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MEDIA



by JAMES W. HIPP

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OVERVIEW

Not a Revolution. In the media, if not in other segments of American life, the 1960s were a decade of consolidation, not revolution. After the radical change brought about by television in the 1950s, the next decade was consumed with evolutionary change as television and radio broadcasters, newspaper and magazine publishers, and the general public attempted to come to terms with the revolution they had made in the previous decade.

Technical Problems. The television industry saw two new technological wrinkles come into widespread use, but neither was a new idea. By the end of the decade the majority of programs were broadcast in color, even if in 1967 only 15 percent of American homes were equipped with color television. UHF-band broadcasting was also given the regulatory go-ahead, though it was still looked down upon as a poor substitute for VHF broadcasting.

Content, or the Lack Thereof. Whatever the technical format of the broadcasting, the content of the programs being shown became a center of controversy during the decade. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) chairman Newton Minow came into office in 1961 with a strong condemnation of the poor quality of most television programs. Network officials responded that they only gave the audience what it wanted. And it apparently did not want the level of cultural broadcasting that Minow and other critics desired.

Public Television. One solution, if not the one Minow advocated, was the formation of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) in 1967. Up and running by 1969, PBS and the programs funded by the CPB gave viewers alternatives to network broadcasting that were not otherwise available until the rise of cable in the 1980s. Children's television was one of the prime concerns of the CPB, one of its first programs being Sesame Street. The woeful level of children's programming on the networks was a topic late in the decade, but not until the 1970s was it seriously addressed.

Social Issues. With the social turmoil of the 1960s — the assassinations, the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War protests, the youth culture — television was compelled to address the issues facing the American public. Black Americans gained a more prominent posi-

tion on television during the decade, as did young people. Most critics pointed out that television did a poor job in its attempts at investigating and explaining social problems but that the society at large did not do a good job either. But the goal of bringing more segments of the American public into the world of television was a new and laudable one, however imperfectly realized.

Rise of Television News. The 1960s were the decade of television news. Beginning with President John F. Kennedy, presidential press conferences began to be held according to the needs of television, a change that did not enthrall the print journalists. But even they had to recognize the superiority of television's coverage of the 1963 assassination of Kennedy. The five days of almost-continuous coverage given by the networks to the events surrounding Kennedy's death, the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald, and the Kennedy funeral had a drama and immediacy that other media could not come close to matching.

Radio. Other big news events throughout the decade—the Vietnam War, the *Apollo* moon landings—played to the strengths of television and reduced the relative stature that other media had historically enjoyed. Radio, which had for decades been the medium of immediacy, found itself becoming what Newton Minow called "publicly franchised jukeboxes." Helped by the development of the transistor and the truly portable radio set, most radio programmers adapted well to the medium's changed role of providing musical entertainment to young people and automobile drivers.

The Plight of Newspapers. Newspapers, however, were still struggling both with their mission in a world with television and the economics of their changing business. Faced with an audience which now had many more choices for news and entertainment, newspapers also were hit with rising production costs, stubborn unions, and a changing newspaper market. Newspapers found that they were outclassed by television as immediate news outlets and by radio and television as entertainment and as advertising outlets. During the decade most newspaper markets underwent severe rationalization; in New York the number of major daily newspapers shrank from seven in 1959 to three in 1967. Total newspaper circulation in

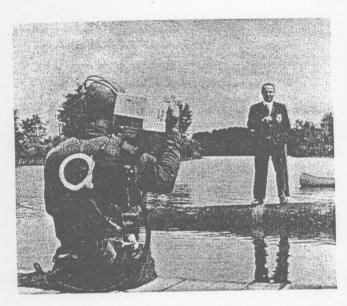
the city was reduced during the same period from 5.1 million to 3.5 million. Total circulation for all newspapers in the United States rose slightly to 62.1 million by 1971 but remained stagnant thereafter. Small-town newspapers were responsible for much of this growth, so larger newspapers were left with a smaller slice of the circulation pie.

Magazines. Magazines faced many of the same troubles as newspapers. By the 1950s and 1960s general-interest magazines were no longer thought of as a major source of entertainment for the general public, despite the fact that circulations had remained steady. As a result, advertising became harder to attract in competition with television and radio. Magazines were also troubled with rising costs at a time when revenues were stagnant. One of the best-known American magazines, the Saturday Evening Post, disappeared in 1969, a victim not of a lack of quality but of the public's and advertisers' lack of interest. The great age of the general-interest magazine was over; successful publications were either those which ser-

viced niche markets — such as *Penthouse*, the English soft pornography magazine — or those, like the newsmagazines, which served more utilitarian purposes. The major newsmagazines — *Time* and *Newsweek* — continued to flourish, both part of media empires: *Time*, part of Henry Luce's Time-Life; and *Newsweek*, since 1961 part of Katherine and Philip Graham's Washington Post Company.

The World to Come. Change is constant, though the nature of that change is variable. Just as the revolutionary change of the 1950s had its origins in developments in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, events in the 1960s would not have their full impact until the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The launch of the *Telstar* and *Early Bird* satellites affected the media in the 1960s, but it would be the 1970s and 1980s before opportunities for global broadcasting would be more fully realized. The regulatory mess with UHF broadcasting would affect the development of cable television in the 1980s. The ultimate effects of media changes in the 1960s have yet to be felt fully.

TOPICS IN THE NEWS



Jim McKay, host of ABC's Wide World of Sports, at the World Lumberjack Championships

ABC'S WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS

No Viewers. Premiering in April 1961 as a summer replacement series, ABC's Wide World of Sports later became the first year-round weekly sports series on network television. Choosing to show sporting events that were uncommon for television at the time — auto racing at Le Mans, soccer in Great Britain, track in the Soviet Union — ABC's Wide World of Sports was an immediate critical success that attracted little or no viewer support in its first season.

Arledge. The man behind the show was executive producer Roone Arledge, who had joined ABC Sports as a field producer of NCAA Football in 1960. This assignment gave Arledge the idea of a "sports potpourri" to fill the network void when college football games were blacked out locally. ABC brass responded positively to the idea because, although initially the sporting events were to be taped and shown with a week's delay, commercial satellites were to be launched in the mid 1960s and the experience gained from producing ABC's Wide World of Sports would be invaluable in presenting live sporting events.

Regular Slot. After its short run from April to September 1961, ABC's Wide World of Sports returned to the air in January 1962 in its regular Saturday-afternoon time slot. Among its first shows in 1962 were water-ski championships from Acapulco, Mexico; surfing from Hawaii; and the Grand National horse race from Aintree, England. Arledge was given the opportunity to develop innovative production techniques that made ABC a leader in sports television. The ninety-minute weekly shows were in the beginning produced on a fifty-thousand-dollar budget, each sporting event edited down to eight-to ten-minute segments of highlights.

World Sports. Producer Arledge, announcer Jim McKay, and production assistant (later producer) Chuck Howard traveled around the world searching for the types of events that became a trademark of *ABC's Wide World of Sports:* cliff diving from Mexico, demolition derbies, European skiing, dog-sled racing, and such. The show became a Saturday-afternoon institution and Arledge a powerful executive at ABC.

Olympics. In 1965 he was promoted to vice-president in charge of sports programming, winning the rights for the network to broadcast both the winter and summer Olympics in 1968. In 1967 The New York Times television critic Jack Gould praised ABC by saying that their "expertise clearly shows that the coverage of sports on TV can be increasingly inventive, and perhaps also teach a lesson or two to the producer of entertainment programming." Arledge was named president of ABC Sports in 1968.

Sports Strategy. ABC's Wide World of Sports raised the level of sports programming and showed the networks that it could be an integral part of their scheduling and business strategies. Arledge was a visionary in the television business, and ABC's Wide World of Sports was his first great triumph.

Sources:

"Shoot Craps," Newsweek, 59 (1 January 1962): 52;

Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kitross, Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting, second edition (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1990);

Huntington Williams, Beyond Control: ABC and the Fate of the Networks (New York: Atheneum, 1989).

"A VAST WASTELAND"

Federal Communications Chairman Newton Minow's address to the 39th Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters on 9 May 1961 started a fire of controversy over the content of broadcast television. Minow's characterization of early 1960s programming as "a vast wasteland" entered the public language.

When television is good, nothing — not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers — nothing is better.

But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I invite you to sit down in front of your television set when your station goes on the air and stay there without a book, magazine, newspaper, profit-and-loss sheet or rating book to distract you — and keep your eyes glued to that set until the station signs off. I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.

You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience-participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, Western badmen, Western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials — many screaming, cajoling and offending. And most of all, boredom. True, you will see a few things you will enjoy. But they will be very, very few. And if you think I exaggerate, try it.

Is there one person in this room who claims that broadcasting can't do better?

Well, a glance at next season's proposed programming can give us little heart. Of seventy-three and a half hours of prime evening time, the networks have tentatively scheduled fifty-nine hours to categories of "action-adventure," situation comedy, variety, quiz and movies.

Is there one network president in this room who claims he can't do better?

