TELEVISION QUARTERLY

VOLUME III NUMBER 3 SUMMER 1964

THE JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES

Published by The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences with the cooperation of the Television and Radio Department, Newhouse Communications Center, Syracuse University.


CBS

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No wonder more people watched the Republican Convention on the NBC Television Network than on the other two networks combined.

"STRENGTH-IN-DEPTH"

"NBC's Chet Huntley and David Brinkley still are the team supreme in the art of easy-going commentary. Brinkley's bits of off-beat information are special joys.

"NBC's news strength-in-depth was never more evident than on Monday, both in the floor work of its skilled reporters (Frank McGee, John Chancellor, Ed Newman, Sander Vanocur) and in its ability to keep the story running through a long between-sessions lull, while the other two networks reverted to regular programming."

RICHARD K. DOAN, NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

"CONSCIENTIOUS"

"NBC took the honors on the conscientiousness of its coverage. It stayed on longest in the afternoon—right through the Ike parley—and was the first to return to the convention in the evening."

PERCY SHAIN, THE BOSTON GLOBE

"PRE-EMPTS PROGRAMMING"

"If NBC's coverage should lead the survey list here, it's understandable. Its willingness to pre-empt regular programming earned the gratitude of the viewer who tuned in his set to follow the Convention."

BERNIE HARRISON,
WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

"CRISP WIT"

"In terms of editorial content it was a day when David Brinkley's dry manner stood out: during a long lull his crisp wit on NBC can be a source of sustenance for a viewer."

JACK GOULD, THE NEW YORK TIMES

"A COMPLEMENTARY PAIR"

"It is easy to see why this pair (Huntley and Brinkley) has dominated convention coverage since 1952. As those who watch their regular 30-minute newscasts each evening can vouch, the two make a complementary pair. They work easily together, but in the long run prove to be just as human as all the rest."

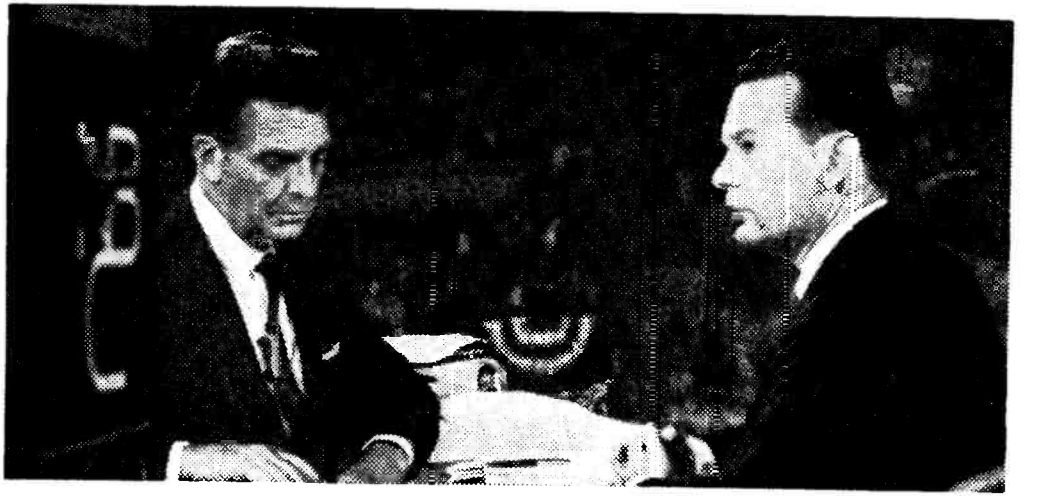
FRANK WILSON, THE INDIANAPOLIS NEWS

"FINE INTERVIEWS"

"The Good Hunch Award belongs to NBC, which decided to remain on the air with convention commentary throughout the afternoon, until the conclusion of the Eisenhower news conference.

"And in the time when they were the only station dealing with the convention they worked in some fine interviews and fine summaries of the impressions gathered by the NBC team."

HENRY MITCHELL,
THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, MEMPHIS



"GREAT NEWS ORGANIZATION"

"The great news organization of NBC demonstrated again the abilities that have placed it first in audience favor. David Brinkley, who easily observes the world of politics in a light-hearted manner others can acquire only looking through the bottoms of wry glasses, shared the inevitable hanging studio with Chet Huntley. Though confined together for long hours, they seemed as agreeable as a couple on honeymoon and their mostly ad lib operation went as smoothly as if it had been scripted."

AL SALERNO, N.Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN

CONSISTENCY

"Huntley and Brinkley haven't had a single bad moment..."

LAWRENCE LAURENT, WASHINGTON POST

"MOST MEANINGFUL"

"Judging from the thoroughness of the NBC coverage of the morning activities, that network is far ahead of the other two. Particularly informative was the analysis of the morning's session by each of the net's major newsmen. It kept NBC on the air nearly an hour longer than CBS or ABC, but it was clearly the most meaningful broadcast service of the convention so far."

TERRENCE O'FLAHERTY,
SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

"CRISP ANALYSIS"

"Once again the Huntley-Brinkley combo, with an excellent location overlooking the convention hall, offered crisp commentary and analysis."

KAY GARDELLA, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

"MOST ACTIVE FLOOR TEAM"

"NBC appeared in the opening round to have probably the most active floor team..."

RICHARD K. DOAN, NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

"THOROUGH AND FAST"

"NBC is still the leader in thorough and fast coverage. It's Chet Huntley – David Brinkley team of anchormen towers above their rivals and they are backed by the largest staff who dig up unusual, informative sidelights."

BEN GROSS, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

NBC

Look to NBC
for the best combination
of news, entertainment
and sports

TELEVISION QUARTERLY

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DEPARTMENTS

TELEVISION AND THE PROFESSIONALS

What are the difficulties of TV's attempt to create an honest portrayal of a member of a professional group? Can the efforts to present a realistic account of a kind of social existence be brought into compatibility with the needs of strong conflict and resolution in drama? Do TV portraits of teachers, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals impede or advance the cause of such professions?

Opinion in these matters is, of course, divided. Many professionals regard their TV counterparts as badly conceived and executed, arguing that the urgency of creating dramatic appeal for broad audiences obscures those quiet strengths and foibles which define an individual. The producer, well aware of the demands of dramatic construction, insists that he can render the highest justice to a real life, giving honesty and dignity to the profession represented.

In the first of a planned series of exchanges between the professional and the producer, *Television Quarterly* offers an examination of the real and the ideal among America's secondary-school teachers. ***Henry B. Maloney,*** a veteran of the classroom, reflects upon the limitations and virtues of TV's *Mr. Novak;* and ***E. Jack Neuman,*** the producer of that series, shares with us his insights and opinions concerning the creation of the program.

Henry Maloney is Editor of the "Humanities Today" section of *Clearing House,* and is also Language Arts department head at Borroughs Junior High School in Detroit. He is a doctoral student of Dr. Louis Forsdale at Columbia. This article is a condensation of a special report written for Forsdale.

After his discharge from the U.S. Marines in 1946, ***E. Jack Neuman*** became a staff writer for CBS Radio in Hollywood. Later, in the free-lance field, he contributed to *Suspense, Sam Spade* and *Lux Radio Theatre.* At Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer he created for television *Dr. Kildare* and *Sam Benedict.*

MR. NOVAK: MAN OR SUPERMAN?

HENRY B. MALONEY
E. JACK NEUMAN

MR. MALONEY'S *NOVAK*

During the first season of its existence, *Mr. Novak* has helped sell Listerine, Excedrin, Coca Cola, Fritos, Bufferin, Noxzema Shaving Cream, Lysol, Breck Shampoo (for which the sponsor's message is delivered in a voice that closely resembles Mr. Novak's), and Chanel No. 5. Obviously, some of these products are designed for male consumers, some for females, some for both. Others are aimed primarily at young people. It follows from this variety of sponsors that the program's producers expect *Mr. Novak* to attract quite a cross section of viewers. It follows also, since the leading role is played by a very handsome young actor, that a large segment of these viewers were expected to be women.

Thus, because of the purpose of the program—ultimately to sell or promote a product—and the anticipated audience, Mr. Novak cannot be a man's man. He cannot pal around with other males on the faculty after school. He has been seen drinking on three different occasions, but he drinks cocktails and has yet to quaff his first beer. The high school has a drama club, but the only evidence of competitive sports—one of the main interests of high school students—is an occasional letter-sweater seen in the hall. One also notes that the two leading women characters, the home economics teacher and the vice-principal, are generally pleasant, always well-groomed and chic, and efficient in performing their jobs. They are the kind of women other women like to see. It is

not the profession Mr. Novak has chosen that has placed him in a feminine environment, but rather the sponsors and the audience that are responsible.

Mr. Novak is also molded in part by his appearing on the medium of television at an early evening hour. Since commercial television sends its message into the home, the citadel of family life, the message is unlikely to be particularly risque, or even very out of the ordinary. The senders of the message perceive the receivers as middlebrow consumers with children. The sensibilities of neither the adults nor the children may be shocked if the viewers are to buy the products being advertised. This axiom holds true especially during the early evening hours, when the children are still up, and the program watched might well be the result of family viewing compromises.

To understand what kind of person John Novak is, it is necessary to observe him from different points of view. In an early press release concerning the program, NBC-TV outlined the image that it hoped this particular hero would create:

> The central starring role is that of John Novak—a new teacher, eager, dedicated, who wants to give his students not only information but also those special values of guidance that really great teachers give. He is human, and can lose his temper as well as his composure.

The three qualities of humaneness, idealism, and toughness were stressed in a later press release in which E. Jack Neuman, the executive producer of the series, was quoted as saying, "We want Mr. Novak to come off as a man—with feet on the ground, head in the clouds—who daily takes a good hard swat at ignorance." Mr. Novak, then, was conceived as a capable educator, well removed from the lovable, maladroit clowns represented by such earlier television teacher-counterparts as Mr. Peepers and Miss Brooks.

After viewing *Mr. Novak,* some professional critics seemed to believe that the title character did, indeed, project the sort of image that was planned for him. *Variety,* for example, commented:

> In James Franciscus, the series has a prepossessing hero who fills the prescription for Novak with just the right amount of candor, eagerness, and innocent idealism. The character of Novak is an interesting conception and the series' strongest point so far.

Frank Judge, television writer for the Detroit *News*, saw the hero as a stereotype:

> In the new one, Franciscus is the same type, only as a teacher, that Chamberlain is as a doctor. The similarity was not accidental. E. Jack Neuman, who created television's "Dr. Kildare" series, is the executive producer for "Mr. Novak." Franciscus even resembles Chamberlain.

Not surprisingly, one of the most withering criticisms of the Novak image appeared in the kind of intellectual magazine that considers television the idiot of the communication family. Writing in the *New Leader,* David Boroff, a free-lance writer and teacher of English at a New York college, found Novak, the school, and the students all phony. In Boroff's judgment, the male teacher "is now redoubtably masculine, dazzlingly good-looking" and is the "very picture of the new executive-educator glowing with teachers college affirmations, the man most likely to be school superintendent by age 35." Mr. Boroff identifies his quarry variously as "the Billy Budd of teaching," "the blond, handsome Gletkin of Jefferson High," "Eagle Scout Novak," and "FBI man Novak." He adds that "Novak has the grim earnestness of a West Point cadet." Unlike *Time,* which rarely reveals the key to its omniscience, Mr. Boroff makes the error of implying how he developed so much expertise about senior high schools:

> Notably absent in *Mr. Novak* is that healthy abrasive cynicism that enable us (*viz.,* those who taught five nerve-wracking periods a day, filled out idiotic forms, and punched a time clock) to keep our sanity.

The words in parenthesis are Mr. Boroff's description of his own teaching experience in a New York City high school, the touchstone upon which he bases his accusations of phoniness.

George Gerbner, a professional educator and student of the mass media, was highly optimistic about both the character and the series after seeing the first program and reading the scripts of several others. He pointed out that *Mr. Novak* was, in fact, the first television series that was actually about the problems of a teacher:

> John Novak succeeds (i.e., in being the first cultural hero for American teachers) where characters like Our Miss Brooks and Mr. Peepers were not even in the running because Novak is not only shyly attractive, boyishly lovable, and winningly bungling, but he is also endowed with a mind, a will, and a strong sense of values. He is not pushed around, much.

During the course of John Novak's experiences in and around Jefferson High School—where the sun seems to shine perpetually—some biographical data have been provided on him. Although he did not look at home in a sweat suit the day he took over a gym class, he is a former boxer. Furthermore, he worked in a coal mine when he was of high-school age. He received his B.A. in English literature. His car is a Valiant station wagon. Mr. Novak is single, but he dates occasionally. He is boyishly handsome, quick to "Sir" older men and, in his sincerity and candor, a down-to-earth person. But for all of his many human qualities, there is still something saviorlike about Mr. Novak because of the miraculous psychical and emotional cures he sometimes works, because of his preternatural charity and nobility, and because his justifiable wrath looks powerful enough to drive the money changers from Jefferson High.

In at least six of the first 13 programs Mr. Novak's solving of the problem was an extraordinary accomplishment. It is true that some of this miracle-working is brought about by the need to establish and then resolve a plot within a 52-minute period. This was particularly evident in the initial program, in which introducing the cast—the faculty of Jefferson High—consumed so much time that there was scarcely time left for Mr. Novak to "wear down" the problem of getting a gifted, economically independent dropout to return to school. He simply resolved the problem in a hurried confrontation.

In another program he is able to get a boy who cheats and believes that science transcends morality to change his philosophy and confess the cheating incident. Six weeks later he gets a chronic liar with a belligerent father to reform, Mr. Novak's words somehow having a greater effect on the boy than the father's words, even though the boy is, to all appearances, cast in his father's image. When Mr. Novak stands up and defends Miss Phipps' right to teach sex education, a hostile parent group begins its rapid change of heart, and the vengeful father who had started the official complaint loses his impetus. On another occasion, he is able to get a sexy teenager who lives in a squalid trailer camp to concentrate on her school work, although her other teachers and the school administration had all failed miserably in this task. Those who bore witness to these miracles need not have been surprised then, when the cynical, self-sufficient millionaire, who adjudged Mr. Novak to be an opportunist, changed his attitude shortly before the final fadeout and observed, "None of my vast wealth would buy a second of what you are or what you give to kids."

All of these feats were performed in the first ten programs. Perhaps at that point executive producer Mr. Neuman became concerned about viewer acceptance of such a figure on commercial television. Perhaps, too, in the eleventh program in the series, writer Richard De Roy, in trying to establish Ariel Wilder as a woman who was psychologically unable to fall in love with a man, lost his emphasis and instead depicted Mr. Novak as a bit of a rake. In either case, in urging Ariel, a beautiful remedial reading teacher, to have another glass of wine and to accompany him to an after-hours place, Mr. Novak rubbed some of the purity from his image. Two weeks later, he lost his first problem youngster, a boy who had a fetish to lead a hot-rod club. Although the boy's indifferent mother was obviously the source of his difficulty, the problem was one that Mr. Novak would have handled with ease during his miracle-working phase earlier in the semester.

Mr. Novak's nobility is the kind that surpasses rules. His admiring principal, Albert Vane, delivered the curtain line in the opening program, "He's a born teacher. He knows when to break the rules." Novak is the only teacher who is unwilling to file a discipline report on Holly Metcalfe, a seductive ne'er-do-well. He takes no formal action against a fellow teacher whom he has caught encouraging cheating, choosing to give him another chance. During an inquiry, he fails to report to an assistant superintendent that he had tried to alert Mr. Vane to an impending problem, only to be pooh-poohed by the principal.

But Mr. Novak's forte is his righteous anger (what Mr. Neuman may have meant by a "good, hard swat at ignorance"). Actor James Franciscus, in the role of Novak, reflects controlled anger with considerable skill. He gets loud, the tempo increases, but he is always lucid, and always on the side of the angels. When Mr. Vane hints that there have been accusations that Mr. Novak is making improper advances to a blind girl student, Novak becomes incensed at the viciousness of the implication. I am certain he is excoriating for the whole, vast N.E.A. with all its affiliates, when he apprehends a teacher who has been giving out examination answers, grabs his arm, and shouts, "Don't these classes of cardboard Einsteins haunt you, Otis?" A father tries to buy off Mr. Novak when his son is discovered cheating; Novak wrathfully stalks out of the conference room. Later in the semester, he represents all of us who have ever wanted to tell off a busybody when he sternly admonishes a nosy reporter and tells him to leave the school grounds. He heaves his half-empty

Rob Roy glass to the floor in disgust and censures some supercilious rich people when they attempt to be patronizing toward him. And, finally, when he fails to bring a hot-rodder onto the straight and narrow path, he slams a locker in disgust and frustration.

The image of Mr. Novak the teacher is conditioned by *Mr. Novak*, the program. *Variety* was blunt in pointing out its lack of originality:

> It soon became clear that this was going to be another conventional melodrama showcase and that the title character was going to have more in common with detectives and urbanized cowboys than with Mr. Chips.

Interestingly, the guest stars, who are brought in from time to time to heighten interest, serve more to underline the artificiality of Jefferson High. A reformed alcoholic, played by Alexander Scourby, wins a job on the faculty despite his tippling wife. Since Mr. Scourby was a guest star, he was not seen in subsequent episodes, although his winning a job in the English Department represented the resolution of a major conflict. When Macdonald Carey was cast in a *Mr. Novak* episode after character images had built up over the weeks, it was difficult to perceive him not as Dr. Christian—an image he had built up in another series—but as an obstreperous, unreasoning parent. Similarly, in the storybook Novak-world one has trouble separating Royal Dano's character from the memorable, young Abe Lincoln he portrayed in a three part series for *Omnibus*.

