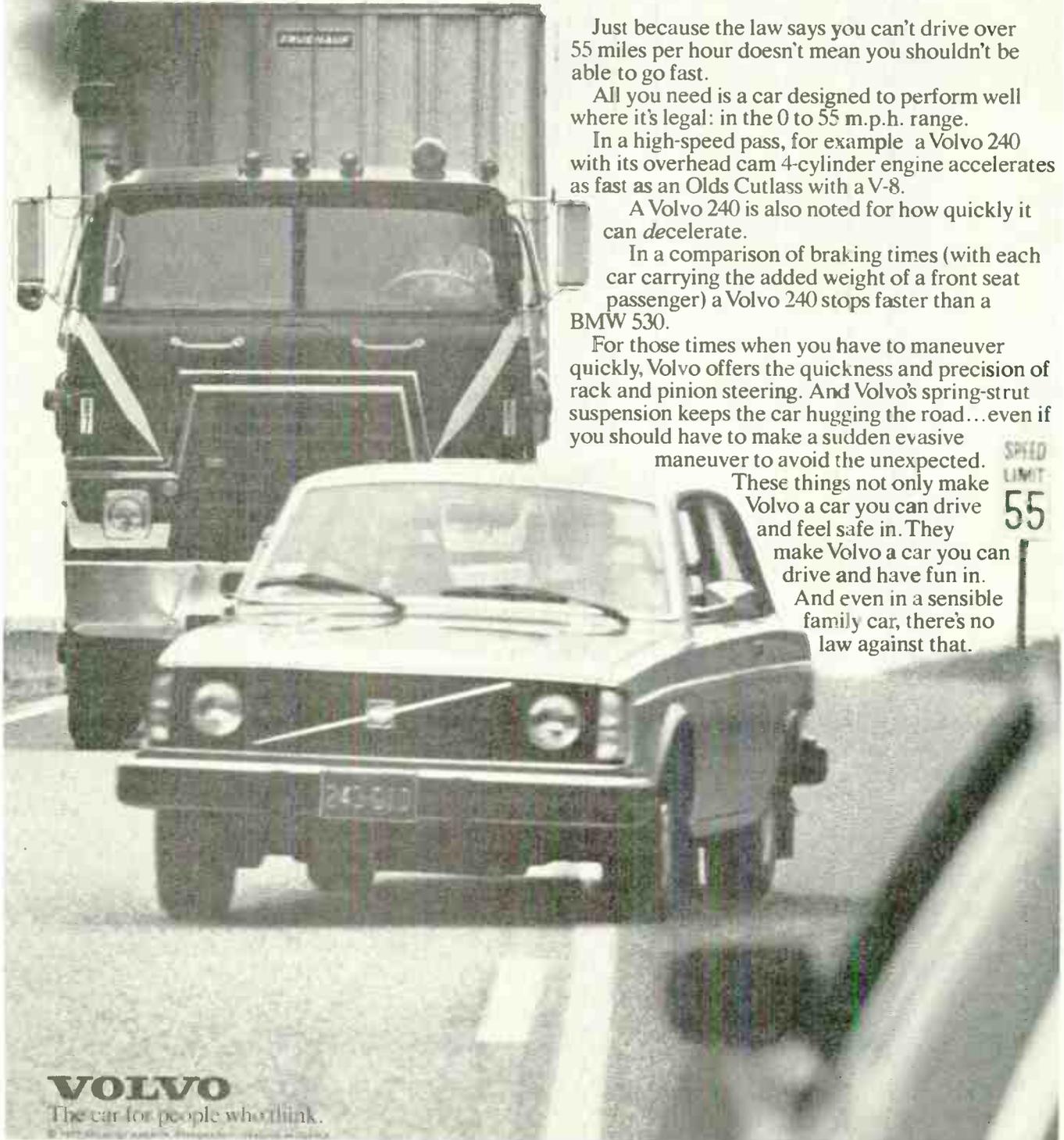
My interview with Perlman was not "specifically and solely" about the use of asbestos as fireproofing material pumped into buildings under construction. It covered the wide range of the use of asbestos in the workplace in California.

*Among the other subjects we discussed was the article Perlman cites in his letter to *CJR*. He told me it was the only one he had written on the subject in his many years on the *Chronicle* staff. It, unfortunately, is an example of one of the problems discussed in the *CJR* article: reporters' reliance on conference speeches and government press releases. In this case it was a speech. Dr. Irving J. Selikoff, the leading U.S. researcher on asbestos as an occupational health hazard, traveled from Mt. Sinai School of Medicine in New York to speak to a national conference in San Francisco. In his speech he mentioned a local union official who for nearly a decade had been collecting data on shipyard workers who had died from asbestos-related disease. At that point, Perlman did a story on this local issue.*

TO THE REVIEW:

Peter Perl's article, "Connecticut: the Asbestos Story" [*CJR*, September/October] is, to

THEY CAN PUT A LIMIT ON SPEED. BUT THEY CAN'T PUT A LIMIT ON QUICKNESS.



Just because the law says you can't drive over 55 miles per hour doesn't mean you shouldn't be able to go fast.

All you need is a car designed to perform well where it's legal: in the 0 to 55 m.p.h. range.

In a high-speed pass, for example a Volvo 240 with its overhead cam 4-cylinder engine accelerates as fast as an Olds Cutlass with a V-8.

A Volvo 240 is also noted for how quickly it can decelerate.

In a comparison of braking times (with each car carrying the added weight of a front seat passenger) a Volvo 240 stops faster than a BMW 530.

For those times when you have to maneuver quickly, Volvo offers the quickness and precision of rack and pinion steering. And Volvo's spring-strut suspension keeps the car hugging the road... even if you should have to make a sudden evasive maneuver to avoid the unexpected.

These things not only make Volvo a car you can drive and feel safe in. They make Volvo a car you can drive and have fun in.

And even in a sensible family car, there's no law against that.

SPEED
LIMIT
55

VOLVO

The car for people who think.

use Mr. Perl's own words, "seriously flawed" in several respects.

First, he makes the unsupported assumption that newspapers naturally are reluctant to use articles critical of large employers, which has never been the case, at least not with the *Norwich Bulletin*. Articles dealing with the negative aspects of General Dynamics-Electric Boat or any other large employer have never been "underplayed" or withheld from print for fear of retribution, which Perl strongly implies.

Second, Perl credits the Providence *Journal-Bulletin* (his employer) for "beating its Connecticut counterparts" with one of the "best stories" to come from the asbestos issue. If Mr. Perl would have read the clippings he had in hand, he would have found the story simultaneously in the *Norwich Bulletin* and the Providence *Journal-Bulletin* on Sunday, January 9. The *Norwich Bulletin* played the story across the top of page 1, in its entirety, while the Providence newspaper placed it at the bottom of the page. And while the *Norwich Bulletin's* story was credited locally with being factually accurate, the Providence *Journal-Bulletin's* account was heavily criticized for factual errors not only by the shipyard, but by the union as well. In fact, in a recent story the Providence paper told of asbestos hazards at Electric Boat's facility in Quonset Point, Rhode Island, where asbestos isn't used. In fact, the workers there were complaining about welding fumes and the writer apparently didn't know the difference.

Third, Mr. Perl is apparently impressed with *The Hartford Courant's* use of four asbestos-related stories at once. What he did not point out was the stories dealt not only with Electric Boat, but assorted asbestos problems statewide. The *Norwich Bulletin* has dealt with other aspects of asbestos hazards, but these articles were not taken into consideration, since Mr. Perl only asked us to supply clippings dealing with Electric Boat.

Perl apparently also has a problem counting. He writes about the fifty-odd stories the "smaller papers" (the *Day* and the *Bulletin*) provided. I don't know how many the *Day* sent but our files, which we copied for Perl, showed fifty-four stories on the subject.

I'm not so proud of our coverage to say it was beyond criticism, but had Perl kept his word to me in promising to discuss our effort before writing his story he might have begun to appreciate how important a role perspective plays in a "smaller paper," as well as some of the problems encountered with the issue. I was more than willing to share some of the mistakes we made and the things we

learned, but apparently Perl was more interested in spanking us. I would have also pointed out to him an extensive four-part series we ran in June which we slugged "Cancer in Your Paycheck?"

I had hopes of learning something from the mighty CJR, but was more than disappointed to think you would accept a piece from a writer that pats his employer on the back in a comparison with other papers.

I enclose a tearsheet to show you we are not as fearful of Electric Boat as Perl would lead you to believe.

JOHN C. PETERSON
Managing editor
The Bulletin Company
Norwich, Conn.

Peter Perl replies: *In reference to specific charges made within the context of Mr. Peterson's wide-ranging criticism: (1) I honored my commitment to the Norwich Bulletin to discuss the stories before writing. I interviewed reporter Stephen F. Urbon, who covered the story, on four occasions after having read all the clips supplied me. (2) The Bulletin's files may contain fifty-four stories as of the date (September 20, 1977) on which Mr. Peterson wrote to CJR, but the Bulletin supplied me only twenty-nine clips when I requested them four months earlier. (3) A crucial story in the Bulletin's asbestos coverage was sent to me dated only "Jan. 77," without a specific day noted. If, in fact, the Bulletin had that story on the same day as the Providence Journal, my congratulations. I had been informed the Journal story ran a day earlier. (4) My story does, in fact, speak of "several strong stories" by the Bulletin. I regret that a June series on cancer hazards was too late for mention in my piece. (5) In regard to what I consider a cheap shot by Mr. Peterson I do not feel my piece "pats [my] employer on the back," and I might add that I was not hired by the Providence Journal until after CJR assigned me the piece and I had begun work on it.*

Pressing questions

TO THE REVIEW:

John S. Rosenberg's sad story about Capitol Hill News Service [CJR, September/October] fails to answer some pertinent questions.

He says C.H.N.S. was founded with the help of \$40,000 from Ralph Nader and that Nader organizations still support it. There also have been contributions from the Stern Fund and the Fund for Constitutional Government. All this being true, how in the

world do reporters for C.H.N.S. become accredited to the Congressional Press Galleries? It has always been emphasized, and a matter of pride, that cards are restricted to reporters who get their income from selling news and are untainted by lobbyists.

As a result of the Martin-Marietta flap, Rosenberg says, C.H.N.S. trembles at the prospect of having to pay "for an adequate retraction or for Martin-Marietta's legal costs." And, C.H.N.S. needs protection "from factual questions about the story that may arise in a trial." Why? Any reporter, "investigative" or otherwise, who faces this dilemma needs professional discipline. He has not been careful. Did he not know, when he wrote the story, that he could be held responsible?

The answers, I suppose, will have to come from the Standing Committee of Correspondents, who usually enforce their rules with zeal, and the courts.

CLAUDE WITZE
Washington, D.C.

