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ONLINE  
MAY 1998  
PAGES 1-10  
WWW.AMSON.COM

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### **POLITICAL ADVERTISING**

## **Candidates' TV ads should avoid Madison Ave. taint, professor says**

URBANA, Ill. — From the earliest days of advertising on television, presidential candidates have been marketed as if they were little more than laundry detergent, says Jerry Landay, a University of Illinois professor of journalism.

But, "like oil and water, politics and illusion do not mix," Landay said, and so "it's now time to get political advertising, in its present form, off the air."

In an article recently published in Television Quarterly, the journal of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, Landay suggests that campaign commercials be regulated — just as commercials for consumer products have been — to eliminate "advertising techniques and practices that tend to distort, deceive and mislead." Specifically, he calls for "no-frills, issue-oriented spots" devoid of almost everything but the candidate. Most of the production tricks and devices in political ads are not "pure speech," he argues, and cannot be said to have "legitimate political content."

Candidates today are "routinely pitched like soap — test-marketed, wrapped and packaged in 30- and 60-second doses," Landay writes. "Voters are seen not as thinking members of a democratic society, but as shoppers, mindless consumers of political product, passive before a blizzard of bells and whistles designed to engineer consent. We desperately need dialogue, discourse, debate."

Under Landay's criteria for campaign spots, only the candidate could appear and the setting would have to be a neutral one, such as a lawn, a street or an office. The candidate, in keeping with the First Amendment, would be free to say anything he or she chose, and could draw upon archival news recordings or film of his or her public record and activities.

The spot, however, would contain "no artificial anything," Landay writes — "no celebrity endorsements, no man-on-the-street testimonials, no paid actors, no staged dramatizations, no disembodied voices, no Hollywood musical scores, no special effects." In this way, only the candidate and his or her ideas would be on display, he notes.

Another appropriate reform, Landay believes, would be to make public broadcasting the main vehicle for the on-air campaign. Public radio and television stations would be required to clear free air time for campaign presentations ranging from advertising spots to debates. It would not only diminish the role of big money in campaigns, but would strengthen the case for public broadcasting, he says.

Landay thinks that his suggestions for the reform and regulation of campaign ads will draw the most opposition. In his article, he cites U. of I. law professor Ronald D. Rotunda, who labeled it "constitutionally suspect" because it appears to restrict a candidate's freedom of speech.

Landay claims, however, that it would only restrict the form of the candidate's message and not the content, and would effectively raise the level of political discourse. "We live in the real world, not a world invented by words and images," he says. "Freedom rings. It doesn't have to advertise."

VOLUME XXVI NUMBER 1

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Television Quarterly is published quarterly by the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 111 West 57th Street, New York, New York, 10019 (212) 586-8424. Members of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences receive TELEVISION QUARTERLY as part of membership services. Inquiry regarding membership should be directed to the office of The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. BUSINESS ADVERTISING OFFICES: Television Quarterly, 111 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019. EDITORIAL OFFICE: Television Quarterly, same address. The subscription rates for non-members, libraries and others is \$25.00 a year and \$5.00 a copy in the United States; \$30.00 a year and \$6.00 a copy in all other countries. Special Student Subscription \$22.00. Subscription orders should be sent to TELEVISION QUARTERLY, The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, 111 West 57th Street, New York, New York, 10019. The opinions expressed herein are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of The National Academy or the members of the Editorial Board of Television Quarterly. Copyright ©1992 by The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

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# LET'S OVERHAUL TV'S POLITICAL ADVERTISING

A journalist and educator prescribes ways to remedy and reform a system that is undermining how we elect our leaders.

**BY JERRY M. LANDAY**

**P**olitics in America began to crash and burn in 1952. Rosser Reeves, president of the Ted Bates Agency, convinced Dwight Eisenhower, assertive in war but reluctant as a campaigner, that his presidential virtues could be hawked to voters in television commercials, like toothpaste or beer. Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborne made the spots for the Ike "account". He won overwhelmingly.

Republican national chairman Leonard Hall declared: "You sell your candidates and your programs the way a business sells its products." Politicians became addicted to what Adlai Stevenson called "soapflakes campaigns".

Candidates now clutter the airwaves with abandon. They are routinely pitched like soap - test-marketed, wrapped and packaged in 30- and 60-second doses. Voters are seen not as thinking members of a democratic society, but as shoppers,

mindless consumers of political product, passive before a barrage of audio and visual gimmicks designed to engineer consent.

We desperately need dialogue, discourse, debate. Instead, our political passions are smothered by TV blitzes, issueless campaigns, images without content, slogans without meaning: "I like Ike", "JFK: A Time For Greatness", "All the Way with LBJ", "Nixon's the One", "It's Morning Again in America" (Reagan), "I'm not running to be Santa Claus" (Tsongas), "Let's Put People First" (Clinton).

Illusion overwhelms substance. Issues are displaced by dumbed-down decoys: "family values", flag-burning, "law and order". Candidates play to the viscera, abandoning genuine policymaking for propaganda.

Spots jostle spots for costly air time. Intuitive political judgment gives way to tracking polls, which measure the "inside leg" of a befuddled body politic on an hourly basis. Spot copy is altered overnight to conform, amplifying and playing back the confusion to the confused.

The voter wants leadership. He gets artifice. A visit to the voting booth

Roosevelt  
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leaves him with the wretched feeling that what he has done has no more grandeur in it than choosing between a Bud Lite and a Bavarian on draft. It's time to fix the system.

Nearly a quarter-century ago, the Congress managed to legislate cigarette advertising off the air because smoking is harmful to health. It's now time to get political advertising in its present form off the air. Because politics in America has been taken prisoner by the product huckster, and by big campaign contributors who buy political influence by underwriting the whole dreadful business. It is ruining our national health.

We are losing control of the way we elect our president. When Richard Nixon won the presidency in 1968, no less than four media campaign aides were given major administration policy positions. Now, media consultants and pollsters, the new praetorian guard, essentially run the show, from the pitch to what now passes for policy. The advertising mind has become the governing mind.

It was an ad man-turned-pol, a Democrat, Senator William Benton of Connecticut, who got the idea of marrying Madison Avenue to politics. He made his fortune as co-founder of the Benton and Bowles advertising agency. At 35, he cashed in his grey flannel suit for a life of public service and was elected.

In 1950, Benton showed off a new advertising idea to President Harry Truman—a street corner film projection unit that played a drab 60-second film pitch for Benton's Senate re-election campaign. Truman advised him to go shake 25,000 hands instead.

An advertising man, Bob Haldemann, became the President's chief of staff. A broadcast executive, Frank Stokesspeare, was appointed head of the U.S.I.A. A public relations specialist, William Schire, became a senior presidential speechwriter. A journalist, Patrick Buchanan, served as special assistant to the President.

