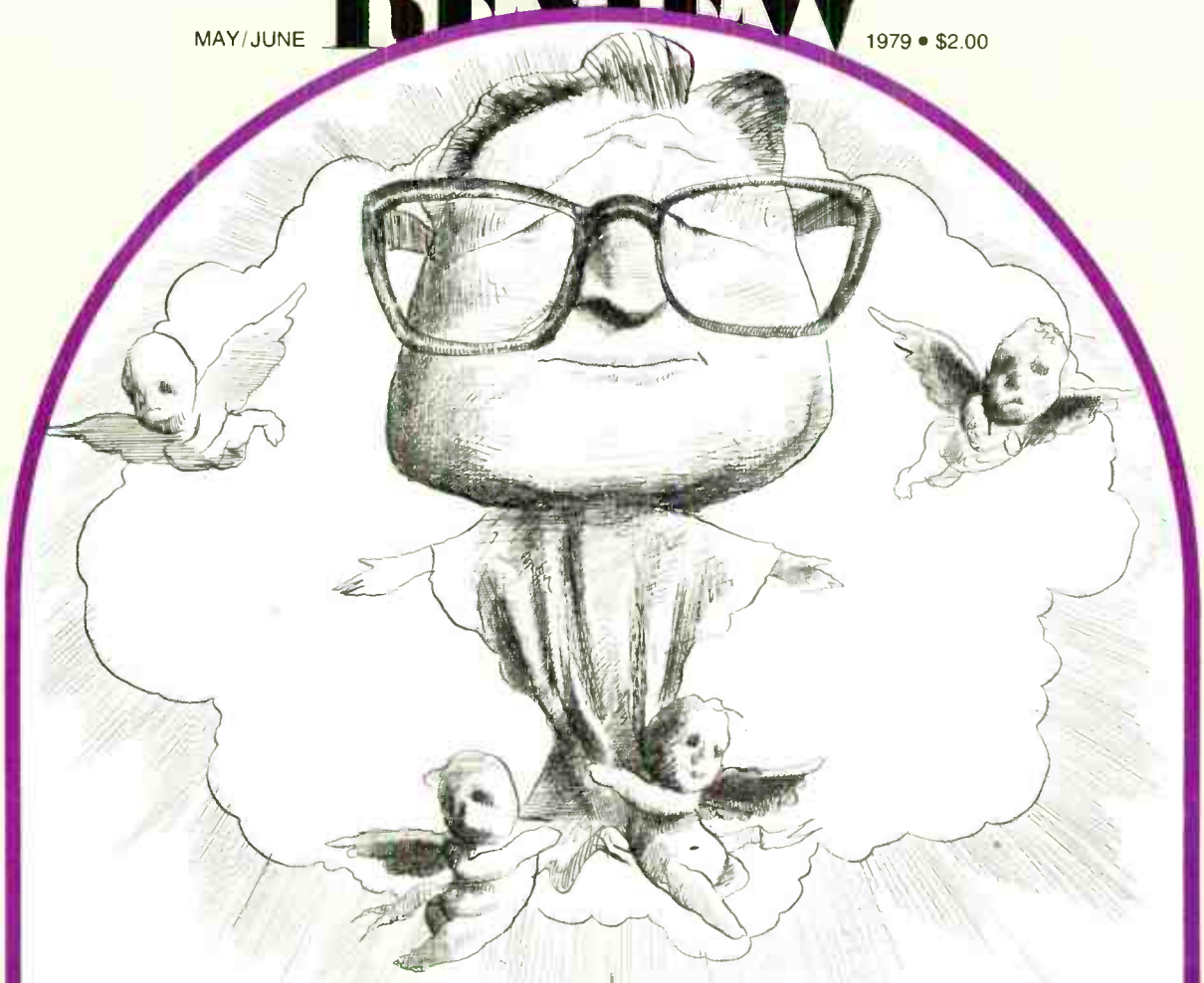
Aviation Week's Doomsday Beat ■ Rebellion at The Plain Dealer
Mr. Deng Comes to Washington ■ The Pope Goes West, the Press Goes Astray

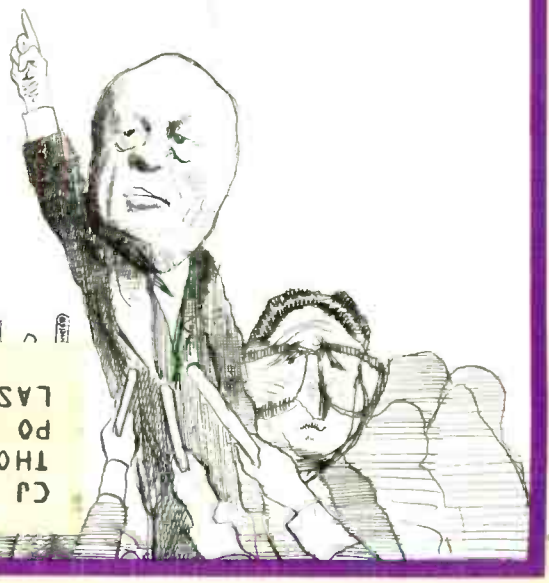
COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW

MAY/JUNE 1979 • $2.00



ROCKEFELLER'S DEATH

The press confronts an artful departure



Julio Fernandez

The thought is from iguel de Cervan es. he interpretation is by Corita Kent of Immaculate Heart College.

"By the street of By-and-By one arrives at the house of Never."

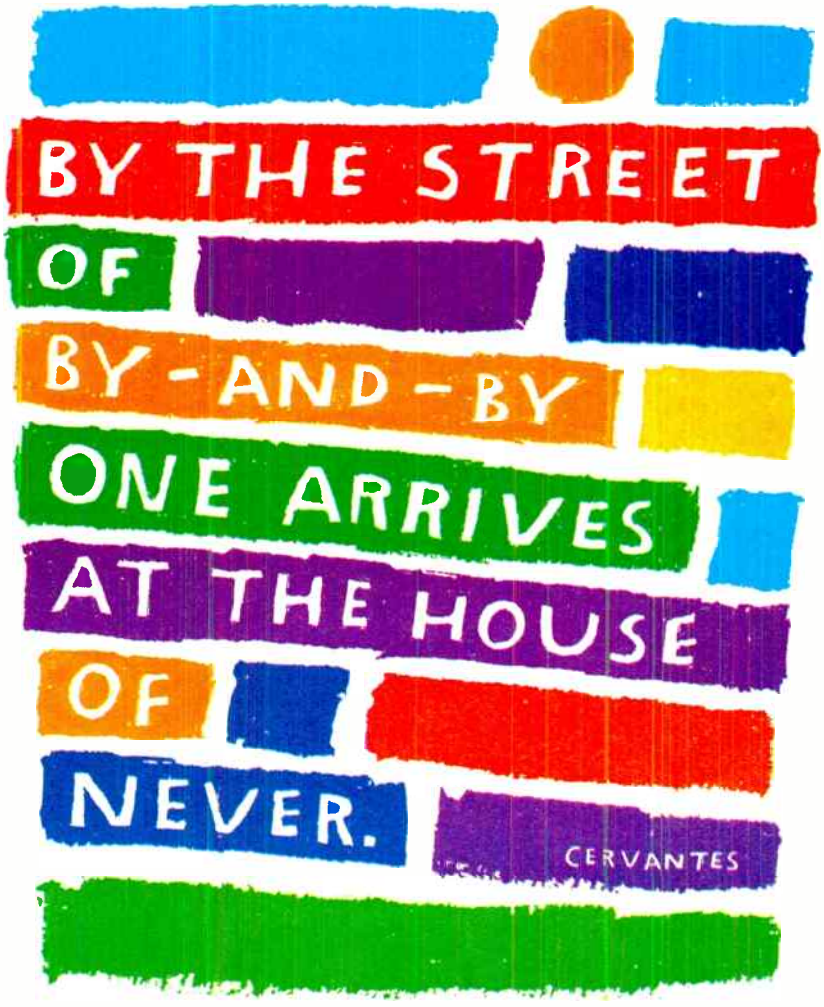
The street of By-and-By, like another metaphorical thoroughfare, is paved with good intentions. We are aware of our society's problems; we know the necessity of resolving them. But action is frequently hindered by procrastination and postponement. And, sadly, the delays often result in opportunities forever lost.

For example, while we vacillate in solving teenage unemployment, the potentials of a generation of young people may be blunted or permanently lost. While we endlessly debate the problems of energy, resources dwindle and fuel costs escalate.

Clearly, we must be constantly reminded of the job at hand. And we must be goaded, prodded, even shamed into action.

Broadcasting is uniquely equipped for that task. With their phenomenal reach and impact, radio and television can and must spotlight today's problems, present possible solutions and urge action. Repeatedly and relentlessly. In this way, broadcasting can help direct its vast audience away from the street of By-and-By to a road of vigorous action.

It would be sad indeed if our society, the most informed in history, were to end its days padding about the house of Never, mooning over the dusty relics of lost opportunities.



Coirtz

Imagine tomorrow without argument.

How disagreeable.

Messy business, argument. But, more often than not, it clears the air. Opens up minds to conflicting ideas. Makes proud intellectuals and ordinary folks ask themselves if their cherished assumptions are based on real knowledge or on prejudice, fashion, and rote response. Discussion, even when heated, tends to lead to rational judgments.

Which is why Mobil provokes, needles, challenges, and even tickles the funny bone of America to stir free-wheeling dialogue in the public prints. Saying what we think needs saying on issues that matter to people. Inflation. Jobs. Energy. Environment. The sad state of commercial TV.

Sure, we're a special interest. But what's wrong with that? As Walter Lippmann put it, "all principles are the rationalization of some special interest." The point is, voices of business balance other voices. Stifling any voice distorts the democratic process. The people must be able to weigh all the evidence, come to their own conclusions, and press their views on our national leaders. So future decisions in our participatory democracy will be based on the noblest wisdom of the past—the First Amendment.

Mobil

Speaking out for tomorrow... today

CONTENTS

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

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

ARTICLES

DEPARTMENTS

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Diesel-powered cars seem like a startling new idea to just about everybody these days—except Mercedes-Benz.

Mercedes-Benz has built over two million Diesel cars since introducing the world's first production Diesel 43 years ago. Priceless expertise, epitomized by the 5 Diesel thoroughbreds shown here. Read all about them, and about the crucial differences between a Diesel – and a Diesel from Mercedes-Benz.

Cynics were still snickering that "the Diesel engine can never work in an automobile" when Mercedes-Benz unveiled the world's first production Diesel passenger car.

That was in 1936. By 1958, Mercedes-Benz had introduced its Diesel cars to America. And while skeptics warned that "Americans will never buy Diesels," Mercedes-Benz proceeded to sell more than 155,000 of them over the following 21 years.

8 generations of Diesel cars

Today, Mercedes-Benz has progressed to an *eighth* generation of Diesel-powered cars, in a range of five models.

Five singular cars, each a unique rendering of the Diesel idea. Each backed by those 43 years of Mercedes-Benz Diesel development and the experience gained from building more than two million Diesel cars. Their engineering proven in labs and on test tracks, of course – but also by millions of miles of everyday use in 142 countries around the world.

Same principle, different Diesels

All Diesel-powered automobiles share the same technical principles – those laid down by inventor Rudolf Diesel almost a century ago.

But if technical principles were all that counted, all Diesel cars would be alike. It also counts how a Diesel car is *designed* and how it is *built*.

Diesels are no sudden enthusiasm, no production sideline at Mercedes-Benz. Built in the thousands year after year over the decades, Mercedes-Benz Diesel automobiles are almost the company's lifeblood. They reflect the efforts of engineers who have made the Diesel-powered automobile a career.

You can't argue with results

This commitment and that 43-year fund of Mercedes-Benz Diesel expertise combine to pay welcome dividends.

Diesel engineering breakthroughs seem almost a Mercedes-Benz habit. For example: In 1975, the world's first five-cylinder Diesel passenger car; in 1978, the world's first turbocharged Diesel passenger car – its engine, cousin to that used in a 200-mph Mercedes-Benz Diesel coupe that shattered 9 absolute world speed and distance records.

Other dividends take less spectacular but still impressive forms. The special precombustion chamber provided for each cylinder of a Mercedes-Benz engine, for instance: Air and fuel are mixed and burned in *two* stages, for running smoothness and more complete combustion.

Five different Diesels

The Mercedes-Benz Diesel range consists of more than varied body styles. Here are profiles of five different kinds of Diesel cars:

The 300 SD Turbodiesel Sedan is a *performance* Diesel – the first production Diesel car to employ turbocharging. It is also the roomiest Diesel sedan Mercedes-Benz has ever built, and the most sumptuous.

The total effect is breathtaking. You are literally turbocharged away from stoplights, up long grades, through passing maneuvers, with a feeling of power to spare. "Diesel lag" is gone.

The new 300 TD station wagon, just announced, had to behave like a Mercedes-Benz first and foremost: it is meant to be not just another station wagon, but a brisk-handling machine that is rewarding to drive – even under heavy load. The 300 TD is as *solidly built* as a Mercedes-Benz car, and interior space has been so ingeniously used that all of the passenger seats can fold away to create the maximum possible cargo space.

The 300 CD Coupe introduces Diesel efficiency into the elegant realm of the two-door, limited-production coupe.

The extraordinary result: a rival to some of the world's most exclusive two-door cars, rich with creature comforts and ideal for extended highway cruising – yet powered by a five-cylinder Diesel engine that purrs along on the cheapest automotive fuel you can buy.

The 300 D Sedan is that rarity of rarities, a four-door automobile that is also a *driver's* car.

One spirited run down a challenging mountain road in the 300 D should forever quash the old prejudice that a sedan, or a Diesel, has to be dull.

The 240 D Sedan offers classic, no-nonsense Diesel practicality in its most refined form to date.

With its modest 2.4-liter, four-cylinder engine size, the 240 D's fuel appetite is meant to be lean indeed. The EPA estimates 30 mpg for a 240 D equipped with a manual 4-speed transmission. *Remember:* compare this estimate to the 'estimated mpg' of other cars. You may get different mileage, depending on how fast you drive, weather conditions, and trip length.

Economy is furthered by a manual 4-speed transmission as standard equipment. For those bent on peak efficiency, air-conditioning and certain accessories are omitted from the standard equipment list. They can be ordered as extra-cost options.

Engineered like no other car in the world

The Mercedes-Benz aim is doggedly single-minded. It is to build safe, comfortable, practical cars with as few imperfections as possible.

This philosophy puts engineering ahead of petty economies and precludes the mass production of inexpensive cars.

A Mercedes-Benz is engineered like no other car in the world.

Light alloy wheels on 300 CD and 300 TD – and sunroof shown – are at added cost

CHRONICLE

The Guild: spooked again?

With little fanfare and almost no comment outside its own ranks, The Newspaper Guild's international executive board voted last October to accept government funds for the first time since revelations about covert C.I.A. funding in the mid-1960s. The money, to be used to reactivate a training program for Latin American journalists, is the focus of controversy as the Guild prepares for its July convention.

The initial grant, for about $100,000, originated in the U.S. Agency for International Development, but it is administered by the American Institute for Free Labor Development (A.I.F.L.D.). Since its establishment in 1962, the institute has trained more than 300,000 Latin American union leaders and, in the process, has become identified with a more recognizable set of initials: C.I.A.

The executive board's decision is a departure for the Guild, many of whose members were appalled to learn in 1967 that money funneled into the union for similar projects had come from the C.I.A. News of this connection made the front page of *The New York Times* of February 18, 1967. "The American Newspaper Guild has received nearly $1 million in foundation grants since 1960 to help finance its South American and other overseas activities," the *Times* said.

The Washington Post noted: "The CIA money was provided to Charles A. Perlik, Jr., the union's secretary-treasurer, and deposited in a special 'International Affairs Fund' by four mystery-shrouded private foundations."

At its 1967 convention, the Guild voted not to accept any more secret money, and gradually the international programs dried up. In 1976, Perlik, who by then had become the Guild's president, proposed to undertake new programs, this time openly using public funds, with A.I.F.L.D. and two similar organizations. The proposal was defeated by the executive board in an 8-to-8 tie vote. Last October, it was accepted, 9 to 6, opening a new era of Guild activity.

In his 1975 exposé, *Inside The Company: CIA Diary*, Philip Agee, who left the agency in 1969, described A.I.F.L.D. as a "CIA-controlled labor center financed through AID. Programs in adult education and social projects [are] used as front[s] for covering trade union organizing activity."

One of the C.I.A.'s "most effective" agents inside the A.I.F.L.D., Agee noted, was William C. Doherty, Jr., its special projects director in the 1960s. In a 1964 radio program, Doherty described the political role A.I.F.L.D. trainees had played in one country.

"What happened in Brazil on April 1 [1964] did not just happen; it was planned—and planned months in advance," he said of the coup that took place at that time. "Many of the trade union leaders—some of whom were actually trained in our institute—were involved in the revolution and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

Doherty is now executive director of A.I.F.L.D. Whether the institute's policies and affiliations have changed since the 1960s cannot yet be determined. Doherty failed to return repeated telephone calls to his home and office.

Top Guild officials who back the new program dismiss such evidence of A.I.F.L.D.'s past associations or discount its importance. Perlik says, "I don't think the issue is worthy of the kind of turmoil [opponents of the program] are trying to generate." And Guild chairman Harry Culver comments, "I'm not going around worrying about the C.I.A. under every rock. If it's a good program, I'm going to support it."

According to Perlik's proposal to the executive board, the Latin American training project is necessary, in part, because recent years have shown "a substantial upsurge of interest and activity there by the [Prague-based] International Organization of Journalists." Last winter, after returning from a Latin-American fact-finding trip for the new Guild programs, two union officials recommended to the board that further activities be undertaken in such "sensitive na-

A Kennedy crop at *The Washington Star*— a story in three editions

Senator Kennedy with unidentified woman at a White House dinner

Kennedy alone, after inquiry reveals she did not come with him

Kennedy with Msgr. Francis Lally, a friend

Walter Oates, *The Washington Star*, March 27 Material supplied by Carl P. Leubsdorf

WS&A
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March 9, 1979

Mr. Allen Kay
Executive Vice-President
Kay, Thomas & Anthony, Inc.
909 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Allen:

Thanks very much for your stimulating presentation last Thursday on "Information Management as a Cost-Cutting Tool."

Our people were very favorably impressed with the thoroughness and insight demonstrated by your research into this area.

However, we've decided to table for the time being any further explorations. Our "paperwork flow," we feel, is not great enough to warrant further action, since the vast majority of it consists merely of ordinary business letter like this one.

But thanks anyway for your help. And should the need for any in-depth cost analysis arise, we'd like you to know that your people will be among the first we'll contact.

Best regards,

Warren Stewart

Warren Stewart
President

WS/bc

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*Source: Dartnell Institute of Business Research.

tions" as Nicaragua, "where . . . a communist-backed Latin American journalists' group has been active," and Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, "where left-wing, Catholic-oriented groups have sent activists."

"I don't know why the Guild is fighting the cold war," says Richard Dudman, Washington bureau chief of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. "It contradicts the role of journalists." Floyd Tucker of *The Oakland Tribune*, a Guild vice-president-at-large, says, "I don't see how you can play in that league without getting coopted." Another Guild vice-president, Lou Calvert, telegraph editor at the *San Jose Mercury* and *News*, speaks of "an implied link with the foreign policy of the United States government."

The Guild's connection with A.I.F.L.D. also raises practical problems for the working journalist. Says Dudman, who was captured by guerrillas in Cambodia in 1970 and accused of being a C.I.A. agent, "I wouldn't want to carry that additional load if I were working in Latin America." (Latin American journalists in some countries, meanwhile, apparently think that association with A.I.F.L.D., with its American ties, will provide some form of protection from oppressive regimes.)

Guild opponents of the new program point to another problem. By joining forces with A.I.F.L.D., the Guild's board has linked the union with an organization allied not just with labor—George Meany of the A.F.L.–C.I.O. is president of the institute—but with management—J. Peter Grace, president of W. R. Grace and Company, is chairman of the board. Other board members have included the presidents of Pan American Airways and Anaconda Copper.

"This situation," wrote the Union Committee for an All-Labor A.I.F.L.D., a reform group, a few years ago, "puts the labor movement out front to take all the knocks for the multinationals." The group's call "to disassociate A.I.F.L.D. from the multinational corporations and all government agencies" has gone unheeded.

The A.I.F.L.D. connection has become a divisive issue within the Guild. Says Betsy Wade, a regional vice president: "I don't see how anything but pain can come out of this."

JEFFREY STEIN

Jeffrey Stein reports on national security issues from Washington. John Marks provided additional research.

The ruffled Mideast press corps

President Carter's success in concluding an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty ruffled, along the way, a lot of feathers in the press. Aware that they were caught up in a vast media event, reporters grew increasingly concerned that White House aides might be using them as instruments of diplomacy. Their frustration broke out into the open at the end of Carter's mid-March Mideast shuttle, when some correspondents who reported that the president had failed one day were forced to eat their words the next.

On Monday, March 12, the news was bleak. Said Walter Cronkite on CBS that evening: "All indications now are that President Carter's high-stakes gamble in the Middle East has failed. . . ." The next day's *Wall Street Journal* carried a report by Karen Elliott House in a similar vein: "President Carter returns home today, his peace mission having failed. . . ."

Other reports—including those on NBC and ABC—were more cautious, but in general the word was out that a treaty was very unlikely.

Less than twenty-four hours later, many reporters were forced to present a different story—of presidential success. On Tuesday night, NBC anchorman John Chancellor said flatly that "Carter has done it," and on ABC, White House correspondent Sam Donaldson said the president was returning home "a winner." It was CBS's turn to be cautious: peace, if not achieved, was close at hand.

As Air Force One and the accompanying press plane flew homeward Tuesday night, March 13, reporters shouted at Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, accusing him of having badly misled them on a very important story. "I told Powell I had never been so misled by a press secretary in sixteen years," said Frank Cormier, the A.P.'s White House correspondent. (Earlier that day, he had filed a story from Jerusalem saying, "President Carter is flying home via Cairo today, denied the triumph he had hoped to achieve. . . .") Several other reporters, including Oswald Johnston of the *Los Angeles Times* and John Wallach of Hearst Newspapers, also went after Powell.

On Wednesday, Helen Thomas, U.P.I.'s White House correspondent, brought the controversy into print in an article that began:

> Did President Carter pull off a last-minute miracle of peace between Arab and Jew? Or was the defeat-turned-victory a public relations coup?
>
> Some reporters who traveled with Carter believe White House press secretary Jody Po-

How the White House saw the trip.
(Official White House photo by Karl Schumacher)

How to buy a typewriter.

Clip and save

Choosing a portable typewriter isn't hard if you know what to look for. This brief guide will help you make the best choice.

Test the feel. Check the slope and height of the keyboard. Check the size and shape of the keys. Make sure the controls are uncrowded and easy to reach.

Test the feel of a Smith-Corona® electric typewriter against several other brands. We welcome the comparison.

Try the touch. A responsive touch makes for better, easier typing. Look for a touch that is prompt, easy and dependable.

When you test a Smith-Corona, for instance, note how smartly the carriage returns. Press a button—zip—the carriage is back where it started.

Listen to the sound—the typewriter is trying to tell you something. If it sounds tinny, beware. This may indicate that the construction is too light.

Note the look of the type. Lines and individual letters should be straight. The impression should be crisp, clean and even. The print quality should not vary over the page.

Check the overall design. Good design is part of good value, so choose an attractive modern instrument. The Smith-Corona shown is an example of classic, good design.

Look at the carrying case. Does it have double walls for air-cushioned protection? Does it have sturdy latches, locks and hinges? The Smith-Corona case does.

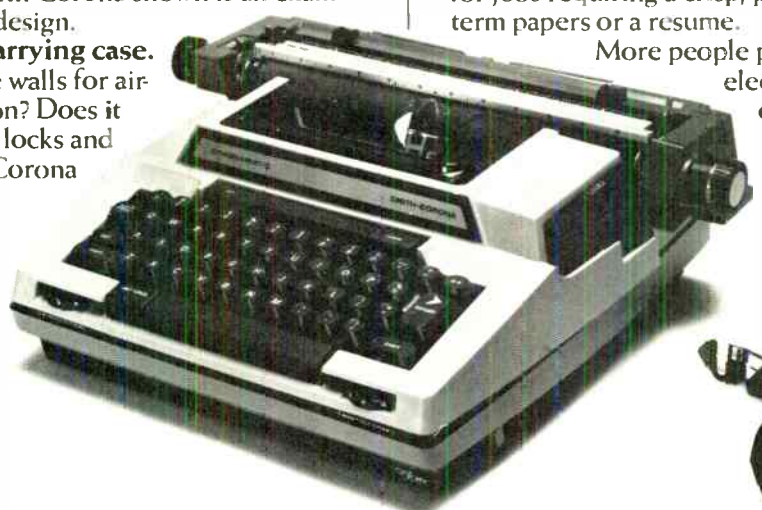
Check the price. A typewriter that sells for substantially less than others might be substantially less typewriter. If the price difference is minimal, you're probably better off paying a few extra dollars for the typewriter that tests best.

Ask who makes it. Smith-Corona makes every single typewriter that bears its name, not true of most other brands. So consider the maker's reputation. A company with a solid reputation will still be around tomorrow and in the future to give your typewriter necessary service and maintenance.

A note about ribbon systems. Smith-Corona offers a unique cartridge ribbon and cartridge correction system. It lets you change ribbons in seconds without touching the ribbon. It also lets you correct typing errors neatly, quickly and easily. Not all correction systems produce equally good results. Test and compare.

Be sure to try the Smith-Corona carbon film ribbon. We offer a re-usable nylon fabric ribbon, excellent for ordinary typing jobs. This is the only kind of ribbon most portable typewriters offer. But Smith-Corona also offers carbon film ribbon in five colors. It's the kind of ribbon the most expensive office typewriters use, and it's perfect for jobs requiring a crisp, professional look such as term papers or a resume.

More people prefer Smith-Corona electric portables than all other brands combined. After these tests, we think you'll know why.



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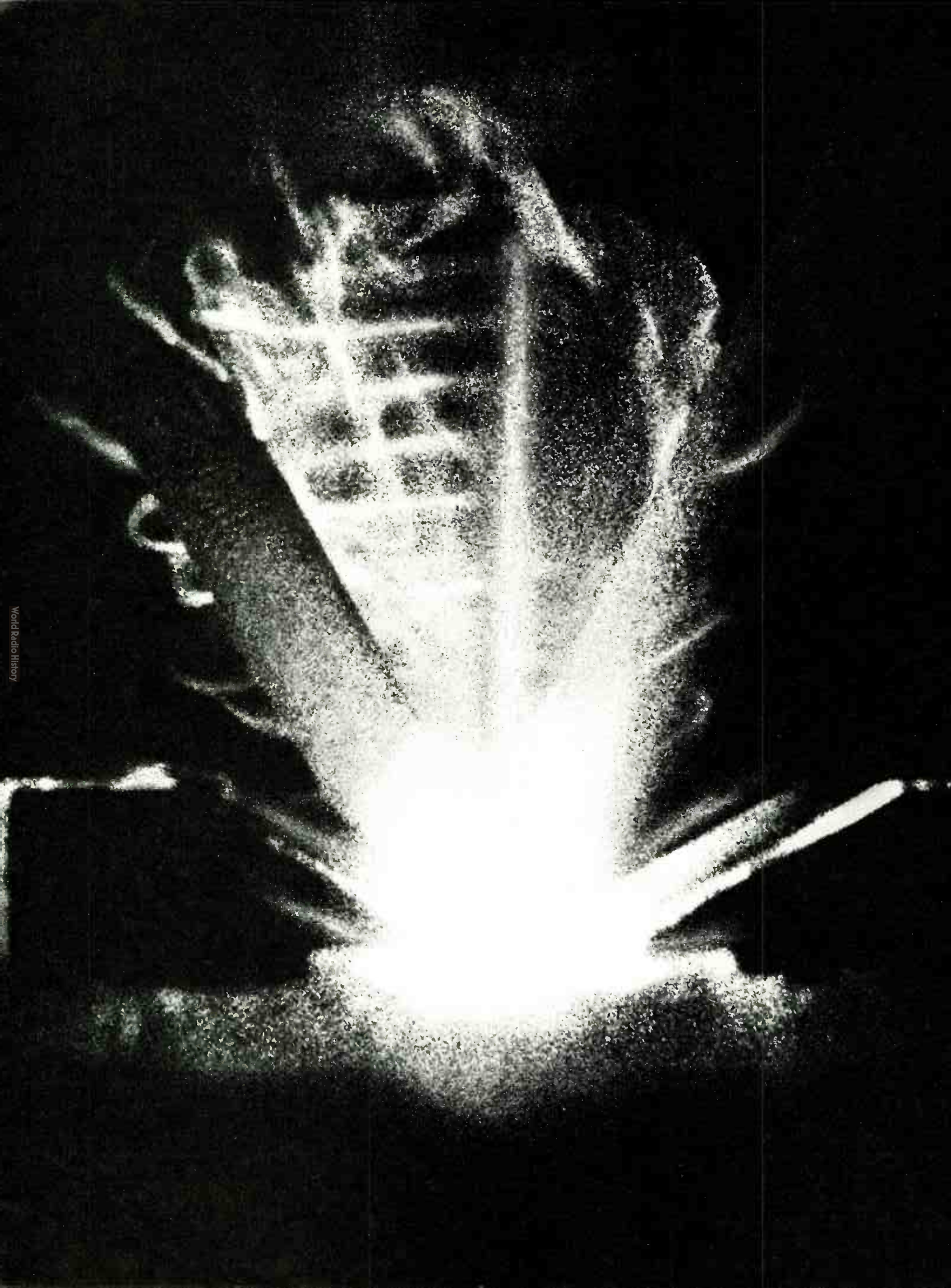

The Atomic Bond.

Using tiny explosive charges, Western Electric engineers are bonding metals with the elemental "glue" of the Universe.

Here's how it works. The atoms of all metals have a natural attraction for one another. If it weren't for the ever-present film of impurities coating the surface—the oxides, nitrides, and absorbed gasses—all metal atoms would bond to each other when brought together.

Exploding Things Together.

But the force of a high-intensity explosion on two adjacent metals will clean away the film of impurities. The explosion literally "blows" the impurities off the surfaces. So the atoms of the different metals can bond together.

The bond that results is stronger than both of the metals themselves.

As an industrial technique, explosive bonding has proved valuable in the manufacture of such heavyweight products as bi-metallic gun barrels.

Pinpoint Explosions.

But how would explosives work in the delicate, intricate world of telephone circuitry?

Scientists at Western Electric's Engineering Research Center solved the problem by developing ways to miniaturize and control explosive bonding. Soon, they could splice the ends of two thin communications wires inside a miniature explosive-coated sleeve.

And they could repair tiny defective contacts on delicate circuit boards. These gold contacts (membrane-thin "fingers" 1/10 by 3/4 of an inch) are reclad by thin sheets of gold foil (.0005 inches thick), coated with explosives. The repairs are literally "blown" onto the contacts, without disturbing the delicate circuitry less than 1/10 of an inch away.

Miniaturized explosive bonding is only one way we're helping your Bell Telephone Company hold down the cost of your telephone service today. For the future, it promises the benefits of bonding widely disparate metals and all sorts of other materials.

You Can Take It For Granted.

Most important, explosive bonds are contributing to the clarity of communications, the reliability of switching, the taken-for-granted assurance you have when you reach for your telephone.

The atomic bond—it's another innovation from Western Electric.

Keeping your communications system the best in the world.

Western Electric

We asked Americans:

One in a Series from Union Carbide.

'Is Industry Using Energy More Efficiently Since The 1973 Oil Embargo?'

8 out of 10 Americans say 'No.'

A March, 1979 sampling of public opinion, conducted for Union Carbide by Roger Seasonwein Associates, Inc.,* shows that most Americans feel U.S. industry isn't conserving energy: 53% say industry is using more energy per unit of production than at the time of the 1973 oil boycott. And 29% say industry is using "the same amount."

But a majority see no rise in home use of electricity.

