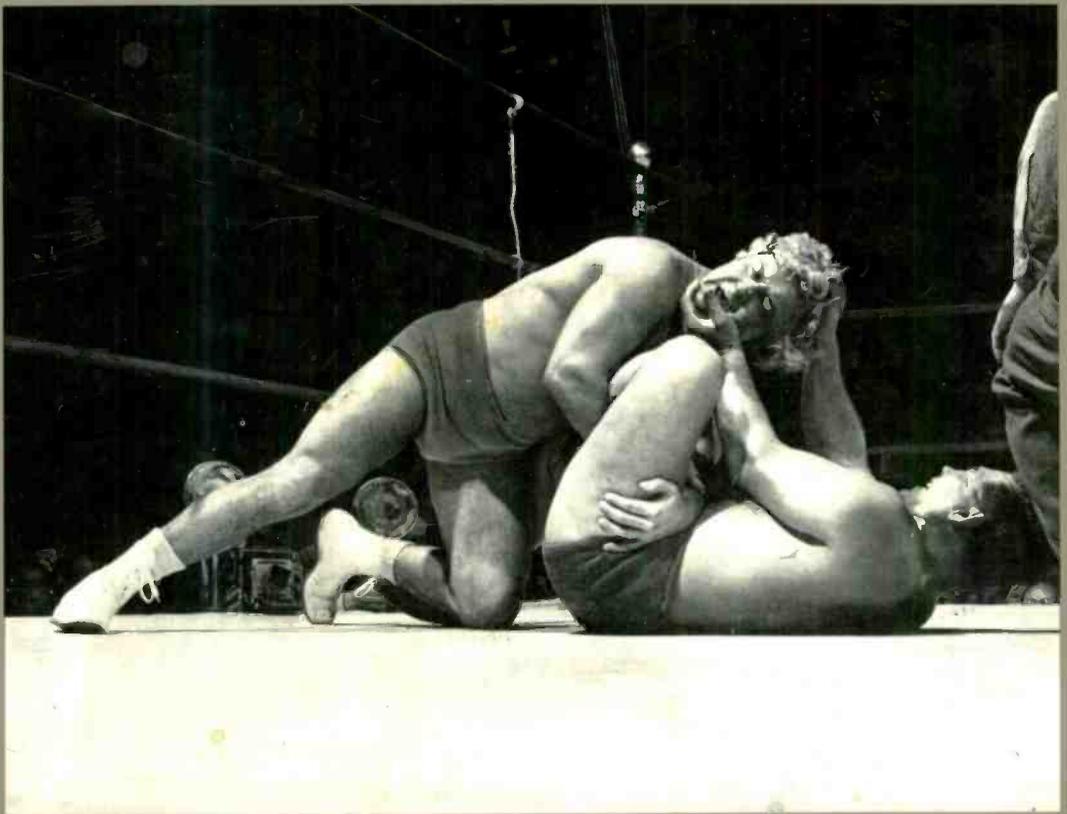




TELEVISION QUARTERLY

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WRESTLING SHOWBIZ: *Richard G. Carter*
JOHN CHANCELLOR CLOSEUP: *Arthur Unger*
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**“EVERY
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BEGINS AS
PHILOSOPHY
AND ENDS
AS ART.”**

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Congratulations to all who have advanced the standards of excellence through the application of technology to the expression of ideas.

THE BROADCASTER AND THE DEMAGOGUE

The broadcaster was Edward R. Murrow, the demagogue Senator Joseph McCarthy. Murrow had the courage to use television against McCarthy, taking a young medium, wary of controversy, and plunging it into the hottest controversy of the era. As the author of this important new book on Murrow reports it, "His act demonstrated, for the first time on a grand scale, the awesome power of the medium for good or evil."

BY JOSEPH E. PERSICO

Years later, Fred Friendly would identify it as their moment of truth, a sudden flash of insight into the power they possessed. "The Case against Milo Radulovich, A0589839" was perhaps a modest canvas for so bold a claim. It dealt with an unknown figure in a small town caught up in a scarcely noticed controversy. But that was just the point.

Murrow made a deliberate attempt to avoid becoming a prisoner of the eastern establishment vision of the world. He liked to dip into newspapers from all around the country. Thus, he had come across, in *The Detroit News*, the plight of a 26-year-old senior at the University of Michigan, Milo Radulovich. Radulovich had previously served nearly eight years as an Air Force meteorologist and held a commission as a lieutenant in the Reserves. He was

about to lose his commission.

Under Air Force Regulation 36-52, Milo Radulovich had been declared a "security risk" for having close associations with "Communists or Communist sympathizers." The Air Force had subsequently demanded his resignation. The close associations were with his father and sister. The senior Radulovich was an old man who had come to this country over forty years before, served in World War I, and thereafter spent his life in coal mines and automobile plants. His crime was that he read a Serbian-language newspaper said to support Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia. At the time that the Air Force was using this information to question the old man's loyalty—and by extension, his son's—Tito had broken with the Soviet bloc and was being wooed by the West, indeed was receiving loans from the same United States government that was persecuting Milo Radulovich. The sister was alleged by the Air Force to be a Communist, but no proof had been shown to the lieutenant.

Radulovich refused to resign his commission. Subsequently, the Air

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Force had convened a three-officer board to review the case. The board recommended Radulovich's severance from the service. Again, at this hearing, no witnesses were produced and whatever evidence the Air Force had against his father or his sister remained unopened in a manila envelope.

This was the story that Ed had found in *The Detroit News*. The case reeked of McCarthyism. It was important because of its seeming unimportance. The plight of this obscure Air Force Reserve lieutenant revealed to Ed how deeply the cancer of fear and suspicion had eaten into the marrow of everyday life in America. Paranoia was becoming institutionalized. Due process, the rights of the accused, the presumption of innocence, could be denied without explanation. Murrow told Friendly to look into the potential of the Radulovich case for a segment on *See It Now*.

A few months before, Murrow had paid tribute to the journalist's code of objectivity. "I favor" he said, "some such device as radio and TV stations ringing a bell every time a newscaster is about to inject his own view." If his suggestion had been adopted, the bells should have been clanging at CBS on the night of October 20, 1953.

"The Case against Milo Radulovich, A0589839" was broadcast at 10:30 p.m., since *See It Now* had by now won a regular weekly slot on the outer rim of prime time. The case was a modern morality tale. An appealing young man appeared on the screen. ". . . Anybody that is labeled with a security risk in these days, especially in physics or meteorology," he said, "simply won't be able to find employment in this field of work. In other words, I believe that if I am labeled a security risk—if the Air Force won't have me, I ask the question, who will? . . . If I'm being judged by my relatives, are my children going to be asked to denounce me? Are they going to be asked what their father was labeled? Are they

going to be asked why their father is a security risk? . . . I see a chain reaction that has no end."

Then an old man in halting English explained how he had written to President Eisenhower asking for justice for his son. Milo Radulovich's sister was also interviewed. She refused to discuss her own politics, but expressed anger that her brother's loyalty should be measured by her beliefs. Neighbors in Radulovich's town of Dexter, Michigan, spoke up for him, including the former commander of the local American Legion post and a union official.

Murrow had told Friendly to leave him time for a strong finish, "because we are going to live or die by our ending. Management is going to howl, and we may blow ourselves right out of the water, but we simply can't do an 'on the one hand on the other hand' ending for this one." The network had already shown its uneasiness by refusing to promote the program. Murrow and Friendly had thereupon dipped into their own pockets for \$1,500 for an ad in *The New York Times*.

They were deliberately flying in the face of the CBS policy that forbade taking sides in political controversy. Ed himself, imagining that he worshiped at the shrine of reportorial detachment, had voluntarily included in his contract a clause pledging himself to scrupulous neutrality. But in his tailpiece, he threw his and the network's objectivity rule out the window. "We are unable to judge the claims against the lieutenant's father or sister," he said, "because neither we, nor you, nor they, nor the lieutenant, nor the lawyers know precisely what was contained in that manila envelope. Was it hearsay, rumor, gossip, slander, or was it hard ascertainable fact that could be backed by creditable witnesses? We do not know. . . .no evidence was adduced to prove that Radulovich's sister is a member of the party and the case against his father

was certainly not made. . . . We believe that the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, even though that iniquity be proved; and in this case it was not. . . . Whatever happens in the whole area of the relationship between the individual and the state, we do it ourselves. . . it seems to Fred Friendly and myself. . . that this is a subject that should be argued about endlessly."

Jack Gould, writing in *The New York Times*, understood instantly what happened on television that night: "The program marked perhaps the first time that a major network, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and one of the country's most important industrial sponsors, the Aluminum Company of America, consented to a program taking a vigorous editorial stand in a matter of national importance and controversy."

Harriet Van Horne, television critic for *The New York World Telegram & Sun*, sent Ed a personal note: ". . . You are his [Radulovich's] Zola." *Variety* declared the Radulovich story the most important television broadcast of the year.

ALCOA proved a sponsor of near saintly tolerance. The company was in the business of selling aluminum, not curing injustices. The Air Force was a major customer for its product. But all that Chief Wilson, ALCOA's president, said was that he hoped "civil liberty broadcasts" were not to become the sole topic of interest on *See It Now*.

What Murrow and Friendly had done for Milo Radulovich was to give the man what his government had denied him, the right to defend himself. What they had done for television was revealed in a telephone call Friendly received a month later.

Friendly was at home taking a shower when his wife told him that Ed insisted he come to the phone right away. Ed told him to see that a camera crew was to be sent to the Pentagon within an hour. That night, *See It Now* did, in fact, involve another civil rights

story, the attempt of Indianapolis American Legionnaires to deny the use of a hall to the American Civil Liberties Union. But first Murrow introduced the Secretary of the Air Force, Harold E. Talbott. "I have decided,"

To suggest that Ed Murrow was the first of his profession to dare confront McCarthy would be an injustice to a dozen brave journalists. Walter Lippmann did it. So did Drew Pearson, the Alsop brothers, and Herblock.

Talbott said, "that it is consistent with the interests of national security to retain Lieutenant Radulovich in the United States Air Force. He is not, in my opinion, a security risk. . . ."

Television had crossed a line. Its untested power for moral suasion had been used on an issue in which virtually the entire country had been cowed into submission. As Friendly put it, "Television journalism had achieved influence, like a great newspaper, like *The New York Times*. We found that night that we could make a difference."

The Radulovich broadcast had another outcome. It put Ed Murrow and Joe McCarthy on a collision course. For it was this broadcast, the "Radwich junk," as McCarthy's agent, Don Surine, had called it, that led Surine to say that McCarthy had "proof" that "Murrow was on the Soviet payroll in 1934." And it was at this point that Murrow made the decision to use this new-found power of television to go after McCarthy, before McCarthy went after him.

To suggest that Ed Murrow was the first of his profession to dare confront McCarthy would be an injustice to a dozen brave journalists. Walter

Lippmann did it. So did Drew Pearson, the Alsop brothers, and Herblock in his cartoons. Murrow's broadcast colleagues, Quincy Howe, Elmer Davis, and H.V. Kaltenborn, even Murrow's Boys, Severeid, Smith, and Ed Morgan, along with Murrow himself, publicly exposed McCarthy's tactics and his menace over radio. Radio, however, even as early as 1953, was slipping into its eventual state as the medium that was overheard rather than listened to. It lacked force. Ed had even done a television segment on McCarthy on *See It Now*, in December of 1951, a montage of McCarthy's tirades against Owen Lattimore, Dean Acheson, and General Marshall. But it had lasted only four minutes, and Murrow had pretty much let the film clips speak for themselves. No one as yet had used the persuasive power of television in a direct confrontation with McCarthy.

What McCarthy had on Murrow was circumstantial evidence. But it was the kind of innuendo that, in McCarthy's hands, had proved more than adequate to destroy other men. All that Murrow knew for certain that McCarthy knew was contained in the photostated newspaper clipping Donald Surine had given to Joe Wershba. There were two pages to it, a front-page story, continued on page six of *The Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph* for February 18, 1935. The headline read, "American Professors Trained by Soviet, Teach in U.S. Schools." *The Sun Telegraph* was part of the Hearst chain, thus the same story had been carried in Hearst papers throughout the country. The assertion of the article was that American educators were sending teachers to a summer school at Moscow University to be trained as "adept Communist propagandists." The chief target of this exposé was George S. Counts, a Columbia University professor. Counts was actually a midstream opponent of all forms of totalitarianism. But he had angered Hearst editors by calling an earlier

Hearst series on education "fascistic."

The Hearst story "proved" that Dr. Counts was part of a conspiracy to teach communism because he served on a National Advisory Committee for the summer session in Moscow. The story also contained a box, listing Counts's twenty-four fellow members of the advisory committee, presumably equally disloyal. Among them was Edward R. Murrow.

When Surine had first shown Joe Wershba the clipping, Wershba asked how it justified Surine's charge that Murrow had been on the Soviet payroll. Surine told him that these seminars were conducted by VOKS, a Soviet cultural agency, which was part of the Soviet espionage apparatus. Ergo, Murrow had been working for Soviet espionage. To the dispassionate observer, the connection required a long leap of logic. But Joe McCarthy had done serious mischief with far less to work with.

It all went back to Murrow's job at the Institute of International Education nearly twenty-two years before when he had indeed worked with Soviet officials setting up summer seminars at Moscow University for Americans interested in Russian studies. He had also worked on nearly a hundred other study programs in dozens of other foreign countries while at IIE.

Some students had indeed attended the Moscow seminar in 1933, and more in 1934. But the 1935 session, on which the Hearst story was based, had been canceled by the Russians without explanation. Murrow had never accompanied the earlier groups. He had never been in the Soviet Union. As for the Advisory Committee to the study program, Ed had found himself serving with Harry Woodburn Chase, chancellor of New York University; Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina; Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago;

and John Dewey, the foremost American educator of the age, heady company for a 27-year-old with a bachelor's degree.

Immediately after Wershba passed along *The Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph* photostat to him, Ed directed the *See It Now* staff to start collecting any existing footage on McCarthy and to start filming his public appearances.

On March 2, 1954, on the theory that no one can indeed slay dragons every day, *See It Now* presented what the crew called a "let-up," a relief from controversy, a profile of the New York Philharmonic and its director, Dimitri Mitropoulos. In his closing commentary, Murrow described the program as a break with "the cold war, with current crises, or with the retreat into unreasoning fear that seems to be part of the climate in which we live." And then he added, "We shall try to deal with one aspect of that fear next week." Not a single columnist, critic, or even CBS executive caught the hint and called to ask what he was talking about.

A tentative date for the McCarthy broadcast was set, the following Tuesday, March 9. The film editors had already started work on the McCarthy footage the morning after the broadcast on the Philharmonic. They worked around the clock in a loft on Fifth Avenue, taking turns to slip home for a few hours' sleep. Two days later, on Thursday, March 4, Friendly and Murrow gave perfunctory notice to Sig Mickelson that the subject of the next *See It Now* would likely be Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. They decided that Sunday night would mark their point of no return. If they felt then that their material was strong enough, they would go on Tuesday. Otherwise, they had two other completed *See It Now* broadcasts available.

Promoting the program was something of a tightrope act. Too much early drumbeating might alert McCarthy partisans to a point where they could cow the network into canceling the

program. Yet Murrow did not want this broadcast to sink like a pebble into the ocean. Minimally, he and Friendly wanted an ad in *The New York Times* the day of the broadcast. Friendly went to Bill Golden, the network's advertising chief, an intelligent, thoughtful man, much in sympathy with their work. Golden agreed to buy the ad. But later, he came back and reported that "management" had said no.

Murrow and Friendly said that they would pay, but asked Golden at least to place the ad for them. Again, Golden returned with a negative response. The ad was not to be billed to the CBS account even temporarily. He needed cash up front. Furthermore, no mention of CBS was to be made in the ad, not even use of the network logo. There were to be no company fingerprints on this piece of work.

On Sunday; March 7, Ed came in from the country in a flannel shirt, suspenders, and baggy slacks and went into the cutting room with Friendly. Originally, they had begun with three hours of film for a thirty-minute program. Still, they were dissatisfied. They did not have McCarthy at his most flagrant, at Wheeling, waving the list of 205 alleged Communists in the State Department. No television cameras had been present. They did not have McCarthy bullying General Zwicker over "who promoted Peress?" That event occurred at a closed hearing. But they worked with what they had, winnowing, paring, cutting, until the three hours had been shrunk to thirty-seven minutes by late Sunday afternoon, still far too long. They argued hotly over what precious seconds of film were to be saved, what sacrificed. By late Sunday night, they had made the final, painful cuts, leaving enough time for Ed's tailpiece. They turned the surviving footage over to the film cutters and sent out for coffee. Ed slumped exhaustedly into a chair in the projection room.

Friendly could not relax. As he later described his anxiety. "I had sensed a certain uneasiness on the part of some members in the unit. I was not sure whether this was timidity over our confrontation with the senator or whether there was something in their background which might make us vulnerable." Fred made a suggestion and Ed agreed. Late as it was, they called the *See It Now* crew back to the projection room to ask about "anything in their own backgrounds that would give

ALCOA's indulgence as a sponsor was being tested to the outermost. Ed did not want the dramatic tension of the half hour snapped by a midpoint commercial on the romance of making aluminum. But rather than ask the company for permission to omit the middle commercial, he and Friendly simply decided to drop it on their own.

the senator a club to beat us with." The staff trooped in and sat down, forming a semicircle around Murrow. He went around the room asking what they thought of the program so far and asking about their backgrounds. The latter was distasteful business, proof, if any were needed, of how deep the fear sickness had penetrated. No one admitted to harboring any skeletons. Palmer Williams said that his first wife had been a Communist, but they had been divorced for years.

There was more concern about the quality of the program. In a sense, the footage, McCarthy making speeches, McCarthy holding hearings, McCarthy questioning witnesses, by itself, might merely provide

the man with more television exposure. The net effect of the program would be shaped by what Murrow said at the close.

After the critique and the confessionals, Murrow assumed his classic posture, elbows on his knees, head bent, eyes riveted to the rug, cigarette dangling from his mouth. "We, like everyone in this business," he said, "are going to be judged by what we put on the air; but we shall also be judged by what we don't broadcast. If we pull back on this, we'll have it with us always." He crushed out his cigarette, rose, and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, thank you. We go with this Tuesday."

ALCOA's indulgence as a sponsor was being tested to the outermost. Ed did not want the dramatic tension of the half hour snapped by a midpoint commercial on the romance of making aluminum. But rather than ask the company for permission to omit the middle commercial, he and Friendly simply decided to drop it on their own. They could make it up to the company some other time. Indeed, ALCOA received only the most perfunctory warning that it was about to sponsor a program about the most controversial figure in America. "I may have called John Fleming [an ALCOA public relations man]," Friendly said, "the day before the broadcast. I don't remember."

The Monday before the broadcast, Murrow spent writing his tailpiece. This time the customary deliberate, phrase-by-phrase, one-take dictation failed him.

Fred Friendly describes what happened the night of the broadcast: "It was almost nine o'clock before Murrow and I and all the film and tape were in the studio. . . . I asked the security department of CBS to furnish uniformed guards at the Grand Central elevator and just outside the studio. By this time Murrow was getting crank telephone calls, and emotions

on the senator ran so high that conceivably some fanatic would try to crash the studio while we were on the air. Fifteen minutes before broadcast time, we finished the final run-through. Don Hewitt, our control-room director, told us that it was thirty seconds long, and we decided to kill the closing credits if we needed the time. The test pattern easel was pulled away from camera #1 as Ed settled into his chair. At 10:28 the assistant director whispered that we had one minute. Hewitt picked up the private line to Master Control and asked them not to cut us off if we ran long; there might not be time for credits and we needed every second we could squeeze. . . . One of the outside lines rang and Don smothered it. 'No, this is not the eleven o'clock news. Try Forty-four. Operator, I tell you every week to shut off these phones. Now, please, no calls until eleven o'clock.'

In the meantime, phone calls had been winging between the radio people at 485 Madison and the television staff at Grand Central: "Ed's pacing in the corridor." "Ed's smoking furiously." "Ed's in with Friendly now." "The make-up girl is swabbing Ed's face."

He was seated before the microphone, Friendly out of camera range at his feet. They watched the monitor as the preceding program faded from the screen. They waited through a thirty-second eternity of commercials and station identification. Fred leaned to Murrow and whispered, "This is going to be a tough one." Murrow answered, "After this, they're all going to be tough." The red light came on.

"Good Evening," Murrow began. "Tonight, *See It Now* devotes its entire half hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy told mainly in his own words and pictures." Then, with jarring incongruity, he said, "But first, ALCOA would like you to meet a man who has been with them for fifty years."

After the commercial, he reappeared on the screen seated in the

control room. To Murrow's left were turntables and stacks of newspapers. His script was plainly visible in his hand. He began, "If the senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to speak—to answer himself—an opportunity will be afforded him on this program." He had met Paley's requirement for equal time. But he had not been able to resist a twist of the knife. McCarthy, if he rebutted, would be debating with himself.

The first film clip showed Dwight Eisenhower as a presidential candidate after a meeting with McCarthy. Ike was explaining how he would deal with subversives: "This is America's principle; trial by jury of the innocent, until proved guilty, and I expect to stand to do it." The benign Eisenhower face was replaced by McCarthy's broad, scowling countenance, which seemed to blot out the screen. He was making a speech in Milwaukee responding to Eisenhower: "I spent about a half hour with the general last night, while I can't [he giggles in a high-pitched voice] while I can't report that we agreed on everything [he giggles again], I can report that when I left that meeting with the general [he giggles a third time], I had the same feeling as when I went in, and that is that he is a great American and will make a great President." The nervous giggles, unrelated to anything he was saying, were chilling, emanating from this menacing, bull-necked figure.

Then Murrow was on camera again, live, describing McCarthy, "often operating as a one-man committee, he has traveled far, interviewed many, terrorized some, accused civilian and military leaders of the past administration of a great conspiracy to turn the country over to Communism, investigated and substantially demoralized the present State Department, made varying charges of espionage at Fort Monmouth. The Army says it has been

unable to find anything relating to espionage there."

Murrow continued this litany of McCarthy's excesses, while the viewer saw close-ups of the senator conducting hearings, interrogating witnesses. His paunch loomed as he took his seat in the Senate Caucus Room. His collar was too large even for his thick neck. The camera played over the thin mouth, the heavy brow, the small chin.

McCarthy was seen delivering another speech, this time in Philadelphia shortly after he had questioned General Zwicker. The speech had proved a windfall for Murrow. There were no cameras present to record McCarthy at the actual hearing when he first browbeat the general. But so pleased was McCarthy with this performance that he took advantage of the later speech to quote himself from the transcript of the hearing. This time, *See It Now's* cameras were there. "I said," McCarthy began, "then, General, you should be removed from any command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to general, and who says, 'I will protect another general who protects Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, General." McCarthy stopped, grinned, and asked his audience, "Are you enjoying this abuse of the general?" Again there was the high-pitched giggle, ridiculous yet frightening, even a little mad.

Later, the cameras fixed on the turntables in the control room, as Murrow played a tape of McCarthy speaking out against those who criticized him: ". . .the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud-slinging against the committee by the extreme leftwing elements of the press and radio. . . ." The flat, nasal voice rising from the slow-turning metallic disk had an almost hypnotic power.

Murrow turned to the two stacks of newspapers. One pile was roughly

three times higher than the other. "Senator McCarthy claims that only the leftwing press criticized him on the Zwicker case," Murrow began, gesturing toward the taller pile of newspapers. "These are the 'leftwing' papers that criticized." He pointed to the smaller pile. "These are the ones that supported him. Now let us look at some of these leftwing papers that criticized the senator." He proceeded to read from editorials opposing McCarthy in *The Chicago Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, *The Milwaukee Journal*, *The New York World Telegram & Sun*, and *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The condemning words, from paper after paper, achieved a powerful cumulative effect.

McCarthy was next seen describing Adlai Stevenson as a tool of the Communist conspiracy. A film clip showed McCarthy standing alongside a photographic blow-up of a barn in Lee, Massachusetts. "The American people" he began, "are entitled to have this coldly documented history of this man who says he wants to be your President. But, strangely, Alger. . . I mean Adlai. . . ." McCarthy went on to explain that this picture-postcard New England barn housed "all the missing documents from the Communist front IPR [Institute of Pacific Relations]" and that one such document reveals that Stevenson was the choice of Alger Hiss and other alleged Communists to attend a conference on Post-war American Policy in Asia.

Murrow reappeared on the screen. As for Stevenson's name appearing on that document, Murrow pointed out that McCarthy failed to mention that other persons also suggested to attend the conference were, like Stevenson at the time, on the staffs of Frank Knox and Henry Stimson, both distinguished Republican members of the Roosevelt wartime cabinet. Murrow went on to point out that past members of the Institute of Pacific Relations included Senator Homer Ferguson, Paul Hoff-

man, Henry Luce, and Eisenhower's own secretary of state, John Foster Dulles. McCarthy's little red barn began to collapse.

Next, McCarthy was seen interrogating Reed Harris, a *Voice of America* official. To McCarthy, Harris was part of the Communist apparatus because he had once canceled a Hebrew-language broadcast over the *Voice of America*. McCarthy drove home his argument by establishing that Reed, as a Columbia University student, had once been suspended and that the American Civil Liberties Union had thereafter defended him. McCarthy described the ACLU as "a front for doing the work of the Communist Party."

Murrow came back on camera and said: "Twice, McCarthy said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman and General MacArthur." No matter, Murrow pointed out, a month after this McCarthy charade, Reed Harris had been forced to resign from the State Department.

As the program closed, Murrow concluded, "No one familiar with the history of this country can deny that Congressional committees are useful. . . .but the line between investigation and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly. His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal and the external threat of Communism. We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law. . . . We will not walk in fear, one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine, and

remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were for the moment unpopular. . . . we cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home. The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create this situation of fear, he merely exploited it and rather successfully. Cassius was right, 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves.' . . . Good night, and good luck."

Friendly described the control room during those thirty minutes as "like a submarine during an emergency dive. . . ." When the submarine surfaced, it was to an eerie silence. Banks of extra telephone operators had been set up to take the expected flood of calls. There were none. Murrow slumped back in his chair looking as though not another syllable could be wrung from him. He watched the local eleven o'clock news come up on the monitor. The announcer, Don Hollenbeck, was saying, "I don't know whether all of you have seen what I just saw. But I want to associate myself and this program with what Ed Murrow has just said, and say I have never been prouder of CBS."

Still, the phones were silent. A messenger poked his head into Studio 41 and asked if Mr. Hewitt still wanted the calls held back. The switchboard was flooded, he said. The staff broke out in relieved laughter.

Ed later took the crew to the Pentagon Bar as the calls continued pouring in, calls of praise, calls of criticism, obscene calls. But they were running ten to one in favor of the broadcast. By noon of the following day, CBS and its affiliates had received over 10,000 phone calls and telegrams. Within days, hallways were piled high with

boxes of letters. The letters, telegrams, and calls eventually totaled over 75,000, the greatest reaction to any single program in the network's history. The count continued ten to one in favor of Murrow.

The day following the broadcast, Ed had a lunch date with Norman Corwin. As they walked out of the CBS building looking for a cab, Corwin recalled, "People reached out to touch him, they seized his hand. We got in a cab and the driver said, 'I saw your program last night and, let me tell you, I feel a lot easier today.'"

Messages piled up on Murrow's desk from CBS newswriters, researchers, and secretaries, the typical note reading, "You have made me proud and happy to work for CBS."

At the Century Club, the members thronged around Ed, slapping him on the back, shaking his hand, chorusing his praises. It seemed to Corwin that a dam of fear had broken and that resentment of McCarthyism, so long repressed, was pouring out.

Over lunch Corwin asked Ed who had called. The sponsors had called, Ed reported, and said "they felt good about the program." What about the twentieth floor, Corwin asked? "They haven't said anything." Murrow answered. That same afternoon, Friendly rode the elevator with Jack Van Volkenburg, the CBS Television Network president. They exchanged pleasantries, a few words about Friendly moving to a new home, and parted with "So long, Fred," "So long, Jack." The McCarthy program went unmentioned. Nor had any word been heard from Bill Paley. Indeed, Paley had not seen the broadcast.

The rest of the world continued more responsive. Murrow was bathed in an

adulation that, to Sevareid, suggested "Lindbergh in 1927." He and Murrow were driving together through the Lincoln Tunnel and Sevareid remembered the police shouting, "Attaboy, Ed." If Murrow had the cops with him, Sevareid thought, he was all right. Messages piled up on Murrow's desk from CBS newswriters, researchers, and secretaries, the typical note reading, "You have made me proud and happy to work for CBS."

About a week after the broadcast, John Foster Dulles was sitting on the dais in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria about to deliver a speech to the Overseas Press Club. An overflow audience of over 1,500 people started to stand and applaud. A smile came to the secretary of state's face until he realized that heads were turned in another direction. Ed Murrow was striding across the dais.

ALCOA received a telegram from McCarthy threatening the company with an investigation for subsidizing a subversive broadcast. ALCOA held fast, likely because the more than 4,000 letters and postcards that poured into the Pittsburgh headquarters favored Murrow by three to one. Still, ALCOA was a business, not a pulpit. As a company spokesman put it, "We originally bought the show for an institutional showcase, basically a prestige thing. If the day ever came when we go to sell products, we'd take another kind of show. If the day ever comes to quit, we'll quit."

Radulovich had been the dress rehearsal. With the McCarthy broadcast, Murrow had synergized the words of journalism, the sounds of radio, and the images of television into the single most powerful political statement in television's brief life. His instincts about McCarthy had proved right when he had told Collingwood months before, "The thing to do is let him damn himself out of his own mouth." He had held up the face of a demagogue in front of a television screen for a half hour. When it was over, the country

knew what Joe McCarthy was.

McCarthy still had the standing offer of equal time from CBS. Thus far, he had not responded. Indeed, his staff put out the word that the senator had gone to bed early that Tuesday night and had not bothered to watch Murrow's broadcast.