Nor will an infrequent downbeat ending substantially remove the air of unreality from the show. Potentially "dangerous" themes such as sex education and racial prejudice have a glossy, artificial look when they are dealt with on *Mr. Novak*. Thus, Mr. Novak, the character, is trapped for the present in a pattern. His miracles, his justifiable anger, his nobility, his presence of mind are only superficial manifestations because he functions in such a safe, antiseptic atmosphere in which challenges are unreal. The primitive rock 'n' roll motif which served as background for student groups on the first program has been modified considerably. No longer do the students enter the auditorium with the kind of gusto that the New York Yankees exhibit when they trot onto the field. The program is a handsome advertisement for the teaching profession, but the kind of naive, noble oaf it is likely to attract at present may well be incapable of doing the job.

Despite this, the only teacher in a television series who comes near to having any sort of educational credentials is John Novak. He at least has a friendly, efficient school in which to work and

a high percentage of smart, well-meaning kids to work with. But, unfortunately, Mr. Novak is too, too divine and his challenges are too homogenized. If the script-writers can make him more of a man next semester, teachers might yet show pride in their image being projected on commercial television.

MR. NEUMAN'S *NOVAK*

The first time I laid eyes on Mr. Novak he was standing in the library at Abraham Lincoln High School in South Brooklyn wearing a seersucker suit and carrying a briefcase that must have been at least 30 or 40 years old. I can't remember his real name at the moment but I can remember that it was his second year on the faculty at that particular high school, that he was an English teacher, and that he looked like any other nice young guy (or as nice as any guy can look in a seersucker suit on a hot sticky day in September).

He told me he didn't think I could do a television series that would actually discuss the *real* problems that come up in a high school. I asked why not. And he replied, "You're not an educator." I said, "Do you think an educator could do it?" He didn't think anybody could do it, *not really,* not the way things *really* were.

The next place Novak turned up was at Southwest High School in Kansas City giving 38 youngsters everything he had by way of explaining the pronoun. He was a nice-looking young guy, too; he had three months of teaching experience under his belt and he talked about the responsibility of standing in front of a captive audience of youngsters five or six hours a day at a time when that audience is undergoing the most malleable and crucial period of their lives. I can't remember his name either. I do remember he was polite and direct and said he didn't think too much of the project.

Another Mr. Novak showed up at East High School in Denver; I met still another one in Chicago, and another one in St. Louis. Eventually, I met Mr. Novaks all over this country in one school or another. I met Mr. Vane, too, in a dozen high schools and in a dozen different cities, doing and saying the same things that Dean Jagger does and says on the TV screen.

Miss Scott who teaches Home Economics may have been Miss Perkins or Mrs. Grainger or Mrs. Kelly at one school or another—but there was always a Miss Scott, pretty, capable, efficient, trained and not afraid to have fun. I saw assistant principals and vice-principals who, like Miss Pagano, pretty well disputed the notion that women in education have to look like women in education. (However that is.) For the most part the lady administrators I saw were attractive, sophisticated, capable and good-looking. I saw history and science teachers, language teachers, and all other kinds of teachers who like to teach—and who managed, no matter what their ages, to be a part of the mass youthfulness around them.

I liked what I saw and I wanted to write a television series dealing with the exasperations and exaltations of their kind of life. There was quite a bit of excitement, not from any schoolteachers, but from people in the broadcasting business. They thought it was a dandy idea. And if they didn't think it was dandy they thought it was at least safe. After all, how many villains will you have to shoot or knife or kick to death in a high school? That kind of question is very important to the broadcasters ever since shooting, knifing and kicking on TV became unpopular.

But as I mentioned, the schoolteachers were very suspicious, if not downright hostile, since motion pictures and television have treated them very badly very often. My discussions with them can be generalized into this kind of dialogue:

Me: We are not going to treat you badly.

They: How do we know?

Me: You'll have to trust me.

They: We don't think we want to do that.

Me: The format is going to be relatively simple. A young, Freshman teacher with good training and high ideals is going to step into a big urban high school.

They: Yeh. Ho-hum.

Me: He will have a series of working relationships with other, different teachers and with the principal.

They: A young guy and an old guy, huh?

Me: Yeah. Why not?

They: It's being done everywhere.

Me: Look at your principal and look at yourselves. Do you want me to reverse the situation?

They: It's cliché.

Me: Let me worry about clichés. I know as many as the next guy.

They: We suppose the whole situation will be kind of a hook to start off a detective story.

Me: No. I want the situations to be an integral part of the man's life.

They: The old switchblade stuff, huh?

Me: What?

They: Blackboard jungle.

Me: No. No blackboard jungle. I'd like to have an efficient, well-run high school much like the one you're working in.

They: And the principal. He'll be a funny fellah, huh?

Me: No. He might say some funny things, but he will not be a funny fellah.

They: Tell us about that halfback who's going to flunk English and be ineligible.

Me: He isn't going to show up the first year—and maybe not the second year. I don't like him and I don't like that kind of show.

They: Why?

Me: Because everybody *expects* the sonofabitch.

They: We suppose that Mr. whatever-you-call-him will eventually coach the football team and win the big game.

Me: Would you please keep the football team out of this conversation?

They: What's the matter—you going to de-emphasize sports?

Me: No, but there are other areas of school life that can be dramatized—and haven't been dramatized before.

They: For instance?

Me: That's what I want to find out. That's why I'm here. How about it?

They: Dramatics. We suppose he'll coach dramatics. Yep. Probably. It'll be very funny.

Me: Wait and see.

They: What about class preparation? How are you going to show that?

Me: I don't know at the moment. Maybe I'll show Mr. Novak working until midnight. Maybe I'll show him getting to school at six in the morning.

They: What about the classroom? Is he ever going to teach?

Me: Yes, that's where we'll show his value—or lack of it.

They: Ha-ha.

Me: What's funny?

They: Mr. Peepers. That worked pretty good, didn't it? What kind of program are *you* going to do?

Me: I'm going to do a program from the point of view of the teacher, not the kids. I'm going to tell the story of a man who happens to be a high-school teacher. There'll be plenty of kids, but it'll be the way *he* sees them.

They: Oh.

Me: If you had an hour, once a week, on a national network, what would you say about the good and bad of being a teacher?

They: Plenty.

Me: Will you say it to me?

They: No. We don't trust you.

Me: I personally feel there is a giant and important drama happening every day in the serious, crucial, exacting business of public education. I want to aim the series not only at teachers and students, but at the entire audience—hoping to search, to confront, to agitate, to discuss, to understand, to make commitment—to fulfill in some measure the responsibility owed to its viewers, and the debt this country owes to the hardworking men and women in education.

That speech went over like a glass of stale beer.

Then I wised up. I grabbed a plane to Washington, D. C., and went to the National Education Association. I didn't make any speeches there. I told them I was just plain curious as hell to find out if a guy without a gun, a badge, a horse or a stethoscope could interest the American public. They liked that idea and asked what they could do to help. I told them I had to research, I had to talk to teachers and administrators and see what was going on. They said okay, we'll fix that for you. I asked for help to get them to talk to me. And they helped.

They did not (and they never have) influence the program in relation to their own policies. To this date I'm not quite certain what they are for and what they are against. Their participation in *Mr. Novak* is in an advisory capacity. The N.E.A. regularly supplies a panel of teachers and principals who comb over every script for credibility and authenticity. No more, no less. That panel constantly changes and is rarely made up from N.E.A. members alone. Their work is most valuable and is separate from the two full-time technical directors on the production staff: one is

a vice-principal in a large high school; the other is an English teacher with 13 years experience. Both of these men have written stories and scripts for us.

In spite of this panel and the technical directors there are teachers who pick and pull and pout about the damndest things. For instance, they say *Mr. Novak is too handsome.* What do they want me to do? Cast some gnome? They say *he's too noble.* A little nobility goes a long way and I can't think of any better hero than one who looks like he can and will ride the white charger when the hair is in the butter. They say *it just ain't real.* How real can you get? *Mr. Novak* is filmed inside a real, living, breathing high school with real living, breathing high-school kids. Eighty per cent of the stories are based on actual incidents that have happened to teachers and principals in high schools all over the country. They say *he solves problems too quickly.* I say he didn't solve the dropout problem. He didn't solve the off-campus club problem. He didn't solve the unwed mother problem. He didn't solve the narcotics problem. He didn't solve his own problem in love. (Twice he didn't do that.) He didn't solve the problem of the kid who was staging the Senior Prom, or the kid who was working too much to go to school, or the kid who cheated, or the teacher who wanted to bolt because of overwork. He didn't solve the integration problem.

I know damn well I can't please everybody with *Mr. Novak* and I don't even try. I do try to please the television audience. I don't believe they have twelve-year-old mentalities; I've never believed that. I never will. On the contrary I believe that any audience will react to honesty or lack of honesty on the screen. I think that everything on that screen should be truthful and honest and complete because the audience is sensitive, mature, adult and intelligent—and I think they deserve honesty and truth and completeness. That doesn't happen every week but we sure try.

The present system of television sales and programming has little regard for the final product seen on the air, since it is designed to accommodate the seasonal advertising market and not to facilitate the production schedule. What is sold in March and ordered in April must be prepared, written, produced, mounted, scored, dubbed, advertised and on the air in September. With an hour-long program this is tantamount to finishing a feature-length motion picture every ten days. We make them, we get them on the air, and the best of them show the flaws of hurry. I know I don't have to explain this system to readers of this journal. Each knows all about it, but

I do have to explain it to myself every now and then. I'm still not used to it. I never will be. Neither will my wife or the kids.

But as a veteran writer, even a hardened one, I simply cannot ignore a medium that reaches thirty or forty or fifty million people at one crack. Nor can I ignore the constant challenge to write and produce programs that say something. The only trouble with that situation is that I just might have something to say. Consequently, I have censorship. There's an old-fashioned idea that a happy ending makes a happy audience, and if you don't use dirty words or insult anybody you're all right with the censors. Those remote ideas of control more or less prevail. Luckily they aren't rigid. If they were I'd go out and shoot myself because I firmly believe that *any* subject can be explored dramatically if that exploration is honest, authentic, and observes some basic rules of good taste. Honesty and authenticity depend solely on the ability and the diligence of the writer. Good taste, of course, very often depends on the individual taste buds and I win a few and lose a few.

Television's ability to interpret and explain and differentiate is inexhaustible. It is also worthless unless you get the viewers to watch. Viewers may be interested, but they aren't going to tune in on an intelligent discussion of faculty participation in school administration. But they *will* tune in to a program that dramatizes that same theme using familiar personalities. In short—commercial television programming has more impact than public service programming.

Information without drama is usually dull, and drama without information is even duller. A personable hero like Mr. Novak is highly acceptable. And his problems become acceptable along with him. He is not a perfect man; he is certainly not the perfect image of a teacher. I didn't want him to be perfect and I didn't want him to be surrounded by perfection. But I wanted him to *try* for perfection and to keep trying, week in and week out.

James Franciscus was my first and only choice for the role. When I told him about it I pointed out that Mr. Novak was going to be a maker of mistakes. I told the same thing to Dean Jagger, who was my first and only choice for the role of the principal. Jagger and Franciscus were delighted at the prospect of creating heroes where only buffoons had previously tread. Mr. Novak is often a mis-user of English, even if he is an English teacher. So are all of us. And Mr. Vane is very often an indecisive stutterer even though he is a very decisive decision-maker. Mr. Novak feels he has a right

to accept or reject a drink, to fall in or out of love, to hate or admire a faculty member, a student, or a presidential candidate. He feels that being a schoolteacher does not exempt him from being a human being. His inexperience is glaring. He's a man who is believable even if he does get himself into an unbelievable number of situations. He would have been thrown out of any real high school if he spent that much time in the principal's office. On the other hand if he didn't do that, he wouldn't be on the air. What am I going to do? *Not* put him in the principal's office?

Most critics are very much aware of the fact that television's fundamental purpose is not to inform or to educate but to move goods. But they seem to be unaware of the fact that television is obligated by law and by conscience to recognize the needs of the community and to serve it wherever, whenever and whatever is best. That obligation is not negated or interrupted by commercial sponsorship. They also seem unaware of the fact that any writer worth his salt will try to appraise this world for what it is, how it runs, and what it's worth in this very tough decade of history whether he's writing a novel, a stage play, or a television series. And if he has to sell Fritos and fight the censors he'll still be obliged to do it. The trick is to reflect an honest picture of our society within the structure of an hour-long commercial television program. And brother, that is some trick.

I think we've pulled it off in *Mr. Novak*. We've been nominated, awarded, cited, commended and applauded. We've also been renewed for a second year. Very often during this past year, while filming 30 hours of programs that have been received into twelve million homes, I have felt like one of our modern high-school students who undertakes an experiment without being told what he is called upon to prove. In his modern curriculum he is given the opportunity to sense and define a problem, collect data and draw inferences.

In telling Mr. Novak's story I don't know exactly what I'm going to prove. But I do hope that Mr. Novak will inspire some teachers to be better teachers; I hope he will provoke respect for teachers and education everywhere. In recent years the teaching profession has been losing ground in trying to compete with other fields in the recruitment and retention of high-calibre personnel. Well, I have a secret wish that Mr. Novak influences a lot of bright kids to become teachers. I hope his crack about being trusted with precious things like kids, but not being allowed to handle money, will ring a bell on the salary issue. I hope that because he hates

bigotry and prejudice and apathy and indifference others will recognize and hate the same things; I hope that his patriotism and good citizenship and morality will influence people to admire these qualities. I hope that Novak and Vane and all the rest of the faculty will remove forever the stereotyped image of schoolteachers—as well as the stereotyped image of the young people we call teen-agers. That's a lot of hope, but I'm the optimistic type.

As I say, I don't know what will happen or what has happened because of *Mr. Novak*. I do know I have respect for education and educators. I know that they have a complex of problems and I know that the first step toward the solution of any problem is to confront it and give it a voice. I can't think of any better place for that sort of ethical shootout than on our television screens.

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TV AND THE NEGRO REVOLT

Granting the validity of all that others have said and written about the causes of present Negro unrest, I should like to add another that has not been much explored. The great and revolutionary communications instrument of the present in the United States is television. What it has done to the nation has not yet been measured, and what it will eventually do cannot now be predicted. But there can be no doubt that it is already contributing much to social change, and that even greater changes now unforeseeable will result from television...

Let us review some of the peculiar facts about television. In the first place, like radio, it by-passes literacy. It can be understood and enjoyed by those who cannot read and write. Before the advent of radio and television, to be illiterate was to be cut off from the world. But now the illiterate, whether in the Congo, in Mississippi, or in New York, can hear about and concern himself with matters which he formerly knew nothing about. Television especially has brought the whole big startling world into the lives and imaginations of millions who would never have been able to discover it through reading.

Secondly, television spread with greater rapidity among the poor than the rich in the United States, among the uneducated than among the educated. Long before upper-middle-class homes had made up their minds about the wisdom of buying a television set and exposing their children to it, as many of you will recall, forests of television antennae had risen above tenement homes in the depressed and slum districts throughout the country.

In the socio-economic pattern of the spread of television over America, Negroes hold an important place. The poor and the uneducated being numerous in the Negro community, television spread with special rapidity among Negroes...

Television also holds for Negroes the additional advantage of providing entertainment at home, enabling especially the Southern Negro to avoid the indignities of the ill-kept, humiliating, separate balconies of the segregated movie houses of the Southern and border states.

Another important fact about television is that from the point of view of the producer it is a much more expensive medium than radio. Radio is cheap enough so that small groups can organize and pay for programs and stations of their own—foreign language groups, religious denominations, and the like. In almost every large city, therefore, there are all-Negro radio stations featuring Negro talent, Negro news, Negro church services. Television is too expensive to be supported by any such minority, hence all television programs are addressed pretty much to the whole community. This means that whatever the television set says to white people, it also says to Negroes.

All the foregoing facts tie in with another important fact, namely, that American television is commercially sponsored; it finds its economic support and justification in helping to push and promote consumer goods of all kinds. Hence television is always friendly, always beckoning cheerfully to the viewer, always inviting and alluring...It tells everybody, "No matter how miserable your present condition, you *can* be as good as anybody else. You too can look attractive. You too can have a beautiful and spotless kitchen. You too can have an exciting and romantic vacation through our thrift-plan holiday cruise. You too can enjoy all the satisfactions of living in our lush and abundant consumer economy!"

Now imagine that you are a Negro teen-ager, to whom the television set, with messages such as the foregoing, has been his constant baby-sitter and companion ever since he can remember. If you are this Negro teen-ager, you have spent more hours of your life in front of the television set than you have spent in school, according to the statistics given by audience research surveys. You do not know what your elders know, namely, which advertisements to heed and which to ignore as not being addressed to you. You only know that the friendly, friendly television set is always saying to you, "You are an American. You are entitled to eat and drink and wear what other Americans eat and drink and wear. You must think about the same political and world problems that other Americans think about. You are a member of the national community of Americans."

Then you discover, as you begin to go out into the world to shop for clothes, eat at a lunch counter, or apply for a job, that the culture is not willing to live up to its advertising. You discover that there is a caste system that the television set has told you nothing about—and that as a member of the wrong caste, most of the privileges of being an American, except for paying taxes and serving in the armed forces, are in whole or in part denied to you...