When asked about their own efforts to conserve energy, 52% say they are using about the same amount of electricity at home as in 1973. And 44% feel they are using about the same amount of gasoline, heating oil and natural gas.

What has happened in energy conservation?

Facts to support the belief that individuals are using less or the same amount of gasoline and fuels are hard to come by—since government figures often combine household and commercial use. But the facts do show that the residential and commercial share of the total U.S. energy consumption has gotten *larger* since 1973. And the industrial share has gotten *smaller*.

- According to Edison Electric Institute, average home use of electricity is up almost 10% since the 1973 embargo.
- Since 1973, the U.S. Department of Energy reports, industry has reduced its share of U.S. energy consumption from 39.1% to 35.4%.

What do we gain from conservation?

While many may have ignored initial appeals for energy conservation, inflation and an unstable world have given conservation a very real urgency. Conservation won't make energy less costly in a time of inflation. But it will keep America's energy bills more affordable.

In short, energy conservation is now an economic necessity. Given the real and rising costs of energy, Americans can't afford not to conserve.

What government is doing about energy.

President Carter has submitted to Congress standby conservation plans for gasoline rationing and restrictions on weekend gasoline sales, building temperatures and display lighting.

For the longer term, the White House, Congress and DOE are examining ways both to induce conservation and to provide additional energy supplies—a task complicated by the need to find solutions that are realistic, economically sound—and acceptable to the American people.

What approaches to conservation do Americans favor?

Americans give majority acceptance to two ways to achieve energy conservation: 68% go along with voluntary programs and 62% with conservation laws, short of rationing. A 40% minority accept rationing. And 32% say "raising the price of energy" has a role to play.

The next step.

Perhaps the biggest boost to conservation will come when our policies are based on realistic energy pricing. Once we no longer try to isolate ourselves from the real costs of energy, we won't be tempted to use more than we really need. Each of us will have an incentive to cut waste because we know energy's true costs.

The reality of rising prices: Much of the oil we use comes from abroad—and at skyrocketing prices. The oil we use at home is kept at artificially low prices by federal regulations. And inflation and our desire for a cleaner environment make new domestic energy resources increasingly costly to develop.

Price is 'the one most persuasive factor': Acknowledging the role of prices in fostering energy conservation, President Carter recently described rising prices as "the most persuasive factor" in constraining waste.

A hesitation to apply price remedies: The problem with higher energy prices is that none of us like to pay them—and some of us can't afford to. And our elected representatives understandably hesitate to apply price remedies to energy ills. But given current energy realities, pricing energy resources at their actual costs may be a conservation tool we can't afford to ignore.

New support for price incentives? The March study shows a low 32% of Americans now accept higher prices as an energy conservation measure. But others might also give their support if convinced that phased-in higher prices honestly reflect costs; don't provide windfall profits; and are fairly apportioned among all groups of the consuming public.

Union Carbide's stake in saving energy.

Union Carbide uses large amounts of energy resources for fuel and power—and as raw material. Last year's bill for these was more than $1 billion. We must conserve, therefore, to make sure that we have raw materials and energy for the future. And to cut costs—since energy bills are a major factor in the price consumers pay for our products.

By the end of 1978, we had exceeded our energy conservation goal for 1980; we'd reduced our energy use per pound of product by more than 15 percent since 1972.

This advertisement is part of a continuing series on public opinion and national concerns. For more information, send for your complimentary copy of "Public Attitudes on Energy Conservation," a report of the nationwide survey.

*Conducted by telephone among a national probability sampling of 1,000 adults.

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Union Carbide Corporation
270 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

UNION CARBIDE

well painted an unnecessarily bleak picture during negotiations—either out of caution or so that Carter might reap greater political benefit from a surprise agreement.

The main point of contention aboard the plane, according to reporters present, was that even after a crucial Monday night meeting (between Cyrus Vance and Moshe Dayan) which, everyone later agreed, had opened the way for the ultimate breakthrough, Carter's press secretary continued to be pessimistic.

Powell—after a brief talk with Vance—had started holding briefings at 11 p.m. that night. James McCartney of the Knight Newspapers, in recapping the breakthrough later that week, quoted a U.S. official as saying, "Vance thought that there was just a slim possibility that [the treaty] might go." Did Powell hint at that slim possibility during his briefings?

Cormier says Powell said nothing that caused him to revise a story he had already filed. CBS's Lesley Stahl, a newcomer to the White House beat, also got the impression things were not going well, which reinforced the view already held by Cronkite and most other CBS correspondents. But Donaldson of ABC and Judy Woodruff of NBC, more familiar with Powell's meandering style and often subtle use of words, reacted differently. Woodruff, in fact, advised Chancellor that it was too early to give up, and in her own report she noted that American officials were leaving open the possibility of a breakthrough.

Powell, for his part, says he told reporters "they ought to cover their asses because anything could happen."

Some got the message; some didn't. Meanwhile, the Israelis were giving a persistently optimistic line.

A couple of weeks after the event, several correspondents appeared to be less certain that they had been misled. "While I still have some misgivings about the entire operation," says Cormier, who had gone out on a limb, "it might be that he [Powell] was giving us the straight scoop." Karen House, of *The Wall Street Journal*, said her downbeat Tuesday story, which relied on sources other than Powell, "was absolutely accurate that night. My only regret is that, having covered this for a year, I wasn't more attuned to the fact that twenty-four hours before Camp David succeeded, it was a failure, too. I should have hedged more."

Thomas, of U.P.I., who had been more cautious, comments: "I don't believe the rabbit was pulled out of the hat in some staged way. But I do think that when things began to change late Monday night, it would have behooved them to get us out of bed." In fact, U.S. officials, including Powell, gave no further guidance, even after Carter left Israel on Tuesday reporting progress, until after the deal was sealed with President Sadat.

Cronkite has no regrets, however. "I think that, as of Monday night, it had failed," he says. Nor does he feel he was misled. "If this was all a charade," he adds, recalling how depressed Carter looked while addressing the Knesset on Monday, "then the president deserves not the Nobel Prize but an Oscar."

CARL P. LEUBSDORF

Carl P. Leubsdorf is the White House correspondent for the Baltimore Sun.

INNOVATIONS

McCall's marches on

A new bimonthly, *Working Mother* magazine, was presented to society this spring by that venerable dowager of the

women's service field, McCall's. It displays a healthy constitution, and an unpretentious and practical disposition that will no doubt win a warm reception from the 16-million countrywomen who share its concerns. "We would like," says the founding editorial, "to be part of what is called, these days, your 'support system.'"

And supportive it is. Articles treat such quandaries as child care, changing patterns of family life, and sexual temptations on the job. The beat is up: "How Can I Leave That Baby?" "My Husband Learned to Love My Job," "Relax While It Cooks." And the approach is practical: finding an office chair that fits, limiting the kids' television watching, streamlining the shopping and laundry, with only an occasional lapse into the fantasyland of carrot curls in the lunchbox.

The recurrent theme is the working mother's need for time (indeed, the raised voices of a rallying sisterhood may owe less to the fight for E.R.A. than to the fight against fatigue). The magazine divides its editorial energies along lines reflecting the competing demands on the reader's day—"At Home," "On the Job," a quick hairdo, quick exercise, quick party, quick skirt squeezed in here and there. To its harried audience, no small part of *Working Mother*'s appeal will lie in the implicit message that getting it all together is not only necessary, but possible. (Are women's service magazines never to be rid of illusion?) *G.C.*

Geo-whiz

"Our subject matter," editor-in-chief H.J. Kaplan stated in the charter issue of *Geo, A new View of our World*, "is . . . the human geography of our time." Human geography?

The charter *Geo* (160 pages, including twenty-nine four-color, full-page advertisements) appeared in January; the first regular issue is being dated May, after which it will appear monthly with a $4 cover price.

The magazine is handsome, even elegant. The photographs—of which there are a great many—are generally first-rate. All of them are four-color and they are beautifully reproduced. (*Geo* uses the same printer as *Audubon*.) Used lavishly, they tend to overwhelm the articles, making them appear obsolescent appendages to the picture portfolios. Among the contributors to the charter issue were Frances FitzGerald (on "the Anglo-Irish society from which her ancestors sprang"); Leslie Fiedler (on roadside art); Jeremy Bernstein (on a mountain climber); Richard Elman (on Nicaragua's civil war); Roger Caras (on condors); and Stanley Karnow in a cameo appearance (on China).

Exactly what the sum of these parts is supposed to be remains something of a mystery. Indeed, the magazine's identity has been a subject of dispute from the beginning. The publisher is Gruner + Jahr, the German firm which started a German *Geo* two years ago, a French *Geo* a few months ago, and recently acquired *Parents* magazine. According to Peter A. Young, managing editor at the time the American *Geo* was being planned, "There was a lot of pressure from the Germans to run a lot of gorgeous pictures—and to hell with the text." There was also pressure to use translations of articles ("a host of garbage") used in the German magazine. Young, who had been managing editor at *Saturday Review*, strongly resisted both pressures. He was fired last December. Charles C. Randolph, listed as publisher in the charter issue (he was formerly publisher of *Business Week*), resigned in

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And time, as we said, represents money—lots of it.

We're not saying, "Down with regulation!"—far from it. A nation such as ours, as utterly dependent on energy as ours, *must* regulate its utility industries . . . sensibly. But let's be aware that regulation, like everything else, bears a price tag.

Let's not keep raising the price.

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February, also as a result of the German-American conflict. A new managing editor, Robert C. Christopher, a former editor of *Newsweek International*, took over on April 23.

In the charter issue, the Germans appear to have settled for a compromise—lots of gorgeous photographs, as noted, and texts by respected domestic authors tucked in here and there. According to observers in and out of office, the conflict remains unresolved. Such are the pressures that shape human geography.

J.S.

Global supplement

WorldPaper is an ingenious idea that sprang, according to the account in its first issue, from the mind of Harry B. Hollins, co-founder of the Institute of World Order, one day in September 1976 when he was gazing out his window at the Atlantic. Now Hollins is the chairman of the board of his idea made manifest—a quarterly supplement "for the global community" distributed, in its inaugural issue, by nine newspapers with a total circulation of 1.3 million. They include two in the United States—the *Minneapolis Tribune* and *The Boston Globe* (former base of the publisher, Crocker Snow, Jr.)—two in the Middle East, two in Asia, and one each in South America, Africa, and Australia.

The content of the paper is supplied to a considerable degree by twelve associate editors, one of whom, Tarzie Vittachi, a United Nations public-information officer, edited the inaugural January 1979 issue. The selected theme was one of great relevance to the paper—"information malnutrition." It included a thoughtful, too-short introduction by Vittachi, interviews with four families on their news diets, a scrapbook of quotations on the international news flow, and the inevitable interview with Marshall McLuhan.

The paper's credo says that it "views our world as one of vast imbalances which can be more gently balanced only as global perspectives become clearer." It is an unhappy duty to report that *WorldPaper* in its present format probably will do little to make anything clear. It is a bit of a mess. Advertising is hard to distinguish from editorial matter, in part because the designer seems to be intent on trying something different on every page. Moreover, the material, while promising, is cut short and even trivialized, as if the editors feared worldwide ennui. Fortunately, with a quarterly publication schedule, there is ample leisure for adjustments which could make this experiment in international journalism worth continuing.

J.B.

BUSINESS

A fifty days' war: McGraw-Hill and American Express

In the publishing field, McGraw-Hill, Inc., with 1978 revenues of more than $760 million, can be considered a rather large fish. But out in the open seas of conglomeratism it is only a piece of bait. So the betting ran very much against McGraw-Hill when it decided to try to stay out of the maw of American Express, the credit-card, traveler's-check, and insurance company, which is at least five times the size of McGraw-Hill.

That McGraw-Hill proved such prickly prey can be laid in part to its long family tradition. The company was formed sixty-two years ago with the merger of two trade-magazine enterprises, that of James H. McGraw, founded in 1899, and that of John A. Hill, founded in 1902. The founding McGraw remained chairman until 1935, and his descendants have been in charge ever since, although family members now hold only slightly more than 20 percent of the stock. The company's recent rebound from hard times has been led by Harold W. McGraw, Jr., a grandson of the founder.

The struggle with American Express began in earnest on January 8, 1979, with a meeting between Harold McGraw and James D. Robinson 3d, chairman of American Express. Reports on what happened vary, but the result was an offer by American Express to pay $34 a share—a total of $830 million—for McGraw-Hill's stock, a premium of $8 over the market price. McGraw reacted negatively and was backed by the company board. McGraw wrote to American Express that it "lacks the integrity, corporate morality, and sensitivity to professional responsibility essential to the McGraw-Hill publishing, broadcasting, and credit rating services relied upon by so many people."

This was the opening of a defense whose aggressiveness seemed to throw American Express off balance. McGraw played on three themes: that the merger would lead to a number of antitrust violations; that American Express had acted unethically in leaving its president, Roger H. Morley, on the McGraw-Hill board, while the acquisition was being plotted; and, finally, that American Express would fail to protect the integrity of McGraw-Hill's editors.

The last point was argued sharply in a memorandum released by Lewis H. Young, editor-in-chief of *Business Week*, premier magazine among McGraw-Hill's two-and-a-half dozen. Young voiced five concerns:

> That American Express would taboo certain story subjects, such as the troubles in the entertainment credit card business or problems in the casualty insurance industry, because it had major business activity in them.
>
> That, if American Express allowed coverage of such subjects, our readers wouldn't believe what we published, thinking it was biased in favor of the owner of the magazine.
>
> That American Express wouldn't support the editors after they had written unpopular ideas or critical stories that unleashed corporate or government complaints.
>
> That American Express would use the editorial columns of the magazine to sell its other products and services or to curry favor with government officials to aid its international businesses.
>
> That American Express, because of its financial orientation, wouldn't make the financial resources available for the staff to do the aggressive and comprehensive reporting job our readers expect.

This classic statement of journalists' fears about conglomerates blinked at the fact that *Business Week* was already part of a publishing conglomerate known as McGraw-Hill, Inc., and was not exempt from corporate pressure. As Chris Welles reported in *New York* for November 14, 1977: "*Business Week* . . . is an independent editorial product run by editors and writers. But . . . working editors are generally excluded from the higher corporate echelons of McGraw-Hill. . . . The consequence has been a long-standing tug-of-war, with the editors trying to pull *Business Week* away

from the McGraw-Hill corporate structure and the top executives trying to pull the magazine back into the fold and make it behave like everyone else."

Nonetheless, the integrity plea, more than any of the others, seemed to work. There was a flurry of articles and pronouncements. The Authors Guild, the Federal Trade Commission, and even some potent congressional investigators also expressed concern.

American Express fought back as best it could. It replied that it understood editorial integrity perfectly well, for it had publications of its own, such as *Travel & Leisure*. It also offered to set up a buffer board to protect McGraw-Hill magazines, much as *The Economist* of London is protected by trustees.

By the end of January, it began to appear that McGraw-Hill might escape. On January 30, American Express gave up trying to take McGraw-Hill by force. If McGraw-Hill would give up its "scorched earth" policy and cooperate, said American Express, it would raise its offer to $40 a share, nearly $1 billion overall. The McGraw-Hill board again turned down American Express, which then gave up the battle.

Robinson claimed that his company could have won if it had wanted to wage a long fight, but, he added, "we'd have gotten a shell and certainly not the company we wanted to buy." *J.B.*

WORKING

More jobs

The Newspaper Fund, Dow Jones's foundation that encourages careers in journalism, has made its annual report on hiring of journalism-school graduates. The fund estimates that in the graduating class of nearly 16,000 almost 62 percent took media-related jobs (including public relations and advertising positions), with almost half of these going to daily or weekly newspapers or wire services. About 20 percent went to non-media jobs, and the rest were still looking at the time of the survey. Among those who prepared for news work, 48.4 percent found news jobs; however, as the fund points out, less than half of the graduating class (roughly 44 percent) was majoring in news/editorial sequences. The median starting salary for those in news work remained at the level of the previous year, $161-170 a week. The median for all graduates was $171-180 a week, with public relations topping the list at a level of $201-210. For the first time in this survey, women outnumbered men, 53.2 percent to 46.8 percent.

Holding the line at AP

Although it did not match the wage freeze won by U.P.I. negotiators last year, The Associated Press held the Wire Service Guild to wage increases of 5 percent and 4.76 percent for each of the two years of a contract signed January 26, 1979. Maximum guaranteed levels would be $430.50 in 1979 and $450 in 1980. There would be additional increases if the Consumer Price Index rises more than 8 percent by January 1980. The A.P. also undercut various union practices by gaining contract provisions that make it easier for members to cancel their dues checkoff and leave the union and by setting time limits on filing grievances. A management demand that a hundred jobs be cut from Guild jurisdiction was left to the determination of the National Labor Relations Board. The Guild's A.P. membership accepted the agreement with reluctance, 339 to 200.

HONORS

Best of the books

The 1979 National Magazine Awards, sponsored by the American Society of Magazine Editors and administered by Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism under a grant from the Magazine Publishers Association, were announced on April 11. The winners, chosen by a twelve-judge panel from finalists winnowed from the 578 entries:

Public service: to *New West*, for "Hell on Wheels" by Moira Johnston, an investigation of the defects in Firestone 500 steel-belted radial tires.

Specialized journalism: to *National Journal*, for three issues exemplifying the magazine's specialized coverage of federal policy and politics.

Visual excellence: to *Audubon*.

Essays and criticism: to *Life*, for "The View from 80" by Malcolm Cowley, 80.

Fiction: to *The Atlantic Monthly*, February issue, for "Oh, Joseph, I'm So Tired" by Richard Yates.

Reporting: to *Texas Monthly*, for a collection of reports on rural America by Richard West.

Service to the individual: to *American Journal of Nursing*, for a home-study feature, "Common Problems in Managing Adult Diabetes Mellitus."

Single-topic issue: to *Progressive Architecture*, for a feature devoted to "Taste in America."

AUXILIARIES

For appearances' sake

Two quivers of interest in the often-neglected field of newspaper design:

☐ The organization in January 1979 of a Society of Newspaper Designers. The society, which grew out of an American Press Institute seminar in 1978, set long-term goals of sponsoring a newspaper-design competition, establishing a resource center, and encouraging newspaper-design courses at schools of journalism. Its first project will be a workshop, tentatively set for Chicago in the fall. Contact: Robert Lockwood, art director, *Allentown Call-Chronicle*, P.O. Box 1260, Allentown, Pennsylvania 18105.

☐ The establishment of *Newspaper Design Notebook*, an independent, privately run bimonthly newsletter, whose editor and publisher is Roger F. Fidler, a graphics director/consultant for the Knight-Ridder Newspapers. The first issue, dated January/February 1979, contains an interview with Peter Palazzo about his controversial design for the moribund *Chicago Daily News;* illustrated spreads on design changes at the *Toronto Star* and the Louisville *Courier-Journal;* and how-to advice on handling photographs and using computers in typography. Subscriptions at $28 a year are available from Source Publications, Inc., 3101 Cadillac Tower, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

Change of command

This issue marks a period of change at Columbia Journalism, with the advent of both a new dean and a new editor of the *Review*. Elie Abel, dean of the Graduate School of Journalism and editorial chairman of the *Review*, departed April 2 to pursue full-time teaching, research, and writing at Stanford. Replacing him is Osborn Elliott, former editor of *Newsweek* and a former deputy mayor of New York City.

We salute Elie Abel for his many substantial contributions to the School and to the *Review*. And, as one who was once editorial director of *Newsweek* before a term as dean, the undersigned applauds the selection of the very able Osborn Elliott as new dean.

New editor

Of perhaps more direct concern to readers is the change in the editorship of the *Review*. Robert Karl Manoff succeeds James Boylan as editor.

First, the *Review* owes deep and lasting thanks to Jim Boylan. Working with the undersigned and others, he was a cofounder of the magazine. More important, he was its first editor and did the bulk of the work on the pilot issue eighteen years ago that laid the foundations for what has been achieved since then. Jim Boylan edited the magazine through its first eight years, then withdrew to devote full time to his work as a historian. Three years ago, he returned to the job temporarily to help out in a difficult period. He has done so with skill, wisdom, and a great sense of fairness. It is reassuring to know that he will still lend a hand as a senior consultant and part-time writer.

Rob Manoff, who is thirty-four, was chosen from a field of more than 100 applicants and nominees to succeed Boylan. His choice was recommended unanimously by a search committee of five faculty members and two *Review* staff members. The decision had the concurrence of former dean Elie Abel, of Osborn Elliott, now the dean, and of the staff and publisher of the *Review*.

Manoff served as senior editor of *More* magazine in 1977 and 1978, and he has done work with the *Review* for the last five months. He has been a student of news media and news coverage throughout a career that has included freelance writing, newspaper work, a government position, and teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The staff and the publisher were heartened by the number of candidates for the editorship, and we are delighted that Mr. Manoff has accepted the position. He impressed all with his combination of initiative, skills, enthusiasm, and understanding of the news process.

In Rob Manoff's own words: "We hope to build on the *Review*'s accomplishments by freshly attacking such major threats to journalism as new marketplace demands, an impatient judiciary and public, and the profession's own shortcomings and excesses. We will also be paying renewed attention to the daily problems of producing good journalism. And we hope to do all of this with vigor, wit, and bite."

Government and news

The government-and-press issue flared up in two recent cases.

Concerning the Three Mile Island nuclear accident, perennial cynics were heard muttering: "The news media exaggerated the whole thing, of course." Our own view is that, given the confusion of officials' statements and their obvious groping for ways to avoid a catastrophe, the press and broadcasters on the whole provided responsible, even restrained, coverage.

We also had the case of government action to block publication of a *Progressive* magazine article about the hydrogen bomb. Not having seen the article, we shall not attempt any definitive judgment. We can say that some years as a Washington correspondent, and later as a government official, left us with a firm conviction: if official secrets are to be kept, they must be kept within government. When they become known to reporters, they are likely also to become known to embassies and foreign intelligence operatives.

Another infallible?

Heartened by the sprightly appearance and content of the initial issues of the revived *Look* magazine, we were saddened by one aspect: its plan to have no "Letters" column and no ready place to publish dissents or corrections.

It's sad to see *Look* joining those magazines with pretensions to infallibility—the *Reader's Digest*, which doesn't acknowledge errors or injustices, and *The New Yorker*, which does so only on rare occasions.

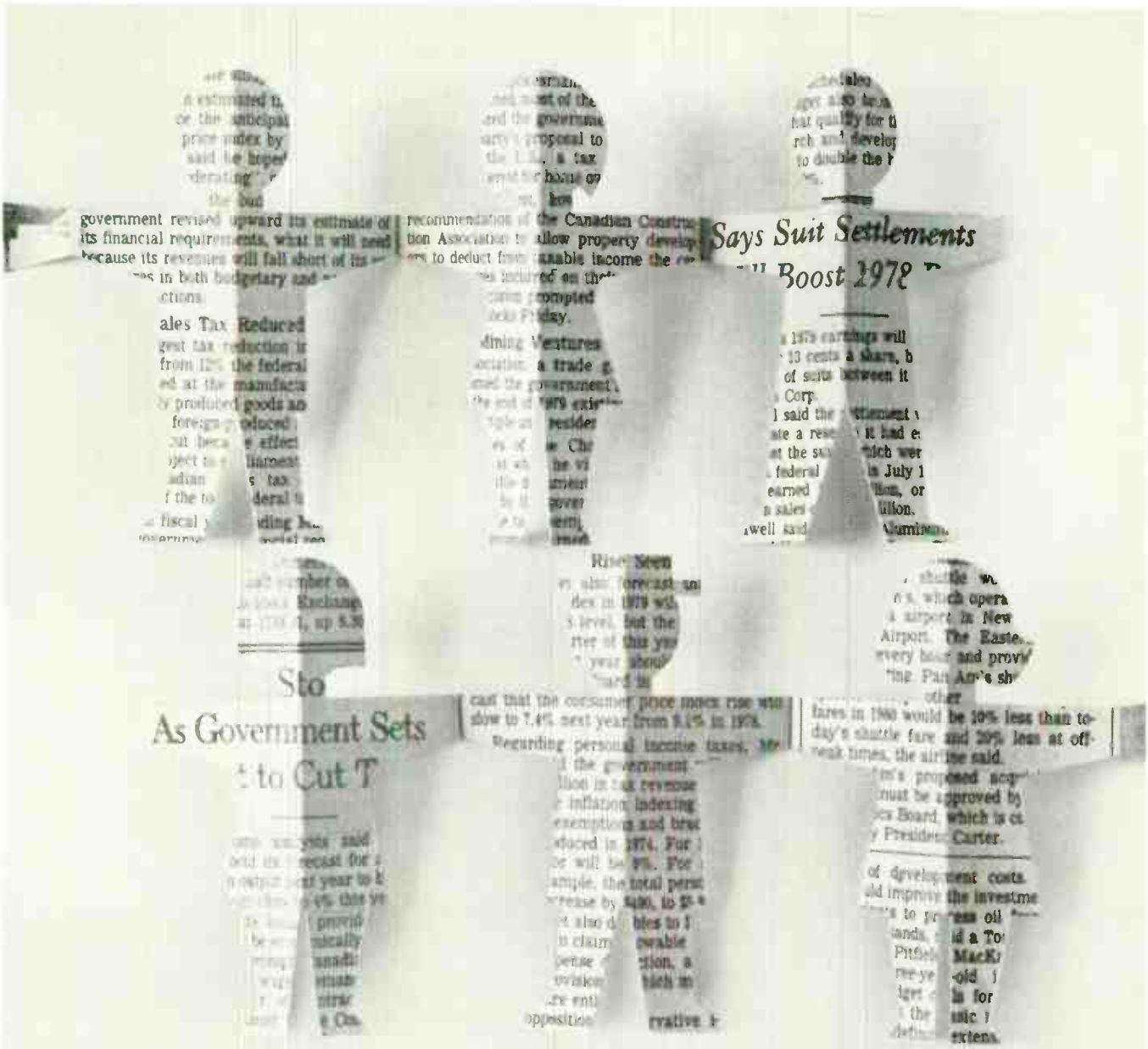
Come, *Look*, join the rest of us who admit to an occasional goof—and to there being worthy dissents.

'Reporting Iran . . .'

The *Review*'s article "Reporting Iran the Shah's Way" (January/February) attracted substantial—and sustained—attention. The article, by professors William A. Dorman and Mansour Farhang (pseudonym: Ehsan Omeed), was based on a year-long research project that monitored U.S. news media coverage of Iran.

The article was reprinted in its entirety in the *Des Moines Register* and, in part, in the *San Jose Mercury* and the *International Herald Tribune*, and it has been translated into Farsi, Dutch, and Japanese. The authors were interviewed on National Public Radio, the BBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report*.

The piece was rather demeaned in *Time* by the usually perceptive Thomas Griffith, who, curiously, quoted derogatory remarks by two men whose organizations the *Review* article had criticized. At the same time, it was praised as "brilliant" by Jack Newfield in "Spectrum" on CBS Radio and by Anthony Lewis in *The New York Times*, who called it "a brilliant analysis." *E.W.B.*



How 80 Oklahoma newspapers joined hands to set themselves apart.

It started in the spring of '75 with a survey of advertisers' media buying considerations. Out of it grew the Oklahoma Newspaper Advertising Bureau — 80 daily and weekly Oklahoma newspapers (1300 to 24,000 circulation), banded together to gather and disseminate facts about readership, readership demographics and other marketing data. Their goal: increased readership and more of the revenue going to competitive media and other advertising vehicles. For details

We read you. We're Rockwell-Goss.

of their operation and its very encouraging results, contact Mr. Ted L. Hecht, Mgr., ONAB, 3601 North Lincoln Blvd., Oklahoma City, OK 73105. As the leading manufacturer of U.S. newspaper presses — and an enthusiastic supporter of ideas to keep our industry strong — we applaud ONAB's initiative. We mention it here in the hope that some of you might find similar strength in their kind of unity. Graphic Systems Division, Rockwell International, 3100 South Central Ave., Chicago, IL 60650.

Rockwell International

...where science gets down to business

Jobs

one view of a national issue facing the electric power industry.

The traditional goal of unlimited economic growth is being seriously questioned. In the backlash, the proposal for a no-growth economy is the extreme example of less-is-more thinking. But for those people in our society whose hopes for decent jobs and a better standard of living would be thwarted by a steady-state economy, less is irrefutably less.

Since energy is inextricably tied to economic growth and the resultant increased job market, we are vitally concerned with this debate. As public utilities, we must take a stand that we believe is in the best interests of all sectors of our society. To formulate our position, we undertook a two-year study, utilizing several computer forecasting models to examine the available growth options.

The study suggests rejection of both extremes: unlimited expansion and no-growth. The public interest can best be served through what might be called "quality growth"—a natural evolution of economic expansion that encompasses the constraints necessary to meet current energy problems but still permits the job opportunities that bring more of our citizens into the economic mainstream.

The historical perspective:

It is important to recognize that we are in a transitional period between two energy epochs, the fossil fuel age and the future energy era. Fuels are available to meet the world's predictable energy needs for billions of years! What we are short of is the technology to convert available fuel sources into working energy. During this transitional period, we must deal with the supply-demand gap by conservation and the greater use of abundant energy forms (coal and nuclear).

The GNP-energy-job link:

Because all business activities require energy, the use of energy rises in relation to the rise in Gross National Product. With an estimated 19 million new jobs needed in the next ten years to handle the projected increased work force, either the economy must grow or unemployment will grow. And if new jobs are to be created, a reliable and growing supply of energy is vital. As you may know, a number of national organizations, such as the NAACP National Energy Conference, have recognized this necessity.

The high-growth and no-growth fallacies:

The high-growth scenario is plainly outdated, originating in times of favorable conditions that are unlikely to return again. Yet the no-growth scenario not only would entail massive employment dislocations, but it is profoundly pessimistic as well as selfish, taking a doomsday view of this transitional period between energy epochs. Our energy problems will entail major readjustments for years to come, but such readjustments are surely preferable to the authoritarian control of wages, prices and employment a no-growth scenario would necessitate.

The moderate stance:

The electric utility companies' study suggests generating an average economic growth rate in GNP of between 3.5% and 3.7% a year, which would retain an economy strong enough to sustain employment and preserve our standard of living. Only a vital economy can develop the capital resources necessary to keep our society afloat, including the $650 billion that will be needed in the next 15 years to convert electric plants from oil to the more abundant coal and uranium fuels.

It would be a disservice to the public to suggest that the nation's electric companies, any more than the Congress or the Executive branch, have all the answers. Critical questions remain, and others will surely arise. But as the eminent British biologist Sir Peter Medawar has said, "To deride the hope of progress is the ultimate fatuity, the last word in poverty of spirit and meanness of mind."

Edison Electric Institute
The association of electric companies

COMMENT

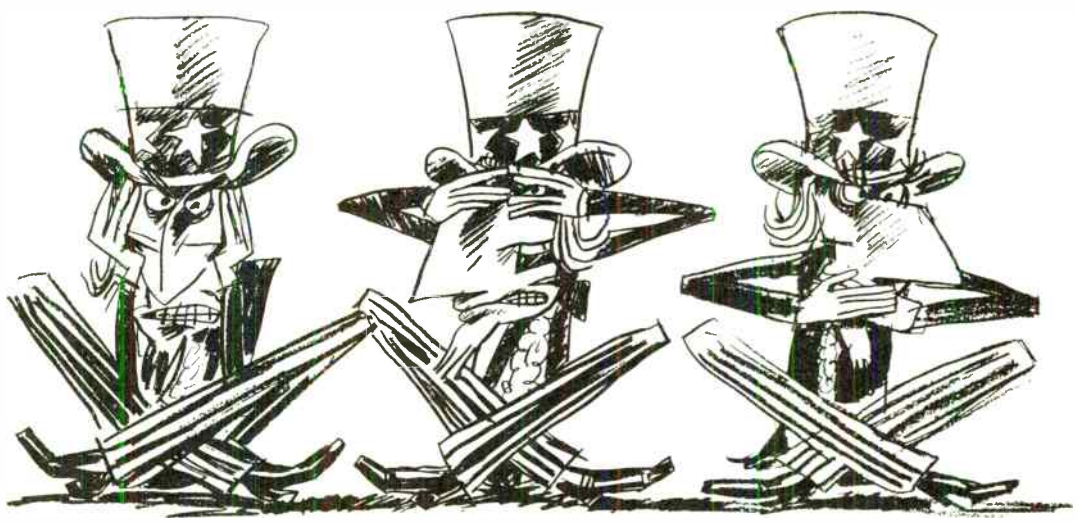
Does 'The Progressive' have a case?