The anger from the right was predictable. But there were also a few qualms among civil libertarians. Gilbert Seldes, who hated *Person to Person* and loved *See It Now*, did not quite see Shahn's David against Goliath. "I got the impression," Seldes wrote, that the giant Murrow had been fighting a pygmy. Intellectually this may be right; politically, I remain as frightened as if I had seen a ghost—the ghost of Hitler to be specific." *Newsweek* magazine, in a cover story on Murrow appearing shortly after the McCarthy program, asked, "Is it right in principle for television to take a clear stand on one side of a great issue? . . . how often would an individual or group that believed itself injured by editorialized television be able to come back with an equally effective dramatic presentation of its case?" Murrow responded, none too convincingly, "The last thing I want to do is to take the privileged opportunity I have five nights a week on radio and two on television to attack this man." He acknowledged that ". . . clever film cutters and trick shots can be distorted. It frightened me at first [but] we take extreme care in the editing of our film. I did him [McCarthy] no violence."

CBS management felt it had to reconcile its vaunted policy of objectivity with Murrow's partisan assault. Frank Stanton and Richard Salant, a CBS attorney and vice president, wrestled with the contradiction and released a public statement: "In the production of such programs by CBS, it can and does at times delegate responsibility for the program content and for the expression of opinion, if any, to one of its

staff members. It is careful, of course, not to delegate such responsibility except to one in whose integrity and devotion to demonstrated principles CBS reposes complete confidence." In other words, Murrow was an exception to the objectivity rule.

The McCarthy broadcast was not objective reporting. It was subjective polemicizing. To those who would insist on purist rules governing even a fight with a barroom brawler, Murrow was wrong. But to millions, it had been satisfying to see the bully thrashed at last.

Six days after the initial broadcast, McCarthy accepted CBS's offer of a full broadcast of *See It Now* to respond. However, he was too busy to make the broadcast himself he said. Instead, he was inviting an articulate young conservative author of a book, *McCarthy and His Enemies*, to speak for him. The young man, William F. Buckley, Jr., had agreed. Murrow's reply was immediate: "No stand-ins. The invitation is non-transferable." Thereupon, McCarthy sent Murrow a telegram reading, ". . . If I am correct in my position that you have consciously served the Communist cause, then it is very important for your listeners to have the clear-cut documented facts. . . ." McCarthy would deliver his rebuttal personally on April 6.

On March 16, *See It Now* devoted its full half hour to the Annie Lee Moss investigation. Murrow did not defend the woman. In his closing commentary, he said only, "You will notice that neither Senator McClellan, nor Senator Symington, nor this reporter know or claim that Mrs. Moss was or is not a Communist. Their claim was simply that she had the right to meet her accusers face to face." (Annie Lee Moss was reinstated in her job but again suspended some five months later on new information. In January of 1955, she was again reinstated, this time in a "nonsensitive" position. Three years later, the Subversive Activities Control Board issued a report stating that,

in the 1940s, Annie Lee Moss had been a member of the Communist party.)

In the weeks before McCarthy was to deliver his reply, CBS researchers combed through every word that Ed Murrow had ever uttered over the air seeking out cracks in his armor. Ed hired his old NSFA roommate, Chet Williams, now running a research firm in Manhattan, to locate the records of that now defunct organization to determine if there was in them anything incriminating. The membership lists of a 1930s student organization would inevitably have contained the names of some Communists or sympathizers. Williams tracked the records to a demolished building in Seattle. He was able to report to a doubtless relieved Murrow that the records had been destroyed along with the building.

CBS hired a distinguished lawyer, Judge Bruce Bromley, of Cravath, Swaine, and Moore, to probe Murrow's past and that of his staff for grist for McCarthy's mill of character assassination. Rumors began to sweep through the network that there was indeed a Communist on the news staff. Don Hollenbeck and a few other names were bruited about. Actually, it was the former Communist, Winston Burdett, who had by then privately divulged his past to a congressional committee and the FBI.

Even before the Bromley investigations, Howard K. Smith had written Murrow from London, "There's something of a grave nature that has happened to me." He did not want to discuss it in writing, Smith told Murrow, and asked if Ed might be coming to London soon. "I could be a weak point," Smith told Murrow. "I was very pro-Communist as an Oxford student. Then, I had joined the Labour Party and had been elected head of the Labour Party [at Oxford] by working with Communists." But Smith, in London, was never questioned in the Bromley sweep. Palmer Williams, in an unex-

pected turn of events, was.

Williams was *See It Now's* production chief, fiercely loyal to Murrow and determined not to be the cause of harm to him. He had mentioned during the *See It Now* confessional that his ex-wife had been a Communist. He now voluntarily went to one of Judge Bromley's lawyers and explained the matter. That was an end to it, Williams assumed. But later in the same day, he received a call to report to Daniel O'Shea's, the network's chief of security and enforcer of the CBS blacklist. Judge Bromley's man was there too, and he and O'Shea had Williams repeat his story. O'Shea and the lawyer then disappeared for a private tête-à-tête. When they came back, they told Williams that he would have to sign a statement of the facts that they would prepare and then resign from CBS. "I was in a fog," Williams later recalled. "I wondered what was the difference between me and Milo Radulovich?" Still, Williams was ready to comply he said, "for the good of the service. But first I told them, I wanted to call Fred."

Friendly's response was immediate. He told Williams, "Don't sign anything. Don't do anything." Friendly called Murrow, who went directly to O'Shea's office and announced, "He's not signing anything and we're not accepting his resignation. Just forget about it." O'Shea backed off, and Palmer Williams's career was saved.

Joe McCarthy informed ALCOA that since the company had paid for Murrow's attack on him, it should pay the production costs of his rebuttal. The company refused. ALCOA would pay only for the air time. McCarthy then went to CBS for the money. Murrow was angry. He had opposed giving McCarthy equal time in the first place. Now his own network was being asked to subsidize what could be his own destruction. He went to see Paley and urged him not to yield. Paley was adamant. "We will give him the money. I want him to have no excuses." In the end, CBS paid McCarthy \$6,336.99 for

production costs.

CBS was a news organization with long tentacles. Before long, word came filtering back of what McCarthy was supposedly up to—hard fact, surmise, rumor. George Sokolsky, the conservative syndicated columnist, was reportedly helping McCarthy to write the rebuttal. Louis B. Mayer was involved too, as was Carl Byoir, the public relations entrepreneur. (Byoir was later to say that his only connection with the program was to provide information on the Russian Revolution at Senator McCarthy's request.) Morris Ernst reported to Murrow that McCarthy planned to attack Paley along with him, a source of anxiety to Ed.

CBS managed to obtain a copy of a McCarthy memo which said that Murrow had been heavily influenced as a college student by Ida Lou Anderson, "a hump-backed lady" of leftist convictions. Jesse Zousmer learned that McCarthy's man, Don Surine, had contacted Wesley Price, author of *The Saturday Evening Post* article in which Murrow had erroneously been called a Wobbly. Surine wanted to know what else Price might have that proved Murrow's disloyalty. Price answered jokingly that he would probably break a leg wandering in the dark of his attic looking for his notes. Surine answered straight-faced, "We'll take care of any emergencies, all expenses."

Monday, the day before the McCarthy reply, tension in the Murrow camp was electric. As for the one certain charge, the Moscow seminar, Murrow took the position that he had served in an advisory capacity with an honorable body of men for a legitimate educational purpose. Furthermore, the 1935 seminar in question had never been held. But by now he knew that McCarthy knew that he had also served on the advisory committee in 1933 and 1934, when seminars had been held in Moscow. Additionally, there were the unknown reasons behind his

occasional passport problems, the speculation about Communists in CBS news, and whatever other insinuations, innuendo, and half- and quarter-truths that could prove so damaging in McCarthy's hands. The strain lay in not knowing exactly what McCarthy

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had on him.

And then came a break. Late that Monday afternoon, Palmer Williams received a call from an employee of Hearst-Movietone Newsreels, the organization that provided Charlie Mack, Leo Rossi, and other film crews to *See It Now* under contract. The caller informed Williams that at that very moment, in the floor below the Hearst newsreel offices, in the DeLuxe film laboratories, the sound portion of the McCarthy broadcast was going through the lab bath. The caller offered to sell Williams a duplicate. How much would it cost, Williams wanted to know. One hundred dollars, he was told.

Williams immediately reported the conversation to Friendly. Friendly told Williams to draw \$100 from the business office, but to give no reason. Within an hour, Williams was back with two cans of soundtrack. The film was threaded onto a moviola, and a stenotypist began transcribing it. By that evening, a complete transcript of McCarthy's rebuttal was in Murrow's hands. He worked throughout the night, with the network's lawyers, preparing his answer to McCarthy's charges.

Since the McCarthy broadcast, over three weeks before, Murrow had still

had no reaction from Bill Paley. He grumbled to friends that Paley was evidently unhappy with the program. He sent copies of complimentary letters on the broadcast from major figures, such as Chief Justice Earl Warren, up to Paley. The emotional hold was still strong. He needed Paley's approbation. He was uncomfortable when he sensed a distance between them. Though he had heard nothing from Paley about the broadcast, he went to him for advice on how he should respond to McCarthy.

Paley, in his autobiography, has described the encounter: "I suggested at some point that he say something to the effect that history would one day decide whether he or McCarthy had served the country better." Ed was delighted. "You gave me" he said, "the only answer I could properly make."

On Tuesday, just hours before the program was to go on the air, McCarthy's lieutenants arrived at CBS with the filmed rebuttal. They had delivered it at the last possible minute so that CBS could not tamper with the film. Fred Friendly informed them that he wanted to run the film before it went on the air, but only to check its broadcast quality and to time it. He also informed McCarthy's people that Murrow would not be seeing the film before he announced it over the air. To the McCarthy people, such calm in the enemy camp on the eve of the counter-attack was unsettling.

On screening the film, Friendly was shocked, not by the content, which he already knew, but by the quality. McCarthy was, Friendly said, "Caked in make-up that attempted to compensate for his deteriorating physical condition. The senator gave the appearance of a mask drawn by Herblock. His receding hairline was disguised by a botched mixture of false hair and eye brow pencil. At the beginning his voice was muted and flat, but eventually this gave way to the fanatical trumpeting that was his basic style."

A huge audience was anticipated, since the program had the drawing power of a heavyweight rematch. Outside of Studio 41, reporters and cameramen thronged the hallway. They were assigned a rehearsal studio where they could watch the broadcast on a monitor.

Murrow arrived in time to go on camera live with a brief introduction. He made clear that no restrictions had been placed on McCarthy and that he, Murrow, would take up no further time. This half hour of *See It Now* belonged to Joe McCarthy.

McCarthy appeared on the screen seated at a desk looking somehow menacing yet ill at ease at the same time. He opened his mouth and a misstatement came out: "Mr. Edward R. Murrow, educational director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, devoted his program to an attack on the work of the United States Senate Investigation Committee and on me personally as its chairman. . . ." Murrow had not held the educational post since 1936.

As television, the performance was plodding and unimaginative. With McCarthy using a pointer, maps, and pictures, the film had the quality of something produced by a college audiovisual arts department. But McCarthy had not achieved his successes by subtlety. He warmed to his theme: "Now, ordinarily, I would not take time out from the important work at hand to answer Murrow. However, in this case, I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is a symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose individual Communists and traitors. I am compelled by the facts to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow, as far back as twenty years ago, was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes. For example, the Institute of International Education, of which he was the acting

director, was chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian secret police. Mr. Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. In the section of American students and teachers who were to attend, Mr. Murrow's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propaganda organization known as VOKS—V. O. K. S."

McCarthy then charged that "Mr. Murrow, by his own admission, was a member of the IWW—that's the Industrial Workers of the World—a terrorist organization cited as subversive by an attorney general of the United States."

McCarthy then traced a history of the Russian Revolution. He pointed to a map of the world. In 1917, he said, "There was not a single foot of ground under Communist control." He turned next to a contemporary map, noting that thirty-six years later, "Over one-third of the Earth's area" and some 800 million people were under Communist domination. They were delivered "by the jackal pack of Communist line propagandists, including the friends of Edward R. Murrow."

"If there were no Communists in government," McCarthy went on, "why did we delay for eighteen months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the H Bomb? . . . Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?" The unidentified traitor behind this fresh McCarthy charge would later be identified as J. Robert Oppenheimer.

McCarthy returned his attention to Murrow. He quoted from the March 9 issue of *The Daily Worker*, listing "Mr. Murrow's program as—listen to this—'one of tonight's best bets on TV.'" He cited Murrow's defense of Owen Lattimore, "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy." And to whom did "that greatest Com-

munist propagandist of our time, Harold Laski, dedicate a book? To "My friends, E.R. Murrow and Lanham Tichener, with affection."

McCarthy looked as bad as Friendly had feared, made up like a corpse at a budget funeral home. His voice wavered between an insistent, nasal whine and peevish little shrieks. If one hated Joe McCarthy, he had given reason to hate him all the more. But for the true believers, he had told them what they needed to hear about Edward R. Murrow. The program also posed a danger to Murrow in that anyone who had missed his initial broadcast was now hearing only McCarthy's side.

When it was over, a calm Murrow led the reporters to the ballroom of the adjacent Hotel Commodore for a press conference. They were handed a mimeographed, seven-page, point-by-point rebuttal of McCarthy's charges. A reporter from *The Daily Mirror* called out, "Ed, you said you never saw this film before tonight. So how come this hand-out?" Murrow fixed the man with a self-parody of the Murrow glower and deep voice and said, "Does Macy's tell Gimbels?"

He then read the statement. He denied that he had ever belonged to the IWW; he admitted only that he had known Wobblies in the lumber camps. In his original text he had written, "I was also sympathetic with their efforts to increase wages and improve working conditions, theirs and mine." But he had crossed out this sentence. McCarthy, he apparently feared, was too crafty to be handed anything remotely exploitable.

As for the Institute of International Education being made out to be a tool of Soviet propaganda, Murrow pointed out that the Soviets called the organization "the center for international propaganda for American reaction." President Eisenhower, he said, had endorsed the organization's work. As for Harold Laski dedicating a book to

him, Murrow said simply, "Laski was a friend of mine. . . . He is a Socialist. I am not."

As for *The Daily Worker* approving his March 9 broadcast, Murrow's reply revealed his own instinct for the jugular: "I can say that I had no knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by *The Daily Worker* or any other Communist publication. This is more than Senator McCarthy can say about the Communist support he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the United States Senate. . . ."

"When the record is finally written," he concluded, "as it will be one day, it will answer the question, who has helped the Communist cause and who has served his country better, Senator McCarthy or I? I would like to be remembered by the answer to that question." *Gratis*, Bill Paley. When it was all over, Ed called Paley and offered the warmest down-home tribute that he could summon. Bill Paley was the kind of man, as they said around Polecat Creek, "I'd go hunting with."

Two days later, *The New York Times* reported a tally of phone calls and telegrams to CBS and its affiliates on McCarthy's broadcast. The count showed 6,548 favoring Murrow and 3,654 favoring Joe McCarthy.

The first reaction, after Murrow's March 9 broadcast on McCarthy, came from Don Hollenbeck on his 11 p.m. newscast. Hollenbeck was a bone in the throat of the Hearst chain. When he had done *CBS Reviews the Press* for Murrow, Hearst sensationalism was a favorite Hollenbeck target. William Randolph Hearst, Jr., had gone personally to Frank Stanton to try to have Hollenbeck fired.

After Hollenbeck's glowing remarks about the McCarthy program, Jack O'Brian, Hearst's television columnist, began a drumbeat of criticism. Hollenbeck was variously "a graduate of the demised pinko publication, *P.M.*" and, with Murrow, "the leading CBS leaners to the left" with "a peculiarly selective slant in their news work."

O'Brian ran letters criticizing Hollenbeck in his column with the comment, "We'll print as many as we can."

Don Hollenbeck was a wreck of a man, emaciated, high strung, a heavy drinker, suffering from ulcers and obsessed by a failed marriage. He went to see Ed and told him that he could not take O'Brian's constant pounding. He was emotionally and physically sick and frightened of losing his job. Murrow was sympathetic, but he told Hollenbeck that the network could not be drawn into a shouting match with a Hearst columnist. Hollenbeck, he said, would simply have to ride out the storm. To his friends, Hollenbeck confessed, "O'Brian is driving me crazy."

On June 22, shortly after another O'Brian attack, Murrow and Friendly were in the cutting room editing that night's broadcast of *See It Now* when Jap Gude called. It was a point at which they were never to be interrupted. But Gude was insistent.

Murrow took the call. Friendly watched Ed sigh heavily and sink back in his chair. "Don Hollenbeck has just killed himself," he told Friendly after hanging up. The police had found Hollenbeck in his rooms at the Middletown Hotel, dead of gas asphyxiation. "All that vilification, Jack O'Brian, it got to him," Ed said. That night on *See It Now* Murrow paid a tribute to "an honest reporter." A few days later, he was a pallbearer at Hollenbeck's funeral.

He was not done yet with Hollenbeck's tormenters. He did not see how he could continue doing business with a Hearst subsidiary. Yet, the fine camera crews used on *See It Now*, Charley Mack, Leo Rossi, and others, were contracted from Hearst-Movietone Newsreels. He and Friendly went to see Paley. They outlined a plan for buying their own equipment and hiring their own full-time camera crews. It would be expensive, they said. Parley heard them out without a word. When they finished, he said only, "How soon can you do it?" The Hearst em-

ployees who worked on *See It Now* were given the choice of remaining where they were or coming over to CBS and chose CBS to a man.

On December 2, 1954, nine months after the Murrow broadcast, the Senate of the United States declared that Joseph R. McCarthy "...tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate and to impair its dignity, and such conduct is hereby condemned." He was censured by a vote of 67 to 22.

His life, thereafter, became a steady slide into oblivion. At one point, he could not get his candidate for postmaster of his hometown approved. Reporters who had once scurried at his heels now took their coffee breaks on the rare occasions when he rose to speak in the Senate chamber. His political legacy was to make of his name an *ism* and a dirty word in the English language.

To credit Edward R. Murrow with the fall of Joe McCarthy would be an exaggeration. The very day that Murrow had made his broadcast, courageous old Ralph Flanders of Vermont had risen on the Senate floor and heaped ridicule on McCarthy that approached poetry: "He dons war paint; he goes into his war dance; he emits his war whoops; he goes forth to battle and proudly returns with the scalp of a pink Army dentist."

The Army that McCarthy attacked had later counterattacked, charging that McCarthy and Roy Cohn had used improper influence to try to gain preferential treatment for the McCarthy aide, G. David Schine, whom the Army had dared induct as a lowly private. Thus, just weeks after Murrow's broadcast, the Senate conducted on television what history came to call the Army-McCarthy hearings. The public now saw Joe McCarthy unexpurgated, not for a half hour, but over thirty-six days. It was not a pretty sight.

His Senate colleagues repudiated him and broke a slender reed of pride in this seemingly shameless man.

Murrow's contribution to the defeat of the demagogue was that he had had the courage to use television against McCarthy. He had taken a young medium, skittish over controversy, and plunged it into the hottest controversy of that era. His act demonstrated, for the first time on a grand scale, the awesome power of the medium for good or evil. Television's smaller-than-life images demonstrated a larger-than-life impact on the senses and a hypnotic hold over the viewer. Brave voices raised against McCarthy in the past in newspapers and over radio had faded for lack of amplification. But Murrow's presence, the voice, the demeanor, the authority, harnessed to this new phenomenon, achieved extraordinary magnification and penetration. March 9, 1954, did not mark the end of Joe McCarthy, but it can be counted the beginning of the end.

Murrow was sparing in his own praise. Years later he was to say: "The timing was right and the instrument powerful. We did it fairly well, with a degree of restraint and credibility. There was a great conspiracy of silence at the time. When there is such a conspiracy and somebody makes a loud noise, it attracts all the attention."

That June, he received the Freedom House Award. The citation read: "Free men were heartened by his courage in exposing those who would divide us by exploiting our fears." Sitting with Ed on the dais that night, beaming and looking like the proudest man in the room, was Bill Paley. Paley's place in the McCarthy affair is ambiguous. Those who like their moral melodramas in black and white can blacken him for a Pilate-like washing of his hands over the program, for presumably supporting the decision not to promote it, and in the end, for not

seeing it. When Fred Friendly was asked if Paley had ever complimented Murrow for doing the broadcast, Friendly responded, "Not to my knowledge." But it was Paley's network. He knew that the program was going to be done. And, clearly he could have stopped it at any time. He did not. His smile at the Freedom House ceremony was perhaps too broad, but not entirely unearned.

As for Murrow, he had not known on the evening of the broadcast if he was moving toward a new height or risking a fall. In truth, he had reached the summit, which is simultaneously the high point and the beginning of the decline. ■

Joseph E. Persico was a speech writer for the late Nelson Rockefeller when he was Governor of New York State and Vice President of the United States. He is the author of *The Imperial Rockefeller*, a biography of Nelson Rockefeller. Among his other books are *Piercing The Reich: The Penetration of Nazi Germany By American Secret Agents During World War II*.

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CONFESSIONS OF A TV WRESTLING FAN

From Gorgeous George to Hulk Hogan, an ardent follower traces the course of this ancient television art form. He says it's lasted so long because wrestling loves the camera.

BY RICHARD G. CARTER

I saw my first pro wrestling match on television in Milwaukee, in 1947, at the home of my Uncle Cal and Aunt Neil. It was the very first thing I can recall ever watching on TV. I guess you could say wrestling led me to television, or vice versa. But whichever came first, ever since then I've never been very far from either.

I recall always rooting for the youngest, most clean-cut-looking grappler and believing, as did many people for many years, that it was all on the up-and-up. And why not? This was the ultimate in good vs evil. And in those post-World War II days, it still meant a lot to cheer for the good guys. It was sort of like rooting for America against the fascist forces we'd just finished fighting, and beating, on far-flung battlefields.

Presented live in black and white on Channel 3, WTMJ-TV, (*The Milwaukee Journal* station) the matches began at 7 p.m. and lasted a long time, which was fine by my cousin Tommie and me. Such was the hypnotic effect of TV in those early days, the small, curved screen notwithstanding. And such was its hold on us—a couple of 10 year-olds caught up in the sight of big men (who, years later, would be huge) tossing each other around or locked in hand-to-hand combat. Nothing we'd ever seen came anywhere near this mayhem except maybe barroom fights

in Saturday afternoon cowboy movies. But that was kindergarten time compared to this stuff.

Back then, the televised matches originated from the old South Side Armory Hall, in one of the city's Polish neighborhoods. This was fitting and proper when you think about it, because pro wrestling, even then, never stopped at heroes vs villains. The matches—even those featuring women or midgets—always seemed to pit ethnic group vs ethnic group, dark vs light, fat vs skinny, muscular vs obese, tall vs short, and later on, black vs white.

Contrasting appearances and contrasting styles were, and are, the name of the game in pro wrestling—especially on television—which magnifies attributes and flaws, and challenges the viewer to select a favorite. Which Tommie and I gleefully did. We soon began a first-name relationship with the grapplers who grunted and groaned with such gusto for our pleasure. At times, it seemed our enthusiasm would carry us right through the small screen into the ring with them.

Foremost among our favorites in those halcyon days was "Mr. America" Pat Graham, a blond, body-beautiful type, who fought fair. But for sheer down and dirty enjoyment, we preferred to watch Billy Goetz, a plain good guy, and Gypsy Joe Dorsetti, a swarthy villain of the first magnitude. These two seemed to lock horns just about every week. First the jut-jawed Billy

would throw a flying mare at the curly-topped Gypsy, and then the dastardly one would retaliate with some dirty trick involving a foreign object hidden in his trunks. And on and on.

Inevitably, the pair would maneuver themselves into some long-lasting hold—often an ear-crunching headlock administered by Gypsy Joe and punctuated with vicious knuckle smashes to the forehead of the helpless Goelz. This could last a half-hour or more and inevitably drew a steady flow of what looked to us like real blood. But nobody in the capacity crowd at the Armory seemed bored—certainly not Tommie and me in TV land.

Flamboyant announcers such as Jack Brickhouse in Chicago and Dennis James in New York called many of the matches for the DuMont Network, which spotlighted the grunt and groaners.

This was high drama. We sat there awestruck, listening to the spellbinding commentary of friendly Bob Heiss. It was television and pro wrestling—two new, exciting areas of life—and we loved 'em both.

Eventually, our interest in watching wrestling on TV whetted our appetite for the real thing. We *had* to see the big guys go at it in the flesh. So off adventured my cousin and I one winter night in 1948, braving one of those typical, heavy Midwest snowstorms to take a bus down to the South Side Armory. And there, a strange thing happened.

While we had a great time whooping it up and hamming for the TV camera—something we'd always wanted to do—it all felt anti-climatic. We seemed to have been spoiled by television. For us, the matches actually looked, and felt, more real on the tube.

Even the crowd noise sounded louder from the den of Uncle Cal's house. It was weird.

Although I suspected my Aunt Neil wasn't really thrilled with our weekly presence—what with all the yelling and shrieking between bites of popcorn and slugs of pop—we made the visit a Thursday night ritual for a couple of years, until television finally arrived at each of our homes.

In those early days of TV wrestling, the biggest names on the national scene included Antonio (Argentina) Rocca, Nature Boy Buddy Rodgers, Lou Thesz, Man Mountain Dean, Bruno Sammartino, Maurice (French Angel) Tillet, Vern Gagne, The Mighty Atlas and the one and only, Gorgeous George, the man whose style and showmanship later was so successfully copied by boxing's Muhammad Ali.

In those days, flamboyant announcers such as Jack Brickhouse in Chicago and Dennis James in New York called many of the matches for the DuMont Network, which spotlighted the grunt and groaners and helped turn wrestling into a national fad. James aided and abetted things with snappy gimmicks like snapping chicken bones next to his microphone while a grappler was supposedly experiencing excruciating pain in a lethal-appearing hold. Even then, it was mostly show business and viewers loved it.

James also played to the big TV audience with his trademark phrase, "Okay, mother . . ." directed to all the housewives rooting like crazy for their favorites. But back then, wrestling on TV didn't need a whole lot of hype, although interviews and confrontations so much a part of today's scene had begun. Like boxing, this tough stuff was literally made for the tube, and for the millions who eagerly gobbled up the mayhem and begged for more.

For early television, wrestling's one-on-one or two-on-two (in tag team

matches) combat provided tight, focused action that was easy to follow as well as fun to watch. Even with but a single camera pumping out black and white images, you could clearly see facial expressions. Unlike team sports which relied for a center of action on a small, difficult to see ball or puck, there was no problem keeping up with what was going on in the ring. And the gladiators weren't slowed down by protective equipment. What you saw was what you got.

Wrestling continued its toe-hold as mainstream TV fare in the '50s and its success was even sufficient to inspire a couple of moderately popular movies—*Mr. Universe*, a fair comedy with Vince Edwards and Jack Carson, and *Night and the City*, a good crime melodrama with Richard Widmark and Gene Tierney. Everybody, it seemed, was getting into the act.

During those years, with wrestling also going strong at the Ron-De-Voo Ballroom in my hometown, I attended a few cards in person. And Lo and Behold, the effect was the same. To me, it just couldn't compare to the sensation of watching on TV. And this was long before slow motion replays, acrobatic leaps off the top rope, steel cages, snakes, parrots, painted faces and rock music.

As my family and I became accustomed to watching television every night in our own living room, I found other things on the tube that interested me. Even other sports like football and basketball. Nonetheless, I rarely missed the weekly wrestling exhibitions (by then, I'd gotten the message that maybe all the mayhem wasn't for real), and when I did, I felt bad. There was something about grunt and groaners going at it hot and heavy that, in some strange, fascinating way, seemed to mirror my life. Maybe it had to do with going one-on-one with your chief competitor, like so many of us do in our careers.

With the passing years bringing so many advances in television for the

viewer—bigger screens, a brighter, clearer picture, better sound, more functional cabinet designs, and perhaps most noteworthy, living color, it was inevitable that television wrestling change as well. But it didn't happen overnight. Most matches continued to be held in arenas of varying sizes from Madison Square Garden to high school gyms. And many weren't on TV—attended only by diehard, old-time fans and many who became addicted by watching on the tube.

And then one day in 1966, after moving to Cleveland, I discovered the wrestling I'd so eagerly embraced in the infancy of television—and taken for granted—had put on a spicier, faster-moving face. The Saturday afternoon bouts were staged in TV studios and described by the dulcet tones of youngish Jack Reynolds, a commentator who carried on like a real fan. Excitement reigned supreme.

Foremost among the grapplers were soft-spoken, 600-plus pounds Haystacks Calhoun, a country-boy hero; dastardly, mustaschioed, bigoted Ox Baker, and colorful, burly, loud-mouthed Bulldog Brower and Dick the Bruiser, who could be both hero and villain. Egged on in confrontational TV interviews with Lord Athol Layton, a British ex-wrestler whose favorite expression was, "He's giving as good as he got," they made the game more dangerous and more fun than ever.

It was during my Cleveland TV wrestling period that black grunt and groaners began becoming more visible. Huge men like Bobo Brazil, master of a head butt called the "koko bonk," former pro football star Ernie Ladd and Bearcat Wright got their share of glory. Interestingly, just about every black wrestler was a hero, as if the promoters of the day—at the height of the civil rights movement—were skittish about publicly portraying blacks as villains. Art, in this case TV wrestling, was imitating life. And the millions

who followed it on the tube couldn't have cared less.

Cut to the present, which began, TV-wise, at the beginning of this decade. The World Wrestling Federation (WWF), along with the National Wrestling Alliance (NWA), put on bouts all over the country and sanction various champions. Both utilize television in masterly fashion. But it is the Connecticut-based WWF that has parlayed a passel of painted performers into TV entertainment that rates high in popularity and profit-making potential. This was largely accomplished through slick marketing which included selective winnowing-out of performers lacking pizzazz, an alliance with rock music, and recognition that pay-per-view represents a viable television programming choice.

Buoyed by a new generation of boisterous new fans who discovered the bouts all over again on TV, bigtime pro wrestling almost overnight became big business.

