

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

L 2/19

January 13, 1991

Prof. George Gerbner
The Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
3620 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6220

Dear George:

In reply to your January 3 letter, I agree that the time is ripe, in truth, overdue, for the organization of a broad movement of mass media reform based on humanistic values. I will be happy to join in that effort in any way that I can, including|| if the organizers desire it, membership on the Steering Committee.

The general approach in the document seems sound. I also agree that it is important to bring together a coalition of existing national and international organizations that have in their individual agendas a high priority for the movement's approach and goals. I am thinking of groups like the PTA (I remember their frustrated year-long effort at reducing gratuitous sex and violence on television) and ACT, with children's programming.

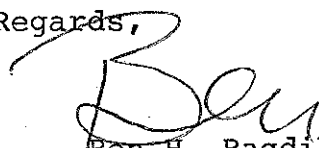
Might the provisional title, "Cultural Environmental Movement" be too broad? I understand its underlying meaning, to heighten consciousness that "culture," in the sense of societal forces that impart values and visions has a new character in modern society: the universality, pervasiveness, and propagandistic techniques of the mass media. But doesn't "cultural environment" require a further reminder that we are dealing with a new actor that has alarming power to override or erode for narrow commercial purposes traditional culture as imparted by family, school, religion, history, etc. And may not "culture" in the title also imply to much of the public, "high culture" like drama, opera, dance, etc.?

You, I suspect, are as tired as I am of the term, "mass media," but in the title, might that not make the focus of the movement more clear and precise?

I am heartened by this new activity and by the fact that you are in a leadership role. Count me in.

With all best wishes,

Regards,


Ben H. Bagdikian

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

February 26, 1991

George Gerbner
The Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
3620 Walnut Street
Philadelphia PA 19104-6220

Dear George:

I'm sorry that I cannot attend any of the three meetings mentioned in your February 19 letter. But be assured that my interest in the project remains high.

I would much appreciate receiving whatever materials come out of the meetings.

With all best wishes for these important meetings and for you,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ben". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sincerely,".

January 31, 1993

Prof. Ben Bagdikian
25 Stonewall Rd.
Berkeley, CA 94705
510 848 2226

Dear Ben:

It was a pleasure to see you and have your advice on CEM at our recent meeting in San Francisco. I am back from another trip (see enclosed brief report) and am writing now to follow up our brief discussion about our new book project.

Having completed a volume, *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf*, which has been very well received (the 2nd edition is in press), we are planning a new volume on the dimensions of the many underlying crises in the contemporary era. Tentatively, the work will be entitled, "Invisible Crises." What we have in mind can be summed up as follows:

Triumph of the Image demonstrated that it is now possible to blanket the globe with selected images of crises -- both real and contrived -- and use them to force an outcome. By the same token, it is also possible to blank out critical conditions and developments whose imagery would pose an unacceptable challenge to the structure of culture-power. These are the "invisible crises" of the book project we would like you to join.

When most of the world's countries used the forum of Unesco to voice a desire for a more equitable global communications, Western media demonized Unesco, paved the way for U.S. withdrawal, and imposed media silence on international culture policy developments. Highly publicized (and later discredited) threats to Americans in a Berlin disco, Granadian hospital, or Panamanian suburbs led to subsequent bombings and invasions -- and then silence. The global spectacular in the Persian Gulf, described in *Triumph of the Image*, blotted out images of indiscriminate slaughter on the ground and the destruction of life-sustaining infrastructure. Images of starving Somalian children compel our government, when it becomes politically expedient, to send an expeditionary force to a country, and continent, still dark for most Americans in the absence of sustained media interest and coverage.

Invisible crises include the promotion of practices that drug, hurt, poison, and kill thousands every day; portrayals that dehumanize and stigmatize; cults of violence that desensitize, terrorize and brutalize; the growing siege mentality of our cities; the drift toward ecological

suicide; the silent crumbling of our own infrastructure; widening resource gaps and the most glaring inequalities in the industrial world; the costly neglect of vital institutions such as public education and the arts; and media-assisted make-believe image politics corrupting the electoral process.

