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NATIONAL MEDIA MONITOR/ PRESS • RADIO • TV

CARTER VS. FORD VS. THE MEDIA

REPORTING THE 1976 CAMPAIGN

She took part in a revolution where little blood was shed.

Getting blood from a baby is a little like trying to get blood from a stone.

An infant has very little blood to spare.

Yet, there are times a newborn child requires critical blood tests. And some very fast results.

Union Carbide has answered these needs by developing a revolutionary blood testing instrument known as the CentrifiChem Analyzer.

It requires unusually small quantities of blood. Which means enough can be drawn through a simple prick in the finger or heel of a child or adult.

With that tiny amount of blood, the CentrifiChem System can detect symptoms of cardiac, liver, kidney and other bodily disorders. And this unique machine is capable of performing blood tests so fast it can help save a life that once might have been lost.

Union Carbide has developed three vital systems for the critical clinical diagnostics field.

The Centria system, which is able to detect the minutest quantities of substances circulating in the bloodstream.

The CintiChem system, designed exclusively for the nuclear medicine laboratory.

And, of course, the CentrifiChem system.

It's about as close as you can get to a bloodless revolution.

UNION CARBIDE

Today, something we do will touch your life.

THE TRANSITIONAL STORM.

PART III. THE FUTURE.

WHERE WILL TOMORROW'S ENERGY COME FROM?

Most of the energy used in the world today, other than muscle power, comes from fossil fuels.

Oil and natural gas provide about 74% of our nation's usable energy; coal, about 19%.

But this heavy dependence on natural gas and oil cannot continue much longer.

In fact, the end of the fossil-fuel age is already clearly discernible. But the beginnings of some kind of *future*-energy age are not yet clearly established. So we are in a "Transitional Storm" between energy epochs—a "storm" that is producing serious dislocations in our daily lives.

For this reason, it is imperative that we find a way through the storm and discover new sources for the energy we will need in the future.

HOW MUCH TIME DO WE HAVE?

We have time for the search—but not much.

In just a few generations, we have undoubtedly used up the larger part of the world's recoverable petroleum resources. In a few more generations, we will certainly use them all. And in not too many generations beyond that, we will even use up *our* substantial reserves of coal.

We have begun to stretch our critical fossil-fuel resources through conservation. But in a world of expanding population and growing aspirations, there is a limit to how much energy our conservation efforts can save.

Development of *new* sources of energy is urgently needed now.

WHERE SHOULD WE LOOK?

Energy research and development must go forward aggressively in these areas.

First, we must postpone the end of the fossil-fuel age by finding ways to use coal more widely and wisely. Coal is our most plentiful fossil fuel, with enough to last several hundred years at present rates of use.

We must foster passage of legislation to recover coal from the ground and put it to use.

And we must find ways to burn coal more cleanly as well as find ways to convert coal to forms that can be used without endangering the environment. Pilot plants have already shown this to be feasible. The challenge now is to make these processes commercially practical.

Second, we must continue to expand our use of nuclear power to generate electricity.

Already nuclear power plants, utilizing the principle of fission, are producing 9% of the electricity generated in the U.S., and producing it efficiently and safely. Nuclear reactors have been operating in this country for 30 years, supplying electricity dependably day after day. With public approval and support, nuclear fission power plants can be producing about 50% of the nation's electricity by 2000.

But the promise of nuclear technology

goes far beyond fission:

Research and development is already underway on nuclear "breeder" reactors. In generating electric power, "breeders" can be made to produce more nuclear fuel than they consume, thus vastly expanding the life of nuclear fuels. Work on breeders must be accelerated.

Research is also underway on nuclear *fusion* as a means of producing electricity. Since fusion uses sea water as its basic raw material, it will mean a virtually unlimited source of energy when perfected. Major problems remain to be solved before fusion can be utilized productively and safely, especially problems in the control of tremendous heat. We must solve them.

There are other areas in which research and development must go forward.

Incredible amounts of energy are discharged by the sun every day. Only a small fraction of this energy is presently used. We must look for ways to harness much more.

The rising and falling tides also represent a potential though very minor source of power in several locations. We must continue to look for practical and economically feasible ways to capture some of it.

Energy also rides on the wind. Perhaps there are ways to make significant use of it.

And there is an important source of energy in the earth's heat, trapped deep underground. This geothermal resource is presently being used to generate limited amounts of electricity in the western part of the U.S. We must determine if there are ways to capture much more.

WHO WILL DO THE JOB?

Weathering the "Transitional Storm" is everybody's job.

The electric utility industry's part is to meet consumer demand at the most reasonable cost and with minimal environmental impact. It must press ahead on research and development of new sources of electric power. It must share in the task of seeing that people learn how to use electricity more efficiently.

The consumers' role is in many ways the most important. Since they are the ultimate users of the great bulk of our energy, they are the ones who must make conservation mean something. They must make it a way of life.

Consumers must also support the research and development that will lead to new sources of electricity. And they must face the unwelcome reality that dwindling fossil fuels, staggering investments for new equipment and for protection of the environment are making electric rates higher.

Perhaps most important of all, consumers must give serious, practical, realistic thought to public decisions that must be made regarding energy sources and environmental concerns. There are no simple, easy solutions to energy questions, and consumers are being done a disservice if they are told there may be.

None of these roles will be easy to perform. What makes the drama worth the playing, however, is the promise at its end: the knowledge that adequate new sources of energy will be found, that our satisfying standard of living need not come to a grinding halt and that a new, more abundant energy epoch will follow the old.

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

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

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

REPORTING THE 1976 CAMPAIGN

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You probably can't understand it!

It's common knowledge that insurance policies are confusing to most and incomprehensible to many. So, we've developed a free set of information booklets on property and casualty insurance. We're not "puffing" Kemper in these books; they explain the fine print in everyday language with no sales pitch.

If you ever have occasion to write a story about insurance, this material could be a useful resource. You might even find them valuable personally.

We're inviting you to try a set, and if you think they'll be helpful to consumers, you can offer them free to the public.

If you have questions not answered in their pages, call our News Chief, Don Ruhter, collect, at 312-540-2518.

Meanwhile, back at the office, the insurance industry is working on simplified insurance policies that will be somewhat easier to read and to understand. Frankly, we think consumer education is good business. And just as important, it can save the public a lot of time and trouble, and perhaps some money.

Kemper Insurance Companies

We're leading the charge for consumer education.

Please send me your set of insurance information booklets.

Name

Address

City

State Zip

Return to: Kemper Insurance Companies
Communications & Public Affairs, D-1
Long Grove, IL 60049

COMMENT

Black Star

President-elect Carter meets the press on November 3

Waiting for Jimmy, hopefully

It was Joseph Pulitzer who said, "Every reporter is a hope, and every editor is a disappointment." Journalists waiting, with the rest of the country, for Jimmy Carter's White House debut might well bear in mind a variant: "Every president is a hope, and every administration is a disappointment." A president will customarily take office committed to openness and frankness with the press, only to find even the best resolves crumbling under the pressure of events and the frictions of the adversary relationship.

In 1977, the signs are not unhopeful. The incoming president and his staff have sometimes overreacted to criticism (as in the case of a *Harper's* article described in the July/August *Review*) and have shown a degree of resentment against journalists whom they believed to be trying to trip up the candidate. But the campaign produced few if any tales of the kind of feuding and ingrained hostility that marked, say, the Nixon years. Carter, moreover, has shown some sensitivity to journalists' point of view in his support for maintaining the confidentiality of sources.

More concretely, he has committed himself to at least two formal, scheduled news conferences a month. Given the extensive preparation necessary for these sessions, this will be a tough standard to maintain. Still, the new president may — unlike his three immediate predecessors — find the exposure valuable. Certainly, in his post-election news conferences, he showed himself at ease and handled questions without strain.

The Carter staff also has under consideration a step reporters may look on as an infringement of their prerogative — the possibility of accepting call-in questions. If done honestly, this could be a useful innovation.

Reporters could be compensated with other types of access — interim conferences *in camera* in the old Franklin D. Roosevelt style, or informal presidential briefings, which might have the benefit of easing the fencing matches between the White House press and the president's press secretaries.

In any case, there finally seems to be hope for the presidential news conference, a form of public communication that had atrophied for a dozen years. If Carter can stay on schedule, it may have a chance to revive.

Limiting political debate

The press played an important but little examined role in making possible the debates between the Democratic and Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Because of the so-called equal time rule, it would not have been possible to limit the debates to the candidates of the two major parties without the elaborate fiction that these were news events at which TV cameras happened to be present. The

League of Women Voters, by producing the debates, made the fiction work: the networks could not have done it alone without having to grant the same exposure to candidates of minority parties.

The national enthusiasm for the debates was so strong that few objected to shutting out minority-party candidates. In fact, almost everyone, including press commentators, seemed to regard concern about the rights of minority candidates as attempts to spoil the fun. There is no doubt that the national press was a more than willing accomplice of the Ford and Carter camps, and of the League of Women Voters, in their successful efforts to keep the debates tidy and dramatic.

There is now plenty of time to think about what ought to be done in 1980. Both print and broadcast journalists should ask themselves whether, as champions of free speech, they again ought to play so active a role in limiting our national political debates to the two major parties.

Recombinant red tape

It would be highly unusual for either *Science* or *The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* to publish an article called "How to Cut Through Red Tape," but both magazines have good reason to be on the lookout for such a contribution. As was noted in the September/October 1975 CJR, a Senate Rules and Administration Committee ruling bars accreditation of *Science* reporters because *Science* is owned and operated by an association (the National Association for the Advancement of Science) and is not published for profit. As a result, some of the nation's best scientific reporters — those of the magazine's consistently excellent "News and Comment" section — are denied access to the periodical press gallery and are, in other ways, treated as second-class members of the press.

We had hoped that this problem could have been resolved by now. It has not been. In the meantime, another ribbon of red tape has coiled itself around many of the nation's most prestigious scientific journals (though in this instance not *Science*).

For more than twenty years, many scientific journals have charged their authors a fee of from $50 to $100 a page to help defray the cost of publication. Last October, officials of the U.S. Postal Service suddenly ordered all journals that observe this practice, born of need, to label such articles "advertisements." There is good reason for such a regulation; its intent is to protect readers from deception, as well as to identify the revenue-producing advertising for mailing-rate purposes (the rate is determined by the ratio of advertising to

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To fallen colleagues

This is a very special salute from Columbia colleagues to the memory of two extraordinary human beings. It is to Louis G. Cowan and his wife, Polly, whose lives were abruptly ended by a fire in their Manhattan apartment in the early hours of November 18.

Not only did Lou, with Polly's support, help guide and foster this *Review* from its earliest days; the two had a broad record of achievements, any one of which would have merited special recognition. Lou Cowan had originated many broadcast shows, ranging from the enlightening *Conversation* to the entertaining *Quiz Kids* and *The $64,000 Question*. He had effectively directed the wartime Voice of America, served as president of CBS Television, headed the Morse Communication Research Center at Brandeis University, helped keep the *Partisan Review* alive, founded the Chilmark Press to publish books of distinction, originated the National Book Awards, and helped create the Wiener Oral History Library. At Columbia he headed the *Review*'s publishing committee, served as an effective and beloved teacher, supervised the DuPont–Columbia Survey and Awards in broadcasting, and directed other special projects.

Polly, while counseling him in all of these, was herself a pioneer worker for civil rights, served as a volunteer nurse, led in seeking improved public education in New York, and worked vigorously for a dozen other causes.

Because both were modest, few knew of the range of their good work. Each day there have come to light admirable causes of which neither their colleagues nor their children knew, to which they had quietly dedicated time, counsel, leadership, and often financial aid.

It is a sad commentary on some of our news practices that most reports on the Cowan tragedy reflected little of this broad record. Instead, most stressed Lou Cowan's presumed connection with the quiz-show scandals of the 1950s, when he was president of the CBS Television Network — though those who knew him best and most who have investigated are convinced that Lou Cowan's only offense was trusting certain former colleagues too much.

Of these two extraordinary human beings, it is fitting to say that they shared in a unique combination of creative intelligence, modesty, courage, compassion, and fundamental decency. We at the *Review*, faculty colleagues and former students at Columbia, and countless others shall always owe them much.

Edward W. Barrett

How International Paper helps mother trees have stronger, healthier offspring

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

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

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

That effort could be critical to America's economy.

Nature under pressure

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

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

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

So America must grow more trees—and trees with a lot more usable wood fiber. That's where International Paper is helping.

Breeding better forests

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

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

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

Hardwood trees, too

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

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

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

More to be done

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL PAPER COMPANY

220 EAST 42ND STREET NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

editorial matter). But here, as in the case of the ruling that hinders *Science* reporters in covering their Capitol Hill beat, there would also seem to be good reason for making an exception to the rule. As Dr. Philip Handler, president of the National Academy of Sciences, remarked: "No scientist is going to sit still for having his life's work marked 'advertisement.' "

Now that they have gotten around to attempting to enforce this regulation, postal-service officials seem almost as eager as publishers of scientific journals to find a way around it. Postmaster General Benjamin Bailer, for example, has written to publishers, asking them to recommend a solution. Still, as the people of *Science* have learned, such rules, once adopted, seem to resist the attempts of mere mortals to change them.

A correction

A paragraph in this space in the November/December issue charged *The Providence Journal* with failing to mention, in a July 16 editorial, its own investment in a downtown rehabilitation project. Owing to errors in editing, that paragraph as printed was incorrect in its entirety. The *Journal* not only mentioned, but discussed, its investment in the editorial. The *Review* regrets publication of the item and any embarrassment to the *Journal*.

Darts and laurels

Laurels: to *The Nashville Banner* and to Ken Lerer of *The Village Voice* for exposing the survival, among small Tennessee weeklies and New York City ethnic papers respectively, of the old practice of swapping favorable coverage and even endorsements for candidates' advertising.

Dart: to the *New York Post*, for massively overplaying its discovery, late in the campaign, that an underling in the Ford advertising organization had a tie to nude films. A worthy comeuppance for sanctimony, perhaps, but was it worth an entire front page and an inside page as well?

Laurel: to *The Dallas Morning News*, for its tracking of a Texas-sized bank scandal. The tangled trail through lootings, phantom cattle, and Las Vegas casinos has led to as many as eighteen banks.

Dart: to those 200 or so newspapers which distributed as a bona fide supplement "Garden Time '76," in fact an elaborate sixteen-page handout from Ortho, a manufacturer of garden supplies.

Laurel: to David E. Rosenbaum, John M. Crewdson, and others at *The New York Times* who performed a useful and too-little-noted service by writing stories assessing the factual accuracy of candidates' statements in debate and on the campaign trail.

Dart: to all those respectable organs of American journalism — notably, *Newsweek* and its cover story — that ballyhooed the case of Gary Gilmore into a bloodthirsty saga rivaling the media spectacles of the 1920s. The breathlessness and inanity of the coverage was capsulized in an *Oakland Tribune* headline on November 17: SUICIDE TRY DELAYS DEATH.

Laurel: to the *St. Petersburg Times*, for continuing to serve consumers through its "Watch This Space" column, devoted to checking advertising claims, despite at least two canceled contracts and the noncooperation of such companies as Procter & Gamble. Recent topics: grease-cutting dishwashing liquid, thick spaghetti sauce, and land bankruptcy sales.

Laurel: to *The Detroit News*, for offering useful background on a superficially reported story. Following the pre-election Sunday incident involving the Reverend Clennon King and the Plains Baptist Church, the *News* developed sufficient information to print sixty-six paragraphs on King's earlier career.

Warning: another prize

Now joining the ranks of the many special-interest organizations that try to get a better press by offering journalism prizes is The American Chiropractic Association. Its Health Journalism Awards, announced in *Editor & Publisher* (July 24, 1976), offer five $200 checks for meritorious reporting on, naturally, health. The purposes cited are lofty and amorphous, but it is worth noting that one objective is to "stimulate journalists to be free-thinkers, not bound by traditional, social or political pressures." This may sound like an appeal to reason and to nonconformity, but in the context it is a plea for chiropractic, whose practitioners of spinal manipulation have fought the medical and scientific establishments for more than eighty years. It has won some respectability, such as official licensing and accreditation of its training schools, but suffered a severe public-relations setback in 1975 when a *Consumer Reports* investigation concluded that the method was "a significant hazard to many patients." (An A.C.A. complaint to the National News Council resulted in a finding that upheld *Consumer Reports*.) This competition may be an attempt to rebound; journalists contemplating trying to collect $200 might well bear these circumstances in mind.

No-risk journalism

When the storm hit, bringing down the old Norwegian maple in the front yard and with it the last lines of communica-

The Great Health Care Stakes

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

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

Examples:

1. Polio vaccines eliminated iron lungs, lengthy hospital stays, and saved thousands of potential victims.[1]
2. Since drugs to treat mental illness were introduced, the number of patients in mental hospitals has been more than cut in half: from 558,000 in 1955 to about 225,000 in 1974.[2]
3. Antibiotics save millions of lives and billions of health care dollars.[3]
4. Drugs that cure tuberculosis closed most sanatoriums.[4]

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

- New drugs come only from research, a very sophisticated form of roulette.
- Most new drugs are discovered by U.S. research-oriented pharmaceutical companies.[5]
- Their research funds come from current prescription drug sales.
- For every drug that's a winner, there are thousands of other promising chemical compounds that never make it to the gate.
- Cutting drug prices arbitrarily is a sure-shot loss for research investment.

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

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

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

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

1. Pharmacy Times, March 1976, pp 36-39.
2. "Health in the United States," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975, p. 40.
3. National Health Education Committee, "Facts on the Major Killing and Crippling Diseases in the United States," 1971, p. 5.
4. Lambert, P.D. and Martin, A. (National Institutes of Health), Pharmacy Times, April 1976, pp 50-66.
5. deHaen, Paul, 'New Drugs, 1940 thru 1975," Pharmacy Times, March 1976, pp. 40-74.
6. Lasagna, L., The American Journal of Medical Sciences, 263.72 (Feb.) 1972.

Lederle

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

tion to the outside world — the phones already were out and a glance at the branch-strewn roads showed that we could not hope for the daily papers — we suffered a few pangs of media withdrawal until we remembered the emergency ration we had squirreled away on the top bookshelf in the study. A friend had brought it from a recent expedition to England, and we had been saving it for just such a crisis. It was a table game called "Newsdesk."

With a fire blazing brightly, we arranged ourselves around the playing board — a map of the world — and placed the tiny red and blue plastic reporters at their various global posts and cranked up the funny yellow telex that directed the action. Each player had a miniature front page with empty squares on it: the object of the game was to fill the squares with stories before the other "editors" filled theirs.

It was soon apparent that the game required neither skill nor judgment; it was all a matter of chance, of being lucky enough to have your marker — rather, your reporter — at the right place at the right time. The dice rolled and the telex turned and the reporters marched and the front-page squares were slowly filled. "Sport in Peking," "Disaster in Nairobi," "Local news in Reykjavik," "Crime in Dakar." Outside, the storm wound on and on.

Inside, so did the game. Oh, once in a while an obstacle would present itself. "Reuter links cut!" the "real-life" cardboard message might say. "Airport closed!" — and it was back to home base for the little blue reporter and a lost opportunity for his unlucky editor. Well, it certainly helped to liven things up. Still, we agreed, essential things seemed to be missing from that cardboard pack of real-life messages, things like, say, "Pressure from influential advertisers," or "Judge orders disclosure of sources," even, maybe, "Intelligence agency requests cooperation" — all followed, naturally, with "Your move, kiddo." Now *that* would be a game!

Anyway, nobody seemed to care who filled the little squares first. Finally the sun came out and we walked down to the road to meet the newspaper boy.

Sayings of Chairman Jack

Excerpts from an address by John S. Knight, editor emeritus of the Knight-Ridder Newspapers, at the National Press Club, Washington, October 21, 1976:

☐ In traveling around this country, I have been dismayed at reading newspapers which had all of the warmth you would find on a plate of cold fish.

☐ We're giving the readers less for their money. . . . Perhaps you can get away with that kind of business philosophy in selling candy bars, but it does little to insure the permanence of the print press.

☐ Newspapers have become dull, dull, dull!

☐ [A] tradition to be avoided is newspaper conventions, where little is learned and, like the Bourbons, nothing is forgotten.

☐ Have you noticed how slow editors are to adopt an interesting feature or story which has scored a big success in another city? I always operated on the philosophy that if I could borrow, adapt, or steal a great idea, that was journalism at its peak.

☐ Except for the great metropolitan centers, editorial pages are inclined to be dull and flabby. . . . By contrast, sports pages are generally popular since a sports editor can make a damn fool of himself — if he's interesting — and not get the paper into too much trouble.

☐ Press councils . . . give retired editors something to do.

☐ Nor do I care for shield laws . . . The First Amendment says it all. Why not stand on it? What's wrong with going to jail?

Other opinions

There are well-read, studious and skilled people in TV journalism but they don't use those qualities in the performance of their work. — *Nicholas von Hoffman in* The Washington Post, *November 10, 1976*

A paper should never compartmentalize its ad revenue for specific sections. . . . If you're going to start thinking like that, then the first thing to go is the editorial page, which has no advertising at all. — *Jonathan Yardley,* Miami Herald *book editor, quoted in* Publishers Weekly, *November 15, 1976*

In defense of the newspapers and the networks in this presidential campaign, with all their faults and mistakes, the argument here is that they have been more careful, responsible, and forehanded than either candidate or party, and more accurate and energetic than any other band of reporters since the generation of Mencken and Lippmann. — *James Reston, in* The New York Times, *November 3, 1976*

. . . if a journalist continually displays an obsession to support his own hostile notions about our agency, or to support a boilerplate editorial policy without regard for objectivity, then he cannot expect to continue to enjoy any sort of productive relationship with us. — *From text of a speech scheduled for delivery by Clarence Kelley, F.B.I. director, on October 15, 1976, but canceled by the White House*

Next time you get sick, who do you want to prescribe your medicine for you?

You'd be surprised how many people want to get into the act.

And their motives aren't bad.

Some people say that pharmacists with their better-than-ever training ought to be able to substitute another version of the medicine your doctor prescribes.

Certain consumer groups say that such substitution would save consumers money. Another admirable motive.

Then there's the government: some state legislators and members of Congress keep proposing that pharmacists ought to be able to substitute– but only the *least expensive* version of the drug.

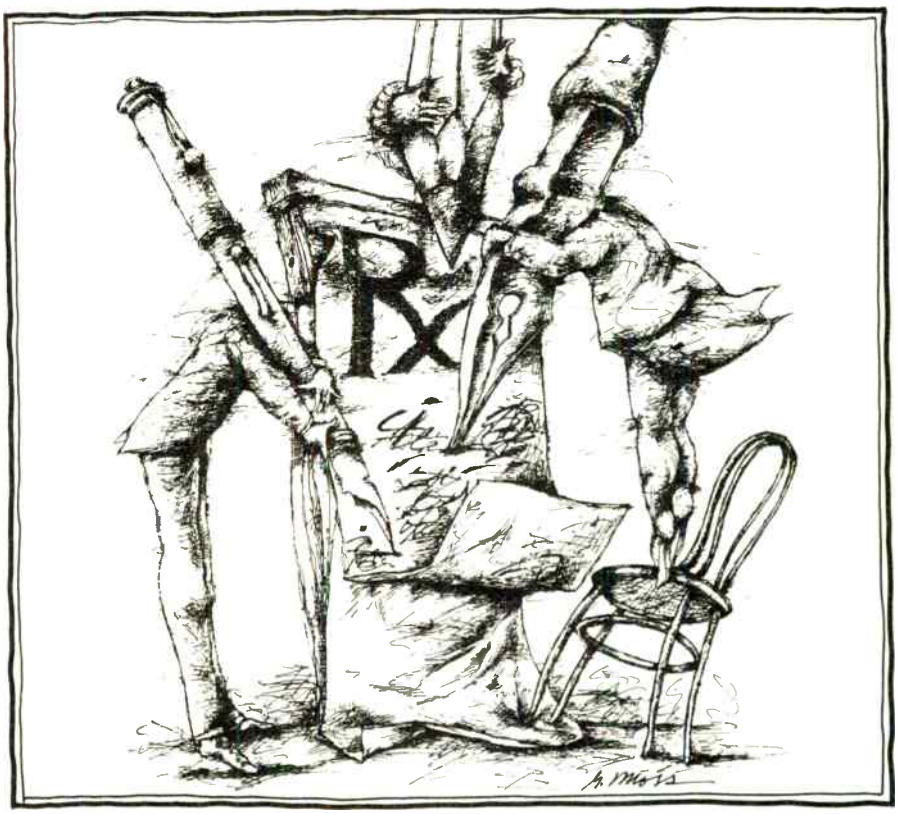
The member companies of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association applaud the motives but have serious doubts about the conclusions.

First, we think the money-saving argument is fallacious. Some provinces in Canada have allowed substitution for years. When you look at the bottom line for evidence that Canadian consumers have saved money, it's not apparent. The same is true where substitution has been tried in the U.S.

But there's much more dangerous thinking in this substitution debate.

It's the opinion that a drug is a drug is a drug.

The fact is that two versions of the same drug, formulated by different manufacturers, can have different effects in the body.



The U.S. Congress' Office of Technology Assessment has said as much. So have many scientific experts in drug therapy.

Which leads us to the conclusion that only one person has the knowledge—both of medicines *and of your condition*—to prescribe.

Your doctor.

We don't think someone else ought to force a substitute medicine on your doctor.

And we don't think you ought to have to take a substitute medicine.

We hope you agree.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association

If you'd like to comment, we'd like to hear from you. Write us at Dept. CJ-701, 1155 Fifteenth St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Under new managements

Possibly not since young Willie Hearst bought The Morning Journal *in 1895 has the sale of a New York City newspaper caused such a stir as has the prospective purchase (for a reported $32.5 million) of the* New York Post *by the Australian magnate, Rupert K. Murdoch. Only partly by coincidence — for the transaction nipped off another potential Murdoch deal —* The Observer, *a quality London Sunday paper, was acquired at almost the same time by the Atlantic Richfield Company (Arco), an American oil concern. In a comment published on December 4, Charles B. Seib, ombudsman for* The Washington Post, *discussed the pitfalls of foreign ownership:*

Murdoch in London: The Sun, *sold for about 8 cents (U.S.), has become a formidable rival to Britain's largest daily, the* Mirror

. . . Both newspapers had come upon hard times, the *Observer* more so than the *Post*. Murdoch and Arco are able and apparently willing to pump some nice new money into them. That's good. But each of these deals has some disturbing aspects.

First, the *Post*. Murdoch is a chain publisher. He owns eighty-seven newspapers, most of them in England and Australia, as well as magazines and broadcasting stations. He is a true press lord. His purchase of the *Post* removes another independent newspaper ownership from the American scene, continuing a restrictive trend that has been going on for some years. Also, one doesn't have to be chauvinistic to be disturbed by foreign ownership of the only afternoon daily in this country's largest city.