It is deeply significant that so many young people are at the heart of the current racial demonstrations. Teen-agers by the hundreds have been hustled off to jail by the Southern police—and they are singing and cheering as they go! Some Northern editorialists have asserted angrily that these young people are being exploited and used by unscrupulous Negro leaders to propagandize their demands. It still hasn't occurred to them that Negro leaders are not leading anyone any more. They are merely breathlessly trying to keep up with the revolutionary fervor of the young people...

In order to maintain a caste system, members of different castes must not be permitted to communicate freely with each other, and they must also be separated from each other by receiving their communications from different channels. It would be difficult at this stage to devise entirely separate television channels for whites and Negroes, with special stations and special receivers for the two groups so that neither would get messages from the wrong channel. Besides, the necessities of mass marketing are structurally at variance against such a division of the national audience. Therefore, a powerful unifying force is at work to bring whites and Negroes together in their tastes and their aspirations, in spite of the best efforts of the White Citizens Councils and the Black Muslims.

The impact of nationwide networks enables white and Negro, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic, to laugh simultaneously at the same jokes, thrill at the same adventures, admire and detest the same good guys and bad guys, yearn for the same automobiles, dream the same dreams, and therefore develop ultimately the same kind of value systems. From the television programs, Americans learn to see themselves as people not willing to be pushed around, and our Negro young people have learned that lesson, and they will be pushed around no longer. The work that television has done cannot be undone.

S. I. Hayakawa
Etc., December, 1963

TV EDITORIALIZING

The only real difference between the broadcaster and other men in our society, Yale Roe has written, is that he is "the man with the responsibility." Since the early days of broadcasting he has been urged and cajoled, even threatened, to remember that part of that responsibility is to employ his communicative powers toward the clarification of, and the stimulation of public interest in, the tough and urgent social issues of his time.

Yet the American broadcaster has never fully enjoyed that freedom to speak which is the prerogative of his colleagues in the print media. His right to editorialize has been alternately discouraged and encouraged by government, and too often obscured in legalistic terminology which only further confuses understanding of his privileges as a molder of public opinion. Uncertain about the rebuttals of those who differ with him on the matter of truth and falsehood—and plagued by the possibility that opponents with long political memories might frustrate his quest for license renewal—the TV editorialist does not always proceed in a high state of confidence.

The full scope of the problems and paradoxes of editorializing have yet to be given sufficient attention. In an effort to set the problem squarely before the industry and the public, the Television Information Office recently commissioned ***John E. McMillin*** to provide an assessment of the matter. His detailed account of the history and current status of this growing element in broadcasting is published here for the first time.

A broadcast advertising consultant, ***John E. McMillin*** was for five years until 1963 editor of *Sponsor* Magazine. In his columns he frequently reported on the subject of broadcast editorializing. Mr. McMillin recently prepared, for the Advertising Advisory Committee to the Secretary of Commerce, a comprehensive study entitled "Self-Regulation in Advertising."

NEW VOICES IN A DEMOCRACY

JOHN E. McMILLIN

Television editorializing poses an essentially philosophic problem: one which requires more detailed information and far more profound thinking about the fundamental issues and principles involved in its application. So far no one—neither Congress, nor the courts, nor the Federal Communications Commission, nor the industry itself—has evolved fully satisfactory answers.

At the present time, several hundred new editorial voices are being heard over broadcasting stations throughout America. TV alone is producing almost 200 of them. These editorialists have already made substantial contributions to the democratic process, in speaking out on local and community affairs, and in taking positive sides on controversial subjects of public interest. Moreover, this phenomenon of broadcast editorializing is still only in a developmental stage. Its accomplishments so far are as nothing compared to what, in the opinion of many industry observers, it might do in the future. Its promise and potential for important national benefits in years to come are very high.

Yet today the country's near-600 TV stations are engaging in editorializing in a kind of policy chaos. They have been told by the Federal Communications Commission that they should editorialize. (Ex-Chairman Newton N. Minow called it a matter of "urgent national importance.") They have also been told that they must editorialize according to the rules of a "Fairness Doctrine" set down by the FCC, and according to rather contradictory interpretations of that doctrine as given by various FCC commissioners. Meanwhile, however, the Communications Sub-Committee of the House of Representatives, headed by Congressman Walter Rogers (D-Tex.), has questioned the whole theory of the Fairness Doctrine. Specifi-

cally, it has requested the FCC not to revoke licenses of stations that failed to "abide by the specific requirements set forth in recent interpretations of the Fairness Doctrine," and has advised that "under no circumstances should the Commission consider as an adverse factor a station's refusal to editorialize."

Faced with these conditions, and with other, even more serious, disagreements between Congress and the FCC, the country's TV stations have shown a natural reluctance to take up their editorializing. While 30 to 40 per cent of TV outlets air their own editorials, it is significant that the rush of stations to engage in this function—a movement which reached its peak in 1961 and 1962—has now slowed to a trickle. Furthermore, there is some evidence that broadcast editorializers have become somewhat less courageous in tackling significant, controversial subjects. The trends are a result of several dilemmas which deserve more attention from thoughtful, responsible Americans than they have yet received.

The fundamental difficulty is that editorializing involves some of the most complex questions to be found in any area of our society. One cannot really come to grips with the editorializing problem unless he is willing to study such basic matters as Constitutional law and the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Here one encounters puzzling questions concerning the theories, aims and ideals of a democratic society, the operation of our private enterprise business system, the responsibilities to the public of a government-licensed medium and, equally important, the proper role and function of a government that licenses media of public communications.

As if these were not enough, discussions of editorializing must take into consideration the changing patterns of American communications, and of the need for new, strong editorial leadership in cities that no longer have competing newspapers.

What is the amount and kind of power that Congress has vested in the regulatory agencies? What are the limitations, the extent and the legal use of such powers? Finally, what of the policy makers, the practical politicians, whose expressed idealistic enthusiasm for free speech is often tempered by their dislike of editorial opinion contrary to their own?

These, then, are some of the questions involved in the current editorializing dilemma, and it is against this background that this report has been prepared. It will attempt to clarify the history and development of TV editorials; to show clearly the scope,

methods, techniques, and subject matter of present-day editorializing; and to trace the opposing viewpoints that this phenomenon has produced.

THE HISTORY OF THE EDITORIAL CONCEPT

The concept of a broadcast editorial is a very simple one, and it may seem surprising to those outside the industry that there has been so much conflict, debate, and changes in government attitudes about it during the past 40 years.

A broadcast editorial, according to the definition adopted by the National Association of Broadcasters, is defined as: *An on-the-air expression of the opinion of the station licensee, clearly identified as such, on a subject of public interest.*

The right, or privilege, of a broadcaster to make such on-the-air pronouncements, however, has never been clear, and it will help to understand the variations of the concept if one recognizes that there have been four phases, or periods, in the evolution of broadcast editorials:

1. *The early radio period* (1921–1941). During these years broadcasters showed little interest in, or enthusiasm for, becoming editorialists. The industry developed in other directions.

2. *The Mayflower period* (1941–1949). In its 1941 Mayflower decision the FCC ruled that broadcasters had no legal right to editorialize. This decision was in force for eight years.

3. *The reversal and development period* (1949–1962). In 1949 the FCC reversed or overturned the Mayflower ruling, and began encouraging broadcasters to editorialize under the rules of the "Fairness Doctrine." Both radio and TV stations responded, and during the 1950's an increasing number began editorial operations. In TV the biggest swing toward editorializing occurred in 1961 and 1962.

4. *The period of executive confusion* (1962 to present). As more and more stations became editorialists, the number of problems, questions, and complaints received by the FCC multiplied, and the FCC's interpretations of the "Fairness Doctrine" became more involved. By mid-1963, the industry had grown alarmed over the seeming inconsistencies and unreasonableness of the Commission's rulings; and Congress, also disturbed, set about investigating the entire editorializing subject. Broadcasters are now in a state of confusion and uncertainty.

The coolness or indifference of broadcasters toward editorializing, during the formative years of the industry, can be explained in

several ways. For one thing, radio during the 1920's and 1930's developed primarily as an entertainment medium, with news coverage added as an important programming element. A broadcaster, with rare exceptions, did not see himself fulfilling the same functions, or exercising the same responsibilities, as a local newspaper editor. Nor did he consider he was in the same kind of profession. The great staples of radio were music, comedy, drama, and variety shows, and broadcasting was looked upon as being substantially a part of the entertainment business. This view of the industry is still held by a number of broadcasters, and explains, at least in part, why many have declined to assume the editorializing role.

A second reason for the lack of interest in station editorials during the 1921–1941 period was the emergence, in radio, of a large number of well-known news commentators whose regular programs reflected strong personal points of view on numerous controversial subjects. Such men as Kaltenborn, Heatter, Gibbons, Winchell, Thomas, and others provided the radio audience with a spectrum of personal opinion, essentially editorial, but which did not necessarily mirror the convictions of station and network operators. This phenomenon of the news commentator, which reached its peak in the late 1930's and early 1940's, has no precise parallel in either radio or TV today. Commentators or analysts still operate in both media, but their number and influence have sharply declined.

A third reason, advanced by some industry historians, why broadcasters in the early years did not push for their editorial rights, was a purely competitive one. Radio men were competing with newspaper publishers for advertising revenue, and they did not hesitate to attack what they thought was a flaw in the newspaper armor. This was the suspicion, given wide circulation during the years of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations, that newspapers were biased, partial, and unreliable in their editorial approaches. By comparison, argued broadcast salesmen, our industry takes no position, has no bias, presents only facts, and gives both sides of every news story.

Whether this competitive sales pitch was successful in winning substantial advertising accounts has never been proved. Nor has it ever been determined whether broadcasters, in proclaiming their own neuter, faceless lack of convictions, did not hurt themselves more than they benefited. But the argument was used, and to some extent became a part of the industry's tradition.

One must also remember that the years between 1924 and 1934 saw the rise of the licensing concepts for broadcasting, embodied in the Radio Act of 1927 and the Communications Act of 1934. These concepts placed a heavy emphasis on the phrase "public interest, convenience and necessity," which is still the basic principle of American broadcasting regulation.

One comment should be made, however, about the national climate that prevailed when these concepts were developed and adopted. At that time, it seemed to legislators that the chief problem was to protect the public against the individual broadcaster; that essentially the public interest could best be served by denying the interest of the individual broadcaster.

Thus, in the debate over the Radio Act of 1927, Congressman (later Senator) White stated:

> We have reached the definite conclusion that the right of all our people to enjoy this medium of communication can only be preserved...by the assertion of the doctrine that the right of the public to service is superior to the right of any individual to use the ether...This principle...we have written into the bill. If enacted into law, the broadcasting privilege will not be the right of selfishness. It will rest upon an assurance of public interest to be served.

This philosophy has dominated Congressional and FCC policy ever since. But a completely opposite viewpoint is held by many thoughtful and intelligent persons. These believe that the public interest is always best served by protecting individual rights and stimulating individual creativity; that the public interest is harmed by erecting bureaucratic barriers against the individual, even if done in the name of society. This position was not particularly fashionable in the 1930's, and broadcaster indifference to editorializing made it almost inevitable that the FCC's Mayflower decision of 1941 would be followed by little or no comment from the industry.

The Commission ruled upon the fitness of a Boston firm, Mayflower Broadcasting Company, that had used the facilities of its Station WAAB to promote candidates and political ideas of its own choosing. The FCC renewed the Mayflower license, but only after it had been assured that the station had given up editorializing after September, 1938; that it did not intend to resume the practice, and that it had no editorial policy. The Commission held unequivocally: *A truly free radio cannot be used to advocate the causes of the licensee...It cannot be devoted to the support of prin-*

ciples he happens to regard most favorably. In brief, the broadcaster cannot be an advocate. This doctrine remained FCC policy from 1941 to 1949, and it was never once challenged in the courts by any holder of a broadcast license.

Today there are many within the industry who believe that the Mayflower ruling could not have been upheld on Constitutional grounds by the Supreme Court. But, as Dr. Frank Stanton has pointed out, when Mayflower was formulated in 1941 "there was no substantial body of clearly articulate disagreement among broadcasters."

By 1949, however, says Dr. Stanton, "not only broadcasters but a clear consensus of a cross section of responsible citizens" had come to believe that "the suppression of anyone's views, on any grounds, was a bad business—particularly at a time in our national history when every means to stimulate discussion and understanding of pressing issues should have been encouraged, and when scores of perplexing local post-war problems were confronting communities all over the nation."

Under Congressional pressure, the FCC questioned its own policy. It held hearings at which testimony was taken from 49 witnesses representing broadcasters, various interested organizations, and the general public; also, written statements were received from another 21 persons and organizations unable to testify in person. As a result of these hearings, the Commission revised its Mayflower position in its report of June 2, 1949, and allowed that a broadcaster might editorialize, provided he followed certain editorial guidelines or principles of fairness. The essence of this new Fairness Doctrine was that controversial issues must always be treated in a balanced fashion, and that fairness and balance in editorializing could be achieved by a broadcaster if he affirmatively aided and encouraged the airing of opposing viewpoints.

Not all members of the Commission were completely enchanted with this solution. Commissioner Hennock, in a dissenting opinion, said, "The standard of Fairness as delineated in the report is virtually impossible of enforcement by the Commission, with our present lack of policing methods, and with the sanctions given us by law."

Commissioner Jones wrote:

> I cannot subscribe to the action of the Commission in expressly imposing prospective conditions on the exercise of the licensee to use the facilities of a station for the purposes of editorialization.

> I would not say to the licensee, as does the Commission's decision, "You may speak, but only on the prospective conditions that are laid down in our report." For my part, I would merely say to the licensee, "You may speak."

At first there was no great rush of broadcasters to exercise their new editorializing privileges. This was particularly true in TV, then beginning to emerge as a separate broadcasting force.

A number of radio stations began to air editorials in the early 1950's, but the TV record is clearly shown in the answers to a survey questionnaire, made by the Television Information Office in 1963. TIO asked all commercial TV stations whether they now editorialized and, if so, when they began. The 157 editorializing stations which replied gave these as their starting dates:

Pre-1953 (on radio)	1	1958	20
1953	1	1959	18
1954	1	1960	22
1955	3	1961	32
1956	5	1962	42
1957	4	1963	8

It was 1958 before the real movement to TV editorializing began, and 1962 before interest in station editorials perked up sharply. There are several explanations.

First, by 1958 a handful of radio stations had clearly demonstrated to the industry that a station could operate as a forceful, meaningful editorial voice, and the example stimulated the adoption of editorial techniques in the more complex TV medium.

Second, the public statements of FCC Commissioners concerning editorializing became progressively more enthusiastic during the 1950's, and in July, 1960, the Commission issued a report, outlining the programming obligations of a station licensee, which specifically listed editorializing as one of the "major elements usually necessary to meet the public interest, needs and desires of the community in which the station is located."

Early in 1961 Newton N. Minow assumed the chairmanship of the Commission, and his comments to broadcasters on their editorial opportunities and responsibilities became perhaps the strongest pro-editorializing voice which the industry had yet heard. At the NAB's First Editorializing Conference, held in Washington in March, 1962, the FCC Chairman said:

> I want to talk today about broadcasting's inescapable duty to make its voice ring with intelligence and leadership. The plain and

> unhappy fact is that our traditional avenues of communication are contracting, not expanding. We are witnessing an odd and distressing phenomenon. The population is increasing at an explosive rate...but in the eye of this hurricane the number of metropolitan newspapers which traditionally have served our people is decreasing.
>
> I believe it is a matter of urgent national importance that radio and television reach out for their greatest potential—for broadcasting opens up a dimension in communications which the more traditional processes of the printed word cannot achieve.

This vigorous exhortation was not wasted on the broadcasting industry, and the enthusiasm with which TV men both began, and expanded, editorial operations is a tribute to such stimulating influences. Essentially, therefore, modern TV editorializing is a six-year-old phenomenon, dating from 1958 to the present, and it has been during this period that the patterns, scope, methods, techniques, and basic editorial themes have been established.

Before examining the next phase—the period of Administrative Confusion about editorializing in which the industry now finds itself—it will be well to look carefully at the operations of present-day editorialists.

THE SCOPE OF PRESENT-DAY EDITORIALIZING

Our most reliable information about the scope and extent of present-day TV editorializing comes from two surveys, made in 1963 by the National Association of Broadcasters and the Television Information Office. In a postcard study by the NAB, 189 TV stations reported that they now editorialize. A TIO questionnaire, sent to all TV outlets, produced replies from 169 editorializers.

The figures, statistically, are fairly close and show that approximately one-third (30%–37%) of America's 561 commercial TV stations are now engaged in broadcasting editorials. An analysis of replies to the TIO shows that the 169 operate in 114 different communities, ranging in size from such metropolitan areas as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, down to such smaller cities as Sedalia, Missouri; Chico, California; Lufkin, Texas; and Dickinson, North Dakota. They are located in 40 states, plus the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands. (The only states not represented in the group are Alaska, Arkansas, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wyoming.)

This wide dispersal of editorializing activities is significant for two reasons. First, it indicates that the movement is truly national

in scope, and not a matter of local or regional taste. Second, it seems to show that TV editorializers are individualists in their approach to their jobs. Today 94% of U. S. television owners receive service from three or more stations. But only a third of these stations editorialize.

