TELEVISION QUARTERLY

VOLUME VIII NUMBER 4 FALL 1969

THE JOURNAL OF
THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF
TELEVISION ARTS
AND SCIENCES

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DEPARTMENTS

THE SILENT MAJORITY SPEAKS

Dear Lucky Me—Ha Ha:

You are lucky. Your husband *could* be in a barroom or worse, instead of by your side, watching television, beer in hand. What's so bad about that? He worked hard all week and that's what the television set is there for, isn't it? If you were married to a high-brow, intellectual type, he'd have his nose buried in some book or technical journal and that would be worse because at least you can watch TV, too. If you were married to some athletic man, he might be off on a ski weekend by himself (maybe, by himself!) and could come home with a broken leg and then think of what it'd be like, with him home all day and night, watching that idiot box. I know I'd lose my mind.

Some men don't even watch television; they just sleep all the time. It can get pretty lonely but at least you know where they are and their presence at home is kind of reassuring, if not much fun.

...I have one friend whose husband is always out and is the next thing to an alcoholic. She never knows when he's coming home and in what state. It makes her a nervous wreck. I have another friend whose husband just died. You can bet that she'd give anything to have him sitting there, watching television with her, drinking his beer and relaxing with his shoes off. Open up a second can of beer and take off your shoes, too. That's my advice.

(signed) You *Are* Lucky

The Quincy, Mass. *Patriot Ledger*
January 14, 1970

Things *could* be worse, Mr. Agnew. Out there in somnolent TVland are millions upon millions who couldn't care less whether those self-appointed czars of opinion are critical of Johnson or Nixon, Daley or Agnew.

Yet somehow, although we agree that the commentators are human and subject to personal bias, we feel that their errors are far less dangerous—more challenging, more difficult perhaps, but far less dangerous than the alternative: enforced agreement, cautious acquiescence because the silent majority has been polarized into a teeth-baring anger. Or maybe we should just all take our shoes off and open that second can of beer.

—D. M. W.

NER LITTNER is a psychiatrist specializing in the psychoanalytic treatment of children and adults. He now serves as Director of the Extension Division and the Child Therapy Training Program, Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, and has acted as consultant to a variety of child welfare agencies. Dr. Littner has taught psychiatry at Smith College and at the Universities of Indiana, Illinois, and Chicago. An author of numerous articles in the field of child welfare, he is also a member of the Chicago Motion Picture Appeal Board.

The following article was based on his lecture at the Northwestern University Television Symposium in the spring of 1969. The QUARTERLY, which published the views of Dr. Leo Bogart in the Summer 1969 issue, has scheduled Dr. Littner's article as another viewpoint in our continuing discussion of the question of television and violence.

A PSYCHIATRIST LOOKS AT TELEVISION AND VIOLENCE

NER LITTNER, M. D.

A great deal has been written and said about the harmful psychological effects of television viewing upon the viewer. Some of it is based on clinical studies of the viewers. Much of it is rhetoric aimed at promoting various personal prejudices of the speaker or writer.

I myself have made no clinical studies of the psychological effects of watching TV. What I am about to say is based entirely on my own observations. Some of my remarks undoubtedly will reflect subjective prejudices that I will try to couch in scientific language. Other remarks will agree or disagree with some of the completed research studies. Still others will be based on what I hope are valid observations of my friends and patients.

The literature on the psychological effects of TV can be used to prove anything you want it to. You can find confirmatory evidence for any personal bias that you wish to promote. This means, in effect, that at this point in time, we really have no clear-cut, persuasive, scientific research studies to guide us, so that we end up reading through the literature with the same point of view with which we started.

This absence of scientifically valid studies in the field does not trace to a lack of motivation, but rather to the difficulties involved in trying to do research that is meaningful.

Let me mention just a few of the problems involved in trying to measure the specific psychological effects of TV upon the viewer, *e.g., the psychological impact of violence.*

1. How do you factor out the specific variable you are trying to measure? What is your definition of violence? How do you compare

the unreality of the violence in many of the children's shows against the realistic portrayal of a savage beating? How does humor affect the impact? What if the violence is justified? etc., etc.

2. *Where do you get a control group to compare and contrast with the group exposed to the violence viewing?*

3. *How do you measure the full effects of the TV viewing upon the viewer?* A human being is a psychosomatic entity. His behavior is only one aspect of his functioning. He also has a body that is subject to physical changes, and a mind that shows changes in such areas as thoughts, emotions, and intelligence. To measure only the *behavior* of a person, after he has been exposed to certain TV scenes, may result in one missing most of the possible effects of the viewing.

4. *How can you follow the viewer for the length of time necessary to get full and complete results?*

Most of the research on violence tries to *measure the immediate behavior* of people who have been exposed to violent scenes. On the one hand, there is no follow up to see what the long-term effect may be. Many of the traumatic influences on children, for example, may not show their harmful effects for many years: there may be a sort of buried, land-mine result. Comparable is the adult who may not show a psychosis until late in adult life, even though it is a result of severe mishandling in early childhood—the psychotic process lying quietly under cover for many years.

On the other hand, some experimental subjects may show an immediate reaction to a scene of violence, as though they are being made more violent by their watching, but there has been little follow up of these subjects. Conceivably, it results from something prior to the scene. Conceivably, also, the impact is only temporary and there is no carry-over into real life. In still another possibility, repeated exposure to violence may change one's threshold of reaction so that after a while he shows little reaction to scenes of violence.

However, I object to the research on violence mainly because it has not gone on for a long enough period of time. *Valid psychological studies require longitudinal studies that cover three generations.* To tease out the true psychological effects of a single variable, one must follow the effects of that variable across three generations. For example, to understand the effects of a specific childrearing practice, such as toilet training, one must study three generations. First, one psychologically studies the parents who are carrying out

the specific toilet-training technique. Then, one studies the child who has been toilet trained in that way, following him and his development as he goes into adulthood. Finally, one studies how *he* toilet trains his own children and how they develop in turn.

There is nothing short term about accurate psychological research. No matter how many research studies we may launch today on the impact of TV violence, we will not know the end results for many years. When William H. Stewart, Surgeon-General, announced the one-year, million-dollar investigation of the impact of TV violence on children, he said his panel of experts would review existing studies and recommend long-range research. One cannot expect definitive results for many years.

5. How do you accurately determine what is cause and what is effect?

An extreme version of this problem is offered by such a well-known authority as Dr. Frederic Wertham, a psychiatrist who has written extensively on the subject of TV and violence. In a 1962 article, he said that "we are confronted in the mass media with a display to children of brutality, sadism and violence such as the world has never before seen. At the same time there is such a rise of violence among our youth that no peace corps abroad can make up for the violence corps at home." While agreeing with Dr. Wertham about the accuracy of both parts of his premise (the increase in exposure to violence and the increase in violence among youth), I think that he is making a serious mistake in logic when he implies that one is the *cause* of the other. One must not overlook the alternative possibility: that *both* are symptoms of something else.

THE VIOLENCE OF TELEVISION

Many prominent people believe that the violence shown on television has either an immediate or a potential harmful psychological effect on its viewers. Thus, Max Born, the noted atomic physicist who was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1954, has commented on "the dark shadow over everything," specifically the methods of mass destruction and the corruptive influence of mass media, especially television. These are strong words.

Dr. Wertham, whom I have already mentioned, has written extensively on what he considers to be the long-range sleeper effects: callousness, loss of sympathy, becoming accustomed to brutality, and

falsely linking sex with violence. (He does not even overlook the problem of the child who suffers from lack of sleep because he watches the late-late show.) Dr. Wertham has some rather strong feelings on the subject of TV and violence. I imagine that you will hear much more about them as the Surgeon-General's investigation picks up speed. Here is a typical quote from his comments about the harmful effects of television and the mass media:

> There is a tendency to stereotype emotions at the expense of the emotional spontaneity of the individual. The relentless commercialism and the surfeit of brutality, violence, and sadism has made a profound impression on susceptible young people. The result is a distortion of natural attitudes in the direction of cynicism, greed, hostility, callousness, and insensitivity... Greed and sadism are perpetuated where they exist, and aroused where they do not...Harmful mass media influences are a contribution factor in many young people's troubles.

These are but two of the voices in the recently increasing crescendo of attacks on television violence. It almost seems as though everyone is rushing to get in on the act. The assassinations of President Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy have apparently triggered the recent harsh criticisms of television for the violent content of many of its entertainment programs and even of its news reporting.

The TV networks and independent producers, for the most part, seem to be running scared. As though in tacit and silent agreement with their critics, apparently they are gently shelving some new shows likely to cause embarrassing questions about violence. Even some of the Saturday morning superhero and monster cartoons are supposedly on their way out.

Senator John O. Pastore *(D.,* Rhode Island), Chairman of the Senate Communications Subcommittee, is now implying that the nation's morale is being undermined by excessive displays of violence in television. Even the Surgeon-General is quoted as telling Congress on March 12 that children, under certain conditions, become more aggressive after viewing acts of television aggression, and that a steady diet of televised violence may act as a social sanction to violent behavior and may increase indifference to violence in real-life situations.

To top it all off, two of the major television networks have accepted a proposal for pre-screening censorship of television shows.

They have agreed to allow a broadcasting industry representative to preview television entertainment programs for good taste—this, of course, in addition to the normal government censorship or regulation through the licensing power of the Federal Communications Commission, which is already entrusted with the authority to see that the networks and stations operate in the public interest.

I can summarize my own views of the effects of television violence as follows:

1. I believe that the vast amount of violence on television is *basically a reflection of the violent interests of the viewers;* it is a symptom, not a cause; it graphically portrays the violence in our souls. I doubt that it is a serious cause of much of it.

2. I do not believe that television violence, when *honestly portrayed,* engenders violence in viewers of any age who were not violent already; and I do not believe that it raises violent impulses to an uncontrollable pitch in those who are already violent. (I will discuss later what I mean by "honest" television.)

3. I do think, however, that for some who are already violently disposed, TV violence may provide a model, a *modus operandi,* when they choose to discharge their violent urges. However, a book, a newspaper, or a radio program may provide a violent person with the same type of detailed plan for the expression of his violence.

4. As far as *dishonest* television violence is concerned, I do think that exposure to repeated doses may possibly interfere, to a degree unmeasurable at present, with the normal development of impulse control in normal or disturbed children; but I do not think that "dishonest" television violence has any marked pathological impact on the average adult.

5. Instead of wasting their efforts on such red herrings as censorship, violence, sex, or nudity. I think that both the viewing public and the television industry would be far better off if the television industry would devote its considerable talents and energies to creating conditions that would make it possible to develop and screen television shows specializing in such qualities as excellence, artistic value, creativity, originality, honesty, and integrity. If *these* were the hallmark of our television shows, we would not have to worry about possible censorship of their violence, sex, or nudity.

Let me now outline the thinking that undergirds these five points.

As an introduction, I would like to remind you of the law of the land as repeatedly spelled out by the U. S. Supreme Court on the

subject of censorship and particularly as it applies to motion pictures. Television is presumably covered by the same constitutional guarantees as freedom of speech and of the press with regard to censorship. Movies, however, have not fared as well.

Since 1907, Chicago has had an ordinance providing for police-department censorship of movies *before* their release. Although the ordinance has frequently been changed and often challenged, it still is in force today.

The U. S. Supreme Court has frequently reaffirmed its position that all forms of communication can be censored on only one ground, namely *obscenity:* is the communication obscene or not? *There are no Supreme Court rulings that accept* violence *as grounds for censorship.*

The Supreme Court has also stated that only the effects of the communication on the *average adult* must be considered and that one cannot ban something because it may be harmful to children or to those adults emotionally disturbed. In the 1964 Jacobellis case concerning the picture, *The Lovers,* the Supreme Court quoted Judge Learned Hand who said, as far back as 1913:

> I scarcely think that (man) would forbid all which might corrupt the most corruptible, or that society is prepared to accept for its own limitations those which may perhaps be necessary to the weakest of its members...To put thought in leash to the *average conscience* of the time is perhaps tolerable, but to fetter it by the necessities of the lowest and least capable seems a fatal policy...

Let us now shift from the legal hat to the psychiatric hat, still focusing our remarks on movies. What is the potential harmful impact of *movie* violence on the viewer?

If we consider the origins of violent feelings in a given person, we recognize that *anger and the wish to be violent are a reaction to feelings either of frustration or of fear.* When a *child* is frustrated or afraid, he becomes angry and wants to hurt violently the person or object frustrating or frightening him. As life is full of frustrating and frightening situations, part of the task of the growing child is to learn how to control and redirect his feelings of anger and violence. The *adolescent* has a particularly difficult time controlling and redirecting these feelings because (1) his size make it possible for him to express them, which frightens him and his environment,

and (2) adolescence normally is a time of rebellion and defiance of adults and of authority. The age period from 15 to 20 is a particularly vulnerable and turbulent period in this respect. Usually, by about 21 years of age, adolescent turmoil subsides and normal adult controls over angry and violent feelings become established: the young adult is now socialized.

When a *normal adult* is exposed to scenes of violence, his own violent impulses tend to be stirred up by a process of contagion. This stirring up, in turn, brings his inner controls against violent behavior into action, thus re-establishing his emotional equilibrium.

There are various possibilities as to what can then happen:

1. If the violence to which the adult is exposed is *little or moderate,* he may enjoy it and gain a vicarious, secondhand satisfaction from viewing it, like the audience at a bullfight or a boxing match or a game of lacrosse.

2. If the movie has *one scene of great violence* and it is effectively presented so that it stirs up the destructive, violent impulses of the average adult, he may not enjoy it at all. Instead, the surge of violence within him will frighten him and he will display all the manifestations of fear—a fast pulse and fast breathing, nausea, pallor, diarrhea, etc.

As far as the long-term impact of violent movies is concerned, I think that we must distinguish between the effects on the normal adult and those on the normal child.

I do not believe that the average, normal adult requires any external protection against violent movies.

I believe that the average adult is perfectly capable of protecting himself against any possible psychological damage that may result from seeing one or more violent movies. My reasons for this position are as follows:

1. At any given moment, approximately 90 per cent of all adults are functioning within normal emotional limits. Therefore, in line with the Supreme Court philosophy of establishing minimal standards, which are based on the effect of the communication on the "average" adult, we should consider for our purposes that the *average* adult is one who is "normal" emotionally.

2. By the usual definition of normalcy, the adult who is normal emotionally has both the capacity and the ability to protect himself from being harmed by a motion picture that is potentially dangerous to him.

The normal adult already has developed mental resources adequate enough to enable him to use one or more of the following safety valves: he can *ignore* the potentially dangerous violence; he can *reject it* by leaving the movie theatre; or he can *drain off in a safe manner* any potentially harmful tensions aroused by the film.

The normal adult provides his own built-in protection against the potentially dangerous aspects of a film, no matter how violent or depraved it may attempt to be or is.

However, I do not believe that the *average child* is in such a protected position.

Although the U. S. Supreme Court has not authorized any film classification system based on age, it has hinted that it might consider favorably film censorship for children. Also in the 1964 Jacobellis case, the Supreme Court had this to say:

> We recognize the legitimate and indeed exigent interests of states and localities throughout the nation in preventing the dissemination of material deemed harmful to children. But that interest does not justify a total suppression of such material, the effect of which would be to 'reduce the adult population... to reading only what is fit for children.' State and local authorities might well consider whether their objections in this area would be better served by laws aimed specifically at preventing distribution of objectionable material to children, rather than at totally prohibiting its dissemination.

I have long advocated movie censorship for children and adolescents, particularly as it concerns violence. My reasons for this advocacy are as follows:

1. A child, by definition, is an immature organism. Even a normal child is not expected to have the wisdom, the judgment, or the maturity of the adult. He is entitled to be protected from situations that may harm him, even though—because of his immaturity, his normal wish to be one of the group, or his normal state of adolescent rebelliousness—he may be attracted, and expose himself, to a potentially dangerous situation. The child is entitled to be protected even from himself.