John S. Rosenberg replies: *Although C.H.N.S.'s use of funds contributed by Ralph Nader and others raises questions, discussed in my article, it is obvious that most of the news service's budget derives from news operations. Nor is the source of C.H.N.S.'s non-news support a secret: articles in Editor & Publisher, CJR, Time, and Newsweek all mentioned Nader's initial grant to C.H.N.S., and subsequent coverage in The New York Times and The Washington Post has noted Nader's support. No C.H.N.S. staff members with whom I spoke evaded or minimized the issue.*

My point about the Martin-Marietta case is misinterpreted by Mr. Witze. Neither I nor C.H.N.S. staff suggested that C.H.N.S. deserves some special immunity freeing its reporters from journalistic responsibility. Rather, the point is that C.H.N.S. as an institution could be destroyed by fighting the suit, a serious problem unique to the sort of organization C.H.N.S. is.

That urge to merge

TO THE REVIEW:

Two serious misstatements in the short span of ten words in Winthrop Quigley's story on the Santa Fe *New Mexican* (CJR, May/June) should not stand uncorrected.

Quigley writes that The Newspaper Guild and the International Typographical Union, "both with declining membership, have a tentative agreement to merge." I.T.U. membership is, indeed, declining, as a

result of the wholesale elimination of printers' jobs by automation. But the Guild's is not. Current Guild membership is 32,500, a figure around which it has gravitated for the past dozen years. The highest membership total in Guild history was 33,600 in September 1972, but that had fallen to 32,500 by two months later.

Neither is it true that the two unions have any sort of agreement, tentative or otherwise, to merge. They have been cooperating closely for the past three years through a Joint Task Force, which has been seeking to lay the groundwork for merger and their most recent conventions — both subsequent to the appearance of Quigley's article — authorized the appointment of committees to draw up terms for merger. Both unions have expressed the desire to merge, but there has been no agreement to do so.

We're going steady, yes, but kill that engagement announcement.

DAVID J. E. SEN
Director, research and information
The Newspaper Guild
Washington, D.C.

Editors note: *The misstatements, if such they are, were introduced in the editing of the article, and Winthrop Quigley was not responsible for their presence.*

And now, a word from our readers

TO THE REVIEW:

Your feud with *The New Yorker* over the relative demerits of cigarette vs. alcohol advertising certainly appears petty when in the same issue in which you voice your complaint you run a double-page ad for the National Rifle Association. Ever consider how many lives their propaganda is responsible for each year?

JO NUGENT
Northbrook, Ill.

TO THE REVIEW:

Dart: to *Columbia Journalism Review* for devoting a full page (yes, in paid advertising) to the false propaganda of Right-to-Workers. The young lady they tell of therein, who nobly fought the good fight against paying union dues, is, of course, not unlike the slavery people of the early 1860s who refused to pay taxes to another, of course, much larger, Union. . . . Oh, I know about free speech and the First Amendment but, it would seem, every publication has the right to map out the area of its interest, and right-

to-work propaganda should not be included in yours.

I. KAUFMAN
Brooklyn, N.Y.

TO THE REVIEW:

You may if you like defend your new advertising policy as a revenue-maker. But it is naive in the extreme to excuse the decision on the ground "ours is a free-speech journal with a readership that can judge ads on their merits." Do readers subscribe to *CJR* in order to be forced to take the time and energy (conscious and unconscious energy) to wade through that swamp of ads in order to "judge" them? We already devote — sad word — some fifteen or twenty minutes per television hour to fencing with commercials. Routinely we are compelled to "judge" hundreds of billboards, radio spots, newspaper ads, and the like every day — just what the advertisers are paying for. Do we turn to the *CJR* now to keep us in practice? To train our critical faculties? Or is this the price of freedom in the free world? If we don't want to pay the carrying charges, will we be told, we are free not to read the journal?

Whose freedom is at stake? The September/October issue regales us with the free speech of Smirnoff, Gulf, Western Electric, Martell, Smith-Corona, Aetna Life & Casualty, Pan Am, Gallo, Lederle, Macanudo Cigars, State Farm, Texaco, Volvo, Phillips 66, Xerox, the American Forest Institute, the American Health Care Association, the National Maritime Council, McDonnell Douglas, De Beers Consolidated Mines, Philip Morris, the American Gas Association, the National Rifle Association, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, AFSCME, the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, Textron, ITT, the Air Transport Association, The Travelers and Carleton. Their pages add up to more than a third of the issue. Your few pages of press criticism have to fight for the reader's attention with corrosive and distracting claims ranging from "Ah, pre-revolutionary Russia, Shimmering with history and Peter Smirnoff's Vodkas" to "Less than 1 mg. tar." The chance for critical reflection is blasted.

But of course this is the rule of the game in advertising. The audience's attention is the commodity being sold by the magazine (or network or station or newspaper) to the corporations. Your interpretation of "free speech" is evidently that corporations are free to interfere in our reflections on journalism with whatever messages they decide

it is snazzy to impose upon us.

Wedge between Gallo and State Farm I read a solid piece on the question, "Has public TV become corporate TV?" Have you no shame?

TODD GITLIN
San Francisco

TO THE REVIEW:

All right, I'll take you at your word, i.e., "We shall be giving space to those readers who wish to discuss the content of advertisements."

The Texaco ad that ran opposite the "Publisher's Notes" was an affront to anyone who took the time to read it. The ad begins by telling us that "an amazing 82% of people surveyed didn't know" how much profit an oil company makes on "a gallon of gasoline." Then the ad twists the results of the purported survey by saying that Texaco made a mere 1.1 cents per gallon for "all petroleum and products sold." I'm not sure whether Mr. Granville realizes it, but there is a difference between a gallon of gasoline and "a gallon of all petroleum and products." Moreover, and I'm only guessing here, what undoubtedly happens in many cases is that one gallon without ever leaving the company store makes a 1.1¢ profit a couple of times, i.e., by being sold from the Texaco division that pumps the crude from the ground to the division that refines it to the division that markets it. (I'm sure Texaco gets more to the gallon than the hottest selling import.) Finally, when you consider that the 1.1 cents-per-gallon profit is spread over one billion or so gallons, it all adds up to more than a night out with your favorite lady.

(Don't feel guilty about the ad money. Take it. Just use it to make the *Review* better.)

PAUL CAVALLO
Poweys, Calif.

Texaco replies: *There can be no question about the validity of the fact that Texaco made 1.1¢ per gallon for all petroleum and products sold in 1976. The 1.1¢ per gallon was derived by relating the company's net income for 1976 to its volume of worldwide sales of all petroleum and products.*

Our advertisement, while quoting a reputable opinion survey as to the popular perception of average profits, did not address itself to Texaco's profit on gasoline. This is because in the company's judgment, it is unrealistic to allocate many costs to gasoline as distinct from other products derived from a common barrel of crude oil.

Mr. Cavallo's comment implies that

Texaco makes a profit in movement of crude oil and products from one segment of the company to another. Such intercompany movements do not create profits since income is created only when petroleum and products are sold to customers.

The Texaco advertisement correctly portrays the company's overall profitability since not only is the 1.1¢ per gallon figure correct but the company's return on stockholder equity in 1976 was 9.9% compared with 12.8% in 1972.

TO THE REVIEW:

Has CJR become so fat and over-staffed that its right hand doesn't know what its south-paw advertising people are doing? Your September/October issue illustrates a splendid example of the kettle calling the pot black.

A *Dart*: to CJR for your criticism of *People* on its June 27 ad (deserved, admittedly) when, on pages 51-53 you commit the same sin. Your "modest Advertisement" slug differs only from *People's* in placement — it appears to be in 8-point type.

JOHN T. AMBER
Editor-in-chief,
Gun Digest
Marengo, Ill.

TO THE REVIEW:

I am happy to have the opportunity, even two months late, to answer the objections of Mr. Richard Bushnell to the American Forest Institute's "Operation Double Tree" advertisement we've been running in the *Review* ["Unfinished Business," CJR, September/October].

If I understand Mr. Bushnell's objections, they are (1) that we are attempting to mislead journalists through our ad and (2) that our forest tours are not an objective way to learn about forest issues.

On the contrary, our message is very straightforward: We believe it is in the public's best interest to devote a sufficient portion of the American forest to grow repeated crops of timber for conversion into beneficial products; we believe that growing repeated crops of trees for harvest can and should be accelerated on appropriate public, private industry forestlands to avoid potential shortages caused by increasing demand; we believe this accelerated growth should be done in ways that are compatible with other important and essential uses of the forest, including wilderness, recreation, watershed, wildlife, and scenic values.

A.F.I.'s forest tours are the best way we know of to give journalists a firsthand look at what forest management is. Although we

have often included representatives of organizations with viewpoints opposing ours on these trips, we have never claimed that they represent a truly objective view, any more than a tour of a new paper mill would represent more than a single company's view. We expect that journalists will use our tours as a jumping-off place and will seek observations of those holding other views. Our experience with the more than 700 news people who have taken one or another trip over the past six years is that many do, to their credit.

The greatest enemy of the forest is not fire, or the woodman's chain saw. Rather, it is ignorance. America has the most abundant forests in the world. They are of inestimable value to all Americans, from an environmental and economic standpoint. We believe that observations about the way the forests are managed and used by people who have never taken the trouble to visit them personally work against the best public interest. That's the reason we aim advertisements at journalists and why in those ads we urge them to take a look for themselves.

Mr. Bushnell is managing editor of *Mariah*, itself a special-interest publication serving backpackers and outdoor users. It is a beautiful magazine, filled with four-color photography reproduced on coated stock which is neither recycled nor recyclable. It takes many trees and a lot of forest management to provide the paper for *Mariah*. We're confident that America's forests can continue to provide that paper as well as the wood and paper for the more than 5,000 basic products made from them.

And we again extend an invitation to Mr. Bushnell or any other working journalist reading CJR to take a firsthand look at how this can be done.

JAMES W. PLUMB
Vice president, communications
American Forest Institute
Washington, D.C.

Correction

An article in the September/October *Review* ("Supermarketing the News," by Fergus M. Bordewich) incorrectly identified Michael J. Davies as managing editor of *The Louisville Times*. Mr. Davies is managing editor of *The Courier-Journal*.

Deadline

To be considered for publication in the January/February issue, letters to the Review should be received no later than November 16.