A second important breakdown, in both the TIO and NAB studies, concerns the frequency of editorials. The 189 stations which replied to the NAB survey listed their editorial schedules as follows:

Daily	61 (32%)
Weekly	20 (11%)
Irregular basis	108 (57%)

The 150 stations which answered the question "How often do you prepare new editorials?" in the TIO study gave these breakdowns:

Daily	50 (33.3%)
Weekly	38 (25.3%)
Monthly	8 (5.3%)
Other	54 (36.0%)

Thus it appears that approximately half (43%–58%) of the stations that editorialize do so according to a carefully formulated plan of announcements at least once every week, rather than on an "occasional," "irregular," or "by request" basis. To put it another way, about one-sixth of the country's TV stations have made editorials a regular, continuing factor of their program schedules.

THE SUBJECTS ON WHICH STATIONS EDITORIALIZE

The impact and importance of editorializing, however, are determined not so much by the number of stations which engage in it, as by the subjects they discuss and by their editorial approaches and treatments. The first, and perhaps most significant, generalization to be made about today's TV editorials is that they are primarily *local* in nature.

In the TIO study, stations were asked to indicate what percentage of their editorials were devoted to national, international, and local matters. Results indicated:

(1) 87% of total time devoted to editorials is concerned with local subjects.
(2) 59% of stations do local editorials exclusively.
(3) Only one station reported no local editorials.

Although TIO found that 26% of respondents occasionally editorialize on international topics and 41% on national themes, the

great preponderance of today's TV editorials are concerned with local problems, local needs, and local controversies.

Even in the period of national shock and mourning following President Kennedy's death, many of these editorials hewed to the line of local interests and local problems. By far the majority of TV editorials today deal with the specifics of city, county and state life. Only a very few are given over to larger, and perhaps less effective, generalizations. This is both a measure of their strength and their service to the community, and an indication of the approach which broadcasters take toward their jobs.

It should also be noted that many of the subjects discussed had political overtones. The NAB in its questionnaire asked broadcasters "Do you editorialize on political issues?" The answers:

Yes	102 TV stations (53%)
No	87 TV stations (47%)

This willingness to take sides in local controversies does not, at most stations, extend to endorsements of individuals. NAB's question "Do you editorialize for or against political candidates?" had these replies:

Yes	12 TV stations (6%)
No	177 TV stations (94%)

NOTES ON EDITORIAL TECHNIQUES

A TV editorial is, most commonly, a statement of opinion which runs two to three minutes in length. In the TIO questionnaire, 80 of the 144 stations which supplied information gave this as their standard time period. (28 stations run editorials of less than two minutes, 28 present three- to five-minute editorials, and 8 plan editorials of ten to thirty minutes in length.)

TV editorials are most often delivered by the station manager himself (TIO found that at 50% of the stations the manager either appears exclusively or participates). The question "Who appears on the air?" brought, in fact, these answers:

Manager	82 stations
Special editorial announcer	45 stations
Regular announcer	18 stations
Others (predominantly news director)	37 stations

One of the most common methods of televising an editorial is to flash the word "Editorial" on the screen during the reading of the message. Other techniques include the introduction of the editorializer by an announcer with some such phrase as "The following is a KMOX-TV, St. Louis, editorial 'For Better County Gov-

ernment.' Expressing the views of this station's management is Mr. Norman Bacon, Administrative Assistant to the General Manager of KMOX-TV."

Some stations use a standard opening and closing statement. WTOP-TV (Washington, D. C.) begins each message with 'This is a WTOP Editorial," and closes with the same phrase.

Many editorials contain carefully written-in references, so that there can be no doubt as to who is expressing the opinion. WTVT (Tampa, Florida), commenting on the state's system of gubernatorial succession, stated clearly that "Channel 13 advocates for Florida a better method of filling a vacancy in the office of governor."

KPIX, San Francisco, campaigning against clandestine "non-meetings" of public officials, stated "KPIX suggests that people take appropriate legal steps whenever public officials continue to flout the law against secret meetings."

KNXT, Los Angeles, aroused about a disorganized transportation situation, maintained that "growing traffic congestion around the International Airport could have been anticipated long ago. And, in the opinion of KNXT, this having to run twice as fast just to catch up characterizes the troubled movement of people and goods throughout the expanding Southern California metropolis."

Regardless of the method, the identification of editorials as such is a matter of prime importance. Without this qualification no broadcast material can in fact be considered an editorial. This point is especially important to remember because there are many types of TV programs or statements which do not fall within the editorializing realm.

When Walter Lippmann, for instance, appears on TV he often expresses strong opinions on subjects of public interest, but he is not, in the broadcast sense of the word, "editorializing." When Jack Paar entertains such guests as Senator Edward Kennedy or ex-Vice President Nixon, his comments may reflect a personal bias, but they are not broadcast "editorials." When network commentators like Walter Cronkite or Chet Huntley and David Brinkley explain, interpret, or clarify the news, or when station news announcers deliver straight news items, they are functioning as newsmen, not as "editorializers."

Editorializing, then, applies only to material which:

1. Represents a viewpoint, an opinion, a taking of sides.
2. Is delivered as the opinion of the station itself, which assumes full responsibility for it.

Most editorials are delivered "straight," that is, with the station representative speaking or reading directly to the camera. Occasionally, however, photographs, news clips, or other visual materials are used to illustrate a point. A few, but only a very few, editorials are complete pictorial programs running ten to thirty minutes in length. But in each case the effort is identified as an editorial; not as a documentary, panel discussion, or TV review.

The preparation of editorials puts a considerable burden on the individual station. The TIO study found, for instance, that the average editorial (even a short one) requires 5.3 hours to prepare. The least amount of time reported by stations for editorial preparation was 4 hours, and some devote more than 8 hours to each piece of editorial copy.

Topics are most frequently suggested by members of station management (60% of cases), but news departments, editorial boards, and specially assigned personnel also contribute ideas. In 31.1% of cases the manager alone has the final decision on what shall be broadcast. At 68.9% of stations final authority rests with the editorial board.

TIO's question "Who does editorial research?" drew these replies:

Special editorial personnel	65 stations
News staff members	71 stations
Others	37 stations

(preponderantly news editor, with management)

On the matter of "Who prepares editorial scripts?" TIO found:

Special editorial personnel	59 stations
News staff	55 stations
Member of management	48 stations
Editorial Board	21 stations
Others (including news directors)	28 stations

The exact rules and policies that govern editorializing by any individual station are usually formulated by that station's ownership and management. However, the great majority of television stations (80%) are members of the National Association of Broadcasters, and have accepted the NAB's editorializing standards. Among NAB principles and guidelines are the following:

- Broadcast editorializing . . . must be undertaken only after the most careful preparation and diligent effort to assure that the opinion expressed is well informed and well founded.
- The subject of the editorial should be timely, and controversy should not deter the decision to editorialize.

- The editorial must be based on facts assembled by competent personnel conversant with the subject.
- The editorial should be clearly identified as a statement of the licensee, regardless of who delivers it.
- The reputation for integrity, responsibility and fairness of the station must stand behind each editorial.
- The editorial should be clearly distinguished from the news and other program material by an appropriate identification.
- Editorials should be delivered from a script.
- A record of the editorial should be made a part of the station's files for a reasonable period, and available to interested parties.

Other NAB standards concern matters of editorial fairness and the operations of the FCC's "Fairness Doctrine."

From the data presented it is sufficient to recognize that TV editorializing today follows certain well-defined patterns; that its techniques, though they vary from station to station, resemble each other in general outlines; and that broadcasters approach editorializing with care and seriousness.

THE VALUES AND IMPACT OF TV EDITORIALS

Inevitably, in any discussion of TV editorializing, the question will be asked, "Yes, but how meaningful, how significant, how truly courageous and important are all these editorial statements?" For this, there is not, and never can be, any really definitive answer.

A careful review of hundreds of station editorials shows clearly that:

(1) There are tremendous variations in editorial approaches from station to station and from editorial to editorial.

(2) There are corresponding variations in journalistic skill, writing ability, factual research and organization, timeliness, persuasiveness and editorial impact.

(3) A fair number of editorials deal with non-controversial subjects—highway safety, the support of local charities, commendations to civic leaders for community contributions, or appeals to the electorate to get out and vote.

(4) Many editorials deal with problems so local, and so specialized, that it would be impossible for any outsider to evaluate their importance and significance.

(5) There are, nevertheless, scores of TV editorials every year which speak out boldly and clearly, which articulate the conscience of the community, and which are written with conspicuous skill, scrupulous respect for facts, and genuine crusading passion.

The fact that TV stations do not hesitate, at times, to take strong stands on essentially political issues, is revealed clearly in this forthright editorial, delivered by Lawrence Carino, General Manager of WJBK-TV, Detroit, Michigan, on June 4, 1963:

> THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION SHOULD COME DOWN OFF ITS HIGH HORSE IN RELATION TO EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
>
> Michigan citizens have cause for increasing irritation as the State Board of Education bucks and stalls over a question of procedure.
>
> A report on one of our colleges—Eastern Michigan University—was prepared by the North Central Association for the State Board. Governor Romney asked for a copy, and the Board refused to give him one. By now the stalling of the Board has caused rumor to bloom, and suspected criticism of the school administration is magnified by idle speculation.
>
> It is unfair to the school and to its faculty and managers to let this situation continue further. What is more important—the State Board of Education has no right to keep the Governor in the dark about such an important matter. It is perfectly ridiculous for the Board to assert that it alone is competent to judge the report's fairness.
>
> For that matter, the citizens of Michigan have some rights too. It is the citizen who pays for the school and the salaries of its staff. Let's not lose sight of that!
>
> The State Board of Education is largely of a different political party faith than the Governor. Maybe that has something to do with its stubborn attitude.
>
> But we and a lot of others are weary of minor pride and jealousy which impede proper conduct of state business. It is time for the State Board of Education to drop its high-and-mighty stand on Eastern Michigan University!

In a similar crusading vein, but with a heightened emphasis on naming names and suggesting specific action by the TV audience, is this editorial, delivered on October 9, 1963, by William L. Putnam, President, WWLP, Springfield, Massachusetts:

> The people of Massachusetts have long been uneasy about the Department of Public Works.
>
> We have watched the antics of Mr. Bessette, who used the existing laws to hold on to his job, even though caught red-handed in various shady deals.
>
> We witnessed the Commissioner of Public Works tell lies to the Congress of the United States, which was investigating the various illegal procedures which have become far too common in that department.
>
> Thus we have, hopefully, awaited with anticipation what one political party has insisted on for years, a sweeping reorganization of this vast money-making agency of State Government.
>
> We regret, therefore, to inform you that the State Senators from this area have let the people down on the first vote on the reorganization proposals before them.

> With the notable exception of Senator Maurice Donahue of Holyoke, all our state senators locally voted for the watered down whitewash bill that would have no real effect on current office holders or policies of that department. Senator Donahue has shown that he favors a real clean-up; and he should be recommended for his stand in support of Bill 1026.
> Not so, however, with Senator George Hammond of Westfield, Senator Charles Bisbee of Chesterfield, Senator Stanley Zarod of Springfield, Senator Paul Benoit of Southbridge, and Senator Edmund St. John of Adams. They all voted for the whitewash Bill 104.
> A second vote is coming up in the Senate, perhaps even now as I talk to you, and these gentlemen can have a second chance to show their constituents that they, too, are concerned over the good name of our state, that has been dragged so low by the people and practices of our Department of Public Works.
> If you would like to express your concern, you can contact these senators, if you choose, at the State House, or at their homes. George Hammond of Westfield, Charles Bisbee of Chesterfield, Stanley Zarod of Springfield, Paul Benoit of Southbridge, and Edmund St. John of Adams.
> The housecleaning measure proposed by Governor Peabody needs help; your help—right now.

These two editorial examples were selected almost at random from dozens of statements made by broadcasters in 1963. Many other equally strong editorials could be cited. They are not, of course, typical of the average editorial on the average station on the average day. In general, TV's editorials speak more quietly, and on less controversial matters. But at least they do illustrate the potential power of the TV medium, and the kind of voices which the industry does raise, from time to time, in communities all over America.

The values, and especially the potentials, of TV editorializing should probably be judged on such efforts, not on any attempted "average" of editorial excellence.

THE DILEMMAS OF THE FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

The most complex, disturbing, and controversial aspect of editorializing is the theory, provisions, and applications of the FCC Fairness Doctrine. Here we come to grips with the administrative and philosophic confusion which has developed in Washington as a result of this phenomenon, and which, in the past two years, has left many broadcasters in a state of utter bewilderment about their editorial rights and operations.

At the heart of the dilemma is the Fairness Doctrine, first expounded by the Commission in 1949, but since expanded and interpreted, particularly in 1963, in more rigid and arbitrary ways.

This doctrine is often confused with the so-called "equal time" provisions of the Communications Act; and we ought, at the outset, to draw a clear distinction between the two.

The Fairness Doctrine is not a law, but an FCC policy. Section 315 of the Communications Act, by comparison, is a precise law, enacted by Congress, which provides that equal opportunities to use a station's facilities shall be given to all opposing political candidates. Thus, if a Republican candidate for Governor appears on a station, his Democrat, Liberal, Labor, and other opponents have a right to demand and get "equal time" to present their own cause.

It should be noted, however, that Section 315 applies only to *political candidates.* There is no equal time provision, within the law, governing controversial issues, editorial viewpoints or opinions.

The Fairness Doctrine, therefore, is an attempt by the FCC to formulate a policy covering such matters. The essence of the Doctrine, as set forth in Commission rulings, is that while a broadcaster has a right to editorialize, he has an "affirmative obligation to afford reasonable opportunity for the presentation of contrasting viewpoints on any controversial issue he chooses to cover."

Just how, and by what means, a broadcaster should exercise this "affirmative obligation," however, has been a subject of considerable haziness during most of the years since 1949. The Commission itself has declared that there can be no single formula:

> Different issues will inevitably require different techniques of presentation and production. The licensee will in each instance be called upon to exercise his best judgment and good sense in determining what subjects should be considered, the particular formats of the programs to be devoted to each subject, the different shades of opinion to be presented, and the spokesmen for each point of view. In determining to honor specific requests for time the station will inevitably be confronted with such questions as whether the subject is worth discussion, whether the viewpoint of the requesting party has already received a sufficient amount of broadcast time, or whether there may not be other available groups or individuals who might be more appropriate spokesmen for the particular point of view than the person making the request.

Many broadcasters, particularly during the years 1958–1962, when the swing to editorializing reached a peak, expressed unhappiness at the vagueness of this language, and wished that the Commission could set up more formal standards. They pointed out that while the FCC had imposed on them a duty to "aid and encourage" the broadcasting of opposing views, it had drafted no rules by which their performance in this respect could be judged.

To them, at the Editorializing Conference in 1962, ex-Chairman Minow said:

> You should know that the Commission stands behind you. We are not here to bushwhack you. We recognize that a station that has a strong voice can be a prime target for pressure groups, and that they may try to put the squeeze on you through the FCC. Don't panic. Integrity will protect you better than a regiment of lawyers.

Heeding these comforting words, the NAB wrote into the 1963 edition of its "Editorializing Guide for Broadcasters" this statement: *In terms of generalities, there is no doubt that as long as a station follows a course of action which in its judgment is fair, the Commission will uphold the license.*

In the light of subsequent FCC rulings, it may seem as if this statement was a little too trusting, and even naive.

The NAB also adopted the following editorial standards:

> In keeping with the traditions of responsible broadcasting, fairness is a principal element of a station's editorial policy. To this end, reasonable opportunity must be provided for the expression of opposing views.
>
> Whenever individuals or organizations are the subject of an editorial, they should be supplied with a copy of the editorial as soon as practicable.
>
> Whenever an editorial position is taken on a political issue or candidate, timing is of the utmost importance in pursuing the standard of fairness.
>
> In the designation of a spokesman to reply to an editorial on a political candidate, the licensee should accord preference to the wishes of the opposing candidate.
>
> Consideration should be given to the distribution of copies of the station's editorials to appropriate leaders of the community to contribute to the understanding of matters affecting the community interest.

In amplification of its point regarding individuals or organizations, the NAB Editorializing Guide goes on to say:

> When a station's editorials attack a person or a particular group, the Commission has expressed the view that a licensee must act with a particularly high degree of responsibility...*and if the attacks are of a personal nature "which impugn the character and honesty of named individuals, the licensee has an affirmative duty to take all appropriate steps to see to it that the persons attacked are afforded the fullest opportunity to respond."*
>
> This means that, whenever possible, the person attacked should be permitted to respond. In this regard, the station should bring the editorial to the attention of the individual prior to, or at the time of, broadcast if at all practicable. (Italics supplied)

Such, then, has been the official position of the industry as expressed through its trade association, and the NAB standards for

editorializing. In practice, the obligation to present opposing viewpoints has been publicly and openly acknowledged by many broadcasters. KDKA-TV, Pittsburgh, for example, closes each of its editorials with this statement: *The preceding KDKA-TV editorial was presented in the public interest. This station welcomes comments on its editorial opinions and recognizes its obligation to present over these facilities the opposing views of responsible spokesmen in order to achieve a balanced presentation of the issue.*

A large number of stations give wide circulation to their editorials by sending copies to a continuing mailing list of civic leaders, and in many of these the station's position on editorial replies is spelled out in detail:

- The management of KHOU-TV (Houston) welcomes requests from responsible spokesmen for the presentation of views contrasting with those expressed in its editorials on controversial issues of public importance. Requests should be made within five days after the date of broadcast of the editorial and, if more than one such request is received, the station reserves the right to select the spokesman to present such views.
- WJW-TV (Cleveland) offers a reasonable opportunity to reply to the views expressed in this editorial to a responsible person or group representing a significant opposing viewpoint, provided request for reply time is submitted to WJW-TV within one week of this broadcast.