2. This principle, accepted by all psychiatrists, is also given legal sanction in certain situations. A 15-year old may wish to drive a car, a 17-year old may wish to marry without a parent's consent, an 18-year old may wish to drink alcohol—but the law attempts to protect

him in such special circumstances against the potentially dangerous consequences of his own (and sometimes even his parents') wishes.

3. In contrast to other forms of communication, such as books or magazines, films may have a devastating impact upon children and adolescents. This is because:

a. A well-executed movie may be startlingly realistic, both because of its lifelike nature and because it tends to engage many of the viewer's senses.

b. In addition, a film potentially has a great capacity for capturing and focusing the viewer's attention on specific scenes.

c. Books and magazines can be put aside if they are disturbing, thus diluting their potentially traumatic effect. It is difficult to do so with a movie.

d. Although a child, like an adult, also is able to protect himself from dangerous material by leaving the movie theater, he is less likely to do so because of his immaturity, his fear of being considered "chicken" by his friends, and for economic reasons.

e. Books usually are read in the light, while a movie is viewed in the dark. Darkness tends to rob the child of one of his bases for self-security and self-control. The child may thus be more afraid in the dark, while fears associated with the dark and with nighttime may be more easily aroused.

f. Although the film viewer is usually one of a group physically, psychologically he may be peculiarly alone, cut off and isolated from the person in the next seat both by his own imagination as well as by the darkness.

I have been detailing the reasons for my belief that motion pictures, unlike any other form of communication, should be subject to censorship for their violence, but only as far as children and adolescents are concerned. I make a distinction, however, between violent movies shown in a movie theatre and perhaps the same violent movie shown on television.

From a psychological point of view, there are certain mitigating factors in television viewing that may greatly decrease the traumatic impact of the violence. These include the following:

1. TV viewing is usually with the light on. This absence of darkness provides security and relieves fear for the frightened child.

2. The child, when viewing TV, frequently is not alone; his parents, his family, or his friends may be present. This greatly increases his resistance to the impact of the violence.

3. There are opportunities for better control of what the child sees. The television stations usually make some attempt to show material that is not suitable for children at times that are not convenient for children. Also, the child's parents have greater opportunities for controlling what the child sees on a television screen than what he sees on a movie screen.

4. The inevitable commercials have a mental health value as useful tension-breaking devices. Thus the child has frequent, forced rest periods as far as the build-up of violence-provoked tensions are concerned.

5. The child can also come and go far more readily when watching a TV program than in a movie theater. This also helps him escape from excessively tense situations.

6. Although a child can eat a great deal in the modern movie theater, the opportunities for breaking tension through eating are much greater at home with a television program.

As I do not believe that the average adult can be harmed by the violence in movies, I certainly do not think that television movies will have any greater traumatic effect. As far as television viewing by children and adolescents is concerned, I do believe that there are possible dangers, particularly from viewing programs that are dishonest and lack integrity.

In order to explain what I mean by this, let me discuss for a moment the whole subject of violence on television. There has been until recently an increasing trend to violence on television. I think that this is due to a variety of reasons:

1. We are, and always have been a violent nation. We live in an age of violence. Therefore, to a large degree the violence on television accurately reflects the violence of our times.

2. We are increasingly freer in our acceptance of freedom of expression. The public and the courts are showing greater tolerance of, and are more liberal towards, what can be shown. In a similar way we are far more relaxed about displays of sex and morality. Therefore, more violence is being shown as part of this relaxation of censorship.

3. For some program directors and moviemakers, the showing of violence is a cheap way of producing something that may make

money. Instead of relying on art, talent, or creativity, reliance is placed on violence for the sake of violence, of shock for the sake of shock. The shock effect of the violence is being used to sell the movie or the program.

4. Because the portrayal of obscenity is against the law, this sets a limit on the amount of sex that can be safely sneaked in. The portrayal of violence is not against the law and therefore can be used to the extent that audiences will accept it.

These are four reasons (there probably are many more) for the great use of violence on television programs. This is not to say that the showing of violence on television is necessarily bad. Actually, it can have decidedly positive effects on the viewing public, and particularly children. These *positive effects* include the following:

1. An appropriate display of violence tends to present the world as it really is, rather than as we wistfully wish it would be. It is unrealistic to leave it out when it is part of the scene. Therefore, when shown in appropriate amounts it can be of *educational* value.

2. It can also be of *mental health* value, if appropriately done. Like watching a bullfight or boxing match, it can help discharge indirectly various violent feelings of the viewer. This tends to keep the viewer's violent feelings from boiling over in more dangerous ways. Therefore, in appropriate amounts it can provide a safe catharsis.

On the other hand, the *negative effects* of viewing television include the following:

1. The child or adolescent has not yet settled on his typical behavior patterns for functioning. If exposed to a repetitive display of *violence as a television-approved method for solving problems,* the child may be encouraged in that direction, particularly if he already comes from a family setting where violence also is the way of settling difficulties. Therefore, there may be an encouragement towards immature methods of problem solving. When, in an attempt to show that crime does not pay, there is violent retribution, its main effect is still to teach violence as the way to solve problems.

2. The individual, whether child or adult, who already uses violent behavior as a solution, may find worked out for him on television a detailed *modus operandi.* Therefore, the violent viewer may use the detail of the television programs as a way of expressing his violence. Television does not cause juvenile delinquency, but it can contribute techniques for a child already delinquent.

3. If excessive doses of violence are presented on television, it may have sufficient of a shock effect to prevent it being used for catharsis. There is a limit to how much viewing of violence can be used for a safe discharge.

The impact of repeated exposure to excessive violence depends on at least three factors: (a) the age of the viewer; (b) the maturity of the viewer; and (c) the way in which the violence is presented and packaged.

a. *The age of the viewer*

As I have already mentioned, the mature adult will be offended and disgusted by excessive or inappropriate displays of violence. Therefore he can ignore it or turn it off. The *normal adolescent (or the immature adult)* is in a different situation. The excessive display of violence may cause a sympathetic resonance of inner violent feelings in the adolescent to a degree that he cannot handle it. There is no socially acceptable way of discharging excessive violent feelings. Therefore the adolescent may have his normal attempts to come to peace with his violent and rebellious feeling jeopardized. The normal adolescent, unlike the normal adult, will also tend to be attracted to the violence rather than repelled. The *normal pre-adolescent child* may also be disturbed by excessive and inappropriate displays of violence. However, he probably will be less upset than the adolescent because he is not as concerned, as is the adolescent, with problems of violent rebellion against authority.

b. *The maturity of the viewer*

The more emotionally disturbed the viewer is, the more likely it is that he will have difficulty in managing stirred-up violent feelings.

Let us consider an extreme situation where an adolescent, immediately after seeing a TV program in which a juvenile delinquent violently rapes a girl, leaves the TV set and violently rapes the first girl he meets. For such a sequence of events to have occurred, one would have to say that the adolescent probably was seriously disturbed emotionally *before* he saw the TV program. It is highly unlikely that any program, no matter how violent, could have such an effect on a normal adolescent.

One also could not say that it was the viewing of the TV program that "caused" the adolescent to rape the girl. One could

only say that the program had two effects. Its first was to *trigger* a previously-existing emotional disorder. The traumatic effect of the program was but one of the many etiological factors which, coming together, resulted in the adolescent's violent action. The second effect would be to provide the disturbed adolescent with a *blueprint* for discharging his violent tensions. These violent tensions, of course, would probably have originated in violent problems within his own family, completely predating his ever seeing the TV program.

Violent television does not make children aggressive; rather, *the aggressive child turns to violent TV.* And, for that matter, TV does not make a child passive; rather, it is the passive child who chooses the TV.

c. *The way in which the violence is presented and packaged*

I. The television violence will be least traumatic if it is completely appropriate and realistic to the story in which it is contained;

II. The television violence will be most traumatic if it is presented dishonestly, if it is being used to sell the program, if it is contrived and inappropriate, if it is unrealistically focused on, if it is presented out of context—in other words, if it is violence for the sake of violence and if the television show is deliberately using violence and brutality to attract and hold a larger audience.

The reason why *dishonest* television violence can be traumatic to the normal child or adolescent is because he feels exploited and used. *He senses he is being taken advantage of.* This tends to reactivate any conflictual feelings he may have about being exploited by his own parents. These reactivated feelings add an additional traumatic impact. In addition, the inappropriateness of the violence makes it harder for the child to deal with it mentally.

There are other packaging factors that help determine the degree of traumatic impact for the normal child or adolescent:

I. The degree of unreality of the characters and the violence may be a modifying factor. Thus cartoon stories, because they are so unrealistic, so caricatured, so bizarre, probably have little traumatic impact. Similarly, western stories, which are usually viewed by the child as being truly make-believe, also probably have little traumatic impact. On the other hand, the closer the violent action approximates the real thing, and the more vividly and accurately it is portrayed, the greater is the potential harmful effect on children.

II. Humor is also a modifying influence in that it tends to take the edge off the violent impact.

As you will note, I have suggested that a constant diet of violence, when viewed in a movie theatre, may have a harmful effect on the normal child or adolescent. When it is viewed on a television program, I think that the harmful effect on children is limited to those TV programs that are exploitive of the violence and the viewer, programs that lack integrity or are dishonest.

Although a constant viewing diet of dishonest, violent television programs may be harmful to children and particularly to adolescents, it is important that we keep this question in perspective. The viewing of violent TV programs is only one part of a child's life and of the influences upon him. As Jimmy Walker once said, no girl was ever ruined by a book—or, one might add, by a television set. What we do and think at any given moment is the culmination of our entire life history up to that point. When a person commits a crime, he is responding not only to the situation of the moment but to all the events of his entire life and particularly to those of his childhood. When he commits a crime he is responding to all the traumatic experiences he has suffered from the day he was born.

The warm, secure home and satisfactory peer-group relationships provide a highly effective antidote to much of the potential harm that might come from television viewing by children. We know that the roots of all mental illness are anchored solidly in the unhappy experiences of childhood. The vulnerabilities within the adult that cause him to collapse quickly under the vicissitudes of modern living usually were created when he was a child. It is very unlikely that the child who is emotionally healthy will become mentally ill as an adult, or will suffer unduly from being exposed to TV violence.

It has been demonstrated repeatedly that the nature of a child's mothering or fathering in the first five years or so of his life is absolutely crucial. For most children, the adequacy of their care by their parents in these first five years is far more important than all their future television viewing. From the age of six or so, the healthy care or the traumatic pressures on the child—although still quite important—seem to have a decreasing effect in terms of helping him to become either mature or emotionally disturbed. By and large, by the age of six, the major roots of the child's personality and the major props and foundations for his emotional health have all been laid.

This is not to say that experiences and stresses after the age of six may not be of great meaning to the child. Basically, they assist the child in developing along the lines laid down earlier in his life. Good living experiences after the age of six may minimize somewhat the traumatic effects of poor handling prior to the age of six. Usually though, such relatively late corrective experiences have to be fairly intense to outweigh the stunning impact of earlier harmful experiences. Similarly, poor living experiences after the age of six also may retard the child's development of emotional maturity. However, if the child received adequate early care, it will take very hard knocks indeed to tear down his emotional maturity. Of course any child, no matter how healthy he is, may suffer an emotional disorder at any time if the stress and pressure upon him at that point is great enough.

When seen in this greater context, we must recognize that, no matter how harmful television violence may be for children, its traumatic impact is relatively minor compared to possible harmful handling by their parents. Television violence may bore one to death but I doubt if exposure to it will cause anyone to kill someone else.

Years before television, Dorothy L. Sayers wrote, "Death seems to provide the minds of the Anglo-Saxon race with a greater fund of innocent amusement than any other single subject...the tale must be about dead bodies or very wicked people, probably both, before the tired businessman can feel really happy."

The violent action story will be with us until the public's taste changes, and there are no indications that a change is around the corner.

To listen to some of the critics of television, one gets the notion that everything would be just fine if only television violence were avoided or censored. Television does not create the desire for violence nor the social nor individual conditions that create it. It only caters to it, to an existing appetite that cannot be legislated or censored away. Violence is appealing to all of us because we all have unacceptable wishes to hurt and be hurt. For the most part, the normal person controls and holds in the direct expression of these wishes, and instead satisfies them indirectly and safely through such a medium as television.

When one observes all the fuss that is being made over television violence, one wonders about the enormously exaggerated statements

and accusations. When one considers that our public welfare policies, for example, are doing more damage to the children on welfare than all the television programs put together, yet there is little outcry about the harmful effects of public welfare on children—it begins to make one wonder.

It is my own opinion that we are constantly looking for scapegoats to avoid facing the necessity of dealing with the many complex problems that beset us. We are always looking for an easy answer to what really are enormously complicated difficulties.

There is no such thing as a single simple cause for all cases of violence nor a single simple solution to them. Similarly, a blanket approach to children suffering from a specific symptom is almost useless unless it takes into account the uniqueness of each child.

For example, consider the delinquent child. The notion that every delinquent child has been over-protected and spoiled by his parents and really only requires firmness and punishment is as fallacious as the idea that every delinquent child is emotionally disturbed and requires an extensive psychoanalysis. One might as well prescribe morphine for everyone with a headache. Such a single-track policy would result in many brain tumors being missed and many people over-medicated.

We must help our communities resist the temptation of the single, simple, easy "solution." It takes many years and many hurts to turn a healthy normal baby into a frightened criminal. There is no pat answer to the problem of juvenile delinquency. Eliminating violence from television shows is not only contrary to all our knowledge but just does not work. There are as many different causes of juvenile delinquency as there are of headaches or indigestion. To expect to find, or attempt to apply, a single formula for all children who get into trouble only delays a constructive approach to a problem that already is almost out of control. Television violence is our newest scapegoat, the newest attempt to divert our attention from the basic causes of community violence.

I think that the two television networks that agreed to prescreen censorship have been sucked in by the pressures upon them. In effect, they have confessed to non-existent sins and have helped to drag another red herring across the road to true solutions. The sooner we get off the kick of falsely blaming American violence on American television, the sooner we will start grappling with the true causes of our national violence.

When I read in the papers about the actions of the two television networks, I was most tempted to write them the following letter:

> To the two television networks who are willing to have censorship:
>
> I am writing to correct certain misapprehensions you seem to have about the impact of your television shows upon your viewers. I would certainly agree that your programs may be quite entertaining, or even quite dull. They may be most educational, or even the opposite. Their taste may be excellent, or even low. But there is one thing you and your programs are not—they are *not* magical.
>
> You may be the twelfth wonder of the world. You undoubtedly are powerful and wealthy. But as far as your ability to affect the mental health of a developing child is concerned, you are just not in the same league with a mother and father in their ability to help or harm a child's mind and emotions. Don't be so megalomanic. You're really not as omnipotent as you seem to think you are.
>
> Don't be a patsy and get sucked in by those forces in this country that, however, unwitting, are constantly looking for instant scapegoats and simplistic answers to what are really highly complex issues. Certainly, through your great potential for education, you can be of great help in our war on mental illness. But mental health is not primarily your thing. Why don't you stick to your thing, and let my colleagues and me worry about the mental health of the developing child.
>
> Yours for greater creativity, artistic values, and imaginative, experimental originality in your programming—.

I haven't yet decided how to sign this letter.

CANCION DE LA RAZA: AN ETV SOAP OPERA

RICHARD S. SCOTT, M. D. and
CHARLES R. ALLEN

On Friday, January 10, 1969, most of the family's problems seemed manageable. Conflicts were resolved, resolutions made to improve the future. The family prepared to sit down for dinner. Then someone yelled, "That's it!" Almost immediately men began to arrive to take things away and tear down the house. *Cancion de la Raza* had taped its final episode.

For nearly four months, in Los Angeles, one of the three studios at KCET—Channel 28 (Community Television of Southern California) had been occupied by a "typical" house from the Mexican-American *barrio* of East Los Angeles. This house consisted of three rooms and movable front porch, with corners and occasional space used as warehouses, government offices, hamburger stands, street corners, and the headquarters of a trucking firm.