Interpreting the right to know

Richard Schwarzlose tells us ["For Journalists Only?" CJR, July/August] that "the Supreme Court has indicated that it may be taking the public's right to know literally — that is, as a right of the public, not of journalists alone." There is nothing particularly new or novel in this notion. Professor Jerome Barron has been making the same claim in the legal periodicals for years. The courts, however, have not accepted the idea as formulated by these two and others — that the public, as Mr. Schwarzlose puts it, can "command performance by a communications source. . . ." Undoubtedly, the courts in recent years have accorded greater prominence — as well as acceptance — to the argument that the First Amendment protects the recipient of information as well as its source or communicator. And on occasion they have employed language that suggested that perhaps they meant to go even further. "It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount," proclaimed Justice White in the highly-publicized *Red Lion* decision. In its 1949 Report on Editorializing, the F.C.C. declared that highest in its hierarchy of values was "the right of the public to be informed, rather than any right on the part of government, any broadcast licensee or any individual . . . to broadcast his own particular views on any matter." The commission, of course, went on with its lackadaisical enforcement of the Communications Act. When its chief overseer, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, told it to block changes in the broadcast formats of radio stations from classical music to rock in markets oversaturated in rock programming and in dire need of classical programming, the commission screamed "bloody murder." The right of the listener suddenly descended from the lofty realm in which it was held paramount. The broadcast licensee, insisted the commission, could not be compelled to air any particular kind of programming. The point illustrated by this about-face is simply this — courts and administrative agencies often use very broad language to explain their actions. Quite often, broad reasoning expresses the direction in which the tribunals are moving; but just as frequently, the broad expressions result from sloppy draftsmanship and reflect nothing more than their author's whim at a particular moment. To say that the public has a right to

know is not necessarily to say that the right is infinite. The right to receive information is limited by the availability of a willing source for that information. Indiscriminate use of catchphrases such as “the public has a right to know” serve only to obfuscate, not to illuminate, the underlying issues.

Professor Schwarzlose tells us that in the *Virginia State Board of Pharmacy* case, the Supreme Court upheld the public’s right to compel a private source to disseminate information. That conclusion is derived from the fact that the party who successfully eradicated artificial barriers to the dissemination of information was its recipient. That, concededly, was a significant development. The Court held that consumers had a right to receive price information without interference from the state, striking down a state statute that proscribed the communication of such information. In its own words, the Court upheld the claim “that the First Amendment entitles the user of prescription drugs to receive information that pharmacists wish to communicate to them. . . .” (emphasis added). But the Court did not hold that consumers could compel unwilling pharmacists to advertise their prices. “Freedom of speech,” stated Justice Blackmun’s opinion for the Court, “presupposes a willing speaker.” Indeed the Court could not have found otherwise. Our Constitution places numerous constraints on the powers of government, providing for correlative individual rights, but it does not speak of individual duties or limit individual rights.

Throughout our history, the courts have shown an aversion to placing constitutional limitations of power and obligations on the private sector. That is more so the case today than it was, say, two decades ago. In 1961 the Supreme Court held that a private restaurant that leased its facilities from the state and operated within a state-owned building was bound to the constitutional prohibition of racial discrimination and could not deny service to blacks. The principle was that the symbiotic relationship with the state entered into by the private party carried with it some of the state’s constitutional obligations. In 1976, however, the influential United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit held that a private yacht club which for one dollar a year leased the valuable bay bottom land underlying its dock facilities from the state was not obliged to abide by the same constitutional prohibition. The Supreme Court declined to review the case. So much for symbiosis. The term was still in use last year, but only in connection with the S.L.A. To put the matter simply, the state is the state and the private sector is the private sector

and the constraints under which they operate remain wholly different.

One other observation must be made. The Supreme Court has twice addressed the issue raised by Professor Schwarzlose. On two occasions the Court was asked to decide that the public’s right to be informed overrode the right of the journalist to present only that information which he deemed worthy of publication. In the *Democratic National Committee* case the Court was asked to require broadcasters to sell air time to an anti-war group for its advertisements. This it declined to do. And in the famous *Tornillo* case, a unanimous Court held unconstitutional a state law requiring newspapers to provide reply space to political candidates they attack, a remarkable result from a court not noted for its singularity of mind. In each instance there was no doubt that the public would have been better informed had it received the information that the two media refused to disseminate. Yet the Court in unmistakable terms rejected the claim that would have facilitated the greater flow of information. One other notable fact about the *Tornillo* case was that the reply space claim that was unanimously rejected was argued to the Court by none other than Professor Jerome Barron. Whatever the merits of Professor Barron’s theories, and the least that can be said for them is that they are provocative, they have been squarely rejected by the Supreme Court.

All of this is merely to say that, yes, there is a “public right to know” but that even that right has its limits. Physicians for years have been permitted to challenge unduly restrictive abortion statutes even though their own constitutional rights are not infringed by such laws. They have been allowed to stand in as proxies for the abortion patients whose rights are affected. Yet no one has suggested that physicians steer clear of such matters lest they and their colleagues be required by fiat to perform abortions whether or not they wish to do so. Quite similarly, it is appropriate for the journalist to press the public’s right to know when faced with excessive restrictions on the dissemination of information. The risk that the “right to know” doctrine be stood on its head and, as Professor Schwarzlose suggests, be employed to compel the journalist to produce or provide information against his wishes is wholly illusory. The *Virginia* decision does not say “that if the sender is unwilling to produce the communication that the public wants or needs, the consumer or receiver has the right to demand that information.” What it does say is that when the

“sender” is willing to provide the information, the state cannot place unreasonable obstacles in his path or prevent the “consumer” of information from receiving it.

The reason for the undeniable fact that assertions of the public’s right to receive information have emanated more frequently from the press than from the public is simple — most restrictions on speech have been placed at the sender’s end, not the receiver’s. It is just much more efficacious to control the flow of information that way and one expects that that will be the case for years to come. Consequently, it is entirely appropriate that the press act as a guardian of that right and assert it at every instance of unreasonable interference with the flow of information. This is an area where, as Fred Friendly observed, there are only “good guys,” no “bad guys.” And some of those “good guys” undoubtedly will cry wolf and tell us that “the right to know” is a sword that will be utilized to wound the press gravely rather than a shield to be used by it against government interference. But the fact remains, our Constitution insulates the news media from government editorship. A public right to know will be recognized only insofar as there is someone who wants to tell the public what it wants to know.

JOSEPH KATTAN

Joseph Kattan is a Fellow in Public Policy Studies at the University of Chicago.

Richard Schwarzlose replies: *As one who has spent his working life vitally concerned about journalism and the media, I can only reiterate that my article is an effort to alert the profession to the Supreme Court’s then latest use of a phrase for which journalists have quite another meaning. The editors of CJR thusly identified my article as a speculative warning and wisely handled it in that fashion.*

The point is that although I did not predict that journalists will be compelled to generate news against their wishes because of Virginia, Mr. Kattan claims I did, and by that thin strand hangs his offering above.

Finally, while I admire Professor Barron’s legal scholarship, he and I have very different purposes in mind as we examine what I consider to be two quite separate sectors of the law — the right of a speaker’s access to the media and marketplace and the right of the listening and reading public to know. Mr. Kattan would do well to exercise greater care in his rush to impose stereotypes.



Here's the newest listing of Texaco PR contacts ready to get you the answers...

- | | | | | | |
|----------|---|--|-----------|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | NEW YORK*
Gordon C. Hamilton
Walter B. Doyle
Edgar Williams | 914-253-4000
914-253-4000
914-253-4000 | 7 | HOUSTON
J. Chris Kiersted
Ben W. Fortson | 713-666-8000
713-666-8000 |
| 2 | WASHINGTON, D.C.
Robert T. Kenney | 202-331-1427 | 8 | PORT ARTHUR
John C. Feist | 713-982-5711 |
| 3 | BOSTON
H.G. (Top) Ingram | 617-268-4500 | 9 | CHICAGO
Thomas A. Norwood | 312-427-1920 |
| 4 | PHILADELPHIA
Vernon R. Shorter | 609-667-3800 | 10 | DENVER
Gordon L. Scheig | 303-573-7571 |
| 5 | ATLANTA
David W. Johnson | 404-321-4411 | 11 | LOS ANGELES
John W. Aucott
Larry L. Bingaman | 213-385-0515
213-385-0515 |
| 6 | CORAL GABLES
Michael I. Malcolmson | 305-446-2231 | | | |



*Texaco's Harrison, N.Y., mailing address:
2000 Westchester Ave., White Plains, N.Y. 10650

NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL REPORT

Statement on expulsion of reporters

The expulsion of George Krinsky of the Associated Press by the Soviet Union in February was the first such act by the Soviet Union since 1970. The American correspondent was accused of spying activities and the violation of currency regulations. Both George Krinsky, who is fluent in Russian, and the Associated Press denied the charges. The Associated Press explained the expulsion in terms of the correspondent's persistence in reporting the facts about political dissidence in the Soviet Union.

Although there had been no expulsion of any American correspondent from the Soviet Union for six years, it is also true that there is nothing new about the expulsion of American newspaper correspondents from police-state nations that enforce their rule by repression. Through the post-war years there have been a distressingly large number of such instances. Prior to 1970 the Soviet Union expelled several American correspondents and the United States retaliated in kind.

The Associated Press alone, in the last two years, has had four correspondents expelled from nations to which they were assigned. In recent months prior to the Krinsky expulsion, Edith M. Lederer was ordered from Peru (July 1975), Edward M. Cody from India (August 1975) and Arnold Zeitlin barred from the Philippines (November 1976).

It was an encouraging plus for freedom of the press on an international scale that no American had been expelled from the Soviet Union in the six-year period. Conversely, it is a deplorable loss that one has again occurred, and that the United States government retaliated by expelling a correspondent of Tass.

Barely two years ago the Soviet Union and the United States became signatories to the agreement on accredited journalists at Helsinki, Finland, with then President Ford in

participating attendance. Issued by the European Security Conference, July 29, 1975, this agreement pledged the intention of the signers "in a favorable spirit" to: "Increase the opportunities for journalists of the participating states to communicate personally with their sources, including organizations and official institutions"; and to provide for "greater opportunities for travel, subject to the existence of areas closed for security reasons."

The agreement, signed and issued in a notable ceremony and accorded international attention, further pledged that in the participating states "the legitimate pursuit of their professional activity will neither render journalists liable to expulsion nor otherwise penalize them." Moreover, "If an accredited journalist is expelled he will be informed of the reasons for this act and may submit an application for re-examination of his case."

Expulsion of reporters is totally in violation of the letter and spirit of this agreement. The National News Council strongly urges that all signatories to the agreement fully abide by its principles.

This brings us to the difficult issue: What action should this country take when a totalitarian nation violates the foregoing principle? The United States and several other Western European states have concluded that totalitarian states are more likely, in the short run, to understand actions rather than words, and have therefore employed retaliatory tactics to deter expulsion of their nationals, whether journalists or embassy officials. We can appreciate the practical basis of this policy, and in any event would have no position on the *general* policy. That is not a matter for this News Council.

Because the Council does not believe, however, that press freedom and the free flow of information are in the long run best served by this nation's pursuing an eye-for-an-eye policy, we urge that this general policy not be applied so as to lead to the retaliatory expulsion from the United States of authentic correspondents. We believe that, again in the long run, the principles of free expression are more likely to be served around the world by our country's abiding by the basic principles of freedom for which it stands and on which it was founded, rather than by following the principle of curtail-

ment of these rights and freedoms, curtailment which we protest so vigorously. (September 20, 1977)

Concurring. Chisholm, Lawson, Leonard, McKay, Orwell, Pulitzer, Renick, and Salant.