In the early '80s, TV viewers of WWF shows became familiar with a host of serviceable heroes and villains. Included were names like Jimmy (Superfly) Snuka, Sgt. Slaughter, the Wild Samoans, Greg (The Hammer) Valentine, Rocky Johnson, Tony (Mr. USA) Atlas, The Tonga Kid, Tito Santana, Mr. Fuji, Mr. Saito, Ken Patera, Ray (The Crippler) Stevens, the Iron Shiek, Ivan (Polish Power) Putski, Don (Magnificent) Muraco, S.D. (Special Delivery) Jones, Big John Studd, George (The Animal) Steele, Andre the Giant, Tiger Chung Lee, Paul (Mr. Wonderful) Orndorff, Dr. David Schultz, Chief Jay Strongbow, Superstar Billy Graham,

Rowdy Roddy Piper, a fresh-faced Hulk Hogan—plus managers classy Freddie Blassie and Captain Lou Albano, and a boy next door-type named Bob Backlund.

And then, buoyed by a new generation of boisterous new fans who discovered the bouts all over again on TV, bigtime pro wrestling almost overnight became big business. Rock stars like Cyndi Lauper were enlisted to hype the product, slick videos were produced, recordings were cut; wrestling magazines gained new life, coniving managers like Slick, Bobby (the Brain) Heenan and Jimmy Hart came to the fore, and grapplers who didn't want to play ball or who lacked star quality, were dumped.

New names popped up, like Randy (Macho Man) Savage with his manager, the lovely Elizabeth, Brutus (The Barber) Beefcake, Junkyard Dog, The Natural Butch Reed, the Road Warriors, the Ultimate Warrior, the Big Boss Man, Leaping Lanny Poffo, Hillbilly Jim, the British Bulldogs, Bad News Brown, Ted (Million Dollar Man) DiBiase with bodyguard Virgil, Jake (the Snake) Roberts, Koko B. Ware, The Mighty Hercules and Ravishing Rick Rude. Hulk Hogan—the WWF's most celebrated, recognizable commodity—became world champion.

The WWF aided and abetted all of this good new stuff and these colorful new characters with innovative camera angles, slow-motion and stop-action replays and even some out-of-the-ring, publicity-producing shenanigans. On one such occasion, Dr. David Schultz—a real meanie—throttled New York television reporter John Stossel for having the audacity to question the legitimacy of wrestling. Shame on him/them!

And, of course, fun-filled interview spots on the weekly televised shows, hosted by the likes of Rowdy Roddy Piper and Brother Love—a beet-faced evangelist type—allow even more hype. They also provide staging areas for grudge matches, displays of bad

temper (like sneak attacks with chairs), and all the other ingredients that make pro wrestling on the tube the all-time favorite of so many TV viewers.

As a result, the WWF can give the revered National Football League a run for its money (in the many, many millions) as probably the premier sports marketing organization in televised sports. Its secret of success is mainly due to providing Americans with what Americans always have loved—blood and guts action in which everybody has tons of fun, nobody gets hurt and good triumphs over evil. In other words, big-time, up-to-the-minute, wild and wooly wrestling on television. They've even coined a catchy name for the most spectacular shows—"Wrestlemania!"

And just how successful has the business of TV wrestling become? Whoa! just sit in front of the set any night and count the times you see a commercial for a big wrestling show at Madison Square Garden or the New Jersey Meadowlands or the Nassau County Coliseum or the Silverdome near Detroit, or countless other big arenas from coast to coast. And count the times you hear the names Hulk Hogan or Jesse (The Body) Ventura or see them touting a new movie or a video or a record album or even a certain brand of beer, assisted by recognizable celebrity faces, like football's John Madden.

Hey, let's face it—the old DuMont Network was never like this! Yet, the little old ladies who used to flock in the flesh to matches armed with an umbrella with which to take a swipe at their favorite bad guys, still come out. But many more are much more likely to watch on the tube—soaking up the commercials, buying the mentos and memorabilia and helping to make today's big-time wrestling on TV far bigger and better and more profitable than anyone ever dreamed.

Thus, the wonderful people at the WWF who are bringing us all this stuff

are making mega-bucks in the process. Their vaunted Wrestlemania on pay-per-view over cable TV is a primary vehicle. When you tune in, you not only see a galaxy of wrestling's top stars, but you're apt to spy a bevy of showbiz celebrities, and assorted athletes from other pro sports, apparently eager for the exposure.

But for my money, paying \$20 or more extra to watch wrestling on a TV screen after years of getting it free, is taking fun and games a little too far. And remember, I groove mightily on the orchestrated silliness. I'd still rather relax in front of regular television on Saturday morning or an occasional week-night and casually take in the weekly, hour-long WWF highlights, so engagingly reported by the likes of Ventura, Heenan, Vince McMahon Jr., Gorilla Monsoon, Mean Gene Okerlund and Lord Alfred Hayes.

I get a kick out of today's bigger, stronger, more muscular, far-flashier wrestlers who eschew long, drawn-out punishment holds for rip-snorting, slambang action, just as I used to enjoy the smaller, duller, but more technically skilled grapplers of my salad days as a TV wrestling fan.

While this ersatz sport may decline in popularity from time-to-time, pro wrestling never left television and it never will. Like boxing, wrestling still loves the camera. Its masked avengers and helter-skelter tag-team matches are made for closeups. But the basic attraction is not about to wear off. And the reason is simple: Wrestling's good vs evil face-offs are very much like everyday life. ■

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**Entertainment
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TV RATINGS: EVOLUTION, REVOLUTION AND PRIVACY

BY ELIZABETH J. HEIGHTON

"Peoplemeter Era Arrives in Confusion," "Peoplemeters Still Flawed, Here to Stay," "Peoplemeter Controversy Aired at NAB." These were headlines in the press just two years ago. Peoplemeters had arrived, replacing a network TV ratings system that had been in place with only modest changes for almost four decades. The ramifications of this methodological changeover implied worrisome, even frightening prospects. If dramatic changes in HUTS—households using TV—ratings and demographics occurred, those affected would include numerous companies and individuals from the ranks of program producers, broadcasters, sponsors and the advertising industry.

The trade press in particular undoubtedly resorted to melodrama in reporting the broadcast industry's collective hand-wringing at the inauguration of national peoplemeter ratings. What has occurred in the two years peoplemeters have been the standard? Quite a lot, including developments in single-source research and in the search for a passive meter to measure TV audiences. Most importantly, the adjustments that were necessary have been made. "We've learned to live with peoplemeters" is the common response from those who work with the ratings on a daily basis.

All the changes in audience research—announced, accomplished, and sometimes rumored—prompted this writer to investigate. Later, after 20 interviews with "research types" at the networks, ad agencies, and rating companies, many, but not all of the questions are answered. This article reflects those interviews and adds a few personal observations.

As a maturing industry, television had adjusted to far more serious upheavals than changes in ratings research methodologies with the Prime Time Access Rule, the development of communication satellites, and the deregulation of cable. In comparison, adjusting to peoplemeters as an evolution in ratings was relatively easy once Nielsen regained its monopoly.

AGB Television Research, a British firm, established a beachhead in bringing peoplemeters to the U.S. in 1985 with a 22-month test in Boston, supported by 37 project underwriters, including the networks, 9 major ad agencies, and trade associations. The presence of this upstart forced Nielsen to launch its own peoplemeter and the race was on. At the start of the 1987-88 TV season, AGB went national against Nielsen's peoplemeter panel.

That was the year in which research directors probably had the time of their lives. Disagreements developed; nasty accusations followed. The networks, in particular, attacked peoplemeters as inadequate to the task. Steve Singer, Senior Vice President of Young & Rub-

icam, said, "The networks have a vested interest in ratings. Advertising agencies just want accuracy." Additionally, what the industry apparently didn't want, or was unwilling to support, was a competing service. In August, 1988, AGB Research, after a valiant struggle to sign subscribers, suspended its operations and withdrew from the U.S. market.

The peplemeter is an improved measurement device. No one wants to return to the previous Nielsen methodology which relied on a combination of Audimeters and diary-keepers. Audimeters, placed in a national sample of 1700 households, indicated set tuning; no effort whatever was required of cooperating households. A second sample, the National Audience Composition consisting of 3200 households, kept diaries of viewing activity. Thirty-eight weeks a year each of three NAC panels completed diaries every third week. The NAC data provided viewers-per-set and demographics. The latter became increasingly important, and also more suspect. Advertisers became more interested in who was watching. A top score in the ratings was only one consideration.

Diaries, which were previously used in national network ratings and are still used in local TV market reports, can be fraught with inaccuracies and distortions well known in the industry. The peplemeter has been able to surmount many, but not all the problems inherent in the old system.

Peplemeter technology consists of a microprocessor device, which Nielsen calls a Homeunit, that functions as a collection box. Each TV receiver is metered so the Homeunit can identify exactly set and channel tuning, and cable and VCR usage. These aspects of the technology are entirely passive; the viewer does nothing. To measure viewers-per-set and demographics, a keypad, approximately the

size of a hand-held calculator, is operated by household members. Numbered buttons, totaling eight, allow family members and guests to punch in and out when viewing TV.

A slightly larger second keyboard, usually installed on top of the TV set, is identical in function to the remote-controlled keypad. This keyboard also contains lights that indicate family members' viewing status and prompt for input when necessary with blinking lights when channels are changed. It also has the capacity to record the entries of visitors who punch in their age and sex.

Pushing buttons instead of pencils makes a peplemeter nothing more than an electronic diary. The use of the peplemeter however, must be concurrent with viewing. You can't go back and make entries for past viewing. Diary entries based on recall, correct or faulty, undoubtedly were included in previous network ratings.

For the networks, advertisers, and their agencies, this household hardware means 52 (rather than 38) weeks of demographics available on an overnight basis, presumably more accurate demographic and viewers-per-set data, VCR usage, and a consistent, rather than separate, methodology to measure broadcast, cable and syndicators' programs.

Two years after peplemeters became the standard methodology for measuring network audiences, complaints and concerns persist, even if peplemeters have moved off the front pages of the trade press. A number of advertising agency and network research directors still feel the fatigue factor for button pushers may be significant. Examples of fatigue would include a situation in which a household member leaves the TV viewing room and doesn't bother to punch out, or who joins others to watch TV and doesn't bother to punch in. The result is an inaccurate record of viewers and their demographics.

Nielsen took these concerns about

fatigue to heart and investigated viewing levels in peplemeter households by demographic group, daypart, and months in the sample. This was complicated by a number of variables, including those who leave the sample because they move or for some other reason. To date, Lee J. Morgenlander, Product Development Manager at the NTI, reports that "clearcut evidence of the existence of button-pushing fatigue is still elusive." Nielsen plans further tests.

Length of time in the sample is an obvious component of the alleged fatigue problem. Because of the expense involved in recruiting and equipping new households, research companies are never enthusiastic about accelerating sample turnover. At NBC's insistence, Nielsen agreed to reduce the time in the sample for households from five to two years.

Even that may be too long, in the opinion of some. Barry Cook, Vice President, Media and Affiliate Research, NBC, told me that most people who leave the sample do so because they move, and they tend to younger demographics. "Quitters are a small component—I'm concerned about quitters who haven't left the sample!"

Children may be the earliest quitters. Peplemeter ratings reflect a significant drop in viewing on Saturday mornings. In the 1987-88 season the three networks' combined ratings in this daypart experienced a 28 percent decline over the previous season. Things haven't improved much since. Expecting children as young as two to operate a peplemeter is unrealistic. In spite of Nielsen's coaching, cajoling, and incentives for on-going cooperation, it's clear that parents must push buttons for the youngest children. The falloff in children's ratings may, of course, reflect a genuine decline in viewership. Many believe that is the case; others are convinced the old diary system simply overstated

kids' viewing.

Another concern centers on the number of households in the national peplemeter sample that are actually included in the overnight ratings issued every day. This is called the "in-tab" sample. Usually somewhere between 10 and 15 percent of the 4,000 sample households is excluded for one reason or another. There may be a peplemeter malfunction, an equipment detachment, a new TV set that has not yet been metered, or a series of unanswered "prompts" that indicate non-response. Considering that only 55 percent of those first approached by Nielsen agree to cooperate in the sample, means that on a daily "in-tab" base, non-response exceeds 50 percent.

Another problem arising from the "in-tab" sample is the suspicion that some of those households envision themselves as program decision-makers. Nielsen's "exit interviews" with households leaving the sample reveal a particularly interesting potential for bias from what Cook calls "terrorist TV critics." Three-quarters of the respondents stated that they immediately agreed to participate "to take advantage of the opportunity to influence TV programming." This recruiting ploy by research companies is hardly new.

By late 1989, Nielsen expects to have all VCR-equipped households in the sample equipped with a technology that will measure VCR playback. This technology has been difficult to develop. Prior to this change, to the consternation of many research directors, a household that recorded a program was included in that program's rating. Such a practice assumed that the tape would be played back (and many are not) and that the number of viewers and their demographics would be identical to the audience watching the original network telecast. Helen Johnston, Vice President, Research, at Grey Advertising, calls it "made up data."

Peplemeters do not measure out-of-home viewing, and the networks have first speculated and then researched audiences for particular programs that were felt to attract such audiences. ABC discovered significant new audiences for Monday Night Football in bars and taverns; NBC discovered a large bonus audience for David Letterman residing in college dormitories; and the networks' early morning talk/news programs are thought to attract business travelers in hotel rooms. Military bases are not measured because the Pentagon won't permit it. The increasing number of TV sets viewed in the workplace are not measured nor are people on vacations. Prisons, hospitals, and rest homes likewise are not measured, probably because few care.

In spite of the deficiencies of peplemeters, advertisers and their agencies have adapted to them and continue to make their television buys based on ratings, demographics, and little else. Audience estimates provide crucial information and need to be as accurate as possible. In recent years, marketers are searching for additional research that gives them better insights into both viewing patterns and consumer behavior.

Single-Source Research

Data from single-source panels have attracted considerable attention lately. Arbitron, which has stayed out of the measurement of network ratings, monitored closely the battle between Nielsen and AGB. Kenneth A. Wollenberg, Arbitron's Vice President for Advertiser/Agency Sales and Marketing, said that his company did not move at that time because they didn't have anything new to offer. Arbitron, if it produced network ratings, could only differentiate on the basis of subscriber price, computer applications for clients in using the data, or in the rating numbers themselves. The latter category was a damned-if-you-do,

damned-if-don't proposition. Why would a subscriber buy ratings that mirrored a competitor? And if the ratings reflected significant differences, as AGB's sometimes did, then who was right?

Arbitron now appears to have found an opening wedge in its development of ScanAmerica, a single-source methodology that measures both household TV viewing and product purchases. ScanAmerica was tested in the Denver market beginning in 1985, a difficult area in which to test because of the vast distances involved and extensive cable penetration. (This ADI covers almost 80,000 square miles.) The data, from 600 households, have been syndicated since 1987. Jerry Arbittier, Vice President, Advertiser/Agency Television Market Development said, "we figured if we could do it there, we could do it anywhere."

The core of the system is a data collection unit called the RD-100. It is comprised of a peplemeter and a data scan wand which registers products brought into the household. The wand is completely portable and is approximately the size of a fountain pen. Panel members are expected to run the wand over Universal Product Codes. The wand "beeps" as each code is recorded in the system.

When scanning is completed, the wand is returned to its "inkwell" in the RD-100 and the data are transferred for overnight retrieval by Arbitron. The resulting, and rather voluminous reports, enable advertisers to base their television buys, not only on audience size and demographics, but on the buying behavior of viewers.

You have to wonder about these anonymous, unsung heroes who agree to cooperate in Arbitron's new venture. Imagine the Yuppie working husband and wife, who have completed 4.0 and 2.8 years of college respectively. After a tough day at their offices, they return to their 2.3 children and .8 dog in a Denver suburb, loaded with 5.7 bags of groceries. Now, with

the TV set on and the kids channel-hopping, a blinking question mark appears on the screen, demanding that the family stop unloading and scanning groceries and operate the peplemeter. After dinner the parents may be obliged to complete the periodic ScanAmerica questionnaire covering non-scanable purchases—automobiles, major appliances, car rentals, airline travel, and the like.

The \$300 a year, spread over the months, that Arbitron pays each ScanAmerica household is generous compared to most incentives offered by research companies, but may not be adequate to offset fatigue and subsequent dropouts. When I asked research directors hypothetically if they would participate in such a sample, not one expressed a *personal* willingness to do so. Higher incentives may prolong cooperation, but risk skewing the sample because of the monetary reward.

Research directors will carefully monitor the progress of ScanAmerica's single-source research to see if it really is a better mousetrap. One agency research director admitted that if ScanAmerica is successful, "it will completely screw up the industry's present timebuying methods."

Arbitron's parent, Control Data Corporation, owns both Burke/SAMI (which among other things is a product tracking service) and Broadcast Advertisers Reports. BAR monitors the placement of commercials on stations and networks. These acquisitions will enable the company "to move closer to its goal of becoming a full service marketing information resource for advertising and media," according to Control Data Executive Vice President, David White.

By the end of 1989 Arbitron plans to provide national network ratings based on ScanAmerica households in five markets—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Dallas and Atlanta. This sample will be expanded to 2,600 households nationally in 1990; 5,000 households in 1992. It remains to be

seen if these network ratings are marketed as a direct competitor to the Nielsen Television Index based on 4,000 peplemeters nationwide. Alan Wurtzel, Senior Vice President, Research, ABC, calls the NTI and ScanAmerica "apples and oranges."

In 1990, more local markets are targeted for ScanAmerica with the addition of New York, Minneapolis, St. Louis and Sacramento. Other markets, with fresh samples, will be added in 1991.

Nielsen's closest equivalent service is called NPD-Nielsen, now operating nationwide in 15,000 households all equipped with scanners. In New York, Los Angeles and Chicago 2,500 households of the sample are equipped with TV set meters, not peplemeters. Set meters measure tuning only and require no effort from household members. Considered "diagnostic research," this service is primarily used to track product purchases, but also correlates that activity with TV usage patterns. Toni Smith, Nielsen's Senior Vice President and Director of Marketing Services, Network and New York Agency Services, noting that peplemeters and scanning wands are labor intensive, said set meters were purposely selected over peplemeters.

Problems in the Local Markets

Billions of advertising dollars are invested each year in spot and local television buys, based on ratings, demographics and not much else. Both Arbitron and Nielsen provide local market TV ratings—carving the country into geographic areas called Area of Dominant Influence by the former and Designated Market Area by the latter. Both measure approximately 210 such markets producing ratings for stations, program syndicators, and for advertisers buying spot and local time.

Although set meters are used to measure a few local markets, beginning in 1959 when Nielsen metered New

York, it was not until the 1980s that both Nielsen and Arbitron aggressively introduced meters at the local level. By the end of 1989, Arbitron will have metered 14 markets, Nielsen 22 or 23. The methodology used is similar to the old Nielsen Television Index: a set meter installed in sample households measuring set tuning, and separate local samples keeping diaries for one week periods, which provide the all-important viewers-per-set and demographic data.

As the list of metered markets grew, a fact of ratings life was established. Meters promptly showed increased HUTs and audience fragmentation. Top-rated prime time shows on affiliates dropped in ratings, reflecting previous diary-keepers tendency to list the program "because I usually watch it."

Melvin A. Goldberg, Executive Director of the Electronic Media Rating Council, says, "the rise in ratings for independent stations has sometimes been dramatic, running anywhere from 25 to 150 percent." As a result, the audience shares of affiliated stations decline and so does their enthusiasm for meters—any kind of meter. Independent stations, which have benefitted from metering, are notably unenthusiastic about the prospect of converting to peplemeters. Many of these stations program large blocks of children's programs, and station managers are convinced that peplemeters underreport the true size of their children's audiences. They're caught in the middle. On the one hand they face the likelihood of Congress passing legislation mandating broadcasters to improve and expand their service to children. On the other hand, many stations managers are convinced they should curtail their kids' programming because of lower peplemeter ratings and declining advertiser support.

Metering a local market is an ex-

pensive proposition. Station subscriptions can easily double or triple.

It's becoming increasingly difficult for Nielsen and Arbitron to peddle meters in local markets to affiliated stations focused on bottom-line considerations. And generally the smaller the market, the more limited financial resources to support meter ratings and the fewer the number of independents prepared to foot the bill. "There will always be diaries in Duluth," says John Dimling, Executive Vice President of Nielsen Media Research.

Presently, approximately 190 markets are un-metered—relying on the one-week diary, considered tried but not so true by research experts. As a methodology that seemingly won't go away, the grumbling continues over using one diary for each TV set in every sample household: neglected or inaccurate entries, under-reported viewing to cable and independents, over-reported viewing to top network programs, low local in-tab response rates (below 45 percent), especially among young people and minorities, multiple-set households where one person often assumes responsibility for everyone else's diary entries, no out-of-home viewing noted except for "visitors," and the time elapsed in collecting, processing and issuing reports.

One particularly horrendous problem with this methodology is functional illiteracy, which excludes those who cannot or will not attempt to keep diaries. Depending on where a line is drawn separating literacy from functional illiteracy, 25 to 60 million people in the U.S. may be so categorized. Exclusion from samples of a group that depends so much on the broadcast media constitutes a serious bias. The peplemeter is an obvious remedy.

Nielsen has announced plans to inaugurate local peplemeter service beginning in 1990 with the New York market. Arbitron will follow, converting previously metered markets to

ScanAmerica with fresh samples, and adding new markets. Converting to peplemeters can triple or quadruple costs to subscribing stations. Is there an alternative?

Personal TV Diaries

Personal TV diaries, provided for each household member and similar to the ones used by Arbitron radio, are increasingly discussed as a replacement for set diaries. Such diaries, which can be tucked in a pocket or purse, would allegedly offer improvements. More accuracy is anticipated, along with more actual viewing being captured. Out-of-home viewing, estimated to constitute up to five percent of all viewing, could be measured. Personal diaries would probably reflect fragmented viewing patterns inasmuch as TV is evolving from an activity shared by household members to an individual viewing experience. U.S. TV set ownership now is almost one set per person.

The local market television industry is sufficiently interested in developing personal diaries to raise a \$400,000 war chest to support a study sponsored by the Committee on Local Television Audience Measurement (COLTAM). Gary Chapman, President, Television, L.I.N. Broadcasting Corporation, chairs COLTAM. As an advocate of personal diaries, he believes the industry "went wrong in letting technology drive methodology. Research should be approached the other way around."

In Spring, 1989, COLTAM commissioned researchers at Michigan State University to design and test a personal TV diary. It may be several years before this part of a larger COLTAM study is completed.

In the meantime, both Nielsen and Arbitron have experimented with personal diaries. Whether or not such diaries are practical and significantly more reliable than the present set diaries which are supposed to be a

record of the household's total viewing, remains to be seen. Advertising agency research directors and others speculate that a personal TV diary may be somewhat better.

"It's very tough to get people to cooperate," says EMRC's Goldberg, noting that "the biggest problem will be editing." Some of diaries returned to Nielsen and Arbitron probably require a clairvoyant as an editor. Entries might indicate that a family watched an NBC program on a CBS affiliate on a day and time that don't correlate to the telecast. If deciphering the diary is hopeless, it's tossed out of the sample.

Switching from set diaries to personal diaries may only exchange one set of problems for another. Most ad agency research directors, frustrated, yet resigned, agree that the diary is there because it's cheap. Is there any research methodology on the horizon capable of surmounting most of the inadequacies of the present methodologies?

Passive Meters

Unlike peplemeters, the Arbitron and Nielsen set meters now in place in the largest markets are passive. Once installed, household members don't have to do anything. The obvious inadequacy, requiring a separate panel of diary-keepers, is in obtaining viewers-per-set and demographic data.

Infrared technology, through its heat-sensing capability, has been widely discussed as a step in the direction of finding a passive system that performs the nose-counting function. The ill-fated R.D. Percy Co., which suspended operations in August, 1988, for lack of industry support, used such a technology in New York, first testing and then in syndicating rating data. The system was not completely passive, because a peplemeter had to be

used to obtain demographics.

Although infrared can be used to ascertain a room "body count," the technology to date has been unable to distinguish reliably mom from dad. Other heat sources, such as toaster ovens, stoves, irons and the like, can play havoc with infrared unless elaborate technology is used to differentiate heat sources.

Jokes to the contrary, the Percy Co. claimed it could distinguish children from large dogs. As Wollenberg of Arbitron generously put it, "You show me a 70 pound dog that can sit on a sofa and operate a peplemeter, and I'll count it." The prize in developing a passive system may go to Nielsen, which has significantly more financial resources than Percy ever had. In May, 1989, the company announced its joint venture with the David Sarnoff Research Center in Princeton, which will research and develop a totally passive TV viewing measurement system.

The technology is based not on infrared, but on an image-recognition device which can distinguish household members and identify who is watching TV. The camera-like scanner, which stores distinguishing facial features digitally in a computer memory, records only who is watching—no other activity. Household members don't have to do anything. All the information Nielsen presently derives from its peplemeter sample will be available, plus a demographic portrait of the audience on a minute-by-minute basis.

This passive system will not be in place for several years and undoubtedly will be very expensive, but promises to eliminate many of the shortcomings that now bedevil peplemeters. If this viewing information is correlated with data on household product purchases, Nielsen may be in a position to offer Arbitron's Scan-America considerable competition.

Commercial Ratings

Rating services presently issue program ratings, not ratings for commercial "pods." Agencies, certainly more than broadcasters, express a desire for this information. To have a detailed portrait of audience behavior during commercial pods implies a great deal. The amount of viewer "grazing" from channel to channel could be measured. So could tune-in and tune-out during various commercials.

ABC's Wurtzel, says agencies should carefully consider if minute-by-minute is what they want. "Such data may be a double-edged sword. They might know exactly when and where audiences desert a program, but their clients may say, 'What's the matter with my commercial that viewers switch channels?' Perhaps the network should charge a premium for lousy creative work!"

Peplemeters, as presently engineered, can provide minute-by-minute ratings, but no one believes they provide an accurate indication of exactly who is in a TV viewing environment during commercial pods. Viewers are not likely to punch in and punch out indicating brief room exits, and it's fair to speculate that most of these exits occur during commercials.

A viable passive technology would truly revolutionize the ratings business in providing commercial ratings and in relieving panel households of onerous button-pushing. The stakes are enormous and so is the prize. What form such a technology may take is open to conjecture.

Suggestions abound. Why not a technology that, in addition to measuring zipping through commercials, will also identify portions of programs and commercials that are silenced by a "mute" button? Wrist watches that sense and identify TV viewing are another suggestion, and so are bar codes worn on the person. If a bottle of cat-sup triggers a store scanner, why not

a person entering a viewing environment that is wired to scan? A digital technology that uses a character recognition system looks promising.

Research directors in fits of gleeful ghoulishness suggest implants. A student of mine, in all seriousness, proposed equipping new TV sets coming off assembly lines with sensors that would measure set tuning and somehow magically identify the age, sex and other demographics of its viewers. "And no one would know those sensors were there, so you'd beat the non-cooperation problem." Such far-out notions are amusing, but also raise issues that will have to be addressed as technical innovations are developed.

Ratings and Privacy

When is enough, enough? At what point is measurement of viewing behavior adequate? Is it necessary or even advisable to know the detailed comings and goings of people? Single-source research correlates viewing behavior with consumer behavior. Commercial ratings would refine data on advertising exposure even more. Nielsen's proposed image-recognition technology will measure "viewing eyes only," thus eliminating distracted or sleeping viewers.

Granted that household panels in passive meter measurements would participate voluntarily, at what point does inquisitiveness inroad privacy? One surely wonders what manner of household would agree to participate and what bias that suggests. Down the road Nielsen may encounter problems in placing its image-recognition device in sample households. Assurances to the contrary by Nielsen, many household members may fear an invasion of privacy and be uncomfortable with the notion of a camera-like device watching them. "Why is it necessary to measure audiences in such astonishing detail," asks NBC's Cook.

"We're in real danger of using the wrong criteria."

Obviously, the networks and program producers utilize proprietary research that provides clues to viewers' program preferences. Pleasing most of the people most of the time has always been the priority of commercial television. To lose sight of that priority with preoccupation on the public's habits as consumers and viewers may set the industry on a fallacious path.

A blind-sided reliance on ratings may handicap, if not cripple, the television industry's appetite for innovation and its ability to meet larger responsibilities. Let's leave the potential for surprises in place. Just as American television has and still does provide delightful and sometimes unexpectedly profound viewing experiences, audiences should be able to return a few surprises of their own. ■

Elizabeth J. Heighton is a Professor of Telecommunications and Film at San Diego State University, where broadcast advertising is her academic speciality. She has written two textbooks on the subject, plus papers on special problems confronting the industry. Previously she worked in media at J. Walter Thompson and later at BBDO. Her professional experience includes several years with KIRO and KIRO-TV, Seattle.

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THE LAST TIME THEY SAW PARIS



It was the end of the world in which Paris was supreme, in which Paris was alive . . .

—The Last Time I Saw Paris by Elliot Paul

**BY BERNARD S.
REDMONT**

The stupefying news rated only a few matter-of-fact paragraphs in only a few newspapers: NBC News announced the closing of its Paris bureau.

The Peacock Network proudly described the death blow as a "long-planned restructuring of NBC resources" in the United States and abroad. Having spent 27 years of my journeyman life as a correspondent in Paris, the familiar phrase rang a nostalgic alarm bell somewhere in the crowded synapses of my broadcast-trained brain.

Hadn't Group W/Westinghouse Broadcasting Company employed the delicate corporatese euphemism of "restructuring" when it liquidated its prestigious foreign news service, wiping Paris (among other points) off the map, and exiling a number of loyal and devoted hired hands to the ranks of the unemployed? Hadn't CBS and

other networks "restructured" when they closed some long-established bureaus and carried out a Saturday night massacre or two?

Well, Ernest Hemingway said Paris is a Moveable Feast, so why not move it to Budapest? That's where NBC News is installing a bureau, listening post and launch pad.