Well, is there at least one network president who believes that the other networks can't do better?

Gentlemen, your trust accounting with your beneficiaries is overdue.

Source: Newton Minow, Equal Time: The Private Broadcaster and the Public Interest, edited by Lawrence Laurent (New York: Atheneum, 1964), pp. 52-53.

BLACKS ON TELEVISION

First Attempts. The civil rights struggles of the 1950s finally began to filter into the television industry during the 1960s. NBC had broadcast *The Nat King Cole Show* in 1956 and 1957, but southern stations refused to broadcast it, and it was canceled. The new decade saw an increase in roles for black actors, such as the guest-star roles for a couple on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. Rob Petrie mistakenly believes that his son, Richie, has been accidentally switched at birth and tracks down the couple he believes has his son. The couple turns out to be attractive, middle class, and black.

Bill Cosby. In 1965 NBC paired Robert Culp with black actor Bill Cosby in *I Spy*, an adventure-intrigue show. The easy rapport between Culp and Cosby and the relationship of Cosby's character to Culp's (Culp played a professional tennis star, and Cosby was his trainer-masseur) defused the potential for controversy. The first network show to star a single black character was *Julia*, which premiered on NBC on 17 September 1968, starring Diahann Carroll as a widowed nurse with a young son. Though it was one of the first shows to employ black writers, the show's plots did not accomplish much more than presenting white middle-class concerns with a black character. Despite criticisms by black critics of the show's lack of realism, *Julia* was still a breakthrough.

Positive Change. Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In featured black comedians, the best known being Flip Wilson. Wilson had his own show on NBC beginning in 1970, and it was briefly at the top of the ratings. The first black family on a prime-time soap opera, Peyton Place, made its appearance in 1968. The Mod Squad, featuring Clarence Williams III as one of the three-member squad, premiered in September 1968. Other black characters were included in Mission Impossible, Land of the Giants, Star Trek, Mannix, Ironside, and Hogan's Heroes.

Problem Areas. Although roles for blacks on television increased during the decade, there was still little programming intended for the black community. Of the 1,135 hours of television programming broadcast monthly by the major national networks in 1969, only one hour — occupied by the monthly Black Journal on public television — was intended for the black audience. There were local, mainly public-affairs shows which attempted to fill the need for black programming — Black on Black in Syracuse, Inside Bedford Stuyvesant in New York, For Blacks Only and Our People in Chicago, Johnan Caravan in South Carolina — but there were few entertainment shows which spoke directly and solely to a black audience.

Network Myopia. The television networks saw the problem in racial terms: white audiences would not watch characters who were different from themselves, and black audiences were not large enough to support shows designed only for them. Paul Morash, executive producer of *Peyton Place*, described the network's solution: "All the



Protesters in the March on Washington decrying the lack of black television shows

Negroes I've seen on TV are colorless — absolutely devoid of character, humor or idiom. They are prideless Negroes, castrated men and desexed females. These people are really gilded Rochesters [Jack Benny's comedic manservant]." Harry Belafonte agreed that "For the shuffling, simple-minded Amos-and-Andy type of Negro, TV has substituted a new one-dimensional Negro without reality."

Problems of Society. At bottom the problem was that white, middle-class America did not know enough about black society to judge whether a representation was unrealistic or offensive. The one-dimensional Negro was reality for most white Americans; a realistic portrayal of black America was seemingly beyond the capabilities of network television. The more "realistic" black shows of the 1970s created their own set of problems and questions about perception. Television, as is any other form of popular entertainment, is an imperfect mirror of the society that produces it. The problems of race and television in the 1960s were manifestations of the larger struggles occurring in other segments of society.

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Louie Robinson, "TV Discovers the Black Man," Ebony, 24 (February 1969): 27–30.

CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

A National Beginning. In 1966 there were 114 educational-television stations, up from 52 in 1961. But they remained struggling local stations with little money and almost no national, quality programming. In 1967

the tide began to turn with two events. The first was the start of the *Public Broadcasting Laboratory (PBL)*, an experimental news and features broadcast funded by the Ford Foundation and broadcast on educational television for two hours on Sunday evenings. The second was the publication of *Public Television: A Program for Action*, a report by the Carnegie Commission on the future of educational television.

Commitment of Ford. While the programming produced by the *PBL* was widely derided as boring and without any real signifigance, the project underscored the commitment of the Ford Foundation to public broadcasting. From 1951 to 1977 the Ford Foundation donated more than \$292 million to public radio and television, helping to support stations and to fund programming.

Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. President Lyndon B. Johnson used the Carnegie report as the basis for legislative proposals to create a national system of public broadcasting. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 became law in November 1967. The most important part of the legislation created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB). The purpose of the CPB was to funnel money from the federal government to educational television stations and to underwrite programming. The initial funding by Congress was \$5 million.

John W. Macy. John W. Macy was named chief executive of the CPB in 1969. His first programming project was the Children's Television Workshop, which was formed to develop educational shows for children. The first product of the workshop was *Sesame Street*, which premiered on 10 November 1969 and quickly became a favorite of children and television critics.

Public Broadcasting System. The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) was created by CPB in 1969 to aid in



Sesame Street

connecting the educational-television stations. Along with the Ford Foundation, PBS helped create a network of program distribution; one of its goals was to help local stations create their own programs which could then be shared with other stations and broadcast nationally. PBS helped to raise the quality of programming seen on public television and to standardize what was shown across the country.

Slow Support. While widespread viewer support and a large audience would be slow in coming for public television, the passage of the Public Broadcasting Act was a watershed in establishing government support for quality television. While it had little direct effect on the overall quality of television, the CPB at least helped guarantee an outlet for programming not regarded as commercially viable.

Sources:

"Future of Non-Commercial TV: Exclusive Interview with John Macy, Corporation for Public Broadcasting," U.S. News and World Report, 67 (8 December 1969): 94–97;

"Meatier than Bonanza," Business Week (4 November 1967): 38; "Whither Public TV?," Newsweek, 73 (21 April 1969): 104.

DEATH OF THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Venerable Institution. When the Saturday Evening Post ceased publication with the 8 February 1969 issue, one of the most venerable institutions of American magazine publishing fell victim to the changing media land-scape of the post-World War II era.

Middle-class America. The Saturday Evening Post claimed ancestry from the 1729 founding by Benjamin Franklin of the Pennsylvania Gazette. The Saturday Evening Post was, for almost sixty years, the most successful

general-interest weekly magazine in the United States. The magazine had first reached its position as a magazine leader under the editorship of George Horace Lorimer, who held that post from 1899 until 1937. During Lorimer's tenure the Saturday Evening Post published fiction by Harold Frederic, Ring Lardner, Jack London, Joseph Conrad, William Faulkner, Stephen Crane, Thomas Wolfe, James Branch Cabell, P. G. Wodehouse, Rudyard Kipling, William Dean Howells, and F. Scott Fitzgerald. The mix of quality fiction, good reporting, and nonjingoistic Americanism made the Saturday Evening Post into the widely recognized voice of middle-class America. President Franklin Roosevelt was said to read the Saturday Evening Post when he wanted to find out what the middle class was thinking. In 1952 circulation was 4.2 million readers for the five-cent magazine.

Decline of the Mass-market Magazine. But the 1950s were the high-water mark for the mass-market magazines. As more televisions were sold and more and more television stations went on the air with broadcasts, the nature of American entertainment changed radically. Mass-market magazines fought television by trying to increase circulation, but this in turn raised the price of ads for companies who might advertise. In the mid 1950s the advertising base for the Saturday Evening Post was reduced when a full-page ad cost forty thousand dollars. By the end of the 1950s the Curtis Publishing Company, which owned the Ladies' Home Journal, Holiday, and American Home in addition to the Saturday Evening Post, had severe financial problems despite the fact that circulation and ad revenue at its magazine holdings were at all-time highs.

Last Try. From 1960 through 1963 Curtis was losing great amounts of money. The board of directors, which

MAGAZINE LIFE

Willie Morris's recollections of when he was hired to be an editor at *Harper's* magazine in 1963 give a glimpse of the New York magazine world as its old ways were dying and the new ways were yet to emerge.

Then abruptly, he [Harper's editor in chief John Fischer] asked:

"How would you like to come to work at Harper's?"

"To do what?"

"To be an editor. You've had some sturdy editorial experience, you've been around the country, your writing is adequate and sometimes better than adequate. We can't pay much, but if you're fool enough to want to live in New York, it'll get you by."

"How much?" I asked.

"\$115 a week to start, and more if you work out."

\$115 a week! I had been making more than that on the *Texas Observer*, and New York was rumored to be the most expensive city in Christendom. I said this, diplomatically, adding that I had a wife, and a young son who are enough to keep three doberman-pinchers in good health.

Fischer relented, went up to \$125, and said he would give me a thousand dollars to help me get settled in the city. "And if you don't like it," he said, "try it a month or so, and you can leave with no hard feelings."

"When do I start?," I asked.