Exactly seven months before, on June 10, 1968, KCET had been notified that the Ford Foundation was awarding $625,000 for its proposal, "Feedback for Advancement." This proposal had volunteered to prepare and broadcast a 13-week series of daily half-hour

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daytime dramas in the soap opera format. It would attempt to reach out and connect with the 1.5 million Mexican-Americans who live in Southern California. Many of this minority group are isolated at the lowest end of the socioeconomic scale, and are further separated by the language barrier. How could educational television hope to attract these people? Educational television was usually for the educated.

One thing helped. Most of the target audience did have television sets, and most of these sets were adapted for reception of UHF. Not only is the Los Angeles public television station (KCET—Channel 28) on this dial; two other UHF channels (KMEX–34 and KXLA–40) broadcast Spanish-language programming to this same audience. And one of their most frequent and popular program formats was the *novella,* or soap opera.

We therefore decided to use this dramatic format. Messages of social adjustment were to be presented in the context of the life of a *barrio* family, drawing the audience into the problems faced and solutions found through identification with the characters and the situations, using the mixture of English and Spanish typical of East Los Angeles homes.

School protests, unemployment and job retraining, welfare procedures, consumer protection and family budget management, rebellious adolescents and aged relatives, group organization and community *(Chicano)* unity and division over the grape strike—these were the themes of *Cancion de la Raza* ("Song of the People"). The messages: Help yourself; help your friends and family. Find out what can be done; do something. Get organized. Get involved.

CREATIVE INVOLVEMENT OF THE TARGET COMMUNITY

This project could be carried out only through the fullest possible involvement of talent—acting, writing, administrative—from the target community itself. To make the community aware of *Cancion de la Raza* and enlist its participation, announcements were sent to the Spanish-language media, to local university drama and Spanish departments, and to community service agencies. Key people in the *barrios* were notified of the project's intentions. The news of *Cancion* began to circulate, person-to-person.

Writers, a story executive, three instructors for the actors' workshop, a stagehand, a property mistress, a production manager, several

secretaries, and more than 80 actors of varying experience and ability were recruited. Most of the potential performing talent lacked sufficient discipline to take on daily production without further training. This led to the formation of an actors' workshop which met three days and/or evenings a week for six weeks.

From this corps emerged *Cancion*'s Ramos family: father, mother, elder son (away at war as the series began), three teenagers in high school, and an elder daughter—married to a young Chicano who had changed his name from Martinez to Martin and moved out of the *barrio* to teach school in the white Anglo suburbs.

Surrounding the central family were friends, neighbors, an aged grandmother (who died in the same episode in which she first appeared); and a chronically unemployed uncle, an incipient alcoholic, who lived "out back" with his chronically pregnant wife. Virtually all of those who participated in the actors' workshop were able to appear somewhere in the 65-episode series.

Some of the staff were Anglo: the executive producer, who served as station liaison and troubleshooter and helped the program director worry; the producer, with great experience in the world of the Hollywood soaps; the business manager; and the director, a skilled man of exquisite patience who often had to deal simultaneously with inadequately prepared performers and hastily prepared (and revised) scripts, in addition to routine and unusual technical problems.

While staff selection was being completed, talks were held with community groups of various persuasions and interests in East Los Angeles, and 40 in-depth interviews conducted in the *barrio* by *barrio* people. What did the residents feel the community wanted and needed to hear about? What did they feel the special problems of the community were? How could they be involved? What did they think of the project?

These sessions lasted hours as problems were discussed and grievances aired. The attempt was made to clarify misconceptions certain people in the community held about *Cancion de la Raza*. These misconceptions ranged from the feeling that KCET's project was another Anglo attempt to use the Mexican-American community for its own aggrandizement, to the charge that *Cancion's* executives were only making a gesture of trying to find Mexican-Americans for the staff and that the people of the *barrio* never really would have a vital part in the project.

Activists in the community felt, with considerable justification, that their people had been used too often by outsiders. They were therefore suspicious of any "Hollywood-based" effort, no matter what the promise. Certain groups believed that they were deliberately being left out. Meetings in the community began to clear the channels of communication, but pockets of underlying distrust and skepticism toward *Cancion* existed throughout the project.

RESEARCH: GOALS AND RESULTS

In addition to informal sessions in the community, KCET undertook extensive field research. As stated in the proposal to the Ford Foundation, the project research was to be addressed to four objectives:

1. To develop and evaluate effective motivational incentives for viewing the projected series of ameliorative television dramas.
2. To develop information regarding actual needs among the target groups *prior to production* in order to create messages (for the projected programs) that are custom-made to fill these needs.
3. To develop gauges to measure audience reactions to the programs as they are aired *(i.e.,* feedback for input), restructuring or reinforcing program messages to guarantee maximum effectiveness.
4. To develop a means for assessing the effects of the projected programs *in toto* in order to evaluate changes in the informational levels, attitudes, and behavior patterns of the target audiences as a result of the programs.

In pursuit of these four objectives, longitudinal series of studies will be undertaken at three separate points in time:

Phase I: Targeting

This phase is the preproduction effort where determinations of target area needs will be made.

Phase II: Feedback

Phase II is designed to determine viewer reactions to the programs during airing. The information to be derived from these feedback data will be used to change the program emphasis as the programs are being made and aired.

Phase III: Evaluation

This phase will focus on whether or not and in what ways exposure to the series affected information levels, attitudes, and behaviors.

All phases of research were designed, supervised, and analyzed by Dr. Harold Mendelsohn, Director of Research in the Department of Mass Communications, School of Communication Arts, University of Denver. Field operations were carried out under his direction by Survey Research Services, Inc.

Besides extensive research experience, Dr. Mendelsohn directed "Operation Gap-Stop," the first attempt to create a workable synergy between communications creativity and scientific empirism in a limited prototype of what became the *Cancion de la Raza* series. Dr. Mendelsohn and the Communication Arts Center were responsible for planning and designing the research; for developing research instruments; and for analyzing, presenting, and interpreting the data.

After the informal sessions with volunteer groups and individuals from the *barrios,* face-to-face interviews were conducted on a rigorously scientific basis with a random selection of 404 adults residing within and belonging to the Mexican-American community.

This survey disclosed that no universal and unanimous dissatisfaction existed within the community, contrary to the predictions of some of the more outspoken and radical leaders. But many complaints were expressed by various minorities within the sample. Dr. Mendelsohn's final report:[1]

> There was no one overwhelming "program group" to whom *Cancion de la Raza* could address itself with the hope of helping a majority portion of the Mexican-American community.
>
> However, it appeared that developing themes and subthemes around specific high-dissatisfaction subgroups showed promise of giving *Cancion de la Raza* both general and specific target direction that could spell the difference between the ultimate acceptance by audience as reflecting reality rather than fiction. By providing sentiments relating to self-esteem; by reinforcing the high valuations placed on the peaceful life, nurtured by strong family support; and by pointing out available mechanisms for alleviating problems through continued education and concerted legitimate action, it was hoped that the *Cancion de la Raza* series would hit targets with messages that would be both realistic and relevant.
>
> Thirteen major themes developed as vehicles for projecting these sentiments. The themes around which *Cancion de la Raza* was to be constructed were:

1. Mexican-Americans should be proud of their own heritage and culture.

2. Mexican-American parents should open new lines of communication with their children.

3. Mexican-American parents should take a very active interest in their children's schooling.

4. Mexican-Americans need not fear standing up for their rights when dealing with public agencies.

5. Mexican-American citizens should make sure they get from government what they deserve without feelings of embarrassment or shame.

6. One very important way in which Mexican-Americans can achieve dignity and respect is to have a good job.

7. For the Mexican-American, education is essential for advancement.

8. Mexican-Americans themselves must work hard to improve conditions in their own communities.

9. Although religion is very important in the lives of many Mexican-Americans, they need to do more about their own problems than just pray.

10. One of the best ways for Mexican-Americans to better their lives is either to form or to join organizations, clubs and associations that are trying to improve things.

11. It is very important for Mexican-Americans to be interested in politics.

12. Poor Mexican-Americans must be particularly careful about family finances and their consumer activities.

13. Anglos are not always prejudiced against Mexican-Americans. A great many Anglos are friendly towards Mexican-Americans and can be helpful to them.

These dramatic themes were communicated to the writers and producers of *Cancion* and were incorporated into the developing storyline and scripts. Writing began at a furious pace.

PRESENTATIONS

Work was also begun on other fronts. To open the publicity campaign, KCET invited a number of groups and organizations in the East Los Angeles community to the station to hear from the staff about the project and to raise questions and offer suggestions. Edward Moreno, an actively involved member of the Mexican-American community who had been Program Manager of KALI (a local Spanish-language radio station), was hired to work with

KCET's public relations department as Community Relations Consultant for *Cancion.*

One of Mr. Moreno's major activities was to present a short videotape which described the aim and purposes of the project, and presented a sample scene from an early episode to local community and civic organizations. The presentations were often held with an actor or other staff member in attendance. In this way, the community was briefed about *Cancion* and project staff and actors were given notions of prevalent attitudes in the Mexican-American community regarding the project, its potential, and its problems. Nearly 100 of these presentations were made during the pre-production and production phases of *Cancion de la Raza.*

As research and promotion alerted the community, casting was completed and initial scripts refined. On October 7, 1968, the first episode of *Cancion de la Raza* was videotaped for broadcast one week later. In hopes of allowing research findings to influence script development, production was scheduled and kept one week ahead of air throughout the series. Each of the 65 episodes was broadcast twice each day, Monday through Friday, at three p.m. and again at seven-thirty p.m. The series began October 14, and was completed on January 17, 1969.

PROBLEMS AND REASSURANCES

Apart from the usual worries associated with the continuing production of daily shows, some rather special problems developed. Scripts were often late, or inconsistent with the storyline developed at the weekly conference. Many in the cast had difficulty learning lines day after day and were frequently inattentive to blocking instructions during rehearsal as they struggled to remember what to say next. Cue-card addiction developed quickly.

Facilities time had to be extended from 4½ to 5 hours per episode, and still production often ran into overtime. We abandoned the original plan of rehearsing and then recording each episode straight through; instead, each was assembled scene by scene. Finally, a second director was hired and we tried the two-platoon system, limiting most characters to appearances in every other episode.

Production quality was generally uneven, but acceptable in view of the overall aims of the project: the program was being accepted by the intended audience. The only serious complaints challenged

the stereotyped image of the Ramos family, although most viewers seemed to approve of the reality of the portrayal. Several complaints were voiced by conservative and farm-owner groups as the storyline dealt extensively with the sensitive issue of the grape strike *(La Huelga).*

The second ("feedback") phase of formal research on the project was conducted while the series aired to check audience acceptance and make necessary modifications in the production. Groups of non-viewers were shown sample episodes on videotape and asked to comment. Telephone calls were made to randomly selected homes in the target area. A pre-selected sample of families were encouraged to view the series and paid $10 for each of three personal debriefing sessions spread throughout the broadcast period.

It was discovered that the series was reaching many families in the lower income strata and that the programs stimulated considerable discussion within and between families. While there were criticisms of the production level, most viewers in the research sample were satisfied with the entertainment value, reported that their interest was held, and had only minor or no suggestions for changing the format.

The formal research report stressed that

> it was necessary that viewers find *Cancion de la Raza* to be credible. If most viewers found the programs to be unreal, they certainly would reject the messages the series was attempting to communicate. The findings from the feedback studies were reassuring on this point.
>
> For example, 68 per cent of the *Cancion* viewers in one sample reported that they had found most of what they were seeing to be true; 32 per cent found "some" aspects of *Cancion* to be true. Among the viewers sampled in the second telephone survey, 61 per cent believed most of what took place in the programs to be true. 30 per cent considered "some" of what they were seeing as being true; 7 per cent claimed they believed "hardly anything" and 2 per cent returned no judgment.
>
> Overall, it appeared from the feedback studies that nearly two-thirds of the viewers of *Cancion* experienced a feeling of learning something from the problems that they had not known prior to viewing them.
>
> The first experience of learning appeared as an increased awareness of the Mexican-American community and its problems was reached. A corollary to this is the fact that 46 per cent of the

viewers in the same study credited *Cancion* with affecting their attitudes regarding themselves as persons of Mexican-American origins.

On a third level, a good deal of instrumental learning — that is, learning about things that would be of some help with a particular problem — appeared to be taking place among the viewers of *Cancion*. Evidence from the feedback studies showed that exposure to *Cancion* was being used by sizable proportions of viewers to help them directly with their own personal and family problems.

Perhaps the most significant finding from the feedback studies was the fact that *Cancion* was getting many of its viewers to take actions they would not ordinarily have taken.

We seemed to be doing fairly well. We had some problems with the plan to feed the research findings back to the writers so that changes suggested by the viewers might affect the storyline. By the time the field data was gathered, computerized, interpreted, and reported, the writers had struggled far along past the points surveyed by the research team. Also, the writers had their own ideas about what was important to the community and held these views very vigorously even in the face of data to the contrary. The final scripts represented an interesting compromise.

LINEA ABIERTA

To develop and maintain other contacts between the project and the community, a telephone information and referral service called *Linea Abierta* ("open line") was set up. At the midbreak and at the conclusion of each *Cancion* episode, viewers were invited to call the special *Linea Abierta* telephone number to make comments, ask questions, or request assistance and information about public service agencies available to them.

Over the initial 13-week period of the *Cancion* broadcasts, more than 800 calls were received by the two bilingual social workers who manned the *Linea* telephones. During the first week of broadcast, most of the callers reacted to program content:

"The stories are really true."

"The father shouldn't have a shaggy moustache and drink beer; that makes us Mexican-Americans look bad."

"The story is not typical of our way of life."

"The children don't talk to their parents that way; they have more respect."

"I like everything about it."

As the programs continued, more and more people called *Linea* to secure help with their problems rather than to comment about the program directly.

The questions of most relevance and general interest were recorded and played back to a panel of experts from the community during the taping of the weekly discussion program, also entitled *Linea Abierta.* This half-hour program was aired every Monday preceding the evening episode of *Cancion.* The first of these question-and-answer sessions was held in a fairly stiff and formal setting. Later, to identify the discussion more closely with the Ramos family and their situation, the panel was moved to the Ramos living room. Finally, for the ultimate in informality, the panel sessions were held around the kitchen table.

After 65 consecutive working days (time off on Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year), the last stanza of *Cancion* was finished. We had, somehow, prevented minor problems and conflicts from blossoming into full-scale trouble while bringing off the project on a pre-production schedule that many of our friends in commercial television had predicted impossible.

Following production and the airing of the final episode, the entire series was rebroadcast, again twice daily, on Channel 28. The phone-in referral service of *Linea* was continued, manned by volunteers from the community. The *Linea* program now originated live each week from within the Mexican-American population centers, to continue discussion of important topics with community leaders.

THE TRAVELS OF CANCION

Because of the generally favorable impact on the Mexican-American community of Los Angeles, it was proposed that stations in other areas with significant Spanish-speaking populations be offered the *Cancion* series. To this end, the Ford Foundation made a grant of $99,800 to Educational Television Stations' Program Service (ETS/PS) to distribute *Cancion de la Raza.* ETS/PS provided each syndication station with the 65 episodes of *Cancion,* a modest promotional budget, and a one-day community relations workshop conducted by Edward Moreno. The workshops served to bring station personnel together with Mexican-American leaders in their respective communities. Promotional guidelines were structured for each city.