Dissenting opinion: It is American policy, and was American policy long before the Helsinki Agreement, to permit authentic foreign journalists to operate freely in this country. Unfortunately this has not always been the policy of other countries, and particularly Communist countries, with respect to American journalists in their territories.

In the case of the expulsion of an American journalist from the Soviet Union, the United States has long made it a practice to retaliate by expelling some Soviet journalist from the United States in return. I note that the policy appears to have had at least some

**'Press freedom
is not best served
by pursuing
an eye-for-an-eye policy'**

effect, since Mr. Krinsky's expulsion from the Soviet Union in February was the first for an American, by the Soviet Union, since 1970. Testimony at the June meeting of the Council, by Elic Abel, established that a similar policy on the part of the Federal Republic of (West) Germany has tended to have similarly beneficial results.

I favor the continuation of the retaliatory policy, for a combination of reasons. In the first place, as noted above, it works — or at least helps — and thereby aids the cause of journalism. In the second place, the fact (acknowledged without dissent at our June meeting) that virtually all of the Soviet journalists in this country are working either exclusively or additionally for Soviet intelligence agencies makes the expulsion of a Soviet journalist from this country even more painful for his superiors than it would otherwise be. (In this connection, by the



We just helped make Billy Watson's energy future a little brighter.

Billy Watson's house is nice and comfortable these days. It's lighted at night, heated in the winter, even air-conditioned in the summer. Because there is enough energy available to do all these things.

But there are those who say that unless new sources of energy are found, all that could change. Some people even suggest that we could run short on energy before Billy graduates from high school.

Right now the people of Phillips Petroleum are doing everything we can to make sure that unlikely event never happens.



Geothermal energy (earth heat) provides steam that could power electric plants.

In New Mexico we've recently discovered important new deposits of uranium ore.

We're also adding geothermal energy, produced by natural heat found deep within the earth's crust, to our nation's list of known energy reserves.



Core samples prove lignite coal deposits are buried beneath the surface.

The people of Phillips Petroleum are searching for new deposits of lignite coal, too. And we've been finding them. In the past three years, we've discovered enough new lignite coal to provide electricity to a city of 2 million people for more than 100 years.

So even though this country's petroleum reserves are dwindling, that doesn't mean our energy future is dark.

By conserving our remaining petroleum resources, using them wisely, and continuing to search for new sources of energy, the future can still be bright. Not just for our children. But for their children. And their grandchildren, as well.

Discovering new energy resources for the future. That's performance. From Phillips Petroleum.



The Performance Company

way, the American authorities, by having the option of which Soviet "journalist" to expel, are in the happy position of being able to select one whose intelligence activities are for some reason particularly dangerous or inconvenient — and, alternatively, to overlook others who are either doing less intelligence work or are doing it where our own intelligence agencies know about it and prefer to keep on watching them do it.)

There is, however, a third reason, even more important than those already mentioned, for not extending guaranteed protection under the Helsinki Agreement to Soviet journalists when the Soviet Union has already expelled some American journalist

'We are giving Soviet intelligence one absolutely safe legal cover'

from its territory. If we guarantee Soviet journalists such protection, then we are in effect giving Soviet intelligence one absolutely safe "legal cover" for its intelligence agents in the United States.

The Council's statement attempts to grapple with this problem by coming out stoutly against "the retaliatory expulsion from the United States of authentic correspondents" (emphasis mine). But that simply begs the question. During our discussion of this matter at the June meeting of the Council, no one disputed that practically all Soviet journalists in the United States have intelligence functions and are, to that extent, "inauthentic." To warn against the expulsion of "authentic foreign journalists" is therefore either naive or pointless. Moreover, by pressing our own government to agree to this exception to its rule, we would be forcing it to acknowledge, in the case of any Soviet "journalist" whom it did choose to expel in retaliation, that it had information indicating that he was not in fact what he purported to be.

In short, there is no real "free press" issue here, except so far as concerns American journalists in the Soviet Union. The Soviet press is not free, even slightly, and its "journalists" do not deserve and should not receive the recognition and protection that free nations accord to members of that honorable profession. *Rusher. Concurring; Brady and Green.*

Abstentions: Cooney, Isaacs, and Roberts.

Doctor diagnoses bias in 'Parade' story

Nature of complaint (filed March 17, 1977): Dr. Stephen Barrett, chairman of the Lehigh Valley Committee Against Health Fraud, Inc., complained that an article on the separation of Dr. J. Anthony Morris from the Food and Drug Administration which appeared in the nationally distributed Sunday newspaper supplement, *Parade*, on March 13, 1977, was biased. Said the complainant:

The article, which suggests that J. A. Morris was fired from the FDA because he opposed the swine flu program is entirely one-sided. Despite the fact that the FDA's point of view is readily obtainable, no FDA spokesman is quoted in the article.

Dr. Barrett charged that the article, in reducing the reason for Dr. Morris's firing to the fact that he opposed the swine flu program, ignored a number of other factors for that firing, including a questioning of the doctor's scientific methodology and alleged misconduct in connection with his work with the F.D.A.

Response of the news organization: Mr. Jess Gorkin, editor of *Parade*, defended Dr. Morris and the article in a letter to the Council dated May 5, 1977, which said: "We believe our article is a fair statement of the situation. . . ."

In his letter, Mr. Gorkin elaborated on the sequence of events in Dr. Morris's involvement with the swine flu vaccine programs and his criticisms of them. He also commented on the writers' investigation of Dr. Morris:

Before writing the *Parade* article Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway delved into the Morris case, but more important, they had a chance to see the man operating week after week all during the swine flu program. They were extremely impressed by him and remain so.

Background: Information about the complaint was received from Dr. Barrett and the Food and Drug Administration as well as from Jess Gorkin, editor of *Parade*.

In 1975, the F.D.A. expert Panel on Viral Vaccines and Rickettsial Vaccines reviewed Dr. Morris's research projects.

According to a letter sent to Dr. Barrett by

William E. Braunig, consumer safety officer of the Office of Legislative Services, F.D.A., that expert panel found "that Dr. Morris' research was grossly unsatisfactory."

The letter said that the panel members, all research scientists in virology or vaccines, "were selected by a public nomination process approximately two years before they were asked to review Dr. Morris' research program." In addition, it said, one panel member was nominated by Dr. Morris and his attorney.

The F.D.A. sent out a press release in October 1976, reviewing Dr. Morris's case. It stated that the events leading up to Dr. Morris's separation "dated back to 1972." Referring to the findings of the expert panel in 1975, the release said:

The panel found that in many cases his research was poorly conceived, poorly designed and poorly executed. The panel concluded that Dr. Morris' research was wasteful of government resources.

In a letter dated July 11, 1975, Dr. Morris was notified by Dr. Harry M. Meyer, Jr., director of the Bureau of Biologics, that he intended to remove him from his position with the bureau on charges of insubordination and inefficiency. The charge of insubordination related to his failure to attend required de-

THE NATIONAL NEWS COUNCIL
1 Lincoln Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10023

MEMBERS

Norman E. Isaacs, chairman editor in residence, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University **Robert B. McKay**, vice-chairman director, Aspen Institute Program on Justice, Society and the Individual **William H. Brady, Jr.**, chairman, W. H. Brady Co., Milwaukee **Joan Ganz Cooney** president, Children's Television Workshop **Loren F. Ghigilone** editor and publisher, *Southbridge* (Mass.) *Evening News* **Edith Green** educational specialist; former U.S. representative, Third Congressional District, Oregon **Dorothy R. Height** director, Racial Justice Center, Y.W.C.A.; president, National Council of Negro Women **Henry L. (Hank) Lacayo** administrative assistant to the president of the United Automobile Workers **James M. Lawson, Jr.** pastor, Holman United Methodist Church, Los Angeles **Walter Leonard** president Fisk University **Ralph M. Otwell** editor, *Chicago Sun-Times*; former president, Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi **Michael E. Pulitzer** editor and publisher, *Arizona Daily Star*, Tucson **Ralph Renick** news director WTVJ-TV, Miami; former president, Radio and Television News Directors Association **Sylvia Roberts** general counsel, Legal Defense and Education Fund, National Organization for Women (NOW) **William A. Rusher** publisher, *National Review* **Richard S. Salant** president, CBS News

ADVISORS

Irving Dilliard former editor of the editorial page, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; former professor of journalism, Princeton University **Henry Geller** communications fellow, Aspen Institute, Washington; former general counsel, Federal Communications Commission **Sig Mickelson** president, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty; former president, CBS News **Merlyn Pitzele** educator, editor, economist, author; former labor advisor to President Eisenhower **Roger J. Traynor** former chief justice of the California Supreme Court, first chairman of The National News Council **Herbert Wechsler** professor, Columbia University School of Law; director, American Law Institute

STAFF

William B. Arthur executive director, former editor, *Look* magazine; former president, Society of Professional Journalists/Sigma Delta Chi **Ned Schnurman** associate director; formerly city editor, WCBS-TV, New York **Sally L. Stevens** counsel

partmental meetings, failure to furnish requested information to his supervisors, and unauthorized expenditure of funds. The charge of inefficiency related to his scientific procedures, including poor study design, inadequate use of controls, inadequate records, and improper conclusions.

Dr. Morris appealed the severance and an employee appeals hearing was held on March 16, 1976. The examiner, Mr. Henry L. Moore, upheld a majority of the charges. However, he concluded:

There is little doubt that Dr. Morris deliberately failed to accept or to follow proper directions and orders of his supervisors. He admits and attempts

'It is — in Parade's manner of presentation — a case of good guys vs. bad guys'

to mitigate this behavior throughout his responses to the charges. There is also evidence that much of Dr. Morris' defiance of authority stemmed from changes in management personnel and poor communications to subordinates of changes of management philosophy. Dr. Morris, it appears, had more or less operated his laboratory under only broad general program directions for any number of years. His resistance to radical changes in supervision, while ill advised, perhaps does not entirely defy understanding.

I find further that his "insubordination" while in some instances willful, to be generally lacking in malice, and in most instances of minimal seriousness.

The sustained reasons concerned with scientific inadequacies are found to be less substantial even than the reasons related to insubordination. . . . I conclude, because of the nature of the charges and the evidence in support of them, that the proposed removal is excessively severe for the reasons which are sustained.

He recommended a five-day suspension without pay.

Dr. Alexander M. Schmidt, commissioner of Food and Drugs, did not accept the examiner's recommendation. In a letter to Morris dated July 12, 1976, he said:

I cannot agree, however, to the characterization of the sustained charges of insubordination as being "of minimal seriousness." On the contrary, the kind of behavior exhibited by you toward your scientific colleagues and administrative superiors directly challenges the integrity of scientific process and the ability of the Food and Drug Administration to carry out its mission. . . .

Further, I most emphatically disagree with the Examiner's thought that 'the sustained reasons concerned with scientific inadequacies are found

to be less substantial even than the reasons related to insubordination.' . . . Failure to observe any of the rules of good science can render the entire study useless.