"As soon as you want. Find an apartment first if you wish." He paused, waving goodbye to a publisher. "There's only one other problem, and that's space. I don't know where the hell we're going to put you. Every inch of space is taken up in the office. We'll just have to move you around until there's a permanent place." For some reason I thought he might be joking until I started to work several days later. I worked in a hallway, in an alcove, and one week in a kind of a large linen closet, carrying my manuscripts from place to place. But even the linen closet turned out to have better acreage than the reporters had at the *New York Times*.

Source: Willie Morris, North Toward Home (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).

included no members with any hands-on magazine experience, was unsure of what to do. In 1964, reacting to the demands of the staff, the board hired William A. Emerson as editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. He would be its last. His introduction as editor made clear the plight of the magazine:

My name is William A. Emerson, Jr. I am the new editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*. I stand before you perfectly equipped to be the editor of the *Post* because the "A" in my name stands for Appomattox. My family have been losers for generations.

Old Vision. Yet economics was not the only problem at the Saturday Evening Post. Its optimistic picture of a self-confident America was at odds with the changing tenor of the times. The Vietnam War, the civil rights struggle, and the cold war all combined to make the Norman Rockwell view of the United States — Rockwell painted Saturday Evening Post covers — seem a bit naive. Technology and a changing society and world had made a great institution dispensable.

Sources:

"Death of an Institution," Newsweek, 73 (20 January 1969): 52-53;

Michael M. Mooney, "The Death of the Post," Atlantic Monthly, 224 (November 1969): 70–76;

David Schanche, "We Call on the Saturday Evening Post — For the Last Time," Esquire, 72 (November 1969): 40-60.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1960S

Struggle and Decline. The decade of the 1960s was one of continued struggle and decline for newspapers. In 1909 there were 689 cities in the United States that had competing daily newspapers; by 1963 that number had shrunk to 55. Among major cities that number was down to 20. Over 1,400 cities had only one newspaper or two papers owned by the same publisher. Chains such as Scripps-Howard, Hearst, Newhouse, Knight, and Cox bought up papers around the country, having the effect of making newspapers more alike editorially regardless of the competitive status. Also people began to move outside the cities to the suburbs, taking away circulation and targets of advertisers.

Competition. Newspapers in the 1950s and 1960s performed three functions for the public: they provided news information, they provided entertainment, and they were advertising vehicles. The decline of a competitive news environment was a product of the rise of television journalism, as network and local-affiliate news became the new competitive forces. Television obviously provided an entertainment medium more conducive to the general public. As an outlet for advertisers, the new vitality of radio along with television took away many of the advertisers the newspapers relied upon. In 1950 local radio had advertising revenues of \$273 million; in 1965 this figure had increased to \$889 million. Television ad receipts increased from \$171 million in 1950 to \$2.5 billion in 1965. Newspaper ads increased from \$2.1 bil-

PANCAKE OR BAREFACED

The televised debates between Vice-president Richard Nixon and Senator John Kennedy in 1960 changed forever the form and content of national elections in the United States. For the first time a candidate's attractiveness on television was the ammunition for a political attack. Nixon's poor makeup — an aide plastered his face to cover up his naturally heavy beard — made him appear washed out compared to the youthful, tan-faced Kennedy. Many commentators have claimed that Nixon lost the election because of his appearance. Indeed, Kennedy used the vice-president's appearance as campaign fodder throughout the rest of the election.

At a campaign stop in New Mexico, Kennedy responded to Nixon's claims that the senator was a barefaced liar:

Two days ago, the Republican candidate, Mr. Nixon, quoted me as having said that the Republicans had always opposed Social Security, and in that wonderful choice of words which distinguishes him as a national leader, he asserted that this was a barefaced lie. Having seen him four times close up in this campaign, and made-up, I would not accuse Mr. Nixon of being barefaced — but I think the American people next Tuesday can determine who is telling the truth.

Source: Joseph P. Berry, John F. Kennedy and the Media: The First Television President (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), pp. 125-126.

lion to \$4.4 billion. But this revenue was spread among 1,751 daily papers and 562 Sunday papers as against only 604 television stations.

Paring Down. Cities were increasingly left with one newspaper because that was all that the city could support economically. Cities such as New York saw the number of daily newspapers drop because the major advertisers — such as Macy's or Bloomingdale's — could no longer afford to buy huge advertising spreads in both The New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, for example. New York papers were also faced with union troubles, some papers having to deal with as many as ten unions when renegotiating a contract. While other cities, such as Nashville, Miami, and Tucson, had competing papers functioning under joint operating agreement — in which they shared production facilities — New York unions threatened strikes to prevent the reduction in labor that would result from such a move.

New York. The practical costs of this operating environment showed up in the stories of failed papers across the country. The most famous, and possibly best, newspaper to fold was the New York Herald Tribune, which finally succumbed to a long illness on 24 August 1966. The New York Herald Tribune was founded as the New York Herald in 1835 and merged with the Horace Greeley-founded New York Tribune in 1924. During its prime, as Jimmy Breslin writes, "It was a fatter and far betterwritten paper than the [New York] Times." Its list of contributors included John O'Hara, Walter Kerr, Richard Harding Davis, Walter Lippmann, Red Smith, Art Buchwald, and Joseph Alsop.

Strikes. The decline of the paper was due to mismanagement after the death of owner-editor Ogden Reid in 1947. In an attempt to compete with television, the new owners, Reid's widow and two sons, adulterated the editorial program of the paper, at one time placing a gossip column on page 1. The cachet of the New York Herald Tribune slowly evaporated, and financial losses mounted. U.S. ambassador to Great Britain John Hay ("Jock") Whitney bought the paper in 1958 and slowly began to rebuild it, both its circulation and its editorial base. By 1962 circulation was up to 411,000 and gaining 1,000 per week. Then in 1962 the head of the printers' union called a strike that lasted 114 days; when it ended, circulation was crippled and annual losses ran to \$5 million.

Merger. In April 1966 the New York Herald Tribune was merged with two troubled afternoon dailies, the New York World-Telegram & Sun (itself a merged paper) and the New York Journal-American. On 24 April 1966 another strike started and lasted 113 days; the New York

WHAT'S GOOD FOR THE GOOSE?

In August 1962 the Soviet Union purchased advertising space in three American and four foreign newspapers to reprint Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev's speech to the Soviet Peace Congress. For \$32,500 the Soviets had the speech printed in the New York Herald Tribune, the Kansas City Star, the San Francisco News-Call Bulletin, the Montreal (Canada) Star, the Ottawa (Canada) Journal, the Winnipeg (Canada) Free Press, and the Manchester (England) Guardian.

The Washington Post was also approached to run the text of the speech. The Post instead offered to run the speech in its news columns at no cost if a Soviet newspaper would agree to run President John F. Kennedy's speech on disarmament given that month to the United Nations General Assembly. The Soviets never replied to the offer by the Post.

Herald Tribune was never again published. The paper that did remain, called the New York World-Journal-Tribune, lasted only until 1967. There were scattered successes among the failures. New York Newsday, founded in 1940 and actually published on Long Island to serve the suburban community, took much of the circulation and advertising revenue from the city dailies.

Lower Quality. Competition among the newspapers and with television and radio had the effect of lowering the quality of the major papers. Many executives believed that a national paper might succeed where a large city daily did not. The New York Times began a national edition, and the Wall Street Journal became a national business paper by establishing printing and distribution centers in eight locations across the country. The publisher of the Wall Street Journal, Dow-Jones, started the National Observer, a general-interest weekly paper, in 1962, but it failed to generate the huge circulation expected and was closed. It took until the 1980s and the Gannett group's USA Today to strike the right formula for a national general-interest paper.

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- "What's Happening to Newspapers," U.S. News and World Report, 54 (28 January 1963): 81-82;
- "When Unions Killed a Major Newspaper," U.S. News and World Report, 61 (29 August 1966): 70-72;
- "Winds of Change for Newspapers," U.S. News and World Report, 60 (25 April 1966): 67-69.

NEWSWEEK PURCHASED

Powerhouse. The purchase of Newsweek magazine by the Washington Post Company on 9 March 1961 created a formidable print-news company. The Washington Post, already powerful as the leading morning newspaper in the U.S. capital, bought the second most read newsmagazine in the country. In January 1961 Newsweek had a circulation of more than 1.4 million, second only to Henry Luce's Time.

Death of Astor. Newsweek had been controlled by philanthropist Vincent Astor. On his death in 1959 his controlling 59 percent stock interest was transferred to the Astor Foundation, which soon began quietly to look for a buyer. The magazine had been founded in 1933 as News-Week. Astor had acquired his interest in 1937 through a merger with his magazine, Today.