In the course of the workshop sessions, concern was frequently expressed about carrying a series made for another city (Los Angeles). But the situation and solutions seemed generalizable. Mr. Moreno urged that stations planning to carry *Cancion de la Raza* develop their own local version of *Linea Abierta* to provide local interaction and feedback. Stations approached this opportunity with varying degrees of enthusiasm, effort, and success. Notably, ETV stations in Chicago, Austin, Dallas, Tucson, and San Francisco developed excellent community relations programs in association with *Cancion de la Raza.*

The following stations broadcast *Cancion de la Raza:*

KAET	Tempe, Arizona
KCET	Los Angeles, California
KEBS	San Diego, California
KERA	Dallas, Texas
KLRN	Austin, Texas
KQED	San Francisco, California
KRMA	Denver, Colorado
KTXT	Lubbock, Texas
KUAT	Tucson, Arizona
KUHT	Houston, Texas
KYVE	Yakima, Washington
WETA	Washington, D.C.
WGTE	Toledo, Ohio
WHYY	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
WIPR	Hato Rey, Puerto Rico
WMSB	East Lansing, Michigan
WNDT	New York, New York
WTTV	Chicago, Illinois
WTVS	Detroit, Michigan
WUCM	University Center, Michigan
WVIZ	Cleveland, Ohio
WXXI	Rochester, New York

(KEBS in San Diego carried the series simultaneously with KCET's broadcasts.)

As *Cancion* hit the air in other cities, the original target audience in the *barrios* of Los Angeles was once more brought under research scrutiny. Again from the Mendelsohn study:

> In order to determine whether *Cancion de la Raza* had made any impact upon Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles, a survey was conducted with a total of 397 Mexican-American adults residing in Los Angeles County—of whom 211 had viewed at least one

episode of *Cancion de la Raza,* and 186 had not seen any programs in the series.

Face-to-face interviews with these samples were conducted in the homes of respondents. Interviews in the Evaluation Study began on January 28, 1969, two weeks after the initial airing of *Cancion de la Raza* in Los Angeles terminated.

It is estimated that the series reached some 12.6 per cent of the Mexican-American households in the Los Angeles area at one time or another in its initial airing.

Data from the evaluation study indicates that 68 per cent of the *Cancion* viewers usually watched the programs in the company of others.

Overall, it appears that approximately 223,000 of the 1,500,000 Mexican-American residents in the Los Angeles area took the opportunity to watch *Cancion de la Raza* at one time or another during its initial airing.

On the average, a viewer of *Cancion de la Raza* saw 14 separate episodes in the 65 episode series (20 per cent of the total). Nearly two-thirds (63 per cent) of the viewers watched *Cancion de la Raza* in the evenings.

Eighty-three per cent of the viewers rated the series as being either of the same quality or better than most of the fare they enjoyed watching on television; 14 per cent thought *Cancion* worse. Particularly critical were the more affluent viewers, of whom 24 per cent considered the programs to be worse than most other TV fare they chose to watch. From a targeting point of view, however, the programs were not designed to please affluent viewers.

Most appreciative of *Cancion de la Raza,* in comparison to other TV programs watched, was the group of viewers in the $4–$5,000 income group who did indeed comprise a major target for the *Cancion* effort.

Among the wide variety of ideas, events, characterizations, plots and sub-plots that stood out in viewers' memories, nine aspects of *Cancion de la Raza* were mentioned by at least one in every ten viewers. The one notion that was mentioned as being memorable by most viewers (29 per cent) was the focus that was placed on education in *Cancion de la Raza.*

Of secondary frequency were the ideas that *Cancion de la Raza* presented on the means by which Mexican-Americans can resolve their problems (18 per cent); specific incidents and characterizations (16 per cent); and the portrayals of parent-child relationships (15 per cent).

Persons in the prime $4–$5,000 target group were most apt to consider what *Cancion* had to say as being relevant to them (71

per cent); while affluent viewers to whom *Cancion* was not addressed were most likely to consider the programs irrelevant to them personally (35 per cent).

What most viewers (57 per cent) seemed to gain from *Cancion de la Raza* was an increased knowledge of what is taking place in the Mexican-American community.

In addition, *Cancion* was apparently responsible for some 16 per cent of its viewers modifying their (complacent) attitudes regarding the Mexican-American community.

One in every five viewers (21 per cent) of *Cancion* reported that the programs had been helpful to them personally. Persons in the prime target income group ($4–$5,000) in particular made this claim. Translated into raw figures it appears that some 47,000 persons among *Cancion*'s estimated 223,000 total viewers received some form of help from the program directly.

Eleven per cent of the viewers reported that *Cancion* made them feel proud to be Mexican-Americans. The exact same proportion reported that the programs at times made them feel ashamed to be Mexican-Americans.

Perhaps one of the most important activities that *Cancion* apparently generated among its viewers was to begin to move them toward greater communal and political participation. On this score, it is especially worth noting that 4 in 10 viewers (39 per cent) reported that watching *Cancion* had resulted in their considering joining a club or organization oriented towards improving the lives of Mexican-Americans. In particular, viewers within the prime target income group ($4–$5,000) were most apt to have this experience (49 per cent).

All in all, six per cent of the viewers asserted that they had actually joined a social-ameliorating organization as a consequence of seeing *Cancion de la Raza.*

NEW BENEFITS

Besides the encouraging audience data from the research evaluation and the use of the programs in other cities, other tangible benefits emerged. Many community leaders took the opportunity to use *Linea Abierta* to discuss with their people some of the issues important to the future of the Mexican-American in Los Angeles. For the first time, many people outside the *barrios* became aware of the special problems facing the Mexican-American. To further this awareness, KCET is distributing educational packages to interested institutions. These consist of selected *Cancion* episodes (on film or tape) together with a teacher's manual and discussion guides.

NEW TELEVISION PROFESSIONALS

Nearly 100 Mexican-Americans were employed on the series. Many gained experience and opportunities for jobs in other areas of the television and film industry. Several of the writing staff now participate in an apprentice program at the Writers Guild of America. Much of the original actors' workshop membership has continued regular study and work, running their own sessions and stage productions without external support.

Several of the cast now land occasional parts in commercial productions. One of the production team has received a career fellowship from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for continued work in public television. The three workshop instructors (experienced actors and teachers before *Cancion*) became Associate Directors on the series and joined the Directors' Guild. Each directed several of the final episodes.

SECOND GRANT TO KCET

In the spring of 1969, the Ford Foundation awarded a second programming grant to KCET which established *Ahora* ("Now"), a local cultural and public affairs program originating live daily from a store-front studio set up in the heart of the *barrio*. The core of the *Ahora* staff was drawn from the *Cancion* group. All involved are Mexican-Americans, with *Cancion's* Community Relations Coordinator, Ed Moreno, as project director.

Lastly, the Anglos who worked on the series—executive and support staff and the station's technical crew—made many warm and genuine friends among the Chicanos, learning a lot about life from a people who presented their collective troubles in a song.

NOTES

1. For a full discussion of the targeting research, see H. Mendelsohn, "Primary Social Research and the Question of What to Say to Whom in Social Amelioration Programming: *Cancion de la Raza,* a Case in Point," *Educational Broadcasting Review,* December 1969.

For the past year, we of TELEVISION QUARTERLY have been in quest of a special sort of article. What we were determinedly after was an "insider's" look at the critical role of French radio and television during the historic strike of May, 1968—an article we hoped to publish before the reverberations altogether faded. Bernard Redmont, 1969 recipient of the Overseas Press Club award for "best radio reporting from abroad," and his talented assistant, Peggy Taylor, have now satisfied our search. We are happy to publish their co-bylined article in these pages.

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FRENCH TELEVISION: A CHANGING IMAGE

PEGGY TAYLOR and BERNARD REDMONT

French television is brightening its political image. In the fall of 1969, the French government was relaxing its once-tight control of the Office de la Radiodiffusion–Television Francaise (the ORTF) and, for the first time, was permitting newscasts that approached the announced ideal of impartiality, accuracy, and completeness. It was also featuring lively political controversy.

These virtues are taken for granted by other radio and television networks, such as the BBC and CBC, but for the ORTF—a "jungle," some call it—the change takes on the importance of a revolution.

Why, suddenly in the fall of 1969, did the French government pledge to carry out such a profound about-face? The answer lies in the great student-worker revolt of May 1968, which shook so many of France's political and social structures. On May 19 of that year, 13,000 French radio and television employees went on strike.

For the first time in the history of French broadcasting, men and women in 173 professional categories refused the French public its daily diet of newscasts, movies, soap operas, variety shows and cultural programs—for a long seven weeks. Newscasters went on strike and so did producers, cameramen, technicians, actors, and musicians. And it was this strike that originated the current reform.

Why did they strike? It was not for less work or more money. The ORTF's employees were relatively content with their hours, pay, and four-week paid vacations. What they were discontented with was a special aspect of their working conditions—namely, control and regimentation by the French government—and they suddenly felt they must put an end to it. *"All you have to do,"* said one employee, *"is take France out of French television."* What ORTF was defending was its honor.

BACKGROUND

Government control of French radio and television was nothing new. It had existed for as long as French television, namely 17 years. And before that, the government had always controlled radio. It was not unusual for the government, when it disapproved certain programs, to cut radio cables.

French radio and television had always been tools for government publicity and propaganda. They always presented France as the best of all possible countries, and as one American reporter remarked, other countries as "hopelessly oscillating between race riots and drum majorettes."

The ORTF had been the plaything of every French government, not just the Gaullists. In 1947, Socialist Premier Paul Ramadier vowed to keep General De Gaulle off the air, and he did, for eleven years. When attacked by striking workers, the Gaullists pointed out that in controlling French television, they were simply following tradition. And they were. However, in May 1968, those who had endured this control simply got tired of it.

The government could have its say whenever it wished, *on free, prime television time,* and, except during election periods, did not have to worry about being contested by the Opposition. For example, just after the devaluation of the French franc in August 1969, Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing appeared on television, blackboard and chalk in hand, to explain the decision. Later, to justify the government's austerity plan, he went on again. Neither time was the Opposition permitted rebuttals. For this, the French television viewer had to wait twelve hours, until the delivery of his morning newspaper.

How did the government control television? Mainly by its mysterious Interministerial Information and Liaison Service, the IILS. According to Jacques Thibau, a former (*i.e.,* fired) ORTF director,

every day at 11 a.m. a group of ministerial civil servants would meet to decide what would be shown on French television that day and what would not. Afterwards, the group would call the head of the ORTF to pass on its instruction. For example, again according to Jacques Thibau, the IILS ordered the ORTF not to show certain films of De Gaulle's unhappy visit to French Canada, and these films were not shown.

With the election of Georges Pompidou in June 1969, the IILS was abolished. The liaison between the government and the ORTF was put under the direction of the Prime Minister's office and in the hands of one of its most able top civil servants, Mr. Roger Vaurs, who had served as director of the French Information Service in the U. S.

Thus, the government enjoyed considerable freedom. However, in 1964 pressure forced it to sponsor a reform bill aimed at "delivering French television from government control." Imbued with apparent self-criticism, it was the government that talked forcefully of the necessity of ensuring "freedom of information and objectivity." It was the government that insisted on giving the then RTF a new statute, of transforming the Radiodiffusion Television Francaise into the Office de la Radiodiffusion–Television Francaise. And it was the government that talked of making it an autonomous body, comparable to the BBC.

In 1964, the government made the following proposals:

1. To give the network management more authority.

2. To make the ORTF master of its own budget so it wouldn't have to run to the Finance Ministry for all expenditures exceeding $2,400.00.

3. To create an Administrative Council to "ensure morality and objectivity." Half of this Council would consist of government officials and half of representatives of the ORTF staff, the press, and television viewers. It would elect its own director.

Those were the magic words—*autonomy, objectivity, participation*—and in 1964, they came from the mouth of the government itself. Why then in 1968, did 13,000 employees go on strike to achieve the magic words? Why wasn't the reform bill of 1964 enough to prevent the great walkout of 1968?

For one thing, the reform was never fully applied. For another, a closer look at the government's 1964 initiative shows some obvious flaws:

1. The Administrative Council would have the right to elect its own director, but what would be the director's authority? "Uncontested *moral* authority," replied the government.

2. The Administrative Council director would be elected by Council members, but who would name the Director-General of the ORTF? The government.

3. Administrative Council members would be elected for a period of three years, but the Director-General would enjoy no such guarantee of tenure. He could be dismissed whenever he happened not to bend to the will of the government.

4. The ORTF would have "financial autonomy," but three important sectors (investments, salaries, and size of staff) would still be determined by the Finance Ministry—in other words, by the government.

5. The Administrative Council would consist equally of non-government representatives and government representatives. But somehow, after four years, this equitable proportion had dwindled to five representatives of ORTF personnel, one representative of television viewers, two press representatives, and 17 members in some way dependent on the government.

Thus, what the government gave with one hand, it took back with the other. So much so, that four years later the ORTF was *still* in search of autonomy, objectivity, and participation. The reforms of 1964 were just window dressing. One could even call them myths, for throughout the four post-"reform" years, the government's role in broadcast media remained heavily authoritarian.

How did the government defend itself? One well-known argument held the French press to be so generally hostile that the government needed the ORTF to counteract newspaper criticism. Also, the government reminded its critics of Paul Ramadier's vow. If he could keep General De Gaulle off the air for eleven years, the Gaullists, too, could keep enemies off.

Aside from these retorts, however, the government didn't bother to respond. Through the ORTF, it merely showed *what* it wanted, *when* it wanted it, and there were no if's or but's about it. As one Gaullist minister offhandedly remarked, "We could be found guilty of just one sin: the sin of omission." As a former (*i.e.*, fired) employee commented, "You had to show Gaullist Deputy X inaugurating a public urinal, but well, as for the Opposition's press conference, give that guy 35 seconds, without sound."

Such government bias would have been as innocuous as it was amusing, if it hadn't served as the caricature of examples infinitely more serious. If, in fact, all the news had been merely a question of inaugurating public urinals, an ORTF newscaster could possibly have tolerated his dependency and his servility. Such was not the case. One could look to the recent past to note that between 1956 and 1959, few authentic telecasts on the Algerian war were permitted. The news was serious—and often unavailable on ORTF.

THE DAYS IN MAY

In May 1968, at the beginning of the student revolts, no objective telecasts were to be seen. French students were rioting in the Latin Quarter, but the IILS ordered, "Ignore them." A one-hour program devoted to the labor crisis was prepared, but the IILS said, "Show De Gaulle's triumphant passage through Roumania instead."

French television viewers looked in vain to find on their TV screens what they were seeing out on their streets. When they finally got coverage on the students, it was a week or ten days late. When the first two panel discussions on the revolt were held, no students were invited to participate. When TV watchers finally got a glimpse of the Latin Quarter, they only got shots of students strolling or milling about. ORTF newsmen found themselves tuned to non-government commercial radio stations to keep abreast of the real news they themselves could not give.

It was here that their cup ran over. Newsmen found themselves forbidden, simply, to do their job, which was nothing short of reporting one of the most significant events of the 1960's. Even faithful Gaullists were outraged and on May 19, they too joined the massive walkout. "Dupont's place is rotten," read the graffiti scrawled on the walls. It was time for a revolution.

Jacques-Bernard Dupont, Director-General of the ORTF at the time of the May uprising, called in the police to oust occupying strikers. In June he was fired and replaced by Jean-Jacques de Bresson, who, according to the government, was more "liberal."

As can readily be understood, the question of the 1964 government statute was at the heart of the revolt. "France had to be gotten out of French television," and the way to do this, it was thought, was to change the ORTF statute. If the government wouldn't honor the old one, a new one would have to be drafted. And *this* time, it would be drafted by the ORTF itself.

As one striking newsman put it, "We never worked so hard as we worked when we were on strike." Worked, not broadcasting the news, but drawing up the new rules:

1. Newsmen must be guaranteed the right to report the news "as it happens."

2. Newsmen must be allowed a voice in decisions that directly concern them.

3. A "Commission of Wise Men" must be created to guarantee objectivity on French television. The Commission will consist of three personalities designated by the Administrative Council, and these personalities will come from sectors other than the Council and the personnel of the ORTF.

This Commission will see to it that the statute of the ORTF is respected. It will receive all complaints and take the initiative in investigating all infractions against objectivity.

The Commission will have access to all documents concerning the ORTF and will be authorized to call to testify, in cases of disputes, whomever it chooses. Its investigation completed, the Commission will prepare a report for the Director-General and will render public, and without delay, its findings and recommendations. The diffusion of this report will be first made on the antennas of the ORTF itself.