On March 26, 1979, a federal judge awarded *The Progressive* magazine its place in American constitutional history. In issuing an injunction intended to bar the magazine forever from publishing an article on the hydrogen bomb, Judge Robert W. Warren set a bundle of precedents.

If appeals should fail, this would be the first instance of a successful government effort to impose prior restraint permanently on a periodical in the interest of national security; it is already the first time that the Atomic Energy Act has ever been successfully invoked in court in restraint of the press. The case is thus a major test of whether an act of Congress can, in certain circumstances, nullify the First Amendment. Most important, the case thus far has confirmed government monopoly of the terms of a debate of paramount public interest.

Unfortunately, dispassionate argument of the case was overshadowed almost from the beginning by misinformation, hyperbole, condescension, and even censorship. Judge Warren hit the first sour note when, on issuing a temporary restraining order against *The Progressive* on March 9, he wondered idly whether the article in question might not help "give the hydrogen bomb to Idi Amin." In the next few days, the same newspapers that had pleaded so assiduously for their own rights in the Pentagon Papers case—the last major government effort to restrain the press in the name of national security—failed to see parallels in the *Progressive*'s dilemma. *The New York Times* agonized, recognizing a serious constitutional question, but then supported the restraining order. *The Washington Post*, in an extraordinary polemic headed JOHN MITCHELL'S DREAM CASE, advised *The Progressive* that no public interest was to be served in publishing the article and that, moreover, the case was "the one the Nixon administration was never lucky enough to get: a real First Amendment loser." The damage to press freedom if the case went before the Supreme Court, the *Post* warned, might be irreparable. A third paper involved in the Pentagon Papers case, *The Boston Globe*, took a similar position, but also gave currency to the misconception that *The Progressive* had tried "to goad the government into action" by seeking official review of the article. Nor were these newspapers alone: the *Los Angeles Times* called the controversy "the wrong issue, at the wrong time, in the wrong place"; Tom Bradbury of *The Charlotte News* called the editors "reckless in the extreme"; *The Atlanta Constitution* deplored *The Progressive*'s "arrogance and mindlessness" and concluded that it could not "find it in our hearts to defend this kind of stupidity." (Some newspapers took less adamant positions: a few, such as the newspapers in *The Progressive*'s home town, Madison, Wisconsin, supported the publication outright, while others waited to see whether the government would prove its case.)

If *The Progressive* had followed the preponderance of this first wave of counsel, it would have either killed its article or let the government delete such passages as it wished. For what was truly surprising about much of the comment was not that it failed to support *The Progressive*'s positions—after all, the chief evidence, the article itself, was not available—



Tom Hachtman

but that it vehemently concluded that the magazine had no case at all. Was this annoyance that a small political magazine was trying to play the big fellows' game and might botch it? Was it fear, as *The Washington Post* suggested, of a First Amendment washout?

No, the reaction seemed to spring from something deeper, as if the magazine had violated a taboo, and touched on the untouchable. This is curious, to say the least, in an era when journalism has exposed in public print the inner secrets of the White House, the military, and the intelligence establishment. Yet there has been a silent understanding, of thirty years' duration, between government and press, that journalists will not test the boundaries of nuclear secrecy. So little have these boundaries been challenged that *The Progressive*, in scheduling Howard Morland's investigation of the hydrogen bomb, apparently did not know until the last moment that the taboo was written into law.

The Progressive was brought into court under two provisions that were first written into the Atomic Energy Act in 1946. One sets punishment for anyone in possession of "Restricted Data" who "communicates, transmits, or discloses the same to any individual or person"; the other authorizes the government to seek an injunction when it thinks anybody has violated or is about to violate any part of the law.

The injunction paragraph, which became in 1979 the instrument of prior restraint, was written into the law simply because it was an enforcement device that regulatory bodies had found useful. It did not refer specifically to the press, or even to the control of information.

The other, and more important, paragraph fixed official policy on atomic-energy information for the next three decades. It is worth examining its origins because, in a curious way, *The Progressive* has now become the victim of the tensions and doubts of those feverish months after World War II.

Within six months after the atomic bomb had ended the war with Japan, Congress was engaged in trying to write legislation that would set policy on nuclear weapons and atomic-power development. The debate is now remembered chiefly for establishing civilian, rather than military, control of the atom. But there was also an intense debate over secrecy—whether the new law ought to try to safeguard the secrets of atomic weaponry, and whether it could do so. The military wanted strict controls on information, analogous to those that had governed atomic development during the war; the scientific community, believing all secrets to have short lives, supported open dissemination and exchange of information.

The original draft of the bill introduced by Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut reflected the scientists' views. It called for dissemination of information with "the utmost liberality," and left any punishment for disclosing information illegally to the Espionage Act, the World War I legislation that was later employed to convict Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

But before the bill got out of committee, the climate had changed. In February 1946, the country underwent its first atom-spy scare, the revelation of Soviet espionage involving Canadian scientists who had had access to the American projects. The legislation reached the floor much transformed, with the new Atomic Energy Commission given broad authority to control "restricted data" and with severe penalties—including a peacetime death penalty that remained in force until 1969—added for revealing such data.

Of this transformation, James R. Newman and Byron S. Miller, who had drafted the original bill, wrote: "These unprecedented provisions . . . can be ascribed only to superstitious dread. Terror of the atomic bomb is natural and understandable—perhaps even healthy—but terror at the loss of the 'secret' is a tribal and superstitious fear that, once gaining ascendancy in our minds, must inevitably weaken rather than strengthen our defensive power as a nation."

Did this new secrecy system pose a potential threat to the press? Newman and Miller offered hints that it might. For one thing, the restrictions applied to private individuals as much as to government employees; for another, prosecution did not require proof of evil intent, but only "reason to believe" that release of information might harm the United States. Finally, they anticipated that the government might try to control information that had already been released or not withheld—the very "classified-at-birth" theory that the government offered in the *Progressive* case. Such censorship, Newman and Miller thought, would be unconstitutional.

Nonetheless, within five years, just such censorship had been exercised. The respected *Scientific American* (as its publisher Gerard Piel has recently disclosed) agreed to deletions before it published an article by physicist Hans A. Bethe in 1950 on the hydrogen bomb. Only years later did the magazine find that the deletions removed material already published, some of it in the pages of *Scientific American* itself.

For the most part, though, the press was not inclined to test the Atomic Energy Act's restrictions. So

respectful were journalists of these boundaries, in fact, that Herbert S. Marks, first general counsel to the Atomic Energy Commission, wrote in 1948: "The press and the publishing industry have apparently accepted the principle that whether or not the Act, strictly construed, applies to unofficial as well as official secrets, they will publish nothing in the face of advice by the commission that the publication would be prejudicial to the national security. In short, for practical purposes, they seem to have accepted in the field of atomic energy an arrangement somewhat similar to the one which existed more generally during the war under the Office of Censorship."

And so it has gone for more than thirty years, with no major news organization cutting close enough to the heart of nuclear secrecy to risk prosecution. And so it was left to *The Progressive* to trigger the mechanism, a rusty old machine built at the dawn of the Cold War.

The Progressive has thus found itself challenging an established consensus—the belief that, so far as nuclear weaponry is concerned, the public doesn't need to know what the press doesn't want to know.

There should be no mistake about the character of this contest. It is political in nature, not technological and perhaps not even journalistic. The magazine's decision to publish was a political act. And as the battle of affidavits was waged before the March 26 ruling, it became clear that the government's response, too, was largely political.

It was this realization that apparently shook *The New York Times* to life on March 25. In a lead editorial, the *Times* offered the clearest statement to date of *The Progressive*'s right to carry on its battle. The *Times* editorial found the administration case "lame in both logic and in law." It continued:

> . . . the administration asks for more than suppression of this article. It asks that *all* thought and discussion bearing on atomic weapons be forever in its control. . . . The article may be an embarrassment and [an] inconvenience; it may even be harmful to policy. But those are not judgments that Government may impose on editors. They plainly do not justify suspending the First Amendment.

The judge, if he read it, did not heed this admonition, and now the case has begun to move slowly (not, it will be noted, with the breakneck pace of the Pentagon Papers case) through the federal courts. In the end, perhaps, the magazine could still lost its case. But at least there is growing recognition that it has raised valid,and important, First Amendment questions.

What is more, the case offers the opportunity for the country to begin dismantling a system of nuclear secrecy written for a world that no longer exists. And for the press once again to realize that instruments designed to curb the free dissemination of information by others can always, ultimately, be turned against the press itself. *April 13*

Darts and laurels

Dart: to the Michigan Press Association, for literally swallowing a government handout. The annual "loot" dinner thrown for the M.P.A. by the state's agriculture department January 27 featured mounds of yogurt, frankfurters, baby food, soy nuts, apple cider, apples, cherry fruit filling, muffin mix, bacon, vitamins, pickles, onions, potatoes, blue spruce seedlings, blueberry preserves, and bathroom cleaner for the guests to carry off in thirty-pound doggie bags.

Dart: to Joe Murray, editor of the Lufkin, Texas, *News*. As the star of a one-minute vignette (for a $1,000 fee) in Mobil's "Imagination" TV-ad campaign, the "Pulitzer-Prize-winning newspaperman" apparently failed to imagine what boosting the oil company's credibility might do to his own.

WNET, New York

Dart: to WETA-TV, the public broadcasting station in Washington, D.C., for allowing technical difficulties to interrupt *We Interrupt This Week*, the satiric quiz show on current affairs, during its local airing March 4. The inadvertent push of a control-room button obliterated nothing more (and nothing less) than panelist Jeff Greenfield's five-second answer to a question about the identity of the eclipse-watchers in the above photo. "Those are the only people," his deadpan reply had run, "willing to admit they're for Jimmy Carter in 1980."

continued

Dart: to Bob Sudyk, sportswriter for the *Cleveland Press*. His December 1977 piece in *Cleveland* magazine on locker-room gossip lifted most of its substance from an article on the same subject by Roy Blount, Jr. published in *Esquire* sixteen months before. (Original sample: "But sports gossip that is both juicy and printed is rare. One reason is that a lot of sports gossip is about the clap." Sudyk's replay: "But sports gossip that is both juicy and printed is rare. One reason is that a lot of sports gossip is about—this is a fact—the clap.")

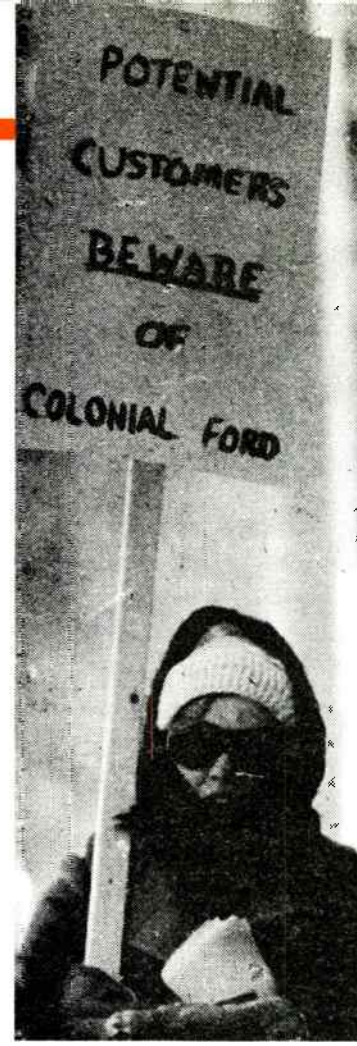
Laurel: to the Fairbanks *Daily News-Miner*, for a twenty-four-page special supplement (March 9), "Carving Up Alaska," an exhaustive examination of the intricate issues involved in the controversial subdivision of America's final frontier.

Dart: to the *Savannah Morning News and Evening Press*. Its edition of Sunday, February 11, carried a report on a bill then before the legislature aimed at taking legal advertising away from a local weekly and returning it to the *News and Press*. The same edition also featured a puffy page-one profile of state representative Albert Scott—who happens to have been the bill's sponsor. "He is well liked here," ran the fifty-five-inch piece without apparent irony. "And, perhaps most importantly, he has learned how to handle the news media to his best advantage."

Laurel: to *The Saginaw* (Mich.) *News*, for a front-page exposé (February 7) of racial steering by local real-estate firms based on the experiences of two teams of *News* reporters, one black, one white, who posed as out-of-state, middle-income, professional couples in search of housing in the Saginaw area.

Dart: to *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Mike Royko, for a February 22 column in which he coyly referred to an attempted gang rape of a seventeen-year-old girl as a "frolic" in the woods. (And a follow-up *dart* to the *Sun-Times*, for failing to print letters of protest in the matter.)

Laurel: to *The Washington Monthly*, for cockily celebrating its tenth anniversary with a brilliant satire on its own style, methods, and political philosophy—a six-page mock ad by Art Levine in the February issue, "Have You Got What It Takes to Write for The Washington Monthly?" (Excerpt: "Our top-notch editors will be glad to add an introduction, a conclusion, and loads of thought-provoking opinions without troubling you with the dreary task of doing it yourself. As a special favor, we'll do it without even telling you.")



Dart: to the Danbury, Connecticut, *News-Times*. The assistant copy-desk chief who ran this picture in the February 18 Sunday edition was fired the next morning for "a gross lapse in judgment." The photo appeared at the end of a week in which the paper had been arranging for favorable coverage to soothe boycotting advertisers offended by its earlier used-car consumer guide.

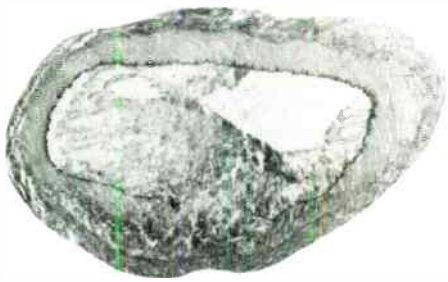
Laurel: to the forty-five journalists at the *Minneapolis Tribune* who took out an ad at regular rates in the March 1 issue to dissociate themselves from the involvement in a local stadium debate of John Cowles, Jr., chairman of the Star and Tribune's board.

Dart: to *The Jersey Journal*, Hudson County, New Jersey, for fatuously recording in a six-column interview (with photo) on February 9 the observations of a local merchant following his return from a week's vacation in Egypt. Also carried in the same edition was a full-page ad for the man's furniture and appliance store.

Dart: to the *Providence Evening Bulletin*. Two days after his February 13 piece on the grand opening of the lavishly renovated, extravagantly priced Biltmore Hotel, WELCOME TO THE BILTMORE! P.S. BRING MONEY—PLENTY, columnist Tony Lioce was told to check into the paper's Newport bureau as a general-assignment reporter. The *Bulletin* was a major investor in the Biltmore project.

Dart: to syndicated film critic Rex Reed, for a lyrically transported *Superman* review that neglected to mention his own brief walk-on with Lois Lane in front of the *Daily Planet* building. "It is a marvel of stupendous filmmaking," gushed Reed, who picked up a few thousand dollars for his fleeting cameo. *Superman*, he wrote, "should still be reaping financial rewards for all concerned in years to come."

TODAY, A UNIQUE CHEMICAL COMPOUND



Cross-section of a severely clogged coronary artery of monkey fed a high-cholesterol diet. Extensive vessel wall damage indicates atherosclerosis.

Coronary artery of monkey fed an identical diet, but provided with cetaben, one of several new compounds being tested by heart researchers at Lederle Laboratories. Virtually no vessel wall damage, minimal atherosclerosis.

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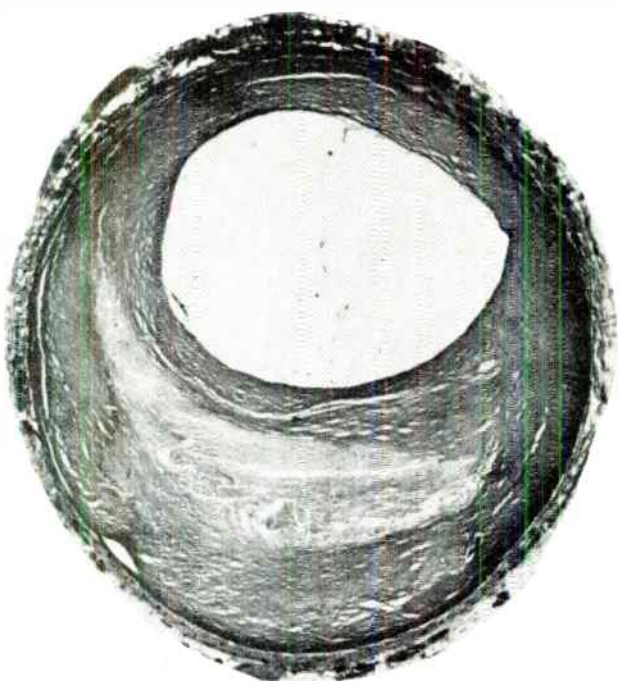
Here at Lederle, we are working to curtail the threat of America's most deadly killer, atherosclerosis. Based on the laboratory results pictured above, our researchers may be a step closer to the treatment of atherosclerosis. But will cetaben or other test compounds work in man as in monkeys? Lederle has a long-term goal to fund this and similar research to find out. It takes enormous scientific resources and financial commitment, but victory means lengthening the lives of some of the 850,000 Americans who die of heart disease every year.



Atherosclerotic human artery clogged with fatty deposits. More Americans die of heart disease associated with atherosclerosis than from any other cause. It will take years of laboratory and clinical work to determine if cetaben is effective and safe for use on humans.

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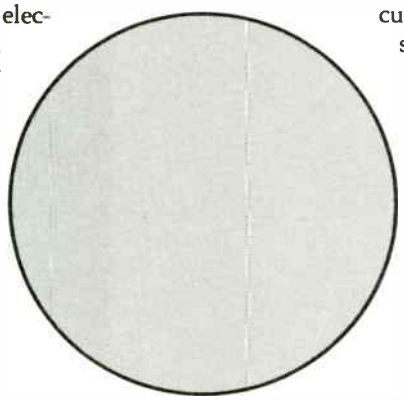
Taking power from the sky.

Solar One, America's first sun-powered electric generating plant, will be built near Barstow, California, for the Department of Energy from a design developed by McDonnell Douglas. Computer-controlled mirrors follow the sun across the sky, focusing its rays on a tower-mounted boiler. The steam produced drives turbines to produce electricity. Excess heat is channeled to an underground oil-rock "storage battery" to keep the plant working even after the sun has set. Solar One is expected to generate enough electricity for a community of up to 10,000 people.



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We also expect our new DC-9 Super 80 to help ease the energy problem. Set to fly this year, this twin-jet will be the most fuel-efficient commercial jetliner in the skies. And the quietest. DC-9 Super 80 sound is expected to affect but one-fifth the nearby community areas affected by current jetliners of comparable size. Good news—especially if you live near a busy airport.

Processing crops to make them dry.

A fire at the government records center in St. Louis led us to still another promising way to conserve energy—a new system for drying crops. To save millions of water-soaked records, we turned to the vacuum chambers we'd built to test spacecraft. It worked. Now we've combined vacuum and microwaves for a safer crop-drying system that uses less energy than conventional dryers while reducing damage to fragile crops. A pilot plant is already drying crops for the U.S. Department of Agriculture at Tifton, Georgia.

At McDonnell Douglas, minds and machines work to improve energy efficiency and search for untapped energy sources. To learn more about these and other technologies coming to life at McDonnell Douglas, write Box 14526, St. Louis, MO 63178.

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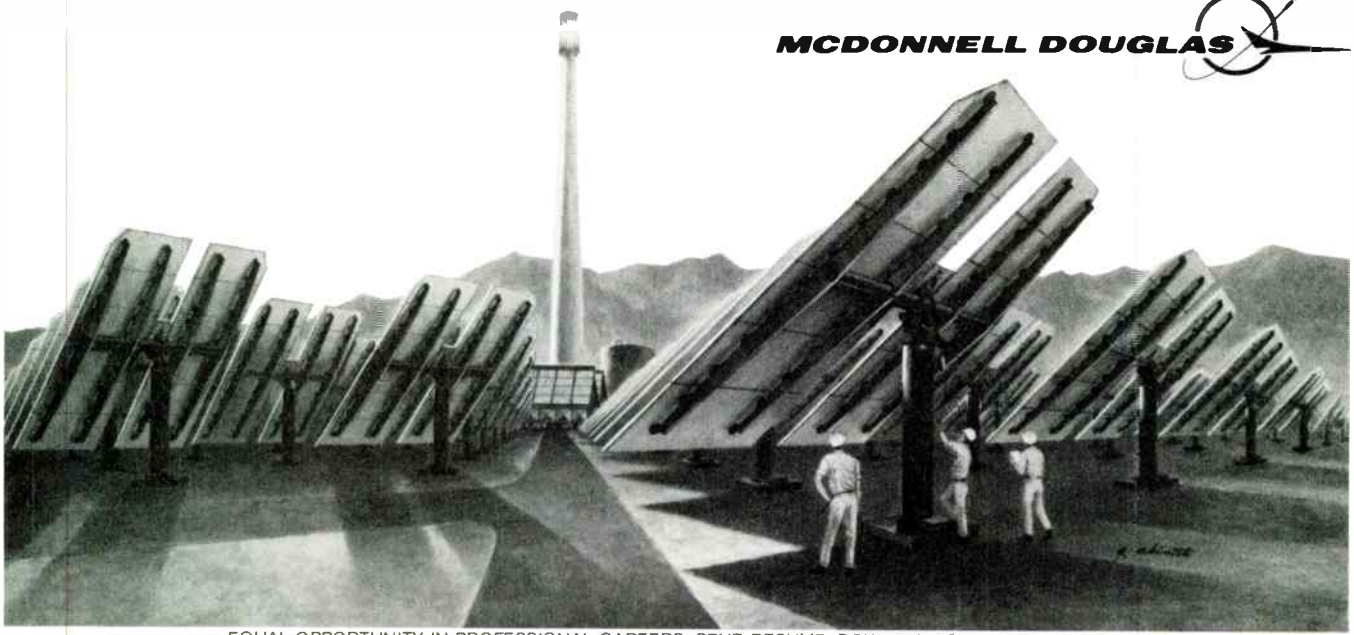

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COLUMBIA
JOURNALISM
REVIEW
MAY / JUNE 1979

An exemplary death

How Rockefeller died was a running story in New York. Was this interest prurient or principled?

by SANFORD LEVINSON

Leaders play multiple roles in a society; their importance goes far beyond simply providing decisions about public problems. They become sources for the collective understandings and psychological bonds that define communities. And leaders are also made responsible for teaching their fellows about the right way to confront the full range of human dilemmas.

What is often derided as political style may in fact be one of the essential attributes of leadership. What Kennedy devotees referred to as "grace under pressure" was a central part of John Kennedy's ability to convey a sense of American possibility. The personal and the political became linked. However dangerous it is to replace emphasis on substance with one on style, it is an accountant's view of politics that would ignore the independent importance of the persona revealed behind the substance.

Journalists have long argued about the extent of coverage that ought to be given the personal qualities of public figures. By now there is general agreement that such qualities need to be covered whenever they could affect public decisions or otherwise reveal character traits bearing on public performance. Drinking is the easiest example of behavior that can have civic consequences. There are few journalists left who defend the coverup of heavy drinking by public officials.

Sexual conduct raises more complex problems. The strongest case for coverage can be made when sexual conduct might be evidence of significant psychological traits, such as when compulsive sexual conquest indicates a compelling need to prove masculinity. A discreet affair is seen to be much less revealing and deserves mention only if the official has made the propriety of his or her personal life an issue—by presenting an attractive family picture in campaign literature, for example, or by otherwise creating the appearance of family-centered life.

Despite such beliefs about the coverage of public figures, however, the proposition is also accepted that upon retirement they should be allowed to retreat into the world of ordinary citizens, where the ethical (and perhaps legal) barriers to coverage of personal behavior are higher. Even here, though, there are problems, since writers analyzing the careers of former officials may well wish to explore the link between their personality and the decisions they made. Since ex-leaders often continue to play an inspirational role, moreover, biographers also count on the fact that their readers want to read intimate things about the figures they admire. Both motivations seemingly license "invasions of privacy" in the name of scholarship. "In recent years we have been given to understand that Jefferson, FDR, Eisenhower, John Kennedy all had extamarital adventures." Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has noted, "These are proper questions for a biographer to go into after a suitable passage of time."

What Schlesinger does not explain is the necessity of waiting for "a suitable passage of time." If, in fact, the material is relevant at all, why is it not relevant immediately, whether during the lifetimes or immediately after the deaths of public leaders?

How Rocky died

These speculations are provoked, of course, by the controversy surrounding the coverage of Nelson Rockefeller's death. The lead story of every New York newspaper (and many others as well) on January 27 reported it. The headlines indicated not only *that* he died, but also the circumstances in which he did so. Thus the second deck beneath the two-inch-high headline ROCKY DEAD in the *New York Post* stated that he had collapsed with a heart attack while WORKING ON NEW BOOK. *The New York Times* also revealed the cause of death in the second deck (HEART ATTACK VICTIM) and described the circumstances in only slighter smaller type below: STRICKEN IN NEW YORK OFFICE WHILE WORKING ON A MODERN ART BOOK.

Both stories were based on a statement released by Hugh Morrow, "a longtime Rockefeller family

Sanford Levinson, a lawyer, teaches in the politics department at Princeton University.

WABC-TV

The night it happened: Megan Marshak (center) watches as medics try to revive Nelson Rockefeller

spokesman." "He was in excellent health," Morrow had said. "His proud boast was that he only had missed three days of work in forty years." His last day had been suitably busy; indeed, after a family dinner, Rockefeller "returned to his office in Rockefeller Center. He was working on his book about his modern art collection. He was stricken and died, apparently instantly," about 11:15 p.m. The stately *Times* included an additional comment of Morrow's: "He was having a wonderful time with the whole art enterprise. He was 'having a ball,' as he put it."

We now know, of course, that practically every one of the alleged facts asserted in the passages just quoted was false. He was not in excellent health, he was not at his Rockefeller Center office, he likely did not die instantly. There is also no evidence that Rockefeller was working on a book that evening. Instead, as the world found out via a long, authoritative story by Robert McFadden of the *Times* on January 29, Rockefeller was at his townhouse on West 54th Street and was stricken while in the company of a young aide, Megan Marshak. According to the *Times* account, Marshak had joined Rockefeller around 9 p.m.; she had been wearing "a long black evening gown."

Subsequent stories revealed that Rockefeller had suffered his attack an hour earlier than Morrow had indicated, and that medical help had not been summoned for sixty-one minutes—and then by Ponchitta Pierce, a friend of Marshak's. "There was some food on the table and a bottle of wine," one of the paramedics told *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin. "There were no books or papers or anything like that. I know he had some wine. It was in his stomach." Breslin's reporting was typical of the *News*'s and the *Post*'s more aggressive coverage of the Rockefeller-Marshak relationship. The *Post* alleged she was being paid $60,000 a year for her services as an assistant on his art projects. Both papers highlighted the fact that Rockefeller had helped pay for her apartment (his will forgave a $45,000 loan for that purpose) and that he had been a frequent caller there. The *Daily News* tracked down a source who reported that he had always sent flowers before his visits. To put it mildly, a different picture of the circumstances surrounding Rockefeller's death was emerging, and a debate has ensued about the propriety of the press coverage that was responsible.

Harriet Van Horne, writing in the *Post*, felt compelled to confess feeling "downright smutty poring over every last detail of Nelson Rockefeller's death," and she referred to "this morbid, slavering curiousity over the former Governor's final hours." She also took note of "the prurient—and generally unvarying—theories of what caused the fatal heart attack" and the "insistently ribald interpretations of Megan Marshak's one-hour delay in summoning an ambulance to Rockefeller's townhouse."

Defending *Times* coverage to the *Soho News*, a spirited local weekly, metropolitan editor Sydney Schanberg told Jane Perlez that "The time of the heart attack goes directly to whether [Rockefeller] could have been saved." But however much this explanation accounts for the interest in determining how long it took to summon help, it scarcely explains the *Times*'s curiosity about such details as what Marshak was wearing, let alone the scope of the *Post* and *News* coverage. Had there been widespread suspicion of foul play, on the other hand, a painstaking reconstruction of each

minute of that evening would certainly have been called for. No one, however, has seriously suggested foul play. What, then, accounts for the detailed coverage? What drove the press to wrench aside the veil of privacy that Morrow had so carefully drawn around the vice president's last moments? And should it have done so?

Waiving the claim

Let me suggest that the answers lie in the way that Morrow's statement, consciously or not, operates as an attempt to manage the presentation of Rockefeller's death in a manner that itself—like the politician's use of his or her family as a campaign tool—waived any claim to privacy. Morrow's remarkably false description of Rockefeller's death cannot be explained simply by a desire to spare Mrs. Rockefeller; the death was presented in a manner that would draw *favorable* notice to its circumstances, rather than the discreet inattention they might otherwise have merited.

The key statement in this respect was Morrow's claim that Rockefeller was working on a book about modern art on the night of his death. Had he simply stated that Rockefeller had died at a given time and place, without elaborating each detail, it would have been both less interesting to pierce the veil and more difficult to justify doing it. In the absence of deception, that is, I am inclined to agree with Arthur Schlesinger that the public would not immediately have needed all the information it got.

But Morrow's statement contained fabrications implicitly suggesting that Rockefeller's death conveyed a public message: Here was a man, fabulously wealthy, who consistently subordinated private pleasure to higher duties. Not only did he die at work, but the work itself reflected Rockefeller's involvement in the edifying world of high culture. He died, we were asked to believe, while performing his role as a public educator. One might best analogize the Morrow statement to a piece of medieval iconography, in which the respected leader is depicted facing death in a way that will instruct us how to confront our common fate.

The lesson is that one is never too old or too rich for hard work—work made estimable through the doctrine of stewardship and public service central to the Protestant ethic which Rockefeller embodied. The *Daily News*, for one, took the message to heart. "It was typical of Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller's life," ran a January 28 editorial (written before McFadden's piece appeared), "that death, when it came on Friday night, found him hard at work. Idleness was one luxury of the rich that Rockefeller steadfastly disdained."

Delivering the eulogy for Hubert Humphrey last year, Walter Mondale listed as Humphrey's last public service that "He taught us how to die." Even though we don't ordinarily think of such teaching as a function of public leadership, Mondale grasped the reality of the complex demands we make on our leaders. So too did Morrow, the longtime Rockefeller emissary to the media, who instinctively tried to enlist the press in an effort to make Rockefeller's death exemplary.

For many years Morrow had seen journalists acquiesce in presenting the Rockefellers as they saw themselves—selfless public servants who merely happened to enjoy great fortune. The Rockefellers had helped to found the American public relations industry over sixty years ago, in fact, when Ivy Lee devoted his energies to obliterating the identification of the Rockefeller name with such events as the 1913 Ludlow, Colorado, coalfield massacre. Since then they had pursued a largely successful effort to mask the fact that the family has enjoyed great power in American society, which it has often used, directly and indirectly, to further its own specific interests.

Not the least irony of the *Time*'s coverage of how Rockefeller died, indeed, is the fact that the paper had rarely reported so well on how he lived. As Peter Collier and David Horowitz point out in *The Rockefellers*, there was little coverage, for example, of the budgetary legerdemain of "moral obligation" bonds (invented with the aid of John Mitchell), by which New York State plunged into spectacular debt during his governorship; of the billion-dollar Albany Mall project; or of the state's decision to rent much of the space in the World Trade Center, a complex conceived at least in part to promote David Rockefeller's renewal of Manhattan's Wall Street area.

Morrow, then, perhaps can be excused for expecting one last act of cooperation from the press, so that Henry Kissinger might perhaps echo Mondale and be able to note that Rockefeller, too, "taught us how to die." But this time he overreached by manufacturing a wholly false description, requiring that the press not merely acquiesce as it had done in the past, but that it actively collaborate in the process of image management and public edification. But the press, this final time, refused to be conscripted.