Hidden from public sight and mind, the invisible crises threaten our democracy and existence even more than the crises we know about, or think we know about. Deprived of sustained attention but bombarded by eruptions of surface consequences (often presented as unique events stripped of historical context), people are bewildered, fearful, angry, and cynical. Underlying all of this is the profound general crisis of social vision, public communication, and representative government.

This volume will explore such unattended crises, analyze why they are hidden, and focus on the increasing concentration of culture-power that keeps them from view. In addition to the issues mentioned above, it will examine the general crisis of our era and its already observable manifestations in the changing locus of national sovereignty, international law and organization, the control of economic and cultural resources, and personal (and national) identity, integrity and autonomy.

We envisage a work of essays of approximately 20-30 double-spaced pages. Each essay will be the work of an exceptionally qualified writer/scholar. We hope this project interests you and we invite your contribution. I hope you will be willing to write the key chapter on media concentration. We are working toward an end-of-May, 1993, manuscript completion date.

Please let us know before the end of February if you can join us. and give us a brief description of your contribution so that we can anticipate the range and scope of the volume. We are excited about this project and are eagerly awaiting your response.

Sincerely,

George Gerbner with Hamid Mowlana (American University) and Herbert I. Schiller (University of California, San Diego)

Marlene Griffith
Bagdikian

co-editor of
Borzo College Reader
with Charles Muscatine

co-author

Democracy's Open Door:
The Community College
in America's Future
with Ann Conner

Henry College
Oxford, CA

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

Sept 4, 1994

Dear George,

Thanks for the CEM
report and the note that you'll
be in SF on Sept. 26. I'm
sorry to say that on the 26th
I'll be out of the country until
Oct 17. I would have been
delighted to see you again. Please
let me know if you come to these
parts and when you will.

all the best,

Ben

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

Dec 31, 1995

Dear George,

The latest mailing for The Founding Convention JCEM, reminds me, sadly, that I cannot attend. I have to give the keynote speech to the 20th anniversary of Project Censored on the same date, a commitment of more than one year's planning.

Marlene and I wish you - and all of us - a fruitful and happy New Year. As ever, Ben

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

August 30, 1996

Dr. George Gerbner
Cultural Environment Movement
Box 31847
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Dear George,

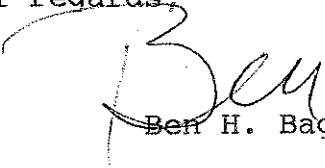
I am flattered to be asked to join the CEM Board. As you know, you and your work have been an inspiration for me over many years. And I agree wholeheartedly with your values and those in CEM (which I mention in a just-written new edition of one of my books).

My hesitation is being available during the right time and places for gatherings of the Board. For example, during much of October I will be in Asia and, like many others, family obligations often make it difficult to attend meetings at crucial times.

If those are not a disadvantage for your wise goal of an activist board, I will be honored to join. But I do mention my disadvantages with all seriousness.

I was much pleased by reports of the Convention in St. Louis. I congratulate you for it.

With high personal regards,


Ben H. Bagdikian

November 14, 1996

Ben Bagdikian
Via fax 510 2779

Dear Ben:

We regret you cannot attend the retreat at Asilomar, will miss you, and wish complete and speedy recovery.

With best regards

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Steve", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

1

Ben H. Bagdikian
25 Stonewall Road
Berkeley, California 94705
October 29, 1996

FAX to George Gerbner, CEM, (215-387-1560)
From Ben Bagdikian (FAX 510-848-2779)

Dear George,

I plan to be present for the Saturday session at Asilomar. Until I returned from my recent Asia trip, I could not be sure, which is why I am long past deadline on signing up.

When it is convenient, could someone in your office send me the Saturday program, when it is established. I'm mostly interested in the starting and ending time of the business session.

I hope I will also be able to come down for the Friday night dinner. The time of that also will be helpful. If Friday night lodging requires some action on my part, could you let me know?