Furthermore, the granting of reply time to those who wish to rebut station editorials has been, by no means, uncommon in the TV industry.

For example, on November 1, 1963, WCBS-TV (New York) presented a rebuttal by New Jersey Senator Pierce Dreamer on the station's editorial on the New Jersey Bond Issue. On December 5, 1963, WKRC-TV (Cincinnati) introduced Mr. J. E. Callen, Chairman of the Citizens School Emergency Committee of the Mt. Healthy School District, who began his attack on an earlier station editorial with the flat statement, "We feel that WKRC is misinformed about schools." On September 28 and 29, 1963, KYW-TV (Cleveland), having taken an editorial position on the civil rights movement and the Cleveland schools, presented both Ralph McAllister, President of the Cleveland School Board, and Clarence E. Holmes, Chairman of the United Freedom Movement, to give "another point of view."

In all fairness, however, it should be stated that most broadcasters have not experienced any rush of requests for time in which to answer their editorials. The TIO survey of editorializing stations asked "What percentage of your editorials provokes valid requests

for air time from public officials or other bona fide spokesmen?" More than half the stations answered one per cent or less, and the average for all stations was only 5.7%.

Not all persons or organizations, of course, who disagree with station editorials ask for reply privileges. In a number of instances they complain directly to the FCC. And it is probably significant that the first signs of concern over the Commission's interpretations of the Fairness Doctrine were expressed by the Washington law firms which maintain a careful check on the FCC's handling of complaints.

These attorneys, who represent broadcasters and advise them on legal and governmental problems, began to grow disturbed, in 1961 and 1962, over what seemed a tendency of the FCC to deal with individual editorial complaints in an arbitrary, even biased, fashion. Their advice to their station clients on all editorializing matters became one of extreme caution. As one prominent attorney expressed it privately, "We must recognize, as a practical matter, that a broadcaster is going to get into trouble if he expresses any editorial viewpoint which is displeasing to the Administration."

By the spring of 1963, word of the industry's confusion over interpretation of the Fairness Doctrine had reached Congress, and the Communications Sub-Committee of the House Commerce Committee, under its chairman, Rep. Walter Rogers (D-Tex.), called for full-scale hearings. He said, "Broadcasters who editorialize must have clearer guidelines for their own protection."

The hearings held in early July covered four days of diverse testimony and many aspects of the editorial problem. Not surprisingly, considerable attention was given to the subject of political editorials, and in this the FCC ran into strong Congressional opposition for its ruling that a station could designate spokesmen to answer for candidates attacked by editorials.

As to editorializing in general, Congressional reaction to testimony by industry leaders and FCC members ranged, reported *Broadcasting* in July, 1963, "from full support to complete opposition... Some of the Congressmen, notably Rep. John B. Bennett (R-Mich.), ranking Republican on the Commerce Committee, challenged the FCC's authority to permit editorializing without specific permission from Congress, or a ruling from the courts... Defending the FCC's contention that it should be able to handle editorializing problems through rule-making or a policy statement, Chairman Henry ran into a cold shoulder from Rep. John E. Moss (D-Calif.), who

labeled 'as far fetched a reason as you could dig up' the Chairman's argument that legislation would have 'so many inherent problems as to restrict discussion of controversial issues,' and probably discourage editorializing altogether."

All in all, the hearings did not produce clear-cut solutions, or any unanimity of opinion about how editorializing guidelines should be set down. The FCC claimed it could handle the job by producing a guide book of do's and don'ts; Congressmen indicated that legislation would give Congress more direct power over the industry.

But one thing did emerge: basically conflicting theories about editorializing are held by the Commission and different members of the Congress, and even by broadcasters themselves.

Less than ten days after the close of the hearings, on July 26, 1963, the FCC moved to clarify its position, with a notice to broadcasters "concerning stations' responsibilities under the Fairness Doctrine as to Controversial Programming." In this notice, the Commission gave its views on "three currently important situations," as follows:

> (a) When a controversial program involves a personal attack upon an individual or organization, the licensee must transmit the text of the broadcast to the person or group attacked, wherever located, either prior to or at the time of broadcast, with a *specific offer of his station's facilities for an adequate response.* (Italics supplied)
>
> (b) When a licensee permits the use of his facilities by a commentator or any person other than a candidate to take a partisan position on the issues involved in a contest for political office, or to attack one candidate or support another by direct or indirect identification, *he must immediately send a transcript of the pertinent continuity of such program to each candidate concerned, and offer a comparable opportunity for an appropriate spokesman to answer the broadcast.* (Italics supplied)
>
> (c) When a licensee permits the use of his facilities for the presentation of views regarding an issue of current importance, such as racial segregation, integration, or discrimination, or any other issue of public importance, *he must offer spokesmen for other responsible groups within the community similar opportunities for the expression of* the contrasting viewpoints of their respective groups. In particular the views of the Negro and other community groups as to the issues of racial segregation, integration, or discrimination, and of the leaders of appropriate groups within the community as to other issues of public importance, must obviously be considered and reflected in order to insure that fairness is achieved with respect to programming dealing with such controversial subjects. (Italics supplied)

Obviously, in this July 26, 1963 notice the FCC moved far beyond what broadcasters had been lead to believe were their responsibilities under the Fairness Doctrine.

The NAB assumption that everything would be all right "as long as a station follows a course which in its judgment is fair" seemed almost absurd in the light of the new FCC pronouncements. Chairman Minow's blithe assurance, "Integrity will protect you," was of small comfort to TV and radio men, who were now told that, whenever they tackled a controversial subject, they had an obligation *to seek out and specifically offer rebuttal time to opposing individuals or organizations, prior to or at the time of broadcasting.*

Finally, the injection of the segregation-civil rights controversy into the Fairness discussion carried with it—even to those friendliest to the integration movement—a strong suspicion that the FCC was less interested in principle than in furthering administration policy.

Reaction to the new FCC pronouncement was immediate and sustained. The NAB protested formally, as did a number of state broadcaster associations. The new interpretations were attacked, as both too vague and too restrictive, as too impractical of application, and as too flagrant a violation of the broadcaster's constitutional rights. Moreover, the FCC, in a final postscript to its July 26 statement, had appended a paragraph which seemed to threaten increased government control, not only over editorializing, but over all types of broadcast programming:

> In determining compliance with the fairness doctrine the Commission looks to substance rather than to label or form. It is immaterial whether a particular program or viewpoint is presented under the label of "Americanism," "anti-Communism" or "states' rights," or whether it is a paid announcement, official speech, editorial, or religious broadcast. Regardless of label or form, if one viewpoint of a controversial issue of public importance is presented, the licensee is obligated to make a reasonable effort to present the other opposing viewpoint or viewpoints.

These and other aspects of FCC policy were thoroughly aired and castigated when 130 members of the industry met the following week in Athens, Georgia, for the First National Broadcast Editorializing Conference. The Conference adopted a resolution declaring that "ambiguous interpretations" of the Fairness Doctrine have hurt the public interest, and individual broadcasters voiced the opinion that further regulation or legislation can only inhibit the art of broadcast editorializing.

Probably the strongest opposition to the FCC stand, however, came from members of Congress. In a widely quoted letter to Commission Chairman E. William Henry, Congressman Oren Harris (D-Ark.), Chairman of the powerful House Commerce Committee, wrote:

> If the Commission, in an attempt to achieve fairness, seeks to apply its "fairness doctrine" to the content of individual programs involving the discussion of issues of public importance, then, contrary to the policy of the (Communications) Act, the Commission will inevitably inject itself into programming on a day-to-day basis.

Congressman Harris went on to cite a hypothetical case of a minister in a broadcast sermon who criticized a local builder for refusing to sell his homes to Negroes. According to FCC policy, pointed out the Congressman, the station would be required to seek out and provide reply time, not only to the builder, but to all sorts of organizations of widely varying views.

"And where," asked Harris, "is the discussion of public issues to stop? Will not the attempt to achieve 'fairness'. . .lead to a blue-penciling by broadcasters of all programs containing references to public issues? Will not broadcasters want to avoid starting an interminable chain of argument and debate?"

Harris called on the FCC to review its pronouncements and determine whether they were in conformance with the Communications Act.

Finally, as previously noted, the House Communications Sub-Committee, under Chairman Walter Rogers, in a report on the editorial hearings, specifically requested the FCC not to revoke or deny license renewals to stations which fail to "abide by the specific requirements set forth in recent interpretations of the Fairness Doctrine." The Sub-Committee also advised that "under no circumstances" should the FCC consider as an adverse factor a station's refusal to editorialize.

In essence, then, the fundamental questions surrounding the Fairness Doctrine are still far from settled. Congress, the Commission, and the industry have reached no basic understanding about either principles or methods of interpretation. Broadcasters, who have watched with considerable pride the growth of the editorializing movement, find themselves today with no clear idea of the ground rules governing their operation.

PERSPECTIVE ON TV EDITORIALIZING

What is, or should be, the nation's policy on editorializing by TV stations and broadcasters? To answer this, two main considerations are involved:

1. The objective evidence about TV editorializing as it is now being practiced, and about its position and importances in modern American society.
2. The philosophic concepts behind editorializing, and especially their relationship to Constitutional and democratic ideals.

Let's look, first of all, at the objective evidence.

In more than 100 American communities, TV stations today are now speaking out on a wide variety of local, state, and national subjects. Editorializing today is providing millions of Americans with the opportunity to hear strong viewpoints on controversial subjects which are often not voiced in other mass media. The growth of broadcast editorializing has, in fact, paralleled the decline in independent newspaper editorial voices. Today only 66 of the largest U. S. cities have competing newspapers, and the trend toward one-newspaper cities has been very marked during the past decade.

Broadcasting, by comparison, offers a potential for editorial expression which newspapers can no longer provide. With more than 500 TV stations and over 4,000 radio stations, broadcasting seems to give the country a structure which might be developed into a larger, more diversified system of genuinely free journalism than anything the nation has yet seen.

In television, more than one-third of TV stations are now editorializing. Half of these, or roughly one-sixth of the total, are doing so on a regular daily or weekly basis. 87% of a total time devoted to TV editorials is given over to local, county, or state subjects. This fact becomes particularly important when one realizes that local problems and especially local governments (municipal, county, and state) deserve far more attention than they can be given in national media.

The rise of editorializing has provided a new role for the broadcaster. Previously, he was seldom deeply involved in the affairs of his own community. As an editorialist, he must both dig for facts, and take positions on controversial issues in full view of his fellow citizens. Dozens of broadcasters attest to the broadened outlook, maturity of viewpoint, and community stature which editorializing has given them. TV editorials differ widely in subject matter, treat-

ments, and in the professional skill with which they are written and presented. No generalizations about editorial quality are possible, and probably none would be pertinent anyway.

The point to be remembered is that TV editorializing, though still in its infancy, is providing an entirely new type of social and civic commentary, is stimulating new interest in a wide variety of community affairs, and is providing many new voices which American democracy has not known before.

Furthermore, any objective sampling of the editorials now being presented over U. S. TV stations will disclose that they are prepared with a high degree of seriousness and public responsibility. Many editorials are dull; and many are on trivial, or seemingly unimportant, subjects. But one looks in vain for evidence of flagrant irresponsibility.

How should such editorializing be regulated? The chief arguments advanced for government control over TV editorialists are these:

1. The number of available TV channels is limited, and therefore no broadcaster should enjoy a monopoly right to use a channel to further his own views at the expense of all others.
2. Stations operate under federal license. They are given a temporary right to use an item of public property ("the public owns the air"). And therefore they should operate "in the public interest."

These arguments are often confused. But they are really not the same, and can be understood only if their difference is recognized.

The limited number of TV channels is a technical fact of life. More people want to operate TV stations than there are TV channels to accommodate them at the present time. Perhaps, when all-channel receivers become common, and the expected expansion to UHF takes place, this excess of demand over supply will be largely eliminated. But at the moment there can be no question that any holder of a TV stations license is, to some extent, in a privileged position.

Undoubtedly, in a democratic society the occupancy of any privileged position involves certain moral obligations. Perhaps the most significant of these is the obligation not to use the position to destroy basic democratic processes. A broadcaster who, by virtue of his license, has in effect a privileged position from which to exercise his right of free speech, has hardly the right to use his power to deny free speech to others.

The U. S. Supreme Court, commenting on the First Amendment, made this point clearly in its ruling on the Associated Press case: *Surely a command that the government itself shall not impede the free flow of ideas does not afford non-governmental combinations a refuge if they impose restraints on that Constitutionally guaranteed freedom.*

Those who argue for some sort of supervision over broadcasting in order to make certain that editorializing does not, by itself, destroy conditions of free speech and a free press would seem to be on sound ground. How such supervision should be exercised is, of course, another matter.

To many in the industry it seems fairly clear that any broadcaster who flagrantly and repeatedly voices his own opinions and denies open and bona fide requests for rebuttal time, scarcely deserves to have his license renewed. They point out, however, that his performance should be judged on an over-all basis, and not through case-by-case supervision. What is, or should be, at stake is the man's general character, not his position on any specific issue.

In general, all discussions of editorial supervision which are based on Argument 1 (the limited number of TV channels) revolve around this point: How should controls be set up to insure the free speech-free press ideals?

Unfortunately the entire subject has become thoroughly muddied by the interjection of Argument 2 ("the public owns the air" and broadcasters should operate "in the public interest").

What is involved here is not a public concern for free speech and free press, but for other quite extraneous concepts. Those who base their ideas for controlling editorializing on the "public interest" argument inevitably set about to define, often in highly subjective terms, what operating in the public interest means. Thus, in many discussions of editorializing (and in some pronouncements of the FCC) we frequently find such ideas as "the public has a right to know," "the public has a right to balanced presentations of all sides of an argument," "the public has a right to Fairness."

Such ideas have, unquestionably, many alluring and endearing qualities. They sound, on the surface at least, highly idealistic, benevolent and magnanimous. What is not so clear, however, is that each also contains certain traps, both actual and philosophic, when applied to any system of government controls.

The minute a government operation is established to insure the "public's right to Fairness," power is placed in the hands of a few

individuals whose judgments may be as faulty as their intentions are honorable. Second, free play of truth in the marketplace is replaced by bureaucratic control which may begin by being benevolent, but may end entirely differently. Third, the position of the editorializing broadcaster is inevitably changed from that of ardent, concerned advocate to that of neutral and nervous mediator. Fourth, and probably most serious, at least the basic concepts on which our Constitutional principles are based are denied by implication.

The First Amendment rights of free speech and free press were never made conditional on a Fairness Doctrine. Nor can it be reasonably argued that the framers of the Constitution ever expected all newspaper editorials to be models of fairness, or all free speaking citizens to present both sides of all arguments. It was not the fairness of individuals, but the benefits of freedom to society, which moved the Founding Fathers. Furthermore, these benefits are far more fundamental and profound than those expressed in any Fairness Doctrine, or in any such phrase as "a balanced presentation of controversial issues."

Our Constitutional freedoms are based on two religious concepts of the nature of individual man—his imperfection and his uniqueness. Because no individual is perfect, or the repository of absolute truth, it is against the public interest to provide any individual or groups of individuals with a monopoly of expression. Because every individual is unique, and has at least a potential for making a contribution to the truth, it is the wisest public policy to insure his opportunity to do so.

It is the faith in these principles which gives meaning to American ideals. And it is against a background of these principles that all questions of free expression—in TV or in any other medium—ought to be settled. Not merely the right to free speech, but the stimulation of active, vigorous, free speaking voices is, or ought to be, our objective.

The problem of controlling or regulating TV's new editorial voices can never be settled satisfactorily by trying to define, in precise, bureaucratic terms, how each editorial should be handled "in the public interest." The real challenge lies in finding ways to encourage, develop and enlarge, within the framework of American ideals, TV's already healthy editorializing movement.

THE FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

In the most basic terms of all, the Fairness Doctrine holds that a broadcaster who enters the field of controversy isn't perfectly free to propagandize as he sees fit. This is clear, unambiguous, and provides a well-delineated battlefield on which our war of words should be fought. Arguments over enforcement procedure are only guerilla skirmishes in a swampy forest of rulings and precedents—often tiring, frustrating and having little impact on the course of the conflict.

We must make our stand on the high ground, for it is here that the real decisions are made.

Having reached this ground, I have two basic things to say. The first is that I believe the fairness requirement is entirely appropriate.

Despite the growing number of radio and television stations, the frequency spectrum is a limited natural resource. Despite the growing sophistication of electronic technology, which permits the utilization of higher and higher frequencies, the demand increasingly exceeds the supply. The population explosion in the mobile radio services, for instance, is causing those users to look enviously at the large portions of desirable spectrum space now assigned to broadcasting.

The FCC is charged by law with the allocation of this resource to those who clamor for it with shining eyes and outstretched hands. It is thus the Commission, and not the marketplace, which determines how frequencies shall be apportioned between broadcasting, long-distance microwave, communications satellites, police cars, fire trucks, aircraft, ships, industry, amateurs and a host of other useful services. It is the Commission, not the marketplace, which determines the maximum number of broadcast outlets any community may have, and the facilities that each may use. The FCC was created for precisely this purpose, and the Communications Act is based on the assumption that government must perform this function.