TOP-RATED TV SHOWS, 1960S

1960-1961

- 1. Gunsmoke (CBS)
- 2. Wagon Train (NBC)
- 3. Have Gun Will Travel (CBS)
- 4. The Andy Griffith Show (CBS)
- 5. The Real McCoys (ABC)
- 6. Rawhide (CBS)
- 7. Candid Camera (CBS)
- 8. The Untouchables (ABC)
- 9. The Price is Right (NBC)
- 10. The Jack Benny Show (CBS)

1964-1965

- 1. Bonanza (CBS)
- 2. Bewitched (ABC)
- 3. Gomer Pyle (U.S.M.C.) (CBS)
- 4. The Andy Griffith Show (CBS)
- 5. The Fugitive (ABC)
- 6. The Red Skelton Hour (CBS)
- 7. The Dick Van Dyke Show (CBS)
- 8. The Lucy Show (CBS)
- 9. Peyton Place II (ABC)
- 10. Combat (ABC)

1968-1969

- 1. Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In (NBC)
- 2. Gomer Pyle (U.S.M.C.) (CBS)
- 3. Bonanza (CBS)
- 4. Mayberry R.F.D. (CBS)
- 5. Family Affair (CBS)
- 6. Gunsmoke (CBS)
- 7. Julia (NBC)
- 8. The Dean Martin Show (NBC)
- 9. Here's Lucy (CBS)
- 10. The Beverly Hillbillies (CBS)

Philip Graham. The negotiating force at the Washington Post was Philip Graham, who had gained his position at the newspaper by marrying Katherine Meyer, the daughter of the owner of the Washington Post, in 1940. Graham became publisher at the Washington Post in 1946. Under his tenure the circulation of the newspaper

doubled to four hundred thousand from 1946 to 1956. He also established a strong editorial team at the paper, knowing that a newspaper in the capital had a special burden. The Grahams were strongly partisan Democrats but worked hard to maintain the paper's editorial independence: the *Washington Post* endorsed no candidate in the 1960 presidential election.

The Sale. Graham paid \$8 million to the Astor Foundation for its Newsweek stock but eventually paid almost \$15 million for all the remaining interests. At the contract signing with the Astor group, Graham quipped that he did not know how to write the \$2 million earnest check: "I didn't know how the hell to add zeroes after the two million, so I just wrote 'two million dollars' and went squiggle-squiggle with the pen." In addition to Newsweek the Washington Post also acquired in the deal a television station, giving the company stations in the capital, Florida, and Connecticut.

New Team. Graham quickly began putting his own editorial team in place at *Newsweek*, promoting Osborn Elliott from managing editor to editor even before the sale was closed. Most of the *Newsweek* staff members were offered new jobs at the magazine or in Washington with the paper. Walter Lippmann was hired to contribute a column, a move that enhanced the magazine's prestige.

Suicide. Graham suffered periodic bouts of manic-depressive illness that brought on erratic behavior. He once threatened to divorce his wife to deprive her and their four children of the Washington Post Company. On 3 August 1963 he shot himself after spending six weeks at a psychiatric hospital. Katherine Graham took over the job of running the Washington Post Company and quickly became an aggressive manager. In 1965 she brought Benjamin Bradlee from *Newsweek* to be the executive editor of the newspaper.

Reputation. The purchase of *Newsweek* added to the reputation of the *Washington Post* as one of the most powerful newspapers in the world and confirmed that the Grahams were a force to be reckoned with, not only in Washington but also in New York. More important, the acquisition increased the amount of editorial talent available to both publications. Over the years *Newsweek* continued to trail *Time* in circulation, but many critics considered it the stronger magazine editorially.

Sources:

"Magazine for Sale," Time, 77 (27 January 1961): 44;

"Newsweek's News," Time, 77 (17 March 1961): 67;

"Restless Publisher: Philip Leslie Graham," New York Times, 10 March 1961, p. 17;

Harrison E. Salisbury, "Washington Post Buys Newsweek," New York Times, 10 March 1961, p. 17.

NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

Starting Up. First published in February 1963 during a New York newspaper strike, the New York Review of

CRONKITE DECLARES STALEMATE

When Walter Cronkite returned from Vietnam in March 1968, after viewing the situation on the ground following the February Tet offensive, the news anchor went on the air to express his editorial opinion about the American war effort. He first hosted a special report on the war Tuesday evening, 5 March 1968, and then read a personal statement on the CBS Evening News on 6 March 1968. It was the latter statement that had the greater impact.

We have been too often disappointed by the optimism of the American leaders, both in Vietnam and in Washington, to have faith any longer in the silver linings they find in darkest clouds. . . . It seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience in Vietnam is to end in a stalemate.

It is increasingly clear to this reporter that the only rational way out then will be to negotiate, not as victors, but as an honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy, and did the best they could.

Cronkite's statement shocked the American public, and many scholars have traced the public's growing opposition to the war to Cronkite's disillusioned editorial. President Lyndon Johnson is said to have been influenced by the statement enough not to run for reelection. The political import was reminiscent of Edward R. Murrow's 1954 See It Now program on Joseph McCarthy, which was instrumental in changing the tide of McCarthyism. The direct response of the television news media in a political question had the long-term effect of reducing the credibility of the media, even if it did not injure Cronkite's reputation.

Books was intended to fill the void left by the absence of the reviews usually published by The New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune. It was also intended as a corrective to the intellectually shallow commentary contained in newspaper reviews. As critic Edmund Wilson wrote in the New York Review of Books in September 1963, "The disappearance of the Times Sunday book section at the time of the printers' strike only made us realize it had never existed." The first issue of the journal was intended to be the only one, but after nearly one hundred thousand copies were sold, the backers decided to publish

a second issue in May 1963. The success of the two issues convinced the journal's backers to continue publication semimonthly.

Social Turmoil. Jason Epstein, an editor at Random House, developed the idea for the New York Review of Books. His wife, Barbara, and Robert Silvers, a former editor at Harper's magazine, have edited the New York Review of Books since it was founded. The social chaos in the United States over the Vietnam War led the elitist but left-leaning New York Review of Books to adopt surprisingly revolutionary attitudes and radical causes. The Weathermen and the Black Panther party were two of its causes célèbres in the late 1960s. The most famous, and notorious, New York Review of Books cover was a diagram of how to make a Molotov cocktail. As the New Left and radical movements disintegrated in the early 1970s, the magazine returned to its left-wing, literary, nonviolent politics.

Fragmentation. The success of the New York Review of Books in the early 1960s was a symptom of the failing power of mainstream media outlets, newspapers especially, to continue to connect with a society that, as a whole, was becoming more fragmented with fewer shared interests.

Sources:

Joseph Epstein, "Thirty Years of the 'New York Review,' " Commentary, 96 (December 1993): 39-43;

"Good Bet for a Baltic Baron," Time, 81 (31 May 1963): 51;

Philip Nobile, Intellectual Skywriting: Literary Politics & The New York Review of Books (New York: Charterhouse, 1974).

BROADCASTIN	G STAT	ISTICS,	1965
	AM	FM	TV
Number of Commercial Stations	4,019	1,270	569
Number of Noncommercial Stations	25	255	99
Total Stations	4,044	1,525	668
Network Affiliates	1,302	NA	516
Broadcast Employees	62,607 Combined		47,753
% of Households with Sets	97	40	93

RADIO IN THE 1960S

Growing. The 1960s were a decade of change for radio. Having weathered the challenge of television in the 1950s, something that most observers said was unlikely, radio was growing as an industry in the 1960s, even if individual stations faced struggles.

New Role. But radio was no longer the national entertainment medium it had been in the 1930s and 1940s, playing network programs of comedy, drama, information, and music. Starting in 1948 with the advent of network television, the networks transferred many of their popular radio shows and their stars over to television. Jack Benny, Lucille Ball, Amos 'n' Andy, and dozens of other stars and shows ended up on the visual medium.

Transistors. But radio survived and even prospered. In 1949 there were 80 million radios in the United States. In 1965 there were 228 million. Most of the growth was provided by a 1948 invention at Bell Laboratories, the transistor. This small electronic replacement for vacuum tubes provided the technology for the growth of a new market for radios. Radios in houses and in cars became smaller, better, and cheaper. By 1960 a typical AM/FM radio cost only thirty dollars; an AM-only radio cost fifteen dollars.

Music. These two technologies, television and the transistor, transformed radio. With expensive program development switched to television and millions of automobile commuters in need of entertainment, radio stations turned to music. The most successful format was the Top 40 station, which played only the most popular records listed by *Billboard* magazine. By 1967 the National Association of Music Merchants reported that 90 percent of all radio programming was music.

Commercialism. This 90 percent excluded commercials, which brought impressive revenues as radio audiences grew. In 1963 a radio executive testified before a government committee that twenty-five commercials per hour were not excessive. Former FCC chairman Newton Minow decried in 1965 the chaos of commercialism on the radio:

To twist the radio dial today is to be shoved through a bazaar, a clamorous Casbah of pitchmen and commercials which plead, bleat, pressure, whistle, groan and shout. Too many stations have become publicly franchised jukeboxes.

Disc Jockey. For most stations the glue that held together the incessant mix of music and commercials was the disc jockey, a voice that moved from music to advertisement and back, reminding the listener to what station he or she was tuned. In large markets the deejay could earn up to one hundred thousand dollars annually and become a media star. Murray the K and Klavan and Finch were top deejays in New York, and Bob Crane was the top deejay in Los Angeles. In 1965 Crane left radio to star in the television series *Hogan's Heroes*.