Dr. Morris was dismissed and the Civil Service Commission, which reviewed the case, upheld that dismissal. Taking cognizance of the hearing examiner's recommendation that Dr. Morris be suspended for five days, Jess Gorkin, editor of *Parade*, noted the following:

But the FDA commissioner disregarded this finding and fired Morris outright. His firing came just a few days after he had written to the commissioner raising questions about the manufacture of swine flu vaccine. Moreover, Morris had been quoted in a major article in the Washington Post attacking the swine flu program. HEW took this article seriously enough to deliver a reply from Dr. T. Cooper, the department's chief health official. He was the man in charge of the swine flu program.

Morris' difficulties with the FDA started when the scientific community as a whole began to realize that killed flu vaccines were not especially safe or effective. This led to a move to develop a live flu vaccine. Morris put the first live flu vaccine into mice. The acceleration of cancerous tumors in mice followed its administration. Morris saw this as a possible danger sign. At least one scientist on the government's vaccine review panel was sufficiently alarmed by the scientist's finding that he asked Morris to drop his concern lest the live vaccine not be introduced.

The argument that Morris was not involved in performing research on swine flu overlooks the fact that swine flu vaccine was combined with PR 8 vaccine to make it grow faster. Morris was a long-time researcher in the area of all killed virus vaccines and in 1969 had published a scientific paper suggesting that PR 8 might have caused the 1918 flu pandemic.

Conclusion of the Council: The story of Dr. J. Anthony Morris and his dismissal from government service is obviously a complex one which the authors of the *Parade* article in question have chosen to reduce to one which is simple. It is — in their manner of presentation — a case of good guys vs. bad guys with Dr. Morris emerging as the good guy whose revelations about the government-sponsored swine flu program marked him as an outspoken enemy of entrenched and self-interested bureaucracy.

The article starts with the headline: SCIENTIST J. ANTHONY MORRIS — HE FOUGHT THE FLU SHOTS AND THE U.S. FIRED HIM.

There is no disputing that he fought the flu shots and that the government fired him. But in between the two events lies a saga of governmental hearings, witnesses testifying to the competence of Dr. Morris's scientific methodology, and conflicting evidence. However, nowhere in this article by the

Messrs. Cockburn and Ridgeway is there any indication of the breadth of the controversy or that there might be some substantive arguments on any side other than Dr. Morris's — arguments that could and should have been presented without affecting the authors' basic point of view.

The Council, thus, does not challenge the right of the authors to champion Dr. Morris's case. Rather, the issue before the Council is whether in this instance the presentation was so one-sided as to have strayed beyond an acceptable range of editorial judgment.

The article neglected the other side of this controversy, and the arguments advanced by the opponents of Dr. Morris were ignored. As a result, an essential element of the story was clearly missing.

The complaint is found warranted.

Concurring: Brady, Cooney, Ghiglione, Green, Isaacs, Lawson, Leonard, McKay, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant. *Abstentions:* Otwell and Pulitzer. (September 20, 1977)

Cigarette ads and editorial independence

Nature of complaint (filed July 5, 1977): Dr. Alan Blum, of Miami, Florida complained that coverage of news and editorial matter concerning the hazardous effects of cigarette smoking suffers as the result of a conflict of interest inherent in the acceptance of highly lucrative cigarette advertising. Specifically, as to *The Miami Herald*, he charged:

I am maintaining that the editor of *The Miami Herald* acted deliberately to prevent the publication of a concerned and literate challenge to an advertising policy which may be hazardous to the health of the community. It is ironic that *The Herald* prints the unedited words of syndicated columnists and yet refuses to add to its Op-Ed page a voice from the community which is speaking up for better public health and for the concomitant right to be better informed. If readers' comments are confined to a letters section, then so be it. But the letter-writer should have the right — no less than the featured columnist — to approve the edited version of a letter prior to its publication.

The complainant went on to state that although he did give permission for the use

of excerpts from his letter to the newspaper, his salient point was eliminated from what was published.

Response of news organization: The complainant provided copies of both his letter to *The Miami Herald* and the edited version of his letter which actually appeared in the letters-to-the-editor column on June 27, 1977. As no additional information was needed in order to evaluate the complaint, the news organization was not asked for a response.

Conclusion of the Council: The complaint is essentially two-pronged and involves (1) the editing of a letter and (2) the acceptance of cigarette advertising. As to the editing of the complainant's letter, we have examined both the full text and the published "excerpts" and conclude that the newspaper has edited fairly and responsibly. The complainant gave the following background to his letter:

On May 29, *The Herald* criticized federal tobacco subsidies. This occasion afforded me the opportunity to commend the editor and at the same time to call on him to acknowledge to his readers the extent of *The Herald's* financial acquiescence in the sale and promotion of a known carcinogen.

Only the portion commending *The Herald* was published. All references to dubious ethics were carefully censored. In the same issue in which the letter appeared, there were three large cigarette ads.

Mr. Blum's letter is two and a half pages long; his self-proclaimed salient point, "the impropriety of *The Herald's* acceptance —

"We are not persuaded that the editing done by *The Herald* distorted his letter"

unchallenged — of cigarette advertising", begins on the bottom of the second page and, even then, is cloaked in applause. The opening sentence of the only paragraph which may be viewed as critical of *The Herald* states, "I find your editorial stance a courageous one because I realize you run the risk of alienating major advertisers." We are not persuaded that the complainant has presented his "salient point" so clearly that the editing done by *The Herald* has distorted his letter.

As to the acceptance of cigarette advertising, the complainant clearly believes that in the interest of "civic responsibility," news-

papers should act where Congress has declined to do so. This issue of whether newspapers should accept such advertising is not one within the purview of this Council. We believe it is wholly appropriate for advertising policy to be established quite apart from news and editorial policy. We see no evidence that this separation has not been maintained in the circumstances surrounding the complaint at hand.

The complaint is found unwarranted.

Concurring: Brady, Ghiglione, Green, Isaacs, Lawson, Leonard, McKay, Otwell, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant. (September 20, 1977)

A case of mistaken identity

Nature of complaint (filed July 13, 16, 1977): Arthur Krause of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, complained that he had been incorrectly identified in both Associated Press and United Press International dispatches as one of those arrested in a demonstration on the campus of Kent State University, in Ohio, on July 12, 1977. Krause is the father of a student who was killed in the 1970 confrontation between students and Ohio National Guardsmen on the Kent State campus.

Said Krause:

At the time of yesterday's police action, I was in Bloomington, Indiana. . . . Despite this fact, both AP and UPI reported right across the country that I was among those arrested. This inexcusable disregard for accuracy has done immense harm to my family and myself.

Krause also complained that a photograph he said was moved by both A.P. and U.P.I. in connection with the Kent State story had misidentified the subject as Martin Scheuer, father of another of the students killed in the 1970 incident. The man in the picture was actually Albert Canfora, father of a student who had been wounded, according to Mr. Krause. He cited the fact that the photograph, incorrectly labeled, had appeared in both *The New York Times* and the *New York Daily News*.

Ms. Lesley Wischmann of Findlay, Ohio, also filed a complaint about those misidentifications and about errors in A.P. copy in identifying and stating the ages of Albert Canfora and his son, Alan, who were among

those arrested. Additionally, Ms. Wischmann cited a July 18 A.P. story datelined Seattle, in which outgoing Kent State president Glenn A. Olds was quoted as blaming "outsiders" for the disorders. The story stated, "Reports said that only 30 of the demonstrators arrested were Kent State students." She cited a July 13 report by Kent State officials stating that sixty-seven of those arrested were Kent State students and that nine were alumni.

Response of news organizations: Both the A.P. and U.P.I. sent the Council copies of stories and corrections which were moved about the episode.

Krause. A.P. forwarded a copy of its mandatory "kill" of Mr. Krause's name, and of a short corrective item explaining the misidentification. The "kill" was issued within two hours of the original story, and the corrective item moved the following day.

Paul G. Eberhart, U.P.I. managing editor, declared: "We corrected that story the same day with a note to editors which said later information revealed that Krause was not among those persons arrested." Copies of the correction were sent to the Council.

Both Eberhart and Burl Osborne, A.P. managing editor, placed blame for the misidentification with the Kent State University news bureau. A university information official, Tony May, told the Council that the incorrect information had been provided by a student assistant who called the bureau from the scene of the demonstration. The first awareness of error, Mr. May said, came when Mrs. Krause called from Pittsburgh to report that the radio there had carried word of her husband's supposed arrest.

Photo caption. As to the photo caption which identified Martin Scheuer instead of Albert Canfora as its subject, A.P., in a separate letter from Mr. Osborne, said the identification was made by a campus policeman, and that the error was rectified by the substitution of a new caption within five hours of the original transmission. U.P.I. said it had not transmitted any picture with incorrect identification.

On September 10, following a query about the photo misidentification, *The New York Times* published the following correction:

An Associated Press caption on a photograph that appeared in *The Times* on July 13 — and an article that accompanied the picture — incorrectly identified a demonstrator arrested at Kent State University on July 12 as Martin Scheuer, whose daughter was killed at Kent State in 1970. The person pictured was Albert Canfora, whose son was wounded on the same occasion.

The *New York Daily News* published a

similar correction on September 15.

Canfora. In a letter to Robert Smith, managing editor of the *Columbus Dispatch*, who also received a complaint from Ms. Wischmann, Henry Heilbrunn, assistant chief of the Columbus bureau of A.P., said that "there were a number from the Canfora clan arrested, which caused the confusion of identification and ages." Mr. Heilbrunn also forwarded to the Council a copy of a

'The problem remains for Mr. Krause and others who become victims of press errors'

follow-up story moved on July 15 quoting and correctly identifying Albert Canfora and his son, Alan.

Number arrested. In the matter of the number of persons arrested in the July 12 demonstration who were Kent State students, Mr. Osborne said that the story about which Ms. Wischmann had complained had been an A.P. rewrite from the *Seattle Times*, and had moved on a regional (Ohio) wire rather than on its "A", or main wire. This was on July 18.

Three days earlier, in a story that did move on the "A" wire, the number of Kent State students and alumni arrested was correctly reported at being seventy-six. The A.P. had no further explanation for the later error being transmitted on its regional (Ohio) wire.

Osborne said that neither the New York office of A.P. nor its Columbus bureau were aware of the discrepancy in the figures until Ms. Wischmann called it to the attention of the Council. "It is our practice to correct such errors promptly, and we would have done so in this case had we known of it," said Osborne.

Conclusion of the Council:

Krause. The problems raised by these complaints focus in large measure on the reliability of sources. In the days of confrontation that preceded the arrests on July 12, the information came regularly from the university's news bureau.

When the arrests came, the reporters relied again on the news bureau for verification of names and numbers. Clearly, such a sensitive situation demanded more careful coverage by the news bureau. Wire-service reporters operate under severe deadline pres-

ures and they relied exclusively on the news bureau when they filed their first accounts. However, both wire services sent out corrections promptly.