The dispatch from the counting house of NBC News in New York said that correspondent Jim Bitterman and producer Pat Thompson would be moved out along with bureau chief Ted Ebert. (At the wake, nobody sang that 1919 Joe Young song, "How You Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm After They've Seen Patee?") More somberly, about ten French nationals employed in the bureau would, in the gossamer gobbledegook of the item, be "let go," a corporate *patois* term not readily translatable into French.

It appeared that the closing of NBC's Paris bureau, according to *The Los Angeles Times*, is part of a trend by the cost-conscious networks to try to cut

expenses and increase what management calls "efficiencies" in the face of declining audiences and declining revenues caused by increased competition from cable television, independent stations and VCRs.

Were the lights going out in the City of Light? Perhaps a better question to ask might be, "Are TV journalists becoming the new Lost Generation?"

CBS, we were told, also planned to close its Paris bureau and ABC had already downgraded its bureau there in 1989 by moving chief correspondent Pierre Salinger to London.

Were the lights going out in the City of Light? Or should we ask, in the year of the bicentenary of the French Revolution and not long after the centenary of the Statue of Liberty, "Is Paris Burning?" Perhaps a better question to ask might be, "Are TV journalists becoming the new Lost Generation?"

Well, look, *chers telespectateurs*, what man or woman is alive today who remembers the glorious days of Tom Grandin, Charles Collingwood, Eric Sevareid, William L. Shirer, David Schoenbrun and other sometimes *grand boulevardiers*. Forget the Liberation, the Third, Fourth and Fifth Republics, the Marshall Plan, General Charles de Gaulle, the Vietnam peace talks and a thousand other yester-years.

Paris, to anyone with a modicum of international news experience, always has been, is, and will be for the foreseeable future a major news capital of Europe and the world.

NBC News President Michael Gartner, an otherwise distinguished executive with a long and admired record in non-broadcast journalism, ogled the omens and, in a cheerless statement, downplayed the importance of Paris in

coverage of European news in the era of satellite transmissions.

"The Paris bureau," he found, "has primarily been used as a launch pad to cover stories elsewhere in Europe and Africa, but we also have that ability in our bureaus in London, Frankfurt and Rome."

Launching pads are in; journalistic astronauts are portable. Thus the networks enshrine the era of parachute journalism, once the hallmark of enterprising "happy talk" local stations. Never mind the need for knowledge of the language and culture, and contacts in major news capitals. The executive reasoning opines that it's just as easy to parachute in pawns from a launch pad, provide them with instant wisdom in the form of a sheaf of telexed news and data base dispatches, and have them pontificate within seconds after they hit the ground running. The new age resumé will include a line, "Roving reporter goes anywhere, any time, for instant news: Just hit my hot button."

And if our roving reporter doesn't splash down in time, we can always go for a little re-enactment and simulated news. Executive Producer Sid Feders of *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, one of NBC News' new programs, calls simulations "an idea whose time has come." Remember Dan Rather's controversial *New York Times* op-ed column, "From Murrow to Mediocrity?" Lafayette, we are here.

Are viewers getting the news they deserve? Wrong question. Just ask, what will it do to the ratings?

The great Bourbon King of France and Navarre, Henry IV, who made the empire prosperous, reducing the national debt from 330,000,000 to 50,000,000 livres, decided that "Paris is well worth a mass" (*Paris vaut bien une messe*), but NBC doesn't feel it's worth a tinker's dam. The aroma of goulash communism in Budapest smells better than *boeuf bourguignon* and Chanel No. 5. What's more, NBC is beginning to establish a pres-

ence in Barcelona, in preparation for the Summer Olympics there in 1992. NBC will televise those Games, having bought broadcast rights for them for a record \$401,000,000. How do they arrive at those odd little numbers, anyhow?

NBC's cash flow doesn't look that tight now, does it?

How do we cover Paris in the future, fellers? Major news center of Europe, close to the capital of the new Europe of 1992, nuclear superpower of sorts, Francois Mitterrand the Summiteer, the world's fastest trains, the supersonic Concorde, home of several international organizations like Unesco and OECD and talk about "launch pads"!

No need for nostalgia about the glory that was France. Veteran reporter Tad Szulc, in a look at the present-day scene, says, "The country is poised on the threshold of a renaissance, preparing to enter a new era in a Europe that is changing with lightning speed." Szulc reminds us that France is playing a leading role in European unification, a process that includes eliminating all trade barriers in Western Europe by the end of 1992.

One imagines a brainstorming session at Rockefeller Center, and someone cries, "I know—stringers!" Paris, home of the Folies Bergere, is where strings (G) originated, *n'est-ce pas?*

Now as to Moscow: For many years during the mid-seventies Brezhnev era, ABC and CBS were the only networks to maintain bureaus and correspondents in Moscow, and I held the Kremlin fortress for CBS, battling to get the news out despite the obstacles of the pre-glasnost era. NBC covered the Kremlin from London, a mere stone's throw—or launch pad—away. By 1978, NBC decided to come back in again. Times change.

NBC now doubles or triples up, presumably to save a few rubles on the rent (though Gorbachev insists on payment in hard currency), and NBC's

Moscow operation is turned into "a combined Moscow bureau" with the BBC and a British-owned TV news agency, Visnews, in which NBC bought a 37.75% interest last November. Visnews' other owners are the BBC and Reuters news agency. Do you follow me?

Of course, the underlying problem is that the networks suffer from what the president of the Society of Professional Journalists, Paul M. Davis, once called "a casual disinterest" in foreign news. Insularity and Philistinism reign supreme.

It is more than embarrassing to host foreign visitors here who find it incomprehensible that American television—and print media, too—have a casual disinterest in international affairs. "Don't you people understand that the world is shrinking and what each nation does affects all the others? . . . How can you be informed when you know nothing of the world?"

Even though the pallbearers have been gathering to bury network news, there's plenty of life—and profit—in the old work-horses.

Last summer, Dan Rather underlined "The Threat to Foreign News" in *Newsweek*. He said "There are those who say Americans are not interested in foreign stories. They say they don't sell well, and that foreign stories aren't cost effective. That's what they say. And they are wrong. That is a wrong idea and a dangerous idea." Dan reported that some of those spreading this notion are in "some boardrooms and in some offices of top management. Not everywhere, not everyone. But enough to make a trend." Say it again, Dan.

NBC has been enjoying healthy profits, due in large part to the net-

work's entertainment programs, but corporate parent General Electric was quick to institute cost-control programs. The death of Paris appears to be part of the trend.

Even though the pallbearers have been gathering to bury network news, there's plenty of life—and profit—in the old workhorses. Bill Small, a former president of NBC News and former veep of CBS News, believes "the evidence is compelling that ABC News, CBC News and NBC News will remain the three most potent news organizations well into the next century."

So, why kill Paris? The justifications do not persuade us.

Paris is no place for parsimony, please. The City of Light isn't made for blackouts.

I maintain, with Elliot Paul, that the last time I see Paris will be on the day I die—"the city is inexhaustible and so is its memory." ■

Bernard S. Redmont is an award-winning former Paris correspondent for CBS News, Group W, Agence France-Presse and U.S. News & World Report. He has also used Paris as a launch pad for orbits around the world to 55 countries or so. When he is not lecturing somewhere or writing at his Vermont farmhouse or his Brookline, Massachusetts apartment, he regularly checks out the terrain, the news and cultural scene and the cuisine of France—usually once a year. He is Dean Emeritus of Boston University's College of Communication.

“ QUOTE UNQUOTE ”

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—Howard Rosenberg,
Los Angeles Times

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FICTION AND NEWS

An "old-time journalist" says that growing pressures for scoops and investigative sensations are creating what he calls Media Malpractice.

BY DANIEL SCHORR

ABC News provoked a lot of envy in other network newsrooms on Friday night, July 21. In the midst of the Summer doldrums, and before the latest hostage "crisis," John McWethy broke a big spy story. He reported that Felix S. Bloch, a high-ranking diplomat, was under FBI investigation for espionage—the highest-ranking career officer in memory to be so implicated. He said that Bloch had been videotaped passing a briefcase to a Soviet agent and, by golly, ABC showed the videotape to prove it.

It had all the earmarks of hidden-camera surveillance pictures—grainy black-and-white, with a digital display counting off the seconds. Awed by the dimensions of this scoop, I could understand the restrained pride with which Peter Jennings led into the report, "We begin with a harsh reminder that secrecy sells."

As it turned out, the videotape was a simulation, acted out by ABC staff members, and a wrong simulation at that. Later leaks made clear that the encounter had taken place not in Vienna, but in Paris, not on a street, but in a restaurant, involving not a briefcase, but a suitcase, not handed over but left behind at the table to be carried away by the luncheon companion.

ABC said that the simulation should

have been identified as such (as it did in the "second feed" of the evening news), but had no apologies to make for the simulation itself. As Mr. Bloch led a not-so-merry chase of FBI agents, reporters and Soviet "diplomats" across Westchester County and around Washington for weeks without being arrested or charged, ABC rode the crest of its exclusive, aided by the State Department, which, almost unprecedentedly, confirmed the ongoing investigation and by President Bush, who called it "a very serious matter."

You can imagine, then, the joy that must have reigned in the NBC newsroom on Friday night, August 4, exactly two weeks after the ABC "scoop," when the *Nightly News* broke its own "major new spy investigation." Straining to make its exclusive as important as ABC's, NBC reported concern in the United States Government that "major damage may have been done," and quoted Pentagon sources as saying that "this has all the now-familiar indicators of an American selling secrets to the Eastern bloc."

Involved in this espionage "current affair" was the case of Air Force Captain John Vladimir Hirsch, chief engineer at a secret electronic listening post at Tempelhof Air Base, West Berlin. As it subsequently developed, he had been flown back to San Antonio after a routine polygraph test indicated a possibly deceptive answer to a question.

There wasn't much more. There was

no evidence that Capt. Hirsch had any foreign intelligence contact. He had been born in Czechoslovakia, but his parents had fled from the Communists in 1968. He had \$120,000 in the bank, but his friends said he had always been unusually thrifty and saved much of his pay (perhaps itself un-American). He had traveled to France, Austria and Italy from Berlin, but his parents lived in Europe, and his last trip to Italy had been made when his father died there.

**What's going on here?
What is the phenomenon
that simulates not only
pictures of events, but
facts, conclusions and
villains?**

Yet, NBC hyped its exclusive by stating, "Today, the Air Force is trying to determine what classified information he may have sold and for how long." How many viewers understood that "may have" meant that NBC did not have the foggiest idea whether Hirsch had done anything wrong? Before long, the Pentagon was saying that the whole investigation may have been a mistake.

What's going on here? What is this phenomenon that simulates not only pictures of events, but facts, conclusions and villains? ABC and NBC may be protected by the Supreme Court's "actual malice" rule from the legal consequences of damaged reputations and careers (as Israel's Ariel Sharon found in his suit against *Time* Magazine and Gen. William Westmoreland in his suit against CBS). But who protects the public from the consequences of this blurring of reality?

The recent spy stories are not the only example of this phenomenon. In May there was the NBC "exclusive" about a Navy investigative theory that a homosexual sailor had engineered the explosion aboard the battleship

USS Iowa; later in May the CBS "exclusive" about an FBI investigation involving Rep. William H. Gray III of Pennsylvania at a point when he was about to rise in the Democratic leadership ladder.

What these stories have in common is that all involved leaks of government investigative information, with motivations that can only be surmised, and that none of these investigations was anywhere near any conclusion justifying arrest or indictment.

What appears to be going on here, under pressure for ever new investigative sensations, is a symbiotic relationship between scoop-hungry journalists and government officials leaking for reasons of their own.

What appears also to be going on here is that the Evening News is competing not only with other network news programs, but with entertainment spinoffs from the newsroom, like *Inside Edition*, *A Current Affair* and *America's Most Wanted*. In a struggle for a share of a shrinking market for network television, news organizations are under pressure to inflate vague suspicions into complete thrillers, using the techniques of docudrama to "enhance" skimpy facts.

Television news has always had a tough time insulating itself from the fantasy stage of entertainment on which it performs. Now it seems on its way to giving up the battle and surrendering itself to the wonderful world of fiction. But to an old-time journalist it looks like Media Malpractice against both victim and public. ■

Daniel Schorr is senior news analyst for National Public Radio. This article is an expansion of a commentary originally broadcast on NPR's *All Things Considered*. He was for many years a CBS News Correspondent.

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"CUE THE AVALANCHE!" HE SHOUTED

In the early years of local news when "anchor" was only a nautical term, and a couple of Bell and Howell-70 handheld cameras, plus a few amateur stringers could put a station in the television news business, a veteran of that era recalls what it was like to run a news "department." And what happened when Pat Weaver's *Wide Wide World* on NBC asked for coverage of a special event, sort of.

BY JACK GOODMAN

History can repeat itself in odd fashion.

Time came full circle in the wide, wide world of television when Time, Inc. melded with Warner Communications, Inc., in a multibillion dollar deal, likely to reshape the

world of TV, cable, and mass entertainment.

This essay is a flashback to an earlier multimedia marriage almost four decades ago, albeit on the rather more modest canvas of Salt Lake City. In that Mormon mecca, central to a market of fewer than a half-million souls, power-conscious Henry Luce and his farsighted henchmen at Time-Life, Inc.

somewhat belatedly decided to dip a toe into, or, to mix metaphors, sip the bubbling brew of electronic journalism.

Early on in the 1950's, a message wig-wagged from somnolent Salt Lake City apprised Manhattan's moneybags that radio station KDYL and its newly hatched television offspring, KDYL-TV (Channel 4), could be purchased for a comparatively few farthings. As many of his colleagues knew, industry pioneer Sidney Fox, owner of the Utah pair, was an ex-movie house entrepreneur notoriously afflicted by an unconquerable lust for the gaming tables of Las Vegas. *Time-Life* promptly plunked down the then astonishing sum of \$2,100,000 for Sid's profitable NBC radio station plus its less dollar-productive TV stablemate.

With commendable zeal, *Time-Life* next sought out and hired G. Bennett Larson, a native of the Mormon kingdom. Larson (who died in March 1989) began his memorable career in Salt Lake City as a very youthful "Uncle Ben" in a locally well-fancied kids' opus. Ben had headed east to successfully pursue production and managerial chores at network and independent radio and TV stations in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., including WPIX, WCAU, and WWDC.

Almost simultaneously with Larson's 1953 arrival to take up his reins at the KDYL duo, Sid Fox cheerfully sped to burgeoning Las Vegas and its alluring green-covered crap tables. There, among other things, a guy could get a drink without the indignity pursuant upon the purchase of a \$2 license from the Utah State Liquor Commission. (Parenthetically, before being borne to his final resting place mourned by not a few old media cronies, Sid blew his entire million dollar wad with considerable alacrity.)

Happily, someone leaked word to Ben Larson concerning my potential availability for the News Director's role in Channel 4's new scheme of things. In

the full flush of youth I had served as news editor at WNYC, the City of New York's own station, in the LaGuardia era, and had been lured west to become news director at sparkling-new radio station KALL, flagship of the regional Intermountain Network. But when *Time-Life* arrived on the scene, I was an indentured servant in the City Room of the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

This leading daily of the state and its metropolis was tenuously linked to KALL-Intermountain. Indeed the newscasts of the latter emanated, as our announcers were wont to say, from the Main Street show-windows of the Tribune Building.

By that juncture I had acquired an amiable wife, three children, an ancient station wagon, a rebuilt barn plus several suburban acres. Ever hard-pressed to make fiscal ends meet via my daily labors, I busily spun off mountain west pieces for the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, a brace of McGraw-Hill magazines, and even sold an epic

As purchased by *Time-Life* KDYL-TV occupied a drafty second-story loft, unfortunately afflicted with very creaky wooden floors.

or two to the *Saturday Evening Post*. I readily succumbed to Ben Larson's cajoling, especially when he pledged *Time-Life* salaries would approximate "New York scale," and that I would be recompensed for not stringing for *Newsweek*!

In return for such largess, I contracted to set up a functioning news gathering, news dispensing department for Channel 4. To my honest admission that my knowledge of TV news was nonexistent, Ben airily replied, "No one else knows anything about television news here either."

His reply seemed just a bit churlish. True, KUTA, the ABC radio outlet owned by Frank McIntyre, at the time had no television counterpart. Indeed McIntyre, an extremely competent sheep rancher before being beguiled by radio, was reputed to have encountered some difficulty shepherding a bank loan into his fold. But 50,000-watt, clear-channel KSL, owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, had placed KSL-TV on the air as Channel 5. Its picture and programming were at least as intriguing as those dispensed by Sid Fox.

KSL-TV carried a semblance of news programs, as well as sleep-inducing "live" telecasts of Latter-day Saints religious conferences. In addition, this churchly outlet brought viewers the slightly more lively, admittedly more melodious, Sunday songfests of the famed Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

As purchased by *Time-Life* KDYL-TV occupied a drafty second-story loft, unfortunately afflicted with very creaky wooden floors, directly above Salt Lake's now vanished Pioneer Post Office. Once, twice, or thrice daily, the late Gene Paul King, a recent exile from New York, and locally trained Del Leeson (also, alas, now departed) would hasten from our freshly purchased radio studios to this historic, but temporary television center.

Rip-and-read wire service copy in hand, but with a free hand positioned behind an ear in proper radio style, King or Leeson would declaim the news in the direction of a red-eyed studio camera. In this manner, the audience inhabiting our town's few bars could absorb the day's events while imbibing Utah's sole legal brew, beer of no more than 3.2 alcoholic content.

In addition to network news from Washington or New York, we soon proved able to add a few local items to the existing fare. Softened by my tearful pleas for assistance, my former co-workers at the *Tribune* would slip me an almost illegible fourth carbon of fresh local or state news relating

perhaps to fatal railroad crossing accidents or court pleadings of miscreants caught in the law's toils for peddling penny stock in nonexistent uranium mines.

Now and again, after my especially piteous pleading and promise of recompense at some distant date, a kindly *Tribune* photographer might even slip me a glossy Speed-Graphic photo of a fire or bus wreck rejected by an overworked city editor. By agreement, said photos, when affixed to the TV studio on-camera easel, of course had to bear a *Tribune* credit line.

During those initial months after Larson's canny choice put me in charge of this simplistic form of news gathering, I told him it had occurred to me our television news programs should, as soon as possible, be transformed into newsreels, duplicating in format, content, and sound the popular products of Pathé, Hearst Metro-tone, and Paramount. Larson vehemently agreed. Like myself, he had spent many a happy hour in Manhattan at the Translux Theatres on Times Square and in Grand Central Station. In such comfortable havens, we newsreel mavens had long enjoyed, on screen, the sight of many a ponderous dreadnought firing its broadsides at peacetime targets, had oftimes lusted after the bathing beauties parading at Atlantic City, had even occasionally viewed an exploding Zeppelin or a raging oil well fire.

"Newsreels! But of course," said Ben. "We'll buy daily newsfilm service, but I must warn you not to expect much, if any, 'March of Time' footage." Not that Henry Luce and his legions were penurious. They simply envisioned bigger bucks than Salt Lake offered, selling MOT and Westbrook Van Voorhis to networks, and stations across the land.

Happily enough, *Time-Life* funding for the chosen Utah venture into the

mystic arts of television came flooding into Channel 4's treasury within a month or two of the takeover. Larson was soon supervising the gutting of a vacant Packard showroom and repair shop on downtown Motor Avenue. There his forces began constructing our city's first purpose-built studios, film lab, and TV newsroom—plus handsome executive and sales offices, screening rooms, and, wonder of wonders, an employees' lunchroom staffed by a chap named Gus.

Success was to follow success. Block-long Motor Avenue soon held not just Channel 4's state-of-the-art studios, but also those built by KSL-TV Channel 5, freshly licensed KUTV Channel 2, plus a brace of advertising agencies and small beanery. Before two years had passed, the city fathers designated the block-long thoroughfare "Social Hall Avenue." Denizens of the newly arrived industry termed it TV Row.

But renaming the street was the least of television's encounter with nomenclature. Even as photographer Don Christiansen was being lured from the *Tribune* to serve as our first news photographer, even as we were acquiring three 16 mm Bell & Howell model 70 hand-held cameras at Don's behest, our efficient chief engineer John Baldwin was building a new transmitter 8,500 feet above sea level in the copper-rich Oquirrh Mountains.

Early on, at a staff conference, Ben Larson told us that in New York City, even a station signoff must have showbiz pizzazz. "WNEW-TV shows a still shot of the Empire State Building, there's an American flag on a stand in front of it, and an out-of-sight electric fan makes it ripple. The flag, not the building."

He further informed us that a recorded version of the Star Spangled Banner was followed by an impressively deep voice intoning, "It is midnight. From our transmitter high atop the Empire State Building in midtown Manhattan, this is WNEW-TV signing off until 6 a.m. tomorrow." While we,

with our newly acquired call letters KTVT, would sign off at 10 p.m. in deference to local mores and folkways, we must whomp up an equally big-time signoff for somnolent Salt Lake City.

"John," queried Ben, "what's the name of the mountain where we're putting the new transmitter?"

National and world events reached us, in film form, in flat green cardboard boxes air expressed from New York or San Francisco by United Press, International News, or Pathé News.

Baldwin cringed visibly, then replied: "Ben, you're not going to like this."

Larson, slightly affronted, grunted, "How come?"

"Well," Baldwin bravely continued, "it's called Coon Peak. That's official. On the U.S. Geological Survey maps."

No racial slur was intended by the federal mapmakers—the peak was indeed named for a pioneer ranching family. In fact, the Coons had laid claim to the eminence since territorial days, well prior to Utah statehood.

Only momentarily nonplussed, Larson or some other quick-thinking type among us suggested redubbing the site "Mount Vision." And Mount Vision it remains some thirty-six years later, with upwards of a dozen TV, radio, and relay towers riding the now crowded ridgetop.

By the time we began saturating Salt Lake, Ogden, and Provo with our superlative mountaintop signal, we placed our equally superlative news programs on the air. They must indeed have been better-than-best, since we said so with maddening regularity in

a flood of promotion announcements, billboards, bus-side signs, and newspaper advertisements.

Our flagship newscasts aired at 5:30 p.m. and again at 9 or 9:30 p.m., with radio-trained announcers Alan Moll or Gordon Owen making daily but brief on-camera appearances between our filmed reports. There was as yet no such designation as "anchorman."

Newsreels opened with a fine flourish, highlighted by a KTVT-Channel 4 "logo" designed by Ted Anderson, our crack Art Director. A John Philip Sousa march melodically announced our upcoming view of great events after which either Moll or Owen appeared on camera, pridefully introducing our exclusive presentation of the day's news. At this juncture, control-room engineer Charlie Stockdale or Chauncy Powis started the film rolling. This stirring opening took 45 seconds or thereabouts—no time wasted on non-news.

National and world events reached us, in film form, in flat green cardboard boxes air expressed from New York or San Francisco by United Press, International News, or Pathé News services. Copy accompanying these brief film segments was updated by Yours Truly who bravely faced the difficulty of "explicating" without prevaricating. The film segments, a minute or so in length (two minutes or more if they bore a sound track), might arrive from the Korean peace-talks or from the White House or even from a disaster scene two days after the event.

Taking into account that radio and newspapers (or network TV) had long since carried the self-same story, we "fudged" by never using the word "today" in connection with our film. You could write, "President Eisenhower has condemned North Korea's refusal to free UN prisoners," after which the announcer read an accurate report that Ike, seen on film at that juncture, had decorated wounded veterans of the recent battling near the Chinese border. No date, no mention that the film was

24 or 48 hours old.

Our newsreels, we thought quite cannily, must contain a mix of world, national, and local news, of thought-provoking items, of lightweight odd-ball stuff. Our film reels, with optical wipes separating each story, ran perhaps ten minutes in length. They were speedily sold to single sponsors including Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution (the ZCMI Department Store) or UTOCO, the Utah Oil Company.

We graciously provided each sponsor somewhat less than three minutes of commercial time, enabling sport-caster Paul James and weatherman Bob Welti to do their thing in our quarter-hour segment. On Saturdays or Sundays, Channel 4 even proffered a half-hour *Weekend News in Review* with Alan Moll (nowadays a County Attorney) and G. Homer Durham (later to be president of Arizona State University) as our on-camera deep-thinkers. Their musings were liberally buttressed with film culled from the preceding week's daily newscasts.

Filtering up-to-the-minute local news film into our twice daily newsreel proved taxing, due to electronic exigencies made instantly manifest. We could "kinescope" President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, or similar Washington impresarios, but getting kinescope film processed for an afternoon or even an evening newscast proved quite a chore. Filming such events as a downtown fire had become routine when we set up a newsroom shortwave receiver bringing in police and fire department dispatch calls. But Salt Lake City, in those days had just one lab processing 16 mm motion picture film. Located under the Congress Hotel and owned by a chap named Wally, it was merely a sideline business, he being a Western Airlines pilot. When Wally flew off in a DC-3 or DC-6, his lab door was shuttered, much to our disgust.

Never nonplussed, Ben Larson rein-

vented the wheel. More precisely, he installed a pair of bicycle wheels sans tires athwart a chemical bath in our new darkroom, thereby duplicating a setup glimpsed in some eastern city. Film our news cameraman had shot was cranked through a brew of chemicals from wheel to wheel, hung to dry, cut, and hastily spliced into our afternoon or evening reel.

Two problems, virtually insoluble, quickly appeared. When we kine-scoped from the network, the optical track was not enhanced—indeed, quite the opposite—by our impossibility to synchronize the sprocket speed of the camera shutter with the icon tube. Further complications arose when, to save precious minutes, the film spinning of the bicycle wheel was “processed negative.” In other words, whites were developed black, and blacks were white.

To properly reverse polarity in the control room video chain, a producer or engineer must push the proper button. If he neglected to do so, such distinguished citizens as Utah’s Governor George Dewey Clyde or Salt Lake Mayor Earl J. Glade would appear in, as it were, blackface. The glaring white Salt Flats speedway or the pristine white snow of the Alta ski jump looked odd indeed when black. This situation eventually resulted in daily Channel 4 business for engineer Charlie Stockdale who soon opened a film developing business nearby.

Meanwhile, we fleshed out statewide news coverage by judicious use of “correspondents.” These included such gentlemen as trucker John Sullivan who worked out of the mining town of Tooele, piloting huge long-distance rigs. We provided him a Bell & Howell camera, and 50-foot or 100-foot rolls of raw film. Apprised by fellow truckers of major highway accidents, railroad grade crossing crashes, fires, overturned school buses and the like, John would shoot, then speed film to

us via drivers of similar rigs.

We also found one Gordon Havenor at Ogden who not only sent us film reports from Utah’s second most sizeable city, but “had connections” with Utah’s first uranium millionaire, the rather eccentric Charlie Steen, a relationship productive of considerable news.

Meanwhile, I was not averse to free footage from public relations men if suitable stories turned up. Bob Ramp-ton, Public Relations Officer at Hill Air Force Base, sent shots of newly arrived Air Force planes, of practice bombing runs, and a general or two. Interior’s Bill Davoren happily secured film showing controversial dam-building on the Colorado and Green Rivers if I could not spare part-timer Ray Mangelson for a two-day trip to distant corners of the state. Parenthetically, there were never enough dollars even in a *Time-Life* station budget for plane flights or long-distance highway mileage.

“A news department can never make money. The operation is just too expensive for our commercials to pay its way,” Larson would assure me. “But stick around. One day, TV will all be in color. One day we’ll send live cameras to Makoff’s fashion salon so housewives can see models parading down the runways and order gowns by phone.”

Alas, I never believed news in color or electronic marketing would come to pass. In truth, before it did, Makoff’s shut up shop, a victim of the national mania for suburban malls.

While color had not arrived on the scene, other technical improvements came thick and fast. One happy arrival was our rear screen projector. Such talented spillers as Alan Moll or Gordon Owen could then dispense savvy pieces concerning state or church affairs while seemingly standing outside the State Capitol or Mormon Temple.

Sometimes the utility of new electronic devices proved mixed, as when

KTVT engineers countersunk a small video tube in a news set desk. The announcer, while reading from a script, could then view news film from the corner of his eyes. This worked well indeed for Alan Moll, who matched film and script with precision.

Not so Gordon Owen. His timing often seemed askew, as he perhaps described the IRS-baiting activities of senate candidate J. Bracken Lee while film of white-maned U.S. Senator Arthur V. Watkins showed on the tube. Or vice versa. These snafus proved all too common until Larson chanced upon Owen doing eye exercises in an unused studio.

Gordon reported his peripheral vision was indeed changing. He simply could not readily adjust his eyes between script and video tube. Adamantly unwilling to wear glasses, Gordon was switched to duties not requiring instant acute vision.

One triumph of that place and time occurred when we covered the 1954 state and municipal elections without the services of the *Tribune* or *Deseret News*. "We'll beat 'em all," said Larson, instructing me to hire correspondents in each of Utah's 1,100 election districts buttressed by even more expert aid in each of the state's twenty-nine counties. "We'll pay them \$1 per phone call," he said—blowing a mammoth hole in any conceivable news department budget.

We triumphed over all odds in great measure through the special aid of art director Ted Anderson. A former member of the Utah State Legislature, Ted's political cronies statewide proved at least as numerous as my contacts. But a very real reason for our ultra-high election night ratings was sex!

Lissome, short-skirted young ladies were hired by Larson and program director Danny Rainger to write our election tallies on huge pads of newsprint placed within easy sight of the studio cameras. But Rainger, Larson, and Anderson had thoughtfully ordered construction of a raised platform two

or three feet above the studio floor.

Backstage, a dozen or so not-too-presentable newsmen and aides manned telephones to garner the vote and efficient but plain-faced gals from accounting and sales tallied the incoming count on the most modern of adding machines. But the Larson-Rainger-Anderson corps of pretty coeds from the University of Utah bounced into the studio with the totals while cameras positioned low on the floor eyed bosomy potential beauty contest winners who reached upwards in fetching fashion to crayon the latest returns on the well-positioned wall-pads.

Our election coverage proved so visually popular before the long evening was over that candidates and political leaders who in previous years scanned tallies in the *Tribune's* smoky city room, streamed to our Channel 4 Election Headquarters where beauty, plus a buffet table, awaited all comers.