When government undertakes this kind of responsibility for a mass medium, it cannot avoid responsibility for the manner in which its licensed outlets are used. At a minimum, having excluded all but its chosen licensees from the

medium, it has an obligation to see to it that those licensees do not themselves suppress free speech. This is the basic reason why Congress has written the fairness doctrine into Section 315 of the Communications Act.

And I would add that the fundamental fairness of the broadcasting medium—its openness to controversy, conflict and dissenting views—is one of the most important reasons why our society can tolerate a disagreeable fact—the rapid decline in the number of competing daily newspapers.

At the same time, I recognize that no matter how reasonably the Commission may treat broadcasters who honestly try to be fair, the bare existence of the fairness requirement does impose some burdens on those who want to present programming on controversial issues. A letter from the FCC may not pose a realistic threat to a broadcaster's license, but it may take some work by top personnel to answer it. Planning for fairness will in any event require effort and imagination. Most important, an attempt to broadcast conflicting points of view will often require a greater allocation of broadcast time to controversial issues than might otherwise be the case.

But in the large view, the burdens imposed by the fairness doctrine are strictly secondary, and can neither deter nor prevent the success of a creative broadcaster who is seriously committed to provocative programming.

The creative broadcaster can reap good returns from programming directed to the important issues of our day—returns in prestige, in self-respect and even in revenue. The fact that broadcasters usually rank high on the list of community leaders is not because they serve chunks of commercials between slices of old movies—it is because of their participation in community affairs and community issues.

The real difficulty lies with broadcasters who aren't seriously committed to the journalistic function or to the exposure of controversy.

Programming that represents a slight profit or even a loss does not interest them greatly. They carry it as part of a minimal public service effort, but they limit their commitment to the least that will pass muster with their community, with the FCC and with their own conscience. They can be tempted into a venture beyond the minimum, but the least additional burden is enough to discourage them. For their primary interest lies elsewhere.

Their pole star is not the Peabody Award, but that idol of the airlanes, the latest Nielsen. If their program director's flirtation with his journalistic flame becomes too serious, the station manager quickly cuts his allowance. If the station manager gets similarly soft, or unduly enamoured of his own creativity, the appropriate corporate officer soon sets him straight. If this officer should by some oversight fail to react to this danger, the Board of Directors explains to him the facts of life. Finally, if the Board lets provocative programming frustrate stockholder demands for ever increased earnings, the latter group eventually shows where the true power lies.

The obvious aim of this process is to keep foremost in everyone's mind one thought: Controversy may sell newspapers, but in this business it's the funny page that counts. Mr. Average Viewer will not consider buying your brand or brand X when an editorial has just made him apoplectic.

You may describe this process any way you will. But in our war of words, the ancient admonition still holds true: Know your enemy. Your enemy is not the fairness doctrine. If you find yourself confined within time segments so short that the only way to be stimulating is to be unfair—if you are allowed to be controversial only so long as the boss gets no letters from the FCC—your struggle is not with the fairness doctrine. Your struggle is with the forces in American broadcasting which were so colorfully castigated by Harry Ashmore.

Is journalistic broadcasting in America nothing but the tail on an entertainment dog? Is American broadcasting "ultimately bound to the highest-bidder morality of the marketplace?" And does it show any signs of developing "a sustaining tradition of public service of the kind the best newspaper proprietors still recognize and act upon?"

No government official can answer these questions. The challenge and the ability to respond are yours. But unless I much mistake the temper of this industry as a whole, and the aims of such conferences as this, your response will be a worthy one.

E. William Henry
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission
at the Annual Broadcast Editorial Conference, Arden House, July 7, 1964

INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION

Television's expansion throughout the world has brought about a revolution in the field of film sales-distribution within our own industry. ***Wilson P. Dizard*** here reviews the growth of international markets for American programs. While assuring Americans of our dominance in this field, the author suggests that foreign competition, particularly from those nations with strong domestic TV systems, is on the rise. American TV exporters can best meet this competition, he argues, by accepting responsibility of making the medium a vital communications link for American leadership.

SELF-REGULATION

One of television's articulate believers in responsible industry self-regulation, ***Stockton Helffrich*** returns to our pages to challenge recalcitrants in broadcast advertising who fail to observe the letter, as well as the spirit, of rules which they themselves helped to establish.

AMERICAN TELEVISION'S FOREIGN MARKETS

WILSON P. DIZARD

Every evening millions of television viewers around the world sit before their sets to be entertained by such programs as *Espectaculo de Lucy, Entgleiste Komische Stummfilmszenen mit dialog, Ärligt Byte,* and *Dzsessz Szinhely U.S.A.* These shows have one attribute in common: they were all produced in the United States.* As such, they are part of the largest and most visible American activity in the booming field of international television.

American involvement in television abroad dates from 1939 when the Radio Corporation of America sold a transmitter to the Soviet government for experimental telecasting in Moscow. RCA and the other industry pioneers fully expected such equipment sales to be television's major activity abroad. And, in fact, through the early postwar period they were. After 1950, however, the pattern changed as the industry moved into other areas. Today the range of its overseas activities parallels domestic operations. It includes program production and syndication, equipment and sales, management and technical services, advertising sales and the outright control of television stations and related properties. A conservative estimate of current annual revenues from these overseas operations is $100 million, with a yearly increase of 15–20%.

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*The programs are, respectively, *The Lucy Show* (Spanish), *Fractured Flickers* (German), *Fair Exchange* (Swedish) and *Jazz Scene U.S.A.* (Polish).

The largest share of this business is in the syndication of U. S. television programs, ranging in style and content from *Sheena the Jungle Girl* to Walter Cronkite documentaries. American TV products—for better and for worse—are setting the tone for television programming throughout the world in much the same way Hollywood did for motion pictures 40 years ago. The United States now leads all other countries combined twice over as a program exporter. From the sporadic export of a few features to Britain and Latin America ten years ago, telefilm sales have expanded in 1964 to an estimated dollar volume of about $70 million, spread through 80 countries. Foreign sales were, until a few years ago, a source of random profits peripheral to revenues from syndication at home. This casual attitude has since been reversed, largely as a result of soaring production costs and fierce competition. Today overseas sales account for 60% of all U. S. telefilm syndication activities and represent the difference between profit and loss for the entire industry.

Telefilm is the brash stepchild of American commercial television. In a complex economic system such as ours, new ventures usually start on an experimental note as they search for their niche in the scheme of things. The TV film industry was spared any such early doubts or hesitations. Its purpose was clear: to produce films, divided into 30-minute segments, designed for maximum audience appeal. Above all, the trade had to meet the networks' need for a predictable product that could be marketed to advertisers. The obvious producers of such films were the Hollywood feature-film studios. In the early fifties, however, the big studios were not interested; they were still riding the postwar feature-film boom. Moreover, they did not want to give aid and comfort to a competitor. Of the larger studios, only Columbia—through its Screen Gems affiliate—broke ranks and went into telefilm production.

As a result, TV film-making during the fifties was centered around a group of new independent producers. But the corporate mortality rate was high: many of these firms never got beyond producing an impressive letterhead for their stationery and a fantasy-filled brochure outlining their plans. By the end of 1956, 331 companies were listed as television program producers by *Television Factbook*. Three years later the same publication reported that half of these companies had gone out of business. For the companies which survived, television production and syndication reached bonanza proportions.

The pattern of a relatively large number of independent producers selling films to the networks and to individual stations held through the 1950's. Sales to individual stations were at least as important as those to networks since the networks had not yet established strong control over the programming of their affiliates. As the networks' grip tightened, the focus of TV film syndication, particularly the all-important first-run sale, shifted. Marketing success or failure was tied to the fact that the entire industry had just three primary customers, the networks, for new products.

Only the strongest independent telefilm producers have been able to survive and thrive. They have done so by accommodating to two forces new to the field. One is the old-line Hollywood feature-film producers; the other is the national networks themselves.

By 1955 the leaders of the movie industry had concluded that television was here to stay and that they had better join it, rather than fight or ignore it. They were nudged into this conclusion by the hard facts of declining boxoffice receipts, spiraling production costs, and the rise of foreign competition. They were also impressed by Screen Gems' successes. In 1955 Screen Gems claimed to be the largest producer of serials for television. During the late fifties, all of the major film companies began to produce television films. These included Twentieth Century-Fox, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Warner Brothers and Walt Disney Productions. A latecomer to the field was United Artists, which bought control of Ziv, one of the largest and most successful of the early independent producers.

Television-film production is now the major activity of the Hollywood studios. In December of last year, one studio, the Music Corporation of America's highly prosperous Revue, had a telefilm payroll of 5,300 actors and technicians. Two-thirds of the earnings of Screen Actors Guild members come from television work, according to a recent Guild report. The marriage between Hollywood feature-film producers and the telefilm industry was consummated symbolically in the spring of 1964 when the venerable Association of Motion Picture Producers merged with the Alliance of Television Film Producers.

The other new entries into the television film production and distribution field were the three networks. Aside from the economic benefits, their purpose was to provide themselves with "program protection"—a hedge against the failure of other producers to come up with what they regarded as suitable network fare. Directly or indirectly, each of the three networks has increased its interests in telefilm production and syndication.

As a result of the shaking-down process in the industry, Hollywood production companies and networks now dominate telefilm production and distribution both at home and abroad. Many of the independent companies have closed-up shop, diversified their interests, or concentrated on the re-run syndication of their older products. The palm leaf in the last category goes certainly to Fremantle International, Inc., which continues to find a lively market abroad for the 15-year-old *Hopalong Cassidy* series.

There will always be an active overseas market for old television serials. However, the biggest share of the market is being pre-empted by new programs. Increasingly, program sales overseas are centered around the so-called "on-network" shows, those which are currently running on U. S. stations. By 1963 three-quarters of the prime-time shows on the three U. S. networks were being syndicated simultaneously abroad. The Motion Picture Export Association estimated in 1963 that such programs accounted for about 60% of all U. S. telefilm sales abroad.

These developments have determined the present pattern of American telefilm syndication throughout the world. It was perhaps inevitable that such a wide-ranging and profitable business would be dominated by the twin giants of American entertainment—Hollywood and the New York-based networks. Unlike most independent producers, these organizations have the corporate stability and experience to set up the worldwide marketing organizations which telefilm syndication requires. Hollywood, in particular, has been able to draw upon its long experience in overseas selling. The networks have not been far behind in establishing strong sales organizations abroad. Supplementing these overseas sales offices, the major U. S. syndicators make extensive use of specialized European trade fairs to display their products. The largest of these, the International Film, TV-Film and Documentary Market, is held twice yearly in Milan.

The networks and the Hollywood producers each have a trade association to handle the political and economic barriers they encounter in marketing their telefilm products abroad. Hollywood's representative is the Motion Picture Export Association (MPEA), an affiliate of the Motion Picture Association of America. In 1960 the networks and the larger independent syndicators formed the Television Program Export Association (TPEA) to protect their overseas interests.[1]

Precisely where do the overseas television film distributors sell

their product? The answer to this is obscured by the lack of definitive export statistics for these sales.[2] However, there is no doubt that the market is big and booming, and becoming more so every year. The best index is the estimate prepared by the Television Program Export Association. The TPEA figures are a combination of various guesses, combed from an industry inclined to infuse its estimates with a strong element of "show biz" optimism. However, the trend of TPEA and similar annual estimates provides a fairly accurate reflection of the telefilm export boom. In 1961 industry circles predicted a $30 million export market, a year later the estimate was increased to $50 million, and in 1964 TPEA estimates a $68 million market. Thus in four years, telefilm exports have more than doubled.

The market for TV films literally covers the world. The exceptions can be ticked off easily—Cuba, Bulgaria, India, the Soviet Union, Communist China and the closed-circuit system in Macao which specializes in telecasting table-top cricket races. Viewers in most other television countries generally get a substantial ration of American products on their home screens.

In the absence of authoritative figures it is difficult to identify the size of markets for telefilm exports. In roughly descending order of importance, the largest markets (in dollar volume) are Canada, Great Britain, Japan, Australia, West Germany, Italy, Mexico, France, Brazil and Argentina. Many factors determine the size of these markets. Local audience preference for American television features is, of course, a key element; by and large, U. S. products are popular with overseas viewers. There are, however, limitations in individual markets. Many countries impose a foreign-exchange restriction on imported television film—an extension of arrangements which have plagued U. S. motion picture distributors for decades. Other countries limit American telefilms by restricting the amount of time imported television products can pre-empt in local TV schedules.

This has been the case in Great Britain. The British market has been important to American telefilm distributors since the early 1950's. The BBC relied heavily on *I Love Lucy* and other popular U. S. programs to strengthen the audience appeal of its early television operations. In 1955 commercial television was introduced, and its operators took a quick lead over the BBC with a schedule that relied heavily on American cowboy serials and pratfall comedies. Both sides were limited, however, by a British government

regulation which, in effect, restricts imported television products to 14% of their total programming time.

In recent years, both the BBC and the commercial stations have increased the British content of their schedules. American programs continue to have pride of place during much of the more competitive nighttime and weekend hours. Typically, London's ATV commercial station developed a new late-night Sunday audience for itself by playing *Beverly Hillbillies* during the 1963–64 season in the "quiet" 9:30–10:30 time segment. The show immediately attracted almost half of the total London audience. However, American programs have generally been edged out of the "Top Ten" list in British television surveys in recent years, losing favor to such home products as *Coronation Street*.

Despite these setbacks, the British market continues to attract U. S. distributors because of its stability, as well as the general willingness of British stations to pay prime prices for American productions. (In August of 1963, the BBC paid CBS Films $28,000 for the British rights to a documentary featuring Elizabeth Taylor in London.) The commercial stations have similar resources, thanks to the fact that they now receive almost a third of the total revenues disbursed by all British advertisers.

Canada is another lucrative market for U. S. telefilm distributors. Here, again, government restrictions on the amount of "foreign" programs shown on local TV are a factor. The Canadian government has set the ratio at "55% Canadian content." A considerable amount of U.S. telecasts on Canadian stations is live, transmitted at the same time it is shown on U. S. networks. However, U. S. telefilms are an important element in Canadian TV programming.

American entry into the Japanese market—second only to the United States in size and coverage—was for years dominated by foreign-exchange restrictions imposed by the Japanese government. In 1959–60, for instance, the government set a fiscal ceiling of $1.1 million on U. S. telefilm imports. In 1962–63 this ceiling was raised to $3.3 million. As a result of heavy pressure by U.S. trade associations, this figure was doubled in the 1963–64 fiscal year. Japanese officials have also indicated that they plan to drop the idea of a fixed telefilm foreign-exchange ceiling. During the period of severe exchange restrictions, American film distributors had sold their products at relatively low prices in Japan, primarily to establish themselves in the market. With the lifting of these restrictions distributors raised their prices accordingly. An hour-long show sold to

a Japanese station for several hundred dollars in the 1950's now has an asking price of $4,000–$5,000. This has led inevitably to Japanese complaints that U. S. distributors are pricing themselves out of the market.

As in Great Britain, Japanese television stations are using proportionately fewer American features as they develop a more stable pattern of local programs. American shows will continue to be an important part of the Japanese television scene. The trend will, however, be towards "quality" spectacles and towards those serials with strong audience appeal.

The greatest no-holds-barred market for U. S. telefilm distributors is Australia. The daily schedule of a typical Australian television station is, particularly in prime listening hours, virtually indistinguishable from that of a station in Iowa or New Jersey. A 1963 survey of Australian TV schedules showed that less than 10% of peak-time programming was local; the other 90% was largely American. For the year ending in June, 1963, 83% of the 7,409 films entering Australia were American, and most of these were intended for television use. The primary reason for this heavy dose of U.S. programs is, of course, the affinity of the average Australian for things American. This is whetted by the intense competition for advertising revenues and audiences by the country's 24 commercial stations. (The government-controlled Australian Broadcasting Commission, with 12 stations, attracts a small minority of the viewing audience.)

The remainder of U. S. telefilm exports is segmented into dozens of small markets. Government-controlled television networks in Europe buy a substantial number of U. S. programs; this is particularly true in West Germany, Italy and the Scandinavian countries. Commercial stations in Latin America are, collectively, an important U. S. telefilm customer. Individually, their operations—and their ability to pay—are generally too limited to provide a large market at the present time. The same is true of newly developing stations in Africa and Asia. However, the market for U. S. TV films can be expected to rise in dollar volume as these stations attract larger audiences and bigger advertising revenues in the coming years. Almost every major U. S. distributor is selling films at cut-rate prices in such countries against the day when these markets will become stronger.

Hollywood's interest in selling its products to overseas television stations is not limited to films made for television. An increasingly

lucrative part of its overseas TV sales involves the redistribution of its vast stock of old feature films. The "late-late show" Hollywood film, an institutional fixture in U. S. television, is an innovation to most overseas viewers. Perhaps the most significant difference is that, for most stations abroad, feature films are not considered "filler" programming, relegated to the middle of the afternoon or the late evening. They are reserved for peak-time viewing hours, in much the same manner as NBC has developed its "Saturday Night at the Movies" in this country.

The overseas television market for what the industry calls its "vaulties" (i.e., from the vault) is an expanding one. A 1963 *Variety* survey of export prices for old feature films showed a wide disagreement. It ranged from a high of $8,500 per film in Canada to a low of $300 in Argentina. The market is fluid enough to include many exceptions to these limits. At the end of 1963, the asking price for one 20-year-old Hollywood film, *Rebecca,* on German TV was $15,000. At the same time, the Japanese TV market price for old U. S. films was about $2,500.

