

Political Communication

Sponsored by the Political Communication divisions of the APSA and the ICA

Doris A. Graber, *Editor-in-Chief*
Department of Political Science (M/C 276)
College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
The University of Illinois at Chicago
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680
(312) 996-3105

Tues - Thurs 2-3
off hrs

September 10, 1992

NOV 15

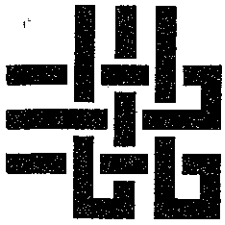
*See next letter
strikes
again*

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

Dear George;

I have read your essay "Media and Mystery in the Russian Coup" with great interest. It is a fascinating story and, in your usual fashion, you tell it extremely well. I would love to see it in Political Communication but it would require some recasting. As it stands, there are two problems. One is the fact that, in line with policy decisions made by our Joint Publications Board, we will not be publishing book reviews or book review essays. (We will be publishing article reviews instead). The second problem is that the essay does not focus sufficiently clearly on the communications aspects of the story.

The first problem is easy to fix. The six books you review could become the bibliography and references to them could be treated as regular citations (we use the APA style, but with full names in the bibliography). The second problem would require some recasting to make this a story of the role of the media in a coup. It would also be helpful to put your judgments about the role of the media into a somewhat broader framework, discussing to what extent media now are essential and sufficient, or merely important but neither essential nor sufficient, in these types of situations.



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Given the importance of the matters discussed in the essay, the quality of the writing, and the fact that you are the author, I hope that you will consider tailoring the piece to the needs of Political Communication. We would, of course, speed it through the editorial process as fast as possible -- which is very fast by normal standards. If you decide against revising the essay, particularly if the other journal that you contacted is eager to take it in its present form, I sympathize with your decision. I am hoping that it won't come to that, though, and that you will send a revised manuscript.

Thank you very much for your service as a Political Communication referee -- it is an important, time-consuming task. Leta Dally, our editorial coordinator will be in touch with you after all the reviews have been received to let you know the fate of the manuscript.

Again, thanks for submitting your essay. I hope that all is going well with you and the Annenberg School. Elihu Katz is a good choice for the job that Kathleen wanted done. I'll be an interested observer from afar.

Best wishes

Doris
Doris A. Graber
Editor. Political Communication



Division/Interest Group News

(Continued from page 12)

division especially encourages attendance and participation in the panel, "Development Communication: Interface Between the Professionals and the Academy."

The panel includes representatives from Volunteers in Technical Assistance, Wellstart, the Academy for Educational Development, and Porter Novelli.

This year the division received a total of 105 papers and panels, accepting 55 percent of the paper submissions and 57 percent of the panels. The competitive display session allowed the division to accept a higher number of submissions than last year. And since the judges made special note of the high quality of 1993 paper submissions, it is great to have the opportunity to share so many of them with the members.

The members who served as judges are the backbone of the division. Stella Ting-Toomey and I are grateful to the following people for their hard work in the evaluation of this year's papers and panels: Rita Atwood, Cal State-Fresno; Pat Aufderheide, American U; Stephen Banks, Idaho; Sandra Braman, Illinois; Richard Burke, Indiana; Edna Einsiedel, Calgary; JoEllen Fair, Wisconsin-Madison; Ge Gao, San Jose State; Tony Giffard, Washington; Bill Gudykunst, Cal State-Fullerton; Zhou He, San Jose State; Bob Hornik, Pennsylvania; Todd Imahori, San Francisco State; Tom Jacobson, SUNY-Buffalo; John Martin, Maryland; John Mayo, Florida State; Bella Mody, Michigan State; Peter Haratonik, Hofstra; Ev Rogers, Southern California; Joe Rota, Ohio; Judith Sanders, Cal State Polytechnic; Hemant Shah, Wisconsin-Madison; Arvind Singhal, Ohio; Bill Starosta, Howard U; Bob Stevenson, North Carolina-Chapel Hill; Joe Straubhaar, Michigan State; Jean Tucker, Maryland; Alan Wells, Temple U; Rich Wiseman, Cal State-Fullerton; Kyu Ho Youm, Arizona State; Jian-Hua Zhu, Connecticut; and Thimios Zaharopoulos, Pittsburg State.

Stella and I would also like to thank the program assistants who helped to organize the program and sent out many letters and cards. They are: Hiroshi Ota, graduate student at Cal State-Fullerton, and Cathi Norton, editorial assistant at Indiana U.