Whatever the motives for this refusal—and the "slavering curiosity" noted by Van Horne was no doubt among them—it amounted to a rejection of the power that wealth has to transform reality in this society. "The extent of the power of money is the extent of my power," wrote Karl Marx of the alchemical abilities of the wealthy. "Thus, what I *am* and *am capable* of is by no means determined by my individuality. I am ugly, but I can buy for myself the most beautiful of women. Therefore I am not *ugly*, for the effect of ugliness—its deterrent power—is nullified by money."

In the final analysis, Morrow was simply asking for too much, as do all those who would make paragons of public figures. In order to make Rockefeller's death exemplary, he tried to elevate it to the status of a public spectacle and, so to speak, invite the press to witness it after the fact. By compromising the privacy of the event, however, he invited scrutiny of the moral claims he made for it. And, to its credit, this is an invitation that the press accepted. ■

The doomsday beat

Aviation Week, a defense community trade magazine, helps to set the national agenda. The daily press lends it a hand.

by TOM GERVASI

You are sitting in the office of a hero and a patriot. On the wall behind his desk is a large charcoal portrait of Lieutenant General Claire Chennault, commander of the 14th Air Force, the renowned Flying Tigers unit which fought the Japanese in China during World War II. The general's chin is squared like a concrete bunker and beneath it his signature dedicates this memento to Major Robert Hotz. Next to the portrait is a framed scroll awarding Hotz the Air Medal with oak leaf cluster for his outstanding service. Next to that is a distinctive flag of red-and-white American stripes emblazoned in the corner not with stars but with the white Chinese sun on a blue blackground. That sun is still the official symbol of Nationalist China. Members of the Flying Tigers wore the flag for identification across the backs of their flying jackets. This one was Robert Hotz's own. He flew a B-25.

A perfect photo of a fellow pilot's B-25, taken by Hotz during a combat mission, is displayed on the wall next to his desk. Bombs are falling from the weapons bay. Along the wall are photos of other aircraft, of combat targets taken by gun cameras, of missile tests, of generals and admirals and pilots and aircraft designers Hotz has known all over the world, together with dedications, souvenirs of air shows at Farnborough, Paris, and Tushino, and other records of historic moments in aviation, all of them marking milestones in the life of this man or recognizing the distinguished contributions he has made for the past three decades, first as editor and more recently as publisher of *Aviation Week and Space Technology*.

"Antonov sent me that," he says, pointing to a photo of an Antonov transport aircraft lifting off from a Soviet airfield. "He wrote on it: *Bob, you were there, you know how short this runway was.*" Another photo shows two young men with short, dark hair, one of them in an Air Force uniform. Hotz, who has a ruddy complexion and a shock of fine, white hair, points to it and says, "That's me, with Tom Powers, at a reception given by Marshal Zhukov at the Red Army Club in Moscow." The photo is dated June 24, 1956. Powers later became chief of our Strategic Air Command.

Tom Gervasi, a military analyst and former counterintelligence officer, is the author of Arsenal of Democracy: American Weapons for Export.

The offices of *Aviation Week* run along a back corridor on the fourth floor of the National Press Building in Washington. Walking along that corridor, you would not suppose that just beyond an unassuming glass-panelled door lies what Drew Middleton of *The New York Times* calls "a very wide-awake organization," one which occupies a unique position in this country's journalism.

Packed with full-page color advertisements showing off new aircraft, missiles, and electronic systems, and with regular columns and features on job changes, forthcoming professional meetings, and air-traffic records, McGraw Hill's *Aviation Week* arrives every Monday morning on the desks of most of its 102,000 subscribers in 132 countries. For its frequent advance disclosures of technology that may change the balance of power, the magazine is read at the highest levels of government throughout the world. As a trade journal, it is indispensable to the aerospace and defense industries it serves, keeping them abreast of technical developments, funding, and trends in policy, and not infrequently acting as the industry's spokesman to influence policy changes. As a primary source of military information for the general press, it is more influential than some reporters will readily admit.

Most important of all, because it identifies solidly with the defense community and has built a reputation as a guardian of the national interest, as this community defines it, *Aviation Week* has privileged access to defense information and plays a pivotal role in the capital's public-information wars. This means that it can publish sensitive information with a degree of impunity that can only remind such men as Daniel Ellsberg, Daniel Schorr, and Howard Morland that the government has always employed more than a single standard in defining national security interests for the press.

Call it treason?

"Early in 1956," Hotz recalls, "when the Soviets were first developing ballistic missiles, Trevor Gardner got General Electric to build this fantastic radar to monitor their tests." Gardner, then assistant secretary of defense for research and development, had the AN/FPS-17 radar constructed and then installed near Samsun, Turkey. With an initial range of about 1,000 miles, the complex could track missile firings from the

CJR/Dick Swanson

main Russian test center at Krasnyy Yar, providing data on the speed of the missiles, their altitude, bearing, and approximate range. "You could see right down the whole test range with that thing," Hotz remembers. It was the most powerful radar in the world at that time.

The American public did not even know the Soviets were testing missiles. "We knew about it here at *Aviation Week*," Hotz says. "We knew about it for two years before we decided to go ahead and tell the story. The problem was, the Eisenhower administration was all for cutting back on the defense budget then. They took $170 million away from research and development, mostly for missiles. That was a lot of money at the time. To justify the cuts, they were publicly lying;

'Cutler violently condemned *Aviation Week*, using the word "treason" three times'

they were saying no, the U.S.S.R. wasn't building ballistic missiles, that would never happen, so there was no need to plow money into R&D to catch up. Well, this just wasn't true. So that was one story we went ahead and told."

On October 21, 1957, *Aviation Week* printed an article which began as follows:

> Washington—U.S. has been tapping Russia's missile secrets for more than two years by means of extremely powerful long-range radar and other equipment based in Turkey.

"Bobby Cutler was furious," Hotz says. "Of course, they raised hell, they were going to throw the book at us. But nothing happened." On October 26, Robert Cutler, special assistant to the president for national security affairs, spoke to a closed session of the Commerce Department's Business Advisory Council in Hot Springs, Virginia, and, according to the Associated Press, quoting businessmen who attended the meeting, "violently" condemned *Aviation Week*, used the word "treason" three times, called the publication of the article "prosecutable" and suggested that "you advertisers" might wish to reconsider advertising policies. *Aviation Week* printed all these reports in its issue of November 4. Joseph Alsop got firmly behind the magazine. "The Pentagon powers that be," he wrote, "knowing the facts, sought to conceal them." An editorial in *The Los Angeles Examiner* stated:

> Certain unnamed spokesmen for the Administration are angry at *Aviation Week*, the magazine that broke the story, on the grounds of publishing classified information.... From whom was this information classified?... it is almost impossible that the Russians did not know.... The Turks knew about it, naturally, and so did the Administration and the Pentagon. It is the American public that was "classified" out of knowing.

An editorial in *The Hartford Courant* cried for "freedom of information." Soon, in response to a request from John E. Moss, chairman of the House Government Information Subcommittee, Robert Cutler formally denied that he had accused *Aviation Week* of treason. It was the end of the affair.

"We have a responsibility to the public, to American citizens," Hotz says. "We've released stories when we knew it was the right thing to do. We haven't done it carelessly. We know that national security interests are used to cover up various failures," he goes on. "Over and above that, however, there are legitimate concerns of national security. The whole business of strategic reconnaissance is a legitimate area. We've sat on a lot of stories there. We sat on the SR-71 for a long time."

The SR-71, the first military aircraft in the world to achieve sustained speeds well over Mach 3 (more than 2,000 m.p.h.), was first developed in 1959 by Clarence L. (Kelly) Johnson in a maximum-security area of Lockheed Aircraft's Burbank, California, plant. Using dummy corporations to confuse subcontractors, unmarked trucks to pick up parts and materials, cash payments for supplies, and air-lock entrances and exits, the Pentagon kept the project hidden. The aircraft were taken in subassemblies to a secret base in Nevada. "One of them crashed out in the desert," Hotz remembers. "The government covered it up by giving the plane a phony serial number taken from an F-84F." This was a tactical reconnaissance fighter with a top speed of 657 m.p.h.

"Now sometimes," Hotz says, "you get double-crossed. A press secretary, or even the president himself, will come out and tell everyone what you've been dutifully sitting on all the time, and you're scooped. That's what Lyndon Johnson did with the SR-71. He got on television and told the whole nation we have this plane that flies faster than a bullet." In his first televised press conference, on February 29, 1964, Johnson disclosed the existence of the aircraft, then known as the A-11.

"We still had a story, though," Hotz says with a chuckle. In the issue of March 9, 1964, *Aviation Week* printed a story with the following lead:

> Washington—Lockheed's A-11 is a Mach 3.5 special purpose aircraft that has already flown long-range reconnaissance missions over communist territory.... The A-11 was originally designed primarily for long-range reconnaissance and other clandestine missions at altitudes exceeding 100,000 feet.... Top Defense Department officials deny that it now has such a role.

Another story in the same issue quoted Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara in a statement he would later regret: "The A-11 is an interceptor, it is being developed as such, and beyond that I have nothing further to say on its use."

"It was never going to be an interceptor," Hotz says. "The Soviets knew this. So who were we hiding it from? Hell, they were picking us up on their radar. They just couldn't reach us with their SAMs."

"Same thing with the U-2," Hotz continues. "We knew in a general way what it was up to, and we sat on it. When Gary Powers went down we unloaded everything we had, the special fuels, all that. The story, of course, was that he'd been shot down. The Soviets made a deal with him that they'd let him go if he would testify in his trial that he'd been brought down with a SAM. Well, they never could have gotten near him at the height he was flying. It was well over 90,000 feet, and we said so right in the magazine. He had a flameout and couldn't get his engine started again. When he lost enough altitude, they hit him. Khruschev was fit to be tied that these things were flying over his country and there was nothing he could do about it."

Particle-beam pickup

Hotz retains an international clipping service. You examine a fat file of clippings resulting from the U-2, SR-71, and the Soviet missile test stories—and, more recently, from a series of articles on particle-beam weapons which has run over the past two years.

The pickups suggest a pattern. An article by Philip J. Klass in the December 8, 1975, issue of the magazine gives an account of Soviet laser testing, and reports that six weeks earlier one of our early warning satellites over the Indian Ocean was blinded for a period of four hours by high-intensity energy beamed from the U.S.S.R.

The following day, December 9, *The Christian Science Monitor* runs a story by a Washington staff correspondent, ARE SOVIETS TESTING LASERS TO BLIND U.S. SPY SATELLITES? The piece credits *Aviation Week* and Klass.

In the May 2, 1977, issue Clarence A. Robinson, Jr. writes the magazine's first report on the success of Soviet particle-beam weapon research. In a pickup dated May 3, *The New York Times* runs an article with the headline SOVIET BREAKTHROUGH IS REPORTED IN RESEARCH ON AN ANTIMISSILE BEAM. The article begins:

> Washington, May 2—The magazine *Aviation Week and Space Technology* said today that the Soviet Union had achieved a breakthrough in high-energy physics "that may soon provide a directed-energy beam weapon capable of neutralizing the entire United States ballistic missile force."

Robinson's next article on particle-beam weapons, describing American efforts to catch up with Soviet technology, appeared in the issue of Monday, October 2, 1978. It, too, prompted a string of pickups. U.P.I. was the first to go with it, putting it out over the wire on the weekend. ("U.P.I. *always* picks up our material first," Robinson says. Dan Gilmore of the U.P.I. Washington bureau confirms this. "They are highly useful. We get two or three stories a week out of every issue.") Monday's edition of *The San Diego Tribune* had the story (with the headline KILLER RAY WEAPONS EXPLORED), as did Tuesday's *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Houston Post*, and *Chicago Tribune* (REPORT PENTAGON CONSIDERING KILLER RAY WEAPONS), and Thursday's *Boston Globe* (BUCK ROGERS AND THE PENTAGON). All of these stories credited *Aviation Week*.

After further pieces by Robinson in November, a new series of pickups ensued. The front page of the December 4 *New York Times* carried a story by Malcolm W. Browne, WEAPON THAT FIGHTS MISSILES COULD ALTER WORLD DEFENSE FOCUS. That was only the beginning. In the days immediately following, pickup included *The Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* (U.S., RUSSIA IN STAR WARS RACE), *The Kansas City Star* (RAY WEAPONS DEBATE GROWS), *The Washington Post* (PBWS: FACT OR FICTION?), and *New West* (which played an improbable local angle: DEATH RAY STALKS SUBURBAN STREETS).

Hotz's folder also contains articles from British and Australian newspapers and stories in French, Russian, Italian, Greek, German, Arabic, Dutch, Finnish, even Turkish. "The Turks really seem to love our stuff," he tells you.

"It's hard for them, you know," he says of the competition, as he leans back in his chair and smiles. "I remember once, in the late fifties, one of the reporters at *The New York Times* did three stories in a row, all on the front page. Each time he gave us full credit. Well, one of the editors hauled him into his office and said: 'Now look here, you can't make us look like a second-rate news organization. You stop writing everything out of *Aviation Week*. Go get your own sources and write your own stories.' The reporter called me and said: 'Bob, what do I do? I don't want to lose you, but I'm not always going to be able to credit you.' We worked something out."

Reporters these days do not admit to such dependency, although they readily agree that the magazine is important. Bernard Weinraub, Richard Burt, and Drew Middleton—the *Times* reporters now closest to the magazine's beat—all recall using stories that first came to their attention through *Aviation Week*. "Their 'Washington Roundup' turns out to be pretty close to developments as they break," Middleton says. "Of course, you have to check with your own sources to confirm some of their material." Burt, assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London before he came to the *Times*, is an arms expert. "In some ways *Aviation Week* is really invaluable for the level of their detail," he says, "but that isn't to say that they are not frequently inaccurate. They are." Sometimes wrong, the magazine also sometimes is not the one to break a story. "They are not always the first people on the scene," protests *Times* aviation correspondent Richard Witkin. "My friend Jules Bergman at ABC was doing stories on the Apollo program long before *Aviation Week*."

Middleton is philosophical. "It's nice to have *Aviation Week* cover for you by bringing out something

first." Burt, relatively new to journalism, has already learned one of its cardinal lessons, and agrees: "It takes the heat off me," he says simply.

"Now and then," Hotz says as you close his folder of pickups, "we take an issue that has been deliberately suppressed, and we ventilate it. We've built up a reputation for trustworthiness and credibility. This means that we have to have the truth. We make news because we are right."

A moral purpose

Hotz surveys a row of scale-model ICBMs poking skyward amidst the thick reports and scribbled notes on his desk. He speaks for the magazine, having been its only editor during its twenty-four years. "We are known to be utterly impartial," he says flatly. Indeed, he reminds you, *Aviation Week* was the only magazine in the world which both the Israelis and the Egyptians invited to discuss the airpower lessons of the October 1973 war. The resulting series of articles was later reprinted under the title *Both Sides of Suez*. Hotz has a kicker ready. "A high official of Novosti [the Soviet information agency] once told me, 'Bob, when you write about our airplanes, you are right. Even when you write about what is *wrong* with our airplanes, you are right.' "

If Hotz values the impartiality of his magazine, it is with the understanding that impartiality entails accuracy, and accuracy, in turn, requires access. "Information is only given to those who can be trusted with it," he says, speaking of his relations with his sources. "The only way we are going to get the truth is to show that we have a clear sense of moral purpose."

Hotz recently demonstrated his sense of moral purpose in the wake of President Carter's efforts to control American arms exports—once considered one of the president's own moral imperatives. In May of 1977, Carter announced new policy guidelines meant to limit sales, establishing the requirement, for example, that U.S. arms manufacturers obtain official approval before initiating foreign contacts designed "to influence a decision to purchase."

The guidelines met with a storm of protest from industry. *Aviation Week* reported these reactions closely, and did more. In its issue of August 8, 1977, the magazine's editorial page reprinted excerpts from a speech given by Thomas V. Jones, chairman and chief executive officer of Northrop Corporation, a major armaments producer, introducing his remarks with the observation that "Carter's military exports guidelines issued in May have caused considerable concern both in the limitations they set and in their interpretation." Jones correctly pointed out that "exceptions continue to be made because the criteria and procedures for judging a particular arms sale have not been decided on." But he went on to say: "The customer should be permitted to make his decision on the basis of evenhanded competitive offerings." It was a rejection of the guidelines and an appeal for laissez faire.

An item headlined SALES CONFUSION started off the "Washington Roundup" column of the magazine's issue of January 9, 1978. It began:

> President Carter's proposed foreign arms sales curtailment policy has not succeeded in curtailing sales, has caused widespread confusion in the U.S. and abroad and remains elusive because the directive . . . contains so many possible exceptions.

The piece also quoted a State Department official who called the new policy "a managerial mess." In the February 20 "Washington Roundup," the magazine quoted a former director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, who was "convinced that availability of arms transfers is an important instrument for effective conduct of U.S. foreign policy," and called the Carter policy "palpably unrealistic."

Hotz himself entered the lists with an editorial in the May 22 issue, in the wake of Senate approval of the administration's package of aircraft sales to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Israel. Unlike those who criticized the sale because it undermined the president's own guidelines, Hotz applauded it. "A healthy air of reality is beginning to pervade U.S. foreign policy," he wrote; and the magazine sounded a similar note in subsequent issues during the summer and early fall.

In response to industry criticism, much of it reported and elaborated by *Aviation Week*, in September the administration finally allowed what "Washington Roundup" called "a relaxation in the language" of the guidelines. Originally required to seek approval for foreign contacts meant to "*influence* a decision to purchase," arms exporters were told to inform the government only if a contact were "designed to *constitute a basis* for a decision to purchase." A minor, but significant, alteration in language had once again opened the door to aggressive overseas selling by American arms manufacturers. Asked if he thinks *Aviation Week* helped force the policy change, Hotz says, "It was a direct result of our hammering." A Pentagon source confirms this assessment. "Bob's was the loudest voice, and there's no question he helped loosen things up around here. After all, he represents powerful vested interests. We're back to business as usual."

Discovering another gap

Aviation Week will by now have run another of its news-making stories. Planned for the issue of April 2, it will have appeared after this article is written but before it is in print. In all likelihood, however, its reverberations will still be in the air. The subject, once again, will be the particle-beam weapon. "We sat on this story too," Hotz says, recalling all those other stories he has held "in the national interest," then run. "We've known about it for several years. Up to now, we've been very careful not to say more than we said in our articles last fall."

Clarence Robinson's original articles on this subject, which ran in the fall of 1978 after an initial piece

in May 1977, told of the development of a particle-beam weapon by the Soviets at facilities in Semipalatinsk and at Azgir in Kazakhstan. The first of them reprinted in full a speech by General George Keegan, the former head of Air Force Intelligence, who retired in December of 1976. Keegan had warned that the Soviets were well ahead of the U.S. in developing this weapon.

The articles went on to explain what the weapon was, and why it was significant. For many years, the United States had funded research on the development of laser weapons. Early in 1978, the firm of TRW Systems, demonstrating a laser beam, shot down a test missile by focusing the beam's energy on the missile's warhead and exploding it. "Since lasers are a form of light energy," Hotz says, "and travel at the speed of light, everyone realized we might be able to use them to develop an antimissile defense, a system which could react instantaneously.

"The problem," he continues, "was that laser energy, being a form of light, can only propagate itself in clear air. It is effectively blocked by haze or clouds. An antimissile defense that can only work when the weather is clear is next to useless. Now, a particle beam is a different matter. It is a stream of subatomic particles accelerated at extremely high speeds, and it doesn't require translucent air to propagate its energy. A lightning bolt is a particle beam. It's nothing but a stream of electrons. It goes through anything. If a particle-beam weapon could be developed, it would function under all conditions, and we might have an antimissile defense that could render the entire nuclear strategic force of the U.S.S.R. obsolete."

The United States had for some time been engaged in research on particle-beam weapons, and the articles had revealed these efforts, too—including the Navy's top-secret Chair Heritage Program. "No one thought it could be done," Hotz says. "The problem of generating sufficient energy for a practical particle-beam weapon hadn't been solved. They didn't think it *could* be solved. Then Keegan came along and said the Soviets were already doing it." When General Keegan originally announced his findings and *Aviation Week* reported them, the resulting clamor in the press had caused President Carter, on the advice of Defense Secretary Harold Brown, to go on television and play down the scare, saying that the articles "contained some inaccuracies."

C.I.A. director William Colby, however, convened a meeting of the Nuclear Intelligence Panel to examine Keegan's findings. Keegan had identified 350 Soviet laboratories and more than 2,000 Soviet scientists involved in particle-beam weapon research. "The panel," Keegan says, "was dumbfounded." It produced a report which acknowledged that there were no technical errors in the Air Force's analytical work, but that it was inconceivable that the Soviet Union could "hook up in serial all the major technologies" and produce a beam weapon.

As a result, no one moved very quickly. The Pentagon did decide to explore the matter further, however. Under the direction of Dr. Ruth M. Davis, deputy under secretary of defense for research and advanced technology, a large particle-beam technology study group, comprising thirty-six and later fifty-three physicists and engineers, was formed to investigate Keegan's evidence, determine how far the Soviets had gotten, examine whether the technical problems could be solved, and decide whether there was any need for further efforts to keep pace with Soviet research.

"Now here's the news," Hotz says. "That committee has been at the job for the past two years. They are coming in with their final report, and we know what it says."

What does it say?

"It says Keegan was right! It says it can be done. It says the Soviets are doing it, and they are well ahead of us. It says we have got to do everything we can to catch up. The trouble has been that we're way behind

'The magazine's credibility depends on a facade of independence and objectivity in which it must believe itself'

in some areas of physics. Ruth Davis says the dividing line is between nuclear physics and plasma physics. We're no further in plasma physics than we were thirty years ago. Bernie Schriever said it all," he continues, referring to General Bernard A. Schriever, who was head of Air Force Systems Command from 1959 to 1966. "He said: 'We are looking for Pearl Harbor in the wrong places. Technological surprise is going to be our next Pearl Harbor.' "

In open admiration for Clarence Robinson's work, Hotz says: "It's amazing how he put all this material together. He just kept at it, kept chipping away. It was like mining granite without dynamite.

"In theory," Hotz goes on, describing what the April 2 article on beam weapons would reveal, "we've solved all the technical problems. We once thought you could not generate the energy required to create a practical particle beam without an enormous apparatus, something impossibly unwieldy. It takes practically the energy of fusion. You are really doing the reverse, you are creating matter out of energy. Now we know it can be done out of something no larger than this," he says, thumping on his desk.

"The report recommends that a separate particle-beam technology office be created within the Depart-

ment of Defense. It recommends an immediate program to catch up. It is going to take hundreds of millions of dollars. We have to hustle. But we'll have our beam. We'll get it in time."

He looks at the little row of highly detailed ICBM scale models on his desk. Then he points at it. "Soon we can get rid of all that stuff," he says. "It'll be a damned good thing. We act like these strategic forces are going to last forever. Nothing lasts forever."

Ideology and interest

"It all started," Robinson says, "with the word PEANUT, a U.S. Army acronym for Probable Nuclear Underground Test. I overhead that one day, and I was curious to find out what it meant, and what it was being applied to. It turned out that one of the things it was being applied to were Soviet tests of a particle beam.

"This place is just like an intelligence agency," he says of the magazine. "We take a piece of information from here, and a piece from there, we analyze it, verify it, and pretty soon it begins to form a picture." Bernard Weinraub of the *Times* thinks the magazine's sources must be "pretty high up there, especially in the Air Force." His colleague Richard Burt disagrees, seeing "mostly low-level, technical people" behind the stories. His own sources, he notes, are "high-level civilian political appointees."

"Those high-level politicial appointees," says Robinson, "are the sort who never tell you anything. They don't know anything. I'll tell you, I speak to everyone. Secretaries often know more than anyone else."

"They get their material from the Pentagon," asserts Rear Admiral Gene R. Larocque, a retired U.S. Navy officer who is director of the Center for Defense Information. "They are an adjunct and public relations arm for the Pentagon and the arms manufacturers." A Pentagon source agrees. "There is such heated and intense internal strife in the Pentagon that people take their issues to the press. Things are always being leaked for ulterior motives. The idea is to make enough noise in the general press so that it becomes politically impossible not to do something about it. That has often been the way we get funding for more research." Burt calls the magazine "Aviation Leak."

"I don't buy the selective-plant theory," says George Wilson of *The Washington Post*. "That's just the standard knee-jerk reaction. Stories are not deliberately given to them. It's just that it's a little less restraining for military people to talk to Robinson and other reporters at *Aviation Week*. It's a more relaxed relationship. Most military people are straight as a string. It's the contractors who are more guilty of trying to plant stuff."

However *Aviation Week* obtains its stories, it gets results with them. The magazine's 1957 scoop on Soviet ballistic-missile testing, for example, led to increased funding for similar programs in this country. Peter Pringle of the London *Sunday Times* recalls another such instance: "The United States spent hundreds of millions of dollars on research for a nuclear-powered bomber, all because *Aviation Week* announced that the U.S.S.R. had got one." The announcement had been in the magazine's issue of December 1, 1958. George Wilson recalls the denouement: "When they reported the story of the Soviet nuclear-powered bomber," he says, "we ended up spending $1.3 billion in research before we realized it couldn't be done, that the whole story was absurd." More recently, says Gordon Adams of the Council on Economic Priorities, "*Aviation Week* has been critical in getting a complete restructuring of the way in which the laser and particle-beam weapon programs are handled."

Richard Falk, Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice at Princeton University, does not think the editors and reporters at *Aviation Week* can be aware of the process in which they play a role. "What is involved here," he says, "is a mutual identity of ideology and interest, where a magazine that purports to be in the public domain is being used as part of the political process. The magazine's credibility depends on a facade of independence and objectivity, in which it must believe itself, but the actuality is one of linkage of ideology and interest. They are given special access to information because the government knows how they will use it. The perception of being used is very difficult for them to attain, psychologically. That is what is so pernicious about this: the link is so implicit that it can't penetrate the consciousness of the participants."

From his spartan office adjoining Hotz's and a third of its size, Clarence Robinson, the magazine's crack military correspondent, talks about the forthcoming particle-beam story, and tells you that "for the last one-and-a-half years we have been holding parts of this story at the direct request of Malcolm Currie," who was formerly deputy secretary of defense for research and engineering. When the article comes out in early April, he tells you, it will disclose specific funding of $315 million for the next five years of the program. A Pentagon spokesperson will later tell you that figures for specific outyear funding are classified. "We'll have $65 million the first year," Robinson says, "$90 million the next, $110 million after that, and then the program levels off a bit."

The week the particle-beam story will have appeared, the House Armed Services Committee will have held hearings on long-range weapons development programs, calling Deputy Under Secretary of Defense Davis to testify on particle-beam programs and the funding needed to meet the threat discovered by what Robinson calls the Gang of 53. With its stories over the last few years, with its April 2 exclusive, and with the pickup accorded its work by the general press, *Aviation Week* will have done much to promote an outcome favorable to yet another weapons system, this time a $1.3 billion particle-beam program over the next ten years. ■

Gary Lloyd, *The Decatur Daily*

The press, the Klan, and an S.C.L.C. leader at a March meeting in Decatur

Old news from the New South

by THOMAS NOLAND

Like most of the hill-country South, Decatur—a northern Alabama city of 35,000 whites and 6,000 blacks—escaped the violence that accompanied integration in the Deep South in the 1960s. "We had gone through the days of integration without any problems," recalls William Dukes, the city's mayor. "Things changed when this Tommy Lee Hines thing erupted."

Hines, a twenty-five-year-old Decatur black, was arrested on May 23, 1978, and charged with having raped a white woman. Five months later, the arresting patrolman testified before an all-white jury in nearby Cullman that Hines had confessed to having raped two others as well. Defense witnesses claimed that the suspect was mentally retarded and incapable of planning a crime. He was found guilty on one rape charge and sentenced to thirty years in prison. (The conviction has been appealed; meanwhile, Hines faces trial on two more rape counts and a robbery charge.)

Covering the story, together with the protests and counterprotests it generated, presented a challenge to *The Decatur Daily* (circulation: 22,000). Taking its cue from civic leaders, the paper sought to project an image of a progressive New South city. Suddenly it was faced with events that clashed with this image as jarringly as its page-one rape story of May 24 clashed with the customary "Peanuts" comic strip across the bottom of the page. Reporters, accustomed to thinking that the civil rights battle had been fought out years ago, barely grasped the dimensions of the story.

Ignorance of black society crippled the *Decatur Daily*'s coverage. While in a May 31 story by Jeff Field the paper listed black allegations about life in the city (job discrimination, a manipulated political process, jury selection that excluded blacks), it never evaluated them. Instead, in a June 19 story Field parried the charges. Interviewing Larry Kirk, head of the Decatur chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Field asked: "What is it that you people want? White people don't understand. They say you've got your freedom. They say you are as free as anyone. They don't understand what you people are asking for." The story was accompanied by a photograph of two black youngsters on a mule; the resolutely optimistic cutline read: "Even a protest is fun for children."

In mid-July, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan held their first summer rally in Decatur. *The Huntsville Times* put the crowd at 5,000, pointing out that this made it the largest Klan rally in Alabama since the 1960s. *The Decatur Daily*, again minimizing the conflict, said the rally "drew more than 1,000 observers" and characterized a nighttime crossburning by armed Klansmen as "carnival-like."

In late August, by which time opinion in Decatur was thoroughly polarized, the trial was moved to Cullman, in the next county south. The Decatur paper duly noted the change in venue, but not its significance. In contrast, a thoughtful article in *The Huntsville Times* (circulation: 52,000) by Lane Lambert pointed out that almost all of Cullman County's 500 blacks live in an out-of-the-way community called "The Colony," that until twenty years ago the visitor to Cullman was greeted by a sign that read "Nigger, Don't Let The Sun Go Down On You In Cullman," and that the seventy-member Cullman jury roll had no blacks on it.

This March, nearly half a year after Hines's conviction in Cullman, the venue for future court action was changed once again—this time to Birmingham. *The Decatur Daily*, meanwhile, is working to refurbish the city's progressive image. Despite the presence of an active S.C.L.C. chapter and a revitalized Klan, it continues to ignore the root causes of black frustration and white reaction. ■

Chinese figures in a


U.P.I.

A 707 inscribed with the characters, China People's Airlines, glides slowly out of the gray winter sky down onto the runway. It reverses its engines with a roar, and then taxis in toward the waiting crowd.

Hundreds of members of the international and American press, who have been milling around in the corral-like enclosure provided for them on the runway apron, suddenly become alert. They strain for a view of the incoming plane and ready themselves to record the ceremonial moment, the first time a leader of the Chinese people has visited America.

The plane stops. The TV cameras start rolling. The crowd is hushed.

The hatch swings open. Suddenly Deng Xiaoping, vice premier of The People's Republic of China, appears in the darkened doorway like a cuckoo bird emerging from a wall clock to toll the hour.

He pauses. Looks around. Smiles. Returns the applause of the well-wishers below as if to deflect the attention away from himself. Then, grasping the handrail securely, this elf-like septuagenarian works his way down the ramp.

Once at the bottom, he is engulfed by members of the reception line, who tower over him. So invisible does he become that for many who are trying to follow his path, he might just as well have disappeared underground.

In a few minutes he surfaces and exits at the end of the receiving line, this time with his cheerful-looking wife, Zhuo Lin. Two pretty Chinese girls present them with bouquets of flowers tied with pink ribbons.

A moment later Deng has vanished into a waiting limousine and been swept away to his lodgings at Blair House.

The occasion has been so startlingly brief that it seems vaguely absurd that so many representatives of the Washington press corps have disturbed their Sunday to record it. But, like the instant that divides an old year from the new, Deng's first moments on U.S. soil are in their way momentous, symbolic of the historical divide where relations between our two countries begin to flow from one era to another.