Among the examples of the published corrections it was able to obtain, the Council wishes to cite the example of *The Pittsburgh Press*, a U.P.I. subscriber. In a late edition, after reporting erroneously earlier that Krause had been among those arrested, the paper carried the following headline and sub-headline: KENT PROTESTORS SEIZED, KRAUSE ARREST REPORT IN ERROR. The following day the paper carried a separate story with the headline: KRAUSE NOT ARRESTED AT KENT STATE.

In finding this portion of the complaint against the wire services unwarranted, the Council nonetheless wishes to take note of the problem that remains for Mr. Krause and others who become victims of such press errors. Corrections ordinarily do not gain the same prominence as the original story, and there is no assurance that corrections, when issued, will necessarily be published.

The Council, therefore, urges added vigilance by reporters and editors, as well as timely corrective action by all concerned, to lessen the impact of the original error as much as possible. Clearly, a university news bureau must be equally vigilant about checking the accuracy of information it releases, and in this case it was not.

Photo caption. In the misidentification of the picture stating that it was a photo of Martin Scheuer, rather than Albert Canfora, A.P. traced the error to a "campus policeman." Because of the quick corrective action it took when it learned of the error in the identification, the Council finds unwarranted this portion of the complaint.

Canfora. Although A.P. did move a second story three days after the arrests at Kent State which correctly identified Albert Canfora and his son, Alan, it never specifically corrected the error in its earlier story.

The Council believes that in a situation fraught with as much controversy as this one, a correction about the identifications should have been sent out by A.P. when it learned of the error in its July 12th story mentioning and identifying the Canforas. The Council finds this portion of the complaint warranted.

Number arrested. The misinformation about the number of persons arrested who were actually Kent State students or alumni appears to have resulted from a failure by A.P. desks to check the statistical information in the July 18 Seattle story against earlier copy. Both the national desk and the Ohio bureau had opportunities to spot the error after the story was moved from Seattle

citing the number as thirty, since both desks had cleared earlier copy with the correct number (seventy-six) included. In the light of this, and again, taking into consideration the extremely sensitive nature of the Kent State situation, the Council finds this portion of the complaint warranted because of the failure to correct the error.

* * * *

In conclusion, prompt corrective action by all concerned is what is called for and in most aspects of this complaint that is what occurred. Vigilance by newspaper readers and communication with the editors of the papers which they read will also help to insure that the record is set straight as the correspondence in this matter clearly shows.

Concurring: Brady, Ghiglione, Green, Isaacs, Lawson Leonard, McKay, Otwell, Pulitzer, Renick, Roberts, Rusher, and Salant. (September 20, 1977)

A Senate hearing: What's in a lead?

Nature of complaint (filed May 1, 1977): William L. Spencer, manager of corporate communications for Syntex Corporation of Palo Alto, California, complained that United Press International coverage of a hearing of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research evidenced "a distressing lack of accuracy, balance and fairness." The complaint concerned both U.P.I. newswire and broadcast wire coverage of the event.

The complaint focused on the manner in which U.P.I. described testimony at the hearing concerning the drug, Naprosyn, which is used by persons suffering from arthritis. Syntex said that the U.P.I. "lead," which quoted an official of the Bureau of Drugs, Dr. Adrian Gross, as saying that Naprosyn may be a borderline cancer-causing agent, was alarmist and misleading.

The complaint contended further that the story lacked balance because not until the sixth paragraph was it revealed that the official's testimony did not reflect the official position of the Bureau of Drugs.

Syntex also said it was untrue that Dr. Gross "told the Senate Health Resources Subcommittee the original scientific test report documenting the safety of Naprosyn was 'absolutely replete with false information.'" The company said the statement re-

ferred to another drug, Isoprinosine, which "has nothing to do with Syntex or Naprosyn."

Noting that U.P.I. sent out a correction on its national wire about this element of the story, Syntex charged that the wire service had refused to correct its broadcast version of the story which contained the same error.

Other elements of the eight-point Syntex complaint took issue with U.P.I. for what it charged were additional inaccuracies, reporting an allegation that had never been made and presenting "an unfairly abbreviated viewpoint crucial to an accurate report of what took place at the hearing."

Response of news organization: U.P.I. sent the Council its response to the complainant which was prepared by Grant Dillman, its Washington manager and a vice-president of the wire service.

While generally defending its coverage of the hearing, the letter did say. "We made one error."

"At one point Dr. M. Adrian Gross of F.D.A.'s Drug Bureau said a report on the drug Isoprinosine was 'absolutely replete with false information.' Our reporter, Cheryl Arvidson, understood him to say Naprosyn and wrote it that way.

"When the mistake was called to our attention by Syntex the next day we moved a correction within minutes on the same wires on which the original story moved, including our national trunk wire. Except for that error — which we deeply regret — I believe our story meets the test of fairness and balance."

Citing Syntex's complaint that U.P.I. had failed to correct the same error about Isoprinosine on its broadcast wire, the letter declared:

We saw no reason to do so because the broadcast version also summed up accurately the concern expressed at the session concerning the safety of Naprosyn. Dr. Gross testified, for example, that the safety data on the drug was so deficient that it "compromised the scientific integrity of the study and rendered it unacceptable."

Other points in the Syntex complaint concerning accuracy, balance, and reporting of allegations that had not been part of the testimony, were met point by point in the U.P.I. rebuttal and are discussed in the analysis and conclusion of the complaint.

Conclusion of the Council: (It should be noted that Syntex based the principal portion of its complaint on a story that was distributed on U.P.I.'s Washington Capital News Wire, which is an informational wire for subscribers and is not for publication. The Council examined those elements of the

complaint which also pertained to the subsequently filed national trunk wire story.)

Points 1, 2, and 4 in the eight-point Syntex complaint are taken together because the material in them is interrelated.

In point 1, Syntex charged that U.P.I.'s lead, which said that Naprosyn may be a borderline cancer-causing agent was alarmist and misleading, because it condensed and omitted part of Dr. Gross's testimony. The company also contended that a differing view offered by Dr. Richard Crout, director of the Bureau of Drugs, should have been placed higher in the story than it was to afford proper balance.

This is what the hearing transcript shows Dr. Gross said:

We have received. . . a so-called reconstruction of the (I.B.T.) study by Syntex. Syntex from California gave us their version of what the study really should have said. If one looks at this reconstruction with certain not unreasonable assumptions, it turns out there is a borderline statistical significance on the issue of tumorigenicity.

How to complain to The National News Council

The National News Council has two committees — the Grievance Committee, which takes complaints from any individual or organization concerning inaccuracy or unfairness in a news report, and the Freedom of the Press Committee, which takes complaints from news organizations concerning the restriction of access to information of public interest, the preservation of freedom of communication, and the advancement of accurate and fair reporting.

The procedure to follow in filing a grievance is simple:

Write to the news organization and send a copy of your letter of complaint to the Council.

If you are not sure to whom to address your complaint at a news organization, send it directly to the Council. A copy will be forwarded to the appropriate news executive.

If your complaint concerns a printed news report, include a copy of the report, the name of the publication, and the date.

If your complaint concerns a radio or television news report, include the name of the station, the name of the network, and the date and the time of airing.

Be sure to include as specific information as possible as to why you are complaining.

Complaints to either committee should be addressed to:

The National News Council
One Lincoln Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10023.

Following this, Dr. Crout testified:

In view of Dr. Gross's last comment I have to say that the position of the Bureau is not to make an allegation of carcinogenicity for Naprosyn. I think Dr. Gross had made it clear that his opinion is not necessarily shared by everyone else. Our official position as a Bureau is one of not alleging lack of safety or positive evidence for carcinogenicity. Our official position is one of uncertainty on the issue, lack of data on the issue.

Point 2 of the Syntex complaint is taken together with this first portion because it refers to the second paragraph of the story which strongly supported the lead.

It was in this paragraph that the reporter incorrectly identified Naprosyn as having been the subject of a scientific report that was "replete with false information." The correct drug was Isoprinosine.

In its response, U.P.I. acknowledged the error and noted that it had sent out a correction when it was called to its attention. The U.P.I. response on this point continued:

Interestingly enough Arvidson [the reporter] later checked an F.D.A. official who said Dr. Gross could have applied the same description to Naprosyn.

Regarding its lead, U.P.I. said it felt its reporter did "a responsible job of translating Dr. Gross' statement into language the average reader would understand. This is, of course, an important part of our job. We are not doing our job when we write in technical

'We are not doing our job when we write in technical language the reader cannot understand'

or legal language the reader cannot understand."

On Dr. Crout's testimony, U.P.I. cited that portion of his testimony in which he said he was speaking carefully on the subject in view of past difficulties.

We have had enough on this issue of lawyers complaining about public statements in what we are alleging and what we are not, but I want to be very certain that we try to avoid another round of that with the Syntex lawyers.

In point 4, Syntex charges that the third paragraph of the story is inaccurate in that Dr. Gross is referred to as saying (but not in quotes) that Naprosyn "has potential cancer causing qualities. . . ." This is not in agreement with any statement by Dr. Gross

shown in the transcript of the hearing.

U.P.I. reiterated that the paragraph "accurately reflects in laymen's terms what Dr. Gross and other F.D.A. officials were saying in more technical language."

U.P.I. chose to lead its story with a dramatic piece of testimony before the Senate committee. That was a matter of editorial judgment that was the prerogative of the reporter covering the hearing and of the editors who later handled it. Its interpretation of the language of the testimony in translating "borderline statistical significance" into "borderline cancer-causing" is also credi-

'U.P.I. did not accuse Syntex of falsifying the data, but rather left the reader dangling'

ble, since in laymen's language, this is what Dr. Gross was saying. (Both A.P. and the *Chicago Sun-Times* offered the same interpretation of Dr. Gross's remarks, although not placing them in their lead.) The Council therefore finds points 1 and 4 unwarranted.

The matter of where U.P.I. chose to place Dr. Crout's remarks in the story was clearly a matter of editorial judgment on its part. It took the first three paragraphs on its national trunk wire story to describe what it said were Dr. Gross's remarks, and the next two to introduce the Syntex point of view in advance of Dr. Crout's seeming rebuttal. This seems ample evidence of balance.

But the U.P.I. story was seriously flawed by the error in the second paragraph in which it sought to support its lead by saying that a study on Naprosyn was "replete with false information."

Concerning that error, U.P.I. issued the following correction:

United Press International incorrectly reported Thursday that Dr. Adrian Gross told a Senate subcommittee the scientific test report documenting the safety of Naprosyn, an aspirin substitute frequently used for the treatment of arthritis, was "absolutely replete with false information."

Although Gross did raise substantial questions about the validity of the Naprosyn safety test before the Senate Health Resources Subcommittee, the actual quote was in reference to Isoprinosine, another drug tested by the same laboratory — Industrial Bio-test — and mentioned at the hearing.