Tom Jacobson, Secretary of ICD, will be sending out letters to all former members of the division who have since dropped their membership. If you are one of these folks, please make an effort to pay your division dues before the Washington convention. We have an outstanding program and we want to encourage participation by as many of you as possible.

The division's intercultural dinner will feature Turkish food this year. Look for the sign-up sheet near the registration desk at the hotel. Everyone is welcome.

Christine Ogan, Chair
Intercultural/Development

Political Communication

■ *Political Communication*, an international journal dealing with all aspects of the field, has just published its first issue under the joint sponsorship of the Political Communication sections of the American Political Science Association and the International Communication Association.

The issue covers such diverse topics as framing analysis of news discourse, differential perceptions of campaign events, and the need for new telecommunication regulatory policies.

The first issue also features a debate about "Two Hundred Years of Press Freedom" that highlights the successes and failures of the American press since the adoption of the First Amendment. Debaters are Kathleen Jamieson, U of Pennsylvania; Thomas Patterson, Syracuse U; Jack McLeod, U of Wisconsin; and Roderick Hart, U of Texas.

The second issue will feature four essays presented at the 1992 ASPAS convention panel that honored Murray Edelman. Essayists are W. Lance Barnett, U of Washington; Marjorie Hershey, Indiana U; Virginia Sapiro, U of Wisconsin; and Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki, Northwestern U.

The issue also contains articles on "Instant History" as illustrated by live coverage of recent events in the Soviet Union and an experimental investigation of the impact of headlines during election

campaigns. A subsequent issue will concentrate on the role of the media in the Gulf War.

Doris A. Graber, U of Illinois at Chicago, is editor-in-chief of *Political Communication*. Members of the Editorial Board are Pamela Conover, U of North Carolina; Timothy Cook, Williams College; Ann Crigler, U of Southern California; Robert Entman, Northwestern U; Dan Hallin, U of California, San Diego; Roderick Hart, U of Texas; Klaus Jensen, U of Copenhagen; Gladys Lang, U of Washington; Richard Merritt, U of Illinois; Diana Mutz, U of Wisconsin; John Nelson, U of Iowa; Klaus Schoenbach, Academy for Music and Theater, Hannover; Holli Semetko, U of Michigan; Pamela Shoemaker, Ohio State U; David Swanson, U of Illinois; David Weaver, U of Indiana; Gadi Wolfsfeld, Hebrew U.

The journal welcomes submission of article manuscripts, contributions for its brief review notes of journal articles, and suggestions for special single-topic issues. These should be sent to Doris A. Graber, Political Science, M/C 276, U of Illinois at Chicago, 1007 W. Harrison St., Chicago, IL 60607-7137.

For further information, phone (313) 413-3778. Free sample copies of the new journal are available from Taylor & Francis, 1900 Frost Road, Suite 101, Bristol, PA 19007-1598 or phone (800) 821-8312. A special subscription rate of \$39 is extended to all ICA and ASPA members.

Instructional/ Developmental Communication

■ The Instructional/Developmental Division of the ICA will offer programs clearly meeting the theme for the Washington, D.C. Conference. The competitive papers and the panels reflect the diverse and interdisciplinary interests of the Instructional/Developmental Division.

The top ranked paper was co-authored by Nurit Guttman, from Rutgers (last year's recipient of the Robert Kibler (Continued on page 14))

Facsimile Cover Sheet

**THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL FOR
COMMUNICATION**

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA
3620 Walnut Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-6220

FAX# (215) 898-2024

PHONE# (215) 898-7041

DATE: 11/4/92

TOTAL PAGES FAXED: 1
(Including cover sheet)

ATTN: Dr. Doris Graber

FAX # _____

FROM: GEORGE GERBER

Dear Doris -

The two weeks out of the county created a huge backup. I'll send you a fax message on Friday about what I could do - if anything. Sorry - and thanks.

George

**DORIS A. GRABER, PH.D.
FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION**

NAME Professor George Gerbner
LOCATION Annenberg School, U. of Penna.
FAX NUMBER 215-898-2024
VOICE NUMBER 214-642-7479
FROM:
DORIS A. GRABER
2895 SHERIDAN PLACE
EVANSTON, IL., 60201
FAX NUMBER (708) 864-2597
VOICE NUMBER (708) 864-2592
SENT 11-4-92
TOTAL PAGES, INCLUDING COVER 1

MESSAGE: Dear George;

The deadline on which we agreed for submitting a revised copy of "Media and Mystery in the Russian Coup" has passed. Unless I receive the manuscript within the next couple of days, I cannot consider it for the second issue of POLITICAL COMMUNICATION. Please send me a fax to let me know where we stand so that I can plan accordingly.