Some forty years later, hardsell has overwhelmed the handshake. Political resort to television spot campaigns grows exponentially, stilling informed choice, driving the politician deeply into debt and dependence on the process.

Media campaign managers are drawn like lemmings to television spots because they permit tight control of the message, and allow swift changes in copy themes. Spots can sway "undecideds" in the final hours of a tight race. They can be targeted to specific voting blocks.

But this year there are increasing signs of voter resistance. In Illinois, for example, Carol Moseley Braun, a virtual unknown, stayed out of a costly TV spot barrage between her two competitors for the Democratic senate nomination. She won. Voter outrage at irresponsible attack ads helped to hand primary victories to a host of others, including California's Diane Feinstein in the Democratic primary for U.S. Senate.

**D**escriptive of the ruination of American politics is what the late Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, said about advertising in general: "His point is to make us buy things... that we do not want, at prices we cannot pay, on terms we cannot meet, because of advertising we do not believe." This disbelieved now extends to the way we elect leaders in whom we want to believe.

Political advertising has converted us from subject to object. The campaign is all make-believe, all smoke. Study the TV spots of the 1992 primaries. Image ads have come to overwhelm issue ads. It makes no difference whether it was rugged Pat Buchanan as the Marlboro Man, Paul Tsongas as Johnny Weismueller, Bill Clinton as Jack Armstrong the All-American Boy, Bob Kerrey as war hero, George Bush playing "The Presi-

dent." They are echoes, not choices. Because one industry mentality serves all.

Behind a swelling score, Clinton tells us breathlessly: "This election is about change." "Courage for a change," declares Bob Kerrey. "Honesty for a change," chimes Jerry Brown. President Bush brings imperial overstatement to the theme: "If we can change the world, we can change America."

Change? Great! What kind? Quien sabe?

Clinton and Bush and Buchanan all want to "take back America." For whom? For "the people." To whom shall we give it? Why, the "forgotten middle class," declares Democrat Clinton. All the other campaigns stake out the same ground. Their advisors have convinced them it must sell in Suburbia. Inner cities, with their poor and jobless, are consigned to oblivion.

Standing at his desk before a sea of flags, Bush is projected as "presidential." But a sea-of-flags backdrop makes Clinton "presidential" too, raising the question in healthy minds as to whether flag wavers do more damage to the moral fiber of the nation than flag burners.

MadAve image machine busily grinds out scenarios:

"Man of Action": Tsongas furiously breast-stoking to camera, Clinton on the production line, Bush touring Yelshin around the White House.

"Common Man": Harkin in an abandoned factory surrounded by rapt workers, Clinton, chin in hand, in a countrified parlor with adoring neighbors.

"Family Values": Poking into the Kerrey and Clinton family albums to share those heartwarming candid kid photos and snapshots from the war.

Folksy Testimonials: Father-in-law telling us what a great American Paul

Tsongas is. Tom Harkin's deaf-mute brother doing the same for him, in sign language.

Ad-track-tics: Kerrey telling us he will force Japan to trade fair. Force her? Lots of nasty quotes from newspaper editorials about the opponent-intoned by a sneering off-camera voice. Bush getting a former commandant of the Marine Corps to tar Buchanan as an isolationist.

Media managers urge the use of proxies in attack-ads to keep one's hands clean. A faceless narrator is customarily the assassin. A Marine is even better.

Big "issues" in short takes: "snapped," in analyst Ken Bode's phrase, "through a 30-second singshot." In a marvel of compression, Clinton solves corporate irresponsibility, export of jobs, investment policy, welfare cheating, education, and childcare. In the same breathless 30 seconds, Bush strengthens our economy, makes America competitive, shifts the able-bodied from welfare to work, rebuilds our educational system.

**I**n trendy California, advertisers were cramming pitches into 10-second spots during the primary. "It's amazing," a media consultant told The New York Times disingenuously, "how much information you can pack into 10 seconds." The Times likened station-break ad clutter on Los Angeles television during the primary to "passengers trying to jam onto Japanese subway cars."

The politicians have made a Faustian deal with the ad trade, deficit campaigning with designer-ads of contentless content. Replay the vacuous lyrics of the jingle that pitched Ike to television audiences back in 1952: "You like Ike/I like Ike/Everybody likes Ike for President/Bring out the banners/Beat the drum/We'll take Ike to

Washington." In 1992, the art of non-content evolved into Clinton's "Oppor-tunity, responsibility, new ideas, old-fashioned values." Tsongas' "He's not afraid of the truth. He'll declare an economic emergency on the first day and shake things up." Buchanan's chain-yanking "We will say goodbye to yesterday and build a new tomorrow."

**H**aving allowed ourselves to be made into walking bill-boards, we Americans have gotten what we deserve - ad jingles on our lips, ad logos on our caps, ad slogans and brand names on our sports shirts, our jeans, running shoes, underwear, buttons on our chests and bumper stickers on our cars with "action" slogans, the display of which has become the surrogate for action.

Like oil and water, politics and illu-sion do not mix.

• Democracy is self-perfecting. It rests on openness and light. Political advertising deals in the inflated claim, the unjust comparison, the trivialization of the bond.

• The concerns of healthy govern-ment are framed by the public interest and the needs of the governed. The values of political advertising are hitched solely to the profit of those who advertise.

• At the heart of democratic discourse is the free expression of the collective will by informed citizens who are fully conscious of - and involved in - governing themselves. But political advertising plays to passivity, and to what the client and his media consultant want to make us do. It's tyranny with a velvet touch.

• Democracy is driven by conscious choice made on rational grounds. But the objective of propagandizing by advertising is to by-pass the rational and visceralize the process. Okay, perhaps, in pitching cars, beers, razor blades. Not aspiring leaders.

• Access to the game of political advertising is limited to those with

vast amounts of money. With or with-out an "800" telephone number, only candidates who can afford advertis-ing time can buy it. So, we confront a self-limiting process, the main result of which is that uncommon common men and women are denied the right to run for state and national office. A system with TV rate cards as the dues stifles political diversity. It degrades us from democracy into plutocracy.

In the past twenty years, the cost of the average campaign for the House of representatives has risen from \$80,000 to \$400,000. In the same period, the cost of a race for the U.S. Senate has grown from \$600,000 to more than \$4,000,000. Most of that money is earmarked for television packaging and spot time.

In 1992, nothing seemed different, only costlier. In California, Rep. Mel Levine spent more than \$3.5 million on TV advertising in the Democratic senate primary, only to be beaten by Rep. Barbara Boxer. Jan Crawford, a Washington political consultant and time buyer, estimates the five senato-rial candidates in that primary spent a total of \$20 million, most on TV ads. She estimates that the three Demo-cratic presidential candidates in the New York primary spent nearly that much.