Marlene regrets that she cannot make it, so I'll be alone.

Best wishes.

Ben

FAX to George Geringer, in Las Vegas, 515 357 1560.
From Ben Boydinger, FAX 511-342-2770.
November 14, 1988

Dear George,

I regret that I have to skip the end of the fall end of a bad flu and face a possible travel schedule before too long. My doctor says to my best to avoid any travel. I've violated his advice enough to compromise my health.

I wish you and the delegates could be here. I hope to catch up later with the results.

Best regards

Ben
ben

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

June 26, 1997

Dr. George Gerbner
President
Cultural Environment Movement
Box 31847
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Perp

Dear George,

Thanks for the report and your note on the May meeting and results. I'm delighted at the sense of movement.

I've enclosed a page of a talk I gave recently at the General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association, in which, among other things, I urged people to join CEM. I gave CEM's address to people who showed interest, and there were a number of such people. At that Assembly, I, too, sensed a growing outrage at the continued refusal of broadcasters to meet public interest obligations and at continued anti-social, anti-children programming.

(I also enclose the new 5th edition of The Media Monopoly with a new Preface and Afterword.)

You are far ahead of me on any ideas for funding or alliances. But the Veatch Foundation is Unitarian-based and social action oriented.

On the action against network refusal to accept ads, is it possible that another party in the alliance with Ad Busters could be the AFL-CIO? Public Broadcasting has refused to let them sponsor a program on workers, even though CPB permits business firms to sponsor programs on finance and investing.

I hope, finally, to get together at the next West Coast meeting.

Warm regards,

Ben H. Bagdikian
Ben H. Bagdikian

July 22, 1997

Dear Ben:

Thanks for your letter and copy of plug for CEM. Did you see the article (on me and CEM) in the April issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*?

I have been awarded the Bell (as in Bell-Atlantic or Bell-Nynax?) chair of communication at Temple University. Needless to say, Bell had no role in the selection... .

Congratulations to the new edition. The way things are going, we need one each year. (Or have we reached total control?)

No West Coast trip on the horizon as yet.

With best regards --

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
25 STONEWALL ROAD
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94705

Mailed all
materials, CV,
etc. 11/18/97

NO. 5, 1997

Dear George,

Congratulations on your new
appointment at Temple. It was
extremely intelligent of Temple
and I hope a good platform for
your growing impact.

With warmest regards,

Ben

the Boston WASPs, the brutish, Puritan buccaneers of that closed-in, sealed-up world that held Bradlee from infancy. It is noteworthy that in his numberless animadversions on Harvard, he omits mention of his failed campaign to get himself elected to the Board of Overseers. Something's eating at him, or so it would seem of a person who has consulted five shrinks over the years.

Bradlee's relationship with President John Kennedy takes up a fair portion of the book. Some may find it unbelievable that Bradlee, who spent so much time palling around with Kennedy, could have no idea that the man suffered from third-stage priapism, that he was even having an affair with Bradlee's sister-in-law and Bradlee didn't know it. But if Bradlee

says he didn't know it, he didn't. He's a truthful man.

Had Bradlee known, what would he have done? He wouldn't have published tales of the President sleeping with his sister-in-law, but sleeping with a girlfriend of one of the nation's top mobsters is a different matter. He probably would have turned Kennedy in, so to speak. In the last analysis his newspaper came first.

When Bradlee was a young man, in a deranged moment he enrolled in a fiction writing class at the New School, taught by James T. Farrell. Farrell told him that he couldn't describe emotion. It is hard to think of a personality less suited to confessional literature, but while we await a worthy biography we'll have to take what burps he gives us. □

Post Toastie (2): Bagdikian

MORTON MINTZ

DOUBLE VISION: Reflections on My Heritage, Life, and Profession. *By Ben H. Bagdikian. Beacon. 241 pp. \$24.*

Maybe, as Art Buchwald foresaw in 1966, we're headed toward an America in which every company west of the Mississippi River has been merged into a single corporation, Samson Securities, and every company east of the Mississippi has been acquired by the Delilah Company. They seek to unite. "But if you merge," someone pointed out, "there will be only *one* company left in the United States." "Exactly," said the president of Delilah. "Thank God for the free enterprise system." The Attorney General coupled his approval of the merger with an announcement: "The Samson and Delilah Company is now negotiating at the White House to buy the United States. The Justice Department will naturally study this merger to see if it violates any of our strong antitrust laws."