It is the end of the first day. The scheduled events of Deng's triumphal tour of Washington are going off like a perfectly planned invasion. The limousines appear and depart on time. Speeches are written, translated, and duplicated prior to Deng's arrival at each ceremonial stop. As in the coming days, the themes are always the same: assurances that China does not wish to ravish Taiwan, rabid attacks on "Soviet hegemonism," and repeated incantations of China's desire to "learn" from Americans. Deng will make myriad references to the need to teach Vietnam "necessary lessons." As with all messages which the Chinese take seriously, Deng repeats it like a coda at most of his talks. But in the heady atmosphere of our bilateral reconciliation, few Americans seem to be paying heed.

Orville Schell, author of In the People's Republic, *accompanied the Chinese delegation on its trip around the country.*

Almost lost in the crush of the 950 correspondents accredited to cover Deng's Washington tour are thirty-three Chinese reporters and television crewmen who are covering the events for their 900 million comrades back home.

Tonight in the studios of NBC's Washington affiliate, WRC–TV, a production team from the Central Chinese Television network is putting together its broadcast of Deng's first full day in America.

In the basement control room thirty-seven TV monitors are blinking and flickering on the wall. Above them are a dozen wall clocks showing the times in various cities around the world. Although there is not yet a clock awarded to Peking, there is still one which bears the inscription of Saigon, an uninterred vestige of earlier times when our Asian allies were exclusively in the "Free World."

Outside in the hallway, Zhao Zhongxiang, having been irrevocably dubbed "China's Walter Cronkite" by his American producers, paces up and down, intently studying a script in Chinese for tonight's news broadcast via satellite to Peking. Although comparison between Zhao and Walter Cronkite is a tempting one for American media buffs who know a marketable personality when they see one, in this case it is hardly apt. Zhao calls himself simply "a news announcer." And, indeed, all he does is briefly introduce film clips without comment.

Zhao, who arrived in advance of Deng's party, created an odd sight the other day in his crisp, dark-gray tunic, his boyishly handsome Chinese features heavily pancaked, when he did his first standup newscast from the bald patch on the west lawn of the White House from which all his Western counterparts do their daily reports.

Tonight I follow him into a room marked with a sign in Chinese, Studio F. He walks in, greets the American cameraman, and sits down in the stage set at a desk normally used by Tom Brokaw for his Washington reports. Except for the words "*Today* Show," which have been covered over on the backdrop with a new panel, nothing has been changed for the Chinese telecast. Zhao's presence on this borrowed TV landscape, and his occupation of Brokaw's throne, suggests a stranger who has simply walked into another

borrowed landscape

by Orville Schell

man's house, eaten his food, and taken over his job.

"The Chinese have been extremely appreciative of all the help they have received," says one of the several American TV producers back in the control room who have been assigned by the three networks to follow the Chinese around the country, shoot their news footage, and help with the technical aspects of their nightly production and feed to Peking.

"They're not paying us anything. It's just a goodwill thing," he adds. "Of course, all the nets want to get their own people into China, and I guess this can't hurt." He smiles ruefully.

"The Chinese are just like kids in a candy store," says another American producer standing out in the hallway. "Many of them have had very little experience with our equipment, but they've read so much literature they at least know which buttons to push. They love long, slow shots. They don't do much fancy editing. They'll just start a camera grinding and show a whole scene or speech from start to finish.

"And then they adore good shots of American scenery. It's a kind of early fifties production. Nothing complex. We've had no trouble with them, except that they keep wanting to change stuff right in the middle of a rehearsal. They really don't understand the complexity of it all."

At this point, anchorman Zhao's face blinks on several of the screens in the control room, and his engineers cue him up for a run-through. The wall of blazing screens around his visage is a mind-shattering collision of cultural offerings. Every program being telecast in the Washington area, plus the gala program being performed for the Chinese delegation at the Kennedy Center, as well as the Chinese newscast, explodes forth from the multitude of color screens in the small, windowless control room.

As Zhao Zhongxiang begins his brief introduction to today's welcoming ceremony at the White House on one screen, the Harlem Globetrotters suddenly appear on another and begin to manipulate a basketball around the Kennedy Center stage as if it were a small grapefruit. Then, Katharine Hepburn magically appears bicycling through the countryside of Wales, her own screen surrounded by a deodorant commercial and a Bible-thumping preacher on "Gospel Hour."

Just as PBS pans up to the Kennedy Center box occupied by Deng and Carter, a paper-towel commercial blossoms forth from the monitor next door, so that as Carter waves and Deng claps to acknowledge the appreciative audience below they seem to be endorsing this particular brand of paper towel. Then, as the Chinese newscast begins to roll film of Nixon's arrival at the White House reception earlier in the evening, Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor pop up on several screens in their raging version of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Through all of this, the Chinese engineers sit stoically at the controls, speaking by phone to Peking, concentrating on the three screens which are filled with their own program and preparing for the final satellite transmission. They seem oblivious to the riot which unfolds before them.

"What do you make of all the commercials on American TV?" I ask Song Yushan, a woman sound technician who is sitting quietly in the viewing room behind the control booth, gazing blankly at all the monitors.

"Very nice. Very nice," she says, laughing disarmingly. "Do all your stations have commercials?"

I explain that, with the exception of PBS, they are all commercial.

"Who own these stations?" she asks, wrinkling her brow in anticipation of a complicated answer.

I flounder in Chinese with an explanation of American conglomerates. Actually, the only analogies my media-seared mind can summon up are those of "bad capitalists" and "evil landlords"; but, in view of China's "liberalization," I forgo mentioning them.

"Have you had much chance to really sit down and watch any U.S. TV?" I ask, trying to rescue myself from my own answer.

"We've been very busy," she replies wearily. It is now just before midnight, when each day's actual satellite transmission begins. "We do turn the television on sometimes back in the hotel, but it's not always easy to tell where the program ends and the commercials begin."

Just then, a veritable smorgasbord of commercials appears on the monitors before us. We watch in silence as two demure young women discuss disposable douche, as Ed McMahon testifies for a dog food, while another screen suddenly fills with hundred-dollar bills drifting out of the sky and obediently forming up into neat stacks. It is a commercial for a sweepstakes.

Madame Song looks unimpressed. She is gazing up at a monitor in a far corner where a car careens out of control and is suddenly surrounded by scores of L.A. cops with drawn guns.

Of course, all the screens in the studio are silent except for the one broadcasting the Chinese news, which now shows Deng making his statement at the White House welcoming ceremony. The studio is filled with his voice, so that it seems as if everyone else on all the other screens—Perry Mason, the actors of "The Rockford Files," and even black Bill Cosby, filling in for Johnny Carson on *The Tonight Show*—is speaking Chinese with a Szechuan accent. ■

All we, like sheep

Reporters flocked to Mexico to cover the pope. A fallible media leader led many astray

by MOISES SANDOVAL

The recent Third Hemispheric Conference of Latin American bishops in Puebla, Mexico, was widely regarded as the most important meeting of Catholic leaders in a decade. The twenty-two Latin American nations represented at the conference account for 42 percent of the world's Catholics; by the year 2,000 they will constitute a majority. The conference had portent not only in spiritual matters but, at a time when Mexico has emerged as a major oil source and when religion has once again proved to be a potent force for political change, in determining the economic and political future of Latin America.

There was a more obvious reason for press interest in the Puebla conference. Pope John Paul II, on the first papal visit ever made to Mexico, was expected to reveal the style, content, and focus of his pontificate. Hundreds of reporters from all over the world converged on Mexico City, where the Alitalia flight bringing him from Santo Domingo to Mexico arrived on January 26.

Problems cropped up even before the pope set foot on Mexican soil. On the plane, John Paul had chatted with reporters. Contrasting versions of what he had said on an important issue soon appeared in the press. The issue was liberation theology, which commits its followers, after analyzing the conditions in which they live and reflecting on the life and teachings of Jesus, to creating a new society in harmony with the will of God. Jorge Sandoval of *El Sol de Puebla* quoted the pope as saying that "The theology of liberation is a false theory. If it starts to politicize, theology is no longer theology. It is social doctrine, a type of sociology, not a religious doctrine." But Alan Riding, who covers Central America for *The New York Times*, quoted the pope as follows: "You know that liberation theology is a true theology. But perhaps it is also a false theology because if it starts to politicize theology, apply doctrines of political systems, ways of analysis which are not Christian, then this is no longer theology. That is the problem. Theology of liberation, yes, but which one?"

Into the fold

Strangely, the *Times*, whose version of the pope's comment could be read as a statement supporting a non-political liberation theology, led much of the U.S. press to assume that John Paul had rejected liberation theology out of hand. On January 28, *Times* religion reporter George Vecsey cautiously wrote that the pontiff's remarks during his speech inaugurating the conference "seemed to be a criticism of Latin American priests who espouse social activism under a so-called 'theology of liberation.'" The next day, he reported, again cautiously, that the pope "seemed to be giving authoritative discouragement to the new wave of 'liberation theology.'"

Vecsey's use of "seemed" was well advised, for, once again, journalists were disagreeing over the thrust of John Paul's statements. Thus, while the headline for Vecsey's story in the January 29 *Times* read POPE WARNS BISHOPS AGAINST POLITICAL ROLE BY CLERGY, a story by Louis B. Fleming in the *Los Angeles Times* the same day read POPE URGES LATIN BISHOPS TO SPEAK OUT ON INJUSTICE. On January 30, abandoning Vecsey's caution, a *Times* editorial, A VOICE AGAINST 'LIBERATION THEOLOGY,' declared that the pope "spoke out flatly against the concept of liberation theology" and "rejected political involvement, let alone action by the Church."

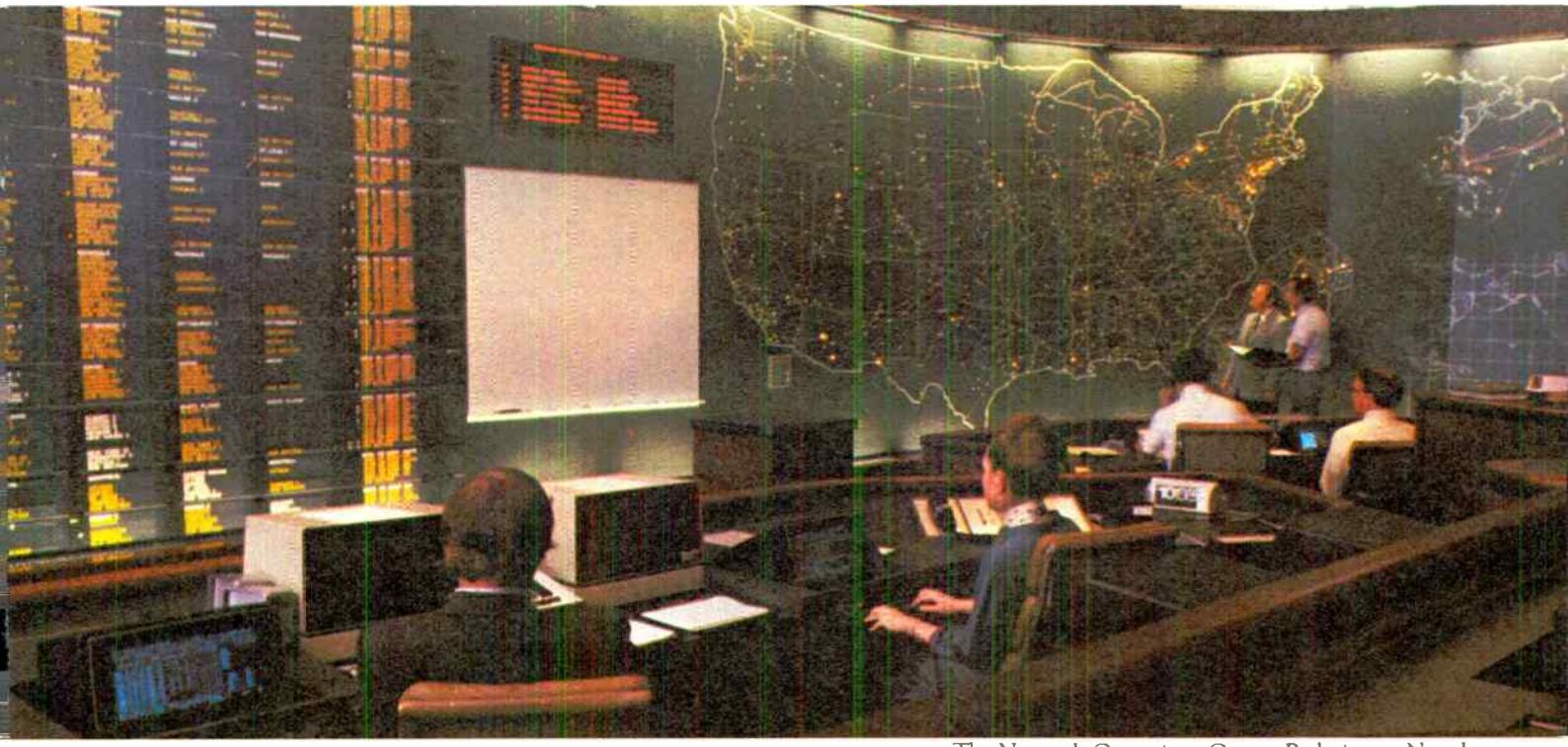
In Puebla, the *Times* editorial was termed "unfortunate" by Archbishop Marcos McGrath, a U.S.-educated moderate who headed the conference's powerful coordinating committee. At a press briefing, McGrath suggested to Vecsey that his paper should retract the editorial. Vecsey replied that he was unhappy with it, too, adding that *Times* editorial board members do not consult with reporters. ("It wasn't our happiest hour," Max Frankel, *Times* editorial page editor, remarked recently. "As we confessed in our second editorial [published on February 20], we rushed in too fast with a judgment. That happens sometimes.")

Meanwhile, several publications deferred to the wisdom of the prestigious *Times*. Tom Carney of the *Des Moines Tribune* recalls: "The executive editor told me what the *Times* had said. I had to convince him that the *Times* was wrong, and he said, Well, if that's the case, that's the story. But the editorial board had already written an editorial along the lines of what the *Times* said, and it had the effect of debunking my story."

At other newspapers, it was the rush of wire stories taking the same line as the *Times* editorial that determined editorial response. Jim Toedtman, *Newsday*'s Latin America expert, says that his "best story in a month from Mexico" was cut down to little more than a sidebar to make room for a wire report that, in contrast to his uncut article, portrayed the pope as hostile to liberation theology. Penny Lernoux, a veteran Latin America correspondent and a stringer for *Newsweek*, says that when she called the magazine on February 1, the decision had already

Moises Sandoval is editor of Maryknoll *magazine, the monthly publication of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society.*

HOW THE BELL SYSTEM OVERSEES 40 MILLION LONG DISTANCE CALLS A DAY. ON AN EASY DAY.



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been made to develop the theme established by the *Times* and the wire services. *Newsweek*'s religion editor, Kenneth L. Woodward, with whom she spoke, doubts that he put the situation in those terms. Says Woodward, "What I might have said to Penny, as I often do, is: I agree with you, but there are people downstairs who read *The New York Times* and want to know why we are going with something different."

The story in the February 12 *Newsweek* (on the stands on February 5), bore the noncommittal title "The Pope in Mexico." Written by Woodward "with Loren Jenkins in Mexico," the article was a journalistic waffle. John Paul "pleaded for the liberation of the people from poverty" but "in Puebla, ignored the controversial theology of liberation and deplored clerical involvement in acts of violence and partisan politics." The cutline under a page-wide photo of the pope being showered with confetti waffled on: "John Paul II in Puebla: a rejection of liberation theology but a plea for liberation from poverty." The question of how a pope could simultaneously ignore and reject any theology was not addressed.

By this time, everyone in New York seemed to have forgotten Alan Riding's account of the airborne pope's words: "You know that liberation theology is a true theology." Notably forgetful were the editors at *Time*. The title of the magazine's February 12 story did not mince words: "John Paul *vs.* Liberation Theology." That this conflict might have existed only in the minds of editors was suggested by a very curious sentence; it read: "The Pope emphatically rejected liberation theology, without ever using that phrase." The tail end of the sentence at least was accurate, for not once in his twenty-seven sermons and talks did John Paul even mention the words liberation theology.

The pope speaks

While *Time* and *Newsweek* were preparing their stories, the trend-setting *Times* was having second thoughts. On February 2, *Times* religion editor Kenneth A. Briggs wrote: "First reports of the Pope's messages to the conference of Latin American bishops in Puebla centered on his apparent rejection of 'liberation theology.'... As the texts of those talks were assessed, however, it became clear that he was defining a sophisticated set of guidelines that were somewhat blurred by the sheer number and rapidity of his remarks."

The pope returned to Rome on February 3; the bishops remained in conference for another ten days to produce a final report. A week after the conference ended, the *Times* ran its second editorial, referred to by Frankel, partially rectifying the errors of the first. Said the paper on February 20, "The Pope gave some encouragement to both groups [conservatives and liberals], at first stressing evangelism and rejecting 'liberation theology,' but then making clear that he did not mean to proscribe social concern." Even in this final reckoning the *Times* could not bring itself to admit that the pope had never rejected liberation theology.

On the next day, February 21, John Paul, in his weekly audience in Rome, approved the document produced by the bishops in Puebla, endorsing its stress on both evangelism and liberation. He went on to say:

> One of the great contemporary theologians, Hans Urs von Balthasar, is right when he demands a theology of liberation on a universal scale.... The theology of liberation must, above all, be faithful to the whole truth of man in order to show clearly, not only in the Latin American context, but in all contemporary contexts, what reality is this freedom for which Christ set us free.

L'Osservatore Romano, the official Vatican City weekly, headlined its February 26 account of the audience LIBERATION THEOLOGY INVOLVES THE TRUTH WHICH MAKES US FREE. *National Catholic Reporter* ran its March 2 story under the headline POPE BACKS LIBERATION THEOLOGY. Both papers treated the pope's speech as front-page news, but it received little attention elsewhere. Roy Larson, religion editor of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, says he first learned of the pope's speech in the *National Catholic Reporter*. John Dart, the *Los Angeles Times*'s religion editor, first came across the story in a local Catholic paper. The religion editors of *The Washington Post* (Marjorie Hyer) and *The New York Times* (Briggs) say they did not see the story at all.

As it turned out, the *Times had* covered the event—in a three-paragraph *Times* special from Rome tucked away in the February 22 "World News Briefs" section. The headline read POPE STRONGLY CONDEMNS ALL "SOCIAL INJUSTICE." There was no mention of the pope's having endorsed liberation theology. As a result of such coverage, most U.S. readers were left with the impression, deeply imprinted by earlier coverage, that John Paul had rejected liberation theology, the most significant theological initiative in

Pope John

Sygma

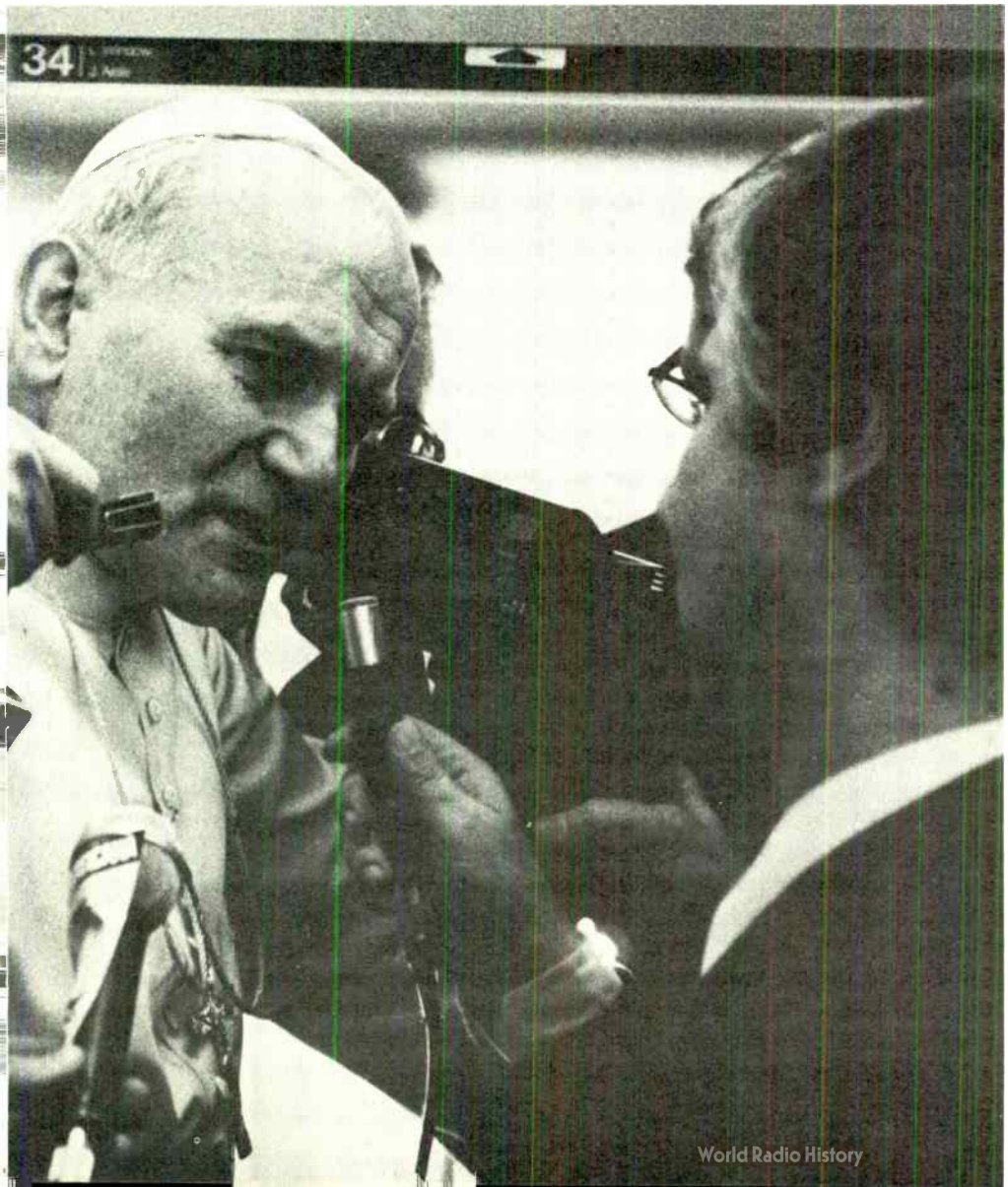
one of the world's most significant Catholic communities.

Penned in

Journalists faced several obstacles at Puebla, some imposed by church authorities, and some created by the press itself. The latter exacerbated the former. The pope's language, particularly in his early speeches, was ambiguous, although not as impenetrable as it may appear from the confused reporting. Seeking advice, reporters encountered obstacles on every hand. Important documents were hard to come by. Copies of the pope's January 28 speech in Puebla, for instance—the speech that would set the tone for the conference—were available in Rome and Mexico City while an angry press corps at the conference itself had to shout at officials to get copies. Access to delegates within the huge Palafoxiano Seminary on the outskirts of Puebla was made difficult, indeed, virtually impossible except during the daily official press conference. Questions to be raised at the conference had to be submitted in advance; a lottery determined which ones would be answered. Frustrated by these arrangements, reporters were often compelled to rely on "observers" (*The Washington Post*) or "Church officials" (the *Chicago Tribune*) or simply say that the pope "seemed" to be saying this or that (*The New York Times*).

The hostility toward the press appeared to conform to the intentions of Bishop Alfonso Lopez Trujillo, the conservative secretary-general of the bishops' council, to control the outcome of the meeting in closed sessions. Prior to the conference, his secretariat had repeatedly attacked the theology of liberation as a theology of revolution; strong reaction from progressive bishops had, however, led to a more conciliatory working paper. Nevertheless, reports emanating from Rome and from the secretariat in Bogotá had strongly hinted that, at Puebla, the progressives would be quashed. To some degree, then, the press had been set up for a fall.

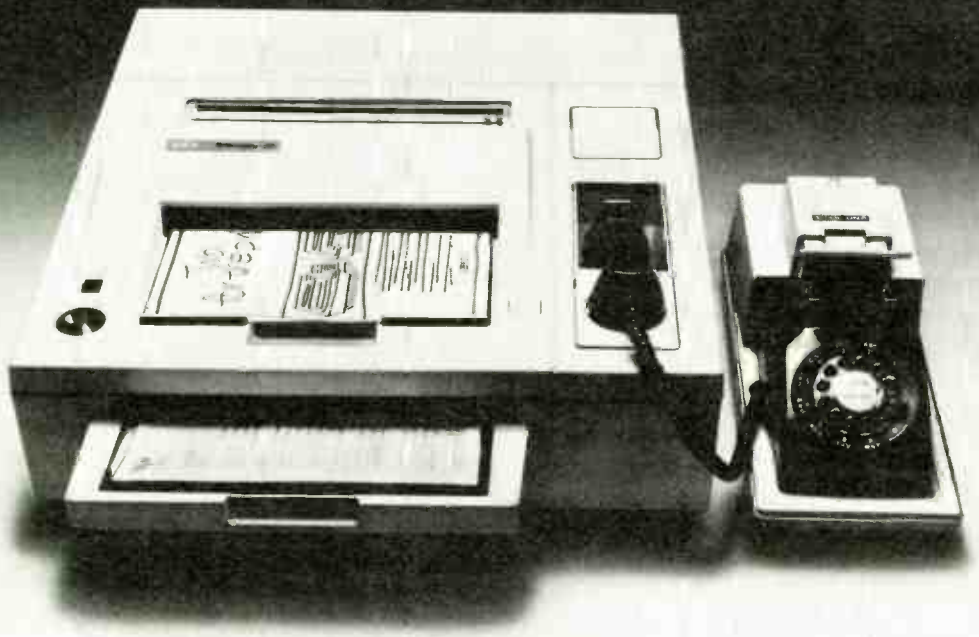
Paul II with reporters: "problems cropped up even before the pope set foot on Mexican soil"



The press walked into the midst of these theological politics poorly prepared. For many editors, as John Dart, of the *Los Angeles Times*, puts it, "the question was whether to send a reporter who knew Spanish and Latin America, but did not know the religion field, or to send a religion writer who most often did not speak Spanish." His paper first sent religion writer Russell Chandler to cover the conference (Louis B. Fleming from the Rome office was covering the pope as he moved about Mexico), then Dart himself. None of the three spoke Spanish. *The Washington Post* sent its Central America correspondent, Karen DeYoung, who is fluent in Spanish. (DeYoung followed the pope around Mexico; the *Post* relied on wire service accounts for its coverage of the bishops' conference in Puebla.) George Vecsey, the *Times* religion reporter, speaks Spanish, but not fluently enough for sophisticated interviewing. (Alan Riding of the *Times* was something of an exception, demonstrating that an intelligent generalist steeped in the culture of Latin America can write very well about religion.)

With Iran's religion-inspired revolution still fresh in American minds, there is—or should be—increased interest in what the Catholic Church is doing in Latin America. But an American secular press apparently finds it difficult to credit the power that faith wields around the world; as a result, it is ill prepared to report a number of stories that wait to be written. A talk at a recent symposium on Puebla, held at Georgetown University, hinted at one of them. "Is there," asked the title, "an Ayatollah in Latin America?" ■

Funny, you don't look like a Xerox machine.



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XEROX

Cleveland 'Plain Dealer,' Pressured by Reporters, Prints a Story It Stifled

Leading Daily Probes Chief Target Of Populist Mayor's Wrath; Public Swings His Way

'There's a Revolution Over There'

by ELLEN S. FREILICH

The Communicators Club in the Cleveland Plaza Hotel has rich, oak panelling, a dim, luxurious barroom, and deep, comfortable chairs. It insulates its guests—mostly public relations and advertising people—from faded-glory city streets where fast-food restaurants cater to lunchtime crowds. The club promotes the other Cleveland, where twenty-seven of *Fortune*'s top 1,000 corporations make their headquarters, among them Standard Oil (Ohio), Republic Steel, Hanna Mining, and North American Coal. Brochures and fact sheets scattered about tout the putative strength of metropolitan Cleveland's economy.

On February 27, 1979, reporters and television crews invaded this quiet retreat. They were on hand to record the reaction of Cleveland's business community to the outcome of a city-wide referendum on a tax increase and the proposed sale of the city's dilapidated Municipal Light Plant (Muny Light) to the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (C.E.I.), a private utility.

By eight p.m. projected election results were moving across the club's television screen: not only had Clevelanders decisively endorsed the tax increase sought by Mayor Dennis J. Kucinich—self-styled urban populist and anathema to most Cleveland businessmen; they had also supported him in his stand against utility monopolies by voting to keep the public power system—the sale of which might have brought between $9 million and $40 million to the city's empty coffers. "Mayor Kucinich will assuredly lead the city down the road to bankruptcy," Kenneth Seminatore, secretary of the business-supported Vote for Cleveland committee, told WKYC Channel 3 reporter Edward Miller.

A few blocks northwest of the Communicators Club, at Kucinich's victory celebration in a ballroom of the Bond Court Hotel, a band played polkas and the popular tune "You Light Up My Life." A portly gentleman handed out "I'm for Muny Light" buttons, and one woman was overheard to say that she hadn't pinned a belief to her blouse since McGovern. The mayor danced.

Kucinich—who, at thirty-two, still looks boyish—had good reason to celebrate. Only six weeks before, a poll conducted for the Greater Cleveland Growth Association, a lobbying group for the business community, had shown 70 percent of the Cleveland electorate in favor of selling Muny Light. Now the vote was running the other way, ending up with nearly 65 percent opposing the sale.

Virginia Felderman, director of communications for the Growth Association, traced the apparent shift in public opinion to the city room of Cleveland's morning paper, *The Plain Dealer*, which, with its metropolitan circulation of 275,000, reaches about half of the area's households. In the city room, a reporters' rebellion had resulted in the publication of a series that clashed with management views. "They have some great internecine warfare going on there," Felderman said recently. "They have a managing editor, David Hopcraft, who can't keep the lid on his people." According to Felderman, even Thomas Vail, the editor and publisher, couldn't control the reporters. "There's a revolution going on over there," she concluded indignantly.

The importance of the so-called revolution in the *Plain Dealer* city room was not lost on Mayor Kucinich, who, incidentally, had worked there as a copy boy while putting himself through Cleveland State University. Neither was the significance of the attention both he and the Cleveland media had received in the national press. Said consumer advocate Ralph Nader, who had aligned himself with Kucinich on the public-power issue, "It was practically an axiomatic example of bringing a story into a national, broader arena, forcing the nucleus of the area to do a better job."

At a triumphant news conference, Kucinich thanked *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Nation*, *The Village Voice*, and *Point of View*, a pointed, muckraking newsletter published by Cleveland journalist Roldo Bartimole.

Finally, he thanked the reporters at the Newhouse-owned *Plain Dealer* and at the Scripps-Howard afternoon paper, the *Cleveland Press*, who, he said, had "told the truth"; and he praised the courage of a television journalist and a *Plain Dealer* reporter who had resigned their jobs when their controversial stories were retracted or thwarted by media management.

Kucinich, who sought publicity, had managed to pull the media into the spotlight with him. And that spotlight revealed, with unusual clarity, the difficulty a

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Ellen S. Freilich was a reporter for the Cleveland Call and Post. *A student at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, she is a freelance with a special interest in urban affairs.*

news organization may have in dealing with a politician who divides the community—especially one who divides it along economic lines.

A government of newspapers

"We live under a government of men and morning newspapers," said the nineteenth-century abolitionist and orator Wendell Phillips. Had he been familiar with mid-twentieth-century Cleveland, he would undoubtedly have included afternoon papers as well. For the city's two dailies were both intimately tied to institutions that ran Cleveland.

"Louis Seltzer, the editor of the *Cleveland Press*, determined every mayor from 1941 through 1965," wrote former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes in *Promises of Power*. "The watchdog wasn't just asleep, he was working the other side." In 1966, a year before he retired as editor of the city's afternoon paper, Seltzer told *Time* magazine: "Our newspaper has integrated itself into this community in a way no other newspaper in America has. It is the journalistic rock upon which this city is built." "Seltzer was a hard, tough editor who doubled as a political boss without having to admit it," says Robert Hughes, chairman of the Republican party in Cleveland. "For years, Cleveland mayors looked out of city hall over their shoulder at the *Press* building every time they made a decision."