Murdoch is most famous in the news business as a successful practitioner of what the British delicately call "boobs and bums" journalism. The unclad female figure has the same fascination for editors of Murdoch newspapers that the sins of public officials have for editors of *The Washington Post*. His American publications, a tacky national tabloid called *The Star* and a recently acquired brace of papers in San Antonio, Texas, reflect the conviction, borne out by experience, that trash sells.

Announcement of the sale was followed by assurance from Murdoch that the *New York Post* would retain its "essential character" and continue as a "serious newspaper." This is customary in such situations. . . .

The London deal raises quite different issues. All concerned seem agreed that Arco, guided by its chairman, Robert O. Anderson, will permit *The Observer* to continue to be a fine newspaper. Anderson is widely respected. In news accounts of the sale he was called such things as "a humanist with a deep concern for communications" and "a liberal intellectual acting out of noble motives." He has pledged that *The Observer*'s liberal, independent, and highly literate brand of journalism will be allowed to continue.

The problem here is one of precedent. The acquisition of a great newspaper by an oil company cannot help but raise questions. The fact that the oil company reached across the ocean in this case is incidental. What happens when Mr. Anderson is no longer boss of Arco? What happens when Arco's stockholders tire of supporting a fine but unprofitable newspaper? What happens when an investigative reporter for *The Observer* starts to dig into the worldwide operations of the oil companies? Most important, what happens if other large oil companies — or big multinational corporations in other fields, for that matter — already large advertisers in the press and on the air, decide to get in on the ground floor by buying media outlets? . . .

The staffs of the *New York Post* and *The Observer* are said to be pleased with the new owners. *Post* staffers, who have been afflicted with financial anemia for a long time, like Murdoch's money. "The *Post* is an orphan that has been adopted," one reporter has been quoted as saying, and it's nice that the new papa is rich. Ironically, one of the reasons *Observer* people are happy to become part of Arco is that it means the threat of ownership by Murdoch is gone. The Australian had been angling for the paper, along with some others.

So everybody is comparatively happy, and who can blame them? Professional starvation is no fun. But as a specialist in clouds on the horizon, I see a couple that are bigger than a man's hand.

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REPORTING THE

By trivia obsessed

by SANFORD J. UNGAR

"It doesn't look good," said the sub-cabinet official, for seven years a servant of the Nixon and Ford Administrations, at mid-afternoon. "The weather is too nice. Too many people are voting."

No such gloominess was permitted or encouraged in the press briefing room at the White House on election night. Except, of course, on the subject of the president's voice, without which it would be rather difficult for him either to claim victory or to concede defeat.

"President Ford has pretty much lost his voice," said Bill Roberts, an assistant press secretary, during a casual sally through the briefing room. It was enough to awaken slumbering sound men from the networks, to start the juices flowing again in the stalwarts from the news magazines, on the scene to gather "color" but long since numb from watching state-by-state projections on television sets with extremely poor reception.

"Did you say the president's lost his voice?"

"No," replied Roberts with annoyance. A middle-aged man ordinarily consigned to such tasks as herding the traveling White House press corps onto its buses or passing out transcripts and press releases, he was not to miss his opportunity for a schoolmarmish lecture: "You didn't listen. I said the president has pretty much lost his voice." There is a difference, Roberts pointed out with a broad grin — a fine difference perhaps, yet one not to be overlooked when dealing with the presidential throat.

Was this a cause for concern? No, not exactly. "But Ron [Ron Nessen, the full-fledged presidential press secretary] is over there now" — in the First Family's living quarters — checking on details of the ailment, brought on by ten days of nonstop last-minute campaigning, and of the treatment prescribed by the presidential physician, Dr. William Lukash.

Nessen was back in a jiffy with a medical bulletin. Dr. Lukash was treating the president with "steam inhalation" and "tea and honey." Ford's voice was actually not much worse than it had been in his final campaign speeches, ever since it had started to fade in Cleveland. The president was taking no medication, but yes, Nessen had to admit in response to a question, there was some Vicks in the steam. What method was being used to produce the steam? The press secretary acknowledged, somewhat shamefacedly, that he did not know. However, he could add that the president was also using a nebulizer, which was "putting water droplets into his throat." Warm water droplets. How often was Ford taking his hot tea with honey? Once an hour. And he was also resting his voice.

("What happened to the chicken soup?" muttered a correspondent of some standing to a friend nearby; "I thought he was drinking chicken soup." So an earlier tip had indicated. The correspondent looked glum, as if he saw a lovely lead slipping away. But then an impish smile crossed his face. He knew how to divine the bumbles and stumbles of the thirty-eighth president of the United States: "This crowd probably put the honey in the chicken soup; everybody knows that makes you lose your voice.")

The president's spirits were excellent, Nessen reported. "He feels confident that he will win . . . but it will be a long night, and we must await final returns from the West Coast." John Connally had called to say that things looked good for Ford in Texas, and even though CBS was awarding that state's twenty-six electoral votes to Jimmy Carter, the president was relying on Connally's personal projection. Wasn't the president discouraged by early indications that other states were going to Carter? Well, said Nessen, some of the states on Ford's "wish list" were gone, but no crucial ones.

Nessen was pressed for some more juicy details — the president's schedule, his guests at a buffet dinner, the menu. Ford had, upon returning to the White House from Grand Rapids (where he voted), taken a nap. How long a nap? Nessen looked to Roberts. Roberts held up two fingers. A two-hour presidential nap, followed by an hour's worth of work in the Oval Office. The Fords had later been joined for the informal dinner by vice-presidential running mate Robert Dole and his wife, plus some friends of the Ford children. Not Melvin Laird. But television sportscaster Joe Garagiola was there, as were some White House staff and Edith Green, a turncoat former Democratic congresswoman from Oregon who was supporting Ford. "Did I mention Pearl Bailey?" asked Nessen. The reporters said he had not. "Well, she's there, too." The reporters, their interest perked up a bit more, jotted down the name.

In the background, a French correspondent was dictating

Sanford J. Ungar is Washington editor of The Atlantic Monthly.

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his story over the telephone. He spoke the title into the receiver: "*Ford dine.*" ("Ford has dinner.") The person at the other end of the line apparently did not understand the exact words or their significance, so the Frenchman repeated, enunciating carefully: "*Forduh dinuh.*" But still he was not coming across, and he raised his voice until he was fairly shouting: "*Forrghduh deennnuh.*"

How many television sets were available to the Ford family and their guests? At least three, Nessen said, but then he conferred with other knowledgeable parties and corrected himself — perhaps five or six sets.

Again, the French correspondent, his words now clipped and clear: "*Le Président Ford a diné, en regardant la télévision. . . .*" ("President Ford had dinner, while watching television. . . .")

A distinguished woman of the wire services, Helen Thomas of U.P.I., wandered about in the briefing room, venting her spleen. "Have the television people got someone up there with the family?" she asked Roberts during a brief confrontation, in what some might describe as a shrewish voice. He shook his head no, as if to conserve his own voice out of sympathy with the chief executive. "Well then," she asked doggedly, "why is it that every time I call my office to tell them something, they tell me they've already heard it on television?" Roberts had no answer; he went back to watching television himself.

The president, Nessen advised in response to a question, was wearing a suit. Not a leisure suit, a new style that he was the first president to adopt, but a business suit. And a tie? Yes, a tie. He was getting most of his returns from television, plus occasional phone calls from Richard Cheney, his chief of staff, and James Baker, his campaign manager. No, he had not yet placed calls to early Republican winners, like Senator-elect Richard Lugar of Indiana, presumably because of the injunction to rest his voice.

As for the buffet, it included beef Stroganoff, seafood creole, salad, fresh fruit, and pastries. And cherry tomatoes. Nessen formed a small circle with his thumb and index finger to indicate the tomatoes' size, lest there be any misunderstanding.

"*Boeuf Stroganoff,*" reported the Frenchman into the telephone, the accent on the last syllable of Stroganoff.

Did the president's throat condition permit him to smoke his beloved pipe, one reporter asked Nessen. That was just over the edge of the press secretary's knowledge and his tolerance for the game. He smiled and shrugged. "I'll have to check. I'm going back up, and I'll let you know."

But before Nessen could get away, a network correspondent was calling out to him: "Ron, Ron, wait a minute." The network's cameras were set up outside on the White House lawn, rather than in the briefing room, and he wondered whether Nessen could just step out and repeat it all for the masses. He could, and he did. ■

The triumph of junk news

by JAMES McCARTNEY

The year 1976 deserves to go down in history as the campaign year in which "junk news" came into its own. Never was so much that meant so little presented in such technologically perfect fashion to such a widely yawning public.

Consider these two facets of the situation: even *The New York Times* failed on one occasion to report the substance of a major policy speech by one of the candidates — a speech delivered less than twenty blocks from the *Times*'s own offices. But rarely did it happen that the most trivial, meaningless, or stumbling utterance of either major candidate was not reported from coast to coast by the magic of radio, the wonder of telecommunications, and the power of the press.

Item: on the evening of October 14, Jimmy Carter delivered a speech in New York's Americana Hotel in which he called for a new approach to a strategic arms agreement with the Soviet Union. He called for a "quick freeze" on the number of atomic missiles and warheads, on total "throwweight" (roughly, destructive power), and on "qualitative weapon improvements." His proposal was complex, as are all proposals involving strategic arms. But it was a suggested new departure in a field involving not

James McCartney is a national correspondent for The Knight Newspaper Group based in Washington.

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Sygma

President Ford engulfed by the campaign press

only the life or death of the nation but of civilization itself.

The New York Times the following morning published two stories from reporters covering Carter's campaign. One, datelined Syracuse, was based on a routine speech Carter had delivered there earlier on October 14. The lead on the other, a report on the dinner at which Carter delivered his "quick freeze" speech, was: "Jimmy Carter made his first visit to New York City in a month last night to pay tribute to the Liberal Party, along with 2,000 or so other politicians mindful of what that small party can do to help or hurt a Democratic candidate in New York." The *Times* did not report the substance of Carter's speech. After it endorsed Carter for president shortly before the election, however, an editorial cited his proposal for a "quick freeze" as an important factor in its choice.

The incident was a dramatic illustration of one of the phenomena of the 1976 election campaign. The media simply never took "issues" seriously on their own terms. The press, in all of its branches — written and electronic — often would fail to report speeches on serious issues at all, or if it did it would often fail to present them straight: issues, if mentioned at all, would be buried in stories constructed around other subjects — strategy and tactics, evaluations of candidates' momentum, and all of the other kinds of political small talk that arise in any campaign.

Item: on October 15 Carter delivered a speech in Detroit on crime — responding to a speech President Ford had given in Miami on September 28. The *Washington Post* lead on Carter the following morning read: "If Jimmy Carter was angry, up tight or defensive about being accused by President Ford of 'slandering the good name of the United States' on nationwide television Thursday night, he didn't show it. En route to a New York City event after watching the press conference, he fell asleep in his car." The crime speech was first mentioned in the eighth paragraph. Although the *Post* on the whole probably did as creditable a job as any paper in the country in covering the campaign, this particular lead illustrates a kind of thinking that turned up often in campaign coverage. Reporters seemed to be reaching for ways to start spats between the candidates.

In his famous *Playboy* interview, Carter said that the national news media traveling with him "had absolutely no interest in issues at all. . . . The traveling press have zero interest in any issue unless it's a matter of [my] making a mistake. What they're looking for is a forty-seven-second argument between me and another candidate or something like that. There's nobody in the back of this plane who would ask an issue question unless he thought he could trick me into some crazy statement."

There is evidence aplenty that Carter exaggerated. But he was not alone in his views. By the end of the campaign it had become a cliché among editorialists, columnists, and commentators that there were no "issues," that it had been a vapid, mean, and little campaign. Pundits from organizations that had often themselves not reported issues attacked the candidates for failing to conduct a high-level campaign.

Meanwhile, the press was churning out an unprecedented volume of issueless news. Neither Jimmy Carter nor Gerald Ford could show up at an airport without being besieged by hordes of reporters carrying tape recorders, mini-cameras, forests of microphones. The scene was repeated endlessly. The candidate would step from the ramp and advance to the microphones and cameras set up on the tarmac and would answer a few brief questions — almost invariably questions that had been asked dozens, if not hundreds, of times before, in dozens, if not hundreds, of other cities. And the answers would come back with absolute predictability. Ford: "I have brought you peace and prosperity and I'm asking you to give me a chance to keep it that way." Carter: "We need a government as good and as decent as the American people."

Then the action would begin. Reporters would race to telephones and transmit the same old answers, or non-answers, at speeds of 186,300 miles a second, around the world. And those answers — despite their having been given and reported many times before — became news. You could get them by turning on the radio at almost any hour, in almost any town. You could read them in the newspapers on the campaign trail day after day.

These kinds of reports, and this kind of reporting, have now become so much a part of a modern presidential election campaign that a special designation is certainly in order. And one that seems appropriate comes readily to mind: "junk news." Like junk food, it is mass-produced, has no flavor, little substance. It just fills an empty space — on the air or in paper. A few minutes after consumption you have lost nothing by forgetting what it was.

So here we have the paradox of 1976: the media as a whole presented the nation with a picture of a trivial campaign lacking in important substantive issues. Yet the volume of reporting, in all probability, set a record.

The public got more — of less. And the question is, why? Was the campaign really so cheap and shoddy, so lacking in substance? Or did the press, as a result of weaknesses and predispositions of its own, lose sight of the issues as they were addressed? Or was it a combination — an interaction in which the candidates may have given the media what they thought the media wanted, or would use?

The evidence is that it was a case of weakness playing to weakness. The candidates did not, in fact, conduct campaigns heavily directed to issues. Both conceived the election in personal terms as a question of "who you can trust" — an "issue" important to the public as an outgrowth of the disillusionments of Vietnam and of Watergate. But it is also true that when the candidates did try to address conventional issues, they were often ignored. Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, has said that Carter tried three times to gain attention for what he considered an important issue with a speech on "strengthening of the family." Something always happened to distract reportorial attention, Powell says, and "it never made the networks." But the flow of "junk news" never stopped.

What is going on is a fundamental, and observable, change in the way campaigns are run and the way they are covered. What we have witnessed has been the emergence of the dominance of television in presidential campaigning, and its influence on both candidates and journalists. The candidates were trying to cater to what they thought they had to do. And many journalists were confused about what their proper role should be in a campaign so totally dominated by television. The candidates, both Ford and Carter, ran their campaigns almost totally as media events, designed for television, scheduled for television. The writers were left to pick up the leavings.

The most fundamental conclusion to be drawn from this kind of campaign is that television, despite all of its marvelous capacity to advance communication, is a graveyard for

Black Star

Candidate Carter engages in a media grapple on the tarmac

substantive issues in a political campaign. It's no one's fault. It's the nature of the beast.

Richard Kaplan, a producer for the *CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite* who was assigned to Carter throughout the campaign, puts it simply: "We just can't handle issues the way a newspaper can. A writer can go into all kinds of detail to explain things. We have to have something on that film. And you've got ninety seconds to tell it."

Kaplan ruefully tells of a briefing Carter held during the campaign in which he discussed a proposal to try to make the term of the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board "coterminal" with that of the president — certainly a weighty proposal, a suggestion that some have interpreted as a desire by Carter to politicize the Federal Reserve Board. Says Kaplan: "We never reported that. We couldn't figure a way to do it on television. What do you show, people sitting around a table?"

The emergence of television as the dominant medium has become more and more visible, physically, on the campaign trail, from campaign to campaign, since 1960, when television first began to play a crucially important role. It was in 1960, Nixon vs. Kennedy, that candidates first began to tailor their schedules and their speeches to the rising medium. When a press conference was set up in 1960 the cameramen were in the back. They were observers, photographers of a scene they were there simply to record. Most of the questions came from writers. Television reporters, uncertain of their emerging role, followed the lead of the writ-

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ers — measuring their own performances by whether they had chosen to emphasize the same points. But by 1976 all that had changed. The candidates, in preparing facilities for coverage, often forgot the writing press entirely. The dominant feature of the press conference was the camera, in a preferred position. Many times the space allotted to the writers was behind the camera platform where they could not see as well as anyone in the television audience, and often could not hear what was being said.

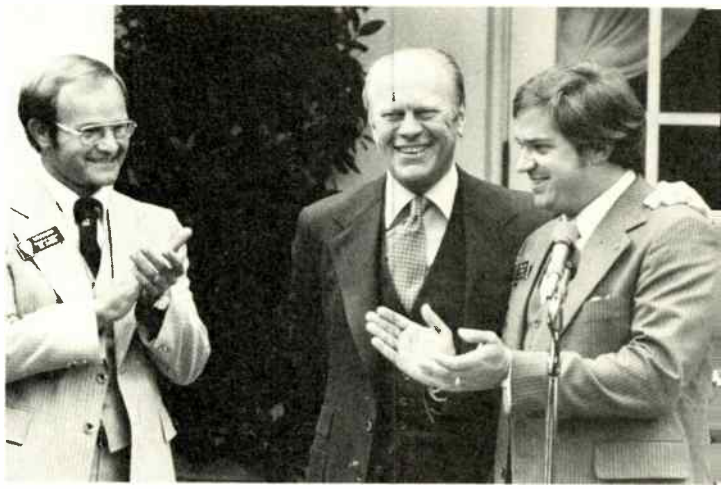
But these situations were merely symbolic of a more important reality. The candidates seldom spoke to issues — because television cannot easily handle issues. What television can handle, on its ninety-second nightly summaries, is charges and counter-charges — brief, succinct, and simple statements. "President Ford has been brainwashed." "Governor Carter's ideas are dangerous to the national security." Television is a medium for drama — artificial or real. It is a medium for political combat.

What we have been seeing is a debasement of the national political dialogue, in which the driving force is the requirements of the nightly, national network news shows. The motivation of the networks is clear enough — to produce drama, to make the news so interesting that people won't turn it off. There has to be a picture, something happening. Anything happening. And any picture, any movement, is better than no picture at all. Thus the networks were easy prey for one of the phoniest political gimmicks aimed at television since Richard Nixon, in the 1968 campaign, contrived phony televised press conferences, with hand-picked Republican questioners, and managed to get away with it.

President Ford's gimmick was what came to be known as the Rose Garden campaign. Ford's political managers contrived to set up bill-signing ceremonies in the White House Rose Garden to try to suggest that Ford was being "presidential" and doing his job, while Carter was rampaging around the country on what Ford meant to suggest was less "significant" business — a campaign. In one of those ceremonies Ford signed a so-called "sunshine" bill, designed to create a more open federal government. It was a bill Ford had not supported in Congress. But the picture presented on at least one of the network shows (CBS), along with Ford's words, created the impression that he was the father of the legislation — which, if Ford had prevailed in Congress, would never have been passed.

The White House orchestrated the Rose Garden signings in a simple way. Ford's managers knew the networks would want to "balance" coverage of the two candidates during the campaign. To control what was available on Ford, the president was produced in public only once a day for a few

Wide World



Campaigning in the Rose Garden: the president with Jaycees

moments in the Rose Garden. The networks had no other options. Carter has complained that his openness, and availability for many hours of a day while campaigning, made him vulnerable. If he was jostled, or if he stumbled, or if he misspoke at any one time during a day, that could be the "news." Ford could not make these kinds of "mistakes" because he had only to put on his act.

The question raised here is one familiar to any newspaper editor. If a story is not legitimate, a good editor spikes it, and is prepared to defend his decision. For the most part, the networks did not have the courage to omit the phony Rose Garden shows, although every reporter involved knew they were phony. They were junk news — a product of the self-imposed imperatives of television.

This is not to argue that the candidates campaigned entirely on lofty issues. They did not. But they did offer more substantive issues than the media, in general, suggested. There were substantive differences between Ford and Carter in virtually every major area of public policy — among them taxes, tax reform, welfare reform, defense spending, abortion, inflation, relations with the Soviet Union, the Middle East, how to deal with the nation's allies.

The question, of course, is what, if anything, can or should be done. Kaplan said CBS found itself in a dilemma. "What do you do if Carter says the big issue is who you can trust?" he asks. "We were in a terrible predicament. We were stuck. . . . We were interested in issues, but Carter couldn't say how he would reorganize the government. He couldn't even say whether you were going to have to pay more taxes." Carter was using television for his own purposes and television executives didn't know what to do about it.

But television is at least in part a victim of its own self-

imposed limitations. There is no law that says the average story must be ninety seconds. Television's insatiable demand for movement and drama is a response in part, one might guess, to a desire to hold the largest possible audience. There is always the fact to face that the viewer can simply get up and turn off the machine. It is probably true, regardless of what TV news executives might try to do, that the nature of the medium limits its capacity to handle substantive issues on a regular basis, as compared with the printed word.

The questions for the writers are more direct. Why has the writing press so casually abandoned its once-dominant role in political campaigns? To this observer, at least, it appears that the writers have not understood what their role can, and should, be. They have not understood that there are some things they do best. They have not understood that the written word is by far the most effective medium for handling substantive issues.

In the grand tradition of pre-television American political writing, the political writers of the nation's major papers specialized in strategy — who was doing what to whom, how campaigns were run, the nuts and bolts of putting together election victories. Many still conceive this to be their primary role, and perhaps it will ever be thus.

But, in retrospect, there should be another message in the 1976 campaign. The writers have a torch to carry, and if they do not carry it, no one will. They are the custodians of substance. They are the custodians of issues. They must seek to draw out the candidates on where they stand. In 1980 they should be saying, let television have its Rose Gardens. We will cover a real campaign. ■

THE DEBATES

A view from the inside

by WALTER R. MEARS

Between laments about the low level and caliber of the 1976 presidential campaign, consider what it would have been had not the tactic of televised debate fitted the strategies of both Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford.

Walter R. Mears is special correspondent for The Associated Press in Washington.

It would have been worse — all *Playboy* and no work. By coincidence, the debates suited both sides this time, for the first time in sixteen years. And we can wait for another coincidence. All it takes is an incumbent president who is thirty-three points behind in the polls, and an opponent who nevertheless figures he may have a recognition problem. Or we can get started on making presidential campaign debates what Ford said they should become, an institution that will be part of the process every four years.

That is a tall, and expensive, order. For openers, there has to be an organization to undertake the task, and it will need money. Otherwise, the idea of debates will belong to future candidates, to be used or shunned according to political need.

So let me offer a debater's proposition: *Resolved,* that in each presidential election, the candidates debate under ground rules that are set in advance, right down to dates and hours.

If debates are to become part of the system, the rules have to be there before there are nominees to haggle about them. You may remember those prophecies that John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon had created with their 1960 debates a precedent sure to be followed by succeeding candidates.

Some precedent. Two of the succeeding candidates were Nixon, and he had learned his lesson about debating. Lyndon B. Johnson didn't want to debate in 1964, and his opponent, Barry Goldwater, let him off the hook by saying that he doubted that an incumbent should debate. "He might just slip and say something inadvertently that could change the course of history," Goldwater said.

Ford may have done just that with his blunder on eastern Europe in the second debate of 1976. If his campaign had not stalled temporarily while he explained that away, he might have won the election. But that, in my view, is what debates are all about, or ought to be.

Mine is the vantage point of a reporter who wrote about the three presidential debates and participated, as a questioner, in the junior varsity show — the debate between the vice-presidential nominees. I came away convinced that the debates are worth doing, and worth doing better. I also am convinced that they will not be repeated soon unless the process of creating an institution begins promptly.

According to Webster, a debate is "a contention, by means of words or arguments." Neither the Kennedy-Nixon nor the Carter-Ford debates were that. They were performances — replies to questions put by third parties — without direct confrontation by the principals.

When there is a next time, I think the debaters should debate and the reporters should report. I'd like to see the candidates one-on-one, with a moderator to enforce rules and time limits.

continued

Neither candidate wanted that in 1976. They wanted to be questioned, and they wanted journalists to do it. Jim Karayn, director of the 1976 debate project for the League of Women Voters Education Fund, said he had hoped to persuade the candidates to debate face to face in the later appearances, but neither side would consent. They also rejected questioning by economists, historians, or political scientists, in the style of a series of public-television panels during the primaries.

Face-to-face debates, with the candidates questioning each other, would be riskier. In the age of television consultants and fine-tuned images, nobody wants to be the heavy. Say that it had been Carter, instead of a questioning columnist, who told President Ford that his economic record was rotten. Carter's media advisers would have shuddered, fearing their candidate was coming on too strong.

In direct debate, there would have to be time limits, and there would have to be an outline of issues to be covered, as in the 1976 debates. Instead of questions from a panel, there could be a detailed agenda of items to be debated. That could be put together by journalists, by economists and foreign-policy experts, and, perhaps, by voters. It would be a catalogue of the topics for the candidates to address, and the moderator could make them stick to it.

The object, after all, is to let the people know what policies they will be buying with their votes. The ability to come up with an instant answer to a tough question may not have much to do with that. It may help measure the man, but so, too, would the ability to ask tough questions, and the right questions, of an opponent.

Perhaps, left on their own, candidates would not debate. Perhaps they would simply give their speeches over again. (They did a lot of that in the 1976 debates.) But if they want to play pattycake, let them be judged on that. I would bet that by the final round in a series the candidate who saw himself losing would be ready to argue.

That theory almost was tested in Williamsburg, in the final Ford-Carter debate, but time ran out. The three Williamsburg panelists had agreed that when they got to the last questions, they would waive their time and ask each candidate to put a question to his opponent. They told the moderator, Barbara Walters, about their plan two minutes before the debate went on the air, but the timing did not work out at the end.

Carter has called the debates "an excellent thing for the country," but he said he would not necessarily want them again in 1980. "I just don't want to commit myself four years ahead of time," he said. His caution is understandable. No sensible candidate is going to confront his opponent as a public service, or to advance the debate as an art form. He is going to do it because he thinks it will help him get elected, or because he has no choice. Unless there is a system in place, the candidates of the future will have the choice. If there is a system, it gets tougher to say no. Here is a plan:

Announce in December 1979 that there will be debates on four dates in the 1980 campaign, beginning shortly after Labor Day. Announce the format. And announce that if one party's candidate chooses not to come, the other can. Bring it off, and if there is only one candidate at the first debate, there surely will be two at the second.

But that is where it gets difficult. How do you create such a plan? How do you generate interest, and financing, for something that will not happen until the fall of 1980, and may not happen at all? What do you do about independent and third-party candidates? Surely there should be a place for the legitimate and substantial challenger to the two major-party nominees.

No doubt, government could stage and pay for the debates directly. Actually, it was already involved this time in the action of the Federal Election Commission that cleared the way for financing of the 1976 debates under league sponsorship, and in the court rulings that kept the minor candidates out.

But the greater the government role, the more the process becomes subject to the interests of the party in power, in Congress and the White House. I think it would be preferable to go the route of the 1976 debates. The League of Women Voters, for all the criticism it encountered, did a good job in difficult circumstances. With help, perhaps with the collaboration of other nonpartisan organizations and foundations, it could provide the nucleus for a new, permanent organization to arrange and produce future debates.

There may be a better way. I am merely suggesting that an effort be made to find one.