The Council believes this correction was insufficient. The Council also believes that the repetition in the correction of material about the validity of the Naprosyn safety test was gratuitous, not necessary to the correction itself and represented an effort by U.P.I.

to dilute the seriousness of the error. The Council finds point 2 of the complaint warranted.

Points 3 and 8 are examined together because of the similarity in material.

In point 3, Syntex charged that U.P.I. Broadcast Service refused to correct the use of the phrase "absolutely replete with false information."

U.P.I.'s response was that "we saw no reason to do so because the broadcast version also summed up accurately the concern expressed at the session concerning the safety of Naprosyn. Dr. Gross testified, for example, that the safety data on the drug was so deficient that it 'compromised the scientific integrity of the study and rendered it unacceptable.'"

In point 8, in addition to repeating the charge that U.P.I. failed to correct its broadcast service story, Syntex contended that the radio version inaccurately used the phrase "indicate that Naprosyn could cause cancer," and that it had omitted a qualifying phrase attributed to Dr. Gross that "one cannot say unequivocally that it's carcinogenic," and had also omitted Dr. Crout's quotation that the agency is "not prepared to defend Dr. Gross's reservations."

U.P.I., in its response, noted that broadcast news "must be sharply condensed. There is no room for the additional detail that goes into a news wire story and the writer sometimes must make difficult choices between what to include and what to leave out."

The Council finds that if the error in using the phrase "replete with false information" in referring to Naprosyn was sufficiently serious to warrant a correction on U.P.I.'s national wire, then it should also have been corrected by its broadcast service.

The Council acknowledges that broadcast news must be "sharply condensed." But it finds unacceptable U.P.I.'s omission of Dr. Crout's statement that his agency is "not prepared to defend Dr. Gross's reservations."

Both of these portions of the complaint, therefore, are found warranted.

Syntex made one other specific charge of inaccuracy. This is in point 5, in which it said that the "fifth paragraph of UP-120 (Washington wire) reports an allegation that was never made." (The same allegation is contained in the seventh paragraph of the story moved on the national wire.) The paragraph states:

The Bureau of Drugs moved to withdraw Naprosyn from the market because of indications that the I.B.T. test data may have been falsified.

U.P.I.'s response declared:

I find an enthusiastic defense of our fifth paragraph a little difficult. I would like to make the point, however, that U.P.I. did not accuse Syntex of falsifying the data but rather left the reader dangling. I wish we had been more precise.

The paragraph is clearly in error, and U.P.I. in its response admits that. This portion of the complaint is found warranted.

The remainder of the Syntex complaint (points 6 and 7) took issue with U.P.I. for the manner in which it placed Dr. Crout's testimony in the story, and how much of that testimony was included, as well as other portions of Dr. Gross's testimony which it believed U.P.I. should have included in the story to give it balance.

The Council believes these points involve editorial prerogatives of the news organization in question — namely U.P.I. These portions of the Syntex complaint are found unwarranted. (September 20, 1977)

Concurring: Brady, Cooney, Ghiglione**, Green*, Isaacs, Lawson**, Leonard, McKay, Otwell, Pulitzer, Renick***, Roberts, Rusher*, and Salant.*

*Dissented on point 1. Did not agree that it was acceptable to interpret "borderline statistical significance" to mean "borderline cancer-causing."

** Abstained on point 1.

*** Dissented on point 8. Did not agree that U.P.I. broadcast story needed to include a mention of Dr. Crout's testimony.

Request denied

On July 11, 1977, the Nicaragua Government Information Service, through its director, Ian R. MacKenzie, filed a request for reconsideration of a Council decision issued on June 21, 1977 (CJR, September/October). The decision concerned the Service's complaint against a *Time* magazine article of March 14, 1977, describing episodes of violence in Nicaragua. Following discussion of the request, the Council unanimously adopted the following resolution: "While there were two Council misstatements*, the Council, in review, finds no basis to change its decision. The request for reconsideration is accordingly denied."

* *These misstatements were: (1) "Time included in its report the incident at Varilla, basing its evidence on a visit by its correspondent to the village. . . ." Time's correspondent did not visit Varilla. He based his report, according to Time, on interviews, including an eyewitness. (2) "Time also included in its report a denial by the Nicaragua government that the incident [at Varilla] took place." Time did not include such a denial in its report.*

REPORTS

"Lo the Poor Quidnunc," **The Antioch Review**, Spring/Summer 1977

The quidnunc (from the Latin, "what now?") is "a person who seeks to know all the latest news or gossip," and in this original collection of essays, representatives of that far-from-endangered species discuss their responses to an informationally overloaded environment. These range from gratitude (*The New York Times* as a cornerstone of life) to guilt (all those stacks of unread print!), and while addiction is common, a robust skepticism shows the way to survival. Basic tactics, of course, involve a process of more or less natural selection: for syndicated columnist John P. Roche, comparative analysis of multiple news sources is the best means of "separating the signals from the static"; retired journalist Roland H. Shackford advises spending little time with news stories and columns that are merely speculative; university president Warren Bennis skips the articles in *Commentary* and *New York Review of Books* — the letters to the editor tell it all anyway, he says. (Television gets short shrift here, and radio is barely mentioned.) The most unusual approach comes from free-lance writer Ralph Keyes, whose imaginative leaps in filing newspaper clips clearly elevate the form to the realm of high art. "At some level," Keyes confides wistfully, speaking, no doubt, for quidnuncs everywhere, "I'm convinced that once every bit of information has been placed in its proper file, I'll finally understand."

"Business and the News Media," by S. Prakash Sethi, **California Management Review**, Spring 1977

Business's lament that it is misunderstood and mistreated by the press is a familiar refrain by now, but this time there's a catchy variation — an aggressive plan of action. After sympathetically rehearsing the grievances on both sides (business charging economic illiteracy of journalists, antibusiness bias, and inadequate coverage, the media countercharging oversensitivity, misinterpretation, unavailability of top executives for interview by news reporters), Sethi, a professor of business and social policy at the University of Texas at Dallas, delivers a firm lecture to each. Business, he says, must be

more open, and maintain higher standards of integrity in its communications; for the news media, he urges the installation of an in-house critic whose job it would be "to question the relevance and direction of various news stories." Sethi's primary focus, however, is on the prickly question of paid advocacy advertising, currently available in the print media but prohibited on radio and television by federal broadcasting regulations (and rightly so, says the professor disarmingly: were corporations such as Mobil to succeed in their pursuit of purchased time for advocacy purposes, it would raise more problems than it would solve). His unorthodox solution: the establishment of a National Council for Public Information, supported financially by business corporations and trade groups and with contributions from the news media of ad space and air time, to provide for the public expression of alternative viewpoints. Sethi marshals many arguments to support his brainchild — not the least of which is that it sure wouldn't hurt business.

"Busting the Media Trusts," by Kevin Phillips, **Harper's**, July 1977

Should editors and publishers be required to register as lobbyists? Should a company that owns a major newspaper be allowed to also own a major newsmagazine? Should newspapers that offer financial advice to their readers be answerable to the S.E.C.? As public indignation at the power of the media reaches fever pitch, says the conservative Phillips, who is a lawyer, publisher, and syndicated columnist, public debate on such questions is bound to intensify, and in this provocative warning to the press, he explores three of the logically — and legally — possible forms that restraints may take. The first, based on the acknowledgment of the news media's status as a quasi-governmental institution exercising direct political control, could require the assumption of such government-type responsibilities as due process, nondiscrimination, and equal protection. A second might be the regulation of the media's content — the enforced handling of legislative matters, for example, or material of sociological concern. The third approach — and this is Phillips's "best hope" — would be economic: the application of anti-

trust measures to mega-media corporations and, with respect to television, the promotion of competition by means of a fourth network, cable and pay TV, decentralized programming, and divestiture. The portents are clear to Phillips, but the media, in his view, "are like a long smug wagon train passing through Indian territory. I don't think they bother to search out all the smoke signals, the cautionary plumes of legal and public opinion drifting across what has been an azure sky."

Citizens Media Directory, National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, April 1977

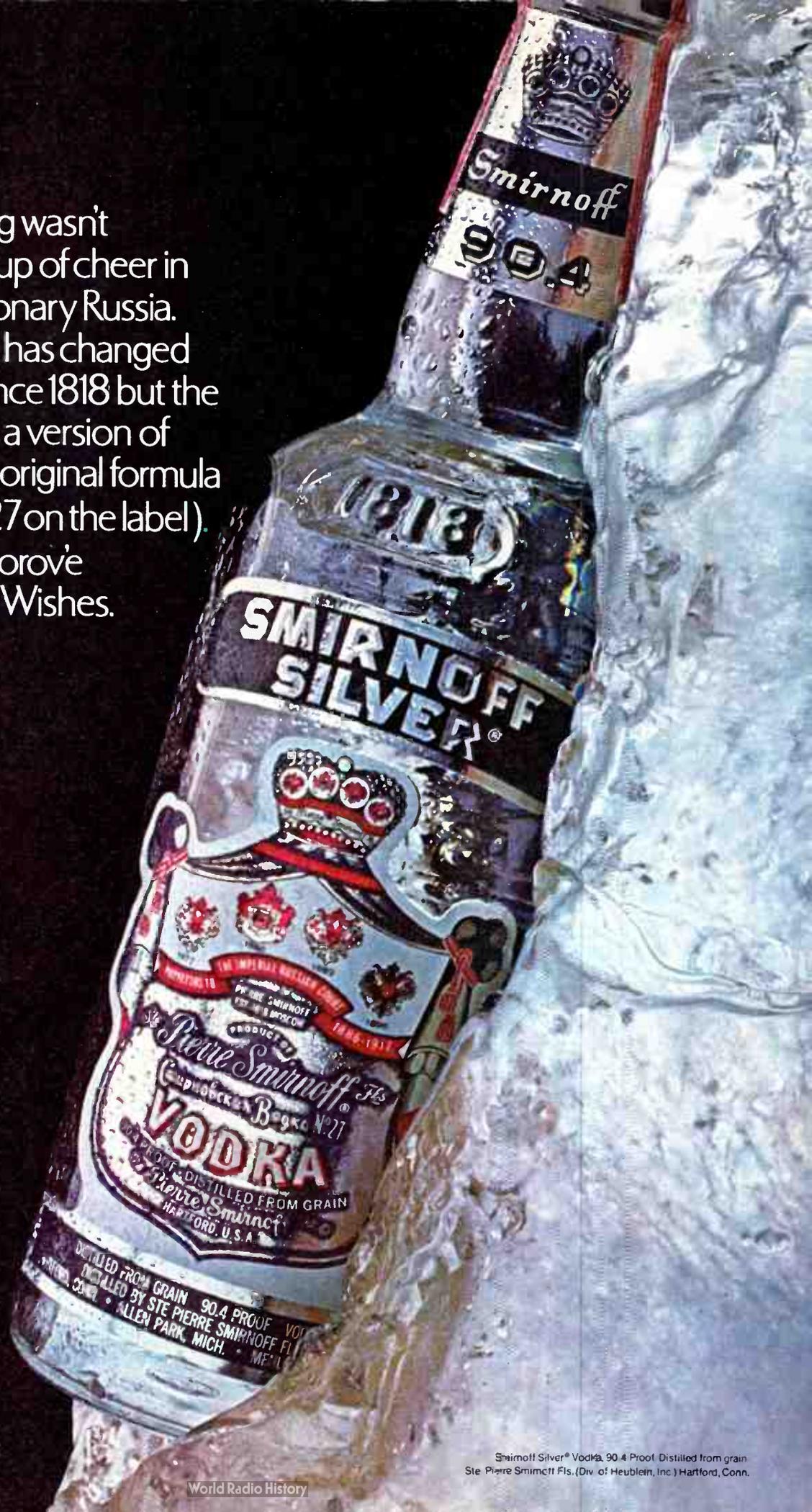
It is significant that this new 170-page reference resource should exist at all. With descriptive listings of nearly four hundred national and local media reform groups, public-access centers, community radio stations, alternative news services, and film and video producers, distributors, and services, the booklet will be invaluable in encouraging communications not only between the groups themselves, but with the professional community and the public as well.