President Bush and Pat Buchanan spent \$1.5 million each to underwrite their TV campaigns in the once-humble New Hampshire primary.

In the general election four years earlier, Bush qualified for more than \$64 million in public campaign funds. He spent nearly \$40 million of it to package his campaign on television - the most expensive, as well as the most memorable, on the air. It brought us the infamous factory flag-wrap, Willie Horton, and a simple-minded whodunit on dirtying Boston Harbor. The presence of Ross Perot will drive presidential campaign tabs even higher.

Meeting these costs has become the single most demanding task of

national officeholders. In 1992, many primary candidates were forced to reduce drastically their person-to-person campaigning, spending the time instead to make pitches on the phone to donors to meet staggering TV bills - known in political parlance as "dialing for dollars." Then they started filling the coffers all over again, preparing for general election campaigns or writing off debts. Once elected, they must begin at once to raise cash for the next campaign.

Much of that political poke supports the media machine of modern politics, a veritable industry. The candidate turns over his brain, common sense and soul to a golden horde of consul-tants, spin doctors, copywriters, speechwriters, ghostwriters, produc-ers, demographers, computer model-ers, test marketers, media buyers, product testers, graphic designers, make-up mavens, lighting experts, photographers, and button-makers.

Shamans of opinion surveying and statistical juju constitute a major branch of the trade: pollsters, demo-graphic analysts, census massagers, behaviorists, focus-group facilitators, pop psychologists and pop sociolo-gists. They satisfy the advertising culture's self-justifying need to quan-tify everything, converting politics into a numbers racket. In the end, there is no risk taking. No daring. No feeling. No ideas. No vision.

**T**he traditional political estab-lishment shows neither the will nor the character to reform itself. Change must come from with-out. There will always be television. But the political advertising machine can be separated from TV politics through the regulation of produced political ads.

At first glance, this idea seems to defile a constitutional sacred cow - that it violates the First Amendment, put there by the authors, after all, to

protect political speech. It is self-evident, however, that produced politi-cal ads are largely not political speech at all, but a form of product advertising - "commercial" speech. Such advertising is misleading and deceptive, intrusive, invasive, undemo-cratic, and a downright nuisance.

We cannot and should not regulate pure content. But there is persuasive legal precedent for the regulation of advertising techniques and practices which tend to distort, deceive and mislead. The courts have found that "commercial" speech enjoys less protection under the First Amendment than pure political speech, and that "reasonable regulation" of commer-cial product advertising is not subject to intense first-amendment scrutiny.

The Securities Act of 1933 gives the Securities and Exchange Commission the power to protect investors from deceptive practices by regulating the form and content of "bombstone ads" in newspapers and magazines.

These ads make public offerings of securities. They are undombed, black-and-white blocks of print. The regula-tions are very precise on what these securities ads can and cannot say. They may factually describe the stock offering, but they may make no claims for it. They must acknowledge risk. They must offer a prospectus, whose form is itself strictly controlled.

The sole purpose of the regulation is to protect the public from "speech" intended to lure buyers to purchase fraudulent, highly risky or worthless securities. In much the same way, the Federal Trade Commission regulates advertising it deems unfair and deceptive. The Food and Drug Admin-istration has come to regulate misleading information and misrep-resentations in pharmaceutical ads and product labeling.

In 1971 a federal appeals court upheld the power of Congress to remove cigarette ads from radio and television to protect the public health. In a 2-1 decision, the court found that

in balancing free speech against the public good. Congress had a rational basis for its ban, that public ownership of the airwaves gives government a unique right to regulate electronic messages, and that radio and television advertising possesses a unique set of characteristics which gives it undue influence over the public as opposed to counterpart ads in print, especially over an impressionable younger audience.

I argue for no-frills, issue-oriented spots shorn of all production and pretense, dramatic devices, images, jingles, narrations, visuals demeaning the opponent, graphics glitter and splash which result in what one colleague calls "the degradation of democratic discourse," produced ads that misrepresent the candidate, confuse and disillusion the voter, tarnish the system—in short, that contribute nothing to the healthy conversation of a campaign. The production devices and conventions I cite are not "pure speech." Nor, I argue, can they be said to have legitimate political "content."

**T**he criteria I propose for no-frills political spots are simple: Only the candidate may appear in them. He—or she—may, in keeping with the First Amendment, say anything he chooses—directly to camera—so long as he observes the established standards of acceptable speech. The candidate may exhort, argue, explain, urge, extol, deplore—out in front.

He is free, of course, to try to deceive. But he does so in full view of the public, and must personally accept the political responsibility for his having done so. If his message is worth saying, then it is appropriate that the candidate say it himself.

The setting for these no-frills ads must be neutral—an office, a lawn, a street. If there must, let there be a desk in the foreground and an Ameri-

can flag in the background, or even on the lapel. Let there be simple graphics limited to naming the candidate, party affiliation, the source of the political underwriting for the ad, the date of the forthcoming election. And nothing else.

To illustrate and celebrate his qualities, the candidate may draw upon archival news recordings or film of his own public record and activities, i.e., campaign speeches, legislative activities, community service—footage about him already "in the can."

But let there be no artificial anything—no celebrity endorsements, no man-on-the-street testimonials, no paid actors, no staged dramatizations, no disembodied voices, no Hollywood musical scores, no special effects. Only he and his ideas are on display. What else is needed to sell honest leadership?

I propose that the same standards apply to the purchase of program blocks, be they five or 60 minutes in length. Speeches, informal chats, unrigged interviews, factually based documentary presentations, yes! Produced humbug, no.

No-frills politics on television allows the candidate to regain control of his own campaign, his own career, to sever ties with costly political media factories and the awful TV ads they make. He recaptures his political independence, and cuts his Faustian ties to "soft" money, and the corrupting interests which deliver it.

How each candidate makes use of his air-time, what he chooses to say, how he says it, the size of his ideas, will speak for him.

Prof. Ronald Rotunda of the University of Illinois, a prominent legal scholar, declares such a reform to be "constitutionally suspect." His colleague, Prof. James Pfander, points out the substantial concern of the Supreme Court to ensure "that... regulations do not limit campaign speech."

Pfander concludes that this "will make it difficult to sustain a restriction

on the content of the message that the candidate can communicate." I argue that restrictions would in no way limit the content of what the candidate wants to say, only regulate the form in which he says it. The scholars concede that the body of pro-consumer case law I cited earlier provides reformers with respectable legal starting points for a theory which can be taken to Congress and the courts. These reforms ought to be pursued.

**A**nother appropriate reform which I advocate would place the burden of the on-air campaign process on public broadcasting. Each election time public radio and television stations should be expected and required to provide, free of any cost, the "electronic hustings" on which major candidates mount campaign "ads" or programs. Stations would clear free air time throughout the program day for campaign presentations, ranging from spot ads to debates.