I hope that your stay in Rome was productive and pleasant. As ever

Doris
Doris Graber

**THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL FOR
COMMUNICATION**

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

3620 Walnut Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-6220

November 18, 1992

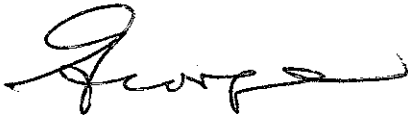
Professor Doris A. Graber, Editor-in-Chief
Political Communication
Department of Political Science M/C 276
University of Illinois at Chicago
P.O. Box 4348
Chicago, Ill. 60680
Fax 708 864 2597

Dear Doris:

Enclosed is the revised draft. I made numerous changes and would again appreciate any further comments or editorial work on this draft. Let me know if and when I should send you disk (MS WORD) or hard copy.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,



George Gerbner
Professor of Communication and Dean Emeritus

27 pages

**THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL FOR
COMMUNICATION**

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

3620 Walnut Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-6220

November 20, 1992

Professor Doris A. Graber, Editor-in-Chief
Political Communication
Department of Political Science M/C 276
University of Illinois at Chicago
P.O. Box 4348
Chicago, Ill. 60680
Fax 708 864 2597

Dear Doris:

The revised pages follow. Page 2 is a revision of the paragraph on p. 4 of the ms. Pages 3 and 4 expand slightly on the bottom paragraph on p.9 of the ms. (your corrections on top are fine), identifying the source on p. 4. Page 5 is revision of the middle paragraph of p. 19 of the ms., again identifying the source. Page 6 is the revised Reference page.

I appreciate your editorial help and look forward to reviewers' comments.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,



George Gerbner
Professor of Communication and Dean Emeritus

Forming the backbone of the new instant-history-making machine were portable television transmitters, the global satellite network (including the collaborating Soviet satellite), dedicated direct "four wire" telephone lines, fax machines, mobil phones and computer links. This versatile system made it possible to provide controlled real-time simultaneous live global coverage from several selected sites, even when nothing much was going on. "Today," wrote CNN President Tom Johnson (in Loory and Imse, 1991), "journalists equipped with computers, beepers, satellite telephones, flyaway earth stations, and camera crews bring viewers to the story instead of the story to viewers." (P. 8) The source of the "story" was tightly guarded in the field. Much of what slipped through the cracks of official censorship was self-censored by mainstream media gatekeepers.

Gorbachev's trusted lieutenants grabbed the emergency powers he himself forced out of the Supreme Soviet. They set up the Committee for the State of Emergency to "save the Union" that 76 percent voted to preserve in a referendum less than five months before .

The conspirators did have a plan but instant history gave them no time to carry it out. The plan called for tough measures backed up with a show of force but avoiding large-scale arrests and bloodshed. Their appeal to Soviet citizens, in some ways prophetic, was to widespread frustrations, fears, and grievances. It began:

In a dark and critical hour for the destiny of our country and of our people, we address you! A mortal danger hangs over our great homeland! The policy of reform initiated by M.S. Gorbachev, conceived as a means to ensure the dynamic development of the country and the democratization of the life of its society, has, for a number of reasons, come to a dead end. The original enthusiasm and hopes have been replaced by lack of belief, apathy and despair. Authority at all levels has lost the confidence of the population. Politicking has left no room in public life for concern for the fate of our country and of the citizen.

The declaration, broadcast to all the world and monitored in the U.S. by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service on Aug 19, 1991, complained that "lack of faith, apathy, and despair have replaced the original enthusiasm and hopes." Echoing disaffected Gorbachev supporters Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, the coup leaders warned of the danger to the policy of reform and democratic development posed by "extremist forces" and those "striving for unbridled personal dictatorial powers." Along with talk about "labor discipline and order," the Committee emphasized that "measures we envisage are not an attack on human rights." They offered "nationwide discussion," developing a "many-tier" economy including private enterprise, and urgent concentration on critical food and housing problems.

5

Troops occupied the telephone exchange and yet, somehow, many phone lines remained open. Computer-based electronic mail traffic was heavy. Computers provided many individuals with a link between the Soviet Union and the outside world. I picked up many of them on my own home computer. "Please stop flooding the channel with bogus messages and with silly questions," Vadim Antonov urged Westerners attempting to send electronic mail to Russia during the early hours of the coup. "Note that it's neither a toy nor a means to reach your relatives or friends at this time".