The Commission will also have a say about punishments inflicted on journalists; and its approval would have to be given before newsmen could be fired.

4. The current Administrative Council would be replaced by a Committee composed one-third of government representatives, one-third of ORTF staff, and one-third of personalities chosen by the ORTF and government representatives from various sectors of French life.

5. The Director General would be named by the government, but only from a list of candidates proposed by the Administrative Council.

During those seven weeks, the strikers did indeed work. They went out all over France, into 25 towns and villages, to explain their grievances and their proposals, and, through free public concerts, to build up a strike fund. In Paris, their "commandos" distributed explanatory leaflets at all of the main subway exists. At their headquarters, they launched their "Operation Jericho" meetings held every day "somewhere near the ORTF building not yet occupied by the police."

The striking journalists repeatedly assured the public that their action was apolitical, that their demands would be the same to any government, that they wanted to be spared the dictatorship of Communists or Socialists as much as that of the Gaullists. Since many of the strikers were sincere Gaullists, their cause had all the more weight. The strike was a question of personal and professional integrity, not of party loyalty.

The government made concessions on some points. It dismissed the controversial Mr. Dupont. But as for the new statute, it stated flatly that nothing "could" be done. Because a statute change had to be approved by Parliament, and Parliament at that time was not in session, the government continued to argue that its hands were tied.

It refused to give in, despite the fact that respected newspapers such as *Le Monde* defended the strikers:

> If it is necessary for Parliament to intervene to abrogate the 1964 statute, the controlling area which is that of the government, leaves enough leeway to permit modifications in the Administrative Council, the number of its members, and to adopt urgent temporary measures.

The government wouldn't hear of it. It had to defend itself against "subversive, underground elements" working to overthrow French democracy, an argument which held little water since, as was pointed out, among the striking newsmen, there were numerous Gaullists.

Instead, the government decided to sit it out, to wait for the strikers to lose heart after seven weeks of financial sacrifices. The government won. On July 30, 1968, the Trade Union Council of the ORTF, which for the first time in its existence had succeeded in getting 13,000 employees from radio and television in an almost unanimous strike, was compelled to announce the end of the strike

> even though as of today, no guarantee has been given us, neither as concerns impartial information, nor as concerns the responsible participation of journalists in the working of televised news.

After the defeat came reprisals. When the 120 striking newsmen returned to their job posts, they were politely told to go home and remain there until they received orders from the Director, such orders as would follow a "re-organization" of the News Services. By the end of the week, 102 newsmen had been "asked to leave." Of

these, 57 were fired outright, 39 sent to the provinces, and six who had reached their sixties were sent into retirement.

From the government's point of view, it wasn't at all a question of reprisals. During the strike, it had simply noted that "the network could function with fewer men" (the non-strikers), so it took advantage of the occasion to reduce superfluous personnel. By curious coincidence though, this superfluous personnel included, essentially, the striking newsmen.

RETROSPECTIVE APPROVAL

These days, after the election of Georges Pompidou, French radio and television are seeing some changes, for Mr. Pompidou's Prime Minister, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, has taken steps in the direction of liberalizing the ORTF. In his inaugural speech, Chaban-Delmas said he would establish "rules of the game" for the "free and democratic functioning of radio and television." In September 1969, the government agreed to the creation of two autonomous channels whose directors would receive tenure and who would be in competition with each other. To fill these posts, the government even agreed to the appointment of Pierre Desgraupes, a long-time staff member who helped draft the first petition by the protesting strikers in May 1968. (At the time of the purge, Mr. Desgraupes wasn't fired because he was not a salaried employee.)

Moreover, the government solemnly promised to promote decentralization, to revise the statute, to allow the participation of ORTF staff in ORTF affairs. A recruiting drive for new talented blood led to the hiring of newsmen from the independent radio stations, Europe No. 1 and Radio Tele–Luxembourg, and even from the opposition left-of-center news weeklies, *L'Express* and *Nouvel Observateur*. Strikers were re-hired.

The government also promised to permit *all* political parties to come on the air—and regularly.

Former ORTF strikers observe wryly that the government is stealing their program, that it is *in essence approving their May movement, retrospectively*. How far will the government go? Newsmen here are saying, "Wait and see." But the government is, in fact, talking their language: autonomy, participation, and objectivity. The central question is: Will the government this time give these words real and permanent meaning?

When the ORTF's "new deal" began in the fall of 1969, some Gaullists were distressed at the proliferation of anti-government statements made by individuals interviewed on TV. When they called an official who once was responsible for programming purity, he told them he no longer could assume control over the networks.

"They didn't believe me," he remarked. "It's hard to convince people that a prostitute has become a virgin."

ADDENDA:

FACTS AND FIGURES ON FRENCH RADIO AND TELEVISION

FRENCH RADIO

Whereas Frenchmen may select between only two television channels, they have a choice among four or five government-operated radio stations and a handful of commercial stations. The most popular of these is the government-run station, France-Inter, with 27.7 per cent of French listenership, followed by Radio Luxembourg, 24 per cent, and Europe Number 1, 22.1 per cent. France-Inter's good showing traces mainly to its coverage of the whole of France whereas the other stations are mostly regional.

Radio Monte-Carlo comes last on the list because its audience is limited mainly to the south of France.

Radio-Tele-Luxembourg (RTL), Europe No. 1, and Radio Monte-Carlo are known as the peripheral radio stations because their transmitters are abroad, although their studios are in Paris. Unlike the government radio stations, they run commercials, and they enjoy considerable freedom from French government control.

This freedom, however, is not absolute. The government, through its SOFIRAD, Societé Financière de Radiodiffusion, controls a large bloc of the stock of Radio Monte-Carlo and Europe No. 1. In 1965, there was a big uproar at Radio Luxembourg when its executives learned that the French government was trying to increase its RTL stock.

Until then, through Havas, the advertising agency it controls, the French government already owned 15 per cent; now, it was a question of the government's buying the French Compagnie Sans Fil (CSF) stock. Radio-Tele-Luxembourg was already largely in the hands of the French, but French business, never the French government. The Grand Ducal (Luxembourg) government hotly protested because although the RTL is under its surveillance, it has no interest in the station. The Luxembourg position prevailed and the French lost.

The French government wanted to get its hands on RTL because at the time, France-Inter was losing its audience to RTL, which had more than three major programs of news, background and commentary daily, and the government didn't want these to pass it by. On several occasions, the government had shown its desire to dominate the station: in 1960, it cut RTL's cable from the studio to the antenna because it was angered by the station's coverage of the Algerian war. In 1961, it decreed that the station should use only the Agence France-Presse news dispatches about Algeria. (The AFP is the French equivalent of AP or UPI.) In 1962, it threatened to cut the cable again if Jacques Duhamel, a member of the Opposition, was elected president of the Administrative Council.

FRENCH TELEVISION

French television, government-owned and government-run, has two channels, I and II, with plans for a third. Recent statistics show 9,150,000 television sets in France, 70,000 of them color sets. The average price of a black and white set is $300, of a color set, $750. Television owners must pay an annual tax of $20 on each set; radio owners pay an annual tax of $6.

An average week of programming for Channel I is 72 hours, with 12 educational. For Channel II, 34 hours, eight educational and 24 in color.

Brand advertising was introduced on French television in October 1968; from 1949 until then, collective advertising was permitted for milk, leather, fruits, glass products, etc. Thirty seconds of collective advertising costs $8,200, 30 seconds of brand advertising, $14,000.

At present, only agricultural products, textiles, and electrical appliances are allowed for brand advertising; no alcohol or cigarette advertising is permitted. The French Advertising Code forbids lies, fallacious claims, and ambiguity as well as comparatives and superlatives. There are also controls on guarantees concerning prices, language used, and "medical" recommendations. Commercials must contain nothing which could shock anyone's moral, religious, philosophical or political convictions, or could have an adverse effect on children.

French TV has a novel way of handling "adult" or "risqué" matter. Whenever part or all of a program is "not suitable for children," a white rectangle appears in the corner of the screen to warn parents to get the children out of the living room—although not all do so.

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Furnishing our readers with informed, critical evaluation of the "inside workings" of broadcasting organizations is perceived by the Editor as one of the crucial functions of TELEVISION QUARTERLY. Thus, we are particularly grateful to Dr. Iezzi for his long-term commitment to the examination that follows.

WILL THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTERS SOCIETY WITHER?

FRANK IEZZI

There is no spot on this globe where one cannot pick up a radio or TV signal in one language or another. Although global broadcasting, through satellites, is here and more than 500 broadcasting societies exist, only one society is truly international, truly global: The International Broadcasters Society.[1]

Some broadcasting societies are local, some national, some regional, some hemispheric. Some are limited to corporate, some to individual members. Some are non-communist, some communist. Only the IBS welcomes individual and corporate members from around the world, from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

But unless something dramatic is done—and done soon—the IBS will wither on the vine.

The purpose of this report is to trace the origins of the IBS, evaluate the criticisms made of it, describe the latest (and perhaps most lethal) flak it is encountering, appraise the threat of its extinction—and make some recommendations that might stave off its oblivion.

BACKGROUND

In 1961, four professional broadcasters of differing nationalities happened to cross paths in the Netherlands. They had in common a growing feeling of disenchantment with the state of the broadcasting medium and a deep, if vaguely-defined, feeling that its immense international potential was not being tapped. So they formed

the International Broadcasting Services to test their conclusions through research and experimentation and to share the results with broadcasters everywhere.

The members of the research team paid their own expenses as they collected and studied hundreds of publications, corresponded with broadcasters all over the world, and made study visits to a number of the major broadcasting nations in Europe. In less than a year, however, prohibitive expenses and internal dissension on procedural guidelines impelled two of the four members to resign.

The surviving two founders, T. D. R. Thomason and Berthe Beydals, had to make some quick and bold decisions on whether to proceed, and if so, how. They knew that *coordinated* international effort among broadcasting organizations was restricted because the contrasting objectives of national broadcasting systems tended to obscure those objectives they had in common—and that an international society might rectify this and permit broadcasting to realize its fullest potential.

Mr. Thomason and Miss Beydals recognized that only by solid research could they demonstrate to others that such an organization was warranted. So they founded and personally underwrote a private, non-profit foundation to explore the feasibility of establishing a world body for the broadcasting profession. They also married, which was to prove significant to the IBS, as will be detailed later in this article.

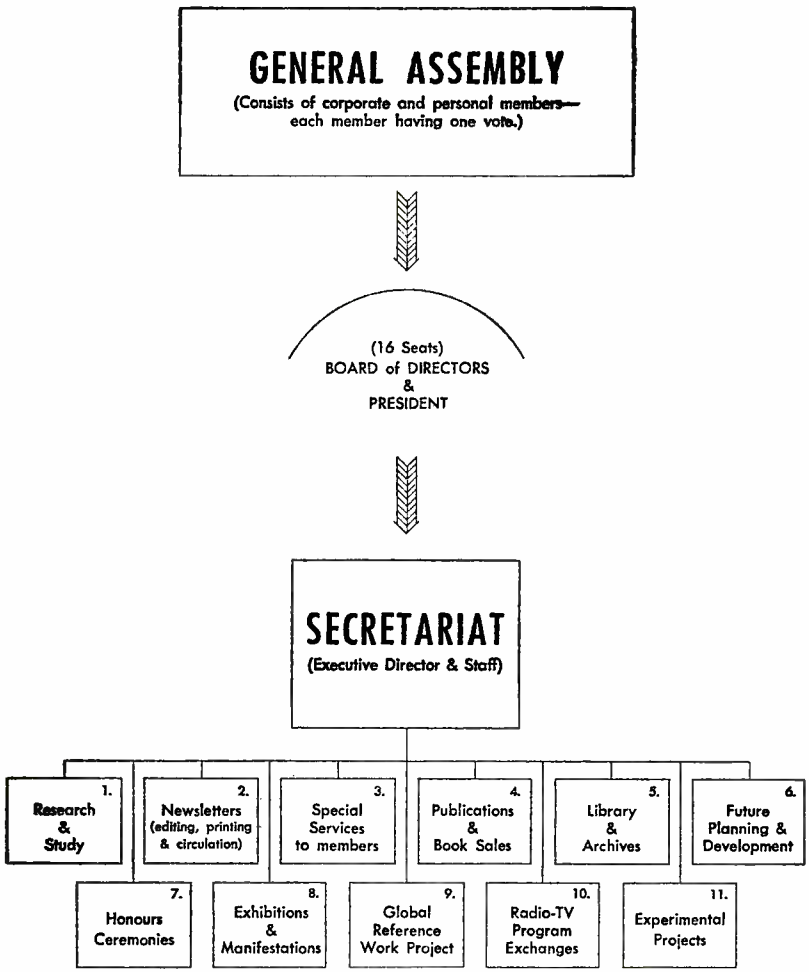
We will note that in 1963, the couple had invested their personal resources in this foundation—ultimately $140,000, the bulk of which Miss Beydals had inherited shortly before.

In January of that same year, as a sort of trial balloon, the International Broadcasting Services launched the *International Guide,* circulated free of charge to some 6,000 English-language radio and TV stations. The *Guide* was designed to measure and promote the flow of transcribed or filmed program material among stations all over the world. Response was so encouraging that circulation was doubled in June, 1963 and a French and Spanish section added.

About 12,000 stations received the *Guide* for 18 months, and in that time the foundation processed more than 120,000 orders for programs. Assuming that only half of the requests cleared through the IBS and that the other half went directly to the source listed in the *Guide,* one might realistically conclude that, through this single IBS experiment, almost a quarter million programs were exchanged.

Such an overwhelming response prompted the Thomasons to dissolve the experimental, private-family foundation and to create the international association. In early 1964, an Amsterdam law firm drew up an appropriate constitution, and 13 prominent members of the international broadcasting profession accepted the invitation to serve as Founding Board members. The International Broadcasting Services expired, and thus the *International Broadcasters Society* was born.

The following flow chart indicates the chain of command as well as the activities of the IBS.



FLOW CHART

1. **Research.** The *raison d'être* of the IBS is a continuing study and review of the mass media and their function nationally and internationally.

2. **Newsletters.** The IBS publishes the *Broadcasters Bulletin* to maintain internal communication among members.

3. **Special Services.** To personal members, the IBS Secretariat offers world-wide introductions, travel and study itineraries, special bibliographies. To corporate members, the Secretariat offers research program exchange, faculty internship assistance, and lists of contacts. To industry, the IBS offers sales promotion, editorial advice, and research design and execution on a paid contract basis.

4. **Book Sales.** The IBS serves as a global bookseller, publicizing new publications and obtaining discounts for members.

5. **Library and Archives.** The IBS preserves books and materials to serve broadcasting research purposes.

6. **Future Planning.** The Secretariat is charged with informing the Board of Directors of appropriate projects that keep pace with the fast-changing developments in broadcasting.

7. **Honours Ceremonies.** These awards will be discussed later under the Criticisms section of this article.

8. **Exhibitions and Manifestations.** The IBS works closely with other broadcasting organizations that conduct conventions, and also offers its own yearly exhibit to coincide with the Honours Ceremony.

9. **Global Reference Works.** This research project, involving the active participation of 60 experts all over the world, will present an annual publication in three separate volumes. It will include a list of all universities and training centers teaching broadcasting; of books, journals, and publishers in the field; and of associations in broadcasting and mass media generally.

10. **Radio-TV Program Exchange.** The major effort in this area was described above in the section on **Background.**

11. **Experimental Projects.** This heading covers the miscellaneous activities of the IBS. One example was the instant organization of 15 strategically located radio-TV journalists in Western Europe who monitored the Six-Day Israeli-Arab War of 1967 and permitted the IBS to correlate and distribute their findings about media coverage.