It will take money. The league's expenses for the Carter-Ford debates will total more than $275,000. Contributions have not reached half that figure, and the parent organization may wind up paying much of the bill. But it would not take a major change in campaign-finance laws to commit money out of the presidential campaign fund, made up of revenues from the dollar checkoff on tax returns. Since the public already is paying for campaigns, the public has a right to see some of it earmarked for debates, if that is what people want.

I have suggested a system that would take the reporters out of the debates, but I will have to admit one drawback: it would cancel the controversy that produced some of Washington's most entertaining, and least informed, gossip.

It revolved around the game of vetoes. All it took to play was a list of the people who were not among the questioners, and that included some of the most distinguished names in political, economic, and foreign policy reporting. The game was to figure out which candidate had vetoed them.

Karayn, a veteran of network and public television who did a lot to engineer the debates in the first place, insists there was no veto power and no candidate approval of the questioners.

"If the candidates' representatives could prove without the shadow of a doubt that a questioner or the moderator was overwhelmingly, without question, prejudiced in favor of the opponent, we would take that into consideration," he says. He also says that did not happen.

Along with Karayn's insistence, there is another persuasive piece of evidence against overt vetoes by either Ford or Carter: it might have leaked out, and if it had, the results would have been devastating.

There are, of course, other avenues, short of outright veto or prior approval of a list, through which the candidates could have made their wishes known. And I can't say that the message didn't get through.

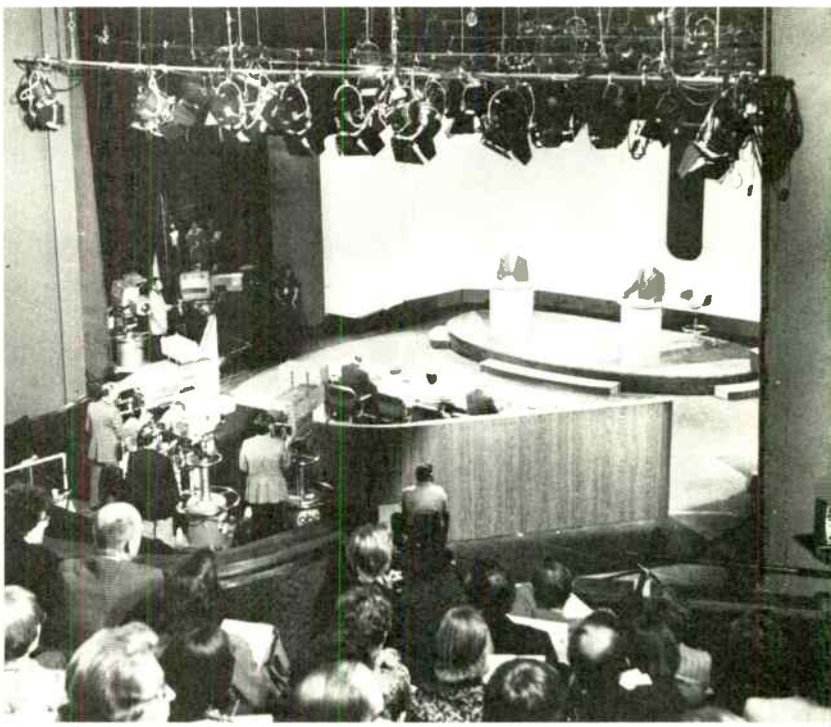
A share of the rumors stemmed from the fact that the candidates *were* invited, at the suggestion of Rita Hauser, co-chair of the debates, to submit lists of potential questioners. They were permitted to offer up to fifteen names in each of three categories: newspaper and wire-service reporters, broadcasters, and magazine reporters and columnists. The lists were to be suggestions only, and they were kept secret. Karayn says the lists were not inclusive, and that many more names were added by the debate sponsors. He says others came from news organizations, and more than a few from volunteers who wanted to be panelists themselves. One journalist sent Karayn's wife a birthday gift.

The debate staff put together a list of prospects for each event, the longest, about 130 names, for the first one, in Philadelphia. By long-distance conference call, six selectors — Mrs. Hauser, Charls Walker, Jr. of Washington, and Newton N. Minow of Chicago, co-chairs of the debate project; Karayn; Ruth C. Clusen, the league president; and Peggy Lampl, the executive director — picked the three questioners and the moderator for each panel. I suspect that Karayn's suggestions usually prevailed, although he says it was a collective judgment.

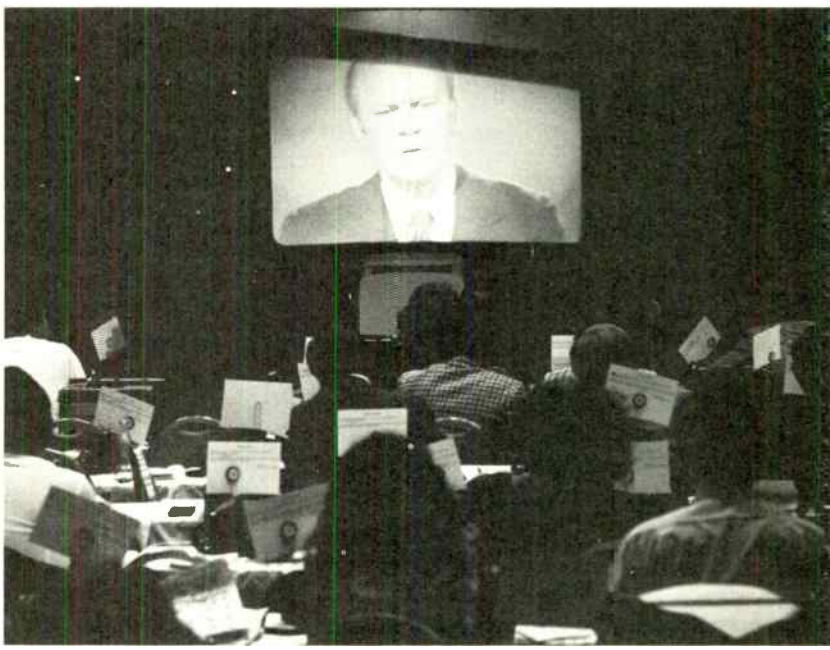
Karayn says none of the questioners chosen for the vice-presidential debate in Houston appeared on the list of suggestions sent in by either campaign camp. He also says that one panelist at the final debate in Williamsburg was assailed by each side as prejudiced for the other.

continued

UPI



Black Star



Top: the candidates, the press, and the audience at the first debate in Philadelphia. In a nearby room reporters watch the debate on TV.

According to Karayn, the questioners were picked as teams, to complement each other. And, he says, there was an effort to make the panels representative geographically. If so, it was a flop. Except for James Hoge, editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times* and moderator of the vice-presidential debate, the panelists all were from Washington or New York. The *Los Angeles Times* was represented on the final panel by its Washington bureau chief, Jack Nelson.

Karayn also maintains, contrary to published reports, that there was no requirement that a woman participate in each panel. He says the league selectors decided that, other things being equal, women would be chosen. On every panel, other things were equal, and either the moderator or a questioner was a woman.

My own invitation to a debate came on October 12, only three days before the vice-presidential match-up in Houston. That provided little time for travel and preparation. But the league, with the help of *The National Journal*, put together dossiers on the candidates and the campaigns, in three-inch thick accordion folders. I had not traveled with either Mondale or Dole. The A.P. reporters who had, Jim Gerstenzang and Tom Raum, gave me a cram course. I finished my questions — nine of them, which was three times as many as I got to ask — in my hotel room in Houston Friday afternoon. Hal Bruno of *Newsweek*, Marilyn Berger, moderator Jim Hoge, and I met twice to discuss questions. We wrote our own, but we talked them over, agreed on who would ask what in cases where there was duplication. We read and edited each other's questions, and discussed the sequence of subjects.

It never occurred to me to do otherwise. I considered it an examination of the candidates, not the questioners. The Philadelphia panelists did not confer on their questions, wary lest there be an impression of prearrangement that might have seemed to the disadvantage of one candidate or the other. In San Francisco, the questioners met to discuss the foreign-policy topics they felt should be covered, but did not discuss specific questions. In both those debates, the leadoff questioner advised his colleagues what his opening question would be. In Williamsburg, as in Houston, the panelists conferred on the questions. I should add that our conferences were strictly secret, no outsiders permitted. We knew each other's questions, but nobody else knew what was going to be asked.

As for the debate itself, I thought it was good duty. A later panelist said in the course of asking a question that he had suffered torture and agony; I certainly didn't.

The pay was below scale — expenses and one debate ticket for a guest of your choice, if you could think of one. I couldn't on the spur of the moment.

There was a clear effort to play down the true nature of the debates which were, after all, television programs. Karayn's instruction sheet counseled that the debate was to be called the event, "not broadcast, program or show." No television monitor was visible to the panelists. No red light told you which, if any, camera was on you.

The reason was simple: to get around equal-time rules, the debates had been billed as news events, open to TV coverage if the networks wanted to drop by. But the minute-by-minute time sheet, distributed in advance, covering seventy-five minutes and fifteen seconds, made clear that it was what it was — a broadcast, program, or show.

After the twenty-seven-minute sound failure in Philadelphia, the debate project installed standby public-address systems in each hall, so that the candidates could go on even if the television could not.

In Philadelphia, according to Karayn, the television and auditorium sound were tied together. But he said he asked Ford and Carter to stay at their lecterns and to resume if he could get a sound system working for the audience in the hall. He couldn't. As it turned out, the auditorium sound systems in both Houston and Williamsburg were so feeble that many in the audience couldn't hear anyhow.

In the end, I think, the identity of the questioners may have made little difference. I think the questions generally were good ones, the sixty-three put to Carter and Ford and the ten asked of Dole and Mondale, but it mattered little who asked them. Any candidate who tried to gauge the questions by the questioners was kidding himself.

In Houston, NBC's Marilyn Berger and I agreed to trade spots on the panel, which would have changed the order of questioning. As it was, the sequence and the assigned topics meant that she couldn't ask a question she wanted to put to Dole about his credentials for office, and I couldn't raise one I wanted to ask Mondale about school busing.

But when Dole's people heard about the switch, they objected, saying they had been preparing on the basis of the original order of questioning. I never did figure out how Dole could prepare for questions I might put as opposed to those Marilyn might ask. Anyhow, the switch was canceled and we went back to the original order. She questioned second, I questioned third. As a result, I asked two questions of Dole, and the second was about his prior criticism of the Nixon pardon. He answered by changing the subject as quickly as possible to describe Vietnam, Korea, and World Wars I and II as "Democrat wars," a comment that became a problem for him.

One final word: I can testify that those of us who questioned the candidates were not nearly so important as we would like to think. Bruno, Hoge, and I made it a point

to stop by a Texas League of Women Voters cocktail party to which we'd been invited after the debate. Nobody recognized us. Bruno hailed a taxi to the Houston airport Saturday morning. "Watch the debate last night?" the cabbie asked him. And The Associated Press reported that one Watler Wears was among the panelists. Just a typo, of course, soon corrected. But it could have stood for all the audience cared. They tuned in to see candidates, not reporters. ■

THE DEBATES

Lessons 1976 can offer 1980

by HERBERT J. GANS

They were not debates, properly speaking, but they were major media events, whose importance requires that they be placed in a larger context: that of the overall campaign and its coverage by the news media, especially television.

In 1976, as in times past, the presidential candidates used the campaign — and its television coverage — to reach the greatest possible number of voters. Thus, they addressed primarily an audience of *general* voters: people who were deciding whether to vote, and for which man, and who judged the candidates on the basis of such criteria as capability and trust. The candidates were less concerned with *issue-oriented* voters who also wanted to know how the candidates stood on specific issues. Moreover, Governor Carter had to move to the right during the campaign and President Ford to the left, while not needlessly alienating the people who nominated each of them, thus making their campaign statements even more general, or fuzzy, or both.

Television news also tries to reach the largest possible audience, with the unintended result that its campaign coverage is also pegged more to general than to issue-oriented voters. In addition, for reasons built into the structure of broadcasting, it must select and in some ways refract the candidates' words and actions. For one thing, television news must be fair; consequently, its journalists — as well as those from other news media — covered the 1976 campaign primarily as a horse race, constantly assessing who was ahead and behind, and virtually ignoring such judgmental questions as whether the candidates were speaking about the issues that faced the country.

Also, since news must be novel, the news media could not continuously cover the candidates' endlessly repeated set speeches. Instead, journalists questioned the candidates when they were available, and looked for unusual and dramatic incidents, notably the mistakes candidates made as they raced back and forth across the United States. As a result, the news media once again served an important but unplanned function in the campaign itself: to test the candidates for their ability to avoid mistakes, or their ability to deal with errors, once made.

Whether or not the journalists were testing the candidates' ability to be president, or helping the voters make up their minds remains to be seen. Still, some surveys have suggested that even though many voters were concerned with the candidates' capabilities, Carter's and Ford's mistakes did not significantly affect the choice at the ballot box. Conversely, some leading journalists were unhappy with the campaign and the way it was reported. They complained about the lack of attention to issues and the emphasis on trivia, although they blamed the candidates more than the news media or, for that matter, the pursuit of the general audience in which both the media and the candidates were involved.

The debates must be viewed within this context. The journalist-questioners, free of the need to compete for the audience, behaved like issue-oriented voters; many asked searching questions about a variety of issues. The candidates were not required to answer, however; rather, they delivered bits and pieces from set speeches and briefing books that often bore only limited relevance to the questions and almost always veered away from controversial themes. The candidates' reason for participating in the debates, after all, was to persuade the largest number and dissuade the fewest number among general voters. Once over, the debates became news and their coverage followed the daily campaign format, for the news media paid major attention to candidate mistakes, and like the pollsters, treated the debates as contests, and thus as part of the larger horse race.

Nevertheless, the debates seem to have served a useful purpose for the voters. How they served issue-oriented as compared with general voters is impossible to determine, but the programs obtained a large and steady audience. Since most viewers do not tune to the network evening news every day, they could not have kept up with the 1976 campaign on a daily basis, but a large audience did keep up with the debates. Nielsen tabulations indicate a total, for each average minute, of 70, 64, and 63 million persons for the three debates, suggesting that only 10 percent of the audience tuned out after the first debate. Moreover, most

continued on page 28

Herbert J. Gans, professor of sociology at Columbia University and senior research associate at the Center for Policy Research, is completing a book about the national news media.

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Someday soon, when you make a phone call, your voice may be carried between telephone offices as pulses of light over a hair-thin glass fiber.

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To generate the light carried by the fibers, they developed a tiny, solid-state laser smaller than a grain of salt. (Today's design is expected to operate continuously for ten years or more.)

To put information onto the light beam, they designed equipment that turns the tiny laser on and off millions of times a second.

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viewers stayed with each debate from beginning to end, for the Nielsen figures show an audience loss of only about 10 percent between the first and last half hours of each debate. (The vice-presidential debate, on the other hand, attracted only 43 million persons for each average minute, and lost about 18 percent of its audience between the first and last half hours.)

The impact of the debates on the election was apparently more limited, although data presently available are somewhat ambiguous. The CBS Election Day survey asked voters leaving the polls to pick three reasons for their voting choice from a list of six, and found that altogether only 10 percent picked "I was impressed by him in the debates" — less than for any other reason. Also, 12 percent said that they had made up their minds about their choice during the debates. Conversely, the NBC Election Day survey reported that about a third of the voters said they had made up their minds as a result of the debates, but about half indicated that the debates had no effect at all. Three percent of the voters interviewed by NBC said they had switched candidates as a result of the debates; a pre-election *New York Times*-CBS survey also set this figure at 3 percent. As in 1960, the debates appear to have reinforced rather than changed voter attitudes.

It is difficult to judge the debates until data are available about what kinds of useful impressions and information the voters obtained from the debates that they did not obtain from daily coverage by the various news media and from other sources. Consequently, I shall make a personal judgment: that, given the general tenor of daily campaign reportage, the debates should have been constructed so as to require the candidates to discuss the country's major issues. My issue-oriented preference may not be shared by general voters, or by the candidates, but it suggests some proposals for future debates.

To begin with, the debates should become a regular feature of election campaigns, but if their purpose is a wider discussion of issues, they should not be limited to the major-party candidates. Minor-party candidates — or at least those running in half of the states — should have a chance to debate each other and the major-party candidates.

In addition, changes in format are worth considering. At least one session might be devoted to a real debate, with only a moderator to keep the peace and to discourage undue speechmaking. This would present one acceptable risk — that the format would favor the more articulate candidate, although he or she might not necessarily make the best president. Another possibility would be to retain the present format, but to require the candidates to answer the questions put to them by the journalists, with the moderator responsible for judging their compliance. This would force candidates to face the issues more squarely, but would also considerably enlarge the questioners' role in the debates, and thus in the election campaign itself.

Whether journalists should play an increased role in the campaign can, however, be argued, for they are not, after all, elected or appointed to be campaign participants. Enlarging their role would also take them further away from their assigned role of reporting the news. One possible solution is to replace journalist-questioners with politicians, having senators and governors (not running for reelection that year) from one party questioning the opposition party's presidential candidate, while minor-party candidates could be questioned by a mixture of major- and minor-party politicians. In order to discourage the hunt for debate winners and losers, sessions in which questioners confront each candidate individually would be appropriate.

If I were asked to propose an overall plan for the 1980 election, I would suggest two 1976-style debates for all presidential candidates running in at least half the states, two more for only the major-party candidates, two sessions in which the latter are questioned individually — and an election eve television special in which all candidates make final, live presentations to the voters.

Aside from the question of candidates' willingness to debate six times and other political complications this proposal raises, it also requires television to preempt more entertainment programs, but this is no more than television should be expected to do as part of its public-service requirement. In return, the networks could recoup some of their losses by reducing the daily coverage of the campaign, or by covering it through pool arrangements. This might discourage the candidates from rushing around the country and driving themselves to exhaustion in the effort to appear on evening news programs. Equally important, the television journalists might be able to devote time to more important stories, including an examination of the leeways and limits of presidential power, so as to give the voters a better understanding of the meaning of their vote — and of the presidency. This might reduce the impression, fostered both by the news media and the candidates, that presidents can affect American life as much as they promise to do in their campaigns.

My proposals are intended to encourage a more issue-oriented campaign, but the general voters should also have their say. Consequently, they ought to be asked, by someone, to evaluate the debates, the campaign, and the news-media campaign coverage, both to make suggestions for the future, and to initiate new public discussion about how America ought to elect its presidents. ■

THE POLLS

Learning to live with the numbers

by PHILIP MEYER

We have come a long way in the reporting of public-opinion polls. Eight years ago, in the *Review*, I was able to pile one horrible instance on another in describing how reporters fell for the simplest traps laid by partisan sources with biased data. The errors then arose from failure to obey traditional journalistic rules of looking behind the offerings of political pitchmen with candidates to sell. Numbers in polls were regarded as something awesome, not subject to question by mere word people.

All of that has been outgrown now. Reporting of the polls in the 1976 presidential campaign was done for the most part with appropriately informed skepticism. When polls were sponsored by a candidate or his supporters, readers were so informed. When differences between two opposing candidates were within the margin of sampling error, that was usually pointed out. When the timing of a poll was relevant to the story at hand, reporters were quick to notice. In 1968, such caution was the exception, not the rule.

What has happened to bring about the change? It is obvious that reporters and editors have done some homework. And one thing that has enabled them to do that homework is their increasing use of — or at least familiarity with — quantitative methods in news gathering. Newspapers from New York to Dubuque have adapted the pollsters' methods for their own information-gathering purposes and have gained new sophistication in the process. There are still problems in poll reporting, but they are exceedingly subtle when compared with the blunders of campaigns past. While considering this new order of problems, we may at the same time rejoice that the news business has progressed to the point where difficulties of a more refined nature can be considered at all.

The proliferation of polls created a new competitive atmosphere in 1976. CBS News and *The New York Times* joined forces for a series of primary Election Day polls and national telephone surveys between the conventions and the general election. NBC mounted a similar effort and sold its data to a half-dozen newspaper organizations. There were also national polls by Louis Harris for ABC, by Burns Roper for Public Broadcasting Corporation, by Yankelovich, Skelly, and White for *Time* magazine, and by Knight-Ridder Newspapers for its two news wires. The Associated Press commissioned Chilton Research for measurement of the effect of the debates and tried its own Election Day poll in November. *The Washington Post* fielded some primary-day surveys of its own.

One consequence of all this activity was that it was difficult to conduct and analyze a poll at a measured, scholarly pace. In 1972, at *The Miami Herald*, we were content to have our interviewers mail their ballots to us when the polls closed on the Florida primary, so that we could, in a reasonably relaxed manner, tabulate, analyze, and write about them for the following Sunday. In 1976 it became technically and economically feasible to get those ballots into the computer on election night and a story into the paper the next day. And, since it was possible, we all did it, of course.

While the results of such high-speed analysis were fairly good, there were embarrassing moments. Not everybody got the same answers in every case. In Florida, for example, a key question was whether Jimmy Carter, who had drawn the conservative vote in the New England primaries, could attract the liberals in the South. According to the NBC and *Washington Post* polls, Carter won a plurality of the liberal vote in Florida, while the CBS-*Times* poll had him splitting it almost evenly with Henry Jackson. The discrepancy was too great to be explained by sampling error. One theory, favored by CBS, is that other surveys lost control of field operations by using too many sampling locations; CBS had only fifteen while NBC had 100. Another theory, supported by NBC, is that one or more CBS sample points fell in Jewish neighborhoods where support for Jackson created an unrepresentative picture of the liberal vote. The different numbers led, of course, to different words. Writing from NBC data, I said in *The Miami Herald*, "Carter was 10 to 20 percentage points stronger among voters on the liberal side of most-issues than he was among conservatives." *The New York Times* decided that "Mr. Carter's constituency was centrist in its political outlook." And *The Washington Post* found: "Carter was the clear choice of the liberals."

For those who are suspicious of quantitative methods anyway, such a discrepancy may seem proof that the whole business of using polls to cover elections is nonsense. To those of us who are committed to counting and measuring, it proves just the reverse. When political reporters had nothing to go on but intuition, conventional wisdom, and each other's opinions, the fact that they generally all reached the

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Philip Meyer, a correspondent for the Knight-Ridder Newspapers, wrote "Truth in Polling" in the Summer 1968 Review.

CITIVIEWS

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

Quidnuncs

It seems odd that so useful a word should be unfamiliar to most Americans, considering our intense concern nowadays with the matter of privacy. It comes from the Latin *quid nunc*—what now?—and is defined in Webster's as "one who seeks to know all the latest news or gossip." There is a widespread belief that our own era is on the way to becoming the Quidnuncs' Golden Age.

Curiosity is privacy's natural enemy. Yet, unfortunately for our cultural peace of mind, the average person is endowed simultaneously with a large measure of the former and a strong desire to preserve the latter. E. L. Godkin, a well-known nineteenth-century journalist, expressed it like this:

As soon in the progress of civilization as men left the tent, or wigwam, or tribal dwelling, and retreated into private houses, a desire on the part of their neighbors to know what was going on in the private houses sprung up rapidly and has flourished ever since the world over.

As an editor, writing in 1890, Godkin was concerned with the threat to privacy that he perceived in the appearance of "a particular class of newspapers [that] has converted curiosity into what economists call an effectual demand, and gossip into a marketable commodity." Godkin's pessimism about privacy's chances of surviving the new onslaught helped to inspire a young lawyer named Louis Brandeis to write for the *Harvard Law Review* a famous paper first defining privacy as the "right to be let alone" and arguing that ample defense for it could be found in our common law.

"The common law has always recognized a man's house as his castle, impregnable, often, even to its own officers engaged in the execution of its commands," Brandeis wrote. "Shall the courts thus close the front entrance to constituted authority, and open wide the back door to idle or prurient curiosity?"

As it turned out, the answer was, "yes." In the next half-century, courts increasingly decided conflicts between privacy and freedom of the press in the press's favor, recognizing that the Constitution, in providing for a free press, necessarily left questions of responsible self-restraint to be decided entirely by the press itself; that any restraint other than the self-imposed variety is, in fact, an antonym of freedom.

In this respect, the pessimistic journalist proved a better prophet than the optimistic lawyer. "In truth, there is only one remedy for the violations of the right to privacy within the reach of the American public, and that is but an imperfect one," Godkin wrote. "It is to be found in attaching social discredit to invasions of it. . . . At present this check can hardly be said to exist."

It is just possible that something has now appeared that is helping to create such checks—and from an entirely unexpected source. As unlikely, in fact, as the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, which during World War II commissioned scientists at the University of Pennsylvania to develop equipment for calculating trajectory tables. The result, in 1946, was ENIAC, the world's first electronic computer. It was soon clear, of course, that electronic computers can keep track of a good deal more than artillery shells, and civilization was launched into a new adventure.

A substantial number of people have come to believe that computers may now be keeping track of entirely too much. Themselves, for example. So long as threats to privacy came chiefly from the press, they were of personal concern to the relatively few people who found their names in print or, later on, the even fewer who became involved with television. The computer is changing this.

Almost everyone now suspects that details of his or her personal affairs are recorded in some computer's memory bank—and the thought is disquieting. Suddenly, for the first time since the rise of the penny press and

the gossip columnist, privacy has become everybody's business. More people now have, as a counterweight to their natural curiosity, a new sense of urgency about protecting their own privacy. They have begun to demand that the meaning of privacy be more precisely defined, and that their rights to it be both respected by others and enforced by the laws.

This insistence is based on more than a simple objection to "strangers poking around in my personal affairs." Such fears might be easily assuaged by pointing out that the software of a computer program provides infinitely more protection for everybody's records than the manila folders in steel filing cabinets to which we've long been accustomed. If the real concern were secrecy, then the electronic computer with its tangle of sophisticated software might be perceived as a powerful new weapon in secrecy's defense. But there is more to the problem.

A clue to the larger question may lie in one especially interesting aspect of the contemporary debate: the insistence on disclosure. Through such legislation as the Freedom of Information Act, the Truth in Lending Act, and the Privacy Act of 1974, the people are demanding to know what the files and the memory banks say about them. They have begun to assert this right not only with respect to government agencies, but also to schools, banks, credit bureaus, personnel departments, insurance companies, and almost every other institution. It is as though we are indeed all members of a great global village and, like villagers from time immemorial, are annoyed by what we suspect the village gossip is saying about us. We are asking around to see if our suspicions can be confirmed. If they are, we will decide what to do next.

Traditionally, what often happened next was that the town gossip got punched in the nose, dunked in the pond, or tarred and feathered. It is hard to imagine what the modern equivalent may prove to be, but it seems safe to predict that some of our quidnuncs are in for a rough time. People who go around demanding to know "what now?" better be prepared to justify their questions, and to specify clearly what they intend to do with the answers.

This will be equally true at the front entrance—which proved to be less tightly closed to "constituted authority" than Brandeis originally believed. When he later came to argue, as Mr. Justice Brandeis in 1928, that "the right to be let alone" should inhibit government wiretappers, the majority of his Supreme Court colleagues disagreed. In 1967, however, the Court changed its mind, concluding that "the underpinnings of [the 1928 decision] have been so eroded. . . that the 'trespass' doctrine there enunciated can no longer be regarded as controlling" and Brandeis's viewpoint finally prevailed.