Hollywood's desire to exploit this market is tempered, however, by the attitude towards television of the overseas distributors of its new films. These distributors rightly regard the competition of television as a major menace both to their own prosperity and to that of the companies they represent. In the words of one Italian distributor, the appearance of old films on local TV is "premeditated homicide" by Hollywood. This has resulted in a strong compaign by Hollywood's longtime overseas distributors to restrict the showing of any feature films on local TV.

The campaign has had some curious successes. In France film exhibitors have tried to dampen TV showings of feature films by suing the French television organization for "unfair competition." In 1963 similar pressures in Italy forced the RAI-TV network to restrict feature-film shows to once a week on each of its channels. In Spain the exhibitors have demanded that the state-run network screen at least one Spanish feature film for every three foreign films. West German exhibitors have proposed that local stations pay a $5,000 tax every time they run a feature film.

As a result of these controversies, U. S. feature-film distributors have moved slowly to exploit what is bound to be a good long-range market for their older products. The fiscal rewards are, however, too high to be affected for very long by the protests of their regular overseas distributors. When Universal Pictures negotiated with

London's ATV station for the sale of 215 films made since 1948, the asking price was reportedly $20 million. A portent of things to come is the fact that the West German television network paid $200,000 to a local film producer for one showing of a new film before it was put on the regular theater circuit.

The Hollywood syndicators regard overseas markets primarily as an outlet for their films. The foreign interests of the Big Three networks are considerably broader. While film sales are their chief source of overseas revenues, the networks have extended their operations into such areas as equipment sales, advertising placement, technical and program consultant services, and direct investment in overseas television enterprises.

The international activities of NBC, CBS and ABC are so diverse that it is difficult to establish their relative standings in the field. Each is strong in some areas, weaker in others. Their annual reports and other publicity do not always distinguish clearly between all of their domestic and overseas activities. ABC describes itself as "the world's largest buyer of programs for telecasting outside the U. S.," with $8 million worth of program sales to its foreign affiliates in 21 countries in 1963. CBS-TV's 1963 year-end report says that the network is "the world's largest exporter of films produced especially for television," selling in 70 countries. NBC, in an earlier report, tells of sales in 110 markets in 60 countries. Whatever their relative standing in dollar volume or the sales-to-countries numbers game, there is no doubt that each of the networks is deeply involved in the telefilm export trade.

To handle this and other aspects of their overseas business, each network has set up a separate division for its international operations. The bulk of their activities is, as already noted, in telefilm sales. The networks, like the Hollywood syndicators, concentrate their sales efforts on light serial programs. CBS has a specialized interest in cartoon features, largely because of the products turned out by its Terrytoon affiliate. The networks have joined the independent distributors in the practice of releasing new telefilm products abroad almost as soon as they have had their first-run showings on U. S. television.

In addition to marketing their own products, the networks are doing an increasingly thriving business as distribution agents for other U. S. and foreign telefilm producers throughout the world. These foreign arrangements generally result from the affiliations which each of the U. S. networks has developed with television

firms abroad, involving either an ownership stake in the film or a contract arrangement. ABC, in particular, has encouraged its overseas affiliates to produce films, offering market guarantees for worldwide exposure through its own sales channels.

One area of telefilm exports where the networks have a virtual monopoly involves news and public affairs documentaries. Although these productions are a distinct minority of the networks' telefilm exports, U. S. public affairs shows are highly popular abroad. From a political viewpoint, they are a prime example to overseas television audiences of American democratic inquiry—and, in particular, our ability to examine our own problems and those of the rest of the world objectively. Foreign stations welcome these documentaries as prestige additions to their schedules. The American networks are interested in this aspect, and in recovering through foreign sales part of their heavy investment in such programs.

One of the landmarks of early postwar British television was the CBS series of Ed Murrow shows presented by the British Broadcasting Corporation during the early fifties. Murrow's famous *See It Now* indictment of the McCarthy hearings created almost as much stir in Britain as it did in this country. NBC's most successful early documentary was *Victory at Sea,* the series dealing with the naval war in the Pacific. NBC claims that the program has been shown in every Free World country with television facilities during the past decade. In recent years, all of the well-known U. S. television public affairs series such as *CBS Reports* and NBC's *Project XX* have been televised in the major television countries.

A specialized "public affairs" area for the networks abroad is sports programs. The fact that many of the sports filmed by the U. S. networks are not well known to overseas audiences does not seem to matter. In 1963 NBC sold its *Celebrity Golf* series to a station in Thailand, a nation where golfers are possibly more rare than its best known rarity, the white elephant. The same network has also extended its international sports coverage to the Olympic Games, through its appointment as Latin American distributor of the Japan Broadcasting Company's exclusive coverage of the Tokyo 1963 summer games.

In the news field, the networks' export activities are limited largely to providing newsfilm coverage to foreign stations. An aggressive operator in this field is ABC which, until very recently, lagged far behind the other networks. During 1963, ABC invested heavily in strengthening its worldwide newsgathering facilities,

to service both its domestic and foreign affiliates. However, CBS and NBC both have a strong lead in this field, particularly in the British, Canadian and Japanese markets.

All of the networks face formidable competition in the newsfilm business from U. S. and foreign firms. United Press International has a worldwide clientele of over 3,000 radio-TV subscribers to its news and newsfilm services. In the fall of 1963, UPI strengthened its film operations to meet the new market opportunities. The networks also have newsfilm competition from two British firms—Visnews, a combine of Commonwealth news organizations, and ITN, a London firm which has recently moved into the American market as part of an overseas-expansion program. The greatest overseas competition in the public-affairs field for the U. S. networks in the future may come from Japan. Each of the four major Japanese networks has documentary film units which are at least the match, in technical and newsgathering skill, of those maintained by any other networks in the world.

In addition to these telefilm activities, each of the U. S. networks is involved in a variety of affiliations with foreign television firms. These range from technical and management contracts to outright ownership of at least part of the firms. A listing of these affiliations would take pages of small type. Some examples will, however, indicate the range.

NBC has a management contract with Nigeria's federal television system. CBS has technical-advisory contracts with stations on all five continents. ABC has affiliation arrangements with over 20 foreign stations including the five members of a Central American Television Network. Both ABC and NBC own shares in several Australian stations. Every month sees the networks diversifying further into the rapidly developing international market. Although none of them is losing money on current operations in this field, their corporate eyes are on the market's larger implications. The growth of regional, and eventually intercontinental, networks is no longer dismissed as a banquet-speech vision. The vision is being rapidly materialized as market potential in New York sales offices.[3]

One of the most lucrative overseas operations in the future may be the extension of domestic advertising sales by U. S. networks to their overseas outlets. American firms have begun to make substantial investments in television advertising abroad, particularly in the European and Japanese markets. General Foods and Lever Brothers are, for example, heavy advertisers on West German tele-

vision. The expansion of U. S. advertising agencies into the international market has served to spur this development. Within the past two years, the American networks have moved into this market. The leader in this case has been ABC. "You can," ABC promises American advertisers, "sell to a $136 million foreign market with ABC Worldvision." ABC does not restrict itself to American products. It has not only placed advertising for American cigarettes in Tehran, but also for British soap and Japanese transistor radios in Latin America.

Certainly part of the reason why U. S. telefilm distributors have been so successful abroad is that they had the field largely to themselves for so long. Until 1960 there was almost no competition from foreign distributors in the international market. Not only did American distributors have a head start, but they were also able to draw upon a backlog of television features which had already been profitably circulated among domestic network stations. There was a ready market for these abroad, where new stations were hard-pressed to find program material. Having recouped their profits on domestic sales, the distributors could afford to market these films abroad at low prices. The result was to give them a strong initial position in the world telefilm market.

However, the days of little or no competition are ended. In recent years a dozen nations, ranging from Great Britain to Mexico, have gone into telefilm export markets throughout the world. Those countries which have entered the international telefilm markets are varied, but they have several characteristics in common. In all cases they are countries with strong domestic television systems. They also have motion-picture production industries which have been affected adversely by boxoffice losses as a result of television. Finally, they are countries which have, in one way or another, a "natural" market for their telefilm exports.

The strongest competitors to U. S. interests in this field are the British. Their "natural" telefilm export market is the Commonwealth and the United States. The British did not get into this market on a large scale until 1960, when the BBC-TV set up a "promotions department" to market its own films as well as those it had acquired from other countries. During the first year of these operations, the BBC sold more than 1,200 program hours of film in over 50 overseas markets. In the same year, the British commercial television companies also began selling program products abroad. Associated-Rediffusion, one of the largest of these firms, sold over 900 programs in 33 markets during its first year of operations. These

initial successes, coupled with the increasingly competitive nature of domestic British television, stepped up interest in the overseas market.

The result has been to put both the British television and the feature-film industries into the business of producing telefilms designed largely for distribution abroad. The largest commercial telefilm producer is the Independent Television Corporation (ITC), a subsidiary of Associated Television. Other commercial stations, notably Granada and Associated-Rediffusion, have also stepped up film production with an eye on the export market. In most cases, they experienced uneven results, partly because they were novices in the business and partly because of the strong American competition in the overseas market. Nevertheless, they have been successful enough to confirm the importance of telefilm production and distribution in British television. In the fiscal year ending in March, 1962, Associated Television sold over $4 million worth of its products in the United States alone.

These commercial firms are being pressed hard in the export market by the government-chartered BBC. In 1963, BBC sold almost 7,000 programs in 95 markets throughout the world—a 50% sales increase over the previous year. For the Corporation and its commercial rivals, the lucrative export markets have been and will continue to be in the Commonwealth and the United States. Most of their telefilm products are lightweight features modeled in spirit, if not in form, on U. S. productions.

Despite this imitativeness, the British telefilm effort occasionally exhibits an interesting chauvinistic tone. In part, the British see their telefilm exports as a cultural counterweight to American domination of the world's television screens. The case was stated succinctly by the BBC's Director of Television, Kenneth Adams, in 1963:

> The makers of TV programs in Britain who have a wish and a capacity to export will have to cooperate in the face of the dumpings of Hollywood and the increasing threat of Americanization of Commonwealth culture, at whatever level.[4]

British telefilm exports probably account for at least two-thirds of the foreign competition to American efforts in this field. However, other European countries are getting into the market. In France, the government-controlled Radio-Télévision Française (RTF) network has actively encouraged French film producers to make serial films for domestic and overseas television. As in other countries, this effort is intended in part to offset the economic

decline the local film industry has suffered, largely as a result of the competition of television. RTF has made arangements to produce films itself, it put up the money for private firms making telefilms or, in other cases, to buy the French rights to such films before they are produced. The Italian state-run RAI-TV has also made similar production arrangements, with an eye on the export market. Its first film project, a serial called *Maestro Don Gesueldo,* was completed in 1963. American telefilm distributors are also beginning to feel the competitive pinch in the Latin American market where aggressive Mexican and Argentinian distributors are beginning to exploit the possibility of regional distribution of their Spanish-language features.

Canada is, however, probably the most active non-U. S. operator, next to Britain, in the international telefilm market. At the end of 1963 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation reported that it had sold, over a three-year period, 416 programs in 14 countries. The CBC carries on a lively trade in French-language television products, since Montreal has been for years the largest live French-language television production center in the world. The CBC markets French programs to stations in France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Monaco and Switzerland on a standardized exchange basis.

Language can, however, be a barrier for foreign producers interested in strengthening their international telefilm sales. This problem has plagued Japanese efforts to break into the field. The Japanese are the equals of their Western television counterparts in program production and in marketing aggressiveness. Their problem is that they do not have a readily salable product. Language difficulties are only a part of this. The rest of the reason is that the average Japanese program, no matter how well produced, does not fall into the standardized format that draws mass audiences to television screens around the world. Japanese shows are Japanese. The international telefilm market is based, for better or for worse, on standards set by American producers which are imitated, with little variation, by other Western telefilm companies. This American-oriented "internationalization" of the product is a formidable barrier for Japanese and other non-Western telefilm producers. They can either have a restricted market for Japanese-style programs or try to imitate Western telefilm efforts.[5] Although international television would be the richer if they chose the former course, Japanese producers have, by and large, taken the path of Western-style imitation in their export efforts.

In searching out international telefilm markets, the Japanese

have relied heavily on co-production and co-distribution arrangements with established American firms. The first such arrangement in 1963 involved NBC, which co-sponsored the production and distribution of the *Astro Boy* cartoon serial. Screen Gems, one of the largest U. S. telefilm producers, announced late in the same year that it was planning to co-produce two serials in Japan for worldwide distribution.

During 1962 the idea of co-production with other foreign firms blossomed in the American telefilm industry. The motivation for this was mixed. In part, producers and distributors saw it as a way to escape high domestic labor costs. It was also a useful way around the problem of quotas on purely American telefilms in Britain and other countries. A few also visualized a chance to utilize exotic foreign locales, not to mention foreign bankrolls, to enhance the acceptance of their products in the highly competitive U. S. market.

Most co-production plans at the time turned out to be press-release talk. Once the relentlessly optimistic press notices were swept away, however, co-production emerged as a new, and apparently permanent, part of the industry's international activities. As the Hollywood feature-film producers learned 15 years ago, international co-production deals do not provide an easy way out of either their artistic or fiscal problems. The cornerstone of American co-production efforts in the future will be the British television industry, and particularly the commercial television station operators. One of the largest of these, Associated Television, announced last November that it planned to invest $50 million with U. S. firms on co-production ventures over a five-year period. How many of these and similar plans will be carried out remains to be seen. However, it is already apparent that some of the bloom is off the co-production rose. The situation was summarized by Dennis Scuse, director of the BBC's export department, in a March, 1964 interview:

> Although we have not shut the door completely on co-production, we will look at proposals very carefully indeed before we enter any more. Not that they were not carefully looked at before, but from now on they will be even more closely scrutinized.[3]

Mr. Scuse's sober comments were based on the fact that a number of cooperative arrangements made by the BBC with American and Canadian firms did not result in expected large-scale distribution of the films involved in the normally lucrative North American market.

The newest foreign venture for the U. S. television industry is tollvision or pay-as-you-go TV. Here the industry's overseas and

SELF-REGULATION IN TV ADVERTISING

STOCKTON HELFFRICH

A traditional obstacle to effective broadcast self-regulation is that too many individuals and companies want it in theory but not in fact. The inevitable result is a regulatory effort still falling short as to its stringency, its worth and its public visibility. The question now before us is to determine where broadcast self-regulation needs strengthening.

On the program screening front, I truly believe the editorial decisions of the networks and Code-subscribing screening umpires evidence an astute sensitivity to the expectations of their audiences. The network arbiters of taste—reacting to an audience made up of widely divergent age groups, sectional attitudes, and with the complex and often contradictory tolerances of a pluralistic society—do indeed in their screening yeas and nays give visibility to what the Television Code at its best encourages: . . . *Genuine artistic or literary material, valid moral and social issues, significant controversial and challenging concepts, and other subject matter involving adult themes.*

On the commercial advertising front, totally different problems pertain where self-regulation is concerned. An increased skepticism

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Prior to his appointment as Manager of the New York City Office of the NAB Code Authority, ***Stockton Helffrich*** was associated with the National Broadcasting Company. There he was supervisor of script editing for radio and television, and manager of Continuity Acceptance. A previous article on broadcast censorship by Mr. Helffrich appeared in the November, 1962 issue of *Television Quarterly*.

towards the weasel-wording and gray-area practices of commercial copy platforms (downgrading to consumer intelligence, and advertising integrity) is the order of the day. The need for stiffer self-regulation, it is recognized, is both qualitative and quantitative.

The networks, many leading stations, and the Code Authority for the National Association of Broadcasters are subscribers to the National Better Business Bureau. They all work closely with the Bureau, and indirectly with such agencies as the joint Association of American Advertising Agencies and the Association of National Advertisers Interchange of Opinion on Objectionable Advertising. Individual broadcasters—networks and leading stations—maintain some form of clearance procedures binding upon advertising agencies. Proposed scripts or commercial films are usually submitted in advance. The best equipped broadcasters request simultaneous submission of data intended to substantiate advertising claims.

Commercials and the data submitted to support them are checked in consideration of such variables as the nature of the product, the copy questions raised, and—inevitably—the time available. More than the outsider can realize, changes in advertising are obtained. As a guide in the foregoing clearance activity, and in addition to individual broadcaster operating policies, ground rules and Codes, the communications industry as a whole has the Television Code (as well as the Radio Code of Good Practices) to which the best broadcasters subscribe.

Why, then, isn't self-regulation more palpable and more effective? How is it possible that we continue to have significant FTC and FDA cases involving television advertising? We must extend definite credit wherever it is due, of course, and yet we are forced to admit that commercial copy clearance activities continue weaker than they should be. With the volume of traffic so great, personnel in departments delegated clearance responsibility simply are hard put to further their unremitting concern for the believability of a significant portion of broadcast advertising. Again, the question is, why?

Dispensing with doubletalk (and looking television's gift horses straight in their mouths), the truth is that too many advertisers still *are* practicing weasel-wording and the calculated risk. Carelessly or otherwise they consciously pursue a brinkmanship policy which can only serve to erode public confidence in advertising generally and high self-regulatory standards specifically. As a result, a pervasive gray area continues to exist in TV advertising.

There are a variety of explanations (alibis if you will) for broadcasters' conscious and unconscious derelictions in this matter. Some tend to rationalize away the more overt of the sales pressures and defer to the sacred cows. Too many broadcasters, like advertisers, still regard a reasonable concern for the interests of the customers who make up the audience as less important than the legitimate profit-making role of broadcasting and broadcast advertising.