The provider of the information that enables citizens to exercise intelligent sovereignty is supposed to be a free and responsible press. Today the idea of such a press faces converging threats, many of them deriving from the relentless greed of

owners. A three-part danger is the sharp decline in the number of newspapers (late-ly and lamentably including *New York Newsday*), the shrinkage of news staffs at surviving papers and the consequent fear of unemployment in the journalists remaining. On the September day I am writing, *The New York Times* reported that at the *Berkshire Eagle* in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where cuts had already shrunk the newsroom from sixty-two to forty, the new owner, Media News Group of Denver, will cut salaries and reduce the newsroom to twenty-nine. Yet another threat is what Ben Bagdikian accurately diagnoses as "the desire of new editors to look like hard-boiled realists insisting that nobody is really interested in serious news, that readers want only to be entertained."

But the gravest threat, inseparable from the rest, is the rapidly increasing concentration of ownership by the national and multinational corporations that, as Bagdikian wrote in the first edition of *The Media Monopoly* (1983), "control what America sees, hears and reads." At the time the number of these corporations was down to fifty. In the fourth edition (1992) it was twenty.

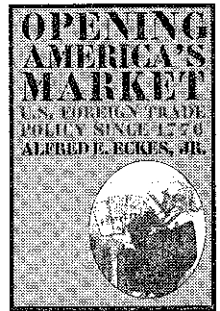
Recently, Walt Disney acquired Capital Cities/ABC, owner of the network and seven newspapers. Two other empires competed for CBS, where Laurence Tisch decimated the news division. One was Westinghouse, long significant in broadcasting, which recently defeated Turner Broadcasting System. Voting control in Turner, which is the biggest cable TV programmer, was held by cable giant Tele-Communications. And in a mega-

Morton Mintz, a former Washington Post reporter who worked for Ben Bagdikian when Bagdikian was the Post's assistant managing editor for national news, is also a former chairman of the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

TRADE POLITICS AND THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SIXTIES

OPENING AMERICA'S MARKET

U.S. Foreign Trade
Policy since 1776
ALFRED E. ECKES, JR.



Former chairman and commissioner of the U.S. International Trade Commission offers a bold critique of U.S. trade policies from 1776 to the present. "Lucid [and] insightful. . . Alfred E. Eckes has written an instant classic, one that is indispensable for anyone interested in U.S. trade policy."—Pat Choate, Manufacturing Policy Project
424 pp., \$34.95
Business, Society, and the State



**TURNING
RIGHT IN
THE SIXTIES**
The Conservative
Capture of the
GOP
MARY C. BRENNAN

"A well-researched and well-written [account] . . . of the social and political movement that transformed American conservatism in the late 1950s and early 1960s. . . Essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the politics of the 1990s."—Leo P. Ribuffo, author of *The Old Christian Right*
224 pp., \$29.95



AT BOOKSTORES OR BY TOLL-FREE ORDER

**THE UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA PRESS**

Chapel Hill
Phone (800) 848-6224, Fax (800) 272-6817
<http://sunsite.unc.edu/uncpress/>

Heaven Is a Playground

RICK TELANDER

"Funny, sad, superbly written and intensely involving."—*New York Times Book Review*

In 1974, Rick Telander set out to write a magazine piece on the court wizards of Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant. He ended up staying the entire summer, becoming part of the players' lives and eventually the coach of a loose aggregation known as the Subway Stars. The roots of today's inner-city basketball can be traced to the world Telander presents in *Heaven is a Playground*, the first book of its kind.