There will be similar erosions. At the risk of special pleading, we might even be so bold as to point to a likely one: the recent Supreme Court decision (U.S. vs. Miller) concerning the government's authority to examine your bank records. "The lack of any legitimate expectation of privacy concerning the information kept in bank records was assumed by Congress. . . ." the Court concluded, among other things. If such an assumption was ever justified, we suspect that it will not be much longer.

The American people have always viewed government omnipotence as an intolerable threat to individual freedom. They have repeatedly placed limits on their own government's use of its inherent power. If they now decide that an omniscient government is just as dangerous, public officials may discover that they are no longer allowed to know everything they are capable of finding out.

It is a little early to tell, but the quidnuncs may not have us yet.

Meet the Foun

Gilbert Stuart, MRS. JOHN ADAMS (detoil). National Gallery of Art. Gift of Mrs. Robert Homans 1954.

Susan Sedgwick, ELIZABETH FREEMAN. Courtesy Masssachusetts Historical Society, Boston. (photo: National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.)

John Singleton Copley, MARY AND ELIZABETH ROYALL (detail). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

ding Mothers.


Henry Inman.
PORTRAIT OF A SQUAW AND CHILD.
Courtesy Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Mass.

You're looking at a small part of an art exhibition and historical survey titled "Remember the Ladies."

It shows the art and craft of, and about, the Revolutionary women from 1750 to 1815.

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same conclusions did not make them more likely to be right. The competitive use of polls under time pressure is a healthy development precisely because it does not permit us to compare notes and reach consensus. Different interpretations are visible in the marketplace and are forced to compete. Moreover, every inference and interpretation is based on a traceable trail of observation and logic. It is precisely because errors can be detected and perhaps accounted for that this kind of reporting has the advantage over traditional seat-of-the-pants methods.

Credit for the new speed of the Election Day polls must be given to the networks. Their interviewers, after sampling voters outside polling places, phoned the numbers to operators who keyed them directly into computer memory. Newspaper clients had only to address that memory from a remote terminal, linked by telephone, to get the counts and cross tabulations. Some of the networks' newspaper clients found that the necessary hardware already existed in the offices of their advertising or research departments. R. W. Apple of the *Times* even carried a portable terminal on his travels.

The key to learning to write from quantitative data may not be special training so much as a basic interest in and curiosity about the underlying subject matter. Without this interest, a reporter may look at the pile of computer printout on his desk and treat it and not the election as the news story. The result is to flit from one number to another without much coherent connection to the real world. Consider this early example from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* after the Wisconsin primary:

> Sixty-five percent of respondents who voted for Carter said they believed that the federal government was so big that some of its power should be taken away.
>
> In addition, Carter was the choice of 50 percent of the respondents who said that one of the reasons they voted for a particular candidate was the belief that he was "not a typical politician."

This extract is difficult to understand on two counts. First, the percentages are not significant in themselves; they need to be compared with percentages of other groups — either the population as a whole or respondents who did not vote for Carter. Second, the writer has added to the confusion by switching his base in mid-thought: The first paragraph gives a percentage of Carter voters, the second a percentage of those who held a particular issue position. When numbers are batted around like that, it puts an intolerable strain on the reader.

The New York Times, also writing from polling data in Wisconsin, was careful to use issues and attitudes for the percentage base, as in the phrase, ". . . his [Carter's] support tended to come from those on the conservative side of issues. . . ." But in the same day's paper, an article on the *Times*-CBS poll in the New York primary based all the percentages the other way: "The Jackson voter . . . thought of himself as a moderate or a conservative more than those who said they had voted for Mr. Udall or Mr. Carter." The New York story was not only confusing but impossible to compare with the Wisconsin report. But the *Times* and other newspapers quickly settled down to a consistent and intuitively satisfying format, one that reported the candidates' standings within different groups of voters.

It was the search for causes, rather than the traditional desire to predict the winner, that motivated most of the journalistic polls. The Election Day survey is ideal for this purpose. When interviewing is done at the polling place, voters are easy to find and identify, and the thoughts they had while voting are still fresh in their own minds. Moreover, the accuracy of such a poll is subject to an almost instantaneous check of its validity: if the sample has been properly drawn and the right interviews conducted, the distribution of candidate choice in the poll should be about the same as in the election.

However, when it came time to fill that small space in the paper which explains how the poll was conducted and why the editors believed it was accurate, newspapers were remarkably reticent. Sample sizes, statistical error, and interviewing procedures were generally covered, but not the simple check that tells at a glance how well the poll did at measuring the real world.

This issue of methodological sidebars is complicated. In 1968, I advocated, at least implicitly, the adoption of the polling industry's standards of disclosure. These standards call for publication of the sample size, response rate, definition of the population sampled, identity of the sponsor, exact wording of questions, allowance for sampling error, identification of findings based on subsamples, and the method and timing of the interviewing. In the years that followed, I found myself adhering to that list less and less. I still believe that pollsters should be expected to reveal all this and more about the part of their work that finds its way into the news. But I do not believe that each item on the list needs to be reported in each newspaper story about a poll. A typical story from a newspaper's own poll in 1976, for example, might be based on fifty different questions probing for attitudes and issue positions that explain the structure of a candidate's support. To give the exact wording of each question would take excessive space. Moreover, the examination of the structure of support requires looking at findings based on many subsamples of the population: blacks, Catholics, opponents of the Nixon pardon, abortion defenders, and so on. To give a sample size and margin of error for each subgroup would also require more footnoting

than a newspaper can handle.

I have learned that sampling error may be the least important source of error in a survey. Things happen in the field that distort the neat statistical model of a population. So I would now amend the disclosure list to include: sponsorship, timing, sample size, a listing of the more serious sources of error, and, most importantly, the result of any external check of validity that might be available. In the case of an Election Day poll, comparing the poll with the actual vote would be the obvious external check. Only if the poll has that right are we entitled to believe that conclusions about the various subgroups will be on the mark.

In general, editors observe most of the standards. The Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, and the National Council on Public Polls analyzed 270 newspaper stories dealing with polls during the campaign year. In 90 percent of the reports, the sponsor was identified. Timing was specified in 83 percent; sample size, in 83 percent. The population being sampled was described in 99 percent.

An election outcome can also be a test of validity for a pre-election poll if the poll is very close to the time of the election. I know of no newspaper polls that flunked this test in 1976, although the *Times* can be chided for not revealing the figures that would have made the test possible. Throughout the final campaign, the *Times* reported the Carter-Ford standing for all sorts of subsamples but never for the population as a whole. The national editor, David R. Jones, denies that the motive was to avoid a check that might prove the poll wrong. "We do not feel our contribution lies in focusing on the horse race," he says.

At Knight-Ridder, we began the campaign year with that same philosophy, and our first poll, in January, 1976, omitted the horse-race numbers, pairing Ford and Reagan against possible Democratic contenders only within subgroups. But alert editors were quickly able to deduce who was ahead by looking at the subgroups. In subsequent stories, we revealed the horse-race numbers without making them the central focus. For good measure, we calculated the horse-race numbers in the *Times* poll and reported those, too.

For the syndicated pollsters, the increasing interest of newspapers in the subtleties of polling data has produced a demand for detailed information that they are not always prepared to meet. Nevertheless, some things came out that would not have been revealed when reporters knew less about what to ask and the result was a new awareness of the human decisions in polling. For example, when the Gallup poll switched to a fast method of data collection after the conventions, some late-reporting sample points got left out,

introducing a small apparent bias against Carter. When this flaw became the subject of news stories, the Gallup family reacted defensively and refused to give information about subsequent polls that would help reporters assess the problem. "You don't report the sample points that don't come in," said Alec Gallup, vice-president of The Gallup Organization and son of the founder. "That's never been done." The reason it had never been done, of course, was that reporters had never been in the habit of asking. That is changing, and there will be increasingly less patience with pollsters who insist that only their numbers are news while the processes that created the numbers are not.

A few years ago, when polls first became widely used by political candidates, it was feared that the findings would be used for subtle manipulation of the public mood. It now appears that use of polls by news media can inhibit that sort of thing or at least keep it in the open. In the campaign just ended, the newspaper polls and the candidates' polls pointed to the same strategic situation for Carter: he could benefit by pressing the Watergate issue and by moving Mondale to a position of higher visibility. Carter rejected the former advice and accepted the latter. Had he blindly followed every move dictated by the polls, it would have been apparent that he was doing so, and he would have seemed even more indecisive than he did. In California, campaign advisors for the successful Senate candidate, S. I. Hayakawa, admitted faking poll data to make their candidate seem stronger than he was. The solution to that problem is the same as in any other case of political lying: more and better information so that truth and falsehood can grapple. Polling by news media enhances the opportunity for a fair and free encounter.

As the proliferation of polls makes the complexities of polling more visible, readers may become less enchanted with polls, and that, too, would be a healthy outcome. Some will tune out; those still paying attention will be forced to notice the uncertainties and complexities, and the power of polls to mislead or manipulate will not seem nearly as threatening. ■

continued

CAMPAIGN

THE POLLS

How do you feel about how you feel?

by LAURENCE I. BARRETT

Commentaries in a number of newspapers and magazines show that the trade is feeling pangs of guilt over important aspects of 1976 campaign coverage. Writers as diverse as the *New York Post*'s James Wechsler, *The Washington Post*'s Charles B. Seib, and *The Village Voice*'s Ken Auletta have been wondering aloud — or crying out loud, in Auletta's case — about journalism's gratuitous contributions to the electorate's boredom. These and other critics argue that news organizations overplayed faults and fluffs, underplayed really important distinctions between the candidates, and dampened the entire procedure with fogbanks of evenhanded negativism.

The indictment is strong, but it misses one important count. To an astonishing degree, the coverage slighted the candidates themselves and fixed on the voters instead. With increasingly sophisticated polls and admirable legwork, the networks, the larger newspapers, and magazines insisted on telling the electorate what it felt and why. The results were often fascinating, if occasionally contradictory. (In mid-November, for instance, a post-election installment of the *New York Times*-CBS poll concluded that pre-election analyses of why people were reluctant to vote were largely wrong.) Historians studying 1976 will have more data in which to wallow than ever before.

But voters are not social scientists or statistical analysts. During an election in which they had difficulty making up their minds, the press owed them as much information and intelligent analysis as possible to assist in decision-making. Of course, there was no quantitative shortage of straight reporting. But there is a limit to what can be conveyed and a much lower limit to what can be absorbed. With such heavy emphasis placed on candidates' foibles and the public's blahs, the campaign decomposed into mush.

One contribution to decomposition was the effort to tell the audience — instantly, if possible — what it thought of the televised debates. While commentators such as Roger Mudd and Bill Moyers pronounced the encounters dull and dreary, other efforts were made to find who "won." The Public Broadcasting System had "typical" citizens in place to tell the rest of the citizens how ordinary folks thought the principals had done. PBS also retained The Roper Organization to poll listeners; the results were available in half an hour, partly because Roper's interviewers began their telephone calls before the debates ended. Thus the guidance offered to millions consisted less of discussion of the merits of the encounter than of the instantaneous responses of a few hundred people, many of whom had not even seen the entire debate. In a syndicated column published before the third debate, Louis Harris found that "whether [Carter] wins or loses each debate, the doubts about him continue to increase." Harris documented his conclusion, but at the same time made one wonder what "win" or "lose" could mean in such a context.

The dominance of electorate-watching over candidate-watching was shown clearly in *The New York Times* on the Sunday before the election. Three page-one campaign stories focused on the tightness of the contest, on swings in popular attitudes, and on learned explanations — based on the CBS-*Times* poll — of why independent voters were clinging to their independence. One of these, with two columns of text and two charts, dealt with popular perceptions of economic issues. Down in paragraph eight, the writer pointed out that the survey was concluded "before an unusually large percentage of voters . . . had made up their minds." Their decisions, the story said (apparently with no irony intended), "stand to have a significant effect on Tuesday's voting."

Too often, all such gazing at the popular mood produced a bottom line of zero. For example, in mid-October, *Newsday*'s poll story began: "Jimmy Carter is maintaining a firm lead over President Ford [in New York State]." On the same page, the political editor, Dick Zander, began a companion piece: "Despite polls showing Jimmy Carter with a comfortable lead . . . New York State politicians feel the state's 41 electoral votes are up for grabs." It was all very balanced; each article canceled out the other.

Analysts were far more certain about where to put blame for apathy. A lead story in *The Washington Post*'s "Outlook" section on that final Sunday was typically self-absolving: "Apathy is a word invented by politicians to explain why people are not fascinated by them."

In fact, "apathy" became a dominant noun in 1976 largely because of pollsters' and journalists' puzzlement

Laurence I. Barrett is the New York regional bureau chief for Time *magazine.*

over the electorate's refusal to be read like a wire-service bulletin. A principal text for most of the fall preachments was a survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, the results of which came out around Labor Day. The poll predicted up to 50-percent nonparticipation in the election and showed that voters respected dead political heroes far more than those alive and available. The poll itself seems to have been a solid piece of work. However, the interviewing had been done late in July, between the two national conventions, when there was no Republican nominee and when Carter was 35 percentage points ahead of Ford in the Harris poll. That was a fantasy period, a time of volatile statistics. Yet a snapshot of the public's mood at that moment formed the basis of much of the discussion of the electorate's attitude two months later, when a real contest was under way.

Told repeatedly that they were "dozing," that the campaign was "empty," "barren," or "petty," that they were "unable to tell David from Goliath," that two-thirds of them believe that those "running the country don't really care" what happens to people — told all that in headline and commentary, voters who did cast ballots must be considered heroically ornery.

Next time around, journalists will have to decide whether the trend toward ever closer scrutiny of the electorate should continue or whether it would be prudent to divert resources back to the main business of election coverage. The latter course may be tedious to reporters and editors. Understandably, they get bored with "issues" after the tenth hearing during the primaries. But the voters perhaps will find the change — dare one use the word? — interesting. ■

THE TURNOUT

What became of that 'heavy vote'?

by JAY ROSENSTEIN

On Tuesday, November 2, 1976, the nation's weather was bright and in most areas long lines of voters were reported. "I've never seen anything like it in the thirty years I've worked at the polls," said a voting warden in Boston's Beacon Hill. In New York City, an election official bubbled: "Terrific! It's terrific, I'm telling you. The biggest turnout I've seen, I don't know, I think since one of the Roosevelt things." A California county official said, "Maybe this means a resurgence of people who care." In California, the original turnout prediction of 79 percent was quickly revised to 85–87 percent by midday.

The Associated Press and United Press International gathered these glowing reports from their local and state bureaus. Because what happens at polling places is the only "news" during Election Day, the afternoon papers pushed the national story. The evening network news programs picked up the story at 6:30 P.M. While NBC's John Chancellor limited his report to a declarative, "It looks as though we have a big story on our hands tonight. The voters are going to the polls in what may turn out to be record numbers. . . ." Walter Cronkite over at CBS went much further. Calling the turnout "immense," Cronkite cited "reports indicating it could be even a modern record." Then Cronkite introduced four regional correspondents' reports, each of whom quoted election officials in various states as saying the voting was "heavy." In the East, Jim Kilpatrick reported New York might have the highest turnout in sixteen years and Massachusetts might set a new record with a 90-percent turnout. In the South, Betsy Aaron said, voter turnout was expected to be heavy "and then some." In the Midwest, Randy Daniels reported, Ohio officials predicted a 90-percent turnout. In the West, Murray Fromson said, voter-registration officials expected the turnout to exceed the vote of four years before. The early editions of the Wednesday papers were, of course, no different.

Faced with evidence of heavy turnout, the press prematurely sought to explain why. Said Cronkite: "Apathy, so much discussed in the early weeks of the campaign, [is] apparently disappearing in these close, last few days." Or perhaps, it was suggested, the heavy vote was a backlash against the pundits, some of whom had even spoken of a turnout under 50 percent. *Newsweek*, which closed its election issue on Wednesday, quoted an A.F.L.-C.I.O. political director: "People got tired of the media hammering at them about how apathetic they were." And then *Newsweek* quoted an aide to California Governor Jerry Brown. "Maybe turning out was a way of getting back at the pollsters," he said.

As it turned out, apathy had not gone away. The pollsters, by and large, were right. The steady fall in voter participation continued. (Shortly after the election, David R. Jones, the national editor of *The New York Times*, seemed to be making an effort to redefine what a "heavy vote" was. He argued that the *Times*'s treatment was correct because there had been a "common consensus" that turnout would be below 1972 levels. Therefore, he

Jay Rosenstein is a reporter for Time *magazine in New York.*

suggested, early readings on Election Day that put the vote above such forecasts justified a *Times* second-edition headline, CARTER LEADS IN HEAVY VOTE.)

The final turnout among voting-age population was 53.3 percent, two percentage points lower than the Nixon landslide of 1972 (55.4 percent), and nearly ten percentage points below 1960. This, despite the fact that roughly 80 million people voted, up two million and 3.3 percent over 1972. The percentage of turnout declined because the voting-age population meanwhile had grown by more than nine million people.

Some of the states where there were boasts of a heavy vote — New York, Illinois, California — actually cast fewer ballots than four years ago. Remember that Boston warden? Boston's total vote was off by 20,000 from 1972. California had the biggest percentage drop among the voting-age population, to 49.6 percent, off 9.5 percentage points. New York dropped to 50.0, down 6.6 points. Similarly, Ohio, Florida, and Pennsylvania all showed lower percentages. How could these states have produced reports of heavy turnout?

Stephen Isaacs, in a front-page analysis in *The Washington Post* two days after the election, did not provide an answer, but he did state the problem. "Media reports," he wrote, "were totally in error." He noted that the percentage of voter turnout had increased over that of four years ago in only fourteen states, and ten of these fourteen were in the South.

Philip Meyer of the Knight Newspapers' Washington bureau had used projections of pollster Louis Harris in writing his election-night story and had been right on the mark. (Harris himself had successfully cautioned ABC and *Time* magazine against the "heavy turnout" story. His sample of 300 precincts told him in mid-evening that the turnout would be below that of 1972. *Time* had come close to killing a story on the "non-voters" because of the apparent heavy vote.) Meyer wrote that when officials used words like "fantastic" and "unbelievable" to describe voter turnout, those "judgments often were based on subjective observations by precinct officials."

Exactly right. All that reporters need in order to do a better job is some common sense and an understanding of voting numbers. Without question, polling-place officials are poor sources for a voter-turnout estimate. Even the heads of city, county, or state operations are only making guesses based on past experiences. They may forget to take into account the increase in the voting-age population. Or they may wrongly compare their impressions of presidential voting with the relative quiet of off-year Election Days over the previous three years. Long lines may be caused by no more than confusion or the failure of a precinct to acquire a needed additional voting machine.

When Harris voted at 3 P.M. at his polling place on Manhattan's East Side, he was number 380 for the day. He was told by a poll worker, "Your namesake is going to be wrong about the turnout." After Harris identified himself, the worker, a first-timer, insisted that it was a massive turnout. Harris asked him how he knew. "Well, look at all these people," the fellow said. "It's gotta be." Harris says that not only are poll workers likely to use small turnouts in primaries as a basis for comparison, but they also feel that "since they're working so hard, it must be huge turnout."

Even after the misjudgments in 1976, there is a lack of skepticism about subjective statements by election officials. Some of the major news gatherers say talking to officials is the only way to get at the turnout story. Robert S. McNeill, day-cycle editor for U.P.I. in Washington, explains: "Our bureaus gave us direct quotes from election officials telling us of heavy voter turnouts. You have to ask people in a position to know. There's no way to know without relying on someone else's opinion." Louis D. Boccardi, vice-president and executive editor of the A.P., says, "It's a responsible journalistic procedure to go to election officials. They have the experience. It's legitimate of us to say, 'They say voting's heavy.' " Boccardi feels that because election officials have no profit motive, they can be trusted. "There's no commercial gain," he says. "There's no gizmo being touted. There's no ideology involved."

Although CBS was embarrassed more than its rival networks, John Lane, a producer of the Cronkite newscast, asserts: "You have to listen to the guy whose job it is to know. We read that with apathy so strong, the voting figure is going to be lucky to come up to the 1972 figure. So when we see people around the country telling us of a heavy turnout — perhaps 80 to 90 percent in places — it's a major news story. There was a lot of work done. We made a lot of phone calls. And we had firsthand information from around the country. Our own people had stood in line for hours. The story was not blue-skyed. I know of no other way to do it. There's no fine science that can tell us at 6:30 in the evening how many people have voted. The professional people are supposed to know. If I were them, I sure would be accounting for more voters because of the population increase and I'd know what percentage of the population is eligible to vote." Lane says it would be "cynical of us to think they don't know their jobs."

But maybe the problem is that *journalists* don't know their jobs. They should be cautious enough at least to do their homework. For not only do they tend to trust election officials, and then make instant judgments, but they somehow forget completely about the mass of unregistered vot-

ers. A case in point: if the person in charge of California says 80 percent of the registered voters will show and the person in charge of New York City says the same thing, the figures are taken as evidence that there was a great turnout in each place. But if, say, 30 percent of the voting-age population is unregistered, an 80-percent turnout of the registered voters is still only going to be a 56-percent turnout of the voting-age population. Since election officials almost invariably talk of a registered turnout, it's amazing how often these apples and oranges wind up in the same story.

Take *The Boston Globe*'s November 3 turnout story. There was the Massachusetts secretary of state estimating an 80–90 percent turnout of registered voters. The story tells us that the national trend indicates a heavy turnout, and California is predicting 80-percent turnout. Then, incredibly, there is an insertion that says "However, CBS last night said the national turnout would be 55 percent." That's mixing registered voters and voting-age population.

Even *Newsweek* made the mistake. Its story said, "Nationwide, the turnout of eligible voters [*sic*] was about 55 percent"; in the same paragraph, *Newsweek* confused matters further by stating, "In one suburban Pittsburgh district, 85 percent of those eligible had turned out six hours before the polls closed." That 85 percent has no meaning next to the 55 percent figure of voting-age population and it erroneously suggests a pattern of heavy turnout.

Some journalists speculate that a weird early vote threw off all the projections of a heavy turnout. It is not likely, because people tend to vote in uniform patterns throughout the day. But Louis Boccardi of the A.P., who assigned one staffer to assess turnout, suggests, "It's not irresponsible to report the experts at noon on Election Day and come back the next day and tell how the turnout really came out. We didn't just quote election officials and say, 'Now we did our job — to hell with it.' " Indeed, by 2 A.M. on the night of the election, the A.P. saw that the numbers did not match the officials' optimism.

But perhaps there is a better and faster way to measure turnout. Harris suggests taking a statewide sample of 100 widely dispersed voting precincts and checking the rate of turnout during the day, and comparing the totals and the voting-age population with those of the previous presidential election. (Therefore, this system wouldn't work until 1984, after figures had been collected in 1980.) A statistician could then determine if the trend is up or down. It is a statistical method and perhaps not as colorful or fast as quoting election officials, but it may be more reliable. And it would make reporters more careful.

Would it be worth the effort? That depends on how important the turnout story is not only to the point of who won or lost but as to the mood of the electorate. The experience in 1976 tells us that turnout does make a difference. ■


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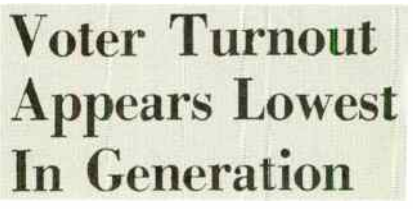

Voter Turnout Appears Lowest In Generation

Papers across the country saw a heavy voter turnout: The Miami Herald *(left) was one exception.*

The loneliness of the

Only one Idaho journalist stayed with a story affecting the health of thousands

by DWIGHT JENSEN

On September 6, 1974, an alarming item bubbled to the surface of the evening television news. On ABC, Howard K. Smith reported that almost all of a group of 175 children in the northern Idaho town of Kellogg had dangerous concentrations of lead in their blood. Kellogg is the site of a huge lead and zinc smelter, and Dr. James Bax, director of Idaho's department of health and welfare, was quoted as saying that the smelter was the probable cause. On NBC, John Chancellor pointed out that the high lead levels observed in samples of the children's blood could cause "severe disability and death," and reporter Fred Briggs filed a story from Kellogg. Twenty days later, Briggs filed an expanded review of the lead-poisoning story. CBS did not cover. And that — seven minutes in all — was the story, so far as national television went.

And so the story returned to the local and regional press, where it had started and where — as this chronicle will make clear — the responsibility remains for reporting all but the most sensational and short-lived of environmental and occupational hazards. This is, however, a responsibility small newspapers are not always eager to accept, for it requires assigning reporters to pursue stories that may be construed as a bite at a hand that feeds the paper and employs the people who read it. At the same time, it is rare that a publisher will encourage a reporter to reach beyond the immediate circulation area (into somebody else's) and cover a hazard that is of no pressing local concern.

The *Lewiston Morning Tribune* — Lewiston is about 150 miles southeast of Kellogg — did just that. The *Tribune* (circulation: 25,000) not only broke the Kellogg lead-poisoning story; unlike the national press, it also let a reporter, Cassandra Tate, stay on the story for nearly two years. (Tate, now on leave of absence to study as a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, recalls that in early September 1974 "hundreds of reporters converged on Idaho to cover Evel Knievel's motorcycle leap across the Snake River Canyon. I don't think that says much for the media's sense of priorities.")

On September 6, the second day of the story, Tate went further than did ABC and NBC by explaining that the hazard of airborne lead pollution was not limited to one Idaho town or, indeed, to Idaho. A similar situation, she wrote, "developed about two years ago at a tiny town . . . near El Paso, Texas, where 138 children . . . were tested and 101 had lead levels exceeding the public health standard of 40 micrograms [per 100 milliliters of blood]." Through September and for months thereafter, Tate continued to provide follow-up information that was relevant to national reporting but which was overlooked by the mercurial national reporters, as well as by Tate's fellow journalists in Idaho. For example:

☐ After calling around the country, Tate came up with an October 9 story that contained appeals by nationally known health officials for testing of children living near the country's six primary lead smelters — smelters, like the one in Kellogg, that produce lead from rare ore — and four or five hundred secondary smelters. (In the same story, Tate pointed out that abnormal lead absorption is associated with a high rate of stillbirths or spontaneous abortion.)

☐ Another point of more than local interest the *Tribune* reporter brought out was that, as of October 1974, the federal Environmental Protection Agency had "not yet set, or even formally proposed, any standards regulating the amount of lead that smelters can discharge into the air." Nor, Tate noted, had the Idaho department of health and welfare established a standard for airborne lead. While the department considered a level above 1.5 micrograms per cubic meter of air to be "significantly above normal," she added, the concentrations of lead in the air around Kellogg that summer had reached "a peak of 24 micrograms per cubic meter." (At this writing, neither the E.P.A. nor the Idaho department of health and welfare has set any standards regulating lead levels in the air.)