The time would be divided equally among the candidates for national and statewide office. The stations would be granted relief from the "equal time" provisions of the Federal Communications Act. Only candidates with serious support would benefit.

The Markle Commission on the Media and the Electorate made a somewhat similar proposal in its 1991 report on the political role of public broadcasting. The report unhappily drew little support from the leadership of public broadcasting. At the time of this writing, some public stations are known to be considering self-starting the idea on their own.

In this way, public broadcasting can justify the diminishing pool of government funds on which it depends, and strengthen its case for more generous public support.

Moreover, its leadership can dramatically demonstrate the central

ity of PBS and National Public Radio—"the electronic parkland," in the phrase of William McCarter of WTTW Chicago—to their uneasy and reluctant funders in Congress: those on the right who want to impose suffocating controls on public broadcasting, and the rest who only halfheartedly defend it.

Ken Bode, the director of the Contemporary Media Center at DePaul University and CNN political analyst, decries any effort to limit political advertising. In Bode's words, "As painful as some of the ads may be, any kind of regulation of campaign speech is a bad idea. Communicators in particular have to be mindful of the dangers of restricting free speech."

But we also have to be aware of the dangers of rampant propaganda within a political context, especially given the vulnerabilities of a culture conditioned to seduction by Hollywood and Madison Avenue and sight-and-sound media. Our democracy has, so far, successfully balanced the exercise of free expression with the carefully defined discipline of regulation in critical sectors in which special interests place themselves ahead of the public interest.

I urge us to debate and discuss my suggestions. We need to do more than simply continue to decry the unristriced ad-madness that is now in process of destroying healthy politics. We live in the real world, not a world invented by words and images. Freedom rings. It doesn't have to advertise. ■

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Jerry M. Landay is associate professor of electronic journalism at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign. As a news correspondent for ABC, CBS and for the stations of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, he has covered politics and government on the local and national level, including many state and national campaigns as well as six presidential conventions. He writes extensively on media issues.



But why, they wondered, couldn't some programs be targeted to *them*? After watching fund drives, they figured it was because their generation has no money.

## College-agers rediscover (and like!) PTV

By Jerry M. Landay

Some of Generation X's best and brightest recently had a consciousness-raising encounter with network and public television. The results suggest, to me at least, that it's vital for PBS leaders and planners to think about what these college teens think—and the opportunity they represent.

PBS lost them after *Sesame Street*. I discovered them in the "Issues in Television" class I teach to undergraduate Chancellor's Honors students at the University of Illinois.

I gave them a critical viewing assignment that reconnected these nearly-twenty-somethings with public television. Their experience was something akin to their first kiss: delight and surprise, relief that their elders had misrepresented the dangers of indulging, and confusion and concern about the experience.

In the reports and discussion that followed, the students described their PBS viewing experience as a rediscovery. A number said they'd previously avoided deep immersion in public TV because of what they'd heard from parents and peers—namely, that PBS was "notoriously boring." Not true, they found. They acknowledged they liked quality television. For instance, many of them found *Are You Being Served* genuinely funny, and *MacNeil/Lehrer* enriching and informative.

One typical student comment: "Being a chronic channel-surfer and a rather indiscriminate television viewer, I have not watched PBS too often. However, after a good night of viewing, I intend to watch more."

But why, they wondered, couldn't some of the product be targeted to *them*? Their perception—after critically viewing on-air fund drives—was that their generation is ignored because, putting it bluntly, it has no money. They were put off by the begathons they watched, which seemed tasteless and out of character with the lofty aims of the service. As they saw it, the loss of viewers scared away by these drives, is a grievous bill to pay for the pledged funds.

Their critiques project a sense of confusion about PBS's identity. Is it about serving the public interest or about finding ways to raise cash? If it truly serves American cultural needs and tastes, as it claims, then why is so much of it British? And why is it, a number wondered, that PBS pays so little attention to advertising and promoting its wares that "we have little idea of what's on?"

I urged the 19 honors students to bring their full consciousness to the experience as they logged and critiqued programs, ads and promotional spots during a four-and-a-half-hour commercial network television. Several weeks later, I asked them to watch public television and do the same.

They reported that the evening marathon of commercial network-watching left them "tired" and "exhausted," and their brains "fried" by a "bombardment" of more than 130 commercial spots and program promos. They all said they'd never been aware of all the blows to the head they'd had to absorb.

When they subsequently were exposed to public TV, virtually all described it as an act of deliverance. "Perhaps the one thing that it added to my viewing pleasure," one student said, "was the knowledge that PBS would be a commercial-free evening. It's amazing what a difference that makes!" Another commented similarly: "I did not have to put up a shield in order to protect myself against the advertisers."

One student expressed surprise that American public television "is a completely different system than the networks or cable television. . . . The PBS shows were less professional and less stylized than network programming, but their material and the manner in which it was presented was much more gratifying for the viewer." ("Less professional," we later determined in discussion, meant fewer glitzy visual effects.)

One wrote that in his first perusal of a public TV program guide, he was amazed at the diversity: "I discovered that the station . . . aired rock concerts, magic shows, documentaries," in addition to children's shows. "It is hard to find such diversity on any other station. . . . It is similar to a full slate of cable stations

"I think that PBS could provide a standard for entertainment as well as education and information," one honors student concluded. "This is not only possible but imperative." If the task for overhauling traditional broadcast arrangements is tough now, this student wondered, "will it be any easier when a handful of profit-driven companies owns a 500-channel cable universe?"

combined into one."

The students gave specific praise to the depth of content they found on PBS programs:

- the informed talk and the issue focus of *MacNeil/Lehrer*, *The McLaughlin Group*, *Wall Street Week*, *Washington Week in Review* and *WTTW's Chicago Tonight*. In a typical comment, a student said: "This style of journalism allowed viewers to formulate their own opinions. . . . The networks should take a close look at these shows and think about changing their news formats. . . . It would raise the level of journalism in newscasts and transform [them] from being amusement to . . . informational and thought-provoking."

- *Nova's* "Ice Man" and the *American Masters* profile of George Lucas "went beyond the average behind-the-scenes program."

- The honest, unpretentious formats were popular because they presented "music more in-depth than any other station would do. The Peter, Paul & Mary special for children, for instance, allowed the [musicians] freedom to be creative and to try new things. . . . The concert had not been engineered to produce a visually stunning moment each and every possible moment. Rather, it was allowed to stand alone as a concert, and the entertain the way a concert should—through the strength of the music alone."

However, performers James Taylor, Elton John and Peter, Paul & Mary were seen as "somewhat past their prime" and chosen for their appeal to the moneyed baby-boomer generation. Couldn't PBS do the same for some of the musical favorites of *their* generation?

"College students are left out," one complained. "PBS should promote more programming for a larger target audience that includes college students."