\$10 paper

American Indian Sports Heritage

JOSEPH B. OXENDINE

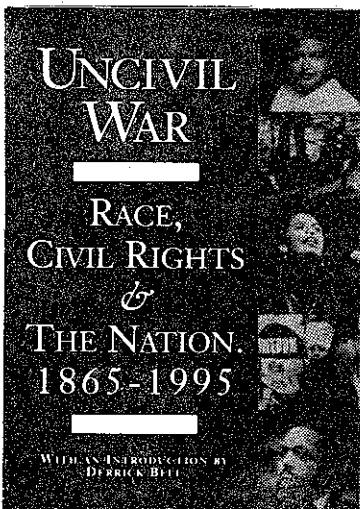
"From scenes of Senecas playing snow snake and Cheyennes competing in *chungke*, to the exploits of Olympian runner Billy Mills and Yankee pitcher Allie Reynolds, Oxendine has compiled a useful compendium of information on traditional Indian games and the entry of Native Americans into modern collegiate and professional sports, especially during the 'heyday' period between 1890 and 1930."—*Choice*

\$16.95 paper



At bookstores.

University of Nebraska Press publishers of Bison Books Lincoln NE • 800-755-1105



New from The Nation Press.

*An illuminating history
of race relations and civil rights
from 1865 to the present
as seen through the eyes of
The Nation.*

• Featuring essays by Martin Luther King Jr., Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, Dorothy van Doren, Patricia Williams, Mike Davis, Katha Pollitt, Derrick Bell and Oswald Garrison Villard, among many others — all originally published in *The Nation*.

Uncivil War, \$12 postpaid, paper, ISBN: 0-9646929-0-2. Send check to: Nation Books, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. For bulk discount and classroom adoption information call: 212/242-8400, ext. 213.

mega-merger announced on September 22, Time Warner bought Turner.

Lest ye forget: General Electric, which has a criminal record as long as your arm, owns NBC. And Wells Fargo International Trust is not only the biggest institutional shareholder in G.E., as Representative Marcy Kaptur pointed out in *The Nation* [September 11], it is also the third-largest shareholder in Disney, the fourth-largest in Time Warner, the fifth-largest in Capital Cities and the seventh-largest in CBS. Wells Fargo isn't unique. Kaptur named three other investors with "substantial holdings in each of these giants." The Gingrich-Dole Congress, rising to the challenge of concentration, passed a bill permitting a single corporation to own a town's newspaper, two of its TV stations, all of its radio stations and its cable company.

Suppose Ben Bagdikian had confined his elegantly written reflections to the story of a large family of Armenian émigrés who narrowly escaped Turkish genocide and somehow made it to New England: his strict Protestant preacher father, his noble mother dying of tuberculosis, his loving sisters, his Americanized Uncle Fred, his career as a vacuum-cleaner salesman, his pre-med education, his impulsive entry into reporting. Even if so confined, his book would have been lovely—compassionate, funny, gripping, warm, wise. Fortunately, though, the heritage and life permeate Bagdikian's reflections as a superb journalist, and an invaluable critic of journalism, on his profession. One of his most depressing comments is a five-word aside: "Today, I wouldn't be hired."

The growing concentration of ownership of news and information corporations can only worsen the present situation, in which so-called conservatives constantly complain of "liberal bias in the news." Thus do they not accidentally conceal reality:

All of broadcast and printed news is pulled by a dominant current into a continuous flow of business conservatism. . . . The main news mostly ignores or obscures the true "other side," the social and economic realities that most Americans live with. . . . The result is that American news is overwhelmingly the world as seen from the top down. . . . Whole sections of newspapers and entire broadcast programs are devoted to possibilities for a quick killing or a safe bet on Wall Street. . . . But there is no speculation or broad spectrum of opinion offered about the causes and cures of unemployment,

homelessness, and the continued long-term poverty of millions of Americans.