Tate kept after the lead-poisoning story until the summer of 1976, writing about 175 articles on the subject. She not only expanded the story, as the national press failed to do — beyond children to childbearing women, and, of course, to thousands of workers; beyond Kellogg to the other communities located near primary and secondary lead-smelting plants; beyond Boise, the state capital, to Washington, D.C. — she also brought it home to her own newspaper. In preparing an October 29, 1974, story headlined MORE THAN PRINTER'S INK MAY FLOW IN THEIR VEINS, Tate had found that among the many industries using lead was newspaper publishing. The *Tribune* had converted to a leadless photocomposition method earlier in the year but, alerted by Tate, the paper's publisher, A. L. Alford, Jr., announced that blood tests would be offered to all employees who might have been exposed to fumes when the paper used lead type. With typical thoroughness, Tate surveyed other newspapers and reported: "None of the other newspapers in this region that used lead type are planning any testing at this point."

One facet of the lead-poisoning story the majority of the region's newspapers shied away from covering comprehensively was the tricky issue of contradictory findings of industry-affiliated scientists and those of researchers with no ties to industry. A month after the lead-poisoning story broke, the industry-

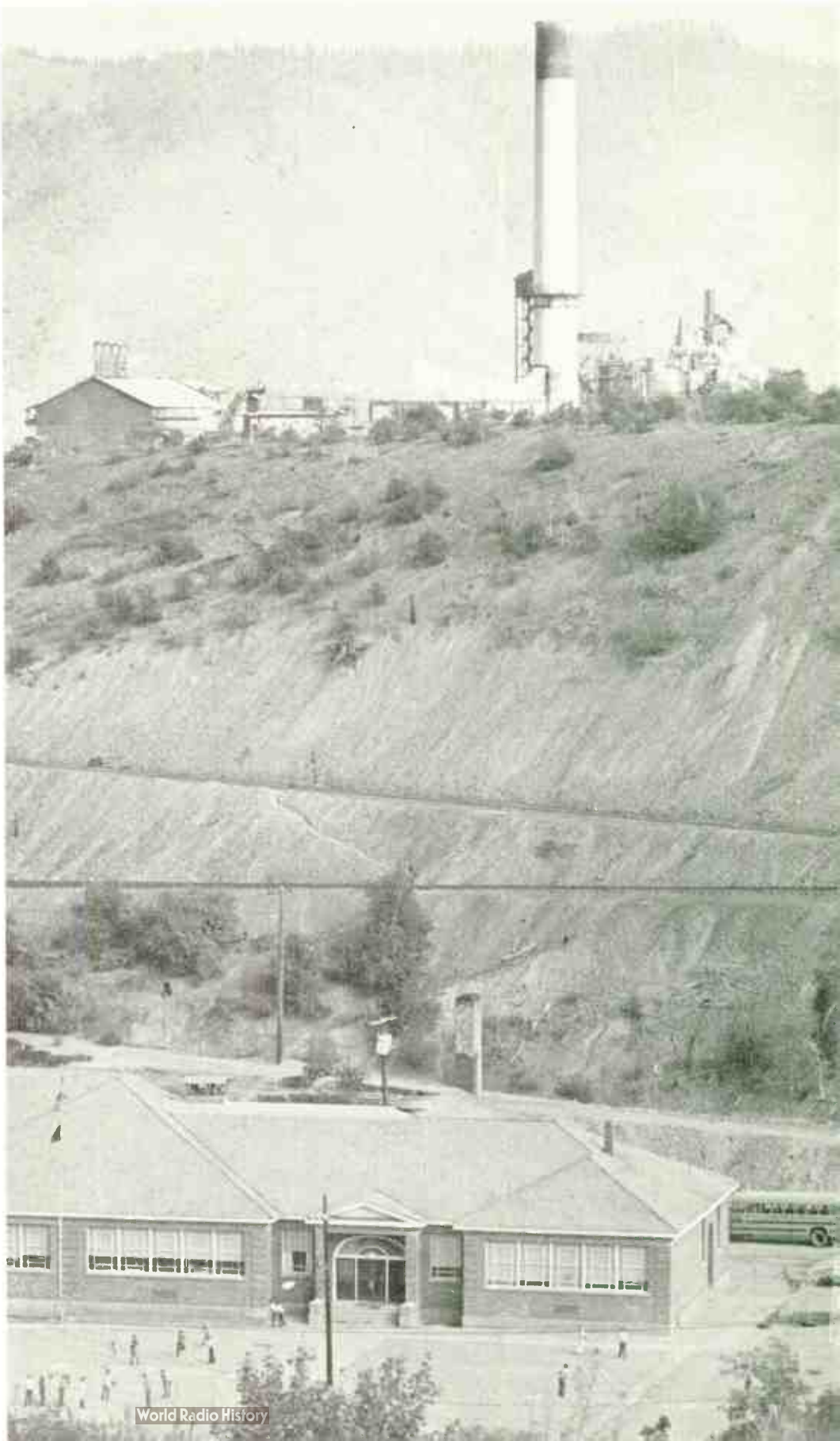
Dwight Jensen is a free-lance writer who lives in Boise.

environmental reporter

funded International Lead-Zinc Research Organization (ILZRO) announced that it would conduct its own study of the effects of lead absorption on children in the Kellogg area. Many regional papers contented themselves with reporting who was going to conduct the study and when it would begin. Tate covered these angles, but she also stepped back from the present to describe the "medical brouhaha" that had developed in 1973 when conditions similar to those at Kellogg were found at Smeltertown, a small town near El Paso, Texas. An ILZRO study had concluded that the smelter-area children were not harmed by absorbing large amounts of lead; a study made by the U.S. Center for Communicable Disease Control at Atlanta, which is operated by the U.S. Public Health Service, had concluded that the children had been harmed. Tate's account gave room for each party to criticize the other's findings, and it contained this brief obituary of a company town: "The 120 or so families living in the area were eventually moved out, and the town [was] purchased by the smelting company and later leveled." (The industry-sponsored study of Kellogg children, which drew fire from state agencies and union officials, was subsequently called off. However, the Bunker Hill Company paid a major share of the cost of a state-sponsored study and helped select the study's director. Since then, the Idaho department of health and welfare has joined Bunker Hill in seeking lower pollution standards on sources of pollution other than lead than those the E.P.A. wants to impose.)

Tate's extensive coverage included, among other things, a long profile of James Halley, president of the Bunker Hill Company, which owns and operates the Kellogg smelter. Halley says he found her stories fair and complete — "Not the way I'd have like to see it

Barry Kough



A Bunker Hill smelter smokestack rises above the Kellogg, Idaho, elementary school.

all the way through, but it was right." For her part, Tate is heartened by signs of improvement in the situation at Kellogg and, at the same time, dissatisfied. Among other improvements: the amount of lead and other emissions discharged into the air was greatly reduced; the amount of lead in the blood of Kellogg children dropped as a result of reduced emissions and the evacuation of all families with children from an area within a half mile of the smelter. Tate remains skeptical about long-range prospects: "Bunker Hill became more sophisticated in public relations. And that's about all that happened there."

Bunker Hill's president agrees that the company learned a p.r. lesson from the story. In a recent interview, Halley remarked: "We were at the end of the old era of public relations. Public relations to us had always meant the local chamber of commerce. It meant the local paper, which ran just about everything we sent to it verbatim — primarily, I think, because they had no one to work it over."

Halley's "local paper" is *The Kellogg Evening News* (circulation: 6,000). As Halley said, the *News* printed pretty much what Bunker Hill sent it or what it would be pleased to see in print. Wendell Brainard, editor of the paper during the lead-poisoning story, explained recently: "We're not going to come out against Bunker Hill. Bunker Hill is Kellogg. Kellogg is Bunker Hill. Right now, we're fighting the Environmental Protection Agency. It wants to enforce stricter standards on pollution from Bunker Hill."

Brainard's headlines indicate the approach his paper took to the news. Most were two-column heads on page one:

DOCTOR SAYS LEAD SCARE
OUT OF PROPORTION

BUNKER HILL WARNS REGULATION
COULD CAUSE SHUTDOWNS

CITY COUNCIL MEMBERS
PROTEST 'LEAD' REPORTS

EL PASO STUDY FINDS
NO DAMAGE IN 'LEAD' KIDS

LEAD POISONING FEARS
LARGELY UNWARRANTED

Idaho has three other daily papers that could have been expected to do as good a job on environmental reporting as the *Lewiston Morning Tribune: The Idaho Statesman* (circulation: 52,000), in Boise; the *Times-News* (circulation: 21,000) in Twin Falls; and the *Idaho State Journal* (circulation: 20,000) in Pocatello. (The three cities, it should be noted, are strung out along the southern tier of Idaho, while Kellogg is up in the northern corner.) *Statesman* reporters picked up a handful of original stories dealing with happenings at the state-capital end of the story — statements by health and welfare department spokesmen, by Halley on a media tour of the state, and the like. But the paper's coverage of the Kellogg story was, like its coverage of environmental matters in general, spotty at best.

The *Times-News* at Twin Falls paid even less attention to the Kellogg story than did the *Statesman* — and, like the *Statesman*, has only sporadically turned its attention to environmental hazards. In 1975, shortly after the Idaho Power Company had proposed to build a big new plant near Boise, the *Times-News* did an exemplary job of analyzing the company's plans and of pointing out contradictions between public statements, which made the plant sound like a boon to nature, and internal memos, which were less reassuring. Its reports helped to create a climate of opposition to the plant, and the Idaho Public Utilities Commission later rejected the application on environmental grounds.

As for the *Idaho State Journal* in Pocatello, it had, at one time, a reporter-editor, Gary Haden, who did not wait for issues to arise full-blown but went after them on his own hook. The subjects of his long by-lined columns and feature stories ranged from the storage of atomic waste to crop pesticides. Last spring, Haden moved on to a newspaper in another state, and the *Journal* replaced him with an energetic political reporter, so now the columns and feature stories are likely to deal with politics rather than the environment.

Much closer to Kellogg than these three papers, and closer, too, than the Lewiston *Tribune*, are three others: *The Coeur d'Alene Press* (circulation: 10,000), and, over the border in Spokane, Washington, the morning *Spokesman-Review* (circulation: 74,000) and the evening *Daily Chronicle* (circulation: 63,000). Coeur d'Alene is about fifty miles west of Kellogg; Spokane another forty miles west. The *Press* — a member of the growing, and notably boosterish, Hagadone chain — did no original reporting on the Bunker Hill story and, indeed, almost totally ignored it; the two Spokane papers gleaned most of their cautious coverage from the wire services, including some of Tate's work picked up by A.P. It would hardly be overstating the case to say that only one person in the entire Northwest provided comprehensive coverage of the significant environmental and occupational-health story centered around conditions at Kellogg.

A conclusion or two can, I think, be extracted from this tale of a story picked up by the national press, then dropped like a hot Idaho potato. With a bow to Tate (and to Homer), I'll call my finding Cassandra's Law. It goes like this: while comprehensive coverage of an environmental story is likely to be rare, the odds against its even occasional appearance are increased by complexity (the more complex the issues involved, the less interest exhibited by publisher and editor, and, as a rule, reporter), proximity (the closer the paper is to the problem and to its industrial cause, the less interest exhibited by publisher, editor, and so on), and distance (the farther the paper is from the problem, the less . . . and so on). There is a corollary: if the story involves an occupational health hazard, the odds against comprehensive coverage may be automatically quadrupled. Finally, if the unchained, family-owned paper vanishes — and it is a gravely endangered journalistic species — reporting like Tate's may vanish with it. In an interview, Tate said: "If I had another perspective, I'd say my editors and publisher were out of their minds to let me grab onto a story that really has limited local interest. It's been a costly venture with little tangible return. But the *Tribune* is a rather remarkable paper, home-owned for three generations, and staffers are given a great deal of freedom to pursue the issues that interest them."

In the world of journalism, the dearth of such papers is obviously an environmental hazard as widespread as lead. ■

Mudslinging in Michigan

When a newspaper attacked a Senate candidate's morals, its own ethics became an issue

by ALEX TAYLOR III

The 1976 Senate campaign in Michigan was an unseemly mudslinging affair that involved not only personal attacks by the two major candidates, but also attacks on *The Detroit News*, the state's largest newspaper (and the nation's largest evening daily). One week before Election Day, the *News* reflected editorially, "Caught in the crossfire of a particularly vicious campaign, we bear wounds of our own."

By then, in three page-one stories the *News* had reported that Democratic congressman Donald W. Riegle, Jr., who eventually won the Senate seat, had signed his estranged wife's name to a $4,525 income-tax refund check (he later gave her half the money); that he had been named as one of the worst congressmen in Washington in an informal survey published in *Jack Anderson's Washington Report*, a biweekly newsletter for business people; and that seven years earlier he had had an affair with an unpaid worker in his congressional office.

Riegle called it "the most vicious hatchet job I have ever seen in politics." Chicago columnist Mike Royko awarded the *News* "a large, bronze laundry hamper" for being "the paper that shows the most initiative in poking around somebody else's dirty underwear."

On the front page of its Sunday edition on October 17 the *News* told of Riegle's 1969 "torrid . . . extramarital affair" with an unpaid aide it identified pseudonymously as "Dorothy." It also printed excerpts of tape-recorded telephone conversations between Riegle and "Dorothy" (apparently they were taped by her with his permission), in which Riegle referred to the "exquisite session we had."

The story immediately became national news. Riegle called a news conference the next day to admit responsibility for having made "a foolish mistake" during an unhappy marriage. (Riegle was divorced from his first wife in November 1971; he married a former staff member in January 1972.) In a story several days later, the city's liberal morning newspaper, the *Detroit Free Press*, identified "Dorothy" as Bette Jane Ackerman, an analyst for the Library of Congress who in 1973 had dated Tongsun Park, the South Korean national who recently has been implicated in improper contributions to American politicians. There was no evidence to tie Riegle to Park, nor to indicate that Riegle had previously been compromised by the tapes' existence.

Riegle said that while he had no evidence linking his Republican opponent, Marvin Esch, to the story, he nevertheless held him "personally responsible for the gutter-level tone of this campaign," and called the *News* "his willing accomplice in the personal attacks and mudslinging." Martin S. Hayden, the editor of the *News*, denied that Esch had anything to do with the story. "To my knowledge, Mr. Esch had no idea that the story would appear in *The Detroit News* until he saw it."

Esch also denied any involvement in the *News* story. But while saying he didn't intend to criticize Riegle's behavior, Esch, who has been married for twenty-six years, rarely passed up a chance to compare his life-style with Riegle's, saying, "You can't separate private integrity and public trust."

Riegle's affair became the major story during the last two weeks of the campaign. A Washington reporter for the Michigan-based Booth newspaper chain wrote that several months earlier he had been urged by Esch's wife to investigate Riegle's sex life, but that he had refused to take up the story.

The Riegle story also unleashed a name-calling debate in the *News*'s own pages. A local *News* columnist and television personality, Lou Gordon, wrote in his column that his own paper's stories about Riegle were "one of the most despicable incidents in modern day journalism" and declared that Hayden had "reached a new low" in "raunchy, rotten journalism." In turn, a *News* editorial called Gordon "a professional gadfly," and added, "We often gag at putting his offerings in print."

One week before the election, the *News*, as expected, endorsed Esch. But it had to back off from an earlier assertion that he had "a reputation for absolute honesty," saying instead that

Wide World

Donald Riegle and his wife, Meredith, talk to the press.

"clouds of charge and countercharge have tarnished both candidates." The editorial conceded, "Riegle . . . is not without merit. Unfortunately, he also happens to be immature of thought, much too ambitious, and philosophically left of center. . . . And his personal standards of ethics leave much to be desired. "True," the editorial went on, "our stories have been unpleasant for Riegle and his family. But people have a right to know what kind of man is asking for their votes. If we didn't tell them, we wouldn't be doing our duty."

Riegle won the election with 53 percent of the vote. His staff wrote, but never sent, this telegram to Hayden: "Dear Martin — Without your help, we never could have done it." ■

Alex Taylor is a free-lance writer, and an editorial writer and documentary producer at WZZM-TV, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Plugola: what the talk

The use of disguised marketing plugs is rampant on talk shows today

by TERRY ANN KNOPF

The television talk-show host playfully introduces the guest: "Before this is over, my guest will have driven us all bananas. Barbara Bertelli is a dietitian and nutritionist here to provide us with some consumer tips on bananas." For the next twelve minutes or so, the attractive and personable Bertelli will extol the virtues of "the world's oldest fruit." "Few people realize how remarkably nutritious, versatile, and economical the banana is," she says. "It's like borrowing sweetness from Mother Nature."

The same spiel, or one very much like it, will be repeated on TV talk shows from coast to coast. For Barbara Bertelli — or the Banana Lady, as production staffs will commonly refer to her — it is just one more stop on a tour of television markets large and small: *AM New York* (WABC-TV), *Panorama* in Washington, D.C. (WTTG-TV), *Good Morning from Memphis* (WREG-TV), *Pulse-Plus* in Tampa (WTVT-TV), and *Ralph Story's AM* in Los Angeles (KABC-TV). Newcasts are also on the agenda: KMOX-TV in St. Louis and WJXT-TV in Jacksonville. And even some kiddie shows: *Uncle Ben* on WSPD-TV in Toledo and *Sergeant Jack* on WBMG-TV in Birmingham.

Her message is: bananas are cheap, fun, and good for you; think bananas. But just who is Barbara, the Banana Lady? Who prepared her script, planned her itinerary, provided her cooking "demos" and displays, paid for her services and for her meals, hotels, airfares, taxis?

Terry Ann Knopf is the host-producer of Inside/Out, *a public affairs show at WJAR-TV in Providence, Rhode Island.*

Barbara Bertelli is, indeed, a dietitian and nutritionist; she also happens to have been employed by Dudley-Anderson-Yutzy, a public-relations outfit in New York City, which, in turn, represents The Banana Bunch, "an industry-sponsored center for consumer information about bananas." Ultimately, then, the banana slice that appeared on various talk shows, news shows, and kiddie shows was paid for by the banana industry.

The banana promotion is not an isolated case, but reflects a practice that is rampant in television today. What has happened is that large industries and companies have discovered that TV talk shows are a very effective marketing device.

There are, perhaps, only a handful of nationally known talk shows, the Big Four: Johnny, Mike, Merv, and Dinah. But the great majority of talk shows are produced and aired at the local level. Virtually every major television market has at least one talk show, while scores can be found in the smaller viewing areas, as well. It is at this local level especially, although not exclusively, that big business makes its pitch.

Big business has entered the talk-show arena via "plugola" — the use of promotional and sales techniques under the guise of public-service information. The viewer, with increasing frequency, is being sold a bill of goods by the corporate suppliers of just about everything — food, clothing, household goods, appliances, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, metals, and fuel.

Plugola differs from the standard plug, which has become an accepted, if irritating, part of the talk-show scene. (Gone forever, it would seem, are those days of scorn and candor when Ernie Kovacs had a cash register ring offstage each time there was a hint of a plug on his show.) When Woodward and Bernstein appeared on the *Mike Douglas Show* to promote *The Final Days*, there was no question as to what was being pitched (a book) and who was doing the pitching (the authors, in collaboration with their host). Such is hardly the case with plugola. The Banana Lady, introduced not as a representative of the banana industry but simply as a dietitian/nutritionist, was ostensibly boosting health and economy. Complete and proper identification of both the product and the person were lacking.

Before citing other instances of this disguised access, it may help to take a closer look at how the system works. Once an industry or company has decided to launch a promotion campaign involving talk shows, the first task — assigned either to the concern's own public-relations department or to some outside outfit — is the selection of the person who will represent the organization. Some will be professionals hired as consultants: scientists, doctors, engineers, geologists, nutritionists, photographers, chefs, and so on. But, usually, knowledge is not enough; the person must be attractive and able to "project" warmth and friendliness.

Because of their name value, Hollywood stars, TV personalities, athletes, and other celebrities are eagerly sought out as representatives: June Lockhart, a veteran actress, has appeared for the Kantwet Company, which makes car seats for children; Mason Reese, for Purity Supreme Supermarkets; former Miss America Sharon Kay Ritchie, for the Home Institute of Certain-teed Products Corporation, a manufacturer of building materials; Cathy Rigby, former Olympic gymnast and winner of eight gold medals, for the frozen-food industry; baseball Hall of Famer Bob Feller, for Combe, Inc.'s Grecian Formula hair dye; and tennis player/TV commentator Julie Heldman, for the Tea Council of the U.S.A. There may or may not be any direct mention either of the firm that the celebrity represents or of its product; at times, the appearance is designed to coincide with, and reinforce, more direct ads for the product, further blurring the distinction between programming content and paid commercial. For

shows don't talk about

example, while June Lockhart was pleading the cause of children's car safety on talk shows, her voice could be heard on the radio plugging Kantwet Care Seats.

Once the person has been picked, the p.r. people assemble material geared to the TV producers and staff who will decide whether to book the segment: glossy brochures and plenty of visuals — displays, slides, photographs, film clips. In their eagerness to please, the p.r. people may even provide the host with questions *and* answers.

Timing may be crucial; appearances are often scheduled to boost a new product, occasionally to aid an ailing industry. Products with seasonal appeal must, of course, be pushed as the season approaches. Thus, last year, Cathy Rigby's talk-show spots on frozen foods were scheduled just before the Thanksgiving holiday. Similarly, a contingent of English noblemen dispatched by the British Tourist Authority to spur travel appeared on talk shows two months before the Bicentennial summer, thereby giving viewers plenty of time to consult their travel agents and to pack.

Frequently, the on-camera approach is subtle, as these matters go. Last year, for instance, a home economist made the talk-show rounds ostensibly to demonstrate "International Breakfasts." When she got around to Italy, she would pause in front of her fresh fruit display and casually remark: "The Romans added a grain to their fruit similar to this Quaker 100 percent Natural Cereal." The box of cereal remained on the kitchen counter, in full view of the television audience, for the next eight minutes or so as the home economist continued her tour of breakfast ideas. The Cereal Lady was thus able to call attention to her employer's product for a much longer time than any paid Quaker commercial.

Subtle, too, was the approach the Polaroid Corporation's public-relations people used when they introduced the Pronto camera last spring. The segment idea was pegged to a camera "demo" entitled "Everything you need to know about photographing the U.S.A. in its 200th year." The Pronto Man was Carl Purcell, an experienced photographer and paid consultant to the Polaroid Corporation. "In the interests of credibility" — to quote from a letter to one show producer — the p.r. people did not require any specific reference to Polaroid; Purcell could be introduced simply as a photographer and travel writer. Many of Purcell's hosts — he appeared on twenty-three talk shows in eighteen cities, coast to coast — used the simplified identification, thereby concealing the real purpose of the segment, which was to push the latest Polaroid product.

Industries are more secretive than brand-name companies, generally shunning any specific mention. The Chocolate Lady is a good example. Marie Rama was a pastry chef employed by the Chocolate Manufacturers Association of the U.S.A., comprising fifteen member companies. She was presented to the public simply as a pastry chef. The p.r. cover letter to talk-show producers said: "Marie can provide a colorful demonstration of working with chocolate, and her comments would be strictly *non-commercial*." (Their italics.)

Non-commercial, my sweet tooth! The segment, billed as "Chocolate, Chocolate, Chocolate," included the following: a display of chocolate products in apothecary jars, a demonstration of chocolate garnishes, a display of recipes including cocoa confections, Black Magic cake with sour-cream frosting and double chocolate drops, and a discussion of chocolate gifts for the holiday season.

The response to such presentations can be astonishing. An appearance on a single talk show by the Banana Lady elicited more than 1,700 letters for the write-in recipe. The Oil Lady — the Shell Oil Company's "special service representative" — appeared on TV and radio shows in more than 100 cities a couple of years ago and drew 30,000 requests for Shell's "energy-saving" booklet. Meanwhile, there is an important factor that cannot be measured — the amount of goodwill generated by these appearances and the number of viewers/consumers predisposed to seek out these products the next time they go shopping.

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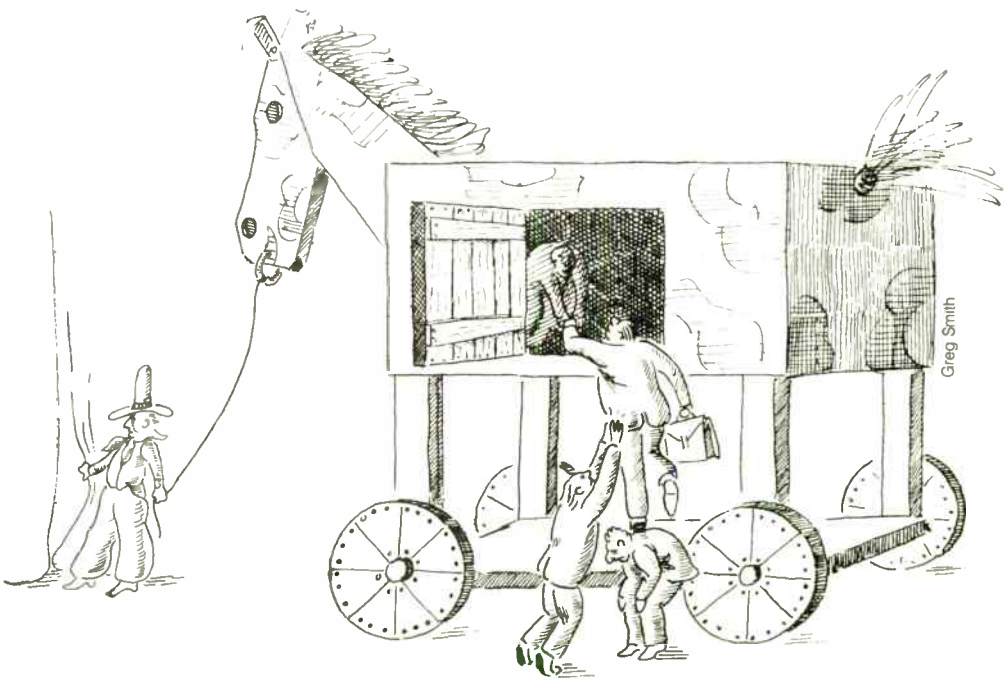


While the appeal of TV to industries and corporations is obvious, the benefits to the talk show itself may not be as readily apparent. Day after day, talk-show people must provide entertainment and variety. Any source that can provide an interesting guest and a "fun" segment — at no cost to the show's budget — is usually welcome. Moreover, these segments are, as a rule, well produced and self-contained; this makes them all the more attractive to overworked staffs.

To be sure, reservations about the system are expressed in some quarters. *Panorama,* the highly respected talk show aired in Washington, D.C., rarely schedules special-interest segments. The producer, Phyllis McGrady, explains: "We stay away from [them] unless we're in a slow booking period. They are really nothing more than advertisements in a different setting, complete with a nice little set and host."