Ethnic Radio. The demise of the national networks, which by the 1960s provided little more than an hourly news break and an occasional sports program, led to the rise of the demographically specific radio station. In addition to stations that catered solely to the young listener with rock 'n' roll music, many stations were in the market for black listeners. For example, in Chicago there were three stations for black listeners: WAAF, which featured jazz and shouts of "Uhuru" (freedom) at the end of its shows; WVON (Voice of the Negro), which played almost entirely music; and WOPA, which ran advertisements tailored to its mostly black, poor audience ("We don't care if you're on ADC [Aid to Dependent Children], just one question: do you want a wig?").

Responding to Society. Radio's success was an example of the power of new technology and the ability of entrepreneurs to adapt to it. It also responded in a telling way to the segmentation of American society.

Sources:

Alfred Bester, "The New Age of Radio," Holiday, 33 (June 1963): 56, 58, 61–62, 64, 87–93, 95–97;

William O'Hallaren, "Radio Is Worth Saving," Atlantic Monthly, 204 (October 1959): 69-72;

"Radio '65: Everyone's Tuned In," Newsweek, 65 (28 June 1965): 80–82;

Desmond Smith, "American Radio Today: The Listener Be Damned," Harper's, 229 (September 1964): 58-63.



Early Bird, the first commercial communications satellite

SATELLITE BROADCASTING

International Broadcasting. On 10 July 1962 the international broadcasting of television signals came closer to reality with the launch of Telstar 1, a fifty-milliondollar communications satellite owned and operated by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T). That same day a picture of an American flag flapping in the breeze was beamed from a television station in Andover, Maine, to Europe. Eleven days later a consortium of the three major television networks broadcast a "picture album" of the United States — the Statue of Liberty, the Golden Gate Bridge, and a herd of buffalo grazing near Mount Rushmore - received by television broadcasters in Great Britain and the European Broadcast Union. The Europeans transmitted pictures of the Roman coliseum, the Louvre, and the British Museum to the United States.

Synchronous Orbit. One year later, on 10 July 1963, CBS showed the potential uses of transatlantic broadcasts when it showed a program called *Town Meeting of the World*, featuring former president Dwight D. Eisenhower, European Common Market founder Jean Monnet, West German parliamentary leader Heinrich von Brentano, and former British prime minister Anthony Eden. Two weeks later the first synchronous-orbit satellite, in step with the rotation of earth, was launched.

Early Bird. In 1965 the first commercial communications satellite, Early Bird, was placed in orbit. The same consortium of broadcasters that broke in Telstar 1 collaborated in the first Early Bird relay. Martin Luther King, Jr., Pope Paul VI, French nuclear scientists, U.S. Marines patrolling in the Dominican Republic, and Houston heart-bypass surgeons were shown across the ocean. The following day American networks were switching so frequently from country to country that John Horn, television critic for the New York Herald Tribune, suggested that they were acting like a "bunch of kids with a new kite."

Dream. Fred W. Friendly, president of CBS News, issued an instruction to his company that, like so many based on principle, was forgotten in the rush for entertainment dollars:

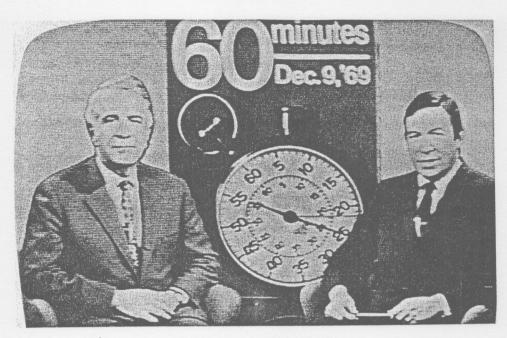
Now that the Bird is working for us, CBS News must now make sure it does not find itself working for the Bird.... There is a natural tendency to show what we can do physically with the satellite, but it is what we do with it as a news instrument that will distinguish CBS News. Let others turn it into a plaything for bland features.... Hard news still counts most.

Source

Edward Bliss, Jr., Now the News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

60 MINUTES

First Television Newsmagazine. The first television newsmagazine show, 60 Minutes, premiered on CBS on



Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace

24 September 1968 as a bimonthly program in the Tuesday night at 10 P.M. slot. Its cohosts during its first years were veteran news reporters Harry Reasoner and Mike Wallace. The 60 Minutes format was the brainchild of CBS Evening News producer Don Hewitt, who saw the program as a "Life magazine of the air." Each hour-long show was divided into three twenty-minute segments, two handled by Wallace and one by Reasoner.

The Interview. The interview subject was the primary segment type, with Wallace and Reasoner featuring during the first year talks with Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver, French-German student radical Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Attorney General John Mitchell, rock singer Janis Joplin, Supreme Court nominee Clement Haynsworth, and My Lai massacre participants Pvt. Paul Meadlo and Capt. Ernest Medina. Some of the segments were criticized as puff pieces, but others, including the show investigating My Lai, were hailed as television journalism at its best. More important, 60 Minutes showed the networks that news could be packaged as entertainment and sold to advertisers and the public.

The Decline of the Documentary. The newsmagazine helped spell the end of the news documentary, a genre of show that was expensive to produce and not popular with viewers or advertisers. The success of 60 Minutes was not lost on the other networks, particularly NBC, which introduced First Tuesday, a two-hour monthly newsmagazine hosted by Sander Vanocur, in January 1969. First Tuesday was ultimately a failure, as were most competing newsmagazine shows until the premiere of 20/20 on ABC in the late 1970s.

Dominance of the Newsmagazine. The effects of the success of 60 Minutes — the show was finally moved to

7:00 P.M. on Sundays in 1975 — were not clear until the 1990s, when newsmagazines were an increasingly dominant programming format; in 1994 there were no fewer than ten prime-time newsmagazine shows broadcast by the three traditional networks, ABC, NBC, and CBS. The blurring of news and entertainment became a more controversial subject as news budgets were slashed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and much of the reputation for news gathering was taken by new outlets such as Cable News Network (CNN). While much of that shift was because of technology, the demands of viewers and the effects of programming shifts — some exemplified by 60 Minutes — also had an important effect.

Sources:

Richard Campbell, 60 Minutes and the News: A Mythology for Middle America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991);

"Cloaking Pitfalls in Smiles," Time, 93 (10 January 1969): 39;

"The Mellowing of Mike Malice," Time, 95 (19 January 1970): 57;

"Merry Magazines," Time, 93 (11 April 1969): 86.

SMOTHERED SMOTHERSES

Censorship. Tom and Dick Smothers, two clean-cut, conservative-looking comedians, became the causes célèbres for civil libertarians in April 1969 when their television show *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* was canceled by CBS, ostensibly because the Smotherses had failed to fulfill their contract obligations to provide entertainment that met the standards set by CBS. The reason put forth by the Smotherses and most independent observers was censorship.

Risqué and Political. The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour premiered on CBS on 5 February 1967 as a midseason replacement. A Sunday-night show competing against the powerful Western Bonanza, the Smothers

THE RED LION CASE

The Supreme Court decision in Red Lion Broad-casting Co. v. FCC on 9 June 1969 institutionalized the modern interpretation of the Fairness Doctrine for radio and television broadcasters, which provided equal time to spokespersons representing conflicting views on political issues. The case arose in 1964 when a radio preacher, Billy James Hargis, used a prerecorded radio program to attack Fred Cook, the author of a book highly critical of Barry Goldwater, the Republican candidate for president. Cook, with Democratic party support, demanded equal time from the almost two hundred stations that broadcast the show to rebut the Hargis charges.

All of the stations except one complied with Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules on fairness. WGCB, a station in the small Pennsylvania town of Red Lion, instead of offering free airtime to Cook, offered to sell commercial time for the rebuttal. Cook complained to the FCC, which ordered the station to provide Cook with airtime. When the station refused, the FCC took the case to court.

After years of making its way through the court system, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the FCC. The decision spelled out the extent to which the federal government could regulate the content of broadcast media. In its ruling the Su-

preme Court gave greater weight to the rights of listeners over the property rights of the owners of broadcast outlets:

It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, [that] is paramount. . . . It is the purpose of the First Amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth will ultimately prevail, rather than to countenance monopolization of that market, whether it be by the Government or a private licensee. . . It is the right of the public to receive suitable access to social, political, esthetic, moral, and other ideas and experiences which is crucial here.

The controversial decision was unpopular with broadcasters, who believed that they had the sole right to decide what they telecast on their own stations. Most public-interest groups applauded the decision as being in the best interests of the people. The Fairness Doctrine put forth in the Red Lion case was abandoned by the FCC in 1987. President Ronald Reagan vetoed legislation that would have codified the doctrine, maintaining that the doctrine actually prohibited free speech by making broadcasters less likely to air controversial material.

Source: Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kitross, Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting, second edition (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1990).