Bagdikian documents his analysis. Consider the public statement issued in 1989 by 127 economists that was the subject of Congressional testimony by Nobel laureate and economist James Tobin. They argued that it was urgent for the country to improve "the public infrastructure—repairing schools, roads, bridges—and to allocate more money for children's education and health. The repairs were necessary but they would also provide needed jobs and housing, which would be the only permanent way to increase the tax base." When Bagdikian searched the standard news data banks,

I found only brief and indirect references to Tobin's testimony in the back pages of two newspapers.

If those answers had been given half the airtime and front-page headlines the ups and downs of the Dow Jones Industrial Average receive, they might have cast doubt on the standard dogmas that favor corporate life.

Instead of asking "why the homeless now and not before?" our main news in the 1980s was full of speeches and headlines about politicians and economists singing the familiar hymns: "get government off the back of business" and "taxes will hurt business and cost jobs," as though both were immutable natural laws that only fools would question.

Bagdikian offers numerous other distressing examples of such putatively "objective" news judgments. One involves the bitterness unionists justly feel about "the sparse and largely negative" press treatment of American workers as contrasted with the "generous positive treatment of American employers":

The imbalance changes—if the workers and employers are far away. In 1989, for example, 1,700 members of the United Mine Workers . . . went on strike for nine months over the withdrawal of benefits in mines in Pittston, Virginia. Over that period of time, the three major networks gave the event a total of twenty-three minutes of news coverage. At about the same time, miners in the Siberian coal mines also went on strike and the three networks devoted thirty-seven minutes to the Siberian strike. Both CBS and ABC dramatically depicted the bitterly degrading living and working conditions of the Siberian miners in contrast to the lavish comforts of their bosses. No union official could remember any American network ever reporting on American workers on strike for better working conditions, and simultaneously comparing their personal lives with those of their employers.

Bagdikian obtained the Pentagon Papers for *The Washington Post*. His account of the in-house struggle over whether to print them is riveting, and his praise of Katharine Graham for going ahead is unstinting. This account is but one reason why *Double Vision* should prosper, but some nits need correction. In the Pentagon Papers episode, it was then-*Washington Post* reporter Murrey (not "Murray") Marder, then-Solicitor General Erwin (not "Irwin") Griswold and then-director of the National Security Agency Noel Gayler (not "Gaylor") who were involved. David Kraslow was then with the *Los Angeles Times*, not *The Miami Herald*. Elsewhere, Walter Lippmann is said to have likened the press to the beam of a "flashlight"; it was a searchlight. The title of the Donald

Barlett and James Steele book is given as *What Went Wrong?*; it was *America: What Went Wrong?*

In 1988, while on a flight to San Francisco, Bagdikian had a heart attack. In the ambulance on the way to the hospital, he recalls, "I somehow knew with greater clarity that almost all human beings are potentially decent and unselfish—if their society stresses those qualities as truly important. . . . I wish American journalism could share those ambulance perceptions. I do not wish it a heart attack, but I do wish it an attack of heart."

The great reporter and press critic George Seldes had an attack of heart and lived to be 104. I hope Ben Bagdikian's will enable him to report and criticize until he's 208. He's a national treasure. □

Esquire Edits the Sixties

DAN WAKEFIELD

ESKY: The Early Years at *Esquire*. By Hugh Merrill. Rutgers. 188 pp. \$27.95.

IT WASN'T PRETTY, FOLKS, BUT DIDN'T WE HAVE FUN?: *Esquire* in the Sixties. By Carol Polsgrove. Norton. 335 pp. \$27.50.

For a boy growing up in Indiana in the forties, *Esquire* magazine was exciting because it meant sex, as represented by the Varga Girls—monthly drawings described by my fellow Hoosier Kurt Vonnegut as "invented women" who "have no underarm hair or even minor skin blemishes." Mainly because of these fantasy females, *Esquire* was considered a morale-booster for U.S. troops in World War II, with the government accounting for 200,000 copies a month (a third of its circulation), as well as 49 percent of sales of its Varga Girls calendars.