Yet this alienated bunch—bright, aware, interested, and plugged into the world—is precisely the audience that PBS ought to be grooming for the good of their future and its own.

These honors students are among the most talented and highly motivated undergrads on the Illinois campus. Along with outstanding academic records, they brought from high school a penchant for clear thinking and writing.

They are typically unpretentious in the midwestern manner—activist and achievement-oriented. The class ranged in age from 18 to 21, their academic specializations spanning the sciences and humanities. They spend as many hours a week, on average—between 9 and 11 hours—reading and listening to the radio as watching TV.

They conform quite closely to the demographics profile of Generation X: they view their economic prospects dimly and are therefore not as conservative as the boomers who immediately precede them. They are

The students' critiques "project a sense of confusion about PBS's identity. Is it about serving the public interest or about finding ways to raise cash? If it truly serves American cultural needs and tastes, as it claims, then why is so much of it British?"

suspicious of authority, and they question the myths and assumptions of their elders. Several challenged the doctrine that the so-called "free market" knows best what Americans should watch. Rather than providing diversity, one wrote, "it's really the same product."

They are increasingly interested in news and current affairs. Educated though they were about the difficulties involved, several students urged public broadcasters to wage an aggressive campaign to create a news and public affairs unit at PBS, using the NPR news team as a cadre.

They virtually unanimously condemned the system's dependence on pledge drives. They labelled as "sad" and "pitiful" the irony that the "quality broadcasting . . . increasingly must rely on private charity." One enthusiastic convert to PBS complained that "it is pitiful that the system has to stoop to this level in order to stay in business." Others likened the enticements of merchandise to the Home Shopping Network.

But most saw the funding issue less as an albatross than a call to action and innovation. "This country needs public broadcasting," wrote one student, who concluded that "a better solution for financing quality programming must be found."

Proposing solutions was part of the course project—team-produced papers proposing a national electronic mass communications policy for the United States. In addition to the expected suggestions of a dedicated national user's tax on TV sets, and spectrum and cable-channel fees, there were two fresh ideas:

- One was a call for a generous income-tax credit as an inducement to underwriters. Another proposed the establishment of a Federal Project for Creative Television, funded by a consortium of CPB, the Department of Education and the national arts and humanities endowments. Modelled on the federal writers and theater projects of the New Deal's WPA, the television project would provide funding for high-quality, original programming for PBS, the best of which would be honored by National Program Awards.

A student concluded: "I think that PBS could provide a standard for entertainment as well as education and information. This is not only possible but imperative." If the task for overhauling traditional broadcast arrangements is tough now, this honors student wondered, "will it be any easier when a handful of profit-driven companies owns a 500-channel cable universe?" That sense of urgency was reflected in many of the students' reports.

To me, their signals were clear. If PBS wants to win the loyalty of Generation X, it must:

- give them programming that suits their tastes. The relationship should not end abruptly at *Sesame Street*. Air their musical favorites in concert. From time to time, talk about the issues that matter to them on *MacNeil/Lehrer*, and invite some of their peers to discuss them. Why leave it to MTV?
- promote PBS programs more effectively on the local level—in campus and high school newspapers, for instance—and on the radio stations they listen to. That need not be costly. Promote memberships and program guides at a price they can afford.
- find a way to recruit them to the cause of a stronger, more financially and creatively independent television service, which most said they want.

Were these students telling me what I wanted to hear? I doubt it. Their minds are open, but their thoughts and conclusions are their own. There was no doubt of that from the very first day of class. What is also clear is that public broadcasting very much needs to recruit Generation X.

One student policy paper concluded: "It is our hope that the 'new' PBS will be able to draw enough audience away from the commercial networks that they will be forced to improve the quality of their own programming, or perish [through the competitive] forces they regard as gospel."

Prof. Jerry M. Landay teaches "Issues in Television" and electronic journalism courses at the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, and writes on media issues. He previously served as a news correspondent for ABC and CBS and as a news executive and correspondent for Group W.

# A Journalism 101 review for CNN

By Jerry M. Landay

The basic problem with CNN's coverage of the war is that the electronic tools of the trade have somehow transfixed its production command into thinking it is free from having to use the *journalistic* tools of the trade.

The instantaneousness of communications satellites and field cameras makes it possible to publish images simultaneously with the event. But professional journalism requires that a sensible story accompany the images, so that the reader, viewer or listener is given a context in which to understand what he or she is seeing. That's the essence of the modern journalistic method. Electronics have not changed that.

In moments of high alarm, when circumstances place a premium on professionalism, CNN has regularly abandoned the journalistic method. It has abandoned story in an electronic expression of "yellow journalism." It has put its eyes and my viscera miles ahead of our brains. It leaves me breathless, confused and in the dark at the worst possible moments—such as when Scuds are lofted conveniently by Saddam Hussein into a place where CNN field cameras happen to be. This is not journalism. It is the cynical exploitation of our emotions in a time of high emotion.

We watch Patriot missiles looming like glow worms in the skies above Tel Aviv and Riyadh. We hear professional journalists put on the air live, finding themselves having to say the dumbest things, to wit: "Air raid sirens are going off. We have heard explosions. Something has happened. We must wait for the censor before we can tell you what."

"We have heard some noises here. It's raining. It could have been thunder. We cannot report right now what is happening yet."

The anchorperson says over taped replay after replay of missile air bursts: "We don't know what we're looking at."

Why publish until we *do* know? What's the rush?

It's understandable for a hysterical homebody looking out of his window at a fire across the street to scream to a family member: "Gawd, I didn't see anybody get out. The Joneses must have burned to a crisp!" It's quite something else when a trained observer is forced to chuck everything he has learned and acts like that hysterical homebody, projecting instant visceral impressions that are amplified and magnified to a "family" of millions around the world.

Reportorial journalists—standing in as eyewitnesses for those of us who are not present—imply responsibility. And, in moments of alarm, CNN has simply not been responsible.

Responsibility in journalism—no matter the medium on which it is practiced—means telling a story that is credible in order to merit the confidence and trust of the audience.

That has always been done by withholding what one CNN anchor person on the air called "informed speculation," whatever that is, until the reporter is certain of his facts and their meaning.