"Public TV in Turmoil," by Neil Hickey, **TV Guide**, July 23, 30; August 6, 1977

Few viewers are aware of it, but raging behind those thousands of happy hours of entertainment, instruction, and information that public television has been delivering these past ten years, is an unlovely little war. The noisiest battle these days is territorial, as the institution's two agencies, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (the financial arm) and the Public Broadcasting Service (the programming arm) struggle over jurisdictional boundaries. Other clashes are ideological, involving, for example, conflicting philosophies of focus: local decentralized programming that would give priority to minority groups, or nationally decentralized, with mass appeal, à la the commercial networks? And meanwhile, the barrage of financial difficulties intensifies: rampant bureaucratic extravagance, excessive federal support, problematic fundraising techniques. In refreshingly clear terms, Hickey's three-part series traces the whole sorry history, explaining the problems and exploring the options. With new guidelines for public broadcasting policy forthcoming from the Carter White House, with House hearings underway as part of Congress's proposed revision of the Communications Act, and with the Carnegie Corporation gearing up for a \$1 million study, the course of public television's future is anybody's guess. G.C.

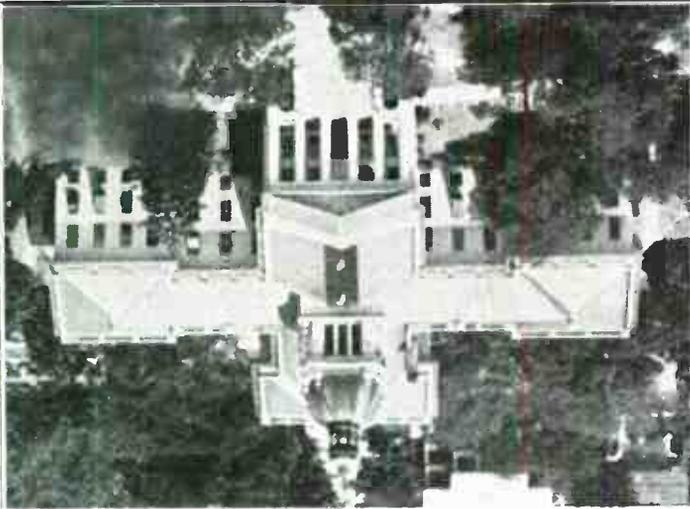
Egg nog wasn't the favorite cup of cheer in pre-revolutionary Russia. The package has changed considerably since 1818 but the contents are a version of Peter Smirnoff's original formula (note the No. 27 on the label).

Na Zdorov'e and Best Wishes.



Smirnoff Silver® Vodka, 90.4 Proof. Distilled from grain. Ste Pierre Smirnoff Fls. (Div. of Heublein, Inc.) Hartford, Conn.

The Lower case



Circa 1923
... it would cost \$3.6 million to make Capitol look like this
Sentinel Star (Orlando, Fla.) 4 8 77

SUSPECT HELD IN KILLING OF REPORTER FOR VARIETY

The New York Times 9 24 77

CIA funded \$3 million for bazaar research

Fairfield County (Conn.) Morning News 9 21 77

Murdered woman told about police corruption

Register-Guard (Eugene, Ore.) 8 19 77

Victim may have rode improperly

Pasadena Citizen 8 19 77

Undergrad Nurses Put Out

The Atlanta Journal 8 15 77

Student Struck by Bus

Judge Permits Club To Continue Sex Bar

The Washington Post 5 25 77

No Big Problems As Schools Start

The Richmond (Va.) News Leader 8 29 77

Mauling By Bear Leaves Woman Grateful For Life

The Herald-Dispatch (Huntington, W. Va.) 9 8 77

Rev. Jones Will Be Concentrated Today

The Lancaster (Pa.) Intelligencer Journal 9 10 77

Despite Some Looting, Westchester Weathered Looting Well

The New York Times 7 16 77

Archeologists Lorraine Williams, left, and Richard Regensberg, unearthed in Cranbury last week. Windsor-Hights Herald (Highstown, N.J.) 9 8 77

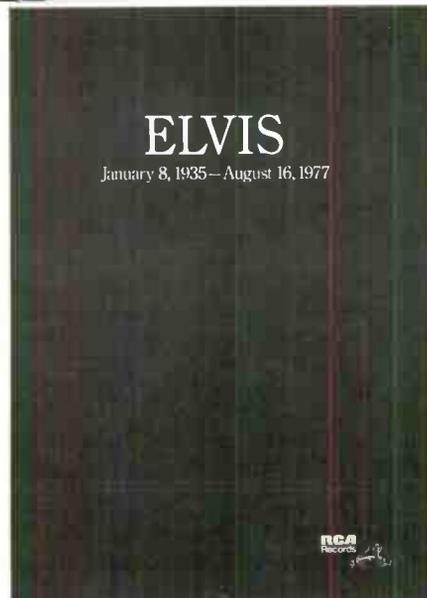
Little, it seemed, was laid to rest: this month, the Massachusetts State Police will finally open their files on the Slater & Morall robbery; in December, Harvard University will release the long-secret report on the trial it has held since 1927. *New Times 9 16 77*

Montreal police don't hesitate to use whatever laws, regulations or persuasion they feel they need to control morality in the city and prevent it from getting a foothold in any one part of the city. *The (Toronto) Globe and Mail 9 21 77*

Mr. Schiller said that as far as he knew there had been no convictions since the 1960's. Asked if there was any community pressure to end the new wave of slayings, he replied resignedly:

GIVE FUN FOR SOMEONE VIA FRESH AIR FUND

The New York Times 7 31 77

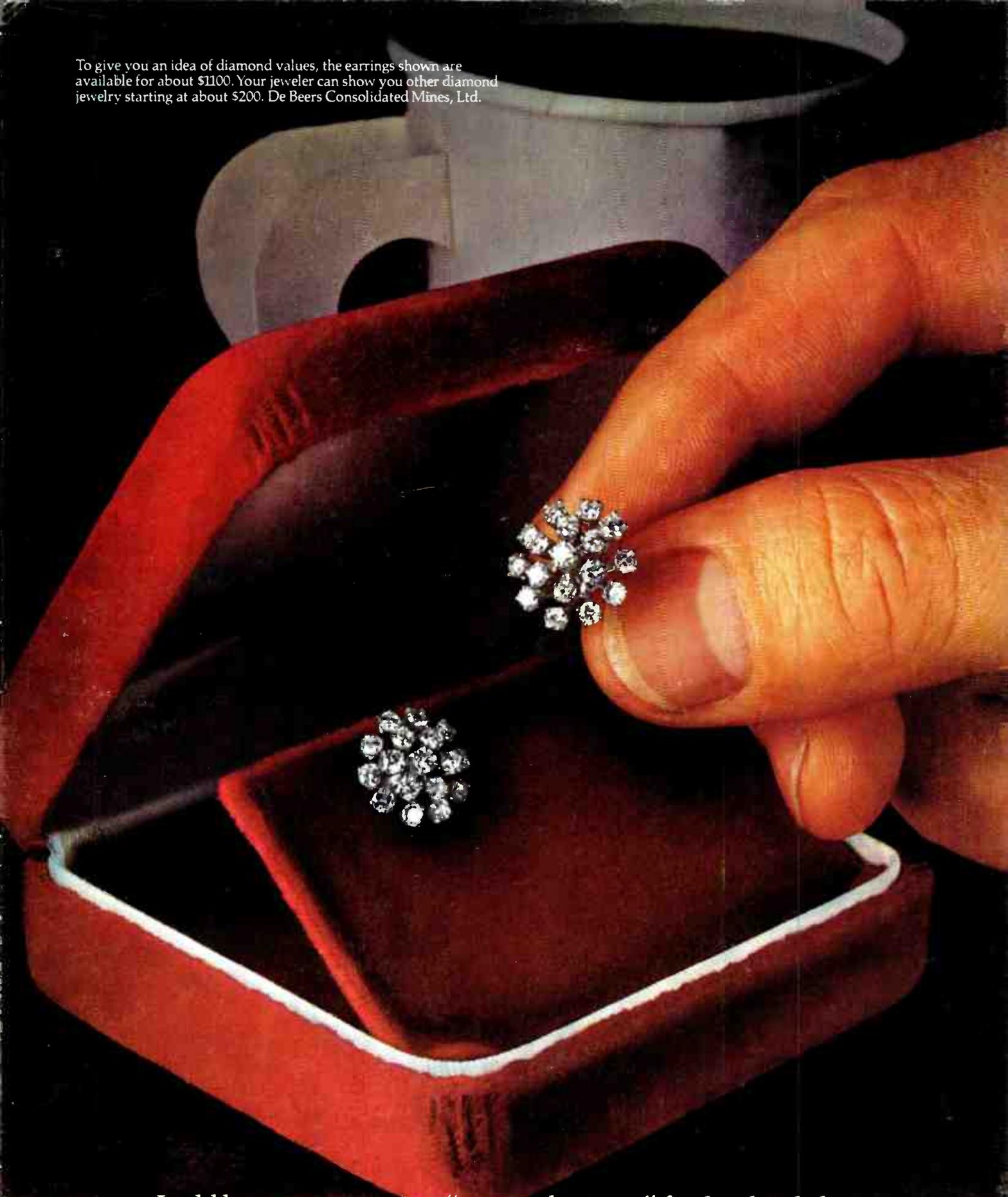


The Hollywood Reporter 8 23 77 Page 7



The Hollywood Reporter 8 23 77 Page 9

To give you an idea of diamond values, the earrings shown are available for about \$1100. Your jeweler can show you other diamond jewelry starting at about \$200. De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.



I told her we were going "out on the town" for her birthday,
and she said she had nothing to wear.

A diamond is forever.