We had learned by then that the viewing public cared not a bit for call letters such as old KDYL-TV or our new KTVT, but identified stations by channel numbers. As with the elections, so also with sports. At campus football or basketball games, sportscaster Paul James stood before cameras wearing block letters reading "Channel 4." Our "weather set" where Bob Welti traced isobars on a glass map sported a big Channel 4 as its background.

Life was simpler in other ways. Indeed, even rivalry with the city's other channels featured in formal fun and games. With the first winter snowfall, a live studio camera was trundled out our front door to give homebound viewers a look-see of falling flakes. By then, KSL's Channel 5 had moved across Social Hall Avenue and its camera crew and weatherman appeared at curbside almost simultaneously with ours. Soon the first televised snowball fight in local his-

tory was under way. We were, I believe, victorious, but when *Time-Life* bowed out of Salt Lake to purchase a station in the larger San Diego market, both Welti and James departed for church-owned Channel 5, where both remain till this day.

Time now to report our greatest news department non-exploit. A year or two earlier, I had penned a piece for Jesse Gorkin's *Parade Magazine* concerning the picturesque hazards emperiling the avalanche patrol experts of the U.S. Forest Service. Now a mis-sive arrived from NBC reporting that their new *Wide Wide World* program sought live material that could be sent thence on the new coaxial cable for telecast to all the nation. After considerable conferring, program director Dan Rainger got NBC's nod for a snow-country feed featuring the avalanche busters.

We left no snow-blanketed stone unturned as we prepared for our network feed. Prior to our big Sunday telecast, video cameras were mounted on the open deck of the Alta Lodge, 8,500 feet above sea level in the scenic, snow-lathered Wasatch Range. A line-of-sight relay down Little Cottonwood Canyon carried across the Salt Lake Valley to our transmitter atop well-named Mount Vision.

A handsomely rugged giant of a forest ranger named Montgomery Atwater plus a few other suitably garbed heroes would ski perilously across the uppermost ridge of High Rustler peak, plant explosives under a 25-foot high snow cornice, then gracefully but hastily ski back to semi-safety to trigger their charge.

The resultant man-made avalanche would billow down the snowy Alta slopes, eliminating a perilous snow ledge that, left "unshot," could smother skiers far below. Indeed, if their initial blast failed to induce an avalanche, a World War II vintage howitzer would pump shells into the snow to assure

its awesome descent.

All would have gone well had Mother Nature cooperated. Alas, thick snow—a major blizzard—arrived simultaneously with program time. But somehow, the cameras at the ski lodge deck picked up the tiny, ant-like figures of Atwater and his fellows as they skied out across the ridge, planted their charge and, trailing wires in their wake, zoomed out of harm's way.

"Cue the avalanche!" came the command from Rainger to ranger.

Squinting through thickly falling snow, we could barely see an orange flash as the rangers triggered the explosives. The blast did indeed send a very sizeable avalanche flowing like a waterfall down Rustler Peak.

Unfortunately, no one in New York, or elsewhere in the nation, saw anything.

This was, alas, black-and-white television. Even under sunny blue skies, an avalanche of deep white snow spilling down the white slopes of a mountainside might not have been visually exciting. But with densely falling white flakes blanking out most of the scene, little wonder the NBC director in New York kept shouting, "Fire it, damn it! Why don't you fire it?"

"We have," Rainger reported sadly. "It went off on cue."

Alan Moll did his best to fill the remaining half of our allotted eleven-minute segment, while we warmed our innards at the Alta Lodge bar. ■

Although Jack Goodman has an M.A. in art education from NYU and also studied at the Art Students League in New York, his career has focused on journalism, first at WNYC radio in New York, and then for many years in Salt Lake City. He was the first news director not only of KYDL-TV, but also of KUTV in that city. He also was Utah correspondent for *Newsweek* and *The New York Times*. He now does a column called *Jack Goodman's City Views* for *The Salt Lake City Tribune*, which he also illustrates.



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BATTLE FOR THE VIDKIDS

Is television finally going to become the great electronic teacher? Will satellite and cable bring first-rate instructional TV directly into the nation's high schools? And who will win—Ted Turner with NEWSROOM without commercials or Christopher Whittle whose CHANNEL ONE dishes it out with advertising? Tune in next year. . .

BY JERRY M. LANDAY

In the '70's, at the peak of his popularity, Walter Cronkite was inspired by the vision of a unique offering to the nation's young. As it evolved, I would invest more than a year in the idea.

Some had petitioned America's most trusted man to run for the Senate. Others urged him to try for the White House. That was not what he had in mind.

Walter wanted to hitch the power of television to American public education. He wanted to put satellite dishes on the roofs of every high school, and use them to deliver as many students as possible to the television presence of the nation's best teachers.

Children would troop into their assembly halls at a fixed hour each day to be taught by the nation's greatest pedagogues. Via "the bird," these master teachers would materialize on theatre-sized screens in schools across America. They would share their wisdom with a vast, electronic educational collective of children now increasingly deprived of quality education by shrinking pocketbooks, white flight, national ennui and self-indulgence.

As a boy, Walter had been motivated by a great teacher. He felt he owed all he had achieved to her classroom skills and encouragement. He

would honor and repay her by exalting others like her, and, at the same time, motivate a national student body to a level of instruction and sheer love of subject they might otherwise never experience.

The program design was wonderful, but naive.

Still, Walter and a group of associates convinced General Motors to underwrite the idea, the precise design to be worked out, with roughly a million dollars a season. That, as it turned out, would pay for about 50 programs per school year—two a week—hardly the daily education service that Walter had envisioned. But—a start.

Satellite Educational Services, Inc., of which Walter was chairman, began producing the series on PBS in 1980 from KCET, Los Angeles. Busy with his CBS duties, Walter was not directly involved. But he kept his hand in, and his enormous prestige behind the project.

So were the problems—enormous.

There was no way that the young and restless would sit still on hard auditorium seats gawking at a disembodied lecturer on an oversized screen. Beyond that, the satellite links and in-school hardware weren't yet in place. Instructional television was still learning how to use the tube to teach teens, and training teachers on how to integrate video into curricula. Guidance

from teachers to us, the producers, on program quality and effectiveness was minimal.

It was awkward for teachers wanting to use **Why In The World** in their history, civics and current affairs classes to use the program. Most had to synchronize their classes with direct, over-the-air pick-ups from PBS stations or depend on makeshift tape distribution systems.

After a dismal start, and lots of trial and error, the format was distilled to a panel of bright high schoolers interviewing—brilliantly, at times—national notables on contemporary affairs subjects. The vision had strayed.

Ultimately WNET, New York, joined in sharing production arrangements with KCET. Politics complicated things. By the time I was invited to try to straighten things out as executive producer in 1983, the series was being carried by only sixty or so public television stations, educators who were aware of its existence were basically lukewarm to the project, General Motors was becoming disillusioned and restless, and so was Walter. The series fell prey to the kind of Borgian power struggle in which public television sometimes indulges over who controlled what. I left after a season.

Everyone gave up in 1985. Few noticed the passing of **Why in The World**. Walter's idea had been a noble one. He had been ahead of his time. But, amazingly, not by all that much.

Just a few years later, the system he envisioned is beginning to be put in place.

Now the battle begins again over who controls what.

The potential stakes in instructional television are now so large that tycoons are in process of committing millions to it. Great communication companies are battling for direct access to public classrooms. The need is great, too, as a public education system in disrepair and failing its students increasingly turns to instructional TV for help.

.....

A television battle rages for the hearts and minds of America's teen-agers. For their pocketbooks, too, worth an estimated \$40-billion yearly in purchasing power, fed by parental allowances and after-school earnings. The hounds of American marketing are pointers, always on the sniff to target fresh pools of conspicuous consumption. In this increasingly desperate game, the players are no respecters of age. One ad agency advisory proclaims to its clients, "Teens are dead. Long Live the Proto-adults!"

The battleground for these kidsumers, of all places, is the classrooms of America's public high schools.

On the surface, the battle is between two brash young American communications entrepreneurs, cable-ready Ted Turner and print magnate Christopher Whittle. Their struggle for television access to classrooms has rattled through the halls of the American educational and advertising communities. The two largest states in the Union are involved.

Until now, the interest of commercial communicators in our progeny has been limited to pushing schlock toys, rock music, looney tunes, and acne balm. The Electronic Enlightenment appears to have arrived. For they have suddenly become directly involved in the issue of the sorry way we teach our kids.

The extraordinary thing about all this clatter is the apparent highmindedness of the matter: using the television tube to help our kids overcome their deplorable backwardness in civic and social literacy through daily, teen-tailored news broadcasts fed directly into high school classrooms. Not since the conversion of Scrooge, has there been such a seeming epiphany. But in the land where faith in the so-called free market constitutes a national re-

ligion, things are rarely what they seem.

The issue is really about whether the citizenry shall continue to abandon the doing of good works to hard-sell commercialism; about what the American television system is for; and about its general failure to care very much about the society that has fed it so well for so many years.

The Faustian catch, as many see it, is that the deal is driven by commercials . . . four thirty-second spots in each quarter-hour of news.

Christopher Whittle is one who stands ready to fill the vacuum. He is a 41-year-old media tycoon who heads Whittle Communications L.P. of Knoxville, Tennessee. Whittle recently became a multimillionaire when he sold a half-interest in his firm to *Time* for \$185 million. His media empire, valued at \$400 million, was founded on an innovative array of specialty print publications and ad-sponsored wall posters for the school market. Whittle also wants to be governor of Tennessee.

Called "Hearst Lite" by critics, but a brilliant marketeer, Whittle decided to fill and exploit the critical needs of instructional TV. He is extending a deal to fundshy junior and senior high schools that many educators believe they must resist. Others are not so sure.

Beginning next March, he intends to offer school systems a daily fifteen-minute service of teen-tailored news, called CHANNEL ONE. In exchange for their airing the newscasts regularly in their classrooms, he will wire \$50,000 worth of hardware into each cooperating school—a dish on the roof, a VCR-based recording and playback station, a monitor in every classroom, plus a central switching unit to control the

system.

Whittle is reportedly budgeting a quarter of a billion dollars for the installation of some 8,000 dishes, 16,000 VCRs, 300,000 monitors by the end of 1990.

The Faustian catch, as many see it, is that the deal is driven by commercials. There will be four thirty-second spots in each quarter-hour of news. Teachers may edit the news material to suit their curriculum needs, but they may not, according to the terms of their deals with Whittle, zap the commercial content without risking the loss of the equipment. Chris Whittle is upfront about his intentions: "to provide value and service to schools and students, benefits to advertisers, and profit to Whittle."

Whittle offered a fully-sponsored seven-week test series of CHANNEL ONE last Spring to five high schools and one middle school in as many states. On the basis of follow-up testing, Whittle claimed that students receiving the service did "significantly" better on their knowledge of world and national events than students in schools without the program.

Then the roof fell in.

In May, Bill Honig, California's superintendent of public instruction, portrayed Whittle as a Trojan horse who is after "our kids' minds." Honig said that forced viewing of ads was a violation of California law, and declared he will cut state funding for any school that takes CHANNEL ONE's regular service. The following month, the New York Board of Regents, which oversees the state's public schools, voted unanimously to keep Whittle television out.

Speaking for the board, Regent Shirley Brown declared that the enforced viewing of commercials represents "the insidious destruction" of youthful "lives and values." Having watched some of the test newscasts, supported by such ad giants as P&G, Ford, Warner-Lambert, Nike, Levi Strauss, Wrigley, Schering-Plough,

Gillete, Heinz, Columbia Pictures and M&M/Mars, *Consumer Reports* declared the sponsored service to be a "perversion of the educational process." A prestigious array of educational groups followed suit, from the American Federation of Teachers to the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

A Gallup Poll of adults underwritten by *Advertising Age* found 37 per cent opposed to school news services supported by ads. Despite the barrage of opposition, as well as the apparent quarantine by states comprising two of the three largest high-school populations, Whittle has doggedly vowed to press ahead. He claimed that test advertisers had optioned 93 per cent of available commercial time for a \$200-million roll-out of the regular service in March, 1990.

Whittle has been asking \$125,000 per spot, and insisting that each sponsor sign up for three years. But *Ad Age* reported that Madison Avenue, sensitive to all the static and clatter, has been taking a wait-and-see attitude. The *Wall Street Journal* opined that Whittle may have "overreached" himself, and excessively stressed his multimillion-dollar media empire.

Quick to catch the scent of advantage, Ted Turner entered the lists. Unlike Whittle, CNN was already in the electronic news business, with a product that could be readily re-packaged for the teens without a massive investment. Turner called his program service NEWSROOM. CNN got a competitive head start and began offering its daily 15-minute service in late August, 1989. Media librarians or teachers in schools with a cable-drop can tape-record the offering overnight.

As with CHANNEL ONE, teachers may re-cut the program material as they see fit. Both services telecommunicate a daily study guide to help the teacher use the material. But NEWSROOM carries no commercials.

It also does not include any equipment deals. Turner is counting on local cable operators, who need badly to burish a tarnished community image, to cooperate. He has enlisted three large multiple-service cable operators, Continental Cablevision, Inc., Tele-Communications, Inc., and Jones Intercable, to support NEWSROOM. The three MSOs claim to represent a third of all subscribers in the nation.

Whittle insists he'll have 1,000 schools signed up and hard-wired in time for the start of regular CHANNEL ONE service in March. His stated goal is 8,000 schools by the end of 1990.

Turner expects many other operators to follow their example in marketing the idea to schools in their areas, and providing free cable drops and VCRs to the disadvantaged among them.

Turner's motive is anything but altruistic. Aides say privately that when he decided to engage Whittle, he had fully intended to underwrite NEWSROOM with commercials, but reversed himself when he watched Whittle taking the anti-ad fire and heat. A Turner official explained that his boss is satisfied to play the long-game rules, co-opting the good will of parents, community leaders, and politicians, not to mention the future viewing loyalties of the impressionable young, in lieu of money.

Turner has, predictably, gained the moral high-ground among an influential segment of educators, as well as such perennial watchdogs as Peggy Charren, the indomitable head of Action for Children's Television. While avoiding a direct endorsement, she says "we like" CNN's NEWSROOM. Charren says Turner is motivated by

"the idea of being a big cheese in education."

But, in her characteristically hard-headed way, Charren grudgingly credits Whittle for putting the spotlight on the issue of video as a school-learning resource. And she does not discount Whittle's ability to do what he vows.

With entrepreneurial doggedness, Whittle insists he'll have 1,000 schools signed up and hard-wired in time for the start of regular CHANNEL ONE service in March. His stated goal is 8,000 schools by the end of 1990. That's 40 per cent of high schools, an audience of 6.5 million teenagers.

Some financially-strapped school administrators, who've read their Faust, are willing to hawk their souls for the Whittle offer. They believe it's the only way to get their hands on the schoolwide video systems they've wanted. Whittle will let them use the equipment to pick up major news events off the air, and to air student-produced programs. It's even okay to carry CNN. Only direct commercial competitors are barred.

On a nationwide basis, only one in ten classrooms is equipped for video, fewer than three schools in 100 have dishes.

Nadine Baretto, the principal of Gahr High School in Cerritos, California, is a fan of CHANNEL ONE. Hers was one of the schools involved in Whittle's pilot transmissions last Spring. In exchange for its participation, Whittle wired all 91 classrooms for video.

As we talked with her, Gahr's 2000 students—65 per cent Hispanic, Asian and black—were watching President Bush's anti-drug speech directed to

teen-agers in September. On a nationwide basis, only one in ten classrooms is equipped for video, fewer than three schools in 100 have dishes, and many educators complain they lacked the viewing facilities to provide student access to the Bush speech. With Whittle, it would have been easy.

Baretto says that the Whittle connection has plugged her school into the world, and to the teaching powers of the medium. In addition to CHANNEL ONE, she says the school population now has video access to telecasts of national and international events, from a Gorbachev visit to a space launch.

Students at Gahr also use the equipment to produce their own video programs, and transmit them throughout the school. As for CHANNEL ONE, Baretto says the test newscasts sensitized students to current affairs. She cites letters from parents reporting that CHANNEL ONE led to increased student awareness of such issues as the Eastern Airlines strike, and inspired dinner-table talk about current affairs.

She specifically praised CHANNEL ONE's cultural series on the Soviet Union and Japan. Even the commercials, she said, tended to provide "teachable moments," discussions on discriminating viewing, and exercises in writing and critiquing commercials.

But Baretto's voice has been all but overwhelmed by the roar of the outraged multitude. They complain with reason that not even access to expensive video equipment justifies the brainwashing of impressionable young minds—the exploitation of a captive teen audience by consumer-stalking advertisers as just another huge pocketful of change to be picked, with the tacit endorsement of school authority behind the picking.

Whittle executives gratuitously suggest that their four 30-second commercials can do no more harm than the 100 others statistics show that kids

view at home on the same day. This evades the point. One hundred daily marketeering assaults are far too many as it is.

The extent of Whittle's opposition is best measured by growing congressional interest in reforming children's television, a powerful expression of the way parents back home feel about television. One bill would impose a cap of 12 minutes of ads per hour on children's television weekdays, 10.5

The graphics effects pop and sizzle, crackle and implode. Encapsulated news summaries are so compressed as to be virtually incomprehensible.

minutes on weekends. Unlike Ronald Reagan, who vetoed similar legislation, President Bush favors the bill as an easy way to bolster his self-image as "education president." Legislators are also supporting programs to provide government funds for the production and distribution of more effective video materials as instructional aids, an increasingly important television activity.

Americans prefer to keep their controversies lean. Important though the ad issue is, the public debate touched off by Whittle has woefully overlooked other equally profound questions about the uses and purposes of American television. For example, the production styles of both NEWSROOM and CHANNEL ONE are glitz-ridden boilerplate. They perpetuate the cynical view of audiences by American media executives as physically hyperactive, but mentally brain-dead—more a reflection of their own overstressed conditions than those of their viewers.

The graphic effects pop and sizzle, crackle and implode. Encapsulated news summaries are so compressed as to be virtually incomprehensible to

kids basically helpless before such implied questions as what a religious fundamentalist is (in an item about Jim Bakker), and what Soviet separatism means (in a brief on a Moldavian language dispute with Moscow).

The on-air delivery styles are relentlessly breathless, sabotaging comprehension, with their insulting assumption that a more reasoned news delivery could bring on mental collapse. Lou Pugliesi, CNN's project manager for NEWSROOM, defended what he termed the "excitement inherent in the rush." And, in the imitative manner so characteristic of the media business, both services have teen-seeming anchors, both teams comprised of an attractive young black woman paired with a preppily attractive young white man.

Ed Winter, President of Whittle's CHANNEL ONE division, argues that teens only find credibility in TV news delivered by their peers, rejecting with a stroke even the possibility that caring elders, including teachers, have any useful social role to play in effectively passing on what they know about the world to the young. Turner as a design copycat would seem to agree.

Another unfortunate aspect of the affair is the extent to which some critics and educators have exploited the Whittle controversy to rail generally against any and all uses of instructional television, and to overlook the extent of video's increasing acceptance as a classroom teaching tool. Typical was educator Herbert Kohl, who suggested in *The New York Times* that teachers would misuse video to help them featherbed, and simply fill up teaching time.

With an elitist air, Kohl wrote that "pre-programmed materials, no matter how well done, are no substitute for creative instruction and active learning." Of course, one could make the same argument against heavy doses of assigned textbook readings.

The metaphorical monks in the scriptoria refuse to recognize the pos-

itive power of well-conceived, well-produced instructional television in homes as well as schools, as though *Sesame Street* and *The Voyage of the Mimi* and *One Two Three, Contact* had never happened. They doggedly continue to overlook the ubiquitousness of television in the daily lives of children, especially in low-income and minority households, their familiarity with the tube, for worse and for better, as a socializing and educating agent—and the teaching opportunities that presents.

They continue to fall prey to the myths that *all* television viewing is passive, overlooking proven educational video designs which stress active, cognitive student involvement in the learning process.

Another myth derives from traditionalist dogma that all reading is good and all video bad. As educators Milton Chen and William Marsh point out in *Media and Methods*, "this argument confuses the form of media with its content." They cite the instructional success story of *Reading Rainbow* as one of a number of video designs which have not only made "works of literature come alive" for young viewers, but have kindled active interest in reading.

Long before Whittle and Turner aimed glitz-casts to classrooms, schools have been using educational materials on film and video. And they've been getting better and better in exploiting the resource.

There is an accepted body of research which confirms the powerful educational value of instructional video in classrooms, particularly when gifted teachers are there to integrate the material into well-crafted courses.

The cable industry, anxious to repair a public image tarnished by the scent of monopoly, escalating consumer bills, and a dearth of community involvement, is becoming a busy

program supplier to the electronic classroom.

C-Span transmits a weekly feature package on the workings of government called *Short Subject*, a vital offering, though it needs some enlivening. The Discovery and Learning Channels, along with A&E, are offering schools a regular schedule of documentaries, telecourses, instructional productions, and performing arts specials. Study guides designed to help the teacher make use of the programs accompany many of the programs.

But cable's primary educational product is Ted Turner's NEWSROOM. At this writing, CNN says that more than two thousand high schools have signed on.

Motivated by a combination of altruism and concern over congressional sentiment about regulating cable, the industry has now formed the Cable Alliance for Education, dedicated to the goals of supplying cable drops and equipment to needy schools, and training teachers how to use video as an educational resource.

Then, there are the instructional programs offered by PBS, seen in one form or another by an estimated 27 million students.

There is the dramatic growth of such imaginative, though unpublicized, services as SERC (The Satellite Education Resources Consortium) based in Columbia, S.C., which downlinks interactive language courses, including Japanese, to 14,000 students in high schools otherwise unable to afford such courses.

As a communications innovator, the canny Whittle is aware of all this. In fact, he has been negotiating with major producers of instructional video in public television about underwriting and distributing their programs.

To overcome resistance to CHANNEL ONE, Whittle is offering to uplink a thousand hours yearly of such instructional programming to schools which take his ad-supported news as part of a separate educational service.

The Whittle-Turner war has thrown into bold relief the inadequacies of the patchwork system of broadcasting that Americans have been forced to settle for: commercial broadcasters willing to sacrifice the needs of the vulnerable young to the imperatives of pushing goods; public broadcasting anemically underfunded by a federal leadership paranoidly fearful of losing its power over an independent, well-fed public service; and an educational establishment quick to scorn Whittle, but unwilling to self-start a campaign to carry its ill-equipped schools into the electronic age.

A declaration of independence for a healthy public broadcasting system, and for the special video needs of all Americans, children and parents alike, could be underwritten by an annual set-licensing fee paid by beneficiaries, or by a tax on the profits of the Whittles and Turners, broadcasters and cable operators alike. Industry lobbyists can think of a lot of reasons why not. The Whittle debate suggests that there are even stronger reasons why.

A consortium of government and industry, educators and parents, can muster the will to devise a plan to provide the electronic hardware for schools that Whittle insists only advertisers can pay for. A nation able to spend billions to bail out troubled S&Ls can surely find a better way to bring sound educational television to classrooms than by hard-selling vulnerable kids—our abused, misused army of "Proto-adults"—and selling them short. ■

Jerry M. Landay is visiting associate professor of journalism at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. A broadcast journalist for three decades, he has served as a news correspondent for the Group W stations, ABC News and CBS News.

Showbiz vs. the Newsbiz?

"I think it's wrong for a journalist of your stature to appear on a sitcom," says Connie Chung, appearing on a sitcom tonight, chiding her glamorous fictional counterpart—Candice Bergen's Murphy Brown—for doing a sitcom walkon.

"Once you cross that line, you undermine your credibility. I feel strongly about that," Chung adds.

"Wink, wink. Cue the laugh track. This is fantasy.

"Change of scene: Two other star anchors, Sam Donaldson and Diane Sawyer, end a recent PrimeTime Live broadcast with Sawyer chiding her co-star for kicking the First Lady's dog during a recent White House tour. They bicker as a studio audience watches, laughs and breaks into applause.

"No this isn't a sitcom. This a news show.

"It's getting harder to tell the difference, isn't it?"

—Matt Roush,
USA TODAY

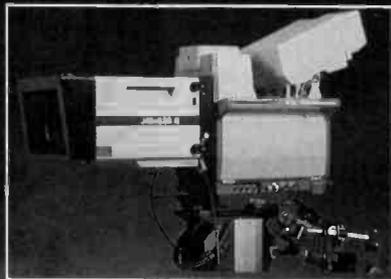
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DATELINE LONG ISLAND

A new kind of cable operation is proving that there are other ways of programming cable besides films, sports and reruns of reruns. It's all-news, all-the-time, but with a strictly hometown slant.

BY MICHAEL SKLAR

"This is News 12," the announcer proclaims in his best documentary narrator style. "From Montauk in the East to Great Neck in the West, news about Long Island! For the people of Long Island twenty-four hours every day. And now . . . the *Morning Edition!*"

With this curtain-raiser, backed by a snappy logo and rousing music, News 12 begins another day in its short lively existence. News 12 is a unique station. Well, not exactly a television station, but a pioneering cable operation that may be setting a pattern for local cable operators throughout the nation.

News 12 transmits over electronic cable to four community cable systems, linked together in a regional network that reaches virtually every city, town and village on Long Island. It cannot be seen in New York City, where it has no subscribers.

In a way, News 12 is the bouncing offspring of all-news radio, and Cable News Network. WINS, New York, was one of the first to air news-around-the-clock twenty-four hours a day, and Ted Turner developed the format to impressive new heights on television.

As a regional, localized service that brings hometown news to dozens of different hometowns, all on Long Island, this localized all-news channel is reaching a large and potentially lu-

crative market with an appealing specialized product. Operating under the shadow of the largest city in the country, it must deal with a difficult competitive problem: trying to attract national advertisers, and big local advertisers, competing against the audiences and programming of the major league over-the-air stations in the vast Metropolitan area: seven of them, including three network flagships, and four independents. Each of these stations maintains large news departments with popular anchors and reporters, and they blanket most of the area served by this cable newcomer.

But News 12 bases its programming on the concept that all those Long Islanders—two and a half million of them—aren't getting the local news they want from the big City outfits, and they are eager for more hometown TV news. They may be right. The prosperous Long Island economy supports one of the best and most profitable dailies in the United States—*Newsday*—plus dozens of ad-filled weekly newspapers, and many radio stations. There appears to be room for one TV service.

Long Island is a Kingdom on its own, the largest island in the continental United States, a narrow finger of land, closest to New York City at its western end, and 120 miles from the city at its eastern end. Despite the number of people who live and work there, the island has always been treated by the New York stations as just another sub-

urb of the big city. Consequently, L.I. has had to compete with all the other "suburbs" of New York for television coverage, and with scores of communities in nearby New Jersey and Connecticut as well. (The New York channels all promote their news as serving ". . . the tri-state area.")

The Long Island of News 12 consists of two large counties, Nassau on the west, bordering Queens and Brooklyn (New York City boroughs), and Suffolk on the east. Although Nassau was once primarily a bedroom community for the city, many L.I. residents now live and work on the Island, as commerce and industry have developed. (But the classic Long Island Railroad still has plenty of customers.)

There are 888,000 TV homes, more than 65 percent of which are hooked up to cable. What also makes it appealing for advertisers are the demographics. In 1987, Long Island was selected as the area with the most people with incomes over \$50,000. Spendable income per householder in that same year was \$41,000. If Long Island could be separated from the greater New York market, of which it is now a part, it would be the 23rd largest in the U.S.A.—roughly the equivalent of the Hartford/New Haven market.

But Long Island is more complex than that. Apart from the comparative new wealth of the Jay Gatsby region—after all, Scott Fitzgerald once lived in Great Neck—there is some big money of the old rich of the Gold Coast further out, where there still are polo fields and country hunts. And even farther out in the Hamptons, the summertime doings of the Rich and Famous, and occasionally infamous, enliven the swinging summer scene.

Still, the real basic Island people are neither rich nor famous, nor even affluent. There are plenty of middle-class communities of small home owners and apartment dwellers, and blue collar areas, too. Long Island is where post-war tract development really began—in Levittown.

The middle of the island has miles of dreary industrial districts and rural slums. There are factories, too, like Grumann Aviation which employs twenty-thousand workers. Also more and more high tech industries. That Long Island recently came in sixth in a poll of "The most desirable places to live" in the U.S.A., is no help to its businessmen who are finding it difficult to attract skilled workers and executives because housing is so expensive, and the highways so jammed.

In the unusual mix which is Long Island, there is also a farm audience to reach. Although the close-in potato fields have long ago been replaced by developments like Levittown, on the eastern fork of Long Island there are still properous potato and cauliflower farms, holding out against the encroaching developers.

So this is the scene where News 12 is trying to make it—and make money.

News 12 staffers like to think of themselves as pioneers, breaking ground for a new kind of television news network, based on regional and community cable systems. News Director Norman Fein says "This is a new frontier, because it is a new way of getting news to people."

Melba Tolliver is one of the channel's key anchor persons. Having served at WABC-TV as a reporter and anchor in its formative years, the idea of News 12 had a special appeal for her; she had the same sense of being in on the ground floor of something really new that she had once experienced at the ABC outlet. "And I said, 'Wow! They are really doing something exciting over there on Long Island.' "

Bill Zimmerman, who had been an ABC network correspondent also comments on the station's emphasis on local news. "I've come to believe journalism is most important at the local level. The issue of the Shoreham

nuclear reactor here on the island, or a local school tax, is more important to the average person than what's happening in Beirut today—and I've been to both."

The enthusiasm of journalists like Tolliver and Zimmerman is reflected in the atmosphere of the channel's workplace.

By 9 AM, News 12's production center in Woodbury, Long Island, about 35 miles from New York City, is working at top speed. You've seen it elsewhere, the controlled tension in the studio, the noisy crowded newsroom, where phones are ringing, last-minute conferences are taking place and writers are bent over their word processors.