In theory, the IBS is a democratic Society. Its highest authority is the General Assembly, composed of 2,450 personal members and 150 corporate members, each having one vote. The Board of Directors, consisting of a President, Secretary General, Treasurer, and 13 others, is elected by the General Assembly with built-in mechanisms for regular rotation. The Executive Director and his staff are charged with fulfilling the day-to-day tasks indicated above, and are directly responsible to the Board.

In practice, with regard to the Board of Directors, the position of President has not been filled. The President is selected by the General Assembly. However, the General Assembly is convened only when the Board of Directors considers it necessary or when 10 per cent of the general membership calls for it. Neither group has done so; and, therefore, the President's office is vacant still.

In practice, a Secretary General represents the Society in legal and other proceedings in lieu of a President. A third member of the Executive—the Treasurer—can also represent the Society in such matters. The former position is held by Berthe Beydals (Mrs. Thomason), and the latter by Mr. Thomason.

In practice, despite the constitutional provision for Board rotation, the Founding Board of 1964 has continued intact to 1969.

In practice, with regard to the Secretariat, the Executive Director is directly responsible to his wife as Secretary General and to himself as Treasurer.

FINANCIAL THREAT

The activities of the IBS are supported by membership fees: $5 for personal members, who currently number 2,450, and $10 for corporate members, who currently number 150. At this writing, apart from parttime temporary help enlisted when needed, only two regular salaries are authorized: $5,000 a year for the parttime duties of the Secretary General and $10,000 a year for the fulltime Executive Director. The holders of these two positions operate at the pleasure of the Board and are Mrs. Thomason and Mr. Thomason, respectively.

Since 1966, limited membership fees have allowed only the most important activities to be undertaken and have forced a cutback in fulltime staff from seven in 1964, to three in 1965, to none since 1966. The Society is more than broke—it is in debt. It would take 6,000 members merely to meet expenses. A membership of ten thou-

sand would allow research projects to operate and allow the world-wide circulation of research results by means of a monthly organ with a circulation of 10,000, according to Mr. Thomason.

The following charts appeared in the April, 1966 IBS *Broadcasters Bulletin:*

General Financial Outline
International Broadcasters Society

TABLE 1:

DETAILS	CREDIT	DEBIT	BALANCE
Original Endowment	$140,000		$140,000
Expenditures in 1961		$ 5,000	$135,000
Expenditures in 1962		$ 7,500	$127,500
Expenditures in 1963		$ 87,500	$ 40,000
Expenditures in 1964		$ 50,500	$ 10,500 Dbt.
Expenditures in 1965		$ 11,000	$ 21,500 Dbt.
Income during 1965/66	$ 6,000		$ 15,500 Dbt.

TABLE 2:

PAID OUT EXPENDITURES	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	TOTAL
Administration and Salaries	3,000	5,000	25,000	20,000	8,000	$ 61,000
Research & Liaison (without salaries)	2,000	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	$ 12,000
Publications & Post			60,000	25,000	500	$ 85,500
Servicing Programme Exchanges	The cost of this project was absorbed in the budget for "Administration."					
Membership Campaign (without salaries)				3,000		$ 3,000
TOTALS:	5,000	7,500	87,500	50,500	11,000	$161,500

Not included in this table are the amounts outstanding with creditors. The salaries of the Executive have not been drawn, and they too are not included. The total accounts outstanding are under $30,000, and have been guaranteed by the Executive personally. The guarantee was essential to the continued operation of the Society.

CRITICISMS OF THE IBS

Most of the broadcasting professionals I interviewed held strong pro or con feelings about the IBS. The "pro's" were specific, the "con's" vague. The admirers expressed gratitude for the Society's specific personal assistance, and/or enthusiasm for its organizational goals and energy. The detractors offered unsupported assertions, or veiled implications of the "raised eyebrow" variety.

This section seeks to make these implied criticisms concrete, and to evaluate their validity and importance.

At the risk of being indelicate, I must evaluate the anti-IBS implication ventured particularly by American broadcasters (perhaps because of the recent unfavorable publicity in the American press concerning improprieties and excesses of a few small, family foundations). In effect, it is implied that the IBS, a non-profit organization on paper, in *practice* provides its founders some self-seeking financial benefits by means of a tax dodge or tax shelter of some sort.

My evidence and my personal knowledge of the persons involved sharply dispute this unfortunate notion. As stated above, during the exploratory years between 1961 and 1964 the Thomasons spent more than $140,000 of their own funds, which they had largely inherited and on which they had paid Dutch inheritance taxes. They are reconciled to the fact that these funds, which constituted the family's entire assets, are gone, beyond recovery, to be written off philosophically as a contribution to "the cause."

It is true that *on paper* Mrs. Thomason, as Secretary General, earns a yearly salary of $5,000 and Mr. Thomason, as Executive Director, $10,000. Here, it should first be noted that these salaries were fixed and authorized by the Founding Board in 1964 in line with salaries of similarly qualified practicing professionals in Holland, and that they have not been raised since established, despite inflation. More importantly, it should be *emphasized* that *these salaries have never been paid!*

Secondly, it is charged that the IBS, despite all its titles, boards, flow charts, and committees, is a "one-man show" or at least a "one-couple show." At this writing, I think the IBS is more vulnerable to this charge, if "charge" it be. The entire operation of this international organization, except for some dead storage areas, is housed

in one room of the Thomason's small three-room flat. In essence, the IBS is directed by Mrs. Thomason for three reasons: the General Assembly (consisting of 2,600 members scattered in 107 countries across the globe) has never convened; there is no President; and the entire, 16-seat Founding Board has never met (though they have been consulted from time to time).

The remaining position of the Executive Board—that of the Treasurer—is filled by Mr. Thomason. To compound the confusion and to lend some substantiation to the "one-couple show" charge, the Secretariat consists of one person—Mr. Thomason—who reports officially to the Secretary General of the Board—Mrs. Thomason—and to the Treasurer of the Board—himself.

To admirers, this "one-man show" represents not a shortcoming of IBS, but its greatest strength. Mr. Thomason is generous to a fault in giving up his personal time, energy, inspiration, knowledge, and contacts to any individual or corporate member of the IBS in particular or of the broadcasting profession in general. (On a personal note, four of the articles I have written on international broadcasting, including this one, probably could not or would not have been completed without his personal assistance.)

Another example of personalized IBS assistance to broadcasters occurred during the August, 1968 Czech crisis. Although the IBS is fastidiously non-political, it provided administrative placement assistance for dozens of Czech broadcasters who had fled to seek employment in other nations. (Apart from crisis situations, the IBS would have done its utmost for *any* member seeking placement assistance.) And it was the Thomasons as private individuals, rather than the IBS, who extended direct physical aid in the form of shelter, food, and funds to the refugee broadcasters.

The annual IBS Honours Ceremony has also attracted criticism. Some broadcasters complained that, in determining who was worthy of receiving these international awards, Mr. Thomason presumed to consult only his own personal judgment. After the first two years, this situation was rectified when an international committee was set up to make the selections. Further complaints about the Honours Ceremony specified that the laureates were drawn from too broad a spectrum—engineering, administration, and programming—and that they include not only broadcasters who have succeeded but those who have not yet attained much but are trying, and even those who tried but failed!

A fourth criticism of the IBS: some of its actions were brash almost to the point of exploiting others. For example, some IBS promotional printed material, stressing the point that "Broadcasting is worldwide," used as a border the logos of well-known broadcasting organizations around the world without having obtained consent of some of these organizations. After complaints, the following statement appeared in smaller print at the bottom of the sheet in subsequent printings: "The costs of arms, crests, and symbols representing broadcasting organizations do not necessarily indicate their connection with the International Broadcasters Society." (To my knowledge, although a surprising number of people still refer to it, the unauthorized use of these logos had been discontinued by the IBS.)

LATEST CONTROVERSY

It is ironic that the IBS happened to be founded in Holland, a little nation with more than its share of broadcasting headaches.[2] Administratively speaking, there is probably no more complex system of broadcasting than the Dutch system. Unique in structure and method of financing, Dutch broadcasting is neither privately operated, publicly operated, nor governmentally-operated. Rather, the system provides for direct participation by the five major cultural, religious, and political associations which provide the programming on a shared-time basis.

These five organizations are subsidized, on a pro-rated basis according to the size of their membership, by the license fees paid by radio and television set owners. Adding to the already complex and cumbersome arrangement, Holland manages to abide the existence of one of the few remaining commercial radio "pirates," *Radio Veronica,* and enjoys the dubious distinction of having quashed the world's only commercial TV "pirate," *North Sea TV,* operating off Dutch shores only a few years ago.[3]

Further complicating the Dutch broadcasting scene is the coincidental fact that the IBS headquarters are located precisely in the little suburban town of Bussum, outside of Amsterdam, where many of the Dutch TV facilities are still located.

The "leading characters" in the latest controversy are the IBS, in the persons of the Thomasons, and the *European Broadcasting Union,* in the person of Mr. J. B. Broeksz, Chairman of the EBU. (Additionally, Mr. Broeksz is Chairman of VARA, one of the five organizations that share Holland's broadcasting facilities.)

The European Broadcasting Union counts as active members the broadcasting organizations of 27 non-communist nations in Europe, and has almost as many associate members around the world. Broadly interpreted, its goal is to promote internationally the advancement of broadcasting in general and the welfare of its corporate members in particular. The EBU enjoys immense power in broadcasting circles in and beyond Europe, directly and indirectly influencing members and non-members alike.

As early as June 1964, the EBU expressed negativism toward the IBS. Actively demonstrating its attitude toward the IBS (an upstart, underfinanced, understaffed "one-man show" unworthy of official EBU recognition), it asserted duplication of effort between the two groups and discouraged its member organizations and their individual staff members from joining the IBS.

Mr. Thomason repeatedly has sought a hearing before the EBU to make the case for recognition of the IBS, but to no avail. At such a hearing he would probably point out that since EBU membership is limited to broadcasting *organizations,* and since 95 per cent of IBS membership consists of *individual* members, one basic difference between the two organizations is immediately apparent. Also, he would probably point out that one of the officially stated aims of the EBU is "to establish relations with other broadcasting organizations," and would thus raise the question of why the IBS, located right in the backyard of the EBU's Chairman, is not acknowledged. The EBU reportedly feels that it cannot enter into liaison with every one of the 500 broadcasting organizations in the world, and that the IBS is not of sufficient size or stature to bother about.

The "supporting players" in this drama include N. Tj. Swierstra, a retired history teacher; Willem Vogt, a Dutch broadcasting pioneer; C. M. Jansky, an American broadcasting pioneer; and Asa Briggs, a British broadcast historian.

And now to reconstruct the plot thus far. Recognizing the pitfalls of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy (because one event follows another event, the second is caused by the first), perhaps the best way to proceed would be to present a Chronology of Developments, leaving it to the reader to speculate on possible causality.

Act I

Early 1962	Broeksz "commissions" Swierstra to write a history of Dutch broadcasting with particular emphasis on VARA.

January, 1964	IBS is born.
June, 1964	EBU sends letter warning corporate member organizations that the IBS duplicates some EBU functions, and to stay away.
Late 1967 or early 1968	Plans to celebrate 1969 as the 50th Anniversary of Broadcasting in Holland are supported (if not initiated) by Broeksz.
Early 1968	IBS Honours Committee decides to include Jansky, Vogt, and Briggs among the 1968 laureates.
June, 1968	EBU sends letter to its members ostensibly to explain that, although the IBS is located in Bussum (center of Dutch TV) and holds its international exhibition in Hilversum (administrative center of Dutch broadcasting), the EBU has no connection with IBS or the 1969 IBS Exhibition. In essence, the letter's tone seems to make it the fourth warning to stay away.
Early August, 1968	Three major manufacturers of international equipment, who had verbally committed themselves to participation in the IBS Exhibition and for whom space had been rented, suddenly and without explanation withdraw—thereby causing considerable financial hardship for the IBS.
August/September, 1968	The IBS Honours Ceremony honors Jansky, Vogt, and Briggs, but is ignored by Dutch Radio-TV after the TV News had tentatively reserved space for a camera crew. (Note: under Dutch broadcasting practice, once a tentative reservation is made, it precludes all coverage by other Dutch Radio-TV organizations.)

Act II

January, 1969

At a meeting of Dutch Radio-TV officers, Broeksz makes suggestion to celebrate 50 years of broadcasting in Holland (and therefore the world).[4] Suggestion is approved.

February, 1969

The FIRATO, a biannual international radio-TV exhibition held in Amsterdam, announces as its main theme for 1969 the slogan, "50 Years of Broadcasting."

March, 1969

A series of 10 articles in the Hilversum daily paper cite "evidence" (uncovered by retired high-school teacher Swierstra) that the world's first radio station was started in 1919 by a Dutchman named Hanso Idzerda.

The March issue of the *EBU Review,* in an article by Swierstra placed by EBU Chairman Broeksz, repeats the assertion.[5]

April, 1969

A Dutch publishing house announces plans for a book to honor Idzerda as founder of the world's first radio station.

June, 1969

Headed by Prince Bernhard, a Commemoration Committee is set up, but neither Willem Vogt, founder of Holland's oldest and currently existing radio station nor the station itself is invited to participate. This would be analagous to not inviting General David Sarnoff or NBC to participate in a similar American celebration. Swierstra, however, is invited to participate.

July 11, 1969

Berthe Beydals, who is at once Mrs. Thomason, Secretary General of the IBS, and Radio-TV Editor of *De Telegraf* (Holland's largest daily newspaper), "blows the whistle" by publishing a

documented rebuttal to Swierstra's allegation. She also chides him and all concerned for not having invited Vogt or his organization to participate.

July 16, 1969 — Continuing her exposé in *De Telegraf,* Berthe Beydals reviews the evidence that real broadcasting began in 1920 with Dr. Frank Conrad's KDKA. She attacks Swierstra for his thinly-veiled reference to Vogt as "a man who preens himself with other men's feathers."

July 24, 1969 — "A sloppy bit of history writing" is Swierstra's comment on Asa Briggs' monumental, two-volume *History of Broadcasting,* as quoted by Berthe Beydals. She also quotes Vogt on his reaction to Swierstra's attacks: "With Mr. Swierstra I have no contact. I decline to exchange one word with him!"

August 5, 1969 — Berthe Beydals announces that the Post Office has discarded plans to issue a special stamp commemorating Holland's fathering of the world's first radio station. Asa Briggs is quoted on Swierstra's findings: "very silly, extremely childish ...the observations are founded on an extremely shallow study!" Although he built WHA (whose slogan is "The oldest station in the nation") in Wisconsin in 1919, Professor Jansky concedes that "Dr. Conrad was the first real broadcaster."

September, 1969 — The FIRATO International Exhibition is held in Amsterdam with the "50 Years of Broadcasting" theme softened considerably. Authorities are quite careful to avoid claiming that Holland or Idzerda were the *first* to broadcast.

November 6, 1969

On the 50th anniversary of Idzerda's first transmissions, a ceremony is held in the Hague. Among the 150 dignitaries present is Willem Vogt, 82 years old, the actual founder of the first successful radio organization in Holland. Idzerda is scrupulously referred to as "one of the first pioneers in broadcasting." It is tacitly recognized that Berthe Beydals' newspaper articles caused her colleagues to reassess their original, unsupportable claims about Dutch primacy in world radio broadcasting, and thus saved them international embarrassment in broadcasting circles.

Act III

December, 1969

The international drama is by no means ended as this article goes to press. To muddy the waters even further, America's National Association of Broadcasters plans to celebrate 1970 as the "Golden Anniversary of Broadcasting"! (I wonder if Prof. Gordon Greb's article, "The Golden Anniversary of Broadcasting,"[6] has come to the NAB's attention. Disturbingly persuasive, it suggests that the 50th anniversary should have been celebrated 10 years ago!)

RECOMMENDATIONS

By way of conclusion, I would make a recommendation to the IBS, to the editor and readers of this publication, and to the academic community. Object: hopefully, to prevent the IBS from fading into oblivion.