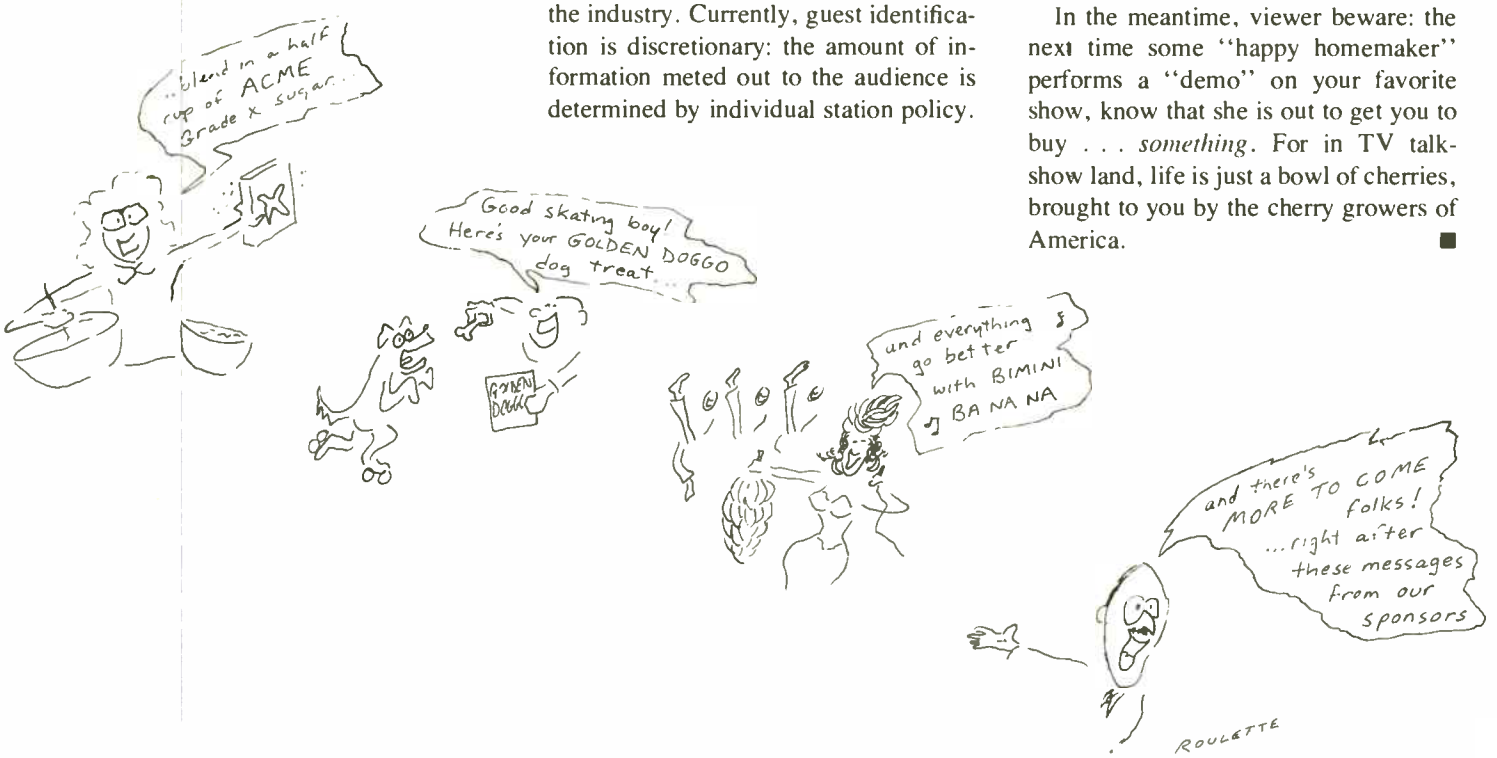
But, more generally, any concern in the TV world about propriety tends to be more esthetic than ethical. For example, a p.r. firm pushing Solo, a new dry dog food, managed to schedule a singing dog on a talk show — with the condition that there be no direct mention of the dog food. The fact that Candy's repertoire consisted of a single song — "O Solo [*sic*] Mio" — was considered plug enough. When Candy's spokesperson showed up at the studio wearing a bright orange blazer with "Solo" stitched in black on her breast pocket, the angry director countered by "shooting high" — from the neck up — thus sparing the viewer an unsightly plug. But the director's real objection was that the commercialized blazer "didn't look good," in that many plugs made the show look cluttered.

Thus, the system of plugola thrives, based on the collaboration between the talk shows and big business. Each day, millions of loyal talk-show viewers are being exposed to, and sold, products and services through subliminal forms of advertising. The Banana Lady, the Chocolate Lady, the Cereal Lady, the Pronto Man, and other commercial conmen have all come into our homes under false pretenses. With the Man from Glad, at least we know where the guy's from.

As matters stand, no agency either within or without the industry has ever directly addressed the issue. The simplest and most drastic solution would be to do away with special-interest segments altogether. But not all the information dispensed in this way is worthless; some of it is interesting, even valuable. A better approach might be to eliminate the most offensive aspects of plugola — secrecy and misrepresentation. A first step would be to amend the Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, to which most TV stations subscribe and which sets advertising standards within the industry. Currently, guest identification is discretionary: the amount of information meted out to the audience is determined by individual station policy. The code should be rewritten, making full disclosure — name, occupation, *and* affiliation — mandatory. At the very least, this would ensure that the viewer would be fully informed as to what is being promoted. In addition, companies and talk-show producers alike might ease up on such segments. The chocolate people, for instance, might well ask themselves if double chocolate drops will sound as sweet to the public once the public knows who is plugging them. Producers, for their part, might become more selective, realizing that running too many special-interest segments between commercials may make their shows look like one long plug.

But, hand in hand with revising the N.A.B. Code, talk-show producers and the executives above them must do some serious thinking about their responsibilities to the public. After all, is the Shell Oil Company really the most objective source of energy tips for the viewer? Is a "consumer specialist" for Corning Glass Works the most reliable person to advise consumers how to "effectively gripe about a product"? Is a representative from Mazola Corn Oil the most qualified person to tell us how to avert heart attacks? Is a pediatrician affiliated with the New England Dairy and Food Council the most credible doctor around to discuss infant nutrition? Talk-show people must begin to wrestle with these kinds of questions.

In the meantime, viewer beware: the next time some "happy homemaker" performs a "demo" on your favorite show, know that she is out to get you to buy . . . *something*. For in TV talk-show land, life is just a bowl of cherries, brought to you by the cherry growers of America. ■



FILMS

For the gallery of our age

The Memory of Justice
directed and produced by Marcel Ophuls.
278 minutes

by LEONARD C. LEWIN

History is recorded memory, and, like all memory, subject not only to the limits of recollectable information but to the concerns, the values, the interests, and the historical position of the memorialist. Its meaning, if not always its raw data, is thus rarely unambiguous. All this should of course be truism, but it has to be stated, because so much of the comment I have seen and heard about Marcel Ophuls's great historical film, shown briefly in New York last fall, attempts to evaluate his "objectivity" and to interpret his "answers" to the overwhelming moral questions posed by the trials of the war criminals at Nuremberg, by the unparalleled horrors that led to them, by some of the similar atrocities that have been committed since, and by the principles "established" there.

The title, taken from Plato — the elusive ideal of what we *know* to be just, in our common "memory" — might have precluded such comment, but it is hard not to expect a clear "truth" to emerge from such a thoughtful, informed, imaginative, and penetrating examination. How objective this film is as a documentary cannot really be at point; its objectivity, and even its fairness, are in a sense by-products. To the extent that Ophuls has succeeded in finding illustrative persons to interview, in eliciting revealing responses, in choosing the most useful available film clips, in editing, and above all in posing trenchant questions, he has brought his audience a breadth of understanding of the Nuremberg issues with a vividness beyond the possibilities of the printed page. The result is manifestly not *un*fair, not *un*objective, and not tendentious, despite Ophuls's obviously deep personal concern and despite his openly manipulative methods.

His technique is the same he used in *The Sorrow and the Pity* and in *A Sense of Loss*, the former dealing with the behavior of the French under the German occupation, the latter with the ongoing war in Northern Ireland. It consists of continuous crosscutting of archival film clips (here in *Justice* primarily of the trials themselves, as well as from Auschwitz, from prewar Germany, from Vietnam, from the postwar German theater) with long present-day interviews (here with participants in the trials, political figures, Germans of different generations, American students, Ophuls's own family, and many others), and with musical and theatrical counterpoint. Since the basic language in *Justice* is English (in *Sorrow and Pity* it was French), interviews in French and German begin in the original, fading into an English voice-over in effective and unobtrusive dubbing. It must be said that such crosscutting is a dangerous technique, made to order for special pleading and outright misrepresentation, but Ophuls does not betray our trust.

Yet control of the material is so completely and arbitrarily in the hands of the historian-filmmaker that I cannot believe that any of us, given access to the same material, would not have chosen differently in important respects. For example, I would have had more from the survivors of the camps and less of German theater personalities and the American peace movement. And it is

Prisoners in the dock at the Nuremberg war-crimes trials

Leonard C. Lewin is the author of Triage, *a fiction that discusses killing as public policy.*

easy to imagine Ophuls himself making another equally long (278 minutes) documentary on Nuremberg, using different material, yet bring out the same issues as effectively as he does here.

History, justice, and law are written by the victors, say Goering and various lesser Nazis, posing the obvious implication. Of course they are — but not quite: "survivors" would be more accurate than "victors" over the long run. And neither word necessarily justifies the cynicism expressed even by those who are not self-serving, like the callow Princeton students who refer to the "alleged" war crimes. This kind of "realism," or worldliness, offers an easy excuse for virtually anything, a denial of the possibility of justice. So does the well-intentioned fatuity of the violinist Yehudi Menuhin, who says that "judgment should come from within the person who has committed the crime," a pious variant of the familiar we-are-all-guilty (therefore-none-of-us-is-guilty) evasion of the accountability of people to each other.

Justice is the idealized subject of both the trials and the film. The more down-to-earth issue, the practical ethical question, the true substance of Nuremberg, is responsibility and retribution. Ethical relativism is always suspect, at the very least, but degrees of personal responsibility do exist, however difficult they may be to measure. The craven burgomeister who makes it his business *not* to know what might be going on in the neighborhood concentration camp is obviously not identical in criminality to Goering, Himmler, or the camp commandant. But what is his share of the accountability? What about Albert Speer, who charmed the judges at Nuremberg into saving him from the gallows by his (relative) candor and who has made a profitable career since his release from Spandau by articulating his observations of the inner workings of the Nazi leadership and his sanitized version of his own guilt? (He is among those interviewed at length by Ophuls.)

A bigger question, dealt with extensively in the second half of the film, is the comparison of the "crimes against humanity" committed by the Nazis with the gross atrocities committed elsewhere by the victors who were their prosecutors and judges: in Vietnam, in Algeria, at Hiroshima, and Dresden. The principal distinction is not that of scale; that the latter instances of mass murder, despite their enormity, came to "only" a fraction of the 6,000,000 killed by the Nazis can hardly be offered as a defense. The difference is one of policy. The rationale of the apologists for the Vietnam bombings and the rest was military, the premise being that when a nation is engaged in a genuine war, as a practical matter anything goes — "rules of war," Geneva conventions, whatever, notwithstanding. This is not necessarily to claim that those responsible for these murders are therefore *not* accountable for war crimes, nor does it pass judgment on the rights and wrongs of the wars themselves. It makes the point, which has been so largely forgotten, and never even learned by so many who have grown up since the Holocaust, that the German death camps cannot be defended even by this dubious argument. People were tortured and slaughtered not because a case could be made that it would help the German war effort, but because genocide was the *policy* of the Nazi government.

This question is developed in a kind of oblique debate between Telford Taylor, the American prosecutor at Nuremberg, who makes this distinction, as does Ophuls himself, by implication, and Daniel Ellsberg, who seems, at least, to deny it. What is important is that the issue is attacked.

Explored at greater length, of course, is the "victor's justice" argument, in which Goering *et al.* appear to be winning belated support, from flaccid reasoning and moral weakness, even from some of those who participated vigorously in their prosecution but who seem to have lost their conviction of the rightness of the "Nuremberg principles" in the face of the apparent political needs of their own governments. I think here of Edgar Faure, shown glibly minimizing his responsibility for the Algerian tortures.

This is how the lessons of history, even when they first seem resoundingly clear, can later be subverted and lost. The enemy is silence. Perhaps the greatest danger to the survival of the species (and it explains so many of the horrors of human history) is that people tend to do what they think is expected of them. If the reverberation of Nuremberg is permitted to fade, it is more than just possible that next time they will feel they are expected to destroy each other once and for all.

In these brief comments — hardly a movie review — I cannot begin to suggest the richness and complexity of this document. Nor can I think of any one who is at all "serious" about the world — any definition you like — whom I would not urge strongly to go to whatever trouble it takes, and it may be considerable, to see it. The film is, necessarily, flawed and incomplete; it does not even try to provide definitive interpretations or to close the books. But it will occupy a large, necessary, and permanent place in the picture gallery of our age.

It ain't necessarily so

Network
directed by Sidney Lumet; screenplay by Paddy Chayefsky. 121 minutes

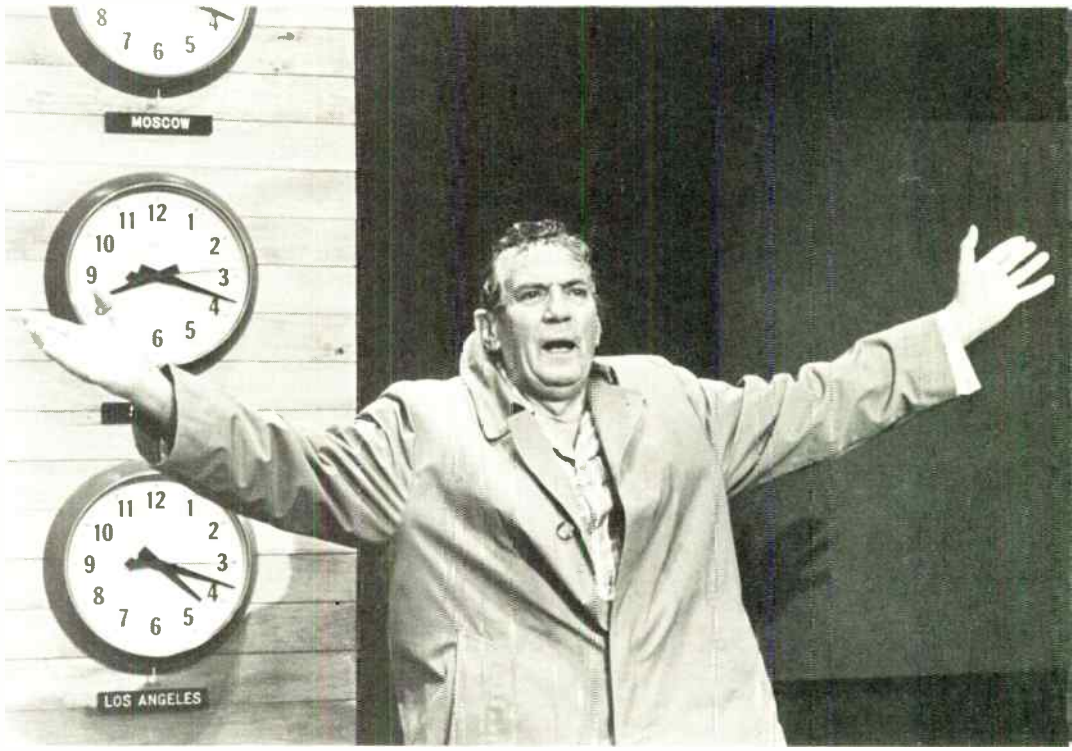
by MERLE MILLER

The usually sensitive and intelligent woman I took along to an October preview of *Network* (the film was released in November) has been associated with television for a quarter of a century, and when it was all over she said: "That's the way it is, Merle. That's the way it always has been."

Well, perhaps. *Network* will, no doubt, make millions, and millions of people will, no doubt, go away convinced that it is, indeed, the way things are. But it isn't.

Merle Miller is the author of, among other books, Plain Speaking, an Oral History of Harry S. Truman, *and a forthcoming oral history of Lyndon Baines Johnson. His chronicle of one of his own harrowing experiences in television,* Only You, Dick Daring!, *originally published in 1964, has just been reissued in paperback.*

There is incessant talk about giant conglomerates and how they are taking over networks every hour on the hour, but it has been my observation that it is the networks that take over unattached corporations — publishing houses, for instance. I have already had one book indirectly published by NBC, another (also indirectly) by CBS, and a third by M.C.A., which isn't exactly a network but is nearly everything else. Anyway, there is a lot of talk about corporate finance in this film, none of it as amusing as Robert Benchley's *The Treasurer's Report*. But then there is too much talk about everything in *Network*. Sex? My god, you'd think it had just been invented, copyright pending. No surprises, though — nothing not known to Adam and Eve in the post-apple days. And very few laughs. The only giggles I heard from the preview audience — and we freeloaders are easily delighted — came when Faye Dunaway, who plays the part of a ruthless programming executive, said four-letter words, which she did a lot.



Erstwhile anchorman Howard Beale (Peter Finch) boosts ratings by going mad

No, *Network* is not a comedy, although there is one brilliant scene in which a group of black revolutionaries and several of those interchangeable young men from the William Morris Agency (isn't it?) get into a spirited and inspired debate over such cosmic matters as foreign rights and residuals.

For the most part, however, the people in charge (Paddy Chayefsky gets what is generally known as writing credit, and Sidney Lumet directed the film) cannot and will not make up their minds whether *Network* is a satire, a comedy, a serious drayma, or just plain schlock. For instance, is Howard Beale, a fading newscaster played at by Peter Finch, meant to be a caricature when he says dirty words and threatens to commit suicide on his news show? Whatever the intention, he is a bore, and after he starts hearing voices and telling us about them one yearns for St. Joan and old Shaw. Since most of the plot revolves around Beale, whose rantings are exploited to boost his network's ratings to unprecedented heights, being bored by Beale makes *Network*'s 121 minutes seem interminable.

The principal idea — and I use the word frivolously — those associated with *Network* seem to have had is that television has an overwhelming effect on our lives; indeed, that it has taken over our lives. The unenviable assignment of delivering this dubious message, and it is repeated endlessly, falls to a usually good actor named Robert Duvall, although another actor named Arthur Burghardt explains it yet again for those particularly slow of wit. Once, several years ago, something went amiss with the computer system at ABC and in those far-off days when telegrams were still delivered I got the same message a dozen times. Was there computer trouble during the filming of *Network*?

Now it is true that in the fifties, when Mr. Chayefsky's television career was flourishing, there were those who predicted that the tube would dominate our existence — generations of people without legs, that sort of thing. It was also said that the cruel eye of the camera would reveal a person's character, if any. (The word "character" has, of course, gone out of use and, if listed at all in the swinging new dictionaries, is surely labeled *archaic*.) But we looked at the bard of San Clemente for twenty-five years and. . . .

The truth is that nobody except those on the industry payrolls pays much attention to television news any more. Some may lend half an ear and a hooded eye on occasion to the mouthings of Walter Cronkite and Barbara Walters, but nobody allows the stuff to interfere with the serious business of getting sozzled. There are the soaps, of course, including Norman Lear's evening contribution to the genre (now, *there*'s a man who understands satire — or did last year, anyway), but, again, nobody lets the soaps interfere with daytime washing and dishing and sex.

If *Network* were a period piece set in, say, 1954, it might have had some reason for being, but since there are several references to people like Gerald Ford I believe it is meant to be more or less contemporary. My program says, by way of a boast, that *Network* is "a perfectly outrageous motion picture," which make me wonder if the advertising people know the meaning of the adjective. It also says: "Television will never be the same," which is also outrageous. Television will always be the same — always, always, always.

BOOKS

The village, the city, the road

New Burlington: The Life and Death of an American Village
by John Baskin. W. W. Norton & Company. 260 pp. $9.95

City Lives
written and photographed by James Wagenvoord. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 244 pp. $12.95; $7.95 (paperbound)

Beyond Our Control: America in the Mid Seventies
by Tom Engelhardt. Photographs by Peter Whitney. Riverrun Press. 189 pp. $4.95 (paperbound)

These three books document, with words and photographs, the private lives of groups of ordinary Americans: Ohio villagers whose town is about to be destroyed by a lake dammed into being by our federal beavers, the Army Corps of Engineers; New Yorkers; and people encountered during a drive across the country. All three were made largely by recording what people say about their lives, augmented by description and comment by the writers. The three are nevertheless different enough in intention and method to suggest what can, and cannot, be accomplished by this kind of journalism. Like fiction, such books are a good medium for showing people being their complicated, inconclusive, and interesting selves; also like fiction, they are a faulty medium for making sociological or political statements.

New Burlington is much the best of the lot, not only because John Baskin is the most gifted writer of the three, but also because he seems to have taken the greatest pains to get to know his subjects. The men and women of New Burlington, Ohio, most of whom are old, talk about their pasts; together, they offer an oral twentieth-century history of the village, including such events as the coming of electricity, the automobile, telephones, and mechanized farming. The history of the century as it was lived by the villagers was simple in many ways. For most of them work has meant work with the hands: farming, or practicing a skill for other villagers — carpentry, medicine, gravedigging. Generally, the villagers seem to be as unmaterialistic, by current standards at least, as their ways of living suggest. (A blacksmith says, "I never fell in love with a material thing too much because anything you can replace doesn't have such a value to me.") New Burlington in this respect seems almost medieval.

The photographs, some of which are old family pictures supplied by the villagers, and others of which were taken for the book by Ken Steinhoff and Dan Patterson, are straightforward documents, useful and unobtrusive. *New Burlington* is a book in which the text is clearly in charge, as it ought to be when the writing is as good as Baskin's.

Refreshingly, the author does not try to return true bills of indictment against Life in America Today, or against the forces that led to the razing and flooding of the town. "If I am guilty of bearing any messages," Baskin writes, "one of them might be that once people had something to do and now they do not. I think we are all faced with two problems, and they are basic and countervailing: how to live honorably, and what to do to support an honorable life. Seldom do they occupy mutual ground. The assumption that they do is one of the great contemporary delusions." More important than any message, though, is that readers of *New Burlington* will have shared Baskin's artful re-creation of the intimacy of village life, which was made up of shared memories of what time gave and took away. The book shows that the unlikely method of group interviews can result in a work of art, which *New Burlington* emphatically is.

James Wagenvoord, who is both a writer and a photographer, is more interested in the present than in the past — in this case in the present of New York City. *City Lives* is intended, according to Wagenvoord, to offer glimpses of how people actually live in a large city. He began with two assumptions: that a city is made up of neighborhoods, and that only the people who live in them can define them. He let New Yorkers talk about where they live, and he took photographs of them or their streets. Both the writing and the photographs are admirably clear, straightforward, and modest. Some of the people he talked to were a filmmaker, a mother on welfare, a black minister, a martial-arts instructor, a poverty-program worker, a bus driver, a lawyer. The voices Wagenvoord chose to listen to are not always educated, but what they say about conditions in their neighborhoods is thoughtful, sophisticated, and generally humane. (One stray observation: the higher the incomes and social class of a neighborhood, the less we see of the people who live there.)

The text and photographs in *City Lives* seem to have about equal standing — indeed, my only complaint about the book is that the typeface seems to have been chosen with an eye more toward complementing the overall design than for ease of reading. This book should be a revelation to those who get their impressions of large cities solely from news reports about urban mayhem and chaos.

Beyond Our Control is quite a different kind of book. Tom Engelhardt's villain, as he contemplates America in the mid-seventies, is "the corporatization of everyday life." Feeling desperate, isolated, and restless, he chose to

"tap the mood of the nation" by making a cross-country automobile trip. As he and a photographer friend crossed the continent in a Volkswagen van, they talked to and photographed people they met on the road. Why did they choose the road? "Hostage to the American travel mystique," Engelhardt explains, "I hoped that motion itself would generate new opportunities. Instead I found that the road, once a symbol of freedom, had become just another link in the chains that hold people down."

And where on the road did Engelhardt and Peter Whitney, the photographer, look for "new opportunities"? A cellar-dwelling minor-league baseball team, an emergency room, a carnival freak show, a funeral home ("We each lean on a coffin and begin to talk"), a huge drugstore-tourist trap, and Yellowstone Park.

The reporters found rootlessness, anger, frustration, uncertainty. It is not surprising that they did. Engelhardt's way of proceeding, which he carefully records for us, seems designed to create perplexity and alienation in those he meets. He never merely talks to people; he requests and conducts *interviews*, notebook at the ready. When his interviewees carry on about the poor shape the nation is in or the perfidy of the government, Engelhardt sees their clichés as evidence of a national problem, not as a result of their having been approached by an importunate stranger and suddenly thrust into the role of a guest on *Meet the Press*. And if they don't give their own speech, the author himself is likely to hop up on the soapbox. "Like most Americans, he's abdicated his power to define reality," he says of one of his victims, a bike rider who plans to write a book about *his* cross-country trip, an encounter Engelhardt rightly sees the irony of, "so he accepts me readily, even greedily, as an agent of the forces defining reality for him." Elsewhere he intones, "Yet corporate capitalism hovers like a jail guard over vacation America." And sometimes, like other careless sermonizers, he doesn't bother to listen to what he is saying, as in this passage: "It's these people we've talked with, the vast mass of middle people who have barely eked

Top: photograph by Ken Steinhoff, from New Burlington

Center: photograph by James Wagenvoord, from his City Lives

Bottom: photograph by Peter Whitney from Beyond Our Control

out a toehold in the system, who will be cut off at the knees. And, being hooked, they don't know what to do."

Peter Whitney's meticulously aggressive photographs seem to lie somewhere between the merciless friendliness of Bill Owens's photography and Diane Arbus's bizarre portraits. Engelhardt comments on Whitney at work: "Careful, circuitous, hypnotic, he does indeed trap people in their situations. It continually fascinates me that the people he approaches, even if they're hostile, can't say no. They can stare and glare, reveal a hidden anger all their own, but they can't bring themselves to stop the aggression they feel is being committed on them." The photographer as mongoose. Still, his photographs are more interesting — and less manipulative — than Engelhardt's writing.

Beyond Our Control treats its subjects not as people with interesting reactions to life, but merely as objects confirming stale generalizations, like rocks dutifully picked up on a field trip. The book finally is depressing, not because of its evocation of "corporatized America," but because of the author's rigid, aggressive use of the interview, which in insensitive hands is easily turned into corporatized conversation, just another form of futile, self-serving jabber. *R. C. Smith*

A very British art

Your Obedient Servant
A Selection of the Most Witty, Amusing and Memorable Letters to The Times of London, 1900-1975.
Chosen by Kenneth Gregory.
Methuen/Two Continents Publications.
350 pp. $10

A French art dealer who died in 1945 — and a noted Anglophile — once defined an English gentleman as "a man with a passion for horses, playing with a ball, probably one broken bone in his body and in his pocket a letter to *The Times*." Certainly there is something very pukka British in the institution of Letters to Editors, and no editor manages that institution better than the editor of *The Times*. Here is a collection of the best received over a period of three quarters of a century.