In this scene of controlled confusion, a young reporter in one of the editing rooms has one eye on the clock as she rushes to finish cutting her tape in time for the next edition. It's all familiar, but something here is puzzling until you realize what it is. Television attracts young people; but the people here are youthful, even by TV conventional standards. Few are past their forties, most are in their thirties, and some are even younger.

In this setting the station's chief operating officer, Norman Fein, is easily identified by the amount of silver in his hair. Fein is a tall man who manages to combine a sense of leadership with an open friendly manner. He seems to be liked by the staff and moves around the newsroom like a benign father figure. He came to News 12 after years of service in television newsrooms around the country, including WNBC and WABC in New York City. He is reluctant at first to discuss his age or the age of his crew, causing you to wonder if he is concerned about television's cult of youth. He admits finally to being in his mid-fifties.

Fein's second-in-command is the station's executive producer, Glenn Fishkin. Fishkin looks like he might have been a college football player. He has an athlete's body, his move-

ments are quick, and his manner is decisive. His credits include stints in the WCBS newsroom in New York City and CNN, the Cable News Network in Atlanta. All this at age 29.

Reporter Carolyn Gussoff is bone-weary by three o'clock in the afternoon. She was up at five in the morning, arrived at News 12 headquarters before six, reported her first story of the day by nine, and now she is working as an anchorperson, standing in for the regular anchor who phoned in sick.

Carolyn is twenty-five years old, slim, petite, attractive—and unmarried. "That will have to wait," she says.

Right now she is too busy with her career. Asked why so many young people are working here, she replies that News 12 is a good place in which to break into the business. People are attracted by the station's proximity to New York City. "You get exposure here. People in the city can see your work. And you get the chance to do almost everything here, like being a reporter and an anchorperson all in the same day."

After graduating from the Columbia University School of Journalism, Ms. Gussoff landed a job at a television station in Florida. After less than two years there, she came to News 12.

This morning she covered a residential fire in which a child was badly burned. "We see terrible things," she says, "but it's part of the job, and we try not to let it get us down."

Gussoff says she is a news freak, watches the news constantly, even when she is not working. "So much happens off the cuff. There's always the possibility to go live at any time. So I have to know what's going on. I have to be ready."

There are things about News 12 she does not mention. Like working long hours. Like being paid about one-third less than she would get in the city for doing the same work. Like the total

absence of unions.

Norman Fein says the production staff is a good mix of young people working with a core group of mature professionals, a case of balancing the dash of youth with the caution that comes with years of experience.

In addition to Fein and Fishkin, there are seven line producers, seven assistant producers, fourteen writers, fourteen anchors, twelve reporters and twelve cameramen. Featured talent includes Joe Cook, who does a two-minute commentary on the lighter side of the news; Francis Purcell, an old-line Island politico who discusses current Long Island politics; a cooking feature with chef Stan Dworkin; and a mini-debate with Robert McMillan and Stephen Villano arguing social and political issues.

The regular weather reporters are Joe Cioffi and Roberto Tirado, and field reporters often double as financial reporters, movie critics and the like. Add to all these the staffs of the art department, computer graphics, the 25 member studio staff and miscellaneous personnel and you come up with a total of one hundred and twenty-five full-time people.

News 12's equipment is equal to any you might find in a good television station anywhere. The editing and mixing rooms, graphics department and studio are first-rate. There are three ENG electronic newsgathering trucks for broadcasting directly from the scene of a nearby news story and one SNG satellite truck for broadcasting directly via the Telstar satellite from distances beyond the range of the ENG equipment.

The satellite truck has an important role in daily operations. Without it, coverage of news breaking on the eastern end of the island would be difficult. Norman Fein comments, "Most of the time we need our SNG truck just to broadcast out of Suffolk County. Most stations use their SNG equipment two or three times a week. We usually use ours two or three times a day."

Because operations at News 12 never come completely to a stop, it's hard to say when the day begins. Staffers begin coming in at 3 AM to work on the *Morning Edition*. Thereafter, they appear as scheduled. They produce four complete one-hour newscasts every 24 hours. Each broadcast tries to serve the needs and interests of the audience at the time. So the *Morning Edition*, broadcast at 6:00 AM, is weighted heavily toward people going to work, and mothers getting their children off to school. For them, lots of weather and traffic reports, plus the morning's major news stories, updates of stories that broke earlier, sports, and features. Most of this material is live in the studio or live on location. A taped version of the program is broadcast every hour on the hour, from 7 AM to 9 AM.

The *Daytime Edition*, aired at 9 AM, is also repeated on tape every hour on the hour until 5 PM. This broadcast assumes a primary audience of women, and includes in addition to updated major stories, many features and interviews on subjects of interest to women.

At 5 PM the *Evening Edition* is broadcast. This edition is also taped while it is being aired, and is repeated on tape every hour until 10:00 PM. This edition is targeted at an audience of people who are finished with work and want to know what has been happening during the day. For them, major stories are updated, with more emphasis on national and international news. To this, of course, are added local news and news features, and sports. Like the others, *Evening Edition* is repeated on tape every hour on the hour until 10:00 PM, when the *Night Edition* is aired.

Night Edition differs in one important respect; it is made up entirely from taped stories that appeared earlier in the day. It is shown every hour on the hour without any changes. The tape will be edited only to make room in the newscast for a major breaking story

if one should occur during the night. To cover such news breaks, a reporter and camera operator stand by all through the night. At 6:00 AM, the 24 hour cycle is completed as the *Morning Edition* is broadcast.

Why no live operations during the night hours? Executives explain that the expense of operating the studio would be too great. "No station could afford it, not even the network stations."

Critics say the claim that *News 12* produces four complete one-hour newscasts is misleading. They point out that *Night Edition* could hardly be called a complete new program, since it consists entirely of taped stories that were broadcast earlier in the day. And sometimes, they add, *Night Edition* uses taped material that appeared the day before.

They find a similar flaw in the other three editions. Too often, they say, outdated stories are repeated as fillers, although they may have little or nothing to do with the current day's news.

For *News 12*, the reporting of local news is a staple. New York City stations devote only about 15% of their newscasts to Long Island news. *News 12* reverses that statistic, giving 85% of its coverage to local stories and only 15% to the rest of the world. On a day when the city stations may be featuring a major political story from Washington, *News 12*'s lead story may be the search for a little girl lost in the woods of Long Island. During a routine *News 12* broadcast one day recently, 25 of 32 stories were about Long Island. Most items have a distinctly small-town flavor. The town of Babylon opened a new type of garbage incinerator. A traffic accident on the Long Island Expressway. The mercy killing of an aged sick woman by her aged husband. The public demand for an additional traffic light in Bohemia.

National and international events

whenever possible are given a Long Island angle. When Long Island victims of the PanAm plane bombing over Scotland were brought home, *News 12* was there to interview relatives at the airport. During the Armenian earthquake crisis, *News 12* ran several stories about local Armenians, and what they were doing to help relatives in the Soviet Union. During Gorbachev's visit to Washington, Long Islanders were polled on the question, "Do you trust Gorbachev?" . . . And so it goes.

News 12 goes to extremes sometimes in its efforts to capture the loyalty of Long Islanders. A *News 12*-produced promo shows a young man speaking to camera.

"I'm a Long Islander," he says, "and I'm proud of it!" This appeal to local patriotism is followed by a singing jingle. "The long and short of it," the singer puns, "is Long Island pride."

Long Island activists, as represented by The Coalition For Fair Broadcasting, are pleased. "*News 12* has helped to put us on the map," declares director Abby Kenigsberg. "It has underscored the vigor of this market, and so has helped Long Island's place in the universe." The Coalition has long campaigned for greater coverage of L.I. by the seven New York commercial stations.

How do television news experts rate this newcomer to television news? Not long ago, *Long Island Magazine* asked that question on the second anniversary of *News 12*'s beginning:

"We asked five distinguished media experts to review a sample three-hour tape of *News 12* broadcasts," the article states. Panel members included Ed Joyce, former president of CBS News; Marlene Sanders, former CBS-TV correspondent; Edwin Diamond, media critic for *New York Magazine*; Osborne Elliot, former editor-in-chief of *Newsweek*; and Reuven Frank, former president of NBC news. Here's a summary of their reactions.

The on-air talent (anchors, reporters), the panel agrees, was an interesting mix of the seasoned and the green. Anchors Melba Tolliver and Bill Zimmerman got the highest overall ratings; Tolliver for her on-air ease; Zimmerman for his professionalism. "Melba is the most comfortable with the format," says Sanders. Adds Diamond, "They are as good as you'll find in the independents. I like Zimmerman a lot."

News 12 gets good marks for production quality (set, editing, graphics). But the experts feel the set, while professional, lacks Long Island flavor. Says Diamond, "It could have been in Cleveland or Detroit."

"There's plenty of hard news and a commendably low quotient of fluff," says Elliot. But the station loses points for its treatment of the soft stuff. "There was a story about Suffolk County banning yellow legal pads," say Frank. "Here was a chance to really let go, and they just clumped along. They don't have the light touch."

The experts also think News 12 should initiate more stories, rather than simply reacting to what's happening each day. "They should not be trying to be another quick, local news full of police blotter stories," explains Joyce. "They should be going beyond that."

Overall, the panel members felt the channel was professional and, in many categories, on par with what the network affiliates offer in New York. Says Joyce, "I have to respect what they have been able to achieve." All see room for improvement, however.

This writer, a professional with forty years of experience in radio and television news and documentary production, lives on Long Island, and is a longtime viewer of News 12. On the whole, I agree with the critique above. I would like, however, to add a few comments:

The cast's attempts at so-called happy talk along the lines of the old

"EyeWitness" newscasts are sometimes awkward to the point of embarrassment, particularly the exchanges between the anchors and the weather forecasters.

The political comments by commentator Francis Purcell often are about Long Island topics so special and arcane they leave the viewer feeling more ignorant than informed.

The mini-debates on political and social subjects between Robert McMillan and Stephen Villano seem at times to suffer from a lack of real conviction on the part of the debaters. In fact, on one broadcast they both found themselves on the same side of the argument, much to their chagrin and my amusement.

Finally, why the *Long Island Newsreel*? Those film clips from yesteryear were not funny when they were first played in movie theatres 30/40/50 years ago. All the more reason why News 12 should not play them and repeat them over and over.

Is News 12 succeeding in its efforts to build an audience large enough to attract large national as well as local advertisers? To that question there is no quick answer because Nielsen and the other major rating companies treat Long Island as part of the New York City metropolitan market. Long Island thus gets no ratings of its own.

Because they don't have ratings, they can't go to advertisers and say, "Look, we're doing a 7." News 12 has to look to other ways to demonstrate the effectiveness of a buy."

To some extent, News 12's progress can be estimated in terms of recent acceptance by advertisers. The channel charges an average of \$300 for a 30-second commercial; the city stations charge \$3,000 and up for a 30-second announcement. In a recent campaign, the European American Bank, a major L.I. institution, spent 25% of its two million dollar budget with the cable outlet.

"We were looking for something that would concentrate on Nassau and Suffolk," explains the bank's spokeswoman, Jill Kingdon. "We felt that going to the New York City media would have blown our whole two million dollars in a week, and we would not have had the same reach."

Peter Stasso, director of local broadcast advertising for BBD&O, ran three campaigns on News 12. He echoes Ms. Kingdon. "We felt it had good value," says Stasso. "It's well produced, very professionally presented. And it covers two of the most lucrative counties in the country. Also the prices are a lot less than the city."

Most encouraging to the staff is the growing acceptance of the channel by the broadcasting industry's media. *Broadcasting* recently declared "News 12 continues to be to local cable journalism what CNN is to national cable journalism, a leader in its field."

News 12 is now starting to attract major national advertisers like Beck's Beer, Lever Brothers and American Express. Curiously, the look of the local advertisers varies. Some, the product of local agencies, are professional; and others, produced by the local clients themselves, remind a viewer of the sort of TV ads you saw in the Howdy Doody days of television.

The all-news channel, however, is still not in the black; although it's climbing to the break-even point. In 1987, its first full year of operation, it budgeted \$6,500,000 and earned about \$3,200,000. In 1988, the station spent approximately \$7,000,000 and earned about \$4,200,000. The projected expense for 1989 totals about \$7,900,000, with expected revenues of about \$5,800,000.

News, as any television network, TV station, or all-news radio station, can tell you, is a very expensive product. The eventual rewards though can be substantial.

This channel's management seems

undaunted by its red figures. Losses were expected for the first five years, according to Norman Fein. Actually, it is said, News 12 is operating financially ahead of expectations.

But what if these expectations are inflated? In the losses column, how much is too much? How far is Charles Dolan, the enterprising and visionary cable pioneer who conceived the idea of News 12, willing to go in pursuit of those enticing profits?

"If there is a limit to our commitment," says Dolan, "we haven't reached it yet."

In fact, Dolan's remarkable career—which parallels the growth of community cable from its small beginnings more than three decades ago—demonstrates that he has the courage, and the bucks, to stay with an idea he believes in. In 1961, he founded the nation's first big city community cable service in Manhattan; ten years later, he played a major role in launching Home Box Office. In 1973, he started a small cable operation in Nassau County, which has become the dominant cable company on Long Island, the parent of the giant Cablevision Systems Corporation which owns and operates cable TV systems in eleven states, including New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and California.

With News 12 apparently on its way to success, Dolan reportedly may be preparing already to extend his commitment to the News 12 concept. A senior Cablevision executive said recently that plans already are under way for all-news operations in areas where Cablevision has substantial community cable systems. Obviously, suburban Connecticut, Westchester in New York, and Orange County, California are fertile markets for the Dolan format.

California-based media analyst Larry Gerbradt predicts local or regional news services are going to become increasingly important to the cable industry. If you look at the top twenty markets, you could make a case

that at some point you will have the critical mass of cable subscribers to create another News 12.

Meanwhile, on Long Island the news beat goes on. . . . Unlike programmers who depend on attracting audiences with comedy, drama or sports, News 12 relies on a product which regenerates itself every twenty-four hours. ■

Michael Sklar has devoted himself to writing, since he retired from the hectic world of producing documentaries and films. He was one of the writers and producers of the classic CBS documentary series *Adventure*. He also recalls, wryly, being a producer of one of CBS television's many attempts at building a show to compete with *Today*. "It was a Morning Show that starred, believe it or not, Walter Cronkite and Charlemagne the Lion, a puppet." Sklar now lives in Easthampton, Long Island.

“
QUOTE
UNQUOTE
”

Olympic Economics

"In 1988 ABC paid \$309 million for the U.S. rights to televise the Winter Olympics in Calgary. Guess how much all of Western Europe paid for its rights? \$150 million? \$50 million? Try \$5.7 million. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe combined paid \$1.2 million. And Canada the host country with an economy one-tenth the size of ours, paid about one-hundredth of what the United States did—\$3.65 million.

"Surprised? Well, the Calgary experience was not unusual. . . . NBC paid the Olympic organizers \$300 million for the rights to broadcast the 1988 Summer Games in Seoul. In comparison, Western Europe with a population 25 per cent larger than that of the United States and an economy about as large, paid just \$28 million. . . . Even though much of the rest of the developed world has almost caught up with U.S. per capita incomes, the U.S. share of financing the Olympics has not declined.

"So America is bankrolling much of the Olympic movement."

—Robert Z. Lawrence
with Jeffrey D. Pellegrum,
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A FAN OF LUCY'S

BY THOMAS J. COTTLE

Hattie Dinsmore died two years ago at age eighty-seven. Like millions of Americans she was an avid television follower, and like millions of Americans, she loved Lucille Ball. Lucy, naturally, wasn't the only television personality Hattie cared about, for Hattie Dinsmore prided herself that she went way back with Milton Berle, Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca. She remembered all too well the old Culp and *Cosby I Spy*, series, although she scoffed at *Cosby* in that format. She remarked once:

"First they make black folks out to be the dumbest folks on earth, which of course ain't true, then they turn around and portray them like university professors and make the white boy the athlete without the brains. TV's trying hard, you understand, but sometimes they come up with a little bit of pecan pie on their faces, you know what I'm saying."

Living the last five decades of her life in Boston after growing up in South Carolina, Hattie Dinsmore claimed she spent as much time in front of her television as "any other child" in the country. "They're always worried about how much the children are watching. Worried, like, they'll rot their brains. Guess they don't worry none about old folks. I guess they figure we've already rotted our brains about as much as they're ever going to rot."

There she would sit, alone if need be, but more likely with her daughter or granddaughter or great granddaughter, little Dara, all of them practically melded to the set. "And laugh. There isn't a better audience in the

city," her grandson Jamaal proclaimed. "You put Lucy or Jackie Gleason or Bob Newhart up there, and you can hear these ladies laugh the other side of Providence, Rhode Island."

Hattie Dinsmore diligently put in her time with the daytime soaps, tried her best to keep all the story lines in her head so she could relay them to her relatives who missed the episodes, but she never found them engrossing. Nothing like the sitcoms which she experienced over and over again. In her later years, there was no better medicine than the comedians.

Ten years ago I gave up practically everything the doctor told me to take. Kept up with the blood pressure medicine but spilled the rest of those pills down the toilet. Let the fish go swallow them, make them healthy like I never was from them. Better off with Lucy any day. Woman comes into my room, you understand what I'm saying. Woman isn't just on the television, she comes into this room here with me, with those long legs of hers, and all that red hair jumping about. Second she shows up you hear all those people laughing. Has to make you laugh, no matter how sick you are. I got a great granddaughter lies down next to me, she's laughing, and eighty years down the road, here I am, her great grandmother, laughing right with her, tears coming out my eyes like I was a baby younger than her. Here I am hugging my great grandchild, don't you see, because of what that lady's doing on television.

They tell me they used sound tracks in those days, sounds of people laughing from off a radio show.

Don't make no difference when it comes to Lucy. What the hell's the difference if it's live or tape! And I got her shows on tape. I'd move out of this city to get that woman's shows on tape. Feel a little down, you just put one of those old shows in there, and now you ain't alone no more. I tell my children, we're having a ball now, get it? She's the ball. Lord, it's like I am going to a ball with that lady. You know, when you have the power to make a person laugh, you got some special power. But when everybody in this country's doing the exact same thing, sitting in front of some silly old machine, laughing their fool heads off because of this lady, then I say you just got some of the power of the Lord.

How many people you know can do what that woman does? How many women you know can do that, make a man laugh? Tough old sour old man, sitting there grumpy one minute, ain't saying nothing, sitting there like a big old stone, and then suddenly you hear him laughing and he ain't ashamed one bit to let you know he's laughing with his belly. Man can't catch his breath. And you're laughing with him, like a couple of children. And why you all laughing? Why you all forgetting the fact the man's lost his job, or this one ain't been going to school like he should, or that one's father ain't been around the house for five months, or this one got all embarrassed in the supermarket 'cause someone said something about her food stamps? Why's everybody forgetting all these things? I'll tell you why in two words: Lucille Ball. She come on the television and everybody, and I mean everybody in the country forgets all the bad things happened to them that day, and they just laugh. Lucy runs around and folks forget what they was so scared about two minutes ago. You just put away your worries when that woman shows her face. Don't nothing hurt in my body

when I hear her screaming at Ethel and Fred, and mister everything hurts when the commercials come back on.

That woman going to die, this country going to cry one whole lot of tears. Folks don't know that yet. Old people, people like me, thinking every once in a while about dying, we know about things like that. This country's going to miss her plenty. They got all the tapes and all, so they can see her whenever they want, but it's going to be different knowing she's not out there somewhere.

The voice of Lucille Ball wasn't the last voice Hattie Dinsmore heard, but the television was on in her small bedroom when Jamaal found her dead the morning of January 18, 1987. It was the face of Barnaby Jones that Jamaal saw as he reached down to turn off Hattie's television set for the last time. She had loved Barnaby Jones too, but he couldn't hold a candle to Lucy. Nobody could hold a candle to Lucy, not even some of Hattie's own family, they laughingly would recall.

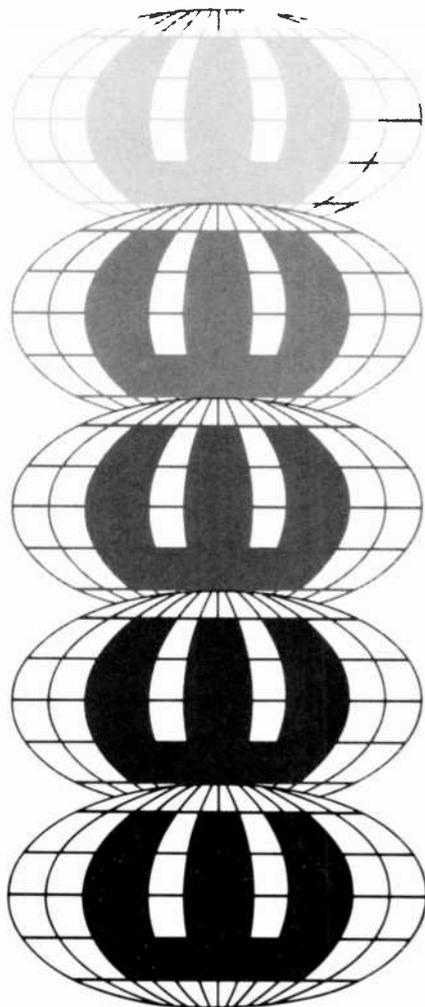
Now, in the last weeks, the family has been reflecting once again on the peculiar bond that the late Hattie Dinsmore, a descendant of slaves, had made with the late Lucille Ball. The bond might well have fascinated Miss Ball herself. But surely the great comedian renowned for her pratfalls, sight gags and mime, would have been especially intrigued by the bond had she known that the late Hattie Dinsmore was born blind. ■

Thomas J. Cottle is Lecturer on Psychology at Harvard Medical School. His books include *Children's Secrets: Hidden Survivors*, and *Private Lives and Public Accounts*. He is a regular contributor to the news and to *Good Day* on WCVB, Boston.

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JOHN CHANCELLOR: LAST AARDVARK IN THE ZOO

BY ARTHUR UNGER

While some critics rate NBC News Senior Commentator John William Chancellor as "professorial," "bland," or "colorless," he envisions himself as a unique and exotic creature. "The last aardvark in the zoo" is how he described himself to me in his modest office tucked away in the NBC 30 Rockefeller Plaza headquarters.

Certainly he looks professorial—checked shirt with sleeves rolled up, blue tie, horn-rimmed glasses, dragging thoughtfully on an unlit pipe in his mouth. But he seems to be trying very hard to be pragmatic and conciliatory, burying within what might be considered aggressive answers lots of defensive "I think"s. He uses "I think" the way some people use "You know" as speech punctuation.

If you came upon him sitting with a sandwich, an apple and a lapful of commentary notes on one of the benches overlooking the skating rink at Rockefeller Plaza across the street, you could easily mistake him for a teacher on a lunch break. While he seems to belong to the world of academia, actually John William Chancellor, known as Little Jack to family and Jack to friends and associates, possesses very thin academic credentials.

After only a few years at the University of Illinois where he studied history and philosophy, he dropped out to become a copyboy at the Chicago Sun-Times where

he worked as a reporter for a couple of years before joining the staff of the NBC affiliate WMAQ in Chicago as a radio newswriter. From there it was NBC-TV and, since 1950, he has never left the sheltering arms of NBC News foreign and domestic bureaus, except for a two-year stint as director of the Voice of America, the radio arm of the U.S. Information agency, during the administration of Lyndon Johnson.

Now, on his desk is a sign which he moves front and center to discourage idle gossipers when he is at work on his thrice-weekly NBC Nightly News commentaries: "Writer On Deadline—Do Not Disturb."

On a shelf of the bookcase there is another sign: "Avenge yourself—live long enough to be a problem to your children." His three children are grown up and on their own.

On a table nearby are two framed letters from Nixon-era Charles Colson. One is addressed to John Scali, bitterly complaining about Chancellor's "scandalous, shabby journalism." Next to it is another letter from Colson addressed to Chancellor, written just a month later, graciously thanking him for his hospitality.

Chancellor believes that as "the only aardvark in the zoo"—just about the only one doing regular news commentary on television these days—he has an obligation to be guarded in his opinions. "Centrist" is what he calls himself.

"For years I called myself a member of the extreme center. I try to discipline

myself in the commentaries so that I don't get angry too often on the air. I think the worst thing I could do would be to be a 61-year-old professional man getting angry every night. That offends my sense of taste. So, when I do get angry, I think it has more impact." This interviewer cannot imagine John Chancellor in a rage, however.

"People here at NBC say to me "We love it when you get mad," and I think to myself "That's fine but only once in a while."

In recent times he is remembered for two angry commentaries. One, during the Israeli-Lebanon conflict when he denounced "Imperial Israel." And again, during the recent presidential election campaign when he told his audience: "Read my nose—you'll have to hold it if you're viewing the Bush campaign." Both commentaries stimulated much hate mail and stirred viewer response to new highs.

With NBC Nightly News frequently in Number Three position, there is bound to be pressure on Chancellor to heat up his commentaries. But, he does not plan to change, ratings be damned. "I don't think people can or ought to get angry every night!" he told me indignantly. But a moment later he was telling me how network news has become so profit driven . . . all of which doesn't augur well for his kind of quiet, thoughtful commentary in future news-program re-organization.

Chancellor's TV News credentials cannot be topped by anybody in the business today. He has covered every presidential campaign from Dwight Eisenhower through George Bush's and has interviewed every president since Harry Truman, every British Prime Minister since Clement Atlee, every Israeli Prime Minister since Golda Meier. He has been NBC's chief White House correspondent and reported from more than 50 countries. He has anchored the NBC Nightly News as well as the Today Show.

He insists in the interview that the Today show has not gone soft. "Way back in the beginning one of our regulars was a chimpanzee, for God's sake!" he says.

We talked on a Friday afternoon when he didn't have to work on a commentary. He has an apartment in Manhattan and a house in Pound Ridge, New York. But he was off to a hideaway on Nantucket to work on a book. When I indicated the next day to his staff that I needed to ask him a few more questions, he called me at home from Nantucket.

"Listen," I said, "when I interviewed you last year you said something that I'd like to update based on your feelings today. Can I read what you said?"

"Shoot," he said.

I read it back to Chancellor: "When it was Bill Paley or David Sarnoff's network, they held it in the palm of their hands. They made the decisions. They would go to parties and listen to their friends yell at them about the news coverage on their network or praise them about it. There was that link of personal accountability that no longer exists for many of these communications companies. And I say this without prejudice to Larry Tisch or Bob Wright because they are people of their times. It's the times that bother me more than the players. GE owns this company and I'm not sure exactly how that relationship is going to play out. GE is a perfectly good, honest company. But it's a different relationship than we had when General Sarnoff was living above the store."

Chancellor chuckled. "Boy, you really smoothed that out. It really flows. Thanks."

"I didn't change one word!" I swore. "Does it reflect your feelings right now?"

"Yup. Go ahead and use it."

How was the book coming? Harper & Row had informed me that they are planning it for their Spring list with the tentative title *Peril and Promise: A Commentary On America*.

"I'm trying to finish it up. You know there are many books about declinism in America. Well, my book will not be a declinist book although it does say in effect that unless we rethink the way we run this country it is likely that the Japanese and Europeans will pass us and America will go into some decline. But

I say with equal urgency that most Americans don't realize that we're still the strongest economy in the world and we still have sufficient strength left to recover. Maybe we'll have to go on a war-time footing. But unless we do something about the way we produce goods, educate our children, run our politics, then we are in grave peril. That's what my book is all about."

John Chancellor knows that his critics call him too professorial and unexciting. But, he refuses to get riled.

"I grew up in an America where professorial was a compliment. And as to unexciting—remember I've been on the news for 19 years and 19 years in the major leagues means that somebody must be finding me exciting enough to pay attention."

That's how you get to be the last aardvark in the zoo.

UNGER: *Have you found that your experience in newspapering has been a positive factor in your growth in television?*

CHANCELLOR: I think it was a decisive factor in my career. Having been a newspaperman only for a short time, but having grown up more or less in Chicago in a newspaper culture, the attitudes and work habits that I had I think were not common to broadcasting at that time.

I have often said and I keep repeating endlessly that journalism of any kind, whether it is printed or broadcast, involves words and writing. The teaching that I had at the old *Chicago Times* and the *Sun Times* about writing, probably made the difference in my career because I can write. I may not be a great writer, but I'm a competent journalistic writer and I do know that it is all in words and words force you to say what you mean.

UNGER: *Had your family life somehow directed you towards words? Was your father or mother involved with words?*

CHANCELLOR: Both my father and mother were, I think, eloquent people, but my father wanted me to be a lawyer and my mother thought that journalism was really very close to organized crime. I mean she really didn't think this was the way her son sought to lead his life. My father told me in sorrow that I was condemning myself to a life of poverty outside society. I think he was absolutely right, but I didn't care. I think truly that I have done very well in life in that department but if I had stayed on the low end of the pay scale, I think I still would have been a happy journalist. I don't find that the money has ever really made much of a difference in my career. I just found it a glorious experience. The community of journalists on a newspaper is still one of the most attractive things that I find in life.

UNGER: *Do you think that if the time comes when you do retire from television, you might move back into journalism?*

CHANCELLOR: My plan is to be a book writer. My hope is that I would be able to leave NBC after many, many years—they've asked me to stay on a little bit after my 65th birthday which comes up in '92.

By then, I would hope that books would be coming out once every 18 months or two years or so, so that I could go on doing that. I have thought, and I know I could probably do it if I wanted to, I might do a syndicated column.

UNGER: *Won't you feel a bit naked doing a book since your commentaries tend to be so guarded?*

CHANCELLOR: Well, there are various reasons for a guarded commentary and I accept your word "guarded." But "Centrist" is what I would say. For years, I called myself a member of the extreme center. I don't think that being the only commentator for NBC allows you to adopt a consistent ideological position. I'm not sure I have a consistent ideological position. Actually, I am the only commen-

tator on commercial network television. On PBS MacNeil/Lehrer has some. And Andy Rooney is a commentator but Andy doesn't write the kinds of things that I write. I guess I am the last aardvaark in the zoo. Thinking about the word "guarded", I try to discipline myself in the commentaries so that I don't get angry too often on the air. I think the worst thing I could do would be a 61-year professorial man getting angry every night. That offends my sense of taste. I don't think people can or ought to get angry every night. So that when I do get angry, I think it has more impact—but I think I would be out of a job if I got angry all the time.