For a young writer in New York in the fifties, making a living doing magazine "piecework," *Esquire* was exciting for a different reason. It offered an opportunity to break the old formula molds of the "slicks," and even get paid decently for doing it. Though *Esquire* couldn't match the lofty fees of *Collier's* and *The Saturday Evening Post*, it was a lot more generous than distinguished little magazines like *Dissent*, *Commentary*, *Commonweal*

Dan Wakefield's books include *New York in the Fifties* and, most recently, *Expect a Miracle* (HarperCollins).

and *The Nation*, where I got my start.

When I published my first article in *Esquire* in 1959, my New York lit friends were impressed, while people back home in Indiana greeted the news with either winks or clucks. In the popular imagination of the hinterlands, *Esquire* still symbolized the sexual rather than the literary avant-garde, though in fact it had a remarkable literary history.

Arnold Gingrich, an advertising copywriter, and David Smart, a Chicago entrepreneur, started *Esquire* in 1933 as a men's fashion magazine to be distributed mainly in clothing stores, but even in the depths of the Depression the premiere issue was a newsstand hit, supplementing clothing ads with pinup girls and the best in thirties fiction—Fitzgerald and Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Thomas Mann, Langston Hughes, Dashiell Hammett, Chester Himes and John Steinbeck.

In the early fifties, with *Playboy* updating the old "girlie" formula by airbrushing real women to the flawlessness of Vargas's invented ones, and throwing in fiction by the day's top writers for a patina of respectability, *Esquire* faded. Vargas had left for *True*, an even more he-mannish journal, and in 1945 Gingrich had gone all the way to Switzerland after squabbling with moneyman Smart. (The move turned out to be only temporary.) Hugh Merrill, a journalism teacher at West Florida University, has with *Esquire* written a fascinating social history of the early years—including the magazine's legal battle to keep the U.S. Post Office from taking away its mailing privileges at the same

CounterPunch

The exciting newsletter about power and evil in Washington, now joined by Alexander Cockburn.


"Badly needed."—Noam Chomsky

"Highly recommended."—*Utne Reader*

Don't miss these twice-monthly dispatches. Subscribe now! 1-year (22 issues) \$40. \$25 low-income. Counterpunch (A), IPS, PO Box 18675, Washington, DC 20009.

Learn Spanish

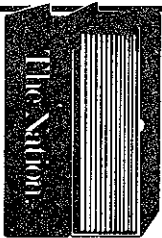
México • Costa Rica • Ecuador • Guatemala • more

 Learn Spanish the RIGHT way FAST
 • For all ages and all levels
 • Executive Intensive Programs
 • Leisure (ruins, rainforest, more...)
 PO Box 40513 • Phila., PA 19106 • 1-800-879-6640



Delightful 5 inch gold or silver plastic emblem for car, refrigerator, or file cabinet; or 1 inch metal lapel. Only \$7 Send check to FISH, Dept 20, Box 26523, Colo. Springs, CO. 80936. Credit card orders by FAX or voice at 719-593-9227, or by E-mail at EvolveFISH@AOL.com. See at www.usa.net/evolvefish

Celebrate Science, not Superstition



**SAVE
THE
NATION**

Organize and protect your back copies in Nation cases or binders, covered in red leatherette with a gold Nation logo. 1 case or 1 binder holds 6 months (1 volume) of *The Nation*.

Cases \$8.95, 3 for \$24.95, 6 for \$45.95
 Binders \$11.25, 3 for \$31.85, 6 for \$60.75

Mail to: The Nation, Jesse Jones Industries, Dept. N,
 499 E. Erie Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19134.

I would like _____ cases; _____ binders.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____. Add \$1.50 per unit postage/handling. Outside U.S. \$3.50 per unit.

Major credit cards accepted for orders over \$15. To charge call toll free (800) 825-6690.

Name _____

Address _____
 (NO P.O. BOXES PLEASE)

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Payment in U.S. funds. PA residents add 7% sales tax.
 Satisfaction guaranteed.

time the government supported sales with shipments to servicemen.