They cover a range of subjects as wide as the mind, some sober as they would have to be in that span of years, some playful. A claim to have heard the first cuckoo in spring is here, and so is John Galsworthy's eloquent plea for the prohibition of the airplane in war.

The Times's correspondents include the great, the near great (clerics and academics abound) and the common. Here is Shaw, peevish about women's hats at the opera. Here is A. A. Milne, on cricket. And T. S. Eliot, on the menacing television habit of 1950. And Mrs. Eliot, on her husband. Neville Chamberlain, on his discovery of a grey wagtail in St. James's park. In all, nearly 300 letters.

Many of them convey that peculiar British quality of controlled anger. Over the effrontery, for example, of the appearance on the English tongue of the hideous Americanism, "electrocute." Over the tragedy of the disappearance of the swager: "Today a swaging iron is something of a curiosity, and the old swagers, still working with scud and fossick, are few and far between. Cannot something be done to preserve this craft from extinction?" The question hangs there, doesn't it?

A most attractive personality to emerge in this volume is a Mr. J. W. Leaver. Not much is known about him, save for the fact that for twenty-seven years he recorded the names of all births announced in *The Times*, and that he died in 1974. His peculiar contribution to public information was the study of the frequency of the appearance of given names. For example, John and Anne were the most popular names for the children born in 1947. By 1973 the taste had turned to James and Jane, with John and Elizabeth close runners-up. These are the kinds of things you can learn in properly conducted letters columns.

Gregory surveys the decades as the book proceeds. His comments and his ironic juxtaposition of events help to give the heterogeneous collection a unity and historical significance beyond that of the letters alone. *Richard T. Baker*

The Journal of the Century
compiled by Bryan Holme with the editors of The Viking Press and the Ladies' Home Journal.
The Viking Press. 352 pp. $16.95

More than a heavily handsome, lightly entertaining coffee table adornment — though certainly it is that too — this collection from the *Ladies' Home Journal*, ranging over a period of almost a

hundred years, constitutes a remarkable social document. Whatever estimate one may make of the services rendered by the women's "service" magazines, the genre represented here has been a force in reflecting and reinforcing strong currents in the cultural mainstream. The *Journal*, probably, has been the best of its class, and at its best the *Journal* was pretty good.

There's an odd pleasure in encountering, in the same collection, Renoir, Picasso, and well-tailored windows, Sherwood and Auden and chicken delights. Was it supreme sophistication or profound naiveté — perhaps, in the last analysis, they come to the same thing? — that brought us Walter Lippmann and Scarlett O'Hara, Dorothy Dix and André Maurois and a song by Richard Strauss? No matter. Here are Eleanor Roosevelt and Gloria Swanson. Twenty-six ways to serve eggs. Stories by Tarkington, Christie, Capote. Essays by Chaplin, Barrymore, Bernhardt; Nixon and Hoover and Taft. Can this marriage be saved? Can the church take the place of the saloon? What are they wearing in Paris?

The display is happily free from intrusive comment by the book's editors; they have avoided, moreover, any arbitrary categories, choosing rather to present an uninterrupted flow of decades (the 1880s, the 1890s) that allows the wonderful old stuff to speak for itself. The arrangement invites treks through the cultural territory, and a detailed index makes it easy to seek out favorite landmarks.

Is it because of the charm of time alone that the monuments of those earlier decades seem to shine more brightly than those of our own? A glance at the magazine's recent issues brings a sigh, not so much for the glories of issues past as for the mediocrity we can expect in the next anthology. The four-color casseroles may be as nifty as ever, but where is a Wharton, a Steinbeck, or a Milne? Well, maybe in a hundred years the words of Gene Shalit too will have acquired a patina. As this volume so eloquently reminds us, a lot can happen in a hundred years. *G.C.*

Of the Press, by the Press, for the Press, and Others, Too
edited by Laura Longley Babb, Washington Post Writers Group. Houghton Mifflin. 246 pp. $5.95

The Washington Post has been an indubitable leader in fostering professional examination of its own output. This paperback, an expanded version of a collection first issued in 1974, testifies to the vigor and variety of these efforts. Incorporated here are three kinds of critiques: the "F.Y.I." editorials, started in 1969 to discuss mistakes and misconceptions; "The News Business" column, written for the most part by the *Post* ombudsman — a position established in 1970; and, finally, internal memos produced by the ombudsmen as advice to senior *Post* editors. The last are of particular interest, never having been published before and appearing here unedited. These memos tend to be more direct and less elegant than the published materials. One of the most winning is that dated March 10, 1975, and written by the incumbent, Charles Seib: "Any ombudsperson dumb enough to use newsmen in a column three times when he meant journalists in general deserves all the mail I got this morning." *J.B.*

Arrivals and Departures: A Journalist's Memoirs
by Richard H. Rovere. Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc. 274 pp. $10.95

Not really an effort at autobiography, this collection of graceful essays, many of which have appeared in periodicals, touch on widely different episodes and encounters in Rovere's lifetime of sixty-one years: his undistinguished school days, his first experiences, at Bard College, with political journalism, his mysteriously secretive father's past, his halfhearted attempts to join the Communist Party. Much of the book is devoted to Rovere's recollections of famous men: Senator Joseph McCarthy, John F. Kennedy, Walter Lippmann, John Gunther. The book has little shape, but it is full of good writing. *R.C.S.*

Mass Media and the Supreme Court: The Legacy of the Warren Years
(second edition) edited by Kenneth S. Devol. Hastings House. 400 pp. $14.50

This is a revision and updating of a collection the *Review* considered worthy when it was first issued (CJR, March/April 1972). This edition adds Supreme Court actions of the last five years (including the 1976 *Nebraska* gag-order decision), but at the cost of a number of earlier decisions and commentaries that appeared in the 1971 edition. Some of these, such as the superseded obscenity opinions of the 1960s, are dispensable, but the deletion of an article by Jerome A. Barron, a progenitor of the access movement, in favor of an address by William S. Paley, CBS's chairman, is puzzling. Despite such losses, the book remains valuable — both for the breadth of issues covered and for the concise connecting material by Devol, who heads the journalism department at California State University in Northridge. *J.B.*

The Craft of Interviewing
by John Brady. Writer's Digest. 244 pp. $7.95

If someone untouched by journalism should ask, "What is interviewing and how do you do it?" a copy of this book should be thrust into his or her hands. It seems to say, often more than once, almost everything to be said about talking to others for publication. Still, those who are not put off by breezy anecdotes and windy pointers will find much useful information. *R.C.S.*

CHRONICLE

Minority news: the experiment ends

by OVID ABRAMS

By last October 1 only the executive editor and her volunteer assistant were still at work in the Harlem offices of the Community News Service. The editor was there to write a press release announcing that C.N.S., the only black and Hispanic news service in New York City and perhaps the nation, had been forced to close down because it had run out of money.

The service came into being in 1969 at the New School of Social Research, aided by a $375,000 Ford Foundation grant. The idea had come from the Kerner Commission, which had been charged with investigating the causes of the nationwide racial disturbances of the 1960s. The *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* had noted the failure of the news media to "report adequately on racial problems" or to meet black people's "legitimate expectations in journalism." The report had recommended that an urban-affairs service be set up to "investigate, report, and interpret news" from minority communities.

C.N.S. was an ambitious attempt to do just that. Begun by Phillip Horton and a handful of white journalists in the New School's Urban Reporting Project, the service soon was turned over to blacks and Hispanics, who left the New School and moved uptown to 125th Street, in Harlem. In the beginning there were more than two dozen reporters and editors serving seventy-four subscribers in New York City and neighboring New Jersey. These included *The New York Times*, the *Daily News*, WCBS-TV and radio, NBC-TV, the office of the mayor of New York, and several community agencies. In return for an average of five stories a day and a calendar of coming events, subscribers paid from $8 to $200 weekly. By the time C.N.S. closed in October there were only two staffers and only thirty subscribers.

Aspiring minority journalists found C.N.S. to be a good training ground, whether they were college interns in New York for the summer or recent graduates seeking professional experience. C.N.S. alumni often went on to jobs with established newspapers and broadcasters.

The agency's approach to news in the communities of New York City was unique. Reporters specialized in geographic areas and developed their own story ideas. They knew their contacts personally and went out into the city's streets to cover the stories they wrote — unlike many other reporters in the city who, perhaps afraid of the ghetto streets, often preferred to get their stories on the telephone. C.N.S. tried to talk to important sources each week, and to follow up on past stories. This was the ideal; at C.N.S., however, the ideal was seldom achieved.

The service failed for several reasons. Most important, it failed to meet the changing needs of its subscribers and therefore steadily lost support for its product. By 1976 there were more minority reporters at work in New York than there had been when C.N.S. was begun. Some of them, of course, were at work in the newsrooms of C.N.S.'s subscribers, and often they were assigned to many of the same areas that once were C.N.S.'s exclusive territory.

Nor were the agency's stories tailored to meet subscribers' needs. Radio, television, newspapers, the mayor's office, and community groups all received the same C.N.S. file. Its stories generally were features or longer trend pieces; there was no running coverage of breaking stories.

C.N.S. also was handicapped by being a wire service without wires. Stories were hand-delivered and often arrived too late in the evening for both television and newspapers. (This tardiness caused the failure of C.N.S.'s experimental audio service: its only subscriber, WNJR in New Jersey, canceled out because it received C.N.S.'s stories too late for the station to use them.)

Both the quality and the quantity of the service's reporting varied; stories could be excellent or mediocre, while the number offered each day ranged from two to seven. C.N.S.'s calendar deteriorated from being a listing of news events to a list of social events picked up from press releases. There was no consistent writing style, and editorial policy changed markedly whenever there was a new city editor, which was several times a year.

Because of the high rate of staff turnover, roughly four of five staffers always were trainees. Reporters were supposed to begin working at ten o'clock but often didn't show up until after noon. By that time they had about four hours left to come up with story ideas, report, and write the stories for a five o'clock deadline. Often the result was that they did no more than rewrite press releases.

Frequently, pressed for time, reporters wrote without having obtained both sides of a story. As a result, many C.N.S. stories expressed only the community's point of view. Some bureau-

Ovid Abrams, a 1975 Walter Bagehot Fellow at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, was a reporter and assistant city editor at the Community News Service from 1972 to 1975.

crats, politicans, and even editors from other media failed to take C.N.S. seriously, sometimes refusing to talk to its reporters.

Not surprisingly, C.N.S. received mixed reviews from subscribers. "Whites never come out looking good," said a *Daily News* reporter, who conceded that the stories were "good community stuff," which he often used as leads in his own reporting. Others said that some of the service's stories were "slanted," or that there was "p.r. enthusiasm" in others. A *New York Times* assignment editor said that C.N.S. was "less important in a general metropolitan news portfolio," and was more suitable for community newspapers.

Yet neither the *News* nor the *Times* ever canceled its subscription to C.N.S. The *News* made extensive use of C.N.S. stories for its Brooklyn and Manhattan sections, but gave no credit for the stories, as they do to the A.P. and U.P.I. Annette Samuels, C.N.S.'s last executive editor, said, "We would send a story to the *News* and a few days later the identical story, with minor changes, would appear under a *News* reporter's name," with no mention of C.N.S.

C.N.S. attempted to cover the interests of blacks and Hispanics in a wide range of stories — urban affairs, Africa, Latin America, education, sports — without having the staff, resources, or expertise to do so. In 1974, with only four reporters, C.N.S. covered the United Nations, the Caribbean, events in several cities across the U.S., as well as its regular beat, New York City's and Newark's ghettos.

Another problem was that none of those who ran the service were skilled or experienced managers. All but one of the executive editors over the years were former reporters who dabbled in everything from writing stories and staff discipline to fund-raising and accounting.

C.N.S. remained a permanent dependent of the Ford Foundation, which gave less and less and only after much haggling. Finally, on September 30, 1976, C.N.S. ran out of money. Three days later the agency closed. It had relied almost exclusively on foundation money; its managers never made serious efforts to make C.N.S. self-sufficient. It neither expanded nor improved its product, and it failed to explore other ways of selling the service.

Perhaps a Ford Foundation spokesman made a pertinent comment when he said that there tended to be less money made available to "civil rights and equal opportunity" programs in the media such as the Community News Service. If there ever is to be another such news service — and the need is still there, not just in New York but in other large American cities — those running it will have to recognize that even a minority news service must, finally, stand or fall by the quality of its product.

Workhood and apple pie

Can a magazine that delivers reality instead of dreams reach the American woman? *Working Woman* magazine, which published its charter issue in November, promises neither sexual, political, nor even culinary paradise; it aims, rather, at the ordinary concerns of those ordinary women — at last count, 38 million — who, as one of its articles puts it, won't be going home again. Philosophically, *WW* is dedicated to the "woman in transition"; editorially this translates into something old for the traditionalists, something new for the progressives, a few things borrowed — though they are not, for all that, any the less relevant — and nothing blue, in any sense.

The usual departments — food and fashion, decorating and health — are all here, but always the frame of reference is the reader with other, more pressing responsibilities: there are quick-fix meals, lunch-time exercises, go-anywhere clothes. When *Working Woman* considers feet, it is not to offer hints on seducing the fetishist next door, or even recipes for a leisurely champagne footbath; what it does suggest is a good podiatrist. Similarly, the features on family relations deal with problems generated by the woman's job: stresses on the two-earner marriage, for example, or pressures on the working mother (Question: Do you think it's necessary to attend all those school functions? Answer: Yes.). There is useful cultural news, information on current affairs and legislation as they relate to women's interests, and eminently sensible departments on money and careers.

Thus, while *Working Woman* places

itself squarely in the center of an ongoing social revolution, the most revolutionary thing about the magazine is not its content, but its concept. Certainly other magazines have dealt with these topics before, and will again — but usually in the editorial posture of either the professional feminist or the professional homemaker. In shifting the locus of the reader's identity, *Working Woman* accomplishes two things: first, it is able to reflect the realities of the women's movement in a nonideological way; and second, it confers a popular legitimacy on those realities by borrowing from its sister magazines their familiar stamp of middle-class gentility.

The magazine is an unpretentious as its title implies, as utilitarian as its stenciled logo suggests. This is not to say, of course, that *Working Woman* is a plain Jane: the clothes have dash, the role models (Liv Ullmann, in the premier issue) inspire. But the magazine is all of a piece, and the editors know what they are about. The secret word is *efficiency*. *Working Woman* is interested in practical strategies, whether it is wading through office politics, producing a holiday dinner, raising the kids without trauma — or putting out a brand new magazine. That's good old American pragmatism, and it still works. *G. C.*

The Hartford Times (1817-1976)

In many ways, it was a familiar enough tale — an aging afternoon newspaper, readers moving out to suburbia, a struggle against a vigorous competitor, and, finally, the slide to extinction. That was the story of *The Hartford Times*, but not all of the story.

The news accounts that announced the paper's closing scarcely touched on its longevity and its former rock-like stability. For decades, it was not only the largest daily in Connecticut but one of the premier Democratic newspapers of New England. Consider its span: it came into existence late in Madison's administration, and was edited in its early years by two future cabinet members — John M. Niles, who became a postmaster general under Van Buren, and Gideon Welles, destined to be Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy. The *Times* remained under one ownership from 1841 (the year its daily edition started) until 1928. In that year, the paper was sold for $5.5 million to Frank E. Gannett, owner of a small but growing group of newspapers in New York and New Jersey — and a Republican. Gannett respected the *Times*'s Democratic tradition, even in the New Deal years.

The *Times* entered the postwar years solidly ahead of its even more ancient morning rival, the *Courant*, but it began to lose ground in the 1960s. In 1965, the *Courant* passed the *Times* in circulation. The *New England Daily Newspaper Survey* of 1973 found the paper further depleted, not only in circulation but in thoroughness of news coverage.

The paper's final epoch had all the shabbiness of a terminal illness in a nursing home. In October 1973, Gannett dealt off the *Times* to the Register Publishing Company of New Haven, entity of the feuding descendants of the publisher John Day Jackson. The price was reported at $7 or $8 million. A tangle of litigation followed: suits by one branch of the Jackson family to block the sales; suits and countersuits by Gannett and Jackson interests charging, respectively, nonpayment and misrepresentation (Gannett even offered to rescind the deal); and an antitrust action that effectively blocked a possible sale to the *Courant*.

Through it all, the *Times* lost ground until, in 1976, its circulation had fallen to less than half that of the *Courant*. The new owners lashed out at their competitor, first starting a cheap morning tabloid called *The Morning Line* (which died with the *Times*), and then charging editorially that the *Courant* was using dirty tricks to drive the *Times* out of business. Finally, suffering losses estimated at $200,000 a week, the *Times* closed. Hartford became another fulfillment of A. J. Liebling's prophecy in 1960 that "American cities with competing newspapers will soon be as rare as those with two telephone systems." *J.B.*

Translations from the scholarly

The Wilson Quarterly calls itself a "national review of ideas and information," and Peter Braestrup, the editor, writes in the first issue (Autumn 1976) that the magazine intends "to bring the world of scholars and specialists to the intelligent lay reader." James H. Billington, director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution (publishers of the magazine), adds: "The *Quarterly* staff hopes to produce a readable, authoritative news magazine of the world of ideas." The periodical summarizes recent articles (including those about press and television), briefly reviews current books, publishes essays by scholars and other intellectuals on matters of current concern — resources and economic growth, Brazil, the American Revolution in the first issue. A list of background reading is offered with each subject. Special attention is paid to work done by the center's 35 present and 150 former fellows. (Editorial offices are at the Smithsonian Institution Building, Washington, D.C. 20560; subscriptions are available at $12 a year at P.O. Box 2450, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830.) *R. C. S.*

THE TIMES THEY ARE A'CHANGIN'

First there was Time magazine. Then there was Newsweek. Now there's New Times...

...a new kind of news magazine for the dangerous, challenging, exhilarating new times we're living in.

New Times reports the news from inside...down under all the layers of hype and bull and PR and fear and good-ole-boy propriety that so often conceal the truth.

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"Brash, irreverent..."

The Los Angeles Times called us "brash, irreverent and surprisingly literate." The New York Times said we're "the magazine that has an adversary relationship with the world."

Damn right. New Times investigates anything and everything. Because you better believe—there's a lot that needs investigating in this country.

We reopened the JFK assassination ...blew the whistle on Earl Butz's infamous racial slur...sounded the first national alarm on the little aerosol cans that could be the death of us all...broke the story of over-the-counter drugs that are worthless or even harmful.

Hello, Abbie.

We went underground to interview Abbie Hoffman...and the FBI is still trying to figure it out. We named "the ten dumbest Congressmen," along with the King of Dumb.

We told the story of gay parents who are fighting for their kids...of single grandparents who have to live in sin to make ends meet...of marijuana's medical benefits. We discovered est and its Fuhrer...showed there were probably several Oswalds ...blew the whistle on the CIA's campus recruitment of spies.

It's now.

But you get the idea. New Times, more than any other magazine, is plugged into now. It's the magazine of what's really happening, and that's a spectrum that includes love and music and lifestyles and all manner of rare new ideas.

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JZ50

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UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Blinking at Butz?

Obloquy has been directed at the *Review* for discussing (in "Comment," November/December 1976) the news handling of Earl Butz's famed anecdote without printing the text of the anecdote itself.

The *Review*'s readers, writes Edith Webber of Greenville, North Carolina, "got the same laundered phrasing they had read in their newspapers."

"What the hell goes on here?" explodes Virgil Quinlisk of Wichita. "Why didn't YOU tell us what Butz said, verbatim? You gave the papers hell for not. Why didn't YOU? Some of us thought it was bad enough when the *Review* decided to go for advertising. We were excusably, I believe, concerned that possible conflicts of interest would develop but it never occurred to any of us, me at least, that the publication would lose its guts or go woozy in judgment when it came to saying what should be said . . . in areas beyond commercial involvement."

William B. Bretnall of Princeton, New Jersey, parodies the editorial: "It was a curious performance: CJR, which prides itself on assessing the 'performance of journalism in all its forms,' turned coy — so much so that the reader was left baffled on a particular journalistic point. . . ."

Phil Robbins of George Washington University's journalism department comments: "You give examples of 'bowdlerized' versions printed in some papers, but your own readers, who have not had the benefit of seeing the original, full version, have nothing to compare your examples with. . . . Worse, you don't address at all the weightiest part of this problem: What about broadcast news? Would you have had all radio and TV broadcasters repeating Butz's own words around the clock until the next news cycle? . . . I think the news organizations who advised their readers or listeners to come by the office if they wanted to see Butz's exact words were the ones who handled this difficult situation best. How about a Laurel to them, to balance off the Dart to CJR?"

To all those who were similarly puzzled, the *Review* editors respond, first, that the *Review* has no policy against printing vulgarisms if they are necessary to the accuracy of a discussion or quotation, and has frequently done so.

Second, the editors discussed whether to include the text of the Butz anecdote in the editorial, and decided to omit it on two grounds: that it would be widely known already among *Review* readers, and that printing the anecdote would have the appearance of patting one's own back, since the *Review* praised those newspapers that did so, and would appear to be adding itself to the honor roll, and (falsely) looking as courageous as those newspapers.

The mail indicates that both these assumptions failed. In the first instance, the far-flung word-of-foulmouth system must have broken down, for many readers still have not seen the tale, did not know what Butz had said, and evidently resisted the idea of looking it up in *Rolling Stone* or *New Times*, both of them cited in the editorial. The truth of the second assumption was not so obvious as it might have been had the *Review* chosen to print the anecdote.

In any case, for those who have yet to find the story, here it is, in a special CJR microform reproduction, from *Rolling Stone:*

> "I'll tell you why you can't attract coloreds," the secretary proclaimed as his mischievous smile returned. "Because colored only want three things. You know what they want?" he asked Pat.
>
> Pat shook his head no; so did I.
>
> "I'll tell you what coloreds want. It's three things: first, a tight pussy; second, loose shoes; and third, a warm place to shit. That's all!"

Those who have difficulty reading it may bring their copies of the magazine to the *Review* office and borrow our Samuel Bowdler memorial magnifying glass.

Call him Willis

TO THE REVIEW:

Dart: to the *Columbia Journalism Review* which "darted" [November/December] the Scripps-Howard Foundation for repeatedly misspelling the name of its forefather, Edward "Wyllis" Scripps, in its *Editor & Publisher* ad announcements of the "Edward Willis Scripps Award." Had the reporter covering this momentous story darted for his 'phone, he could have learned that the forefather spelled his middle name "Willis."

May all of the criticism coming your way be as trivial.

CHARLES E. SCRIPPS
Chairman of the Board
Scripps-Howard Newspapers
Cincinnati

TO THE REVIEW:

Dart: to the *Columbia Journalism Review* for failing to check its facts in misdirecting a dart at the Scripps-Howard Foundation. Instead of laurelizing establishment of a $2,500 award to encourage and recognize service to the First Amendment, CJR honed in on trivia.

A phone call would have ascertained that our spelling of the title of "The Edward Willis Scripps Award" was deliberate and the result of research. Aware of the two versions, we had checked and found that his parents named him with the *i*, the family Bible spelled it that way, and so did E.W.S. himself, in 1906, the only known occasion he spelled his name in full, on his will.

The dart really boomerangs, in my respectful view, not so much because you failed to check, but because you bothered to fret over such an iota in the first place.

MATT MEYER, President
The Scripps-Howard Foundation
New York

The Review *stands corrected, of course, but pleads an extenuating circumstance — that the late publisher (1854-1922) has been known to decades of respectable biographers, historians, and reference works as Edward Wyllis Scripps. His most recent biographer, Oliver Knight* (I Protest) *calls "Wyllis" a misspelling, but concedes that both spellings appear on family records. Moreover, such authorized biographical references as* Who's Who in America *and* The National Cyclopedia of American Biography *persistently used "Wyllis" without correction by the subject. As for Mr. Scripps himself, his usual signature appears to have been plain "E. W. Scripps." Mr. Meyer is correct in calling the matter an "iota"; one can only imagine what the sulphurous E. W. himself would have said.*

Voicing criticism

TO THE REVIEW:

Dart: to the *Columbia Journalism Review* for allowing Nat Hentoff to snipe away at Ellen Frankfort ("Letters," November/December) without ever dealing with her basic complaint — that Hentoff, as a resident columnist for *The Village Voice*, should not be reviewing books about the *Voice* in CJR or anywhere else, for that matter.

No matter how solid his reputation for "integrity," and his willingness to criticize "institutions with which [he is] more or less identified," there still does appear to be a rather blatant conflict of interest here. Neither the *Review* nor Hentoff saw fit to address that point.

JOSEPH NOCERA
Capitol Hill News Service
Washington

Measured words

TO THE REVIEW:

"Shrinking the News" (November/December) was an interesting exercise, but a totally pointless one. In fact, Fred C. Shapiro shows that, if such a thing is possible, he misunderstands the nature of newspapers even more than those who manage and own them. It is not the raw inches of news hole that counts, but what's used to fill them.

Comparing *The New York Times* and the *New York Daily News* with their predecessors of an earlier era is comparing apples and oranges. The most elementary reason for this is that we now live in the era of broadcast journalism. By the time I get to my newspaper — and I consider myself as "typical" a newspaper reader as there is — I've already heard two, and sometimes three, five-minute radio newscasts. Sometimes I have even caught snippets of the morning TV news shows.

What this means is that I already know as much as I care to know about the major events of the day. This makes reading the newspaper an exercise in *déjà vu*. The articles I do read are those that did not make the broadcasts, or those that could not be adequately covered.

Newspapers are still covering every event as if they were the only source of news. A picture of the president getting off a plane and waving does nothing for me, especially when I saw the president waving on the news last night. If newspapers expect to win readers from within the first generations of "television babies" they will have to explore avenues where broadcast journalism cannot follow.

Op-ed and opinion pages are one move in the right direction, but real and wrenching changes are needed. This means more how-to and service pieces, personality profiles, essays, and a greater and more intelligent focus on culture. But this does not mean that newspapers will have to give up on news. What we will also need are "strike groups" of accountants, lawyers, and other experts teamed with reporters to produce tough, penetrating analyses and investigative reports on government and social institutions, complete with charts and graphs and essays outlining alternatives and changes. Broadcast journalism cannot do this, and this is where the print media should be going.

This is what I want to see in my newspaper — not a longer version of a radio headline that unemployment is up by whatever percent, coupled with fifteen inches of highly speculative quotations from economists who may or may not know what they are talking about. Perhaps the next time the government issues statistics of whatever kind there should be a story on how the numbers were arrived at, what they mean to the individual (along with a case history or two), and an investigation of the charges that surface periodically that the government diddles the numbers to make itself look good.

Shapiro's adding up of numbers . . . tells me what the typical newspaper story tells me — nothing. (Incidentally, his claim that the *Daily News* should give up its claim to being "New York's Picture Newspaper" because the *Times* prints more inches of photos is on very weak ground; the *News* devotes *proportionately* more space to pictures.)