To the IBS: I would suggest that the Thomasons avert further confusion and criticism by relinquishing their posts as Secretary General and Treasurer. Additionally (or alternatively), I suggest that they call a meeting of the Board of Directors to select an Acting President—until a General Assembly can be called to elect a permanent President.

I also suggest that the IBS decide which two or three activities it is best capable of performing and thereby limit its range, at least for the time being. The present range (at least on paper) seems like an attempt to deploy too many horses with too few riders.

Now that this article, written by an outsider, has introduced the IBS question, I would like to see the editor of TELEVISION QUARTERLY offer an official invitation to the IBS and the EBU to air the details of their escalating controversy in their own words in these pages. Readers of this publication may be interested in contacting the IBS to register support or, indeed, otherwise.[7]

To the academic community: I would inquire whether there is some institution with a communications program that would recognize the potential of the IBS—and consider adopting it for a number of years, or at least offering foster care until it might be ready to go it alone. Such an affiliation would bring stature to the IBS and prestige to the host university. In my opinion such an alliance would constitute a real service to the profession of broadcasting.

NOTES

1. The IBS should not be confused with the IBI *(International Broadcast Institute)*, founded by the Ford Foundation in 1961–62 with present headquarters in Rome. The IBI is concerned with the international implications of the new technology—satellites, ground stations, computers, etc.—and with the political, financial, and regulatory problems directly related to the use of these tools.

   Nor should the IBS treated in this article be confused with the IBS *(Intercollegiate Broadcasting System)* with headquarters in Syracuse, New York, which provides American college radio stations with taped program exchange services; placement services; legal, technical, and promotional consulting services.

   Finally, the IBS should not be confused with the *International Radio and Television Society*, based in New York City, with a heterogeneous membership from 24 categories of broadcasting ranging from advertisers to equipment manufacturers. This Society attempts to find some common denominator of interest among these diverse factions through social-events programs—luncheons, annual awards, etc.—and through educational programs such as college conferences and broadcasting workshops. The adjective "international" is more accurately applied to the broadcasting media than to the activities of this organization.
2. Iezzi, Frank. "The Politics of Piracy," TELEVISION QUARTERLY, Vol. V, No. 4, Autumn 1966, pp. 25–41.
3. Iezzi, Frank. "TV Piracy on the High Seas," TELEVISION QUARTERLY, Vol. IV, No. 1, Winter 1965, pp. 23–28.
4. Woods, David L. "Semantics Versus the 'First' Broadcasting Station," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. XI, No. 3, Summer 1967.
5. Swierstra, N. Tj. "The Birth of Broadcasting," *EBU Review*, March 1969, pp. 10–15.
6. Greb, Gordon B. "The Golden Anniversary of Broadcasting," *Journal of Broadcasting*, Vol. III, No. 1, Winter 1958–1959, pp. 2–13.
7. The Secretariat, *International Broadcasters Society*, Zwaluwlaan 78, Bussum (NH), The Netherlands.

BLACK JOURNAL: A FEW NOTES FROM THE EXECUTIVE PRODUCER

WILLIAM GREAVES

When the urban riots of 1965–1966 erupted in all their fury, it slowly dawned on the leaders of this society that high among basic causes stood this stark fact: the black communities of America had no important public platforms of expression. In particular, the television screens of America were notoriously lacking in black faces and black thinking. On those few occasions when blacks were shown, we were usually slandered or put down in some chauvinistic way. Only on occasion does one see a black or brown face even today; and of course there are few Indians, Chinese and other peoples in TV's racist image of America. From this state of affairs, it is easy to see how rage and anger might develop in the minds of all black people, whether on the block hanging out or in an office hanging in.

The rage stems also from the *lack of a mass media communication mechanism* to adequately *protest* the outrages perpetrated against

WILLIAM GREAVES serves as Executive Producer and co-host of National Educational Television's unique monthly news magazine, *Black Journal.* He brings to his current post a wide background in production work with the National Film Board of Canada, and also heads his own film production company. He has furnished TELEVISION QUARTERLY with a frank and hardhitting personal assessment of the life to date of *Black Journal,* the sole program in all of national television that is produced and controlled by blacks. In inviting Mr. Greaves' contribution, the QUARTERLY again acts as a forum for a continuing dialogue on the vital question of blacks and broadcasting.

the black man in housing, employment, education, politics—in all those areas crucial to his existence. Most important, he doesn't gain from the one-eyed monster *constructive information about himself* and his people, information that will enable us to survive in a generally, though often subtly, hostile white environment. We are *prevented from communicating among ourselves over the airwaves,* a privilege lavished on White America.

It is in the context of a racist society that *Black Journal* has meaning and relevance.

An hour-long TV news magazine airing once a month, *Black Journal* is the first network television series of its kind in the United States. On June 12, 1968, it was introduced over 141 National Educational Television–affiliated stations, and now appears on roughly 180 such stations. Its purpose: to focus on Afro America. A production staff composed of blacks and whites created the new series in the first major attempt to implement recommendations of the President's Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which had called on the communications media to "expand and intensify coverage of the Negro community...to recognize the existence of Negroes as a group within the community."

Black Journal provides blacks and whites a continuing view of life in Black America. It explores problems and contributions of Afro Americans and delineates the obstacles to black fulfillment and better race relations. Its emphasis is on news and cultural developments in the Afro-American community, ranging from politics to business, from education to the arts, from hard news to humor.

A prime objective in creating *Black Journal* was to train and develop black television reporters, editors, producers, and technical personnel—again in keeping with the recommendations of the President's Commission that cited the urgent need for more black people in broadcasting. The series is specifically geared to serve as a *training workshop* through which Afro Americans can develop the skills and experience to build careers in broadcasting.

Needless to say, *Black Journal* is no more than the proverbial drop in the bucket. But, judging by the feedback that we get from the black and white community, it would seem that our efforts are meeting with unusually high levels of appreciative response. We are convinced that it is not only the artistic quality of *Black Journal* that people are responding to, but the fact that so far as candor and relevance are concerned, *Black Journal* is, in network terms, an oasis in a very large desert.

Almost two years after the Kerner Report, *Black Journal* remains the only network program of its kind. This gives some idea of how slowly television is moving in this regard. As a matter of fact, out of the 1,800 hours a month of television network programming across the country, *only one hour, Black Journal,* is black controlled! This glaring statistic, in our opinion, graphically illustrates the extent to which white racism permeates the airwaves of America.

During our production meetings at *Black Journal,* we find mounting up on the desk in front of us a wide variety of subject matter that should go on the show. As a result, there is tremendous competition for air time. One hour a month makes it obviously impossible to cover the multitude of subjects relating to the black community.

Our production meetings are filled with endless frustration. We want to talk about the black man in prison, about the problems of our young men who have come out of prison. We want to talk about the black man in the labor movement; the problems of black senior citizens, the lack of old-age homes; birth control and genocide; air pollution and sanitation; the lack of proper health facilities in the North as well as the South.

We want to discuss the government's poverty programs and model cities: who runs them, who plans them, who benefits from them. We want to investigate and expose violations by federal and state laws of the American Constitution; we want to correct distortions of Afro American and African history and give honest reporting of current events. Yes, we even want to examine the black "silent majority."

A film segment on our fourth show dealt with the Southern Louisiana Consumer Co-op and produced exciting, widespread response from black people around the country. Inspired by it, these viewers wanted to adapt some of the measures developed by the Louisiana Co-op to their own communities. This is just one example of the lasting positive benefits that can emerge from *Black Journal* programming—that is, we are putting before the Afro-American public the many problems the black community faces, and ways that can lead to some type of solution. As a matter of fact, more and more *Black Journal* is concentrating on programming *that assists the black community in its problem solving efforts,* whether in the fields of politics, labor or business.

AUDIENCE REACTIONS

Unlike most television programming, *Black Journal* is not targeted to middle-class viewers since the number of Afro Americans who are middle class is inordinately small. Rather, its target audiences are lower-class and leadership groups within the black community.

Some white viewers complain, we are told, that *Black Journal* is not for them—that it is not interested in a dialogue with the white community. Yet, curiously, they continue to watch us. We are fascinated by such reports. While *Black Journal*'s primary target *is* the black community, its second major target is the white community—*especially* those within the white community who feel that it is *not for them,* who are often surprised and irritated by the content of our shows.

There are those who find *Black Journal* "too militant, too nationalistic" and think of us as "uppity niggers." We can assure them that *Black Journal* is a mirror image of the thoughts and feelings of the black community *when* it has the chance to freely express itself. That these people respond emotionally, gives us on *Black Journal* considerable satisfaction. The fact that month in and month out, they continue to watch without turning us off—and that, when they do turn us off, they continue to think about what has been said and shown—also gives us satisfaction. These responses indicate to us that *Black Journal* is fulfilling the primary task of all educational programming: sensitizing the general public to the issues and problems with which our world is faced.

One of the objectives of Black Journal *is to sensitize White Americans to those mechanisms of prejudice and discrimination by which they consciously and unconsciously oppress the black community.* Black Journal *is, after all, merely an answer to the thousands of "White Journals" that proliferate from American television screens. The need for* Black Journal *and more of the same will cease when, and only when, White America stops making White Journals.*

The white community has felt an on-going need to learn what goes on at the back of the black man's mind. Paradoxically, the same people who wish to know what is at the back of the black man's mind also wish to block information from that region. We hope that for these people *Black Journal,* in its own way, is serving to answer their on-going need rather than to indulge their escapist wishes.

Some people within the white and black communities view a program like *Black Journal* as one of the national safety valves—to release the pressure increasingly building up within the black community as a result of the pressure *it* faces in turn from the white community. In that we do serve as an outlet through which legitimate grievances can be aired in a democratic society, perhaps our program *does* constitute a safety valve. While this safety valve school of thought may be simply another tactic in riot control, our primary task at *Black Journal* remains the more constructive business of providing the black community with those facts from which dignity and enlightened community action flows.

As would be expected, the whole character of television industry *staffing*, commercial and non-commercial, has in the past reflected the racially discriminatory hiring practices of most job sectors of American life. Now, with the stated commitment toward integration of Afro Americans into the industry, the search is on for potential black television filmmakers and other personnel.

From various quarters, the constant complaint is the difficulty of finding interested and qualified black personnel. These complaints do not include the larger fact: that, until recently, the idea of black people working in the film and television industry on a professional level was met with a pervasive hostility. No machinery, no procedures existed through which an aspiring black person might crack the walls of discrimination. (As a matter of fact, I was obliged to spend 11 long years outside of America in film and television production, due to these practices of the industry in America.)

Very early in the life of *Black Journal*, the black members of the staff rebelled against white control of the show. Walking off their jobs on the *Journal*, the staffers insisted on a black Executive Producer heading the show. Conceding the fact that the show should be black controlled, NET management approached me to become Executive Producer. There was no question about my qualifications on all levels of production since I had worked on close to 100 productions at the National Film Board of Canada and also now operate my own film production company. But as NET found out, the number of black people in the United States who can point to that kind of track record can be counted on one hand.

TRAINING PROGRAMS

Today, thanks to the existence of *Black Journal* and the relatively few local programs across the country, so serious is the interest of

black people in film and television production that National Educational Television has set up the *Black Journal* Training School to develop aspiring black talent. Ably headed by our Associate Producer, Peggy Pinn, the Training School is considerably oversubscribed.

The classes now total 65 with a waiting list of close to one hundred. The twelve-week intensified course, covering still photography, cinematography, sound recording, and editing includes some on-location filming. The students choose their locations; write the script; direct, photograph, and edit the film under expert supervision. At present the school is hanging by a thread as it seeks funding to continue through the year.

Black Journal and other production units are now hiring some of the training school's graduates. *Black Journal* has thus served as a vehicle for the further development of black filmmakers who heretofore have not had the opportunity to participate in a major network television series.

Our staff is quite an expert one and we are indeed pleased with the work of people like Kent Garrett, Stan Lathan, St. Clair Bourne, Phil Burton, Tony Batten, and Bob Wagoner. These men are hard-working full-time producers capable of holding their own in any production situation. We have a very able host in the person of Lou House, and I am co-host.

The growth and development of the black members of the staff is illustrated in the ever-increasing professionalism of the program. The New York *Times* TV critic, Jack Gould, gave the following review of the show:

> By the acid test of professional and perceptive journalism, *Black Journal* has earned its rightful niche as a continuing and absorbing feature of television's out-put...By any color standard the program is rendering a thoroughly worthwhile journalistic contribution, one deserving to be judged on merit alone. Mr. Greaves is simply covering a story that should be covered and covering it with distinction. White journalists could well share his pride of craft.
>
> In last night's repeat, involving too many gifted people to enumerate, *Black Journal* reminded the viewer of its accomplishments in the first year over National Educational Television and reminded him, too, that at least on TV a black editorial staff can detect and obtain stories that may escape its white counterpart.

Despite this level of critical reaction, some local stations have made sporadic attempts to take the show off the air because of its "militance." Most such attempts have failed because of the strong viewer support the show enjoys in the black community.

Budget has constituted one of the major problems that have plagued *Black Journal* since its inception. The costs per show have undergone considerable change since its beginning, starting at roughly $100,000 per show and now standing at $50,000. We have tried to stay within the confines of our latest grants; but it is virtually impossible to produce a major hour show each month (that covers the black community throughout the country, and now internationally) without exceeding these budgetary limitations. From $100,000 to $50,000 per show constitutes a 50 per cent reduction, and puts considerable pressure on the staff to maintain the quality of *Black Journal.* Despite this fact, the quality of the show is still going up. However, in the light of projected cuts for the summer period, we may not be able to maintain past standards.

Each year it seems we must struggle to stay on the air because of the lack of funds. It is incredible that this *should* be so for the single black-controlled show in all of television. How this tenuous state of affairs might reflect the workings of American society at large and the industry in particular is, of course, an interesting question.

As long as government involvement in public broadcasting does not mean or imply government control or censorship, we of the *Black Journal* staff are not at all hostile to the idea. Thus far, our relations with the Public Broadcasting Corporation have not involved any editorial strings on the monies received from them. It is to be expected that, through our political representatives, the black community will strive to make certain that public broadcasting in the future will more accurately reflect the multiracial character and realities of this country.

This kind of pressure we regard as positive in a situation manifestly negative as far as black people are concerned. We would hope that with the coming of the public broadcasting system, *Black Journal* will thrive. We hope, in fact, that there will be more *Black Journals,* Black and White Journals, Black, Brown, Yellow and White Journals—and fewer White Journals. We would also hope that, with the emergence of the Public Broadcasting Corporation, the integration of technical, production, and management personnel of all stations will accelerate.

TV—
THE FIFTH DIMENSION

ROBERT BARAM

Ready?

Good!

Switch it on.

Ahhhhhhhhhhhh...now
you can soothe that itch
for the medium
and tune in the message
(or McLuhan)
and gaze into
the rear-vision mirror
and digest the very best
in prefabricated violence
and

(Bah Bah Black Sheep
have you any bull,
"yessir, yessir,
three networks full.")

you can see reality
dressed in colorless living
that makes it all
most ingestible,
even the dull
and detestable;
where the white hats
bite on silver bullets
and impossible missions
are integrated with
improbable elysians

(Alright, let's
drink our chicken gumbo
soup...it's delicious
and goody-good for gout,
and acne, and weary blood,
and mating-game sex glands
and....there is
a 10 per cent chance
of rain tomorrow if
Hurricane Zelda tastes good
like a hurricane should.)

ROBERT BARAM, a published poet, is a member of the journalism faculty, School of Public Communication, Boston University. He has also merited recognition as an analyst of New England news and frequently appears on Boston's WGBH-TV.

It's all so elementary
when we wrap it in
an Appalachia documentary
that melts in your mind
and not in your heart
and toss in a slide
or two of Apartheid
with a clean scene from
a groovie movie starring
Sidney Poitier

(My God, he
gets the white broad,
and all the king's horses
and all the king's men
couldn't put Strom
together again.)