Brothers produced a pleasant surprise by placing often among the top thirty shows in weekly ratings. But the network censors were never happy with the brothers. Their humor was sometimes risqué and always political. The favorite target was President Johnson, and there were also drug references (which the censors at CBS were too staid to recognize), sexual innuendos, and humor at the expense of those who would censor art or stifle creativity.

Defending Cuts. According to the Smotherses, CBS had tampered with 75 percent of their material during the two years of their run. During the 1968–1969 television season the Smotherses had repeatedly asked for guidance on what the network objected to and what it would accept. CBS had repeatedly ignored their request and had instead continued to cut material from the show. In defense of their cuts CBS invoked the National Association of Broadcasters Television Code, a vague list of principles, not rules, that had its origin in the proscriptions of the Catholic Legion of Decency.

False Renewal. On 14 March 1969 the show was renewed by CBS for the 1969–1970 season, yet CBS officials continued to say the future of the show was uncertain. On 27 March the Smotherses received a warning from CBS that if they could not accept network oversight it was their duty to tell the network that they wanted out. It also reminded them that their contract called for delivery of their shows on tape no later than the Wednesday before airdate, a contract that had never been met or enforced. The brothers wired back their happiness at being renewed.

Contract Violation. The tape for the 13 April show was already completed, and CBS informed the brothers that for various reasons the 13 April show would have to be shown on 6 April. The 13 April show contained several provocative pieces — a skit with black singer Nancy Wilson on interracial marriage and a "sermon" on the biblical story of Jonah that maintained that the Gentiles on the boat had behaved characteristically by throwing the nearest available Jew overboard. CBS requested and



Tom and Dick Smothers

received cuts on the material they deemed offensive. On Thursday, 3 April, the Smotherses sent a tape of the show. On 4 April CBS canceled it because the Smotherses had violated their contract by late delivery.

Press Reaction. The reaction of the press was decidedly, if not unanimously, pro-Smothers Brothers. Life intoned that "Such a network can no more lecture us on questions of responsibility and taste than the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society, a militant protest group] can advise us on etiquette." CBS offices and even affiliates were the objects of protests across the country. The Wall Street Journal and The New York Times were among the media outlets weighing in against CBS. Only TV Guide among mainstream publications was against the Smotherses.

Revealing the Limits. By August 1969 Tom Smothers had lined up a syndicated network of stations to broadcast the program, beginning with the canceled 13 April show. By the summer of 1970 ABC had picked up the show but ran it only two months before canceling it. More provocative than Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In, The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour revealed the limits of the networks in terms of political comedy during the turmoil of the late 1960s.

Sources

Nat Hentoff, "Smothers Brothers: Who Controls TV?," Look, 31 (24 June 1969): 27–29;

William Kloman, "The Transmogrification of the Smothers Brothers," Esquire, 72 (October 1969): 148–149, 151, 153, 160, 199–200, 201;

Betty Rollin, "The Smothers Brothers: The Naughtiest Boys on TV," Look, 31 (13 June 1967): 68-69, 71-73;

"The Unsinkable Tom Smothers," *Time*, 94 (29 August 1969): 52–53.

TELEVISION TECHNOLOGY: COLOR AND UHF

Quality and Growth. The 1960s finally saw the resolution of two technical issues and problems that had plagued television since its early development: color broadcasting and ultrahigh frequency (UHF) stations. Their resolution led to an improvement in broadcast quality and growth in the number of television stations.

Old Standards. Color broadcasting was a problem left over from the debate over broadcast technical standards during World War II. CBS, which had no technical patents relating to black-and-white technology, pushed during the mid 1940s for a standard that would have called for color broadcasting, which CBS had developed, and a large number of stations on the UHF band. CBS

CHAIRMAN NEWTON N. MINOW

Federal Communications Commission

MR. CHAIRMAN: We applaud you for your stand requesting manufacturers to produce all 82 channel (UHF-VHF) television receivers.

Emerson Radio (one of the major producers of television in the U.S.A.) now offers an all 82 channel (UHF-VHF) TV set at a price no higher, and in many cases lower, than a 12 channel VHF set.



Newspaper advertisement for VHF-UHF television sets

was opposed by RCA, which had an interest in blackand-white broadcasting and the status quo in regard to the broadcasting band. Joining RCA were the manufacturers of black-and-white and very high frequency (VHF) television sets, who knew that after the war consumers would buy what was available without thought to technological advance.

UHF Stifled. In 1945 the Federal Communications Commission decided that black-and-white television would be standard and that televisions would not be required to carry UHF tuners, effectively stifling that broadcasting frequency. UHF broadcasting would linger in its moribund state until the 1960s.

Government Mandate. A law was finally passed in 1962 that required television manufacturers to include a UHF tuner on every television set beginning in 1964. Still UHF remained a stagnant broadcast band, growing only because the available channels along the VHF band were beginning to become scarce by the mid 1960s. Between 1964 and 1974, 158 new stations went on the air, 111 UHF and only 47 VHF.

Color Freed. The FCC finally approved the CBS system of color broadcasting (which was not compatible with black and white and could not be received on black-and-white televisions) in 1950. In 1953 the order approving CBS color was rescinded, and RCA's system instead was approved, a ruling that recognized the state of the marketplace but also set in concrete somewhat poorer broadcasting standards. NBC, which was owned by RCA, did broadcast some programs in color, but color did not become widespread until the 1960s.

Color Becomes Common. As color television sets became more common in American households, some interesting research was undertaken on the effects on viewers. The networks found people exposed to color programming watched more television and paid more attention to commercials. The networks reacted predictably, and by fall 1965 all three had adopted complete color broadcasting as their goal. The fall 1965 schedule would be 95 percent color on NBC, 50 percent color on CBS, and 40 percent on ABC. By January 1966, 70 percent of all commercials were in color. By the end of that year there were, for the first time, more color televisions than black-and-white televisions being sold. Fifteen percent of

all homes in the United States were equipped with color television in 1967; by 1976 this number had risen to 75 percent.

Evolutionary Change. These technological developments, more evolutionary than revolutionary, helped create the broadcast-television environment that lasted from the 1960s to the mid 1980s. Only with the rise of cable

television did the system worked out through trial and many errors give way to a system with higher quality and more viewer choices.

Source:

Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kitross, Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting, second edition (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1990).

HEADLINE MAKERS

SPIRO AGNEW

1918-

VICE-PRESIDENT AND MEDIA CRITIC



Agnew's Speech. On 13 November 1969 at 7:00 P.M. Vice-president Spiro Agnew made a speech carried live by the three networks that lambasted those networks. The impetus behind Agnew's speech was the press reaction, especially the television news reaction, to a speech on the Viet-

nam War by President Richard M. Nixon on 3 November 1969. In the speech Nixon called on the support of "the great silent majority of my fellow Americans," asking for their help in achieving his goal of ending the war in victory.

Instant Analysis. Agnew, in his speech, concentrated on the analysis following Nixon's speech, attacking it as "instant analysis and querulous criticism":

It was obvious that their minds were made up in advance.... One commentator twice contradicted the President's statement about the exchange of correspondence with Ho Chi Minh. Another challenged the President's abilities as a politician. A third asserted that the President was now following the Pentagon line. Others, by the expressions on their faces, the tone of their questions and the sarcasm of their responses made clear their sharp disapproval.

Impugning the News Media. But Agnew had a more wide-ranging target than the response to a single speech.

The speech was meant to impugn the credibility of the entire television-news medium. Agnew asserted that the network news anchormen were out of touch with Middle America:

To a man [they] live and work in the geographical confines of Washington, D.C., or New York City.... Both communities bask in their own provincialism, their own parochialism. We can deduce that these men read the same newspapers. They draw their political and social views from the same sources. Worse, they talk constantly to one another, thereby providing artificial reinforcement to their shared viewpoints.

Public Response. The public response to the speech was overwhelming. The networks reported calls running in Agnew's favor by a nine to seven margin. The White House reported calls running thirty-five to one in favor of the vice-president. A Gallup poll reported that 77 percent of the public supported the views of the vicepresident. The network response was negative, though there was an air of caution given the large positive public response to the speech. CBS president Frank Stanton called the speech "an unprecedented attempt by the Vicepresident . . . to intimidate a news media." ABC president Leonard H. Goldenson left his response to "the ultimate judgment of the American people." Most newspeople saw correctly that, as William Safire later revealed in his White House memoir, the speech was the beginning of a concerted attack on news organizations by the Nixon White House.

Frank Reynolds. The individual focus of Agnew's ire was ABC anchor Frank Reynolds, who was thought by White House officials to have been biased and unfair during the 1968 campaign. In the case of Reynolds,

Agnew's speech was most effective. Reynolds had responded to Agnew's speech by saying that "There is something much worse than a public official attempting to frighten a broadcaster, and that is a broadcaster that allows himself to be frightened." On 4 December 1970 Reynolds was removed from the anchor desk. His reaction left little doubt whom he saw as the ultimate cause:

I suppose I ought to say I hope I have not offended anyone in the last two and a half years, but that's not really the truth either because there are a few people I did very much want to bother, and I hope I have.