When Gingrich, promised editorial freedom, returned to the magazine in 1952, he spent several floundering years in search of a new formula, which he found through the eyes of a new generation. The first and most important of the "Young Turks" he hired—the one who became the editor and soul of the magazine in its new heyday, and mentor to my generation of writers—was Harold Hayes, the ex-Marine trombone-playing son of a Southern Baptist minister from Elkin, North Carolina, who smoked a pipe, sported loud suspenders, a "rumpled Mark Twain look," and rode a motorcycle through the streets of Manhattan. Most important, he wore a smile more easily and often than any editor I've ever known. "I took him in like the morning paper," Gingrich later reflected on his hiring of Hayes in 1956, "knowing that in a Southern liberal who was also a Marine reserve officer I had an extremely rare bird."

That rare bird is expertly captured by Carol Polsgrove, who teaches journalism at Indiana University. With grace and accuracy, Polsgrove conveys the magazine Hayes made a part of our history. Her book's baroque-sounding title is not the name of an article from that era, though it sounds like one, but rather the author's idea of what a Harold Hayes *Esquire* title for her book might have been: *It Wasn't Pretty, Folks, But Didn't We Have Fun?* She got it right.

Harold gave the Madison Avenue office a *Front Page* newspaper air of excitement and enthusiasm. Gay Talese "loved working for him," and TV producer Bob Shanks, who would later develop the television show *20/20* with Hayes, "always felt better for being with Hayes, who was so full of joy and optimism, curious about everything, open to the world." Michael Herr, whom Hayes backed in writing his Vietnam classic *Dispatches*, remembers him as "a gentleman in the truest sense," defined by Herr as "someone who doesn't want to see other people uncomfortable."

The man who generated such loyalty, affection and esteem sparked a magazine that shaped as well as reflected the sixties glory days and in the process turned journalism into literature. As *Esquire* first made its mark as a vehicle for outstanding fiction writers in the thirties, the magazine in the sixties under Hayes made *non-fiction* fashionable, as well as significant.

The "New Journalism," which began in the little magazines of the fifties, with underground writers like Seymour Krim,

developed into a style that encouraged experimentation in voice, technique, form and even punctuation. Hayes published the work of writers like Thomas B. Morgan, whose *Esquire* pieces inspired Gay Talese, whose work in turn inspired Tom Wolfe, who spawned an entire school of imitators. At the same time, novelists like Norman Mailer, James Baldwin, Gore Vidal and, later, William Burroughs and Jean Genet were sent on assignments like glorified beat reporters to "cover" political conventions, sporting events and personalities, using the best of fictional techniques to convey the essence of current events.

Sonny Liston dressed as Santa Claus was one of the most controversial covers in magazine history.

The blooming of the new *Esquire* began in a competition among Hayes and other young editors taken on the same year—Ralph Ginzburg from *Look*, Clay Felker from *Life* and Rust Hills, who had been teaching in Europe and editing the literary magazine *Quixote*. As fiction editor, Hills got the magazine back in the lit biz quickly by publishing "Nude Croquet," Leslie Fiedler's lampoon of the New York intellectuals, followed by a steady stream of stories from Bernard Malamud, Italo Calvino, James Purdy and Philip Roth.

Hayes and Felker fought it out for the editor's job. Hayes was the "good old boy" who "spoke in the character he liked to wear—the guise of a hick," while Felker played the smooth aspiring aristocrat in the guise of a cafe society dandy, a jet-set fop. At *Esquire* he "was always talking on the phone, brainstorming, going out to meet people who mattered, or flying off to distant places—Saint-Tropez, Paris." When Byron Dobell replaced him in 1962, he found "Felker's dancing shoes still in the closet." As an Indiana hick in the guise of a Columbia intellectual, I never owned a pair of dancing shoes, so it's hardly surprising I felt an immediate rapport with Hayes and a corresponding distance from Felker. When Hayes was articles editor and Felker features editor, all the writers were