The Plain Dealer, meanwhile, was as closely connected to Ohio's largest bank, The Cleveland Trust Company, as its competitor was to city hall. The July 25, 1970, issue of *Business Week* ran this account of the relationship between the newspaper and the bank:

> Through a trust, the bank shared control of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* . . . for more than half a century. The bank's chairman was also the paper's chairman, and one minority shareholder recalls discovering that the paper "had $7 million in a checking account at the bank drawing no interest. Yet they had no liabilities except normal current ones." The Newhouse chain bought the paper in 1967. "The bank resisted all those years," says a Cleveland financier, "but the offer was so juicy that the heirs ganged up and said, 'Let's go.'" After the sale, the *Plain Dealer*'s columns began criticizing the bank. "How much the bank [had] managed the news I'm not sure," says a former staff member, "but I do know we never printed the story that [the late bank chairman George] Gund was the biggest slumlord in town."

There were, and still are, many other relationships between Cleveland's newspapers and the business community, whose most important members are the chief executive officers of banks and industries headquartered in Cleveland, and partners in the city's most influential law firms. In the 1960s, when a prominent Cleveland attorney helped to select a school superintendent from an all-white suburb to head Cleveland's racially troubled public school system, he reached an agreement with the editors of the city's two dailies that resulted in a years-long blackout of politically sensitive school stories. The attorney, John Reavis, described it to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in 1966 as "a pledge from the editors . . . that they would give [the school system] no publicity except as we asked for it because everybody in the [Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs] thought we could work better privately." (Vail, publisher and editor of *The Plain Dealer*, recalls no such pledge. "I wouldn't have made an agreement like that because I couldn't *keep* an agreement like that," he adds. However, Robert Burdock, who joined *The Plain Dealer* in 1968 and served as managing editor from 1973 until 1976, says special consideration was plainly evident, adding, "School Superintendent Paul Briggs was the most protected public official I've ever encountered in my twenty-eight years of journalism.")

Sue Ogrocki

February 27: Mayor Kucinich

By 1967, with the sounds of shattering glass and the glow of fires from the Hough ghetto finally penetrating the offices of Cleveland's law firms and corporations, *The Plain Dealer* agreed to back the mayoral candidacy of Carl Stokes, whose election made him the first black mayor of a large American city. "Vail responded to the business community's support of my candidacy," recalls Stokes, who is now a reporter for WNBC-TV in New York. "He just fell in line."

The paper's attitude toward the current mayor has vacillated: it did not support Kucinich in the nonpartisan primaries; it did endorse him in the November

thanks the national press and local reporters for telling "the truth."

1977 general election—but then turned against him shortly after he took office. By August 1978, *The Plain Dealer* had realigned itself with the business community, supporting an attempt to recall the mayor, which failed by only 236 votes out of a total of 120,264.

The ties between Cleveland's daily papers and this community are more than philosophical; they are financial, as well. *The Plain Dealer* and the *Cleveland Press* each contribute $18,000 a year to the Greater Cleveland Growth Association, which has lobbied against the Kucinich administration both in Cleveland and in Columbus, the state capital. The association, in turn, contributed $25,000 to the Vote for Cleveland Committee, which favored the tax hike and the sale of the city-owned light plant in the February referendum. On January 16, six weeks before the referendum, the Growth Association published its analysis of the city's financial situation. It stated that "*both* the increase in the income tax and the sale of Muny Light are essential." In covering this report, *The Plain Dealer* was, in effect, reporting political activities that it had helped to sponsor.

Baiting the mayor

While it is neither unusual nor unethical for a newspaper's management to share the views of the local business community and to express such views on the editorial page, the *Plain Dealer*'s city-room rebellion was provoked by belief among reporters that the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company was actually influencing the paper's assignment policy. This struggle, in turn, wrought changes at the paper that resulted in the publication, before the referendum, of a series of articles that showed the C.E.I. in a harsh, new light.

The mayor rates the pros

When he was twenty-five, Dennis Kucinich wrote a master's thesis entitled "Reportorial Roles in the Escalation of Urban Conflict." Already a councilman, he was studying communications at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland at the time. In his thesis, Kucinich divided city hall reporters into three categories.

"The creative instigator," wrote Kucinich, "is an activist [who becomes] involved in the political arena by generating political conflict between contestants through the employment of certain reportorial tactics, including the use of exaggerations, speculations, and doomsday prophecies."

Asked if Joseph Wagner, city hall reporter at *The Plain Dealer*, belongs here, Kucinich replies that Wagner deserves a whole new category, one characterized by an element of personal hostility.

"Dennis Kucinich was once my best friend in government," says Wagner. "But you know Dennis; he has the feeling that you're either with him or against him. And in that scenario there's no room for an objective reporter."

A second type of city hall reporter is the "referee analyst," Kucinich wrote. "He is didactic. He is an appeasor. He points to political cooperation and conciliation. . . . He tries to be instructive in his observations. He analyzes political conflict in terms of governmental functions rather than personal confrontations. He'll report on political fights but he doesn't savor them."

Kucinich cited James M. Naughton, at the time a *Plain Dealer* political writer (he later went to *The New York Times* and is now national editor of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*) as an example of the referee-analyst. Naughton says he's not sure the description is accurate. "I can remember savoring some political fights," he muses.

The third kind of reporter Kucinich labeled the narrator-observer. "The narrator-observer," he wrote, "does not take sides and does not attempt to promote either political warfare or political peace. He is not given to exaggeration. He is adept at interrelating issues and political positions dispassionately. His intentions are to get both sides of the story and to report the story without embellishments. He works with readily identifiable political facts and tends to be issue-oriented. . . ."

Such a reporter, wrote Kucinich in his thesis, was Robert G. McGruder, who then covered city hall and who is now city editor of *The Plain Dealer*. "I think he described how I tried to cover city hall," McGruder says. "I don't know if I succeeded. The Stokes administration didn't like the way I probed city finances any more than the Kucinich administration likes the way Wagner writes about them now."

Among the people Kucinich thanked in the dedication to this thesis, incidentally, was Thomas Vail, publisher and editor of *The Plain Dealer*, "who once communicated to me that politics and journalism do not mix." *E.S.F.*

Great be

ginnings.

Photo credit: Courtesy of The Pierpont Morgan Library

These are ideas being born. They are the working drawings of Michelangelo Buonarroti. He tried to keep most of them hidden in his lifetime. Now you can see them, and many more, in "Michelangelo and His World: With Drawings from the British Museum" at The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City from April 26 through July 28, 1979.

For more than 400 years, the world has stood in awe of his finished works. Now we can take delight in his great beginnings. He didn't do them to please us. He did them to explore his subject matter, and himself.

That's one reason we sponsored this exhibition. We can learn from great ideas, but we learn more from knowing how they came to be. Great works inspire us, but the creative process nourishes us. In our work, as in yours, we need to be reminded that great endings start with great beginnings—that no beginning, in our day or in Michelangelo's, can be great without individual imagination, individual creativity, individual innovativeness. Sponsorship of art that reminds us of these things is not patronage. It's a business and human necessity.

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THE PLAIN DEALER

ONIO'S LARGEST NEWSPAPER — CLEVELAND, TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1979

Celeste rules out entering mayoral race

Leighan also drops from field, expected to back Rep. Oakar

'It's an old story . . . if we stub our toe, somebody else has a headache in London'

— John Carr, O'Hare Airport I-arriving passenger

Shoot-out kills boy, wounds detective

Snow woes

Jet age? Not at O'Hare

City school absentee rate 12.2%

Teng visit brings Nixon back to the White House

William F. Miller

The city-room rebellion led to picketing (right, with reporter Robert Holden in foreground) and to a byline strike. Circled stories in the January 16 edition (above) lack bylines; others are wire copy.

Kucinich had long been an outspoken critic of the private utility, but before the rebellion, which broke out in January, *The Plain Dealer* had never taken his charges seriously. Instead, after its initial vacillation, the paper had regularly criticized the mayor.

The Kucinich administration came under particularly heavy fire in the newspaper's pages during the two weeks preceeding the August 13, 1978, recall vote. On August 1, 2, and 3, the paper carried articles describing the city's crumbling water system, its hard-pressed fire department, and its precarious financial position. Though the pieces contained some thoughtful reporting, the logo accompanying each article—"Cleveland on the brink"—suggested that unless Clevelanders did something drastic, such as recalling the mayor, Cleveland would inevitably go *over* the brink. On August 4, *The Plain Dealer* drove that message home with a front-page editorial supporting the recall.

The fiercest attack on the Kucinich administration was spread all over the front page of *The Plain Dealer* of August 11, 1978—two days before the recall election. Inaccurate headlines misrepresented misleading stories. One, written by city hall reporter Joseph L. Wagner, and business and finance editor Frederick E. Freeman, was headlined: SELL MUNY LIGHT OR RISK TAKEOVER, CLEVELAND FINANCIAL ADVISER SAYS. Amended for accuracy, the headline would have read: SELL MUNY LIGHT OR RISK TAKEOVER, CITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT FORBES CLAIMS CLEVELAND FINANCIAL ADVISER SAYS. For the story came from George Forbes, Kucinich's arch political foe, not from Cleveland's financial advisor, John Carhuff, managing director of the First Boston Corporation, a New York investment banking firm. Carhuff quickly denied having told Forbes any such thing, but the retraction was woven into the fourth paragraph of yet another attack on the Kucinich administration the next day.

Running with Wagner's story, at the bottom of page one, was another by political columnist Joseph D. Rice, SERVICE WORSE UNDER MAYOR, POLL SHOWS. "Even though Mayor Kucinich is defeating the recall attempt against him, according to a recent poll done for the *Plain Dealer*," the lead read, "the same poll shows more people believe city services have gotten worse under the Kucinich administration." According to the poll cited in the piece, however, 52 percent of the people polled believed there had been no change in the quality of city services, 22 percent thought they had improved; and only 26 percent said services had gotten worse under the Kucinich administration.

What seemed to upset the mayor's critics most was his political philosophy of "urban populism." Kuci-

nich gave fullest expression to it in a speech delivered before the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., on September 28. Asserting that his administration had been dedicated to "championing the economic rights of poor and working people," he went on to say that, as a result, "we found ourselves locked in mortal combat with every mighty institution in Cleveland." Thomas J. Brazaitis, of the *Plain Dealer*'s Washington bureau, covered the speech for the paper. Under a headline that read KUCINICH RIPS 'BIGS' IN D.C. PRESS CLUB TALK, Brazaitis described the speech as "so anti-establishment that afterwards one questioner asked, 'Are you a socialist? If not, why not?' "

Five days after the address, city council president Forbes characterized it as a combination of "racism, McCarthyism, and Communism." Shortly thereafter, in the *Plain Dealer* city room, managing editor David Hopcraft walked up to a group of reporters who were heatedly discussing Forbes's comment. According to reporters who participated in the discussion, Hopcraft said, "Well, maybe we should look into that; maybe he is a Communist." Hopcraft does not recall having said this, but, he says, "I wouldn't deny saying it. If he were, I'd love to report it. That'd be a helluva story in a town with a quarter of its population from Eastern Europe here to escape it. If someone says Dennis is a Communist, that's something we ought to check out."

The mayor's Press Club speech did nothing to allay the doubts of Cleveland's business leaders that Kucinich could solve the city's pressing financial problems. From mid-November on, it began to look less and less likely that Cleveland would be able to meet $14 million in short-term notes due to six local banks. The deadline was December 15.

Cleveland would default if the banks refused to refinance the notes. Debate now centered around whether the city should raise money by selling its light plant. The C.E.I. was eager to buy Muny Light; it wanted its customers. The mayor needed the cash, but he would not sell the light plant. The Cleveland Trust Company —the city's largest creditor and an institution which, in the past, had had close ties to *The Plain Dealer*— supported the sale of the municipal utility.

On the story

It was only on Thursday, December 14—the day before Cleveland became the first large American city to default since the Depression—that *Plain Dealer* reporters got on the track of a story that appeared to support allegations by the mayor that the C.E.I. and Cleveland Trust were conspiring to force the sale of the municipal utility. City hall reporter Wagner, who had heard that the two institutions shared some directors, tossed out the idea for a story on interlocking directorates—"Talk about shadow government!" he said—to assistant city editor Jack Murphy. City editor Robert McGruder then handed the assignment to Terry E. Johnson, who called several directors to ask whether the dual roles discovered by the paper might create a conflict of interest. Thursday night's 11 p.m. deadline came and went. No one thought that the story was ready to run that night.

A piece that did run in Friday's paper quoted council president Forbes as saying that he believed Cleveland Trust "could change its mind [and refinance the city's notes] if Muny Light were sold." The article also quoted Forbes as saying, "I spoke to the Chairman of Cleveland Trust and he indicated he could go with the sale of the Muny Light Plant." Thus, according to Forbes, the bank might step in at the last moment and rescue the city from default, if only the mayor would agree to sell the light plant.

Reporters David T. Abbott, Daniel R. Biddle, and Robert H. Holden pitched in to help Johnson develop the interlocking-directorate story. Together, they found that seven of the C.E.I.'s eleven directors also served on the boards of four banks to which the city owed $12.5 million. "There was more interest in that story than anything else in the paper," Holden recalls. "People were coming up to the VDT to read it every five minutes."

By 7 p.m., the article was finished and the four reporters were determined to get it into the paper. By 9 p.m.—deadline for Saturday's first edition—the re-

This is an obit?

The following obituary, written by city hall reporter Wagner, appeared in The Plain Dealer *on February 27, 1979—the day of the referendum.*

Moody's Investors official dies; lowered Cleveland's credit rating

By Joseph L. Wagner

Jackson C. Phillips, 58, a Wall Street credit rating executive who had been severely critical of the Kucinich administration's handling of Cleveland's finances, has died in New York, his firm announced yesterday.

Moody's Investors Service Inc. said he died Saturday night at Cornell Medical Center following a brief illness. Phillips was director of Moody's municipal bond department and an executive vice president of the firm.

Moody's, under his guidance, was the first rating agency to downgrade the city last June. In two steps, the agency cut the rating from A to Caa, the level given New York City when it almost defaulted in 1975.

Standard & Poor's, the other major rating agency, suspended the city's rating, and it has remained suspended since.

The damaged rating knocked the city out of the national money market at a time when it needed to borrow extensively to avoid default and cover a $40 million deficit in its capital improvements bond account.

Phillips never pulled any punches when discussing Mayor Dennis J. Kucinich and his aides.

In November, Phillips said he believed they had misled him on their intentions to use $6.1 million in airport money for general fund expenditures.

"We find that we're dealing with a pretty crummy bunch down there," Phillips said then. "We like to trust people until all hope wears out. We have tried and tried as hard as we know to find out what has happened here (Cleveland), and the facts have just been elusive."

Another time, he said that city finance officials "did not have the foggiest idea of what they're doing."

In June, Moody's downgraded Cleveland from A to Baa, with Phillips saying it was questionable that the city had enough money to meet its obligations.

He also cited the political unstableness brought on by the attempt to recall Kucinich and the failure of school levies as negative factors affecting the city's credit.

"It's (recall) got to be distracting to city officials in managing their financial affairs," he said at that time.

Phillips did not wait until the city actually defaulted — Moody's cut the rating to Caa about eight hours before the midnight deadline to repay the notes to six Cleveland banks.

He said that Cleveland, for all practical purposes, deserved that rating no matter what happened.

Obituaries

porters were still discussing the article with their editors. By 10 p.m.—with Holden busy elsewhere in the city room and Abbott attending a city council meeting at which a last-minute attempt would be made to avert default—Biddle and Johnson were defending every paragraph.

"One editor asked why the story was necessary," Biddle recalls. "John Clark, the assistant managing editor, wanted to know if we weren't alleging a conspiracy. We hashed one sentence out for half an hour. If the story had been about a county commissioner with an interest in a company that had bid for a county contract, there would have been no problem," Biddle says. "Instead, it was about corporate bank directors who sat on C.E.I.'s board, owned C.E.I. stock, and therefore might have an interest in seeing C.E.I. buy Muny Light. So there was a huge hesitation. We had hit a sensitive nerve."

Assistant managing editor Clark believes he was merely being judicious. He had talked about the story earlier with managing editor Hopcraft. Around 11 o'clock, after making some changes in the story, he had called Hopcraft and told him he thought *The Plain Dealer* should run it. "It's necessary to make a distinction between suppressing a story and holding it until you think it's as sound as it can be," he says. "I think there's a helluva difference, frankly." Johnson and Biddle, as they left the city room, wondered whether the story in its edited form had been worth the effort.

The story appeared on page twelve of the Saturday, December 16, *Plain Dealer*. The headline read: CEI, BANK BOARDS OVERLAP; the kicker added: 7 OF UTILITY'S 11 DIRECTORS ALSO SERVE CITY'S LENDERS. The article was, by and large, a dry list of names and positions, with only a few dual directors offering comment. The significance of the information was not explained. Nevertheless, it represented a departure in *Plain Dealer* coverage. On the day Cleveland defaulted, its principal newspaper had at last begun to report the story of the city's finances in new depth.

A battered reporter

It was during the next round of struggle between Kucinich and the business community, however, that *Plain Dealer* reporters achieved the major breakthrough in covering this side of Cleveland's political and economic life. Following the December default, the city had begun to gear up for a referendum to be held on February 27. In a trade-off with Kucinich, the city council had agreed to put a tax-increase proposal on the ballot if the mayor would allow the electorate to decide whether the Municipal Light Plant should be sold.

Toward the end of December, city editor McGruder assigned Holden, who had been covering utilities and environmental affairs for the previous year, to write a pre-referendum series on the Muny Light issue. At an early January meeting, Holden presented a detailed outline of the three-part series he intended to write. Reporters involved in other aspects of the pre-referendum coverage offered a few suggestions, which Holden accepted. His format approved, Holden continued to work.

On Tuesday, January 9, assistant managing editor John Clark abruptly informed McGruder that he wanted Holden off the Muny Light story on the ground that the reporter would not be fair to the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, Muny Light's would-be purchaser. McGruder protested, and was so upset that he has said he considered resigning. The next day, however, he told Holden to stop work on the Muny Light series and also told him why management wanted him off the story.

The news that Holden had been yanked was greeted with anger and indignation in the *Plain Dealer* city room. Reporters had long suspected that the private utility had a direct line to the paper's management. Thus, a message left earlier that week by Charles Barry, public information officer for the C.E.I., asking McGruder to call him, was now interpreted as a sign that the utility company had requested Holden's reassignment. Barry denies having made such a request. And managing editor Hopcraft explains that he ordered the reassignment because "I just wanted someone else to do the story. Holden had taken quite a battering from people at C.E.I. They weren't responsive to him."

Hearing of the reassignment and of the scuttlebutt surrounding it, David Abbott, chairman of the *Plain Dealer* Newspaper Guild unit, called a meeting for Friday, January 12. At 1 a.m. that morning Mayor Kucinich appeared as a guest on Tom Snyder's *Tomorrow* show on NBC. On the air, he mentioned that "a very important meeting" was going to be held in Cleveland that day to discuss the case of a reporter who had been taken off the Muny Light story. With that brief comment, Kucinich moved what until then had been an internal dispute into the public eye.

The meeting began at 5 p.m. Held in the International Typographical Union hall, around the corner from the *Plain Dealer* building, it drew 130 Guild members, as well as reporters and camera crews from local television stations. It was an emotional meeting. Viewing Holden's reassignment as a challenge to the integrity of all reporters, the unit voted to hold an informational picket line for two hours outside the *Plain Dealer* building on Saturday. In addition, the unit decided to request all reporters to withhold their bylines, beginning Tuesday, in protest. After the meeting, about twenty-five Guild members went to the nearby Headliner restaurant to drink and to make picket signs. "CEI-*PD* hook-up unVAILed," read one, playing on the name of publisher Thomas Vail. "Does the *Plain Dealer* deal plain?" asked another.

On Saturday, from noon until 2 o'clock, reporters marched in freezing rain, carrying signs that eventually became sodden and fell apart. Several reporters who were working walked the picket line on their lunch hour. The protest became an "event": it received local radio and television coverage, was report-

ed in an unsigned article in the January 13 *New York Times*, and discussed by Alexander Cockburn in his January 22 *Village Voice* "Press Clips" column. A reporter with a heavy foreign accent also telephoned *The Plain Dealer*, wanting to interview Holden. He identified himself as a reporter from Tass.

The fact that the *Times* had covered the informational picket line and the upcoming byline strike, even if only in seven inches, appeared to reinforce the legitimacy of the reporters' protest. "When we dropped a press release off at the *Cleveland Press* building and accompanied it with the clip from the *Times*," says reporter John Hagan, "there was an immediate reaction of 'Hey, when was this in the *Times*?'" Management realized it could expect a lot more bad press as a result of the controversy, he adds.

By 11 o'clock on Monday night, the next day's early edition had rolled off the presses. Except for the names of a few columnists, the paper contained no bylines. "You may not always notice who writes the stories in your morning newspaper," said WKYC-TV reporter Edward Miller in a "live-on" on the evening news, "but you may notice something strange about this paper." Holding it up to the camera, he explained that "*Plain Dealer* reporters are withholding their bylines to protest the transfer of one of their reporters, whom they believe was reassigned because of pressure from C.E.I."

In a militant mood

The byline strike lasted two days. Most of the credits were back on Friday, after management agreed to let Holden return to covering utilities—except for the month of February, during which the referendum on Muny Light would be held. The conflict seemed to have been resolved. Holden found, however, that the utilities stories he filed in the last week of January were either being held, or cut, or run without his byline. Frustrated, and feeling that the Guild had done all that it could on his behalf, he resigned on January 26. Holden's departure left many of his colleagues in a militant mood. As reporter John Hagan puts it: "There seemed to be a feeling that Hopcraft and Clark just better keep their hands off the upcoming stories on Muny Light. There was just no way they could touch those stories."

And, indeed, as reporters Daniel Biddle and David Abbott picked up the pre-referendum series where Holden had left off, they encountered no editorial interference. In the first of their four articles, which appeared on February 11, they were able to use documents from a $330 million antitrust suit by the city against C.E.I. to illustrate the utility's nearly two-decade-long campaign to eliminate its publicly owned competition, Muny Light. "A powerful federal agency already has determined CEI indeed violated antitrust law in its dealings with Muny Light," the story said. "The Nuclear Regulatory Commission's . . . Atomic Safety and Licensing Board said CEI could operate two Ohio nuclear plants only if it corrected these violations. CEI has appealed." The *Plain Dealer* series called the history of the relationship between the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company and the Municipal Light Plant a "prolonged struggle between public power and private interest."

The tone was new. The news was new to the pages of *The Plain Dealer*, which editorially would still support the sale of the light plant. Presenting another side of the Cleveland story, the series also lent credibility to some of the charges the mayor had been making all along. Two weeks after it appeared, Clevelanders voted by an overwhelming margin to keep their Municipal Light Plant. Kucinich recognized the impact of the *Plain Dealer* stories at his post-victory press conference. Council president Forbes, asked whether the series affected the vote, answers: "It most certainly did. The damn thing turned it around."

Zach Schiller, a reporter in *Business Week*'s Cleveland bureau, traces the publication of the "amazing" series back to the Holden affair. So, too, does David Abbott, one of its authors. If it hadn't been for Holden's "martyrdom," Abbott says he is certain the paper would not have published the series as he and Biddle wrote it.

"My analytical pieces were pussyfooting in comparison," comments former *Plain Dealer* reporter Holden, now working for *The Cleveland Citizen*, a labor newspaper. "The series was sensational!"

"It was straightforward and thorough," says managing editor David Hopcraft simply. "And we were proud to print it." ■

The 'Press'—an outside story

The coverage Cleveland readers got on the Muny Light issue was strengthened by a five-part series which ran in the *Cleveland Press*, starting February 10. Written by veteran journalist Fred McGunagle, who last year won an Amos Tuck Award for the Advancement of Economic Understanding for articles on Cleveland's economy, the series asserted that the anticompetitive tactics of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, together with the city's own mismanagement of the publicly owned Municipal Light Plant, had contributed to the public power system's decrepit condition. McGunagle concluded that drastic changes in management policies could make Muny Light prosper.

"We had planned our series on Muny before the Holden incident blew up," says McGunagle. "And I was kind of rooting for the *PD* controversy to go on awhile so we could get our series in first. As it was, our articles began only a day earlier than *The Plain Dealer*'s."

McGunagle says he felt no pressure from *Cleveland Press* management while putting together his series. "The difference," remarks Robert Burdock, a former *Plain Dealer* managing editor and now publisher of *Ohio Magazine*, "is that Scripps-Howard and *Press* editor Tom Boardman are not part of Cleveland's establishment, and Tom Vail is." *E.S.F.*

Politics and journalism:

American reporters strain for neutrality. The French, with the help of a conscience clause, are openly *engagé*

by CHARLES R. EISENDRATH

A suave French editor and his new publisher, a cantankerous English tycoon with a known loathing for journalists, settled their political differences early this year on terms that people in American newsrooms could only envy from afar. The editor won $500,000.

The rules for disagreeing with the boss's politics are different in France. So much so, in fact, that the right to dissent—and get paid handsomely for it—is written into a remarkable *clause de conscience* in the national labor contract. Philippe Grumbach's quarrel with Sir James ("Tough Jimmy") Goldsmith spotlighted the French preoccupation with the politics of journalism.

Grumbach, editorial director of the newsweekly *l'Express*, claimed that he was too closely tied to conservative President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to suit Goldsmith, who, when he bought the magazine in 1977, expected a coalition of Socialists and Communists to sweep into power shortly. Goldsmith wanted someone more sympathetic to the coalition leaders than the aristocratic Grumbach. Grumbach found himself "promoted" into management—without power, secretary, or even a place to sit down. He objected and was sacked. (The Briton is appealing the verdict, arguing that Grumbach was simply not a very good editor.)

Only the size of Grumbach's recovery gave the court pause. His suit for back pay and indemnities was in every other respect a routine exercise of journalistic rights under the Work Code's Article L 761, section 3, a conscience clause that guarantees full severance benefits to journalists who are fired or feel obliged to resign because of changes in political orientation constituting "an attempt on their honor, or reputation, or general integrity."

Such a chivalric solution contrasts sharply with American practice. Two years ago, for example, a publisher went after two editors in Michigan's Upper Peninsula with about as much civility as a fox let loose among chickens. Like the Grumbach case, it represented an extreme application of common rules of the trade, but no departure from them. The publisher in this instance was John McGoff, president of the Panax Corporation, which at the time owned seven dailies and forty-two weeklies.

Incensed by the election of Jimmy Carter, whom he considered dangerously liberal, McGoff had commissioned two unflattering articles for his newspapers, which he directed his editors to run "as soon as possible," preferably on page one. Both were sleazily reported. David Rood, editor of the *Escanaba Daily Press*, refused to run either piece; Robert Skuggen, of the Marquette *Mining Journal*, ran one after rewriting it. Rood was fired; Skuggen resigned. A veteran of almost five years with the *Journal* and a Republican, Skuggen got $4,000 severance. Rood, a "house Democrat" among Panax's conservative Republican brass, got $1,280. "They even tried to block my federal unemployment benefits by claiming I was dismissed for 'misconduct,'" Rood recalls.

In French eyes, the fundamental issue in the Panax case is very similar to that in *l'affaire* Grumbach. A publisher wanted to say certain things in his papers that his editors couldn't accept—precisely the kind of conflict the *clause de conscience* was designed to resolve. In France, Skuggen and Rood would have received a month's salary for every year on the job after being forced out for reasons involving their honor, reputation, or general integrity.

In American eyes, however, the Panax row centered around an issue of professionalism: to what degree should a publisher impose his political beliefs and reportorial standards on his editors? Although the case became a *cause célèbre*, argued in the media for more than a year, it was rarely construed as a political issue. Yet partisan politics was at the very heart of the matter. It is highly unlikely that the editors would have lost their jobs had they agreed with their boss about what constitutes fair play against political enemies.

In France, explicit recognition of political interests is built into every level of professional relations, beginning with union contracts. Where American reporters join the Newspaper Guild or no union at all, France's 13,500 journalists ally themselves with whichever one of six unions most closely reflects their political outlook. When it comes to picking a union, journalists are as finicky as a *maître d'hôtel* sniffing a wine cork. *Le Syndicat National des Journalistes (Autonome)*, whose 3,600 members generally support the Gaullist coalition, disagrees about most things with *Le Syndicat National des Journalistes (C.G.T.)*, whose 1,453 members vote Communist. Only contract negotiations bring them together. To thrash out the national contract with the publishers, they group themselves into a union of unions called *La Union Nationale des Syndicats des Journalistes*. Between rounds, newspapers may be dealing with representatives of all six, who may or may not accept each other's demands.

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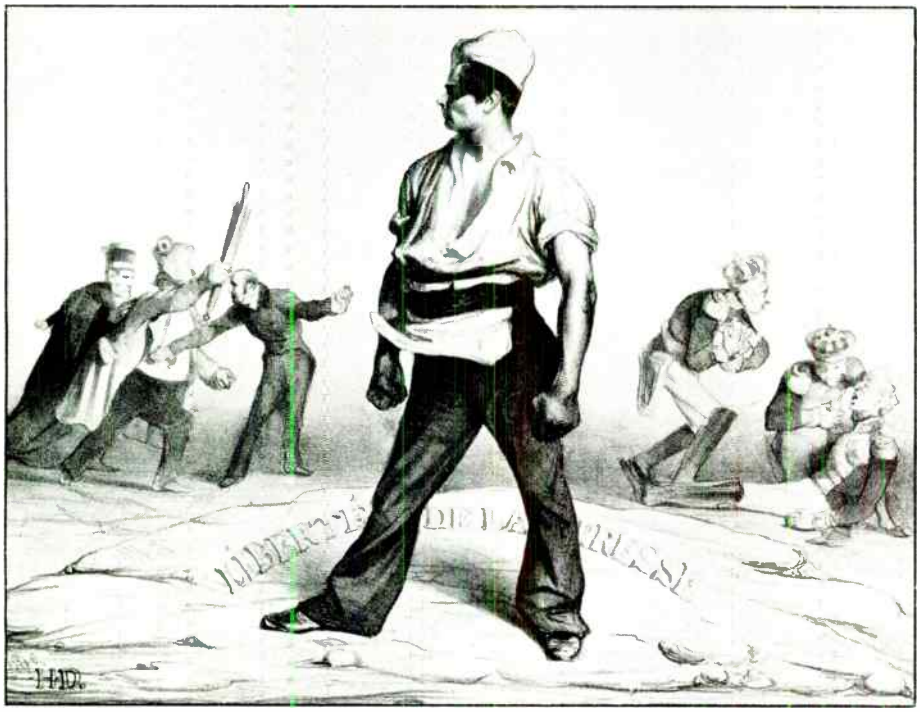
the French connection

Publishers are hardly less fractious, or more willing to downplay highly individualistic opinions. The "business side" of U.S. papers prides itself on confining management's view to the editorial page. French counterparts scoff at anyone's claims to being able to seal off politics on one page or another. Union men agree. Daniel Gentot of the S.N.J. *(Autonome)* remarks that, because of the corrupting influences of politics and advertising, journalism "has never been an independent profession. We're hired hands, like bricklayers." An editor on the far right concurs. "In France," says *Minute*'s Serge de Beketch, "a journalist isn't free to say what he thinks unless he thinks what the boss thinks. If he does, of course, he's free to think anything he wants."

The French call this *la politique du patron* (owner politics), but they mean something more than simple partisanship. The term is a way of taking into account a French fact of life. "We are very intolerant as a people," says Francoise Giroud, a founder of *l'Express* and former minister of women's affairs. "To any of us—reporters, students, government officials, or whatever—the only good journalist is the one who says what we are predisposed to believe." While most Americans have lost the habit of buying newspapers for their editorial stance, the kiosks of France daily register a sort of unplanned political poll, so closely does newspaper readership reflect voting patterns. Centrists of the right read *Figaro* or *France Soir*. Moderate leftists pick up *Le Matin*, leaving *Libération* for nondoctrinaire radicals and *l'Humanité* for members of France's rather stodgy Communist party. *Le Monde*'s readers defy easy categories, since the world's weightiest daily may be bought for snob appeal or special articles, as well as for its lightly socialist stance on most issues.