Long-term Effects. The ramifications of Agnew's speech were manifold. In the short term he garnered many political benefits, helping to restrain the television press from attacks on the Nixon program. In the long term the speech did little good for anyone involved. When the Nixon administration ran into trouble with the Watergate scandal, there was little or no political goodwill in the press. Agnew also had little support when he was forced to resign in 1973 over tax-evasion charges. Also the press suffered from the fact that many Americans agreed with Agnew that the press was out of touch and not to be trusted.

Sources:

"Agnew's Complaint: The Trouble with TV," Newsweek, 74 (24 November 1969): 88-90;

Edward Bliss, Jr., Now the News: The Story of Broadcast Journalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991);

"Flare-Up Over Agnew — Its Meaning," U.S. News and World Report, 65 (19 August 1968): 6;

William Safire, Before the Fall: An Inside View of the Pre-Watergate White House (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975).

JOHNNY CARSON

1925-

LATE-NIGHT SHOW HOST



Television Institution. Johnny Carson made the late-night NBC program *The Tonight Show* a television institution, far outpacing all competing shows in the ratings. Carson's comedic talents and ability to attract celebrity guests kept viewers tuned in to NBC.

Pat Weaver. The Tonight Show was the 1954 brainchild of NBC executive Pat Weaver, who had created The Today Show in 1952. The two programs were meant to complement each other and to lock viewers to NBC from the earliest viewing hours to the latest. On 1 October Carson officially replaced the contentious Jack Paar as host of The Tonight Show.

Carson versus Paar. During his five-year tenure Paar had made the show a moneymaker for NBC, but under

Carson *The Tonight Show* was a blockbuster. By 1965 Carson had raised the audience to an average of 8.7 million nightly viewers, over 300,000 above Paar's peak. Sponsor revenues for the show reached \$20 million in 1967, a \$4 million increase over the highest billings during Paar's years.

Ballooning Salary. Carson's salary rose with the success of the show. In 1965 he made \$200,000 annually, a figure that rose to more than \$700,000 in 1967. After a television strike in 1967, NBC raised his salary to over \$1 million. His announcer, Ed McMahon, made more than \$250,000 in 1967. These salaries paled, of course, in comparison to the profits generated for NBC by *The Tonight Show*.

Beating the Competition. From the beginning the significance of The Tonight Show was that it justified the late-night portion of Pat Weaver's vision of programming that would attract viewers from the morning until past midnight. The Tonight Show under Carson quickly became a late-night institution, virtually immune to serious competition. The other networks and syndication companies were unable to compete with Carson; The Joey Bishop Show failed on ABC after running from 1967 to 1969; The Las Vegas Show, starring Bill Dana, failed in syndication in 1967 after only a few months; syndicated shows starring Mike Douglas and Merv Griffin barely made a dent in the solid ratings of The Tonight Show. With its ratings power The Tonight Show became a money machine for NBC, combining its proven ability to attract advertisers with its low production costs. Carson remained host until 1992.

Sources:

"And Here's Johnny . . . ," Newsweek, 59 (12 February 1962): 80;

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WALTER CRONKITE

1916-

NEWS ANCHORMAN



The Newsman. During the 1960s Walter Cronkite became the most respected television newscaster in the United States. As the news figure most associated with the biggest news stories of the 1960s—the Kennedy assassination, the Vietnam War, and the Apollo 11 moon landing—Cron-

kite was renowned for his honesty, character, and lack of affectation. In 1973 he was voted "the most trusted man in America."

Early Career. After a wide-ranging career as a print and radio journalist that began in 1933, Cronkite became anchorman of the CBS Evening News on 16 April 1962. He oversaw the expansion of the CBS Evening News from fifteen minutes to thirty minutes on 2 September 1963, featuring an interview with President John F. Kennedy on the first half-hour show. On 22 November 1963 the most significant event in the history of television news to that time occurred: the assassination of President Kennedy.

Covering the Assassination. The assassination was the event that marked the victory of television over newspapers as the news medium of choice for the American public. Taking place between the morning and afternoon papers, the assassination was tailor-made for the immediacy of television. Cronkite was the CBS announcer who relayed, with tears in his eyes, the news that President Kennedy was dead. For the first time CBS suspended regular programming, and it covered the death and funeral from Thursday until after the state funeral on the following Monday. Through the tragedy Cronkite and the other television figures acted as a link for all Americans in a way that other media could not. The coverage of the assassination was confirmation that television was now the leading public news outlet and that Cronkite was the leading newscaster.

Vietnam Statement. Cronkite's coverage of the Vietnam War and his on-the-air conversion from support for the war to disillusionment changed the way television news was viewed and how it went about its business. His March 1968 call for negotiations to end the war was a precedent-setting editorial for a network that had long banned editorializing by its news reporters. In a clear show of Cronkite's credibility, only seven letters were received by CBS criticizing the statement.

Moon Program. During the 1960s Cronkite was known as a staunch supporter of the space program, especially the Apollo moon project. His evident enthusiasm for the rocket launchings he covered helped galvanize public support for the costly program. When *Apollo 11* landed on the moon on 20 July 1969, Cronkite beamed:

Boy! There they sit on the moon! Just exactly nominal wasn't it . . . on green with the flight plan, all the way down. Man finally is standing on the surface of the moon. My golly!

Following Cronkite. The strengths of Cronkite allowed him leeway in his journalistic practices that opened doors for later journalists. Many of those who followed lacked his strengths.

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MARSHALL McLUHAN

1911-1980

MEDIA AND CULTURE THEORIST



Media Guru. Marshall McLuhan was the media guru of the 1960s. His controversial theories about the effect of changing media on culture and society made him into a media figure himself. Readers saw his ideas as a possible explanation of the social turmoil of the 1960s, and media executives

pointed at his writings as a sign of their importance. While many of his theories have been dismissed as confused and confusing, his influence on thinking about media and culture was significant.

A New Kind of Science Fiction. A Canadian, McLuhan was born in Edmonton, Alberta, on 21 July 1911. Early in his career he was a professor of English literature. Upon taking a job teaching in the United States, McLuhan became interested in popular culture and its effect on youth. In the United States he was "confronted with young Americans I was incapable of understanding. . . . I felt an urgent need to study their popular culture in order to get through." His first book on the media and culture, The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man (1951), was a collection of short pieces on the detrimental effects of the "pressures set up around us today by the mechanical agencies of the press, radio, movies, and advertising." He described the book in a letter to his mother as "a new kind of science fiction, with ads and comics as characters."

Global Village. In The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man (1962) McLuhan continued to present his ideas about the effects of changes in media technology on the form of society. He points to the rise of the book and the fragmented print society as the source of the decline of the oral tribal society. The invention of electronic media changed society again, restoring some of the oral tradition and making the world into what McLuhan called a "global village." This type of sloganeering made McLuhan popular with advertisers and media figures who could reduce his complex ideas to provocative, meaningless phrases.

The Medium Is the Message. Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (1964) was McLuhan's most influential book, filled with concepts that influenced how media thought about itself and how people thought about media. According to McLuhan books were obsolete, and common definitions of literacy should be expanded to include media other than print. Television was the "cool"

medium, requiring more mental and sensory involvement than "hot" media, such as books. The youth of the postwar period were fundamentally different from their elders in that they did not respond as well to traditional instruction, instead becoming more tribal and less societal. The content of media is determined by its form: "The medium is the message."

Seer or Charlatan? In 1967 McLuhan published with Quentin Fiore The Medium Is the Massage, a book that attempted to clarify and explain his ideas. The popularity of the book - it was a best-seller - led to a television special on NBC about his theories. By the late 1960s McLuhan was regarded less seriously by academics, but he was still a good source for a provocative phrase that could be used in advertising and popular culture. His influence in the general culture, however, was longer lasting. His ideas legitimized the academic study of popular culture and justified the selfimportant statements by media executives. But many were convinced that McLuhan was a charlatan. Columbia University professor Jacques Barzun dismissed McLuhan with a pun on a McLuhanism: "The tedium is the massage."

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Hugh Kenner, "Understanding McLuhan," National Review, 18 (29 November 1966): 1224–1225;

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NEWTON MINOW

1926-

CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS
COMMISSION



Appointed. A Chicago lawyer well versed in communications issues, Newton Minow was appointed chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) on 10 January 1961 by President John F. Kennedy. He was sworn in on 2 March 1961 and immediately began to do battle with

bad taste and manipulative programming.

A Vast Wasteland. His speech to the National Association of Broadcasters in May 1961 set off a firestorm of controversy. His labeling of television programming as "a vast wasteland" angered network executives and pleased critics of television. In addition to the technical concerns of the FCC—license renewal, technology issues, and others—Minow made the improvement of the content of television and radio one of his main projects. While he

had no statutory authority over content, Minow used the power of the commission to hold hearings to try and change the focus of programming from shallow entertainment to culture and education.