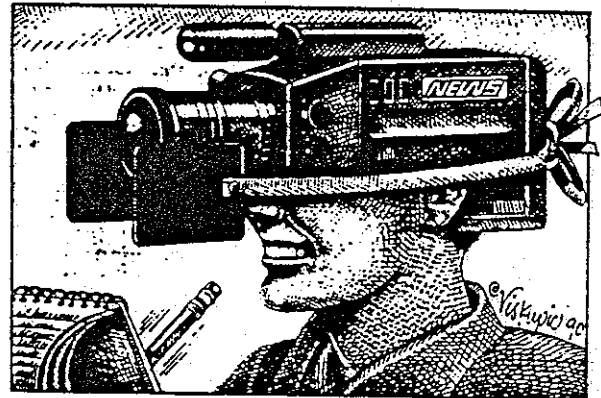
*Jerry M. Landay was a news correspondent for more than two decades for Group W; CBS and ABC. He now teaches electronic journalism and documentary at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.*

This means practicing the rules that are drummed into aspiring print and electronic reporters in Journalism 101:

Pin down your facts. Do not publish raw speculation. Corroborate what you have heard or think you've seen. Be calm. Check out hearsay. Attribute what you report. Even though you are printing or airing only the first draft of history, try your best to seek truth and get it right. Then publish it. Ed Murrow told colleagues that "news is what we say it is." When we speak, it's public trust in us that's on the line.

There were such standards in electronic journalism when Murrow and others set professional standards for themselves and for those of us who modeled ourselves on them. Back then, the Tel Aviv correspondent, breathless, excited, trying to slip into his gas mask, would have advised his news desk back home—off the air: "More Patriots. We're sure of that. Don't know if Scuds have landed, or what kind of warhead, gas or conventional. But they were up there. I'll give you more as soon as I find out."

The anchor would have gone on the air calmly: "We have late word from our correspondent in Tel Aviv that there's been another Scud missile attack. We don't know if they've landed or what warheads they're



Gary Viskovic/Newsday

carrying. Patriots have been launched. We don't know yet if they've scored. We'll have the details with pictures as soon as they're received from our news desk in Tel Aviv."

Instead of spreading alarm and uncertainty, as it did typically for a full half-hour during Iraqi missile attacks last Friday morning, CNN could have sustained our interest with some beef while we waited—telling us, perhaps, news of the air war, about developments in other parts of this troubled world, like Yugoslavia and the Baltics—and then told us what *really* happened in Tel Aviv.

Journalism is the conversation of the culture. It is not the spreading of alarm, the off-the-cuff hearsay of an emotional eyewitness tossed on the air before he knows what he's supposed to say, without facts, without thought, without attribution and assessment. Nor is it the incessant, overkill coverage of raw, unevaluated interview staged for us by Saddam Hussein and CNN.

If electronic journalism is ever to restore its tattered reputation, CNN ought to invest a little time and thought reviewing the basic rules of the trade—along with restraint and a healthy dose of stress control.

# Fine TV Can Educate, but Terrible TV Doesn't

To the Editor:

Is television of any use? Can it teach anyone anything? Nick Quinn Rosenkranz argues in "The Feel-Good Tube" (letter, Aug. 23) that television is entertainment, that "education is not entertainment," and that therefore television cannot help teachers teach. Russell Baker in "Alms for the Love of Gore" (column, Aug. 20) attempts to wring humor from the tragic consignment of public television and radio to the patronage of squalid "beggathons" — just where our leadership wants it.

The debate is useful only if it jettisons some uniquely American disempowering myths about television.

One of the most unfortunate is that television can only entertain. The use of the word is misleading. What American commercial television has gorged us with is amusement. Entertainment has two Latin roots — "inter," between, and "tener," to hold.

That is, to hold an audience to the content. Thus, any effective communication — whether in the lecture hall, the pulpit, these pages or the tube — must be entertaining. The problem with many American teachers is that they are not entertaining.

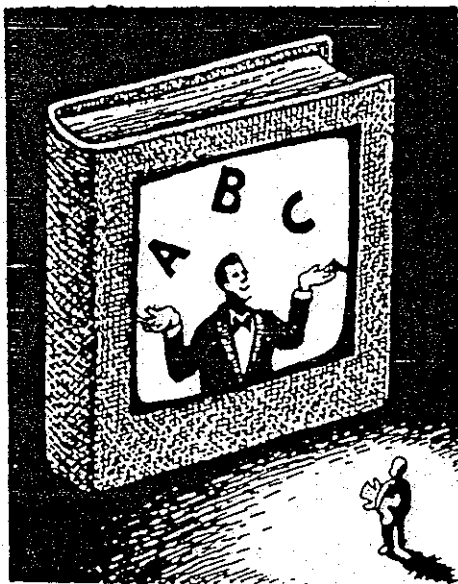
Another error is to disparage all television as boottubery. The problem is Marshall McLuhan's adage about media and messages, and Luddite critics who hold that there was no word before Gutenberg, that literacy is a matter for the left lobe only, and that there is no value in any medium that carries "Love Boat."

But do we curse the light when we read "Mein Kampf" or a turgid textbook under it? Fine television does educate; terrible television does not.

A third myth is that television of any cultural or critical value is some-

how leftist in political content, and that controversy on the tube is really conspiracy. When David Horowitz in "The Moyers Affair" (letter, Aug. 23) invokes the dreary, ancient theme from the self-created platform of his Committee on Media Integrity that public television programs are not "fair, objective and balanced," he denies the Public Broadcasting Service and Bill Moyers a legitimate, inquiring role as an arm of free American journalism. He is making a political statement: that it is only the right wing that ought to define what is fair, objective and balanced on television.

Since the Nixon years, American public television's news and public affairs role has been squelched under threat of budgetary strangulation.



Christophe Vorlet

PBS management, knowing where its Federal bread is buttered, has largely acquiesced. That's why PBS has no vigorous news division.

Television can help us laugh and learn, make our classrooms windows

on the world. But we have to be willing to liberate it and pay for it in a mature way, as media-literate nations do.

JERRY M. LANDAY  
Assoc. Prof., Electronic Journalism  
University of Illinois  
Urbana, Ill., Aug. 31, 1991

## British Restraints

To the Editor:

In a whimsical column on public television fund-raising ("Irate Stirs the Reader," Aug. 31), Russell Baker questions why United States public television can't match the quality of British programming. He notes, "the BBC has guaranteed public funding without political interference."

With owners of television sets in Britain required to pay yearly license fees, the BBC is indeed guaranteed public funds. However, programming on the BBC (or on other British television or radio) is not without political interference.

Since the Government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, strict censorship rules have been imposed on all broadcast media in Britain, prohibiting interviews with Irish nationalists or politicians supporting a united Ireland. This means that elected members of Parliament such as Gerry Adams of the Sinn Fein Party cannot appear on British television or be heard on British radio.

Employees of the BBC have shut down the network with one-day strikes in protest. The journalistic print fraternity has joined their crusade against official censorship.

Sadly, their efforts will likely be without success in a nation having neither a Constitution nor a Bill of Rights.

JOHN P. WIRTZ  
Brooklyn, Sept. 3, 1991

# Free expression's the issue Democracy loses when documentaries get the ax

By JERRY M. LANDAY

The CBS-News producer Fred W. Friendly has recorded the words of chairman William Paley when he aired the "See It Now" documentary series in 1958 after a seven-year run. "I don't want this constant stomach ache every time you do a controversial subject," Friendly recalls Ed Murrow's reply. "Bill, it goes with the job."