Happily, a contrasting number of broadcasters can be characterized by a matured or maturing statesmanship in this area of self-regulation. Perhaps to a lesser degree, the same is true among advertisers. Peter Bart, writing in the New York *Times,* appraised a change in attitude—a soul-searching going forward on Madison Avenue doubtless inspired by the tobacco advertising issue now before all of us. He quoted a philosopher as finding that advertising practitioners are evaluating "their moral and ethical obligations above and beyond considerations of business per se."

Responsible broadcasters also share the growing awareness that their service to the citizens of a democratic state must presume a fairly sophisticated audience—an audience capable of exercising judgment. Such broadcasters recognize that the self-regulatory effort, especially as it relates to the content and believability of broadcast advertising, must take into account the viewers' common sense. It is accepted as fact that average viewers should be able to identify with the advertising they see, believe in it, and (once having purchased and used advertised products) obtain results consistent with what the promotion on television has promised.

The ideal in television advertising self-regulation, however, demands more and more demonstrations that reveal the actual effectiveness of products in use. Testimonials must reflect objective realities, not unique experiences by atypical advocates. Products should be sold on their own merits, not by unfairly disparaging the competition. Surveys submitted in support of proprietary advertising claims (like clinical data supplied to substantiate drug advertising) should reveal adequate sampling procedures, the presence of necessary controls, and the basic design of tests as well as the significance of results.

A concerted and corrective self-regulatory effort in the content of advertising should not, of course, encourage underestimation of the significance of the much publicized but ill-defined phrase, "overcommercialization." It is essential, however, to consider whether "overcommercialization" may not represent a convenient catch-all

for that viewer resistance which is actually directed at the content and believability of many commercials. Critics of the length and frequency of commercials may very well be criticizing content. Nor should a call for more concerted and corrective self-regulatory activity in the areas of broadcast advertising be allowed to obscure some major forward steps already taken. The success, within recent years, of establishing guidelines in the advertising of toys is little short of phenomenal. A similar achievement of the past year is the implementation by leading subscribers of the Code Authority's so-called "Men-In-White" ruling. This ruling places very definite restrictions upon television advertising involving health considerations; upon uses of doctors, dentists, nurses, and upon props which in one way or another imply the presence of men-in-white. The ruling further limits any endorsement of products where such approval may not even remotely exist.

There are other such examples, but they are not, alas, "too numerous to mention." Rather, guidelines and do's and don'ts for many highly competitive categories of advertising are slowly being formulated. With the cooperation of leading broadcasters and advertisers these will be advanced by the Code Authority and implemented through its liaison with broadcasters.

In summary, the targets of broadcast self-regulation are discernible enough. We can take sight with an aim to hitting them. Advertisers and their agencies can assist us by establishing a conscious management policy of giving real rather than token support. Such managerial policy must be founded upon the premise that the burden of proof rests with those developing advertising claims, rather than with either the broadcasters who request substantiation for such claims or the Federal agencies which ultimately review them. Hopefully, encouragement offered advertisers by broadcasters will work towards a greater voluntary compliance. But where it fails to do so, conscientious broadcasters should not be deterred from speeding, strengthening and honoring their self-regulatory activity through greater use of sanctions justified by the public interest.

In most broad fields of endeavor, governmental or social, self-criticism leads to the creation of ground rules for self-discipline. Broadcasting and broadcast advertising comprise no exception. Self-criticism, implemented by courageous and meaningful action, is the ultimate test of effective broadcast self-regulation. The choice still exists; broadcasters have only to make it.

COMMENT

THE VISITING PROFESSORS

In ever-increasing numbers, America's TV professionals are returning to the campus where, by invitation, they are lending their own experience and insights to the problems of education in an age of technology. In recent months, ***William G. Harley,*** President of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters; ***Sheldon Leonard,*** co-founder and owner of T & L Productions, and ***Donald H. McGannon,*** President of Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, delivered major addresses before the students of Wagner College, Syracuse University, and Brooklyn College, respectively. Pertinent excerpts from their talks are printed below.

William G. Harley

American education stands on the threshold of a revolution in techniques and effectiveness as broad as the change from the Revolutionary musket to the weapons of the space age. Dynamic changes in education will occur as new learning systems and technological devices are linked to increase educational productivity. The impact of technology upon education will bring about changes in school plants, in education methodology, in systems of measurement, and in the development of human and material resources.

In the foreseeable future, television will be used by every institution of education in the United States. Every student from kindergarten through college will receive some of his instruction by television.

General David Sarnoff has already pointed out that communication satellites will transmit on a worldwide basis directly to the school or home, with audiences of a billion people watching the same program at the same time, with automatic language translators providing instant comprehension of the program's content.

Today's student would not recognize the classroom of the future. The little red school-house will give way to a complex of electronic communications which will bring the teacher closer to the individual need of the

student. The teacher will cease being a classroom monitor and become part of a team utilizing facilities designed to serve the individual according to his capacities and help the student to combine the various resources available to him. The old-fashioned school desk will be replaced by an electronic console controlling teaching aids that will allow a student to learn with complete understanding as slowly or as fast as he can. Audio visual services of all kinds with access to a central materials resource center will be provided to all classrooms, which will be optimum environments for full and effective use of modern media of instruction.

Home video recorders attached to TV sets will allow the student to store and play back TV lessons for study and review. Schools will be able to record productions of their own or record programs off the air for playback on closed-circuit TV at times convenient to their individual schedules. Instructional materials will be distributed via open-circuit late at night when the station's facilities are not in use for other kinds of general transmission, with school recorders operated automatically by clock mechanism.

In higher education, much of the instruction will be off-campus-televised from remote centers—and much of the college degree program will be available via TV. Tests and measurements will be conducted remotely and results will be determined electronically with a comprehensive feed back to the student that will result in reinforcement or re-learning.

There will be a vast expansion of educational TV stations, licensed to schools, colleges, and universities, and in many metropolitan areas there will be multiple stations established to take care of the various needs for special instructional services ranging from pre-school instruction for children to postgraduate refresher courses for doctors. There will be a continuing growth in closed-circuit TV installations to the extent that every major school, college, and university, and military center will have at least one such system. There will be a continuing emphasis on the development of cooperative arrangements of the production and exchange of broadcasts and distribution of materials. National and regional resource centers will distribute instructional radio and television materials on film and tape in order to provide communities across the nation the finest teachers in every subject and field.

In television, state networks of educational stations will develop across the country and merge into regional networks for the cooperative production and instantaneous sharing of programs; a national interconnected educational television network may emerge—and the possibility of an educational communications satellite relaying programs for national and hemispheric coverage is at least a foreseeable reality.

With all these developments and distribution facilities, schools, stations, and audiences will be able to select from a wide variety of high quality educational programs brought to them where they are in places convenient for their use. Tomorrow's educational programs and practices will have new shapes designed to make maximum use of the new electronic

resources. New curriculum designs will emerge as experimentation and research points the way to new approaches to education—via the new media.

Sheldon Leonard

All of show business is an intellectually unexplored dark continent. There are countless questions awaiting examination by qualified students of the theatre. I would greatly appreciate a study in depth of the controversial laugh-track. Why has television developed such a preponderance of male stars when most sponsors would prefer to reach women, who do the marketing, with their message? Is there an emerging form for the half-hour or hour-long teleplay comparable to the structure of the short story or the one-act play? Why do anthologies, of whatever quality, have less acceptance than inferior shows with continuing characters? Why is it generally true that, in the words of the late, great George S. Kaufman, "Satire is what closes Wednesday"?

In the area of comedy, in which I specialize, the gap between scholarly theory and theatrical practice is widest. Comedy has always stumbled along by trial and error. An act in vaudeville went through a long break-in period to find out what jokes the audiences liked. Legit shows opened out of town for a tryout period. Comedy pictures were sneak previewed, before the final editing, to find out where the laughs came. The first thing a comedy writer or performer learns is that a personal sense of humor is a dangerous thing unless it coincides with the tastes of that vague, amorphous thing called an audience. You may think a comedy bit is hilarious, but if the audience doesn't agree with you—it's got to go. Experienced showmen have accumulated a body of empirical knowledge that guides them in designing entertainment. Jack Benny knows that if he crosses his arms and stares at an audience, he will get a laugh—because it has always happened that way. Eddie Cantor knew that he could get a little "extra" from an audience by rolling his eyes. Al Jolson found out that wearing black-face makeup enhanced his material. I daresay that none of these distinguished comedians knew why these things were so, but they didn't have to. Why theorize? Try the material out in New Haven and find out for sure.

Then along came television and there were no more harmless little tryout audiences. Only huge, frightening masses numbered in the millions. And there was no longer plenty of time, because the medium's monstrous maw was gaping wide for next week's show as soon this week's was finished. And worst of all, the generation of showmen who had learned what people liked or disliked through irreplacable experience were now too rich or too feeble to work very much—and who is to replace them?

The talent flow is probably as brisk as ever, but there are no audiences to teach novices what works and what doesn't. Vaudeville, Burlesque (which

was once a training ground for countless comedy greats, legitimate theatre stock and repertory), even audience radio—they're all gone. All opportunities to audience test material have been demolished by the medium that is consuming it at an unprecedented rate. Television has decentralized the audience. People no longer attend theatres as regularly or as often as they once did. Now the audience is spread out in the living rooms throughout the country.

The era of pragmatic comedy has come to an end. The old-time trial and error procedures are no longer feasible. Now we have to strive for a more complete understanding of the material with which we have been dealing. We have to seek a greater control through more accurate prediction.

This, then, becomes a task for the universities. There is a mass of material waiting to be identified, correlated and organized into a body of knowledge from which valid generalizations may be evolved. The study of this material is the clear responsibility of the theatre arts departments in our leading universities. We must develop a curriculum which will enable us to pass on to theatrical aspirants the lore which they can no longer acquire painlessly over the years from across the footlights.

Donald H. McGannon

We have been employing our media, with increasing skill and discipline, to engage nations together in peaceful pursuits—as in the reports on United Nations activities, the open access to the meaning of the Common Market, the widespread understanding in our own nation and, no doubt, in others of the points and counterpoints of democracy versus communism.

We are proceeding faithfully in medicine, abetted by the spread of knowledge, toward conquering dread diseases—heart disease, cancer, muscular dystrophy and mental illnesses.

As communications media, we are companion in our growth and significance to ever-widening, ever-improving systems of transportation which make it possible for people and things to move with the swiftness of sound throughout the planet, providing an interchange of culture and the implements of progress unknown only two decades ago. We have seen more social progress made in our own country within the last few years than our ancestors were privileged to observe in their lifetimes.

Communications has contributed in a mighty way to the upward look of citizens on the Dark Continent and to the hopeful look of oppressed citizens in our own land. These are the evolving evidences of the awakening knowledge that broadcasting contains a force for good seldom known, if ever, among the contrivances of man.

There is absolutely no question about the ultimate prospect of an undertaking in which the skills of educators and the resources of their institutions are to be integrated into an extraordinary system of communications.

There will be, and you will encounter them, skeptical comments about your capacity as educators to convert your talents to useful application in a medium which, by its nature, seeks mass appeal. Many of the commercial broadcasters of the nation, with whom I'm pleased to identify myself, long since have deplored and abandoned the doubters who oppose or belittle the educational effort in TV.

And the same might be said of educators, too—for many of them still resist the idea of employing television as an instrument of teaching, on a classroom or a broader extension basis.

Television is a natural handmaiden of teaching, and no amount of scoffing will obscure its ability to project and enlarge the compass of education.

But I trust that the employment of this sight and sound technology will not be circumscribed by the notion that an *educational station's only function is to educate.* I reject this idea just as surely as the canard that a *commercial television station must engage only in commerce.* It is a matter of semantics *only* that stations in the United States are licensed by our government as "educational"—a matter of semantics intended to define *but not delimit.* Certainly a non-commercial educational television station should not forget, in its activities, the undergirding of commerce which makes this nation strong; nor can a commercial television station be non-educational.

There is an inevitable inter-dependence existing between commerce and education—and although the symptoms have been often misread in the past in many ways, our democracy each passing year becomes more surely dependent upon the product of that interdependence.

We see the evidence everywhere. More and more educators are being brought into high places in our governments. More and more businessmen, representing management and labor, are returning to the campus not only to contribute to worthy educational projects, to building and scholarship funds; not only to participate in forums and lecture series, but also in search of special advisors in their own areas of interest. For the nation's institutions are producing such talented people in an abundance never before known.

There is a merging, therefore, rather than a drifting apart, of the leaders and the functionaries of education and commerce. In no instance is this fact more demonstrable than in the case of television.

When it was first proposed that certain channels be reserved by the government for educational purposes, there was much caterwauling in certain broadcasting circles—and not a little lament about the reservation of vital natural resources. Time has shown, however, that educational institutions can and have contributed richly to the nation's television pattern through active operation as licensees. Likewise, many large companies in broadcasting—the networks, Triangle, Storer, Metromedia, Crosley and our own, to name a few—have contributed millions of dollars

worth of real estate, equipment and hard cash to educational institutions launching such enterprises. Smaller broadcasting entities have done likewise in their own states and communities, to the limit of their abilities...

Your own educational television operation will give you an extraordinary opportunity to distribute the benefits of this great institution among thousands of persons who would not otherwise enjoy such advantage. This is particularly true in view of your location in the most densely populated area of America and in some ways the most needful of the kind of service you will be able to offer. In the pursuit of this opportunity, you will be able to draw fully upon the experience of other educational television operators throughout the nation—many of whom have pioneered in the field from the very dawning of the idea. Fortunately much work has been done at such places as Iowa and Pittsburgh and Michigan and Ohio State and Southern California and Notre Dame and in all sections of the country which has created a reservoir of program material at hand for your immediate needs.

One hopes, however, that the fulfillment of these two obvious opportunities will not be looked upon as enough; that you will not limit the purpose of your performance to the employment of television as a teaching mechanism and a transmitter for tested ideas. The challenge is greater than that. The challenge is also to operate a laboratory in communications—to dare experiments which will not wither "by the numbers" as is so often the case in the mass electronic media; that you will, through such exploration, find formulas for entertaining and informing which may be taken up by your colleagues operating in the commercial fields.

The challenge is indeed an awesome one. However, the opportunity for achievement is equally dynamic and significant. It is not going to be achieved by "status quo thinking" but rather by the free and complete giving of the great wealth of talents, vision and dedication that the educational profession of this great nation possesses. When this great and liberal giving comes into being and, in turn, is intermixed in the crucible of communications with the background and ability of the commercial broadcaster, it is indeed difficult to envision anything but greatness characterizing the result. You will not, as the past has demonstrated, find the broadcaster lacking. Nor are the opportunities that exist in mutual efforts involving technical advice, development of programming and other manpower, reciprocal use of appropriate program materials, shaping of the library of resources that will bring into being an aural and visual history of tomorrow, and the many other areas of mutual and vital concern to each of us.

Such concerted action between us certainly will be in the highest tradition of public service.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Raymond Swing. "GOOD EVENING!" New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.

There were many voices at the time: one that insisted through hell and calamity that there's good news tonight and one staccato bark from which all the ships at sea could discover who was sleeping with whom. And then there was Elmer Davis on whose mid-Western accent Oxford had failed to leave a trace (Davis, whose commonsense was uncorrupted by sophistication and whose integrity seemed unaware of the blandishments of power), and William Shirer making himself heard through the black night of the Nazis in Berlin. The two that came closest to us were Ed Murrow and Raymond Swing. "This," Murrow began, "is London" and it meant "this, in spite of all disaster, is still and will remain London." "Good evening," said Swing and we were face to face with doom. Perhaps there remained a hope in the world; often enough the words spoken conveyed some hope. But the voice was full of foreboding.

It is a good mark for networks and sponsors that these honest men could have their voices heard, and it is a good mark for the American public also that each of them held vast audiences in a confrontation with reality. The audience for war news and discussion of international affairs was *created* by the broadcasters—created against all probability in a country profoundly indifferent when it was not actively isolationist. It remains one of the great achievements of the industry and all who took part in it are to be honored. Swing himself does not think the TV newsman (reporter or analyst) has now the freedom which he and his colleagues enjoyed.

Swing's book is more than the record of his broadcasting days; it includes his newspaper work and an account of his early life, including pranks at college; and the meaning of many of the events which he reported. In radio alone, he had several careers: in one of them he was the man we knew; in two others—working for the Voice of America and therefore not heard in America and working for Ed Murrow and therefore not speaking the words he had written—he had "years of obscurity preferable to the preceding years of publicized success."

When Swing got a sponsor, he announced on his first broadcast that the sponsor had no control over what was said; when Germany invaded the Lowlands, Swing refused to go on the air until he was assured that the middle commercial would be eliminated. (Twenty years later I tried to get networks to arrange in advance for the elimination of certain commercials when grave events occurred; I was told the idea was "impractical.") As part of the Voice and as a citizen, he fought against McCarthyism; as a clear-thinking idealist he fought (and still fights) for a world-order within which peace would be possible. He seldom demonstrates—but his resignation (with those of others whom he rallied) from the Cosmos

Club over the rejection of a Negro was sensationally effective. I think it is proper to say that the great men he admired, admired him as much.

The book is marred by several pages about Bertrand Russell which are almost venomous in tone. It is not out of regard for Russell, but for Swing, that I wish they had been omitted.

Gilbert Seldes

Annenberg School of Communications

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