Blissfully unaware of the arrival and impact of broadcast journalism, Shapiro advocates newspapers with more calories (column inches) and less nutrition (useful news); I want newspapers with fewer calories and

'I want newspapers with fewer calories and more nutrition'

more nutrition.

Ironically (and on the other hand), "The Midas Touch," which follows Fred Shapiro's article, is an excellent and intelligent piece of analysis and writing. It is exactly the sort of thing that newspapers, and you, need more of.

HARRY STEINBERG
New York

TO THE REVIEW:

The *Columbia Journalism Review* has a reputation for careful workmanship, for practicing the "standards of honest, responsible service" it claims as its reason for being. That reputation shrank when it published the article, "Shrinking the News."

As I began reading the article, I assumed that Mr. Shapiro's mechanical work was accurate. But then I became disturbed by the inaccuracy of the arithmetical relationships he derived from his measurements of space given to editorial matter in the two New York morning dailies. He said that the *News*, changing from five 1.9-inch columns to four 2.25-inch columns, increased "the width of the gutter between the columns to ⅛-inch. The net loss in actual type space, however, is still the same half an inch." How can three between-column spaces which he says have been *increased* to ⅛-inch each, or a total of ⅜-inch including the space used before the increase, involve the stealing of half an inch from space available for type?

He says the new columns of the *Times* are 128.6 percent wider than the old ones. Such nice apparent accuracy — down to one part in 1,286! But is it, really, accurate at all? He goes on to perform calculations that can be correct only if he meant to say 28.6 percent wider, not 128.6 percent wider.

He then says that when he compares the September 1 issue of the *Times* with the September 8 issue, he finds a difference of 3 percent between 4776 and 4649. Why the sudden change in standards of accuracy? One part in 1,286 one minute, one part in 100 the next! Actually, taking his figures as correct (though in fact they are wrong), the difference is one-tenth less than he says, 2.7 instead of 3 percent.

His rather cavalier way of handling these numbers made me distrust his measurements. So I checked them. I went to the pile of old papers in the garage and came back with an 8-column *Times* and a 6-column one. In the May 21, 1976, issue, old style, the space occupied by eight columns of copy, minus the seven spaces between columns, is identical to the space occupied, in the October 10, 1976, issue, new style, by six columns of copy minus the five spaces between columns. It is 13½ inches in each case. One line of type in six of the six new columns provides identically the same space for reader information as was provided by one line of type in eight of the eight old columns. He is in error in saying that the effective page width has been shrunk from 14 to 13½ inches. It was 13½ inches before the change, and it remains 13½ inches now. The wide column provides exactly 2¼ inches of usable space, as he says, but the old narrow column provided only 1 11/16 inches, not the 1¾ inches he specifies. So, unless the production-process-determined relationship between set type dimensions and final product dimensions was altered when the format was changed, the readers have not lost in this. The readers have gained, in fact, where no column rules are used. In type set for open ruleless column separators, the available space in the new page is more than it was in the old. The new column is 2⅛ inches wide, the old is 1 9/16 inches. Six times 2⅛ is 12¾ inches; eight times 1 9/16 is 12½ inches, one-quarter inch less.

Thus instead of the new columns being only 28.6 percent greater than the old, they are 33.3 percent wider when set for separation by rules and even more, 36 percent wider, when set for white space separation. Thus, if his other figures are correct (I don't have the September 1 and September 8 papers to check them out on), there was an increase in editorial space, not the decrease he claimed existed.

This one error in the measurement of the old-style column width invalidates his computations throughout and the conclusions drawn therefrom. If his study, corrected, proves anything, it proves that his notion of declining service is wrong.

In fact, however, it proves nothing. Samples of one unit are statistically worthless, and his whole exercise is a comparison of one sample of one with another sample of one.

And this is regrettable, because I think that the point he set out to prove is a valid one. I too, feel that the caliber of service the *Times* gives to its readers has declined, and wish that he had proved his point. What good it would do, I am not sure. The basic problem, I believe, is that today's reader is not willing to come up with today's cost of providing the quality of service *Times* readers used to enjoy.

I have not followed the *News*, so I have no opinion on whether it is getting better or worse. But I do agree with his criticism of the *Times*.

To my mind, speaking as an ordinary, everyday newspaper reader, *The New York Times* hit its service-to-readers peak in the 1925-1938 period, at a time when the *Times* organization was also busy providing additional very high-quality service to the reading public through its monthly magazine of record, *Current History*, and its weekly picture news magazine, *Mid-Week Pictorial*, which in its turn was supplemented by two and often three — sometimes even four — rotogravure news picture sections in the Sunday issue of the *Times*. The *Times* had more humor in it then, too, both in its writing and in the typographical errors that were so frequent that they intrigued casual readers into staying long enough to become *Times* addicts.

Since then, the trend has been down, in my view. Reasons, I am sure, are chiefly economic. The two pressures exerted simultaneously on normal fields of coverage by the newsprint rationing of World War II and by the war's appetite for space may well have been more important than they appear, because they accustomed the reader to accepting, initially as part of his patriotic contribution to the war effort, a product less superlative than the one he had previously enjoyed.

The recent pressure for more and more space, in the news columns and outside them, for use in hashing and rehashing the news in what is politely called interpretative reporting but is often simply biased reporting at worst, opinionated reporting at best, has its economic side, too. It is less costly to fill space by dreaming up opinions than it is to fill the same space by digging up facts. It is

even less costly to fill it with pictures.

I'm sure I have lots of company in agreeing with Mr. Shapiro that it would be nice to have fewer of the empty calories of interpretative reporting in our newspaper diet, more of the protein of hard news. But I am not sure that we are willing to pay for it.

I hope that the *Times* can find a way to give us what we need at a price we are willing to pay, before it is too late. Now, as the *Saturday Evening Post* did for so many years before the bulk of its readers finally, and suddenly, said "enough," the *Times* is coasting on momentum earned by past performance. The difference between it and the best of the other daily papers has become more a ghost of the past than a present-day fact of substance.

EDGAR R. JONES
Newington, Connecticut

Because Fred C. Shapiro was unavailable before press time, his replies to the two preceding letters, and to the New York Times *advertisement on page 63 will appear in the next issue. The* Times *declined the* Review's *offer to print the text of the advertisement as a letter to the editor.*

The upper class

TO THE REVIEW:

Steve Slade's assertion ("The Midas Touch," CJR, November/December) that the American press descriptively under-classes people is the exact opposite of the truth. The press habitually "over-classes," in the same way that it describes a garbage collector as a sanitation engineer or a typist as a secretary. I remember reading reviewers, in 1972, who said that *All in the Family* was a middle-class comedy: presumably Slade would have agreed with them.

I'll accept, for simplicity, his basic assumption that class is a question of income, although there are other considerations: for instance, if you have inherited a house, while your neighbors are paying $6,000 a year mortgage for a similar place, you are in their class for $6,000 less. However, Slade's main erroneous assumptions are: (1) That earnings dictate class regardless of how many people there are in the family; (2) that the cost of living is the same everywhere; and (3) that the "middle class" is 60 percent of the population, three times the size of the working class, and that the "upper" or "upper middle" class is as big as the working class.

Presumably, Slade would say a salary of $36,000 is "upper middle." But if, for example, the salary-earner has a wife and six children and a mortgage on a five-bedroom house, the eight people sharing the $26,000 left after taxes are probably closer to working-class living standards. What, for instance, would they be able to set aside for an annual vacation — $2,000? Is a "$250-per" vacation "upper middle class"?

Slade quotes *Time* as saying that only 25 percent of Americans are working class, but this is presumably by world standards — in which case the figure ought presumably to be even lower, since "welfare" in the States would be staunchly "middle-class" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

I would assume that "working class" means most Americans — a low rent, an aging car and no luxuries. In a big city, this to me suggests a single person earning up to $10,000, a couple up to $15,000, a couple with two children up to $20,000. For "lower middle class" — a modest mortgage, a more recent car, an occasional T-bone on birthdays — I'd add on about 50 percent. I'd say "middle class" if the person or family can afford to buy into a good neighborhood, run a new medium-sized car and pay private school fees. I'd agree with the reporter who said the Hearsts were upper middle class and I'd reserve "upper class" for the Rockefellers, Gettys, and Henry Fords of this world.

RUSSELL WARREN HOWE
Washington, D.C.

The big o

Remember those embarrassing clouds that gathered last fall over the Texas race for state supreme court ("Texas-sized Mix-up," by Hoyt Purvis, September/October)? Not until an obscure Houston lawyer named Don Yarbrough shocked Texas by winning the Democratic primary had the media recognized their failure to warn voters against confusing the name with that of another Houston lawyer, the well-known Don Yarborough (spelled with that extra o). And not until then

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EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION	
Average number copies each issue during preceding 12 months:	
Total number of copies printed	42,368
Paid circulation:	
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,472
2. Mail subscriptions	36,550
3. Total paid circulation	38,022
Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means; samples, complimentary, and other free copies	421
Total distribution	38,443
Copies not distributed:	
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted for, spoiled after printing	2,330
2. Returns from news agents	1,595
Total	42,368
Actual number copies of single issue published nearest to filing date:	
Total number of copies printed	41,886
Paid circulation:	
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,536
2. Mail subscriptions	36,224
3. Total paid circulation	37,760
Free distribution by mail, carrier, or other means; samples, complimentary, and other free copies	562
Total distribution	38,322
Copies not distributed:	
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted for, spoiled after printing	1,900
2. Returns from news agents	1,664
Total	41,886

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Douglas P. Newton
Business Manager

too had the reporting begun on Yarbrough's legal troubles (more than a dozen civil lawsuits filed against him). Now the race is over. The press's belated attempts to correct its sins of omission aroused little more than a protest write-in vote for two candidates who between them drew a quarter of the votes. For Yarbrough, it was a 1.2-million vote triumph, and six-year term provided, of course, that he survives disbarment proceedings instituted against him by the bar association.

Noninterference

TO THE REVIEW:

We have just received a copy of an article written by Armando Vargas, published in the *Columbia Journalism Review*'s September/October issue. This article is very tendentious and only reflects in part what really happened with the newspaper *Excelsior*.

We were also very surprised to read the statement that Televisa is a government controlled television network. The *Columbia Journalism Review* should be acquainted with the fact that we are not a state-controlled organization but a privately owned company that defends freedom of expression and serves the public interest in the same way you do.

We would also like to point out that we did not interfere in any anti-*Excelsior* campaign. For your information, the problem was broadcast merely as informative news and whenever there has been any kind of problem, we have stated it directly and publicly to *Excelsior*.

LIC. MIGUEL ALEMAN VELASCO
Executive Vice-President, Televisa
Mexico City

Loch Ness Monster escapes (again)

Last summer, *The New York Times* breathlessly chronicled the great Loch Ness monster hunt, which the *Times* was helping to fund and which was being carried out by the Boston Academy of Applied Science. (CJR took note of this ballyhoo in "Monster Swamps 'Times,'" September/October 1976.) Well, the latest from Drumnadrochit is that in November the academy hauled its last camera out of the murky depths for repairs. The *Times* story, which appeared on December 6, bore the headline SEEKERS OF LOCH NESS MONSTER DISAPPOINTED, NOT DISCOURAGED. In *The Boston Globe*, the headline was possibly less sympathetic: NESSIE HUNTERS READY TO DETAIL, UH, PROGRESS.

Sears makes news

In its July/August issue, the *Review* published an article by Michael Hirsh ("The Sins of Sears Are Not News in Chicago") that reported on the oddly muted coverage in the Chicago papers of the trial of Sears, Roebuck & Company, accused by the Federal Trade Commission of bait-and-switch tactics in selling major home appliances. In October, in the natural course of legal affairs, the papers got another shot at informing readers about the activities of the world's largest retailer: the F.T.C. had accepted an agreement containing a consent order prohibiting Sears from using the illegal tactics in the future. How did the papers handle it this time? All three of Chicago's major dailies reported the story — the *Daily News* on page 5, the *Sun-Times* somewhat less prominently on page 44; the *Chicago Tribune* — which from start to finish of the trial of its largest advertiser had carried not one line about the case — ran the story on page 5.

'Ill-served'

An episode that the *Review* reported in its September/October issue ("Beating a Hasty Retreat," by Francis Pollock) was reviewed by the National News Council in November. The Newburgh *Evening News*, owned by the Thomson newspapers, had fired Michael Krawetz when his abrasive reporting on local politics brought ire — and a threat of an advertising boycott — from outraged town officials. In its decision, the National News Council criticized Krawetz's reporting as opinionated, but found the *News*'s publisher and editor even more culpable in their promotion of his material, lack of editorial supervision, failure to publish a letter from the Republican town chairman, and surrender to political pressure. The council wrote, "The Newburgh situation is a case study of a chain ownership accused of sending down orders to a local newspaper, changing editorial and news policy when the withdrawal of legal advertising was threatened, and then refusing to even acknowledge inquiries about its role or its policies." It was a case, the council said, in which journalism had been "ill-served at almost every point."

Correction

The name of the managing editor of *The Capital Times* of Madison, Wisconsin is Robert Meloon, and not Robert Malone, as was erroneously printed in the November/December "Comment."

Darts (no laurels)

Dart: to Fred C. Shapiro, whose article in the November/December issue of the Columbia Journalism Review was based on erroneous statistics which he himself miscalculated and from which he necessarily drew distorted conclusions.

Dart: to the editors of the Columbia Journalism Review, who printed the article without ever checking with The New York Times, following the lead of the author who also failed to check with The Times.

We would have been willing to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the author's calculations if anyone had asked. It's no secret. Anyone with a ruler could have shown Mr. Shapiro and the Review why they were wrong.

Mr. Shapiro said that The New York Times, in changing its news format from eight columns to six columns, had reduced its news content. That is simply not true. But not surprising since Mr. Shapiro made an initial miscalculation and he never recovered.

The Times, he said, had shrunk its page width from 14 to 13½ inches. That is false. The total width of our six columns has been reduced from 14.662 inches to 14.500 inches: a 1.1 percent reduction, not the 3.6 percent reduction calculated by Mr. Shapiro.

The Times knew exactly what the loss of news space would be in the changeover and the loss was accordingly more than compensated for by allocating more news space in the new format. The daily increase in the news hole is 0.6 pages.

The Times has a Media Services Department that measures the news and advertising content of the paper daily, and its figures verify that the daily increase planned did in fact occur. Both that department and one of our editors who checked independently measured the news hole for 24 issues before and after the format change and the corresponding issues in 1975. They agreed that the news hole had increased 0.6 pages.

Among the many other factual errors made by Mr. Shapiro are these:

He says the news hole declined from 38.6 percent in the paper on September 1 to 36.9 percent on September 8. That is an irrelevant and misleading statistic. The news hole at The Times is *not* a percentage of the space occupied by advertising. We run a fixed news hole based on news needs and determined by our editors working within an annual quota, and the overall size of the paper then fluctuates according to how much space the advertising occupies.

Thus if Mr. Shapiro had chosen a day in the Christmas season, when ads are heavy, he could have "proved" that the percentage of news was down much further. Or if he had chosen a day in midsummer, or on a holiday weekend, when ads are light, he could have "proved" that the news percentage had shot up through the ceiling.

Shapiro's wordage comparisons for various departments on September 1 and September 8 do not square with our records at all, and we have verified that our records are right. He says that local news was down 11 percent; in fact, we allotted 15 new columns to metropolitan on both September 1 and September 8. He says national news was down 30 percent. Preposterous on the face of it for anybody who even reads The Times. In fact, we allotted 17.25 columns to national on September 1 and 16.5 on September 8. The drop reflected news developments on these days and was 4.35 percent.

Foreign or cable news—He says we went down 9 percent. In fact, we allotted 12 new columns both days.

Cultural—He says we went down 10 percent. In fact, our allotments were 6.75 and 7.75 new columns. The *increase* (not drop) is 14.8 percent.

Business—He says we went down 3 percent. In fact, we went from 45.75 new columns to 48 new columns, an increase of 4.9 percent.

Obit—He says we went up 2 percent. In fact, we went from 2.25 new columns to 3 new columns—an increase of 33 percent. This is, of course, quite meaningless, simply reflecting the flow of the news that day.

Family/Style—He says we went up 80 percent. We can only assume that one of the papers he measured (the September 1 issue) was purchased out of town and was missing the four pages zoned for metropolitan circulation. In fact, the full-run pages of family/style went from 7.125 new columns on September 1 to 7.25 columns on September 8—an increase of 1.75 percent. On both days, we ran four zoned family/style pages that appeared in the metropolitan area only. They were virtually identical in both issues. We can only assume he saw an out-of-town edition of the September 1 paper and went further astray.

It is so patently silly to draw sweeping conclusions on the basis of just two issues, (published by the way, before and after Labor Day, when the volume of both news and advertising customarily change shape sharply) that knowledgeable people will have trouble figuring out why the article was written or published.

Peter Millones
Assistant Managing Editor
The New York Times

REPORTS

The Effects of Newspaper-Television Cross-Ownership on News Homogeneity, by William T. Gormley, Jr. The University of North Carolina, 1976

Does it makes any difference if your local television station happens to be owned by your daily newspaper? There are seventy-two such stations in sixty-seven such cities — in fifteen cases, it's the only TV station and the only newspaper company in town — and yes, says Gormley, it makes a difference. His 276-page report documents the sometimes subtle ways — the likelihood of location of both the station and the newspaper in the same building, the sharing of newspaper carbons, the practice of cross-employment — in which, in the joint ownership situation, the content of news becomes homogenized and the flow of opinions constricted. Gormley presents strong evidence for divestiture and offers drastic recommendations for F.C.C. rule changes. He argues that the diversity of news and opinion so essential to the principle of the public's right to know demands diversity of ownership as well.

"What is News?" **Journal of Communication,** Autumn 1976

The substance here is theoretical — but not forbidding. If the seven articles in this "What is News?" section do not deliver the answers, they certainly raise thoughtful philosophical, psychological, sociological, and political questions about journalism. "Telling Stories," by Gaye Tuchman, for example, applies the Goffman notion of "frames," or principles of organization that govern social experience, not only to the structure of the news story, but also to its very perception *as* a news story. Elina Suominen's "Who Needs Information and Why" considers the relationship between informational inequality and economic and social inequality; the article charges that the media's language, terminology, and approach to issues, comprehensible to only the highly educated section of the population, tend to widen, rather than to narrow, the information gap, and argues for changes in communication structure and ownership. Perhaps the most provocative of the articles is "Novelty without Change," in which E. Barbara Phillips discusses the epistemological implications of news. The author presents a lucid, arresting argument that journalism's language of particulars, its format of descending order of bits and pieces of reality, and its emphasis on the paradoxical and unexpected prevent the development of the kind of formal, systematic, and abstract thinking that is necessary for the realization of a philosophically insightful press.

"The Graying of the Herald Tribune," by William Dowell, **The Paris Metro,** October 13, 1976

An interesting study in contrasts here. A small young biweekly, apparently modeled on *The Village Voice* and published in Paris in English, has taken a penetrating look at what may be the ultimate establishment newspaper — "the international paper for international businessmen," as the *Herald Tribune*, another English-language paper published in Paris, likes to think of itself these days. This critique alleges that the *Trib* has descended into dullness; the article describes a shift in style and spirit since the paper's recent decision to cultivate the "Mid-Atlantic Mind" — a marketing concept that translates journalistically into stock quotations and numbing geopolitical news. Quite possibly, Dowell says, the *Trib* has lost its soul; what's more, it is losing advertisers; worse yet, a European edition of *The Wall Street Journal* — no mean competition — looms large.

"The Other Minority," **Public Telecommunications Review,** July August 1976

"It has become obvious to us," the editors write, "that minority programming . . . is really local programming in its best sense." In this special issue, the focus is on broadcasting for Latinos, the second largest minority group in the nation. The essential need, the authors believe, is for a serious commitment on the part of public television to bicultural, bilingual programming. Not only can parallel growth in the public television industry and the Spanish-speaking community be mutually beneficial, it is argued, but bilingual/bicultural programming may even help to resolve some critical social problems. On the practical plane, a number of professionals with various experience in Asian-, Indian-, and Franco-American programming projects offer inspiration and advice on such matters as funding, staff selection, content, audience building, and relations with governing boards.

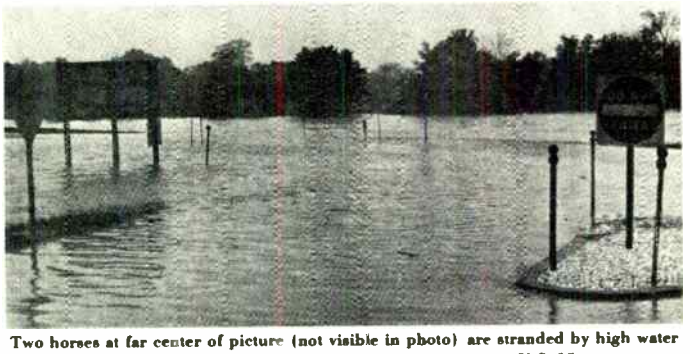
"The First Amendment," **Quill,** September 1976

This special issue could serve as a concise introductory course to the theory and practice of the First Amendment. Several distinguished journalists and legal experts have contributed articles on various aspects of the subject, including a guide to the landmark cases, an examination of the First-Sixth Amendment conflict, and a warning of impending storms from retired Justice William O. Douglas. One of the most striking articles is "Today's Godfathers," by Lyle Denniston, in which he systematically analyzes the opinions of the nine present justices on such questions as libel, obscenity, privacy, press controls, advertising, and broadcasting. Sketching detailed, vivid First Amendment profiles of each, Denniston concludes that while it is still a "First Amendment Court," a constitutional balancing test is in current favor, and the former absolute approach to free speech is in discard.

"Fires, Sex and Freaks," by Ben H. Bagdikian, **The New York Times Magazine,** October 10, 1976

All-news radio has become, after a decade of fits and starts, the fastest-growing phenomenon in commercial broadcasting. Bagdikian approaches it in general by way of the particular, focusing a kind of casebook study on one of seventy-five all-news stations, KCBS of San Francisco. Details of organization and personnel, advertising and revenues are included, but the most fascinating aspect is the program itself — the ways in which content and rhythm combine with technical virtuosity and precision planning to produce a magical and saleable "flow." Speculating on the reasons for the format's extraordinary appeal, Bagdikian suggests that "after fifteen years of violent news in the country — protests, riots, assassinations, spreading wars — there seems to be not only a need to listen for news of trouble but also to listen for assurance that nothing desperate has happened." Another question, not answered here, is the effect of the form on listeners' perceptions of the world.

The Lower case



Two horses at far center of picture (not visible in photo) are stranded by high water of Carroll Creek, which closed Rosemont avenue at U.S. 15

The Frederick (Md.) News and Post 10/12/76

Jobless Ranks Thin Out Slightly In September

Sentinel Star (Orlando, Fla.) 10/9/76

Louisiana Governor Defends His Wife, Gift From Korean

The Milwaukee Journal 10/26/76

Dead Expected To Rise

The Macon (Ga.) News 8/11/76

Former Rep. Gray said last night: "Nobody's investigating me. Nobody's called me. I never had anything to do with selecting an architect. How can you investigate somebody for something he's never done? I've never received a nickel or any kind of favor from anybody associated with the building industry or an architectural firm in my 20 years in Congress."

Former Rep. Gray could not be reached for comment.

The Washington Post 11/11/76

James E. Kuechle, director of the home, said the number of bedsore cases is increasing, and is now about 60 a month, because "we don't have enough sides."

Buffalo Evening News 10/19/76

Men who dive for sea urchins spend up to eight hours a day under water. But the pay is good: often more than $1,000 a week, sometimes even more.

The New York Times 11/9/76

Nationwide Heroine Crackdown Includes Arrest of Three Here

Gainesville (Fla.) Sun 10/8/76

He defined pneumonia as an inflammation of the lungs resulting in severe cases of a life-threatening national immunization program.

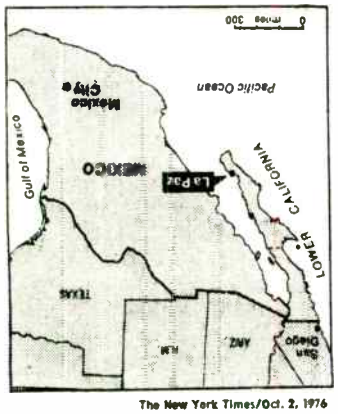
Atlanta Constitution 8/4/76

If Kline's plan is to die, the legislature must act

The Philadelphia Inquirer 11/25/76

Up the road at Goody's, an ice cream parlor and short-order establishment, poor Mr. Goody, who is actually Ben Saul, considered the $3,000 worth of ice cream commencing to melt in his freezers and then went on serving free food to the evacuees from the beach until the fool ran out.

The New York Times 10/2/76



The New York Times/Oct. 2, 1976

La Paz area was hard hit by storm

It contains the richest array of gadgetry ever put in a Rolls, including color TV, a video cassette player, refrigerator, bar, ladies, vanity table, gaming table complete with money, telephone (with a driver's extension) and a rear seat that reclines to form a double bed.

The Philadelphia Inquirer 11/10/76

Drunk gets nine months in violin case

The Lethbridge Herald 10/30/76

President Says He'll Veto Grain Bill With Teeth

The NFL Reporter (Corning, Iowa)

Carter Applauds 'Tone and Spirit' Of Mayors' Body

(N.Y.) Daily News 11/10/76

British pound begins rise on European money markets

Houston Chronicle 10/27/76, Chronicle News Service

British pound continues its slide on European markets

Houston Chronicle 10/27/76, UPI

Of all menthols:

Carlton is lowest.

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

The 10 top selling cigarettes

	tar mg./ cigarette	nicotine mg / cigarette
Brand P Non-Filter	27	1.7
Brand C Non-Filter	24	1.5
Brand W	19	1.3
Brand S Menthol	19	1.3
Brand'S Menthol 100	19	1.2
Brand W 100	18	1.2
Brand M	18	1.1
Brand K Menthol	17	1.3
Brand M Box	17	1.0
Brand K	16	1.0

Other cigarettes that call themselves low in "tar"

	tar mg / cigarette	nicotine mg / cigarette
Brand D	15	1.0
Brand P Box	14	0.8
Brand D Menthol	14	1.0
Brand M Lights	13	0.8
Brand W Lights	13	0.9
Brand K Milds Menthol	13	0.8
Brand T Menthol	11	0.7
Brand T	11	0.6
Brand V Menthol	11	0.8
Brand V	11	0.7
Carlton Filter	***2**	***0.2**
Carlton Menthol	***1**	***0.1**
Carlton 70	***1**	***0.1**

(lowest of all brands)
*Av per cigarette by FTC method

Carlton Menthol 1 mg. tar

Carlton Filter 2 mg. tar

No wonder Carlton is the fastest growing of the top 25 brands.

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

Menthol: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine; Filter: 2 mg. "tar", 0.2 mg. nicotine; Carlton 70's: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.