But putting up with the stomach aches of democratic expression was not in Paley's own job description. Public TV and the Discovery Channel air the documentaries now. CBS and the other networks don't. Network executives argue that controversy and profit don't mix. The democratic process is the loser.

Reaction to two locally produced documentaries underscores the problem. Recently aired on WLL-TV, Channel 12, they told important stories. They challenged established value systems. They won praise from a wide-ranging audience. But they caused some stomach aches.

The social documentary form — a healthy way in which television serves the public interest — has historically been a lightning rod. It draws high-voltage attacks from the powerful who feel their vital interests are threatened. That makes television management nervous. It causes stomach aches. In 1954, a classic Murrow documentary helped disarm Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Paley's friends complained that Murrow was misusing Paley's "printing press." Five years later Murrow, the icon of modern TV journalism, was driven from his profession.

ONE OF THE local cases that illustrated the problem last month was "A Different Set of Rules: The Case History of a Date Rape." The topic was chosen and produced by students at the University of Illinois. It was a student statement about a student issue that troubles campuses across the na-

## Guest commentary

tion. The script clearly said that. The documentary inevitably focused on the social frenzy within the Greek system, and on the social process that turns sex into a power trip for many males. Complaints were mainly based on worry that the program would do irreparable harm to the University of Illinois and its Greek system. Unfortunately, the students ... have been done a gross disservice, for the impression created ... is that the program only exists at Urbana-Champaign, a senior administrator wrote.

Next, critics of "The Price of Bounny," produced by the Agricultural Communications unit at the university, similarly complained, and quietly leveled serious threats of retaliation. The program tells of the impact of chemically based farming methods on land, rivers, communities and lives.

Farming interests spearheaded by the Farm Bureau Federation and the Potash and Phosphate Institute said that they were worried that their industry would be shown in a bad light, and that the public's reaction could not be trusted. In the words of one industry spokesman, the public is "scientifically illiterate."

Yet both programs contained powerful positive messages. In "A Different Set of Rules," the audience was told of a complex of research and consulting programs that makes the university a model in dealing with acquaintance rape. Similarly, the documentary was made the centerpiece of a conference on date rape at Sangamon State University.

"The Price of Bounny," as this newspaper wrote, "points out steps taken by farmers to follow government guidelines and cut

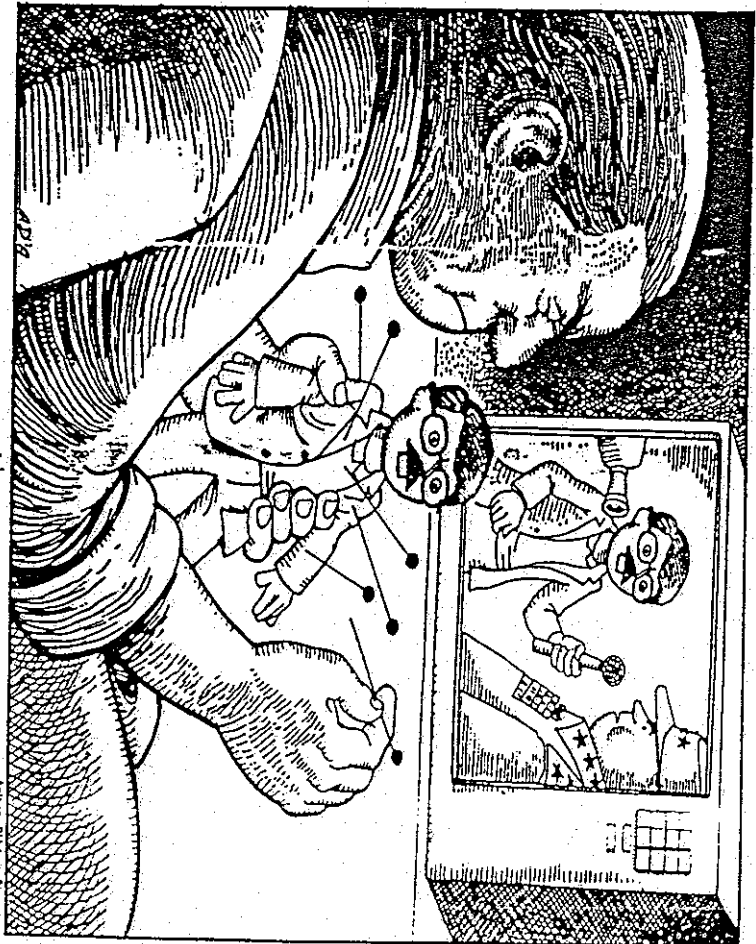
back on chemical use." On the program, the audience meets a fertilizer dealer who has voluntarily spent thousands of dollars to control groundwater pollution, and a farmer who has converted part of his acreage into organic production, without losing yield or income.

But useful content often takes a back seat to stomach ache. As Bill Leonard, a former network news chief, noted, "Documentaries that do the job ... tend to get attention as much for the anger they arouse as for the praise they generate, often more so."

THE TEXTBOOK CASE for documentarians is the stormy history of "The Selling of the Pentagon," aired by CBS in 1971. Anchored and reported by Roger Mudd, the program documented the huge Pentagon public relations department. It was spending \$30 million in taxpayers' money yearly to glorify the U.S. military presence in Vietnam, convert setbacks there into triumphs, and push expensive battlefield technology.

The documentary showed only what the Pentagon itself had made available to the CBS-News team. The stomach ache of the military-industrial community was seismic. Vice President Agnew accused Mudd of "propagandistic manipulation." Chairman F. Edward Hebert of the House Armed Services Committee filed a formal complaint to the Federal Communications Commission. He acknowledged later he had never seen the documentary.

Chairman Harley Staggers of the House Commerce Investigations Subcommittee issued a sweeping subpoena to CBS demanding all film that had been shot, and all tape sound recordings, whether aired or not, all reporters' notebooks, transcripts and scripts. President Frank Stanton of CBS refused on First Amendment grounds. It appeared that Stanton would



Art by Dave Coverly

be sent to jail for contempt of Congress. There was a monumental behind-the-scenes struggle to reverse the subpoena. Embarrassed politicians worried that the imprisonment of so prestigious a figure would become the cause celebre of the 1972 presidential campaign. The House voted 226-181 to quash the subpoena, the only time it has so repudiated a committee chairman.

The story the documentary told was never challenged. Instead critics focused on a common indictment, one also leveled against the local documentaries, lack of balance. Balance presumes there are only two sides to a burning question. There may be many.

The conclusions of an effective documentary are reached by thorough research and impartial investigation. A juror or academic researcher or editorial writer does no less.