The French, journalists and readers alike, accept politics in journalism as a natural phenomenon. Instead of pretending it isn't there, then, journalists take steps to deal with it realistically. Thus, in 1951, when Hubert Beuve-Méry, the founder of *Le Monde*, found political interference overbearing, he wrested control from the newspaper's board and re-sold *Le Monde* to the staff. *Le Canard Enchainé* and *Libération*, which together account for a great deal of France's most solid reporting, took the process a step further. Not only are they staff-owned, they also refuse all advertising, surviving on their newsstand revenues. "Only this way can we be free," says the *Canard*'s Claude Angeli. "If I could write what I want at *Le Monde*, I would be there doing it. But I couldn't."

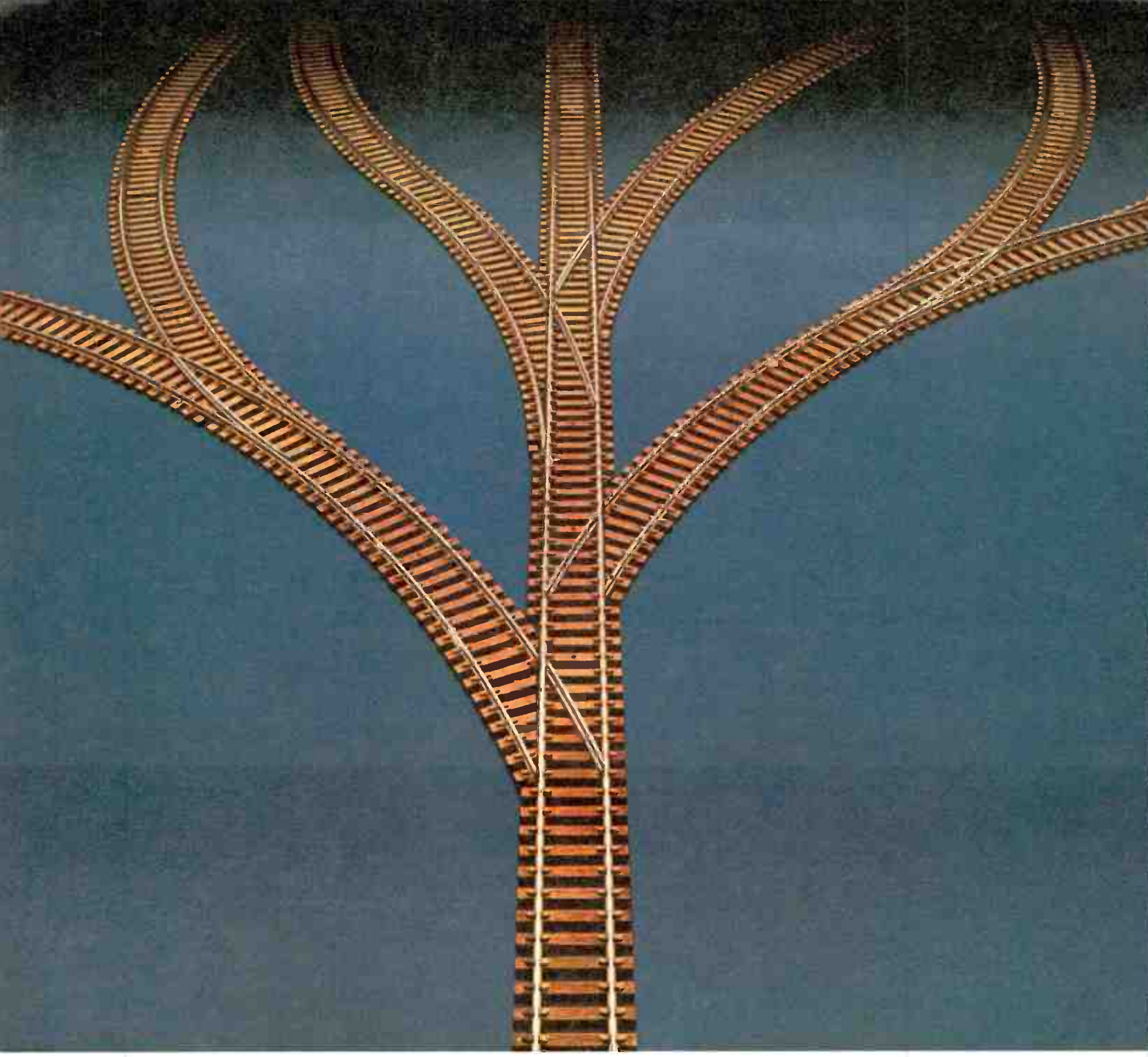


Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

"Don't Meddle with the Press," Daumier's 1834 lithograph, was a warning to King Louis-Philippe (waving an umbrella, left) not to antagonize the fourth estate, which had helped bring down his predecessor, Charles X (fallen, right). Louis-Philippe meddled; Daumier spent six months in jail.

Despairing of removing politics from the dailies, the state tries to assure readers a broad variety of viewpoints, and it has enjoyed considerable success. The number of dailies, halved between 1948 and 1968, has stabilized at eighty-seven. Newsprint is subsidized. Fourteen percent of composition and printing costs is rebated. Postal and telecommunications rates are cut by half, as is freight on the nationalized railroads that carry the major papers from Paris to the provinces. The most innovative measure of all dates from the end of World War II, when a government grateful for editorial support exempted newspapers from income tax on profits reinvested in productive capacity. (Journalists, too, get a tax break—30 percent—with the issuance of their official press card.) "Our 39-b," as publishers call their favorite section of the tax code, has contracted from those early, heady days, but last year it still stood at a comforting 70 percent exemption level for daily papers. One result is that France boasts some of the world's most luxurious and efficient newspaper plants.

In all, state aid amounts to about 12 percent of total turnover in the industry, a critical margin without



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Doing more with energy.

'Citoyen' Hersant

In the last five years, Robert Hersant has made himself France's most potent press mogul by doing things his own way. "I made known," wrote Hersant in an editorial explaining why *Figaro*'s leading luminary, Raymond Aron, was leaving the paper after Hersant bought it, "that henceforth I would write in *Le Figaro* when I wished, what I wished, in the place of my choosing."

The bluntness of his approach makes him "un-French" in the alarmed eyes of business and political opponents, who compare him to William Randolph Hearst. Certainly *citoyen* Hersant's paeans to individualism and capitalism sound as jarring in contemporary France as Hearst's blatant self-aggrandizement did in 1904, when he threw his newspapers into a campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Hersant got off to a bad start—jailed briefly for wartime collaboration with the Nazis, he was barred from public office until granted amnesty in 1952—but he quickly made up for lost time. In the fifties, he started an auto magazine, which through zealous management and the good luck of riding France's industrial boom, gave him a sound base for expansion. The empire now includes twenty-seven publications, including Paris's biggest daily, *France-Soir* (circulation: 443,100), in addition to the venerable *Figaro* (circulation: 250,000).

He doesn't hesitate to use either paper in Hearst-like projects. In last year's legislative elections, the papers plugged the boss for a seat in the National Assembly. He lost, but his tireless backing of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's coalition, which ran scared to a narrow victory, strengthened the publisher's influence with powerful allies. Leading conservative politicians, such as Paris mayor Jacques Chirac and National Assembly President Edgar Faure, are rumored to have helped Hersant gain financing for newspaper acquisitions.

He has taken his publisher's prerogative far beyond normal limits. As a result, his staffers have, collectively, made greater use than any group of the national labor contract's forty-four-year-old *clause de conscience*. Hersant's purchase of the daily *Paris-Normandie* triggered a protest strike and resignation of one-third of the staff, some of whom used their separation pay to launch four brave, but doomed, rival papers. Sixty *Figaro* staffers opted out the same way, at enormous cost to a paper that was then running a deficit of 3 million francs. That was fine with Hersant, who professed to be unconcerned about desertions from "an army of 400 journalists behind the noble facade of the *Figaro*, only half of whom worked."

How far can this politically outspoken publisher go? A French law designed to prevent rich *collaborateurs* from regaining their control of the French press after World War II bars anyone from owning more than one daily newspaper. Yet this self-made *collaborateur*—who also happens to be the administration's greatest media champion—controls a dozen. As a leading newspaper union official observes. "Curious, isn't it?" *C.R.E.*

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which all but two or three of Paris's ten dailies would quickly fold. Public funds for private enterprise might sound like an unpopular measure, particularly in a country that regularly gives half its votes to Socialists and Communists. Not so. "Nothing could be more universally accepted," says Gaullist National Assembly *deputé* Robert André Vivien, chairman of the subcommittee on aid to the press. "It's one of the few things we get unanimous votes for."

Critics of the aid system say that such coziness with government has corroded the independence of the press, inhibited aggressive reporting, and promoted self-censorship. Jean-Louis Servan-Schreiber—publisher of *l'Expansion*, France's leading business publication,and author of *The Power to Inform*, a respected media study—points out that in the provinces, where the pressure to conform is strongest, the papers "are so much a part of the system they can't see it for what it is." Even if they did, they might not care. *Sud-Ouest*'s publisher boasts of operating a "public service." *Ouest-France*'s deputy editor describes his paper as "a public utility, like a gas company," unmindful that the analogy is to a regulated industry.

One of France's most perceptive press critics sees this as "part of an historic tendency." Says André Mouche, professor of journalism at Lille, "We confuse the state with the party in power"—and often confuse partisan politics with the national interest. Last summer this soft spot in the logic of politics permitted the government to subvert the largest news organization in the country and get away unscathed. Agence France-Presse (A.F.P.) is by law an independent wire service whose constitution specifically warns that "it must not, under any circumstances, fall under the control of any ideological, political, or economic group." The ministry of information disregarded this language. It removed the A.F.P.'s respected chief operating officer and replaced him with a man whose close ties with the regional publishers' association made him a valuable political asset.

The A.F.P. coup fooled no one, but only Beuve-Méry stood up to the test by distinguishing true state interest from political convenience. A towering figure, president-director of A.F.P. in addition to being director-emeritus of *Le Monde*, he declared that he could not associate himself with the move, and resigned. With that, however, protest ended. Even *Le Monde* itself buried the story discreetly in its *presse* section deep inside the paper. Calling attention to politics within French journalism, it seems, is about as newsworthy as calling politics politics. ■

The Union Wouldn't Listen.

They're young and attractive—just the kind of people you'd expect to find working for an airline in sunny, Southern California.

Allan Fails, every bit a contemporary Californian, suntanned, casually dressed, a small string of puka shells around his neck.

Audrey Ryan, young, stylishly attractive, with a contagious smile.

Howard Ellis, the kind of clean-cut guy you bump into every day of your life, in airports, elevators, department stores.

Ordinary in some ways, but also very special people. Special because Ellis, Fails, Ryan and a handful of courageous co-workers at Western Airlines have rebelled against a system that allows officials of a union—one they are forced to support—to spend their compulsory union dues for political and lobbying activities they oppose.

All the workers set out to do was to get the union to stop and return their money which was supposedly their right under the union's constitution.

But, union officials ignored their pleas. The next step, the only one available to them, was the courts.

So, the workers filed suit in 1973, protesting the use of their compulsory "agency shop" fees for purposes not connected with legitimate collective bargaining. They argued that the expenditures deprived them of their rights under the National Railway Labor Act and the First, Fifth, and Ninth Amendments.

It took three years for a ruling. But in 1976 a federal district court judge found the union had violated the law.

The court also ruled that the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, AFL-CIO, had violated its legal obligation to fairly represent the workers by ignoring their repeated protests against the misuse of their money, and by refusing to return the money unlawfully being taken from the workers.

The union, of course, has appealed, and says it intends to carry its fight all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary.

Ellis, Fails and their co-defendants would like to get the matter over with. But they are ready to go all the way—because they know they're right, and because they know they can count on the full backing of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, which has been at their side from the beginning.

The National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation is helping everyone it can. It is currently assisting individual workers in more than 75 cases involving academic and political freedom, freedom from union violence, and the right to work for government without paying a private organization for that privilege.

For more information on how you can help American workers like Allan Fails, Audrey Ryan and Howard Ellis, write:

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

BOOKS

Audience rights

The Fairness Doctrine and the Media
by Steven J. Simmons. University of California Press. 285 pp. $14.95

Radio and television stations are licensed by the Federal Communications Commission to serve "the public interest." They are operated by broadcasting corporations to serve private profit. The government promises monopoly protection. The stations promise public service.

For years, broadcasters have sought to keep the monopoly protection and reduce (or eliminate) the public responsibilities. One example is their effort to repeal the fairness doctrine, which requires coverage of controversial issues, and insists that some air time be given to a range of viewpoints in overall programming.

Notwithstanding the constitutional and historic need for the fairness doctrine, its simple standards, the ease of compliance, absence of rigorous enforcement, and lack of meaningful sanctions, there is a mounting mea culpa movement in some liberal and academic quarters to support the broadcasters. Senator William Proxmire, who got the doctrine enacted, now seeks its repeal. Chairman Lionel Van Deerlin, of the House Communications Subcommittee, also opposes the doctrine. F.C.C. Chairman Charles Ferris is urging "deregulation" of radio.

Now Steven J. Simmons, one of President Carter's closest advisors on broadcast policy, adds his voice to the debate with *The Fairness Doctrine and the Media*. Although Simmons insists that "neither the book nor any part thereof represents official administration policy," those who hope for the fairness doctrine's survival will find his book unsettling.

Many of its enemies and some of its friends believe the fairness doctrine is tougher than it is. Contrary to what they think, it requires neither that broadcasters give "equal time" nor that they be "fair" in their programming. Nor does it give anyone the right of access to the air. It imposes *no* limit on what may be broadcast: broadcast licensees have the right to be as outrageous and one-sided as they wish. All the fairness doctrine requires, stated most simply, is that a station not be used solely as an instrument of propaganda; that *some* opportunity be afforded for views other than those of the broadcaster. And its first provision, often overlooked entirely, is that stations must deal with controversial issues.

Some broadcasters support the fairness doctrine; one of the networks, ABC, has even testified against its repeal. Almost all stations easily and automatically satisfy its provisions. From 1973 to 1976 fewer than one-half of 1 percent of the fairness complaints received by the F.C.C. so much as led to an inquiry to a station. Adverse rulings were entered in about one-tenth of 1 percent of all complaints. In other words, it is virtually impossible for a responsible station that broadcasts a reasonable number of news and public-affairs programs to violate the fairness doctrine. And even when there is a violation, the sanctions are minimal: a broadcaster simply must provide additional programming, with the station usually deciding what the programs will be and who will appear on them. No license has ever been revoked because of a fairness-doctrine violation and repeated violations have figured only once in an F.C.C. decision not to renew.

From its beginnings, broadcasting has been vested with a unique status among American institutions. Congress expressly provided in the first section of the Communications Act having to do with broadcasting that no one could *own* a radio frequency, or the opportunity to broadcast. But Congress also decided that broadcasters would not be common carriers or public utilities, nor government agencies, nor public corporations. Instead, they were—and are still—private citizens uniquely vested with one of the highest public responsibilities in a free society.

Presidents, senators and members of Congress, judges, regulatory commissioners, and even broadcasters themselves have recognized this unique role and responsibility over the years. A free and open dialogue is central to a democratic society. Free speech must mean more than the freedom to buy a TV station. Without regulation, broadcasters pose a threat of private censorship. All are aware of the dangers of having the means of informing the public monopolized by large corporations and wealthy individuals.

Commerce secretary Herbert Hoover urged action in 1922 to prevent "national regret that we have parted with a great national asset into uncontrolled hands." In 1924 President Coolidge thought it would be "unfortunate" for the government to control "distribution of information," but "still more unfortunate if its control should come under the arbitrary power of any person or group." Senator Robert B. Howell of Nebraska argued in the 1926 congressional debates that "allowing them [broadcasters] alone to determine what the public shall and shall not hear is a tremendously dangerous course for Congress to pursue." Congressman Luther Johnson of Texas was prescient enough that same year to foresee that radio could "mold and crystallize sentiment as

no agency in the past has been able to do." He believed that without a law to "prevent monopoly ownership and make discrimination by such stations illegal, American thought and politics will be largely at the mercy of those who operate the stations." In 1969 the Supreme Court expressed similar sentiments when it upheld the constitutionality of the fairness doctrine in the *Red Lion* case: "It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount."

The F.C.C.'s development of the fairness doctrine began with its 1929 annual report and the *Great Lakes Broadcasting* case, and continued on through the *Fairness Report* of 1974. The commission's working principle was best stated in its 1949 *Report on Editorializing:*

> It is this right of the public to be informed, rather than any right on the part of the Government, any broadcast licensee or any individual member of the public to broadcast his own particular views on any matter, which is the foundation stone of the American system of broadcasting.

Even broadcasters recognized these obligations in the early years. The trade publication *Radio Broadcast* predicted in 1922 that "someday in the future the popularity of a political party in office may hinge entirely upon the quality of broadcasting service." *Broadcasting* wrote in 1936, "Radio does not, and cannot, refuse its time to speakers." CBS in 1937 said radio must be "an impartial, non-partisan forum for the discussion and debate of public affairs." The 1939 National Association of Broadcasters Code declared that "networks and stations shall provide time for the presentation of public questions . . . with fairness to all elements

in a given controversy."

None of this impresses Simmons, who concludes that the standard might better be called the unfairness doctrine and that it ought to be repealed. His book, made up mostly of a series of law-review articles (including 1,060 footnotes), is not impossible to put down. Most of it chronicles the development of fairness-doctrine law, providing some commentary and criticism of the F.C.C.'s performance over the years, some of which is sound, and some mere sniping.

Once he has dealt with subsidiary issues, such as the personal-attack rules and the applicability of the fairness doctrine to commercials, Simmons is left with only two chapters devoted to the fairness doctrine proper. It is here that he lays out many of the detailed issues that come up in cases before the F.C.C. There is the problem of determining what issue has been raised in a broadcast, and whether it is "controversial" and of "public importance." The F.C.C. must also determine the adequacy of a broadcaster's response to a fairness complaint. Are there only two sides to every question? Who should respond? If "equal time" isn't required, how much time, and how often, and at what time of day? Who has the burden of proving balance? It is after looking at what he finds to be uneven and ineffective enforcement of the doctrine that Simmons concludes we would be better off without it.

Specifically, he believes that eventually the diversity created by the growth of VHF and UHF stations, cable, networks, and public television will provide adequate public protection in place of fairness requirements. In the meantime, he suggests dropping the "balancing requirements for all public-issue programming except station editorials," and enforcing the requirement that controversial issues be covered "only in terms of minimum percentages of time for public-issue broadcasts and programming to meet ascertained community needs."

All considered, it makes a useful law student's "hornbook" of fairness-doctrine law. But one would hope for better from someone with Simmons's credentials and political position and power. The author has promised to "contribute to this debate" and "suggest a new policy," and he may be fairly judged by how well he succeeds. One gets the sense that Simmons started with a predisposition to repeal the fairness doctrine and then looked for the best arguments and examples to support that predisposition. Missing is a commitment to the *goals* of the fairness doctrine, the First Amendment, and broadcast regulation generally that have been felt so deeply by the public, its elected and appointed officials—and some broadcasters—since the 1920s.

It is undoubtedly useful to encourage, or require, more public-affairs programming, which is as far as Simmons is willing to go. But it is folly to believe that by doing so one neutralizes what the F.C.C. has recognized as "the very human temptation not to be fair to opposing schools of thought." However honorable broadcast journalists may be, it is the *management* that hires and fires news departments and otherwise sets station policies on editorials, public-affairs budgets, scheduling, and subject matter. And the fact is that almost all owners and managers in broadcasting are white, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, relatively conservative males. Many licensees are transnational corporations, conglomerates, or media chains. There are few, if any, stations owned by working-class men and women, blacks and other minorities, college students, creative artists, academics, and so forth. And even in those few rare cases, the demands of a system based on advertising dictate that those who run such stations are usually forced to select the programming that is most profitable.

At the very least, as Simmons's discussions of past cases help to demonstrate, broadcasters habitually fail to present adequately issues affecting their own businesses, and are tempted to use their power over public opinion to serve their own economic ends. Today, for example, we see little, if any, discussion on radio or television of the first major revision in fifty years of this nation's communication law. Labor's side of issues continues to get short shrift.

Certainly, some people would be perfectly happy if the programming of American radio and television were turned over completely to large corporations, advertisers, and the sales departments of the stations. It is understandable that such people are not outraged by the notion of repealing the fairness doctrine. But that doesn't settle the issue.

In Newton Minow's thoughtful foreword to Simmons's book he asks, "What constitutional guarantees could preserve freedom of expression once some people acquired microphones and the power to exclude others from the speaker's platform?" That is the democratic dilemma succinctly put. One would have welcomed a book analyzing that question. *The Fairness Doctrine and the Media* is not it.

This is not virgin territory. Some have proposed a public right of ac-

cess—either paid or free. An influential media reformer, professor Phil Jacklin, has proposed substituting "free speech messages" for the fairness doctrine. That is, stations would have an obligation to air a fixed number of public-service announcements from their viewers or listeners without censorship. A modified form of "common carrier" responsibility (such as has been proposed for cable television) could be applied to over-the-air broadcasters. Thus, a certain amount of time on the station would have to be sold to outsiders on a nondiscriminatory basis without regard to content. A less flexible, but otherwise allied proposal is for "shared time" stations. Just as London Weekend and Thames Television share one TV channel in London, so might American stations be obliged to divide, and subdivide, the days of the week, or hours of the day, until everyone in the community who wanted a "station" would have as much of one as possible.

These proposals, or others like them, take into account the still-present dangers that Congress foresaw in the 1920s—the threat to a democratic dialogue that comes when the means of mass communication are turned over to a small class or group of individuals inclined to use them for their own ends. The fairness doctrine is not perfect. Many of the flaws Simmons notes can (and I hope will) be taken into account by the F.C.C. But it often works quite well. And even when lying fallow, the doctrine, because it exists, makes broadcasters feel more obligated, legally and ethically, to present all points of view. Stations pay more attention to their listeners, and take their complaints more seriously, than they might otherwise. That's really what the fairness doctrine is about: the fact that American broadcasting works as well as it does day in and day out *without* fairness complaints being filed with the F.C.C. Those complaints that are filed, and the one-tenth of 1 percent which find their way into F.C.C. and court decisions—and Simmons's 1,060 footnotes— are what make that day-to-day practice possible. But they are not the heart of it, and still less are they its soul.

The fairness doctrine is the only way we now have to respond to the concerns of most of those who have wrestled with Minow's dilemma over the past half-century. Until a better law is in place—not just proposed—Simmons's work can be of great use to those working under the fairness doctrine or trying to improve it. Those seeking to replace it might better look elsewhere for inspiration.

NICHOLAS JOHNSON

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On the road to home

The Tribes of America
by Paul Cowan. Doubleday. 311 pp. $10.95

Looking for America: A Writer's Odyssey
by Richard Rhodes. Doubleday. 321 pp. $10.95

Quintana & Friends
by John Gregory Dunne. E.P. Dutton. 262 pp. $9.95

The virtues of the personal magazine journalism favored by these three writers begin with the freedom of a few magazines from the flow of public events. Unlike newspaper editors, the editors of general magazines can ignore news that doesn't interest them. Writers who want freedom, if only the freedom to choose their poison, are naturally attracted to publications able to offer it.

Only a few magazines are in a position to do so. For many, the price of mass circulation is self-imposed limitation. At newsmagazines, writers are submerged in a collaborative news-gathering and editing process. Other magazines, such as *TV Guide* and *Reader's Digest*, the most popular in America, thrive by performing miracles of compression, a steady

exposure to which can make writers themselves feel a bit squeezed.

These three books are collections of articles by writers who have escaped specialization by having the talent, energy, and luck to be able to sell magazines their own views of American life. All three traveled around the country reporting, and all three tend to write about events and people not as neutral presences, but as personal experiences, which is, after all, what they were to the writer. By doing so, they assume the task of making their own thoughts and feelings as interesting and important to the reader as the subjects chosen.

Paul Cowan writes about ordinary Americans whose lives are caught up in social and political conflicts that remain unreal to most consumers of news. (For Cowan, as for most journalists, "ordinary" Americans are those outside the news—that is, people who are not officials, celebrities, victims, or other journalists.) "*The Tribes of America* is a metaphor for my way of seeing this country," Cowan writes in his introduction. "And it is a political statement." He believes that "to an unrecognized extent, we're a nation of professional, religious, ethnic, and racial tribes . . . who maintain a fragile truce, easily and often broken." His book is a collection of revised articles that originally appeared in *The Village Voice* (essentially a magazine published in the form of a newspaper). Its chapters are arranged to follow the author's deepening appreciation of the importance of tribal loyalties, and the discovery that many of his own political and social assumptions were inadequate.

By spending time with people and by attending carefully to who they are and what they say, Cowan is able to translate social conflicts into vivid personal predicaments. For example, he describes picketing Kentucky coal miners plinking beer cans with .45s to pass the time, a black high-school student in a Boston project who hears sniper fire every night at bedtime, and an old woman on New York's Lower East Side for whom a government office's recorded messages mean the loss of precious dimes in pay phones.

Cowan's style is plain, ingenuous, usually humorless, and sometimes so self-effacingly fair that he seems too good to be true. It's as if he were doing his writing in the homes of his subjects, where it would be unseemly to criticize or in any way risk being impolite.

His attempts to understand other tribes eventually force him to confront his own: American Jews. His best chapters are those in which he describes the poverty of elderly Jews in New York City, and recaptures some of his lost religious and cultural heritage by spending time with the Orthodox. Even though he has always been what he calls "a confirmed racial, sexual, and cultural integrationist," Cowan, after years of reporting on tribal insularity and myopia, nevertheless finds himself becoming more tribal himself.

In spite of Cowan's apparent warmth and openness and his almost nettlesome goodness, I finished his book convinced that he would have had less trouble reconciling his youthful political concerns with the growing complexity of his own experience if he did not have a mind too easily violated by ideas. But his achievement is to have turned that weakness into an analytical strength. The intellectual baggage from the activist left of the sixties that he has lugged, with growing discomfort, through the seventies, has been, like poverty or hunger for some of those he writes about, both a burden and a stimulus.

Whether he knows it or not, his pictures of American life, and his own uncertainties about his place in it, convey powerfully the truth that while politics obviously changes lives, sometimes disastrously, its categories become stereotypes when they are applied to individuals.

While Paul Cowan wrestles with the legacy of sixties politics, Richard Rhodes is fascinated by America's moral history, especially its dark side. The ordinary people who are Cowan's only subject do not interest Rhodes. He is drawn to performers on the heights or far edges of American experience, where moral choices seem bigger than the people who must make them. He is attracted by extremes and drawn to dark and violent events. He writes (mostly for *Harper's*, *Playboy*, and *Audience*) on Edward Kennedy, a family of dynamiters, J. Robert Oppenheimer, skywriters. And the ghastly courage of the Donner party keeps coming up—he has written a novel about it. (There are lighter pieces, mostly written early in the decade, on horse racing, Hallmark cards, where he once worked, and toys.)

For Cowan, a New Yorker, nature is never much more than a setting for people who interest him. But for Rhodes, a Middle Westerner who knew life in the country as a boy, the land has a power and life of its own, comfortingly or ominously apart from human affairs. In his best pieces, about the Mississippi and the Everglades, Rhodes seems drawn to his subjects because they are being meddled with by man. And when he writes about the collision of the man-made and the natural there usually is little doubt about where his sympathies lie:

> Or think of the hills outside Vicksburg, hills of dense, deep loess cut down vertically fifty feet or more to make room for highways and roads, cut so dramatically that you feel, driving between the cuts, as if you were driving through a battle trench. Above the cuts, the lush delta foliage laps at the edges like the water of the river itself and the vines reach over for root they only barely cannot find. Change the angle of the cuts only a few degrees and the vines would race down the hillside and lock across the road and break it up and carry it away to the river and dump it in.

In the pell-mell rhythm of that last sentence can be heard the voice of the anarchist who lies hidden inside every lover of nature.

Rhodes's journalistic instincts are intellectual gothic. He usually renders ideas, landscapes, and character lushly, elaborately, and in som-

ber colors. The men he chooses to write about turn out to be haunted, at least as Rhodes sees them—even Gerald Ford, whose May 1976 profile in *Playboy* by Rhodes is a chillingly plausible attempt to understand the psychological sources of his ungenerous ambition.

John Gregory Dunne is a much cannier writer than either Cowan or Rhodes. His heart is not on his sleeve but in Los Angeles, where nothing is as simple or as pretty as it looks. Dunne is the least predictable of the three writers and the most versatile. His title pieces, "Quintana" and "Friends," are more intimate and affecting than anything in the other two books. In "Pauline," a book review that turns into a verbal ax murder of Pauline Kael, Dunne indulges in literary mayhem that Cowan and Rhodes do not allow themselves.

Dunne does not often build pieces around generalizations or intellectual analysis, which may be one reason that he seems to miss very little. He claims, however, to be a terrible reporter:

> Hating to ask questions and never trusting the answers has defined the type of reporting I do. What I do is hang around. Become part of the furniture. An end table in someone's life. It is the art of the scavenger: set a scene, establish a mood, get the speech patterns right. . . .

He says he stays away "from the 'big story,' the front-page murder or the important social action event." Instead, he prefers people who live along what he calls "the moral county line where I am professionally comfortable." Here is a passage from one of Dunne's reports from that dimly lit realm, in this case the fights at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles:

> Fight night at the Olympic begins at twelve noon with the weigh-in. Abandoned cats roam the aisles and corridors, pigeons bomb from the rafters. The walls of the ancient auditorium are covered with faded tinted photographs of old-time strong men and wrestlers and fighters and announcers. "Bud Taylor, the Terre Haute Terror." "The Popular Sport Harvey." "Bert 'Geev Eet to Heem' Colima." At ringside the scales are set up and the fighters climb on. The preliminary boys make from $125 to $200 each for the privilege of getting their noses flattened and their ears cauliflowered. Yet this is a better option than some. "I could be a jockey," said a bantamweight standing at ringside, flicking a piece of pigeon shit from his synthetic sweater, "and a horse could fall on me and he weigh fifteen hundred pounds and he would hurt me, I think."
>
> It seemed an irrefutable point.

Realism and humor from the boxer about his way of getting along in the world; sympathy and humor from Dunne, along with a vivid, unsparing description of the facts of the case: you can't ask for much more from a paragraph.

In "Eureka!" Dunne writes of his conversion from Easterner to southern Californian, distinguishes between the "opinion media" of the East and the "image media" of the West, and identifies two of "the myths that sustain us": "Space in the West, community in the East." It is a distinction that helps explain what these three writers are up to in seeking to clarify their own American experience for their readers and themselves.

The dream of human community seems to sustain Paul Cowan, of New York City. Space, sometimes space as a fearsome emptiness, haunts the sonorous paragraphs of Richard Rhodes, the Middle Westerner. And Dunne the transplanted Easterner tries to stay aloof from both kinds of American dreaminess, while keeping an eye out for the "occasional revelations of psychic and emotional slippage," whether in Los Angeles or Las Vegas. The success of these three very different writers demonstrates that there still is an audience for the essay, which Rhodes calls "an old and honorable form, invented at a time when men believed an individual sensibility, an individual intelligence, could be a useful and sometimes revealing measure of the world."