People here at NBC have said to me, "We love it when you get mad." And I think to myself, "That's fine, but only once in awhile." I don't want to be a middle-aged Morton Downey getting angry every night. I don't even think there are enough things to get angry about. I think that commentary is partly personal but an awful lot of it is analysis and explanation and providing people with a different point of view: giving them another way to look at something.

UNGER: *People remember your commentary about "imperial Israel" during the Israel-Lebanon war. And more recently, they remember your sharp criticisms during the political campaign.*

CHANCELLOR: I criticized Dukakis and I criticized Bush. But I don't think in fairness to the viewer, that NBC should hire somebody who is either an overt or a covert conservative or liberal. I don't think that's fair. I have a large platform when you think about it and what I don't want to do is to endanger it with partisan crap that is ideological. I am still in that sense a reporter. The pieces I'm the most satisfied with are not the emotional pieces but the ones which give people a view of the world they might not have had otherwise. And that really is essentially the business I'm in. Dick Wald, former NBC news executive, says I'm an analyst but not a commentator.

UNGER: *Do you think that a commentator or an analyst can really affect public opinion or government action?*

CHANCELLOR: I doubt it. I think what it does is add a voice to the discourse. And if it can make people think that—oh, for example, that Gorbachev is not a creature of the League of Women Voters or the ACLU, which many Americans seem to think, you can force them to think more seriously about why the KGB and the Russian military support Gorbachev and perestroika and glasnost, then you've done some kind of service to these people because it makes them think differently. It makes them read their newspapers differently and watch television differently.

The other thing about writing commentaries, is that you are always trolling for ideas. You're always finding different ways to look at things because when we work in television, we work very often on big commercial network programs with the accepted wisdom. And I try to be contrary if I can, when I can. When I think it's valuable, when I think it's valid. Sometimes I go down to *Nightly News* and they say, "Wow! Do you really want to say that?" And I say, "Oh, yes." That's the best reaction I can get from them because then that means the audience will say, "I never thought of it that way."

UNGER: *Have you ever been stopped from saying what you wanted to say?*

CHANCELLOR: No, never. Not in all these years. The only piece that NBC ever stopped of mine and looking back on it, I think they may have been right, was years ago when I was called the national affairs correspondent—that was in the late 1960s—a particularly gifted cameraman named Bill Birch and I did a profile of Newark, NJ which was then undergoing riots and the central city had been pretty much emptied out of white people. We did it in slow motion and it was an extraordinary effective piece of film.

Reuven Frank at NBC said, "No, I don't think you ought to run that. That's prop-

agenda." They were also getting heavy pressure from the City of Newark not to run it. But looking back on it, I think Reuven was right. I don't think you should do news reports in slow motion. Now, I'd gotten all caught up in the idea of cinema and making movies and I'd gone off the reservation. I'm sorry I don't have a copy of it now. It was very powerful.

UNGER: *You were an early host of the Today show, weren't you?*

CHANCELLOR: I replaced Dave Garroway on *Today* when NBC took the control of the program away from the entertainment people and gave it to the news people. They took me out of the NBC Moscow bureau and made me the host of the morning television program here which was very uncomfortable for me and I didn't like it. So I quit, but it took 14 months to get Hugh Downs to come in and do it or it may have been McGee—I can't remember—but I was Garroway's replacement.

UNGER: *Do you think the morning programs are a legitimate part of network news?*

CHANCELLOR: I think they have become much more a legitimate part of network news because I think they are now the agora—the Roman forum where people get to speak. The number of Government officials who now regard it as part of their jobs to appear on the morning television programs to explain government policies, to comment on crises; that has just multiplied in the last 10 or 15 years enormously. I'm not sure that it has anything to do with the keen questioning of the anchors. I'm not saying anything against Bryant or Jane—they ask good questions—but if you watch these programs, you notice that politicians and Government officials are now trained not to answer the question but to say what they want to say. I think it's a pretty valuable addition to the public discourse in this country. I think if you skip around, especially in the first hour of those programs or the first half-hour, you do find out where your Government

stands and you find out where the political opposition stands. I think to some degree, this is a valuable thing in a media-crazed society like ours.

UNGER: *Who are some of the best interviewers on television?*

CHANCELLOR: Well, I'd have to say Ted Koppel. I would have to say Garrick Utley. I would have to say Bryant Gumbel. I would have to say Charles Osgood in a softer way. I would have to say David Brinkley in his almost colonial Southern way sometimes can ask the perfect question that sounds like a dumb question and turns out to be very sophisticated. I think the trick in asking questions is to ask the question that is on the mind of the viewers you are representing. We are surrogates for the viewers when we interview. So asking a dumb question is very often a smart thing.

UNGER: *You mentioned Koppel first. Do you think he's the best?*

CHANCELLOR: No, I don't think Ted is the best. I think he is in that mix of people who are very skilled. What I do appreciate with Koppel is his ability to edit the answers that are coming in. When people begin to stray, he has a knack of being able to cut in and bring people back to the point at hand that I think is without parallel.

UNGER: *And never letting anybody off the hook somehow.*

CHANCELLOR: He's very good at knowing what he wants to get out of an interview. I've been out on the road being interviewed by people on local television plugging a book a friend of mine and I wrote a few years ago, and you don't have to answer the questions. Because most people on local television at any rate, both morning and even the evening programs, ask a question and look down to see what the next question is and don't listen to the answer.

I found this in wonderful comic ways during the last Presidential campaign where you could say to Michael Dukakis, "How's your mother?" and he

would say, "Well, she's fine. She's still for good jobs at good wages and nuclear peace and. . ."—They all go on this way and it is kind of fun to watch television. I think the point I'm making is a serious one and that is that the message of the person being interviewed usually gets across if they are at all skilled in this. They get to say what they want.

UNGER: *So that the interviewee is more and more taking over the interview on television.*

CHANCELLOR: I think that is the case and I don't mind that. When I say it's the agora or the forum, I think it helps to get different points of view expressed. And I think most people from Ralph Nader to Senator Helms know how to say what they want to say on TV now. And there are schools for it and people learn by imitation. I don't think there's much editing in those interviews which raises another question: I mean, what is journalism? Is it electronics just to put on Senator So-and-So or Secretary So-and-So, ask a few simple questions and allow them to answer as they wish. I think it's a public service, but I'm not sure it's journalism. Journalism is also editing.

UNGER: *I saw a fleeting look of pain when I mentioned your comments about "Imperial Israel", a while ago that created quite a disturbance for awhile.*

CHANCELLOR: Well, it did. I think Israel made an enormous mistake going into Lebanon. A lot of my Israeli friends pretty quickly said that I was correct in that. And when I went to Jerusalem after delivering that commentary, I got into a lot of wonderful arguments with Israelis, some of whom were supporting me and some of whom were attacking me. I find now that if you look at the polls in Israel and you look at a lot of the books that have been written since then, that the judgement that I made in an angry way was, I think, the correct way. I don't think anybody defends the invasion of Lebanon or the siege of Beirut. And that's what I was writing about really—the siege of Beirut.

I think subsequent events have strengthened my point. I think that Israel is a badly reported story in the United States. It's a far healthier democracy than our press really acknowledges. I think it has got 1000% more diversity among the Israeli Jews—and Arabs to some degree—but mainly Jews, than is reported in our press.

UNGER: *Were you accused of anti-Semitism?*

CHANCELLOR: Sure. I was accused of anti-Semitism. I had death threats. I was picketed. The American Jewish community railed against me. NBC was wonderful. I will say that we got more mail on that commentary than any other commentary I've ever done and when you added it up the supporting mail was about 50% and the critical mail was about 50%. That was an interesting time for me.

UNGER: *And since that time, have you found that people have mellowed?*

CHANCELLOR: Yes, a lot. With my Israeli contacts and sources and with my Jewish friends in the United States, there has never been a day's problem about it. But sure, some of the militant Jews in the United States took me on as a cause for awhile. I guess it lasted about three or four months.

UNGER: *Could you give me a quick opinion of various names in TV news? Geraldo Rivera.*

CHANCELLOR: Well, I'm embarrassed that Geraldo Rivera is in the same business I'm in. I'm embarrassed that Morton Downey says he's in the same business I'm in. I am embarrassed that the "infotainment" programs are considered to be the same business.

UNGER: *Do you worry that the line between news and entertainment may be being blurred by these people in the eyes of a lot of viewers?*

CHANCELLOR: No. I don't really worry about that, Arthur, because I think the American people are smart enough to

tell the difference between honest work and junk. Maybe they like watching the junk for awhile. This may just be a phase of programming. I think there's evidence of that right now, but you know, the American people are like Justice Stevens of the Supreme Court who said that he couldn't define pornography but he knew it when he saw it.

UNGER: *How about the talk shows that delve into controversial subjects like Donahue and Oprah Winfrey? Do you feel that they are a valid part of the television news scene or that they have nothing to do with it?*

CHANCELLOR: I don't think they have much to do with news but I think they provide some kind of commentary on parts of American life that can sometimes be useful.

UNGER: *Do you have your commentary for tonight already written?*

CHANCELLOR: I'm not on tonight. That's why we are doing this. I'm on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday normally although it varies from time to time. What I do is, I get in here early in the morning and read the papers and make a few calls and try to get the commentary written by about 12:30. And then in the afternoon, we discuss it and that usually takes 10 seconds, and then I put it into the computer and do other work in the afternoon. Mornings are for writing.

UNGER: *Do you think maybe that the talk shows are a way to cover borderline subject matter in more depth than the evening news can give them?*

CHANCELLOR: Those programs don't fit my definition of journalism. Journalism is a product. It requires reporting, research, editing, context, analysis. That isn't true of Donahue. It's not true of Oprah Winfrey.

UNGER: *Geraldo Rivera says that's what he's trying to do.*

CHANCELLOR: I don't believe that that's true. I think what they do is—we go back

to the old "vox pop" business. Journalism is not getting the opinions of people on two sides of a question. It's non-fiction. It may add to your understanding of how people feel. There's nothing inherently wrong with it, but it ain't journalism. Journalism is what you distill out of what you've learned. Journalism is what you put into context knowing the background of these events.

UNGER: *How do you differentiate the role of the anchor and that of the commentator? Since you've done them both, actually.*

CHANCELLOR: The anchor is a lot of things. The anchor is the typeface and the make-up of the front page of the newspaper. The anchor is the character of the newscast. The anchor is the dominant personality on it. And increasingly, the anchor is a questioner of other reporters which I see on many network newscasts now to a degree that didn't exist before.

UNGER: *Why do you think there are so few commentators on commercial television?*

CHANCELLOR: It's one of the great questions I ask myself. I mean there are plenty of people—Bruce Morton comes to mind; Jim Wooten at ABC—lots of people—I don't want to give you a long list because I'll leave out some very good ones, but I can think of people who either someday could be commentators or could be commentators right now.

I think that the difference, Arthur, is that NBC never planned on having a commentator although we tried it with Brinkley and it was not a roaring success with David. It was okay, but it was sort of a job we wanted to give David. It wasn't a function that we decided we needed. After I had anchored for seven years and I was 50 years old, I got the 50-year-old itch and decided that I didn't want to spend the rest of my life anchoring. I didn't get into this business to be an anchorman. So NBC and I had some long conversations at that time. So it came about as a way of satisfying me more

than fulfilling an abstract journalistic need.

UNGER: *Why didn't CBS do that with Cronkite?*

CHANCELLOR: It's an enormous puzzle to me that they didn't take Walter and use Walter's presence and reputation and talents and let him do commentaries. I just don't understand that for one minute.

UNGER: *Did it have something to do with Dan Rather's ego?*

CHANCELLOR: I'm not going to psychoanalyze Dan Rather but I have no idea why Walter almost disappeared. The essential difference is that NBC decided that they would have a commentator and it was not a group of senior editors sitting around, stroking their beards, saying "what this program needs is a commentator." It was utilizing somebody who had been at the network for a long time and was pretty well known and wanted to do this and "well, let's try it." The interesting thing to me is that in a world in which the networks were often criticized for going for the biggest ratings and trying to popularize the news and all of that—that NBC has been absolutely splendid about what I do which is not the most sexy television in the world.

UNGER: *Can we compare the anchors on commercial television? I know that you are not going to want to rate them, but compare Brokaw with Rather and Jennings.*

CHANCELLOR: I think Jennings is our intellectual. And I think that comes from his background in having been a foreign correspondent particularly knowing a great deal about the Middle East. I think Dan Rather is hot and complicated to use a McLuhan way of describing it. I think there is a lot of inner tension that I see with Dan that I don't see with the other two anchors. That may make for good broadcasting. I don't want to get into whether it's good or not, I'm just giving you my visceral reaction to them.

Tom Brokaw seems to me to be Mr. 1980s and Mr. 1990s; someone who cares about the environment; someone who loves the outdoors; likes technology; probably cares more about things like AIDS than people of an older generation. I see them as three quite distinct personalities.

UNGER: *How do you account for the fact that recently—in the past year or so—Tom has mostly run third, although a close third?*

CHANCELLOR: It may be the jet stream. It may be the Chinese nuclear tests, I have absolutely no idea. The success or failure of anchors is a pretty limited line of inquiry. There have been so few over the years. How many? Eight? Ten? There are so many factors. These ratings are all fairly close. I don't know what they'll be in five years, but I have no idea why Tom is third in the ratings or why Rather is sometimes first or why Jennings is sometimes first. Happily, I don't have to think about that and I don't spend very much time brooding over it.

UNGER: *Do you think that a traveling anchor works? The Rather presence in China during all the activity was very positive for the public perception of CBS News.*

CHANCELLOR: Well, I tend to see it a little bit as promotion. I think it's very useful to get the anchors out in the field. I think it gives them a personal association with the news that means better programs because they are involved. They go to big things. They understand them. They go to Russia and they go to China. They go to places like that. On the other hand, any producer will tell you that it's easier to produce the program from a central position where the whole world comes into you rather than have the anchor out in the field. So. I think you sacrifice some journalism to get the anchor involved.

UNGER: *How about one-hour news programs. Is that idea over?*

CHANCELLOR: I think it's dead for-

ever. I just think if people have been trying for it for all these years and it hasn't come about yet, I don't see that it's a possibility now realistically. I think we are going to have to go through the next ten years or more with the half-hour program. Indeed, we are going to have to revise the half-hour programs if they are going to survive.

UNGER: *How would you revise them?*

CHANCELLOR: I don't know. But you have a number of institutions in American journalism now that are searching for a role in a changed environment. You have three big news magazines: *U.S. News*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*. You have three network programs that are on each evening and those six institutions now live in a world that has changed enormously and they are all searching quite intelligently searching, quite properly searching—for a role that will enable them to prosper in the 1990s. The reason I say that is—going back in my own history—the fact that the world in which the readers of *Time* and *Newsweek* live today and the viewers of the *Nightly News* live today has been totally transformed in about the last 15 years.

Now, the world is so thick with competition that by the time the *Nightly News* goes on the air every evening, people generally through their car radios or through CNN understand the architecture of that day's news. And by the time *Time* magazine and *Newsweek* arrives in their homes or on the newsstand, they have had all of what we give them on top of what the others do. So how do you shape an institution with a national reach to meet the needs of a world this crowded with information?

What special role do you have? The news magazines before television and even in the early days of television had a special role. Television in its early days had a special role. Now, all of that is up for reconsideration.

UNGER: *I interviewed you 10 years ago and you said then that commercial television now is mostly entertainment, in-*

terrupted occasionally for news and public affairs. What makes you think, you said, that that's the way it's always going to be. Maybe it's going to be the reverse, mostly news and public affairs interrupted occasionally by entertainment. Have you thought about it any more?

CHANCELLOR: No, I haven't really thought about it because for one thing there is very little that I can do about it. Another reason is that I'm totally happy with what I do within today's television.

UNGER: *Another thing you talked about—the day might come soon when commercial television will not be profitable anymore. Is that happening?*

CHANCELLOR: Many things have changed in the past few years. One is the paternalistic ownership of the three networks by either individuals or individual companies. I think that we now live in an entirely different world and the people who now run these companies operate under a different set of dynamics than was true before. We no longer are sheltered under the paternalism of a large company. The news divisions are being asked now by very cold-eyed managers to pay their own way and this has been an enormous change. When television news began, it was never seen as a profit center. When television news began, you had a strong Federal watchdog in the FCC that wanted to make sure that a certain amount of the air was used for public service.

You don't have that anymore.

So, to some degree, the news divisions have had to enter the modern world. Patterns of covering the news are so uncertain, the amounts of money that are spent so unexpectedly, that it goes not fit into the view that big companies have: "You ought to be able to plan. You ought to be able to make a year's budget." You can't make a year's budget.

In the first few months of 1989, we probably had more big stories breaking than in any year since World War II. It is very hard to make a rational plan.

Also, I see a trend toward downsizing the news divisions. Hundreds of peo-

ple—thousands, I suppose, who have been let go, to make them leaner, to make them more efficient. It raises a very interesting question that we've been grappling with here at NBC News for the last four/five years: Is efficiency a word that applies to a news organization? Is efficiency a word that applies to a church?

I don't mean to compare us to a religion but there are certain institutions like universities, like religions, like research institutes, that don't lend themselves to—"we'll give you so much money and we hope you make an 8% profit on it over the years." You could do that rationally in certain businesses but I'm not sure that you can do it with these other institutions. That's a big question that hasn't really been answered. I would hope that some gifted accountant comes along some day and says, "Here's how we can satisfy both the needs of the stockholders of GE, and have enough flexibility to do the job you need to do."

UNGER: You're saying that people like Bob Wright and Larry Tisch now have to account to stockholders as well as affiliates?

CHANCELLOR: I think stockholders are more important than affiliates in some cases. I think the fiduciary responsibility of the board members is defined by law.

UNGER: So that television is no longer the mama-and-papa store that it used to be when Sarnoff and Paley were in control.

CHANCELLOR: When Sarnoff and Paley lived above the stores and took personal interest in what the news divisions did you had a different kind of relationship with the overall company than you have now. I am not arguing against what has happened. It was probably inevitable, but it does change the rules.

When I first came to NBC, Sarnoff had his own symphony orchestra with Arturo Toscanini as a conductor; his own opera company; his own news division which had on staff at least 18 if not 24 hours a day one editor who had to keep updating

and preparing a newscast in case the General called and wanted the news on the phone. It was his plaything and his pride. That's mostly gone now in the latter years of the eighties and it will be all gone in the nineties. So we are going to have to find a way of doing our work while at the same time meeting the requirements of companies that are diverse, that have other interests, that look at you the way any division of any large company has to be looked at.

UNGER: Until recently commercial television heads felt that the way the public perceived the network news organization was the way that the whole network was perceived. CBS News was the bell-weather for CBS. Do you think that's changed?

CHANCELLOR: I think it is changing. At one time it was the "Jack Benny network" or it was the "somebody else network." The big stars tended to dominate the network and when you thought of NBC, you thought of Jack Benny or Fred Allen. When television began and a lot of programs began to run for 13 or 26 weeks and then be taken off, there were many changed faces on what appeared on the television screen. The only people who were constant in the life of the network were the newspeople. Huntley and Brinkley, Cronkite, me to some extent. Now, Brokaw, Jennings, Rather and that repertory company of experienced correspondents—those are the ones that provide the network with identification. When people think of CBS now, if you just ask them a question, they think of Dan Rather or at NBC, they think of Tom Brokaw. Because all of us have been on for so long.

UNGER: But does Bob Wright think of NBC as the network of Tom Brokaw or the network of Bill Cosby?

CHANCELLOR: I don't think he thinks of it as the network of Tom Brokaw but I think that when he looks at the assets that he has in terms of people on the air and continuity, he has to think about Tom Brokaw. He does, in fact. I mean I've

heard him say that. But I'm not sure in a bottom-line world whether that's important.

UNGER: *Is the hour-long documentary dying?*

CHANCELLOR: Well that goes back to what we were saying about the necessity for profits from news divisions. Yeah, I think in the world in which we live, there isn't much future for the serious prime-time documentary and I'm sorry about that. It is not just a judgment of the people who control the networks now, I think it's also a judgment of the audience. These things don't get big numbers.

UNGER: *Do you think that the magazine-type shows can adequately replace the full-length documentaries?*

CHANCELLOR: The magazine program can probably gather a larger audience. If I were to propose to NBC that we do an hour long documentary on nuclear proliferation, we could probably do a wonderful job for you—scary—about nuclear proliferation. I think it would get a small audience in the United States today. And what we may be getting toward but we haven't reached it yet is a kind of a differentiation of function in the different media. It may be that public television or cable television is the way to give discrete and select audiences what they ought to get on television. The people who would watch my program on nuclear proliferation are a discreet group in the American society. Let's say that I wanted to do one on the flag or abortion you could expand that group a lot. But that isn't what we are talking about.

We are talking about very important subjects that are of interest only to relatively small numbers of Americans. Now, when I look around and I see cable, I read about narrowcasting, I see the revolution that's taking place in video cassettes, I see alternate things serving particular people and particular groups, so I don't think it's without hope. But I think we've got to get away from the idea

that a network is the repository of everything that's bad and good in television.

I think we have to realize that networks these days occupy their particular part of the commercial spectrum and that spectrum of television is getting wider every day and there are many more alternate ways of getting information. So it may be, Arthur, that the documentarians of the future will be working on video cassettes or that they will be working on a particular kind of cable system. I don't think the video documentary is dead. I think the video documentary maybe is in limbo while the society goes from the dominance of the three commercial networks into more specific applications of technology. I am not without hope on that. I really think that in a few years, intelligent people will find a way both to make a profit and to put out some programs for specific audiences. Who knows? In an America that is getting increasingly fractional in terms of its groups, how much of a spur that will be for this kind of broadcasting. But I also think that if you are an aggressive searcher for information in the American society today in print and on broadcast, there is already more there than you can possibly handle. There are many specialized magazines. There are a lot of good newspapers—better than they used to be in my estimation. Cable is just full of things—C-Span for instance. All of that is there so I don't think there is any dearth of material if you're willing to watch at 1 AM or use your VCR. There is a lot.

UNGER: *How do you feel about the use of re-enactments in the presentation of news?*

CHANCELLOR: I'm not comfortable with the idea of recreating events. "You are there" was reenactment but it was a feature program not a news show. I saw the recent Block reenactment on ABC. I saw the first feed and thought it was an official tape it was so effectively done. The world is turned upside down as we are still sorting out the rules on this. ABC

put on the counterfeit re-enactment but, when they got actual videotape of the Col. Higgins body in Beirut, they wouldn't put that on. And that was real Who's making what rules?

I suppose there are areas of tv journalism that might benefit from re-enactment but I don't think that re-enactment has any place in the evening or morning news programs. I just don't believe it should ever be used in a hard news program.

UNGER: *What would you say is the biggest problem facing television today?*

CHANCELLOR: I guess the biggest problem facing television is the changing role of the three commercial networks. How that's going to have to be sorted out in a country where the idea of profit has, I guess, in some odd way that I can't understand, become more important. Short-term profit. We see that all kinds of businesses. We see not so much money spent on research and development. We see not so much money invested in long-range projects.

We see that there's a whole ethic now in business driven by a number of factors that says "Get the money quick. Don't build for the future." We Americans argue that the Japanese won't let in American cars to be sold in Japan, when in fact BMW and Mercedes Benz are doing very well in Japan because they invested for the future; they took losses for a number of years; they slowly built up market share while Detroit just complained about how difficult it was to sell there. Now, this is an ethic in America. It's a kind of take-the-money-when-you-can-get-it ethic. I think that affects everything in American life and it means that we don't invest in the future as much as we should.

It means that the relationship of people who sit on boards to the performance of the stock or the profits of that company on an annual or even a quarterly basis, is very difficult now. It used to be that board members could say, "if we're in the turbine business, let's make sure that we have turbine people running the

company. And we are going to invest and we're going to spend \$20 million in a plant that won't be ready for 10 years to build better turbines." That's kind of being taken out of America now and I think it affects television networks as well. And it isn't that we have been taken over by a set of greedy business people. It's the dynamics of the American business culture now that make it imperative to produce quick profits across the board.

You see it in so many different American industries. Whereas the Japanese and to some extent the Europeans are willing to bet on something happening 10 or 15 years from now and therefore take their losses and ride up and down year to year toward a planned goal. I find a lot of American businesses now are worried about what's going to happen next quarter instead of the next decade. Does that have an effect on television and the people who run it? I think it does. I think the idea that if you paid a lot of money and you bought NBC or you bought ABC, you want to make a profit. So I'm not casting any blame here. I'm just saying we live in a different world.

UNGER: *I've heard it said that the financial success of 60 Minutes has had a very negative effect on network news; that since it has proven to be so profitable, there's a higher level of expectation in terms of profitability from network news than there ever was before.*

CHANCELLOR: But you see *60 Minutes* is the precise example of what I was just describing. It was on the air for 10 years before it began to make any money. It was on the air for 10 years before it got in the ratings. People tend to think today of *60 Minutes* and they think that it was the marvelous brainchild and suddenly it was put on the air and bang! the dollars began rolling in. CBS lost money on *60 Minutes* for a decade before it began to attract and build an audience.

UNGER: *You have said in various ways that you don't think commentators or newsmen should take themselves too se-*

riously—that a sense of fun was necessary. You said, we began standing outside society looking in and that's where we ought to remain.

CHANCELLOR: I still support that. The guild quality of journalism is not something that can be quantified. It ranges all the way from Scotty Reston to Larry Flynt. It's almost impossible to categorize anybody as a journalist. And I do think that the important thing for us is to stand outside society and look in and observe it. Therefore, I don't think journalists should be members of political parties although I have to acknowledge that many are.

I'd have to acknowledge that there are people who sound to me like Republicans who are writing columns and appearing on TV and people who sound to me like left-wing Democrats. But my own personal feeling is that you ought to be apolitical in your personal life. I think you should have fun watching it. I don't think you should take yourself very seriously because I never really had an example of why we are regarded with such importance.

UNGER: *Who are your heroes?*

CHANCELLOR: I have a lot of heroes. Scotty Reston, Eric Sevareid . . . I mean this is a long list. Lars Eric Nelson, I think is one of the best columnists in the world today. You see, you don't even know some of these names. There was a guy who is a hero of mine named Robert Fisk who lived in Beirut for years working for *The Times* of London who did the best copy out of Beirut I ever read in my life. . . .

Almost any reporter at the AP. You just bring him over here and I'll find something heroic about him. Those guys work for poor pay and long hours because they get a lot of psychic income out of working for the AP and telling it straight. Those are my heroes. I'm not going to tell you Albert Schweitzer is my hero, but a lot of guys who cover police are my heroes. A lot of people who write straight about Washington are my heroes.

UNGER: *How about in television? Who are the people you admire most. Is Edward R. Murrow one of those?*

CHANCELLOR: Ed Murrow is certainly one of those. Collingwood. Charles didn't end up being the most popular guy in the world, but Collingwood, I thought, was a first-class journalist—19 trips to Vietnam and he was in his late fifties and sixties when he did that. Robin MacNeil and Jim Lehrer because of the straight way they do it, I think, are marvelous. I will not name at anybody in NBC or CBS right now because then somebody will say "you forgot . . ." and I don't want to do that.

My heroic journalist in the United States is someone who doesn't make a lot of money, who does the work fairly, probably in print and runs risks and follows ethical standards in this business and probably lives in a small town somewhere.

In my image, I have him working for a country weekly or a daily, fighting the sheriff when need be and telling those people what life is like in their own community. That's a hero to me. Heroes or heroines as far as I'm concerned, don't ride in limousines.

UNGER: *Your best moment and your worst moment on air?*

CHANCELLOR: The moment I think I'm most proud of—I tell the story and most people don't understand it, so I'll try it with you. Richard Nixon was resigning the Presidency which he left, as I recall, on a Friday in August in 1974. On the Thursday night before that, he addressed the nation from the White House—one of the most emotional pieces of television I have ever seen. My heart was just throbbing. The President of the United States announcing that the following morning he would resign. I never thought I'd see anything like that in my whole life. I kept thinking while he was delivering this extremely emotional speech what in the world am I going to say when the camera comes back to me? What can I possibly offer? How can I top this? It's the kind of thing that an an-

chorman thinks about. What do I say next? I had no clue.

When Nixon finished and everybody in the country had their hearts in their mouths—the camera came on to me and I thought, “Jesus, what am I going to say?” So, I didn’t say anything. And this is why it’s a hard story to tell—I looked into the camera and I muttered, “Well!” and then went right on with the coverage. No anchorman benediction; no patting the departing President on the head; no bromides about America will prevail—they all did that at the other networks, you can look it up. I got a lot of mail because of that.

A lot of people came up to me and said, “You were wonderful!” And I would say, “Why?” And they would say, “Well, we were all over at a neighbor’s house and when you said that, it cleared the air. Everybody began to laugh and life began again.” Over at the Harvard Club here, there must have been 500 people watching in the Harvard Club and they all burst into this kind of nervous laughter when I said that. But the world went on. The country was safe. Journalism was doing its job. It wasn’t waving the flag or giving you Mom and apple pie at the end of that. So, I think I’d have to say that’s the moment I cherish the most. It’s also the moment when I didn’t know what I was going to say.

UNGER: *So you would say that part of the role of a commentator should be to know when to say nothing.*

CHANCELLOR: Exactly. Who could ever, although many people tried in American television that night—who could have topped Richard Nixon saying, “I’m quitting” with tears in his eyes. I’ve never seen anything like that and I hope I never see anything like that again. Enormously emotional. So you shouldn’t interfere with those things. Brinkley taught me years ago if something happens that is really vivid and memorable, don’t walk all over it with your own copy—shut up. Let the viewer make the viewer’s judgements, then quietly go on

with your work.