But such TV produces powerful shock waves because of the nature of the medium. Sound with sight is the way the whole brain encounters our universe, not through words alone.

A documentary is emotive because, as experimenters at Cleveland State University found in 1968, participants on the two sides of a controversial issue who viewed television footage about that controversy tended to fear that it swayed public opinion against their cause. Randomly recruited subjects viewing the same material showed no significant bias toward either side.

As for controversy, Ed Murrow told a staff correspondent, "When you reach a conclusion, put it forward, even if it runs counter to the prevailing wisdom. Do not seek to be different or contentious, but do not shrink from it." Richard Salant, the president of

CBS-News who had initiated "The Selling of the Pentagon," concluded: "The price of avoiding (angry) letters is blindness; the price of blindness, in this field at least, is public indifference, and we cannot afford those prices either."

Most Americans now learn about their world from television sets. A public-affairs documentary in a democratic society succeeds if it only provokes discourse on a pressing issue. The viewers make up their own minds.

Long before the TV documentary, Abraham Lincoln understood the process: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it." Jerry M. Landay, an associate professor at the University of Illinois, teaches election journalism and documentary storytelling on television. He is a frequent news correspondent for ABC and CBS News.

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Jerry M. Landay is associate professor of journalism at the University of Illinois, teaching courses in electronic journalism and documentary history/production. He assumed the post in August, 1988. In Spring, 1993, he was invited to join the Campus Honors Faculty to deliver a course on Issues in Television. His work derives from more than thirty years as a teacher, writer, and news correspondent, public affairs producer and executive for CBS-News, ABC-News, Satellite Education Services/PBS and Group W radio and TV stations.

At the University, he is a member of the Board of the Illini Media Company, publisher of the Daily Illini and licensee of the student station WPGU. From 1989 to 1992, he served as creative consultant to WILL-AM-TV, the university-licensed public broadcasting stations, and as moderator of the WILL-TV discussion program TALKING POINT. He writes and speaks extensively on communications issues.

He has been appointed to the faculty of the University's Program in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security.

He was co-executive producer, with the Nebraska Educational TV Network, of the PBS documentary PROFIT THE EARTH, the keynote broadcast of public television's 1990 Outreach Alliance project on environmental issues marking Earth Day, aired by PBS on 16 April, 1990, and again on 12 September, 1990. He served as executive producer of DRINKING 101, an acclaimed student-produced documentary on campus alcohol abuse, aired on 4 September 1990 on WILL-TV, and, a year later, A DIFFERENT SET OF RULES: THE STORY OF A DATE RAPE. Both were honored by the Academy of TV Arts and Sciences as best Midwestern student-produced documentary. The latter work has appeared on 40 PBS stations and state networks. A third student work, THE FREEDOM RIDER, was aired by more than 60 PBS stations in the 1992-93 season.

For eight years, until 1984, he served as a news correspondent for CBS-News, and was seen and heard on all regular news broadcasts. Much of his television work was seen regularly on the SUNDAY MORNING broadcast. For ABC-News from 1972 until 1975, he was a White House correspondent during the Nixon and Ford administrations, and reported regularly on the Watergate crisis. He travelled with the Nixon party to the Soviet Union, France, Britain, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi-Arabia and Iceland.

In thirteen years with Group W, he served as national political correspondent, based in Washington. For Group W and others, he covered every presidential campaign from 1960 through 1976. For three years, he reconstituted and was chief foreign correspondent and director of the Group W Foreign News Service, based in London.

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He supervised a staff of Group W correspondents and stringers, stretching from Moscow to Sydney, and travelled on journalistic assignments to more than 20 countries, including Vietnam and the Soviet Union. He also filed reports to Newsday, the Long Island daily.

For Group W, he revitalized, directed and managed radio station newsrooms in Pittsburgh, Boston and New York. He produced and reported on the Peace Corps in Africa in 1962, in a five-part radio documentary series AFRICA: Peace Corps Plus Two. The series was converted into an album for recruiting purposes at the order of then-director Sargent Shriver.

Landay is an author, as well as writer of many articles, specializing most recently on media issues. His interest in the Middle East, beginning with coverage of the 1967 War, inspired three books: Silent Cities, Sacred Stones (Weidenfield/Dutton), The Dome of the Rock (Newsweek Books), and The House of David. All deal with the archaeology and history of Palestine and Israel. He spent a total of seven years abroad as correspondent and writer.

He served for a year as a national editor on the News of the Week Section of the Sunday New York Times. Before coming to Champaign-Urbana, Landay was president of The Landay Creative Group, Inc., a communication company which designed and produced commissioned documentaries.

The firm won praise for its documentary celebration of Thomas A. Edison, THE INVENTION FACTORY, seen by visitors to the Edison National Historic Site, West Orange, N.J. American Express was major underwriter of the production. Mr. Landay was executive producer of the national youth public affairs series WHY IN THE WORLD broadcast on PBS, underwritten by The General Motors Corporation. In 1987, he was creator of AMERICAN ORIGINALS, a biographical documentary series on American role models, in collaboration with MacNeil/Lehrer Productions and the Disney Channel.

He has written for The London Telegraph, The London Times, The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, TV Quarterly, Film Quarterly, Illinois Quarterly, The Columbia Journalism Review, Publishers Weekly, Current, Electronic Media, and the Champaign News Gazette.

While in London, Mr. Landay served as president of the American Correspondents Association. At WINS, New York, the newsroom he headed for Group W won two Sigma Delta Chi awards for journalistic excellence. He was a member of the Reform Club of London.

The production firm he founded, LCG, carried out several innovative commissions on artificial intelligence for the Kurzweil Corporation: a videocassette introduction to its voice-driven computer system, titled LISTEN TO ME!, as well

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as the first audiocassette production ever to accompany a stock offering in the U-S - on the Kurzweil 250 electronic music system.

Mr. Landay served other business and institutional clients, including Citibank, Newsweek, Inc., Bristol-Myers, Inc., and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. For Jack Hilton, Inc., Mr. Landay was also a producer on the historic 5-city international videoconference marking NEWSWEEK'S 50th anniversary.

He has three children. His oldest son, Jonathan, former UPI bureau chief in New Delhi, now writes and reports on the Yugoslav Civil War from Belgrade for The Christian Science Monitor. His reports are also heard on Monitor Radio. A second son, Woodrow, is founder and president of The Image Logic Corporation, Washington, D.C. A daughter, Stephanie Lisa, attends Cardozo Law School in New York City, and interns in the Manhattan County District Attorney's Office. His wife, Sandra Chabot, is a noted choral director, presently teaching and conducting at Parkland College, Champaign, IL.

Mr. Landay is a magna cum laude graduate of Syracuse University, where he served as student program manager of the campus station WAER.