Just before
you adjust your vertical
and get set
for the evening
Vietnam box-score,
which is presented
with impeccable objectivity
and a proper touch
of sensitivity,

(a tisket, a tasket
I found a little casket,
and color my heart...
purple, purple, purple,
purple—No, the trouble
is not in your set but
in the disunited nations.)

Here then
is a remember-when
Christmas play,
to fill your 21-inch sock
with the ghosts of
Maddox-past, and
Reagan-present,
and Agnew-future
and a bacteria-free suture
autographed by
Dr. Kildare...
Do you wanto see
the Movie of the Week?
...and fill
your long intestine
with Zorba The Greek,
and Gable or Bogie
in dehydrated scenes
about a hero
with truncated genes
who succeeds where
all others fail
including alkas,
and bromos

(Oh see how they fizz
by Wayne, John's early light,
how so proudly he waved
his anti-Red rockets
while o'er the ramparts
he watched over us
gallantly screaming.)

There's David Frost
from across the sea
to bring us electronic
intellectuality,
and Won't You Support
your cancer fund
after you fight
to switch.....
sorry—Technical Difficulties,
don't leave, please,
we need the Audience, and
Nielsen and Cold-Water-All,
and there's nothing wrong
with your set
that Mister Rogers
couldn't cure
he's so noble and pure...
"Thank you Mr. President,
and why sir,
do you, sir,
hate war, sir...too?"
Never on Sunday,
every holiday's a day
when Johnny Carson's
shooting a bit
in The Valley of The Dolls
—with the author—
for a Listerine to Listerine
interview,
Look Ma, All Cavities,
and more commercials
about tipped filters

that can take you
out of the country, But!
Stay tuned for further
details after The FBI;
fade-in The Flag
and riffle the trumpets,
all treasonettes are strumpets,
and the good ones
must die with a fluoride smile;
That's the way it is
Walter Cronkite,
with one small mankind
for stepping on evil men,
our enemies,
those enemies;
Moon, June, Spoon,
bring back some rocks
from the Detroit riots,
"Goodnight Chester..."
in Washington
an analysis with
Eric the Well Read
and an epilogue
on benevolent power,
the Royal Family
and the Tower of London
on videotape of course,
when you're out of hate,
you're out of war...
At last,
It's Joe and the Jets,
and is God really
playing shortstop
for the mets?
After the
Ky to a Kingdom
in three parts
for all the lonely hearts
who get their passion
vicariously, by watchin'
Channel 33,
To Tell the Truth
now pause,
look into the camera,
read the idiot sheet
Don't move, stand on the X,
slowly, slowly flex
your Meet the Press
and get a little sex
into it...
Here come the latest
Senate Hearings
with another Laugh-In,
don't pout Senator Tower,
the Mexicans may reclaim
Texas, and make a pass
at Kansas,
They Shall Not Pass,
Remember Moon River,
and all the newlyweds
after their dating game
with the Honeymooners
making it with Plymouth,
and now to the floor
with Sandy Vanocur
and Mayor Daley
for a brief chat
about Gene McCarthy
and Abe Ribicoff
and love. . . .

and we'll be back
in a moment,
after station identification.

TELEVISION QUARTERLY INDEX, VOLUME VIII, 1969

ARTICLES

AUTHORS

BOOKS IN REVIEW

William Kuhns and Robert Stanley. **EXPLORING THE FILM.** Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum, 1968.

Sharon Feyen and Donald Wigal, editors. **SCREEN EXPERIENCE: AN APPROACH TO FILM.** Dayton, Ohio: George A. Pflaum, 1969.

Lee R. Bobker. **ELEMENTS OF FILM.** New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969.

John Gregory Dunne. **THE STUDIO.** New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 1969.

Lillian Gish with Ann Pinchot. **THE MOVIES, MR. GRIFFITH, AND ME.** Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

How splendid it would have been if a mod teacher had put into the hands of our generation of the thirties and forties a book like EXPLORING THE FILM. We then might have done battle with the movies' assault on our sensibilities, or at least arranged a rapport between the rituals of the classroom and those of the neighborhood theater screen.

All of which is to say that EXPLORING THE FILM is decades overdue. Designed superbly for use in secondary schools, its purpose, simply, is to enable young people "to look and then to see," as preliminary to understanding the screen experience.

There is indeed much that is lookable: a casually purposive arrangement of stills, frame-sequences, graphics, and copy within such chapters as "Visual Language," "A Language of Sound," "Say It with Film," and "To Make a Film." Following the dictum of the Culkin approach to film study (is there any other?), the book offers a wise compromise between the movie tastes of most high-school students and what educators wish them to be. Thus, there is reference to *The Great Escape* as well as to *La Strada,* to *Doctor Zhivago* as well as to *Citizen Kane,* to *The Collector* as well as to *The Bicycle Thief.* (It seems no accident that the authors omitted Olivier's Shakespeare films, those bastions of traditional photoplay appreciation.) The authors accept the fact that it *is* the commercial entertainment film that dominates the attention of teenagers, and this acceptance constitutes one of the book's values.

Television is given minor though courteous attention. The comparison of film and TV indulges some free-swinging psychology about Coke, distraction levels, and the size of the screen as related to environment and involvement. Yet the very inclusion of a chapter on television must inadvertently raise issues that the authors and the film-study movement generally ignore.

In their discussion of TV, the authors are careful to emphasize the economic, governmental, and other social forces that collectively make television the way it is. In short, they offhandedly acknowledge that *seeing* TV requires a point of view that is more than message-centered. Surely these same forces also determine what appears on the theater screen. For all its excellence, and considering the age group of its audience, EXPLORING THE FILM gives no relief for a nagging, excedrin question: How much longer can the film-study movement, if it is to be truly relevant to education, remain solely on a "happy consumption" level of inquiry?

SCREEN EXPERIENCE, edited by Feyen and Wigal for the National Curriculum Committee of the Journalism Education Association, extends film study to more advanced groups. Its intent, not entirely successful, is somewhat phenomenological: to aid adults to "'read' themselves and others through experiencing motion pictures" and to "expand the awareness which is brought to and from the film experience."

Several knowledgeable contributors succinctly review film styles, literary and stage-play adaptations, and film forms—Western, comedy, documentary. Each chapter is concluded by what the editors term "spin-offs," provocative topics for group discussion that often presuppose the reader's full familiarity with film history.

The greater part of the book deals with several possible groupings of films for planned screening, an annotated index to films that is extraordinarily informative, a list of 16mm distributors, and an impressive bibliography. (One of the periodicals listed is the amusingly adult *Continental Film Review.)* SCREEN EXPERIENCE is a modest, sometimes unnecessarily basic undertaking, but its scholarship is undeniable.

Most film and TV production books are so concerned with teaching rudiments of technique that they ignore the creative application of camera, lighting, sound, and editing. And if they do make aesthetic reference, it is usually in terms of obscure industrial film. Bobker's ELEMENTS OF FILM is a surprising exception, geared also to please readers who are not filmmakers.

The architecture of the book provides a logical outline for a course in film production, because the order of chapters follows the filmmaking process itself. Remembering that film students go to the movies, the author draws examples of technique as applied by Resnais, Antonioni, Buñuel, Bergman, and others of world-cinema renown. For example, in discussing focal length, he writes: "In *The Graduate,* Mike Nichols effectively uses the long lens to distort movement in dramatizing Benjamin's agonizing chase"; and concerning differences among film stock: "In *The Battle of Algiers,* the filmmaker wished to convince the audience that the action was photographed as it happened. Thus, he chose a fast film, a high-grain raw stock, and achieved a sense of reality rarely attained in a directed theatrical film."

This excellent book offers other unexpected pluses. Excerpted comments by directors and writers serve as curtain-raisers to chapters. The film director and his relationship to crew, actors, and editor is examined in a full chapter. A final section analyzes styles of film criticism and presents writings of Crowther, Taylor, Macdonald, Adler, and Sarris, among others.

If one might fault ELEMENTS OF FILM, the motive is not mere chauvinism. Except for Stanley Kubrick, who, we are told, "is one of the few American filmmakers whose vision extends beyond the technician-oriented approach of Hollywood," American directors are given minimal attention. Thus, no illustrative creative applications are included from Hollywood's "working" directors—no Henry Hathaway, no Raoul Walsh, no Delmer Daves, and certainly no Norman Taurog. One begins to wonder whom filmmakers talked about before the advent of Jean-Luc Godard.

THE STUDIO reads like the script for a remake of Darryl F. Zanuck's *Hollywood Cavalcade,* but without the delightful casting of Alice Faye and Don Ameche. This breezy book will appeal to two sorts: the home-movie-maker who complains that no distributor has the guts to release his cine-

matic *haiku,* and the buff who has thrice seen every TV episode of *Hollywood and the Stars.*

This book contains all the necessary ingredients: shrewd producers, pushy agents, temperamental stars, front-office financial panic, and the climactic sneak preview sequence (in this case, would you believe, *three* previews, of *Dr. Dolittle).* The "studio" is Twentieth Century-Fox, and the recorded machinations are *cinema vérité,* no doubt, but one senses that all was staged for the author's cameras. Indeed there *is* a story to be told about Twentieth Century-Fox—about the day-to-day managerial decision-making process; about the economic challenge of television and the Cinemascope gamble; about the people who made, in addition to such pablum as *Moon over Miami* and *The Little Princess,* some of the classic films of American social realism—but, disappointingly, this story isn't told in THE STUDIO.

"Only the people who lived through an era," Lillian Gish writes in THE MOVIES, MR. GRIFFITH, AND ME, "who are the real participants in the drama as it occurs, know the truth." Her memory of personalities and circumstances is vivid, and her generosity unfailing as she recalls her association with one of Hollywood's authentic artists. There is no flinching here at calling the movies "the industry," because Griffith, the Gish sisters, "Billy" Bitzer, and Robert Harron were all consciously building it. Nor are there apologies for failure; the successes remain. And as for judgment of those who might have given Griffith employment in his embittered years, but didn't—well, they lived only a few years longer than he.

Lupé Velez sings "Where Is the Song of Songs for Me?" from *Lady of the Pavements,* and one reads again the note on the record-jacket: "The decline of the pioneering director D. W. Griffith had begun long before this half-hearted and unsuccessful venture into sound." So much for capsulized film history. After having read THE MOVIES, MR. GRIFFITH, AND ME, one knows the larger truth.

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Richard Averson

Thomas H. Guback. **THE INTERNATIONAL FILM INDUSTRY.** Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969.

At a time when film industries in every nation are experiencing profound economic and artistic changes, Professor Guback's new book provides a needed analysis of the various schemes for expansion and protection attempted since 1945.

Japan, India, Hong Kong, and the Socialist states are omitted from the study because the author's purpose was to describe the massive influence of American capital upon film production throughout the Atlantic community. In this respect the main title is misleading and should have been worded to specify the chosen perimeter. Happily, though, after the title page, imprecision vanishes. A vast amount of data never before synthesized for a general readership is presented accurately and readably.

Compared to the 1952 study, THE BRITISH FILM INDUSTRY (Political and Economic Planning, Ltd.), which set out to focus national attention on that nation's film *misère,* Professor Guback's is not a "popular" handling. But his matter-of-fact and unemotional style properly suits the current

situation. In the '50's, England's film industry was evaporating. Ours is currently wandering. The present crisis is not one of survival for us or our European partners, but rather the avoidance of harm and waste caused by America's immense resources and missionary fervor.

American capital dominates every film industry in the Atlantic community. We may calculate this in several ways. The vast majority of screen time in foreign theaters is devoted to American productions or co-productions. Ninety per cent of the capital invested in British films is American. Even when "foreign" films play in America, three-quarters of the gross is collected by American companies. It is practically impossible for a feature film to be made in Europe without American money, implying American approval.

Professor Guback responsibly queries whether this state of affairs is, in the long run, healthy—economically or artistically—but he does not pamphleteer. He acknowledges, for instance, that the results of this "despotism" in postwar German cinema were, in the main, benevolent—certainly from a political standpoint. He also notes an irony in that, today, Britain agonizes over the dilemma of foreign domination of its films while it enjoys full employment in that branch and swelling international esteem for "new British culture."

America agonizes as well—for the reverse of these reasons. Our film industry's domination in foreign markets is almost absolute; yet our domestic film employment and esteem for our "culture" languish.

Especially for the American reader, this book delivers very useful insights. Nation by nation, Guback records postwar efforts to rescue or restructure domestic film industries in terms of production, distribution, and exhibition. He notes that the major European problem, domestic under-capitalization, resulted in a vacuum that was quickly and boldly filled by American interests. Europe tried to defend itself by import quotas, currency-flow blocks, export counterthrusts aimed at America, and state-sponsored programs to nurture local filmmaking talent. Each effort is lucidly described and its consequence revealed to be an equivocal scheme that may have worked in the last generation, but may no longer apply today.

While European nations improve their mechanisms for adjusting a national film culture by centralized means, America has yet to initiate such mechanisms. In his conclusion, Professor Guback resists the temptation to call for the use of cure-alls. For the individual reader interested in film industry management, he has provided a clear record of how existing schemes work.

Film company presidents, Congress and foundations are examining problem areas and encountering pleas for "Eady Plans" (production subsidy), anti-trust suits, censorship, and a halt to "runaway production." Now, Dr. Guback's study provides them with a fair-minded and impeccably documented overview of many of the pitfalls and pleasures in store for the American film industry in the 1970's.

Center for Advanced Film Studies
The American Film Institute

Richard Kahlenberg
Administrative Director

Walter B. Emery. **NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF BROADCASTING.** East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1969.

Anyone with an interest in foreign broadcasting will greet with enthusiasm the publication of NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF BROADCASTING. While it isn't the only book on foreign broadcasting to appear in print recently (there are two others), it is unquestionably the most comprehensive, and should prove an invaluable textbook or reference work for some time to come.

Only a few years ago, information on foreign broadcasting was virtually non-existent. Because American broadcasters expressed little interest in developments abroad, the trade press devoted little space or attention to broadcasting anywhere but in the United States. Of course, many people in and around broadcasting (and in academic circles) were somewhat familiar with the BBC, an organization that exercised a compelling fascination for critics of the American commercial system. Two scholarly works on British broadcasting by Professor Burton Paulu, published in the 1950's, constituted the only books available about foreign broadcasting.

Despite the lack of adequate source material, foreign broadcasting has held an exotic appeal for students of broadcasting in American colleges and universities. More than 30 institutions offer courses in international or comparative broadcasting, usually with healthy enrollments. But the effectiveness of such courses has always been hampered by the absence of suitable textbooks, and of reliable, up-to-date information about broadcasting in other countries.

In the last three years, the situation has changed radically. First came the publication of TELEVISION: A WORLD VIEW, by ex-USIA officer Wilson Dizard, to provide a highly readable account of the rapidly expanding influence of television abroad, especially in developing countries. One year later, veteran author-researcher Paulu published RADIO AND TELEVISION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, an authoritative treatise covering facilities, structure, finances, and programming on a comparative basis. Now, Dr. Emery further narrows the information gap with his NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF BROADCASTING, which comprises information on 27 national systems and a wealth of additional material.

The book is divided into two main parts. The first section deals with national systems on a country-by-country basis, detailing the history, operation, and control of broadcasting in each country. In the second part, "International Systems," Doctor Emery describes the structure and function of each of the international organizations concerned with broadcasting; analyzes American official and quasi-official broadcasting activities in the international sphere; and examines the problem of "pirate" broadcasting stations and international legal efforts to exercise control over such enterprises. Included also is an extensive collection of documents concerned with broadcasting in selected foreign countries.

While most of the material included in the book is the result of research by the author in 22 European countries, and an earlier trip to Mexico, additional breadth has been added through the use of guest contributors who offer special expertise in given areas. In this way, Doctor Emery was able to add Japan, Communist China, India, and a special survey of broadcasting in the developing countries in Africa.

As a textbook, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF BROADCASTING may have some shortcomings, but as a reference work it is a "must" for every broadcasting library. I hope that a companion volume covering the "rest of the world" will be the next project undertaken by Dr. Emery.

Boston University Robert E. Summers

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