UNGER: *You have a worst moment?*

CHANCELLOR: I’ve got so many worse moments! I think it was getting some research wrong when I was interviewing Jerry Ford live on TV in the White House. And I had a piece of research that I hadn’t done myself that turned out to be inaccurate. It was about the alleged secret movement of American troops somewhere in the Caribbean—I’ve erased it from my mind—the Dominican Republic or somewhere. And so I asked President Ford if he would give me a comment on this “secret movement” of American troops.

Ford said, looking startled, “I can’t talk about that!”

“Well, why can’t you talk about that, Sir?”

“I just can’t talk about that!” Well, then we went on to something else because he wasn’t going to talk about that.

Well, the wires went crazy. When we finished, I thought “Gee, I gotta dig into this”—you know, “secret movement”, American troops, “I can’t talk about that” . . . Well, it turned out to my absolute dismay that my researcher had made one phone call checking it and got it wrong.

UNGER: *Probably Jerry Ford counts that as his finest moment, covering up ignorance.*

CHANCELLOR: Well, you know, it was his mistake as well as mine.

UNGER: *If all news were cut off from TV, what would happen to public knowledge?*

CHANCELLOR: Well, I think the public would get a lot of facts from newspapers and magazines and radio. Why don’t you ask your question if there were no radio or television? Because I think the answer makes more sense.

UNGER: *Okay.*

CHANCELLOR: In a print world, the public would get the facts the way it gets them now. It would get a lot of good things and the Republic would not be in dan-

ger. What would be missing would be what television does well to use Reuven Frank's old phrase, it excels at the transmission of experience. It can take you places where you cannot be. It can show the faces of people involved in the news under pressure or in elation or in sorrow. A picture of Reagan walking among flag-draped coffins from Beirut has an enormous informational impact, it seems to me, in the American society. So what you'd be doing is that you would be losing to some degree, the context of the world; the emotional, the experiential context of the news.

That's what I think television does brilliantly. And some of it isn't really journalism. Some of it is just electronics: point a camera at Nixon and see the perspiration on his upper lip; seeing Johnson looking shifty; seeing Jimmy Carter panting because he can't finish a race. You see Reagan triumphant. These are all very important messages if you're going to be in America. And television is the carrier of those messages, so that if you took television away, you'd be missing a dimension that I think shapes our thinking about this country. You'd still be okay. You'd still get plenty of facts because the newspapers are better at facts than we are.

UNGER: If there were no newspapers, how would radio and television coverage of the news differ? What do newspapers do for radio coverage and TV? Does TV assume that there is a basic knowledge of the news before viewers come to them?

CHANCELLOR: Oh, I think that if you took newspapers away, the society would change in a lot of ways. I think that nobody could find an apartment or sell a used car, do a crossword puzzle, or look up a horoscope, think about a cartoon, clip the coupons for the supermarket. I mean newspapers cover such a wide range of uses in the American society. If the newspapers suddenly went out of business, we would see a large transformation. In terms of television, I suppose the news hole would be expanded.

UNGER: Would television news be more basic—would we be given more basic news? Does the evening news assume that you already know the news when you tune in?

CHANCELLOR: It has to assume that. The evening news must assume, unless the story breaks just, say, 20 minutes before they go on the air, it must assume that through other media, people know the important news of the day. It may not know the small items in the news. It may not know the whole story, but if somebody gets shot in Tiananmen Square or—I'll give you a much better example—if the shuttle blows up in late morning, everybody in the country knows about that before *Nightly News* goes on the air. Many stories take place and they're not just single stories. People in their cars, in their offices and their homes now know the news before we go on the air with it. So, it's incumbent on us to try to present it in such a way that gives a fresh or a better or a more meaningful look at the news than they have.

UNGER: Do you think local news is taking on more of the burden of informing about national and international events?

CHANCELLOR: I think the reach of local news into areas it never covered before such as national and international politics is part of the changing media mix. The technology is getting very tricky. You can now send people to all kinds of things; have them on live. The number of local stations covering political conventions has grown enormously in the last few years. There is a little bit of a competition going on now, I think, between the networks and the local stations in terms of the coverage of major domestic stories. At least predictable domestic stories—not the plane crash, maybe, but certainly the political convention or the primary election or the landing of the space shuttle.

UNGER: Do you see a decline of the public service function on commercial television? Do you think that now that stations

are not being observed as carefully as they once were that they are doing less public service?

CHANCELLOR: I think stations are doing less public service. I think the networks are doing less public service. I think a lot of it has to do with the ethic of profits in the United States now. I think the commercial networks are businesses like any other business and so are the local stations and I think they reflect the philosophy of the day. I think that philosophy means you have less profitless programming for public affairs.

UNGER: *How about cable news? Do you think CNN is the wave of the future?*

CHANCELLOR: I think CNN is a useful commercial venture. I think it's useful in that you can turn to it and get an update on the news which raises a question: how often do people really need an update on the news? How important is it to know that there's been a train wreck in India? How important is it to know that stocks did this or that if you have to know in the middle of the day and you don't have any money in the stock market? I think one of the mysteries of American life is the fact that so many people like to get updates on news that really doesn't affect them very much.

UNGER: *You mean you feel that people are getting too much news?*

CHANCELLOR: I think they are drowning in news, but they obviously have demonstrated the desire to keep up with it. My own self, I don't really quite understand the motivation that people have for being up to the minute on news. We used to have a theory around here that people turned on the radio for hourly newscasts not for information but for reassurance. They turned the radio on to make sure that the bombs weren't on the way; that the dam hadn't burst; that the prisoners hadn't escaped. And once they had that, then they turned it off.

There may be some of that going on in the United States, but I've always wondered why it is that an ordinary

American citizen needs all that information in such a rush? I think that it is a wonderful idea that they go home at the end of the day and read a newspaper and watch the network television news and watch their local news. I think that's about all they need—once a day. So that this may be a product of the nuclear age in some way; that people want that reassurance. Even in the 1930s there was plenty of radio, but not anything like all-news radio. It's a philosophical question. But you have to ask yourself why there's so much appetite for it? Most of the news that you listen to on the hourly news casts is interesting but it's not really decisive for your life. The weather forecast may be much more important because that's your weather—that's going to rain on you. But the other thing, I do think there's an element of wanting to be reassured that your life isn't going to be blown up or changed in any fundamental way.

UNGER: *What do you do for recreation?*

CHANCELLOR: Well, I write, I read, I walk. I'm a pretty big walker.

UNGER: *Are you a city dweller?*

CHANCELLOR: Well, I live in the country half the time. I putter a lot. I used to play tennis and be more active physically, but then I got into writing more and I think I write as a release as much as anything else. I like to write. I enjoy writing. So, a good weekend for me, if I don't have a writing assignment, is to correspond with a lot of people. I enjoy writing little things in letters.

UNGER: *Are your children grown and out of the house?*

CHANCELLOR: They're all grown and gone. Yeah. We're in constant touch, but they don't even live in New York anymore. They live out West. Flagstaff, Santa Fe and Santa Monica.

UNGER: *Do you consider yourself happy, contented?*

CHANCELLOR: Let's see, I've been in journalism now—getting a paycheck for it—for 42 years. I'm 61 years old and I

may be one of the very few still in the business after all that time, who gets a real thrill every once in awhile—a real physical kick out of what he does. I mean, if I write one of these commentaries and it really rolls and it's good and I know it's right, I get an actual physical thrill out of it. ■

For seventeen years, Arthur Unger served as Television Critic of *The Christian Science Monitor* where he won recognition as one of the nation's most influential critics. He is also known for his revealing interviews with entertainment and media personalities. He recently retired from the *Monitor* to devote his time to travel and travel writing, including a book of memoirs which he calls *Un-Monitored Interviews: The Adventures of a Discreet Interviewer Among The Indiscreet*. He is also serving as Special Correspondent for TVQ.

“
**QUOTE
UNQUOTE**
”

“No small group of organizations is wise enough or unselfish enough to provide most of the news, information, scholarship, literature and entertainment for a whole society, let alone most of the world. That can come only from a large number of organizations in a field not dominated by a few, with a variety of newcomers free to enter and compete whenever and wherever existing media fail to reflect the realities and the aspirations of people's lives.”

—Ben H. Bagdikian, *The Nation*

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A REPLY TO TED KOPPEL: LET'S BE FAIR

BY JEFF COHEN

Nothing is more frustrating than being denied entrance to a neighborhood, a school, a club, even a party. Indeed, being locked out of society's mainstream is what produced the modern civil rights and feminist movements. In recent years, a new movement has emerged to protest another lock-out: the virtual exclusion of public interest leaders from mainstream television.

As one of the key gatekeepers deciding who speaks and who doesn't speak on American television, Ted Koppel has shown little understanding of the frustrations that have kindled this new movement. His interview in *Television Quarterly* makes this obvious.

Unlike Koppel, many people concerned about television—from leading TV critics to staffers for *Nightline* and other public affairs shows—do understand the complaints. That's why they were so receptive to the critical study, "Are You On The *Nightline* Guest List?," which was put out by the media watch group, FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting).

Released this February, FAIR's study (conducted by sociologists at Boston College) generated a wide-ranging debate about TV news and public affairs shows. The study didn't challenge Koppel's interviewing skills or his biases. Instead it analyzed the core of

the program: *Nightline*'s guest list. It asked who is and who is not invited as a guest "expert" during the central 20-minute discussion each night.

After studying *Nightline* from January 1985 through April 1988 (865 programs, 2,498 guests), FAIR concluded that one's likelihood of appearing as a guest on *Nightline* is greatly enhanced by being a white, male member of conservative government, military or corporate elites.

- *Nightline*'s most frequent guests were Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig (14 appearances), Elliott Abrams and Jerry Falwell (12 appearances).
- Of the 19 US guests who could be termed "regulars," all are men, all but two are white. (Jeanne Kirkpatrick, *Nightline*'s favorite woman, didn't make it into this club.) Thirteen of the 19 regulars are conservatives.
- 80% of the guests are from the elite (professionals, government or corporate representatives), while only about 6% represented public interest groups (peace, civil liberties, environment, civil rights, labor.)
- 89% of the US guests are men, 92% are white.
- Forceful critics of US foreign policy are usually foreigners (Soviets, Iranians, Nicaraguans, etc.) not US critics.

- On programs discussing US-Soviet relations, nearly half the guests were past or present US officials while less than 1% represented the peace movement—a 50 to 1 ratio.

In a letter to *Nightline* accompanying the study, FAIR criticized the program for acting as “a one-way street where those in government or corporate power speak to the public but active citizens and public interest representatives don’t speak back.”

Koppel’s comments to Television Quarterly, offering a four-point rebuttal to the study, are as disturbing as the mass of data collected. It’s worth noting that Koppel didn’t challenge the data at all.

Point #1. Nightline is a news program.

If so, *Nightline* should act like a news program, and not a forum for the powerful and their pundits. Good journalism requires a variety of sources and experts, not the same narrow sources day after day. It is not sound journalism when *Nightline*’s six primary US sources on terrorism are Henry Kissinger, Alexander Haig and four hawkish “terrorism experts”—all taking virtually the same view on the subject.

Point #2. We’re a news program that likes to have the newsmakers on this program.

But *Nightline* has a very selective view of who the newsmakers are. Every week, citizen action groups representing consumers or the environment or nuclear disarmament are doing newsworthy things—exposing corruption, launching campaigns, publishing studies. *Nightline* ignored these newsmakers, while regularly featuring the conservative analysis of Kissinger and Haig, retired officials who

were no longer making news. While these two men appeared fourteen times each, newsmakers such as feminist Eleanor Smeal, peace leaders Daniel Ellsberg and Helen Caldicott, environmentalist Barry Commoner and dozens of others never appeared once.

Point #3. For the past eight years, we have had a conservative, Republican, white male-dominated Administration in power.

Put the word Communist in place of the word Republican, and this excuse for conservative domination of a TV program could have been uttered by a Soviet news broadcaster . . . pre-glasnost. In the US, television news is not supposed to be a forum for representatives of the state. FAIR does not criticize *Nightline* for including policy-makers in its programs, but for excluding forceful American critics of policy. Critics, and critical sources, are part of a news story.

Point #4. When people come on my program they don’t come on just so that they can give a little publicity speech.

As skilled an interviewer as he is, Koppel’s questions rarely challenge US policy. He seems particularly soft when interviewing Henry Kissinger and other favored members of the foreign policy establishment. If Koppel wants to ask tough questions, why not give the dozens of articulate peace and public interest leaders an opportunity to answer them? The American public has a right to hear their answers.

The heart of the problem was revealed when Koppel told Television Quarterly that citizens’ groups were newsworthy “back in the middle of the

Vietnam war or back in the civil rights" but not now. The nuclear freeze movement, arguably the biggest grass roots movement of the 1980s, was virtually invisible on Nightline. So was the movement against US intervention in Nicaragua (providing only two of the 68 guest panelists on the subject.)

Not all activists were denied access to Nightline. Rightwingers—such as Jerry Falwell, Cal Thomas, Richard Viguerie and John Singlaub—were quite visible. When progressive advocates don't get a fair share of media access, their movements operate at a disadvantage. Take television away from the Religious Right and where would it be?

Ultimately, the complaint over Nightline is not just an issue of fairness, but one of good television. Passionate advocates for the public interest—in confrontation with "all the usual suspects" from the establishment—would make for a better program . . . and probably better ratings. And TV could help invigorate a democratic process, which—from all indices of voter participation—sorely needs it. ■

Jeff Cohen is the executive director of FAIR, based in New York. Formerly, he worked in Los Angeles as an ACLU attorney and as a publicist for public interest groups.

P L A Y B A C K

So whatever did happen to reruns?

"I'd like to get a word in about reruns. I think they are a mistake. Nobody can tell me anybody wants to see the same thing over and over again. Screen fare for television is usually not worth looking at twice, even in six months or a year.

"I don't think we have to have reruns as much as we do . . . I think we ought to get together and try to do something."

—Bert Mitchell KPRC, Houston, at a
BMI Program Clinic, Chicago,
August 1954.



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Review and Comment

PLAYING DOCTOR: Television, Storytelling and Medical Power

by Joseph Turow
New York: Oxford University Press

BY BRIAN ROSE

There are so few doctors on prime-time television these days that it's hard to remember the large shadows they and their stethoscopes cast during previous decades. Star physicians once constituted an integral part of the TV landscape, but there appears to be little need for their services at the moment. It's not as if everyone on television is now healthy. Rather, the problem seems to be that the medical series itself is a very ill commodity, suffering from a variety of ailments, including narrative exhaustion and creative fatigue.

Why did one of TV's most durable storytelling formulas begin to weaken during the last decade? Is the disparity now too great between the medium's selfless portrayal of doctors and the public's more jaded view of health care? Or is the medical genre simply unable or unwilling to accommodate changing times? These are just a few of the provocative questions Joseph Turow considers in his intriguing study of television and the medical profession, *Playing Doctor*.

For Turow, the current problems affecting doctor shows can only be understood by looking carefully at the formula's development over the last half century. His book begins with the birth of the basic physician story format in 1936. It was in that year that prolific pulp author Frederick Faust (a.k.a. Max Brand) created a new type of medical protagonist—a dashing young intern named James Kildare, who struggles to make ends meet while working in a big city hospital. Faust eventually went to Hollywood, where MGM picked up the Kildare character and produced a lucrative series of "B" pictures starring Lew Ayres in the title role and Lionel Barrymore as his craggy mentor, Dr. Gillespie.

As Turow notes, the Dr. Kildare films served a dual purpose. Not only did they fit the studio's basic ideological mold (they were "idealistic, uncontroversial, conservative"), but their celebration of modern medicine's altruism and triumphs helped mollify the American Medical Association, which had been sharply critical of previous MGM physician movies like *The Citadel*.

Playing Doctor provides an engrossing history of the AMA's efforts to control the ways physicians were portrayed in popular culture. Research convinced the organization that the image of doctors needed to be constantly monitored and defended in order to present the best case for current medical practices. This became an

even greater concern once television began to explore the lives of physicians in prime time.

Initially, the AMA had little to worry about, since the first TV medical series set an important precedent. In striving for a more compelling dramatic realism, James Moser's 1954 program *Medic* was filmed almost entirely at the Los Angeles County Medical Center, which cooperated fully with the project. The L.A. County Medical Association read every script for accuracy and offered its seal of approval at the end of every episode.

Recognizing the value of this direct link, the AMA a few years later set up an Advisory Committee for TV and Motion Pictures to assist producers in their depiction of medical activities. The group played a very strong role in the two most popular doctor series of the early 1960s, *Dr. Kildare* and *Ben Casey*. In exchange for the prestige of the AMA's seal of approval, both programs were closely supervised for scientific accuracy as well as for medical image and decorum.

Inevitably, there were conflicts when the physicians who served on the Committee encountered Hollywood's less exalted conception of what a doctor should be like. The AMA forbid scenes showing doctors talking to a patient while sitting on their hospital bed, nor would they permit physicians to be seen smoking. (After much discussion, they reluctantly agreed to let TV doctors be shown taking a few puffs in the staff lounge.) Even Ben Casey's constant use of slang upset a few organizational feathers.

But as author Joseph Turow makes clear, television programs are rarely shaped by pressures from just one direction. *Playing Doctor*, unlike many previous genre studies, does a first-rate job of revealing the myriad forces at work in TV production. In addition to constant input from the AMA, medical show producers also faced prob-

lems from more immediate and formidable adversaries, such as advertisers and network censors. Cigarette sponsorship of *Dr. Kildare* precluded any mention of cancer; the departments of standards and practices at ABC and NBC refused to allow views of blood or "sensitive" body parts, and outlawed the words "pregnancy" and "urine" from the airwaves.

Ultimately, the tremendous success of Drs. Kildare and Casey went a long way to assure all parties that the uplifting portrait of TV physicians served a useful and valuable purpose. The AMA linked the programs because they boosted the image of M.D.s (making them seem responsible, caring, and even sexy) and promoted the importance of state-of-the-art hospitals and general health care. Advertisers were delighted because these young doctor shows attracted young female viewers. And the networks were cheered by the healthy ratings.

But even the most hardy series eventually run out of steam and the passing of *Ben Casey* and *Dr. Kildare* in the mid-1960s left the medical genre at a low point. Efforts to alter the basic formula of struggling inter/older mentor had previously met with little success. *The Eleventh Hour* tried to turn psychiatrists into conventional hero/practitioners, but, as *Playing Doctor* recounts, the show was troubled by an offscreen battle with the American Psychological Association, which attacked the program for making psychologists look unduly subservient to psychiatrists. Herbert Brodtkin's *The Nurses* took a different approach, attempting to elevate the role of women in health care while also tackling more controversial issues (the show was the first medical program to deliberately stay away from the AMA and its panel of advisers). CBS programming V.P. Mike Dann felt strongly, however, that doctor shows needed to concentrate on men involved in life-and-death struggles. Consequently, *The Nurses* became *The Doctors* and *the Nurses* in its

third season, though without any impact on its failing ratings.

The introduction of *Marcus Welby, M.D.* in 1968 furnished a needed shot in the arm for the medical formula, proving that viewers hadn't really stopped liking TV doctors—they just wanted to find one worthy of their trust. Dr. Welby certainly fit the bill, complete with a leading actor who so thoroughly believed in his role that he often lectured real-life physicians on how to handle patients. *Playing Doctor* provides fascinating material on the curious demands performers faced while starring on a medical series. Although Robert Young looked upon his part as a lifesaver after years of depression and alcoholism, other cast members weren't so happy with the adulation they received from fans and health professionals alike. James Brodin, who played Welby's youthful motorcycle-riding associate, was particularly bitter, especially once medical associations began showering Young and him with awards for their comforting portrayals. Even Elena Verdugo in the minor role of the office nurse Consuelo felt imprisoned by her part, finding that everyone she met expected her to be as soothing and affable as her on-screen character.

Given their concern with television's image of their livelihood in the past, one would think that *Marcus Welby's* canonization of the family physician would please the medical community. But many doctors complained about the program's far too saintly portrait. Medicine was no longer practiced on the endlessly available, one-to-one physician/patient basis Welby extolled. What was worse, the show's nostalgic fantasy made the public resentful when they discovered that their own doctors were unable to offer the undivided attention and care Robert Young cheerfully bestowed to his one lucky patient each week.

Marcus Welby, M.D. represented the

apotheosis and the last stand of the doctor-as-God medical series. By the early 1970s, the formula began to shift somewhat in an effort to reflect changing cultural conditions, as Joseph Turow explains in one of his book's most interesting chapters. TV producers in a variety of genres tried to clumsily jump aboard the youth movement they saw around them. Medical shows like *Matt Lincoln* and *The Interns* emphasized more "relevant" themes and a younger, multi-ethnic cast. The sole hit to come out of this short-lived cycle was *Medical Center*, which updated the basic elements of the old-fashioned hospital show by featuring a young doctor with modish long hair, an active, middle-aged senior colleague (instead of an aging mentor), and a university setting for more contemporary storylines.

Network programmers were pleased by the attractive demographics a show like *Medical Center* earned. But they particularly liked the fact that medical series provided them with a relatively safe haven at a time when they were coming under increasing fire for presenting too much violence on the airwaves. A hospital environment still permitted a high degree of physical jeopardy and compelling human drama, without any of the obvious liabilities, such as gratuitous bloodshed, that prompted viewer protests.

That's not to say that doctor programs were immune from controversy. *Playing Doctor* provides a thorough examination of how and why certain individual episodes raised the ire of a variety of pressure groups. As Turow notes, even *Marcus Welby, M.D.* ventured into troubled waters with a program about the rape of a teenage boy by a male teacher. Complaints by the Gay Activist Alliance forced the show to veer away from the issue of homosexuality as a perversion and instead label the offending academic a "pedophile."

But despite a few public outcries, and some occasional dissent from the

networks, medical series by the 1970s felt a greater freedom to examine a variety of social ills, ranging from drug abuse to birth control and the touchy area of malpractice. There was, however, one issue they paid virtually no attention to: the changes occurring in real-life health care. Doctor shows still portrayed medicine as an unrestricted asset, available freely to all, with the individual physician firmly in charge of every decision. Since the poor and the aged were so rarely portrayed, their problems in obtaining medical help didn't exist. Nor was there any discussion of cost controls or the important role now played by insurance companies and legislators in shaping health care policy.

The reasons for these oversights, as Joseph Turow observes, are implicit not just in the doctor show formula (with its celebration of the achievements of a strong physician-hero), but also in the production framework. Even though writers and producers made a point of keeping abreast of the field, most of their information and advice came from representatives of the medical establishment, including AMA advisory panels and medical equipment manufacturers who felt little inclination to rock the boat which so ably supported them.

As a result, the image of the valiant, selfless doctor, engaged in his weekly dramas of life and death, and supported by a hospital equipped with the most advanced technologies, remained as the only acceptable method of TV medical presentation.

This "shallow one-sidedness," as David Rintels described it in his testimony before a Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, would continue to be the norm, despite the breakthroughs of programs like the comparatively hard-edged *Medical Story* and the decade's biggest hit, *M*A*S*H*, whose innovative qualities—its sharp blending of drama and comedy, its skillfully drawn and continuously evolving characters, and its

ambitious efforts to stretch the form—were still cast within the basic framework of the medical drama. Doctors, no matter how vulnerable, invariably rose to the challenges at hand, performing courageously regardless of the awful circumstances which surrounded them.

Hoping to capture some of *M*A*S*H*'s flavor (and popularity), the next cycle of doctor comedies took a somewhat more caustic view of modern medicine. Programs like *Doc*, *Temperatures Rising*, and *AfterM*A*S*H* explored the ways physicians coped with a new enemy—an over-bureaucratized medical system, usually embodied by the comic figure of a besieged hospital administrator. TV doctors now worked in run-down facilities instead of gleaming medical centers and routinely confronted limited supplies and unsupportive staff. Nonetheless, these shows also subscribed to the formula's basic tenets which promised, in Turow's words, "that health care is a social right that can and should be shared to the fullest extent by all because it is essentially an unlimited resource." Even the most original doctor show of the 1980s, *St. Elsewhere*, for all of its grim portrayals of deteriorating hospital conditions, never questioned the value of this core belief.

As *Playing Doctor* convincingly argues, the inability of producers to challenge the standard practices of the medical series formula has helped lead to the declining health of doctor shows in general. Medicine in contemporary America is, unfortunately, no longer practiced as an "unlimited resource." Nor are individual doctors at the very center of patient care, especially in a world increasingly filled with large-scale HMOs and the important services now provided by non-MD health professionals. Yet by refusing to acknowledge this changing reality, medical-oriented programs have lost

a valuable opportunity—the chance to explore new themes and conflicts that might connect more directly with home viewers.

There were other reasons why doctor shows began to weaken in the 1980s. Acknowledging the complex forces at work in any type of television production, Turow notes the problems writers and producers faced in creating something new for TV doctors to do, given the inherent limitations of the formula. With fifty-seven medical series broadcast since 1947, most major and minor ailments had already been successfully treated.

There were few controversial issues left untouched either, now that network censors permitted discussion of virtually every subject. There were still occasional flare-ups due to program content, most notably in Aaron Spelling's 1988–89 series about young nurses, *Nightingales*. Spelling, who built a TV empire by catering to cheesy fantasies of sex and high living, ran into serious trouble when he attempted to transplant his notions of nobility to the nursing profession.

Groups like the American Nurses Association and the National League for Nursing, overlooking Spelling's background as the force behind *The Love Boat* and *Charley's Angels*, had approached him even before the pilot was shot hoping that he would use the series as a way to boost the image of nursing and attract new people to the field. When they discovered that *Nightingales* was more about the licentious off-duty lives of five young nurses than about the rigors of their on-duty work, they launched an immediate and effective protest. Articles and editorials appeared affirming their cause. Two of the show's sponsors, Chrysler and Sears, pulled out, despite the fact that the program regularly won its timeslot. Even the ostensible star of the series, Suzanne Pleshette, began giving interviews

voicing her feelings of betrayal at the show's soft-core porn direction.

The furor surrounding *Nightingales* certainly took part of its energy from the current battles surrounding sex on the airwaves, but it also recalls the kind of production difficulties discussed in *Playing Doctor* whenever a series strayed too far from the path of noble medical portraiture. Like previous producers in the face of pressure, Aaron Spelling was forced to retreat from his "vision," publicly pledging that *Nightingales* would drop its tight close-ups of aerobics classes and offer a more serious view of nurses and the challenges they faced in their difficult career. Perhaps recognizing that this emergency care was too late, NBC decided not to renew the series for next fall.

Nightingales was, however, an exception to the general trend of medical series in the 1980s, which in terms of content were generally free to practice as they saw fit. Unfortunately, there was now little interest in this seriously weakened formula. The networks no longer needed medical programs as an antidote to violence, especially since the latter commodity had made a glossy reappearance in shows like *Wiseguy* and *Miami Vice*. More importantly, contemporary viewers clearly found doctor programs less than compelling fare. The last medically-oriented series in the top ten was *M*A*S*H* in 1982. By the end of the 1988–89 season, the only doctors still left on television were in sitcoms (*The Bill Cosby Show* and *Growing Pains*), where their medical skills served as mere window dressing. The 1989 summer replacement series, *Doctor, Doctor* offered a more tart portrait of contemporary medicine, though its future at this stage remains uncertain. The coming season promises more prime-time physicians—*Doogie Howser, M.D.* from Steven Bochco and *Island Son* starring Richard Chamberlain—but, as of this writing, their success remains to be seen.

In tracing this dramatic rise and fall of the prime-time physician, *Playing Doctor* offers an unusually rich and complex portrait of how television works. Author Joseph Turow avoids the pitfalls of other TV genre studies by examining the medical series from a variety of challenging perspectives. Doctor shows are seen as more than just a simple reflection of American ideology, but as the product of a complicated, "symbiotic" process, involving organized medicine, TV producers and writers, star performers, the networks, advertisers, and social protest groups.

Playing Doctor is filled with interesting stories about the conflicts these diverse concerns faced in trying to shape medical series production. We learn, for example, about why the AMA decided to stop endorsing doctor shows in the 1960s, what made NBC decide to renew the low-rated *St. Elsewhere* for a second season, and how the manufacturer of the Jarvik artificial heart strongly influenced an episode of *Trapper John*. We also discover what happened to *Temperatures Rising* once then ABC programming head Barry Diller became involved, how actor Jack Klugman virtually took over the creative reins of *Quincy, M.E.*, and why women have so rarely been central roles on doctors shows until the recent *Heartbeat*.

Turow frames his discussion of specific incidents by looking at broader forces as well. He provides a stimulating history of organized medicine and the challenges of modern health care, reviews the importance of formula as a TV production staple, and thoughtfully explores the pressures faced by such important series producers as James Moser, Herbert Brodtkin, David Victor, and Don Brinkley.

Playing Doctor is a first-rate analysis of how and why TV physicians flourished for nearly four decades and what forces have now led to their apparent retirement. Whether the prime-time doctor is ready for a comeback

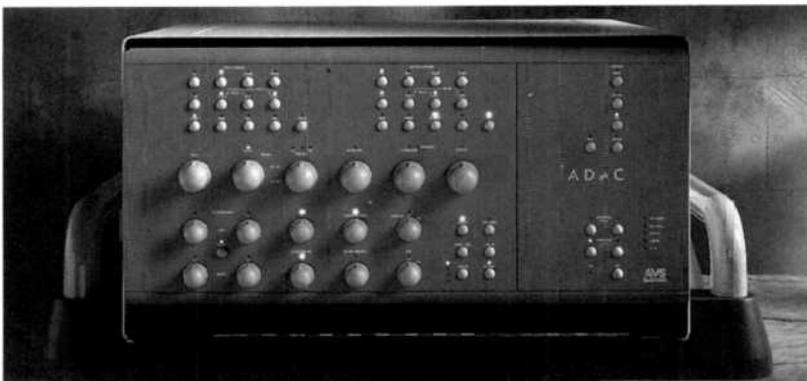
remains to be seen. Based on Turow's diagnosis, the chances for a full recovery without major structural surgery are not very promising. ■

Brian Rose teaches in the Media Studies program at Fordham University, College at Lincoln Center. He is the author of *Television and the Performing Arts* and the editor of *TV Genres*.

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