R.C.SMITH

R. C. Smith is a contributing editor of the Review.

TV DIPLOMACY AND OTHER BROADCAST QUANDARIES

The Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Survey of Broadcast Journalism Interim Report

The sixth Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Survey of Broadcast Journalism, Rich News, Poor News, *was published in March 1978; a seventh is scheduled to appear in the spring of 1980. This supplementary report covers the period of the most recent DuPont-Columbia Awards, the 1977–1978 broadcast season. It was prepared by the program's director, Marvin Barrett, based on reports from ninety DuPont correspondents around the country.*

On November 19, 1977, Anwar el Sadat, president of Egypt, flew into Israel's Ben Gurion airport for a visit with Premier Menachem Begin. Along for the ride were ABC's Barbara Walters, CBS's Walter Cronkite, and NBC's John Chancellor. At the airport to greet them, besides Begin, Golda Meir, Moshe Dayan, an honor guard, and a host of cheering Israelis, were some 2,000 lesser journalists who had come from as far away as Japan. Sadat's trip was unquestionably *the* news event of the 1977-1978 broadcast season. The Sadat-Begin weekend commanded the sort of transoceanic attention that had heretofore been given space shots, terrorism, coronations, and funerals of heads of state. Not only was U.S. television present in force for the historic encounter (Walters's back-up crew alone numbered fifty-eight), but the networks were given credit by many for the meetings' having taken place at all. Walter Cronkite had served as go-between in a triple New York-to-Cairo-to-Jerusalem play five days before, and there were claims that ABC's Peter Jennings had been laying the groundwork even earlier. Barbara Walters also had her share of historic firsts; she had hastened from Tel Aviv to Cairo at Sadat's express invitation so that she could return to Israel almost immediately as a member of his party. "I felt I was part of history. Realize that mine was the first flight from Israel in thirty

years to land in Egypt." She was also the first journalist to interview Begin and Sadat side by side when they emerged from the Knesset. Cronkite demanded and got equal time and Chancellor followed, conducting a third joint interview the next morning.

Whoever started it all (Begin diplomatically credited an unspecified "representative of American television" with prompting him to issue an invitation to Sadat), there, squarely in the center of the unfolding events, were the stars of U.S. network television news.

This electronic extravaganza (a total of more than twenty-four hours on the three commercial networks, with perhaps 30 million Americans tuned in) used the services of hundreds of reporters, producers, and technicians, as well as the talents of such insiders as Israeli diplomat Abba Eban, Under Secretary of State Philip Habib, and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The birth of "TV diplomacy" was a phenomenon variously considered an insufferable intrusion, a public service, or just the latest in a series of media expropriations.

Variety, the show-business weekly, which had described Sadat's unprecedented descent upon Israel as "one of the most important news events since the end of World War II," later quoted an Israeli commentator, Mark Segal, as saying:

> the politics as entertainment syndrome appears to be taking over the most fateful discussions in Middle East history. . . . Begin seems to be enjoying all the razzmatazz as much as Sadat. . . . That they have appointed Barbara Walters as the major oracle of Middle East diplomacy hardly adds to the solemnity of their purpose. . . . The unrealistic expectation that decades of bloodshed and hostility can be made to vanish by some magic television wand is, perhaps, the result of the way Begin has allowed Sadat, as part of his bid to win over U.S. public opinion, to convert the negotiating process into part of the American TV networks' competition for placement in the ratings.

Flora Lewis of *The New York Times* disagreed:

> To consider the new technique a matter of show business or personal vanity would be a serious mistake. It has already proven highly effective in the Middle East. And the chances are that it will gradually be taken up for use in other areas, where matters of tremendous importance to billions of people are still kept secret until there is a result, a decision or an agreement.
>
> In effect, mass diplomacy has become a tool of negotiations. While there has not yet been a result in the Middle East talks, there has already been a tangible impact. . . .
>
> Once the American people had become engaged in the action, through Sadat's policy of granting frequent interviews and making himself continuously visible, it did become important for Mr. Begin to win his share of interest and support being generated. . . .
>
> Without spending a penny in this way, Mr. Sadat has induced the world's most powerful media to run to him and publicize what he has to say. He has managed to begin mass diplomacy.
>
> And while it may take some time before other leaders achieve his instinctive grasp of how to handle it, the new method is almost certainly here to stay, as long as the new technology of communications exists.

Whatever the influence of TV, the networks returned—nay, were invited back time and again—to observe, kibitz, ask questions, and be told without asking. As Israeli-Egyptian negotiations stretched over the next year and more, broadcast journalists continued to participate in the proceedings to an unprecedented degree. From November 1977 through the next June the three network evening newscasts included more than 600 separate items dealing with the Middle East. Frequently the newscasts devoted more than half of their time to developments there. When one adds news specials, documentaries, and panel shows, the sequence represents one of the largest commitments—if not the largest—to continuing coverage of a developing story in the annals of television.

Back home, the everyday environment in which broadcast journalism operated had changed little. The ills electronic newsmen were heir to seemed to grow, even as did their reputations and expertise. There were the usual signs of public approval in the polls. In a survey of "Confidence in Institutions" made in the summer of 1978, Louis Harris reported that TV news showed the greatest increase in public confidence of any field canvassed, rising five points and three positions in the ratings over the previous year, to edge out organized religion, the Supreme Court, and the military for third place. Only medicine, which had nonetheless experienced the most drastic drop in public confidence, and higher educational institutions rated higher. Print journalism gained four points in public confidence but still came in seventh. The White House, the executive branch, and Congress registered severe drops. Harris concluded: "For the media, these latest results are a signal that in the continuing encounter between government and the press and TV news, government appears to be losing."

This public support did not mean that journalism lacked detractors, in or out of government. Jostling one another for position on the list were politicians, industrialists, an exiled novelist, the Marcos government in the Philippines, the Sugar Association, Synanon, ex-presidential aide Bert Lance, and President Carter himself.

To take but one example, British journalist Malcolm Muggeridge told a congressional prayer breakfast:

> . . . it has seemed to me increasingly clear that the media have become the great fantasy machine of all time. This applies just as much to their news and documentary offerings as to their diversionary ones, if not more so.

There were less harsh evaluations, which were all the more disturbing for acknowedging the excellences the medium had achieved. Richard Salant, in his final year as head of CBS News, told the 1978 convention of Radio/Television News Directors in Atlanta:

> I think all of us in journalism—print or broadcast—who take our calling seriously and who accept the notion that we do have some special obligations to the people of a democracy, would agree that, as editor William Lloyd Garrison wrote, "The success of any great moral enterprise does not depend on numbers." . . . Journalism is more than a free competitive enterprise. In a democracy, it is also a great moral one. . . .
>
> I stand by the overriding principle of providing the people with what they ought to know, rather than choosing only

what some survey or instinct purports to tell us what the people might be interested in. . . .

If they perceive us as concerned only with numbers—numbers of people and numbers of dollars—only as business satisfying the vagrant wants and interests of an audience, we shall remain in trouble.

THE DOCUMENTARY QUANDARY

The decline, fall, and failure to rise again of the TV documentary had become such an old story that it hardly seemed worth mentioning, and yet mentioned it was, at length and painfully by James Rosenfield, president of the CBS Television Network, speaking to the New England chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in October 1978. After praising documentary units as the best people—"the very best"—in their trade, dealing with "the major issues of our times," he said that they suffered what could only be called "massive rejection." Citing Nielsen reports, he listed six CBS documentaries shown in 1978; five of the six finished last in the weekly ratings and one finished next to last. He asked:

Are we going to go on doing documentaries? Of course we are, in spite of a discouraging vote like this. Because you can't have a fully rounded news service without them—and a full service is part of the mandate of CBS News. But it's not for business reasons and, God knows, it's not for ratings reasons.

'On the list were industrialists, an exiled novelist, Synanon, Bert Lance, and President Carter himself'

Don Hewitt, executive producer of *60 Minutes*, the most successful news program in television's history, said, "The networks have made an astronomical financial investment in information programming. . . . The networks would like nothing better than to get some of that money back through better public acceptance of a more even split between news and entertainment in primetime hours. If there is not more news on the air during those hours, it's not because television hasn't put its money where its mouth is. It's because the public hasn't put its dials where its mouth is."

Although public apathy was a fact and ratings for documentaries were grievously low, the programs had labored under other handicaps. Salant gave an additional explanation when asked about the future of the documentary by *Broadcasting*:

They hide them. They put them in the places where they'll do the least damage. You want to see where the competition is going to run the Oscars and you put them in there. If [only] you had regularity, so people will know they're coming, once a week, and it's a habit, and you know sufficiently in advance so you can publicize them, advertise them. Sometimes we're not even told in time for us to get a listing.

That the networks had made a formidable investment in news and public affairs was, as Hewitt stated, a fact. Total news budgets for the three networks jumped from $115 million in 1970 to a level of $207 million in 1977 after hitting a high of $218 million in 1976. This increase was not out of line, however, with the growth of network funding; in fact, calculated as a share of total revenues, the news investment declined between 1970 and 1977 from 10 percent to 8 percent; meanwhile, network profits rose from $50.1 million to $406.1 million—more than 700 percent, as opposed to the growth in news budgets of 80 percent. Paradoxically, it was entertainment expenses in the winter of 1978 that threatened the profits of CBS and NBC.

Still, what was needed, as Salant indicated, was not money but time: a desirable, predictable weekly hour devoted to a high-quality documentary series had yet to be tried in this era of maximum broadcast profits.

Instead, since the last DuPont-Columbia Survey there had been several unsuccessful attempts to replicate the top ratings of *60 Minutes*. After months of indecision, NBC finally brought its *Weekend* magazine forward from the late Saturday night spot it shared with *Saturday Night Live* to prime time, where it earned undistinguished ratings. ABC launched its ill-fated *20/20*, which had a disastrous, though heavily promoted, midsummer premier in 1978. The program was soon deprived of its weekly hour and struggled into the schedule at unpredictable intervals through the following fall and winter. Another, feebler try was *People*, which followed CBS's defunct *Who's Who* into the tinseled area between reportage and gossip; it expired unmourned seven weeks later.

Even the venerable *CBS Reports* was not proof against the TV magazine vogue. A factor contributing to the departure of Bill Moyers, who for two years had presided over the distinguished series, had been the decision to divide the program's irregularly allotted hour into three parts. As an alternative Moyers suggested that the network try a weekly prime-time, half-hour documentary—a suggestion which, although granted merit by network executives, was turned down because it "wouldn't get top dollar." A final discouragement was the slotting of Moyers's excellent and important report, "The Battle of South Africa," on the Friday night before Labor Day weekend.

A *Variety* list of commercial network specials aired in prime time between September 1, 1977, and August 31, 1978, included, out of 730 programs recorded, fewer than forty that were recognizable as products of the network news departments. Of those, more than half had been aired in the three summer months, the time of lightest viewing. As for ratings, the highest-rated news or public-affairs special, ranking 390th out of the 730, was an *ABC News Close-up*, "Teenage Turn-on: Drinking and Drugs." Thirty-two of the remaining thirty-nine were in the bottom one hundred, with the documentary booby prize, number 729, going to the CBS News "The Business of Newspapers." Only ABC's "U.S. Women's Open Golf" scored lower.

According to Les Brown in *The New York Times*, from September to the middle of December 1978 a single prime-time news documentary was aired by the networks—"Terror in the Promised Land," which went on ABC unsponsored and therefore unrated. The

exigencies of the all-important sweeps ratings periods, in February, May, and November, and the competitive fever of the opening weeks of a new TV season had, year by year, narrowed the slots into which network programmers could be persuaded to shelter news and public affairs.

At ABC, where the weekly prime-time commitment to news and public affairs was the lowest of the three commercial networks, schedulers put one of the *Close-up* series, promised a monthly prime-time airing in the early days of Roone Arledge's presidency of ABC News, on the air at 11:30 p.m. The next month, thanks to the sweeps, no *Close-up* got on at all.

Fred Silverman, NBC's new million-dollar president and the alleged wonder man of entertainment TV, professed his dedication to news on his first day on the job in June 1978, saying, "The most important thing at NBC is NBC News." Later he told NBC's affiliates, "If NBC News needs prime time it will get it." Les Crystal, president of NBC News, promised forty-five hours of prime-time journalism for Silverman's first season. By March 1979, twenty-three hours, three minutes, and forty seconds had been delivered, half by *Weekend*, the other half by coverage of news events.

Actually, the most conspicuous breakthroughs into prime time by the network news departments were the mini-news shows, which the three chains aired at peak viewing hours. Called variously "News Briefs," "Newsbreaks," and "Updates," they stuffed as many as five items and a ten-second commercial into their allotted minute, thus adding to the clutter that in some station breaks already could comprise twenty separate elements. Merrill Panitt, editorial director of *TV Guide*, reported to the Chicago Advertising Club that his magazine had given up the idea of listing short news when it found that in one edition alone it would require 150 separate listings. Moreover, he warned, there soon would be spots for sports, weather, and other specialties around the clock—largely because, he concluded, "There is a big future for ten-second commercials. Heaven help us."

The material carried on these news glimpses was rarely all that new, since it usually had appeared in a more extended form on the early evening network newscasts. The justification for such redundancy was hardly reassuring. "Our CBS research shows that about half of the people haven't seen the earlier network shows at 7 p.m. So this is a public service, although it is also designed to make money," said CBS "Newsbreak" producer Ralph Paskman.

These brief encounters between reality and the TV prime-time entertainment viewer were consistently the highest-rated news shows on the air, and therefore, minute for minute, the most lucrative.

PUBLIC TV: STILL STRUGGLING

Bill Moyers's return to public television to preside over a weekly documentary and interview series, and Robert MacNeil's refusal to desert to ABC News gave a decided boost to the morale of public TV's journalists. The continued distinction of such series as *Nova* and such outstanding individual programs as Ved Mehta's and William Cran's "Chachaji: My Poor Relation" and Perry Miller Adato's superb portrait of Georgia O'Keeffe, were proof that the Public Broadcasting System was still providing high quality.

Still, much remained beyond its means. Most of the recommendations made in "Possible Courses for News and Public Affairs," a special study done for PBS by Richard Wald after his departure as president of NBC News, could not be followed. Wald urged extension of the nightly *MacNeil/Lehrer Report* to one hour, a fifty-two-week-a-year documentary series, and an ambitious weekend round-up.

One recommendation—that PBS upgrade its live coverage of important events—assumed a further slackening in the commitment of commercial broadcasters. "As the financial pressures on the commercials get greater," Wald observed, "the possibilities of live broadcasting for them get fewer."

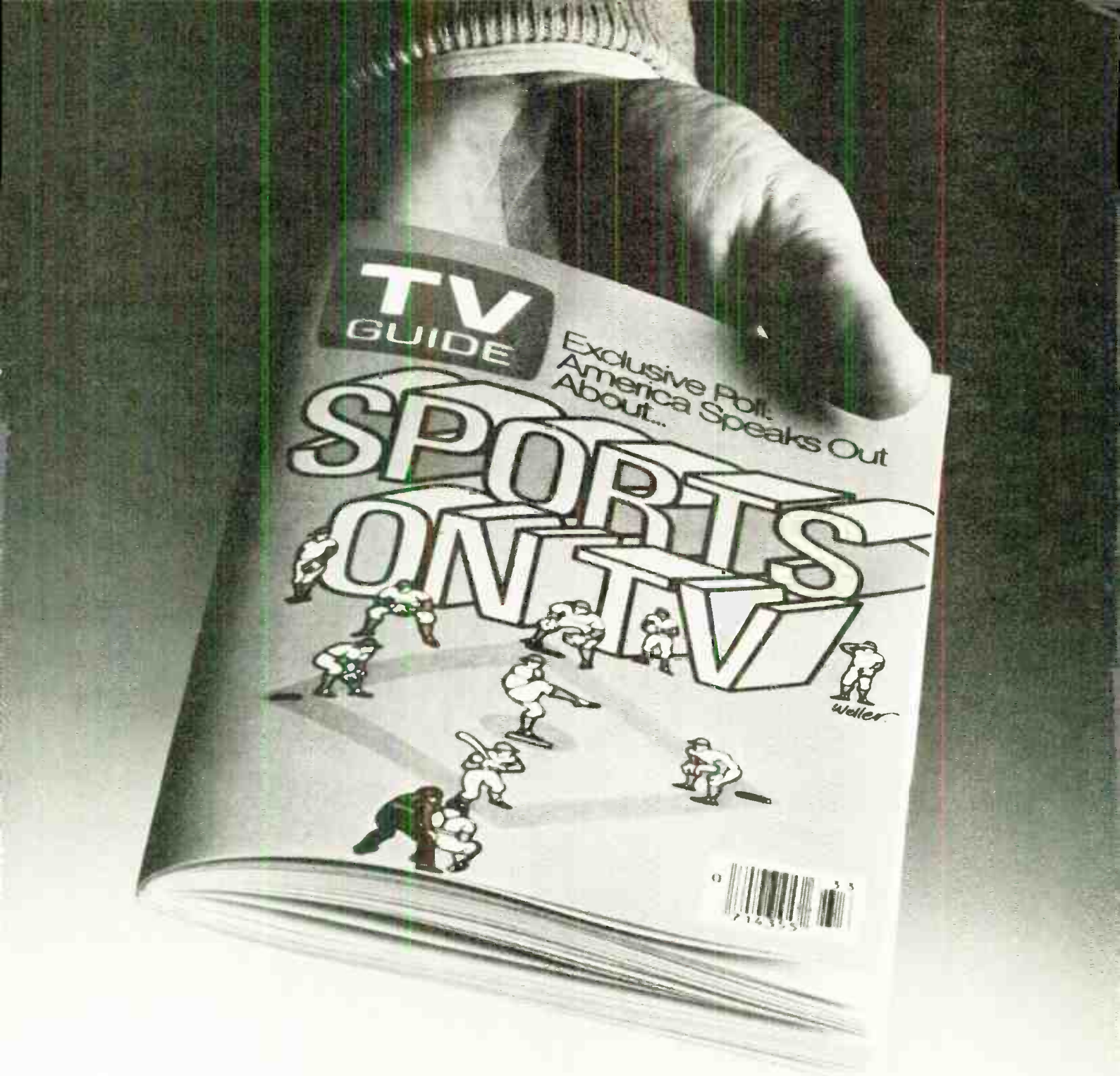
Unfortunately, since the disbanding of the NPACT unit following its exemplary coverage of the Watergate and impeachment hearings in 1973 and 1974, the possibilities of live broadcasting for PBS had likewise declined.

The Moyers series, although it was offered to the system's big corporate funders, finally had to rely on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Ford Foundation for its money. A hopeful sign was that the Station Program Cooperative, the funding organization made up of public TV stations, which had been timid about providing for documentary series in the past, had indicated its willingness to support the Moyers show for the 1979-1980 season.

Less encouraging had been the cooperative's rejection of Alan and Susan Raymond's Du Pont-Columbia Award-winning, ninety-minute "The Police Tapes." The program, snubbed because it was considered too New York-oriented for national viewing, was subsequently picked up and aired as a sixty-minute *ABC Close-up* in August 1978. This was an important breakthrough for independent documentary-makers, who had had a hard time interesting the commercial networks.

Nor was there much cheer in the fate of Don Widener's controversial sixty-minute documentary, "Plutonium: Element of Risk." The first program to be funded—for $150,000—by public broadcasting's "revolving documentary fund," it was scheduled for airing by KCET-TV, Los Angeles, at the beginning of November 1977. Two days before air date, Chloe Aaron, the PBS vice president for programming, informed the stations in the public system that "this program does not conform to the PBS document of journalism standards." The program was finally seen on only twelve stations.

Whatever one's judgment of the program, and professional opinion was mixed, the PBS advisory that knocked it off the air had a ring reminiscent of the embattled early seventies. "We are not told of any effort on the producer's part to include spokespersons who represent points of view held by the American nuclear power industry," read the explanatory memorandum sent to KCET. "The program in its entirety does not leave us convinced that the producers approached the subject with an open mind. And while many may agree with the conclusions, these conclusions are not arrived



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LOCAL NEWS: STILL GROWING

At the local level, news was where the action was, where the big winners and losers in money and ratings were determined. Although public affairs continued to be a burden and, with a few notable exceptions, was treated as such, it had been some years since the sacrificial, "this-is-a-painful-duty" attitude toward news had prevailed.

The relation between increased station profits and news budgets reported to the Survey by 240 news directors across the country indicated a strong continuing commitment to news on the part of managements. This was underscored by the fact that half those stations with no profit growth had still upped their news budgets. Nevertheless, more than half the news directors responding pointed to lack of money as their principal handicap.

Three out of four stations reported expanded news staffs, while the heretofore steady rise in time committed to the news had flattened out, two-thirds of the stations reporting that their time allotments were the same as in the previous year. This indicated that increased personnel and money might now be spent on something better than keeping up with an expanding time slot.

Three of four news directors reported production of mini-documentary series on a regular basis while half had added magazine shows to their schedules. As on the networks, the traditional documentary was obviously in trouble. At the same time, examples submitted to the DuPont-Columbia Awards jurors again demonstrated the growing technical competence and imagination of local producers.

News competition between stations remained strenuous, with two-thirds reporting increased competitive intensity in their markets and all but a handful of the remaining one-third seeing the fight going on at its former high level. More than half of those reporting acknowledged that ratings were an important factor in determining the content of their local newscasts. The competition and concern over ratings were not, however, reflected, as in former years, by an upswing in the employment of news consultants.

Group W was again a local trailblazer, pioneering in two fields where a leader was sorely needed. Its *Evening* magazine was stripped into the local prime-time access slot on all five of its major-market TV stations, and was syndicated as *P.M.* on eleven non-Westinghouse outlets, with local segments contributed by participating stations. The program quickly climbed to second place in the ratings for its time period, showing that an informational offering could hold its own against *The Newlywed Game*, *The Gong Show*, *The Cheap Show*, *Bonkers*, or *The $1.98 Beauty Show*.

The I-Team at WBZ-TV, Boston, was set up as a model for the rest of Group W, with its own staff of seven, offices, equipment, and budget, and put to investigating significant subjects. Its first appearance on WBZ was with "A Question of Ethics," an investigation of local political hanky-panky that ran thirty-nine minutes on the station's evening news with no advertising breaks, and made long-lasting waves in the community. A second I-Team report, "No Room in Suburbia," on the failure of fair housing, was equally impressive.

There were, as before, many other individual examples of journalistic excellence scattered across the country, often from stations which had proved themselves in earlier performance.

Although the local news picture seemed both lively and bright, when looked at piecemeal, a note of anxiety crept in when news directors addressed themselves to the state and prospects of broadcast journalism as a whole. From Minnesota:

> 'Thirty-nine minutes of hanky-panky with no advertising breaks made long-lasting waves'

> I continue to believe that broadcast journalism (both local and network) remains in a sort of catatonic state. We have passed the early excitement of the ENG [electronic news gathering] age, and the era of exciting and dramatic issues and events. The world seems to be waiting, and broadcasting seems to be content to wait, too. News coverage generally seems to be more event-oriented and less issue-oriented—spot news seems more prominent on the network newscasts, and on the local scene as well. What we seem to need is some good solid news to cover—to wake us up again, and to wake the viewers up again. . . .

From Pittsburgh, another respondent complained of "the lack of resources available to the individual reporter who needs background or other research materials. Stations that spend literally millions on sophisticated equipment don't spend a single dime on a resource library."

From Philadelphia:

> There is a curious ambivalence in the business today, with trends toward more serious journalism and increasing credibility running parallel with trends towards more "show business" style of news presentation. *People* magazine's success has infected the broadcast media as much as the print media.

From Chicago—the spawning ground of Happy Talk news:

> At the local level, things seem to be looking up, with stations becoming more serious in their approach to news. The happy talk era may be fading, although it will never completely die off. Unfortunately so much money hangs on the ratings of nightly newscasts . . . that other program areas—especially documentaries—are nearing extinction. We might even say that at the local level, the documentary belongs on the endangered species list.

From Jonesboro, Arkansas:

> It could be we're headed toward a time when the only thing that matters is the news rating. Competition is a healthy thing. But it can be taken to extremes, and we're beginning to see such extremes around the country. . . .

Why do we think we have to have the highest ratings in *every* time slot? Why can't we think more in terms of the quality of our work, instead of just the ratings? Surely there can be more satisfaction in that than in something as temporary as this month's ARB.

Ultimately, we're on the air to perform a valuable role in our communities through news programming. That responsibility is too important to be left to something as fickle as ratings. . . . surely over the long haul, the people who do the best job of covering the news also will be the ones who get the biggest audiences.

And from the management side came the toughest talk of all. Roger Clipp, former head of the Triangle Station group, told broadcast associates:

I believe the industry has fallen short in many ways. It is about time that some broadcasters looked and listened to their own stuff and measured it against the yardstick of the common good. Is it right for a broadcaster to take so much and give so little back? Aren't pretax profits from 30 percent to as high as 55 percent a bit much? Aren't there just too many commercial interruptions, too much clutter, on both radio and television? Aren't the people entitled to a better break?

I don't believe there is no longer opportunity for creativity in community service programming. How many broadcasters today have a really meaningful public service manager in their station table of organization? The sales manager carries a lot more weight and has a greater influence in programming than the public service manager does.

I know most of you will walk away from here and say yours truly is living in a dream world, that you're in the business to make money and that you're meeting your public service requirements and that your license is secure. Well, maybe your licenses are secure and you're doing enough by somebody's standards. But I have known better days in broadcasting, when people really cared and people really made an effort to serve. I hope that interest still exists.

RADIO: AN UNEVEN MEDIUM

The signs from radio news and public affairs were difficult to read. Of the nation's 9,000 radio stations, fewer than half listed news directors on their tables of organization. Of those few who wrote to the DuPont-Columbia Survey, most reported an increase in management support in both budget and staff.

There were bright moments in radio programming.

'For mass audiences, sex and violence, Hollywood gossip, astrology and perversity, cops and robbers'

NBC's exemplary *Second Sunday* series persisted, as did National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*. Occasional monumental efforts, such as NPR's 300 hours of coverage of the Panama Canal treaties debate, were shown to be possible. The number of all-news radio stations had increased from 74 in 1976 to 111 in 1978, and they sometimes produced strong journalism.

Still, community by community, the situation in radio described by DuPont-Columbia correspondents was not heartening. Few reported any improvement in quality and several noticed a conspicuous decline.

Typical was the response from Wisconsin:

Three kinds of radio news—related to formats: FM rock stations, almost no news. One- or two-man departments. Minimal time and effort on news. Mostly in the 6-10 day part. Emphasis at these stations is the music, and nothing is allowed to interfere. Same principle applies to beautiful music stations getting their violins on tape from syndicated service, and country stations generally. If radio is there for music, then news is a tune-out.

High profile top-40 stations . . . compete for mass audience in the mornings . . . have sex and violence, Hollywood gossip, astrology and perversity, cops-and-robbers news. Read by hyped-up, melodramatic voice. Idea is to attract attention, make the news a tune-in. And it works very well. These top-40 stations attract huge audiences in the mornings. Even those who claim to hate the sensationalism of the morning news tune in, according to ratings.

The third kind of radio news is traditional, serious, consistent, adult journalism. Boring but responsible. Found on MOR [middle of the road] stations because they use news, traffic, weather, sports, service, information, talk as essential components of the format. . . . The news-talk audience for radio is very old. Over 45 or 50. So in radio the pressure is for no news—as in the FM rockers, C&W, or beautiful music. Or sexy Gong-Show news—as in the top-40's.

From Virginia a correspondent wrote:

Our all-news station did not survive. Noon news was cut from half hour to five minutes. Often, on all stations, they appear to be reading you the morning paper.

And from Indiana:

It seems to me that radio in this area is just stroking along. There is much breathless reading of the wire on small town stations, and it is read by d.j.s and poorly trained young people. There are exceptions: stations in the Ft. Wayne market are very active with local government coverage and are very much on top of the local politicians. The Indianapolis market has two strong radio news operations, which do both straight reporting of local news and investigative reporting on local and county government.

A NEW COMMUNICATIONS LAW?

Lack of money, public apathy, management interference: these were the impediments most often cited by the nation's news directors as standing in the way of good broadcast journalism. Fourth on the list was government interference and fifth, overregulation.

It is in these last two, however, that the principal backstage excitement in broadcasting has taken place since the last DuPont-Columbia Survey. And it is here that one finds the clearest indication of the rocky times that may lie ahead.

In the first week of June 1978 the long-awaited revision of the 1934 Communications Act finally surfaced. The draft legislation was the pet project of Representative Lionel Van Deerlin, a Democrat and a former broadcaster from San Diego. The main thrust of the Van Deerlin document was toward dramatic deregulation of an industry which for decades had been complaining about government intrusion, but at the same time soliciting official protection when its prerogatives seemed in danger.

The bill contained several potential drawbacks for news and public-affairs departments. Prominent among these were:

1. The abandonment of the "public interest" standard. Though scoffed at as meaningless and, even worse, idealistic, the old law's admonition to serve "the public interest, convenience and necessity" had been for decades the fragile barrier behind which embattled news and public-affairs operatives took shelter when management complained about the balance sheet.

"We thought the phrase never really meant anything to the users of the airwaves and to those who regulate the industry," said Van Deerlin. "A lot of games have been played with it, and there have been a lot of empty promises made to serve the public interest. But stations automatically received license renewals no matter what they promised and no matter what the quality of their product."

When Vincent Wasilewski, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, and Nicholas Johnson, chairman of the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, usually in opposite camps, both came out in defense of the scorned concept, Van Deerlin grumbled that "although neither of them was able to define the term, perhaps they agree with what Justice Stewart once said about obscenity—even though they can't tell you what it is, they know it when they see it."

2. Delicensing, immediate for radio, gradual (over a ten-year period) for TV. Licensing had long been considered the major affront government offered broadcast journalists, depriving them of their claimed First Amendment rights and rendering them second-class citizens.

But here again, the lifting of the license requirements, so devoutly wished for so long, seemed to journalists less desirable once offered. The assumption that management, relieved of the possibility of license challenges, would improve or even equal its former news and public-service performance, appeared unrealistic. Indeed, Frank Mankiewicz, president of National Public Radio, pointed out in his critique of the bill that public radio would need more freedom and less governmental intrusion if it were to "pick up the slack" in news and public affairs which he anticipated that commercial deregulation would leave.

3. The elimination of ascertainment, a time-consuming process that required the broadcaster to listen to representatives of various interests in the community. Again Van Deerlin's know-how as a former broadcaster prompted him to cynicism. "Bunk," he said. "I mean, you listen to the same prattle time after time. The stations don't hear anything they don't already know."

Still, ascertainment remained one of the few means, with license challenges, by which the public could address the users of the air that once had been considered public property. Further, the material brought up in ascertainment meetings in most instances was related to the responsibilities of stations' news and public-affairs departments. If it did not always stimulate an improvement in news scope and quality, at least the process served to remind management that it had obligations to the community in general as well as to its stockholders, and that news and public-affairs programming was one way to meet them.

In one instance, that of the four Post-Newsweek stations, ascertainment had led to an annual, three-and-a-half-hour, prime-time, public-affairs broadcast designed to explain what management was doing for the community and to allow members of the community on-air access to the station's managers and staff.

4. Elimination of the fairness doctrine for radio and its transformation into a nebulous "equity principle" for TV. Broadcast journalists had long fought the doctrine, which mandates that stations allow air time for

'Bunk.
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rebuttal and for balanced discussion of issues, as an affront to their constitutional rights. The doctrine was cited twice as often as any other of the laws and regulations to which radio and TV news directors took exception in their responses to the Survey.

Yet they might do well to listen carefully to the doctrine's defenders before they join the hanging party. Ralph Jennings, the deputy director of the Communications Office of the United Church of Christ, said in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Communications:

> It seems clear that we can attribute a great deal of the news and information on television and radio stations to government regulations, rather than to the enthusiasm of broadcasters for airing news and important controversial issues. In all probability, many of the broadcast journalists who argue most vigorously against the Fairness Doctrine owe their jobs to that F.C.C. policy.

Moreover, the threat the doctrine posed seemed not to justify journalists' animosity. According to past figures, "a broadcaster might expect to be faced with a fairness inquiry every 75 years, and an adverse ruling from the Commission about every 500 years," Jennings pointed out. "It is inconceivable that the pale threat of fairness complaints should thwart a broadcast licensee in its search for truth and its exercise of free speech."

5. The proposed translation of the seven-member F.C.C. into a five-member Communications Regulatory Commission with sharply reduced powers. Although traditionally the F.C.C. has been accused of aligning itself with the industry when a difference between public and private interests arose, it has on occasion rapped the knuckles of management for inadequate service to the public and come to broadcasters' defense when they have been attacked for taking journalistic chances. Without the F.C.C. there would be one less possible goad to management's conscience and one less judgment seat for broadcast journalists and their advocates to appeal to.

6. The imposition of "spectrum use fees" on com-