Commission Hearings. In February 1962 the FCC held a series of hearings on network programming, devoting a week each to the programming policies of CBS, NBC, and ABC. The first week of the hearings, with CBS executives, was not marked by many confrontations. The second week of the hearings, with the executives of NBC, brought recriminations between the commission and NBC board chairman Robert Sarnoff, whose opening statement accused the FCC of seeking "regulatory power over network programs" and of trying to "impose the centralized authority of government to determine what is good for the public to see and hear." Minow, of course, denied the intention of the FCC to regulate programming, but he used the hearing to plead with the networks to provide quality shows and not to follow blindly the lead of audience ratings.

Minow's Effect. Minow's advocacy improved only slightly the offerings of the networks; it at least brought the issue before the public. But the problem remained that the networks were only providing the type of programming that viewers wanted. The television program on NBC about Minow's FCC hearings received an 8.2 rating, compared with a 12.7 for the competing Maverick on ABC and a 23.4 for Mister Ed on CBS. Still, Minow's defense of quality in television programming helped lay the foundation for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Public Broadcasting System in the late 1960s. After two and a half years at the FCC, Minow returned to private life in May 1963. Although his crusade failed, Minow is remembered for his "vast wasteland" comment and his advocacy of quality.

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"Minow's Farewell," New Republic, 149 (13 July 1963): 5;

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"A Sponsor for Quality," New Republic, 148 (4 May 1963): 3-5.

WILLIE MORRIS

1934-

MAGAZINE EDITOR



Magazine Troubles. Willie Morris, at thirty-two years old, became the youngest editor in chief in the history of *Harper's* magazine on 1 July 1967. He replaced John Fischer, the man who hired him and brought him to New York from Texas in 1963. *Harper's* in the 1960s

was suffering from competition with television. In 1966 the magazine had 277,000 readers and \$1.8 million in revenues, figures which belied the problems faced by narrowly focused news and literary magazines during the 1960s. Though *Harper's* had been revered and sustained by the literary elite, the magazine's owners and editors found that the traditional readership was not able to sustain *Harper's* financially.

Early Life. The hiring of Morris was part of an editorial plan to bring the magazine more in line with the changing American society of the 1960s. Morris's background was certainly not that of the typical New York editor. He was born in 1934 in Yazoo City, Mississippi, and grew up with the discomfort associated with the racism of that society. After high school he went to the University of Texas at Austin. As editor of the college newspaper, the Daily Texan, Morris became a campus celebrity because of his activist stand, defending the right of the paper to comment on campus, local, state, and national issues. While at Texas he became a liberal and used his journalistic talents to expound his political beliefs in that Democratic, but conservative, state.

In Texas. Morris moved to England in 1956 after his graduation from Texas and studied history at Oxford University as a Rhodes scholar. In 1960 he received a request from Ronnie Dugger to return to Texas to edit the political weekly the Texas Observer. A journal with a circulation of six thousand, the Texas Observer had an influence far greater than its subscriber list, attempting to report honestly what went on in Texas politics, stepping on all the toes that goal entailed. During his editorship his talents as a political observer were noticed, and he was able to publish essays on southern and Texas politics in magazines such as Harper's.

Changes in New York. Hired first as an editor at Harper's in 1963, Morris worked to update the literary and journalistic content of the magazine. He signed novelist William Styron, Socialist and social scientist Michael Harrington, and psychiatrist Robert Coles to write for the magazine. After his appointment as editor in chief, a move that also brought The New York Times writer David Halberstam and freelancer Larry King as editors to Harper's, he sent Halberstam to report on the Vietnam War, printed Norman Mailer's Armies of the Night (in an issue-length piece), and generally upgraded the content of the magazine. He wrote the first volume of his autobiography, North Toward Home (1967), at age thirty-two. He did not, however, solve the problems of the magazine. He was fired as editor in chief in 1971 and returned to a more sedate lifestyle in the Northeast and, eventually, at the University of Mississippi in Oxford. In 1993 he published New York Days (Random House), the second volume of his autobiography.

Sources:

Susan Lardner, "Willie Morris (b. 1936 -) and Frank Conroy (b. 1936 -)," New Yorker, 43 (3 February 1968): 106, 109-111;

Willie Morris, North Toward Home (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967);

"North by South," Time, 90 (10 November 1967): 61-62;

"A Spur for Harper's," Newsweek, 69 (22 May 1967): 68–69;

"Youth for Harper's," Time, 89 (19 May 1967): 56.

JANN WENNER

1946-

MAGAZINE OWNER, EDITOR, AND PUBLISHER



Youth Market. Jann Wenner was among the first entrepreneurs to realize the enormous commercial potential of the baby-boomer youth market of the 1960s. Born in 1946, Wenner was twenty when he started *Rolling Stone* magazine in 1967 to focus on the rock 'n' roll youth culture of the late 1960s.

Starting. Wenner's first experience as a journalist was at the University of California, Berkeley, where he wrote a music column for the campus newspaper. He also did reports on the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley for NBC. He dropped out of college after his junior year and wrote a music column for Sunday Ramparts, a weekend offshoot of the New Left magazine. After six months he borrowed seventy-five hundred dollars from a relative and started Rolling Stone with fifty-two-year-old San Francisco Examiner columnist Ralph Gleason.

Statement. The first biweekly issue appeared on 9 November 1967 and featured a cover portrait of John Lennon. The "Publisher's Statement" in the issue put forth the purpose of the magazine:

Rolling Stone is not just about music, but also about the things and attitudes that music embraces. . . . To describe it any further would be difficult without sounding like bullshit; bullshit is like gathering moss.

Procapitalism. The magazine was solidly, if not spectacularly, successful during its first few years, reaching a circulation of more than sixty-four thousand subscribers by April 1969. Wenner has never been embarrassed by the financial success of his "counterculture" venture, rejecting the anticapitalist rhetoric of the radical Left that was linked so closely to the social upheaval of the late 1960s. "Rock and roll is now the energy core of change in American life. But capitalism is what allows us the incredible indulgence of this music."

Aging. Wenner built *Rolling Stone* into a strong media presence, building the circulation of the magazine past the one million mark by 1987. The magazine did lose its intensity as a cultural and political voice as the revolutionary trappings of the music and political rhetoric of the 1960s fell to the wayside in the 1970s. The magazine then became more of an industry voice as the baby boomers grew old enough to realize that they had little need of a voice of a generation. The median income of subscribers in 1987 was more than thirty thousand dollars.

Showing the Way. The importance of *Rolling Stone* was that it showed other companies and entrepreneurs that the youth market could be exploited on its own terms.

Sources:

Nick Ravo, "Rolling Stone Turns a Prosperous 20," New York Times, 23 August 1987, p. 22;

"Rocking the News," Newsweek, 73 (28 April 1969): 90;

"Rolling Stone's Rock World," Time, 93 (25 April 1969): 78.

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

- In November 1969 Walter Annenberg sold the *Philadel-phia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Daily News* for \$55 million. Annenberg, who owned *TV Guide, Seventeen* magazine, and the *Daily Racing Form*, sold the newspapers to escape a challenge to the renewal of his FCC license for WFIL television station in Philadelphia. He had been accused of having a virtual news monopoly in the city.
- Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz made their final appearance together in an *I Love Lucy* special on 1 April 1960. Their divorce became final on 1 May.
- John Henry Faulk, a CBS radio personality, won his libel suit in June 1962 against a sponsor who accused him of Communist leanings. He filed the suit in 1957 with the help of Edward R. Murrow. The court awarded him \$2.8 million.
- Mal Goode became the first black network correspondent on 10 September 1962, covering the United Nations for ABC.
- On assignment in Colombia in May 1967 for McCall's magazine, Lynda Bird Johnson, the daughter of the president, was involved in an incident with Colombian journalists. Two Colombian newsmen sued Johnson's Secret Service agents after having been attacked and beaten while approaching her at the Barranquilla airport.
- In May 1967 television star Lassie was named as the symbol of the Keep America Beautiful antilitter cam-

- paign. The collie had no statement on her appointment.
- As a measure of his own media message, Marshall McLuhan recorded an album for Columbia Records in April 1967 on his theories. While in New York, McLuhan entertained reporters with his insights—one example, on the miniskirt: "It's a rediscovery of the tribalistic sculptural values. The kilt is a miniskirt."
- Presidential candidate Richard Nixon appeared on Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In on 16 September 1968, delivering the show's signature line, "Sock it to me?"
- Jack Paar walked off *The Tonight Show* set on 11 February 1960 after an NBC censor cut a joke from his performance. He returned on 7 March, but his days as host were numbered.
- In December 1966 The New York Times reporter Harrison Salisbury was granted a visa to North Vietnam and began filing stories from Hanoi. Both Salisbury and The New York Times were severely criticized. Salisbury was voted a Pulitzer Prize for his Vietnam work, but the trustees of Columbia University refused to sanction the award.
- During an AFTRA strike in April 1967, novice newsman Arnold Zenker replaced Walter Cronkite as the anchorman for the CBS Evening News for thirteen days. Upon his return after the strike settlement, Cronkite quipped, "Good evening. This is Walter Cronkite, sitting in for Arnold Zenker. It's good to be back."