Antonov, one of the builders of the Soviet's two-year-old computer communications network known as Relcom, knew its limitations and its potentials. The messages sent from Antonov's computer in Moscow late on the night of August 19 were copied and posted across the United States and abroad on electronic bulletin boards. KGB agents undoubtedly knew about the underground network. In a telephone interview a week later with *New York Newsday* reporter Joshua Quittner (1991) Antonov related that "During the last night of the coup we got a strange phone call. The caller said, 'We are your users, please give us your modem's phone number.' This was an absurd statement, since anyone who knew about the network knew how to interconnect to it. We said to them rude words." [~~Quittner, Joshua, "Tales Of The Net That Said Nyet," *New York Newsday*, August 28th, 1991.~~]

References

Gerbner, George (1992) "Persian Gulf War, The Movie." In *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf. A Global Perspective*. With Hamid Mowlana and Herbert Schiller (eds.) Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992.

Gerbner, George and Ellen Mickiewicz (1991) Unpublished Survey.

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Morrison John (1991). *Boris Yeltsin: From Bolshevik to Democrat*. New York: Dutton. ;

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Quittner, Joshua, "Tales Of The Net That Said Nyet," *New York Newsday*, August 28th, 1991.

Sheverdnadze, Eduard (1991). *The Future Belongs to Freedom*. New York: The Free Press.

Solomon, Norman (1991). *Unreliable Sources; A Guide to Detecting Bias in News Media* New York: Carol Publishing Group.

Solovyov, Vladimir, and Elena Klepikova (1992). *Boris Yeltsin, A Political Biography*. New York: Putnam.

DORIS A. GRABER, PH.D.
FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

NAME Professor George Gerbner

LOCATION Annenberg School, U. of Pennsylvania

FAX NUMBER 215-898-2024

VOICE NUMBER 215-898-7041

FROM:
DORIS A. GRABER
2895 SHERIDAN PLACE
EVANSTON, IL., 60201
FAX NUMBER (708) 864-2597
VOICE NUMBER (708) 864-2592

SENT 11-18-92
TOTAL PAGES, INCLUDING COVER 5

MESSAGE:

Dear George:

Thanks so much for the revised manuscript. I think that it reads very well indeed and makes an important contribution to understanding the role of the media in the events in the Soviet Union.

I have made a few minor editorial changes. I am sending four pages that have questions -- all minor. If you could fax me an answer by next Monday, that would be great.

In the meantime, I have sent the manuscript to two Soviet experts, one an American political scientist and the other an American communications scholar, to review your story for accuracy to make sure that no major errors have crept in. I will forward their reports to you as soon as received. If you decide to revise some pages in line with whatever suggestions the referees may have, send them to me and I will forward them to the publisher. Of course, it is always possible to make minor revisions at the page proof stage, which should be in mid-March.

Again, thanks for working so fast and furiously and well on this essay -- the results should make it worthwhile.

As ever

Doris

Forming the backbone of the new instant-history-making machine were portable television transmitters, the global satellite network (including the collaborating Soviet satellite), dedicated direct "four wire" telephone lines, fax machines, mobil phones and computer links. This versatile system, tightly guarded at the source and self-censored by mainstream media gatekeepers, made it possible to provide controlled real-time simultaneous live global coverage from several selected sites, even when nothing much was going on. "Today," wrote CNN President Tom Johnson (in Loory and Inse, 1991), "journalists equipped with computers, beepers, satellite telephones, flyaway earth stations, and camera crews bring viewers to the story instead of the story to viewers." (P. 8)

Explain

General Schwartzkopf forbade casualty estimates. Sortie-counts replaced body counts. Photographs of battle or of the dead were censored. Sleek aircraft "sortied" over unmentionable people in unfought battles in an unseen country. The few unauthorized shots of bombs falling on civilian targets were attacked as treasonous or rationalized as "collateral damage" (defined by Time magazine as "a term meaning dead or wounded civilians who should have picked a safer neighborhood." (Solomon, 1991, p. xviii.) Never before were selected glimpses of actuality strung together with sound-bites of photogenic crews, omniscient voice-overs of

Khrushchev in 1964 went off without a hitch. "Now," wrote
^{Stuart H}Loory and ^{Ann}Inse (1991), "Gorbachev was far more disliked than
Khrushchev had been." (P. 79).

Gorbachev's trusted lieutenants grabbed the emergency powers he himself forced out of the Supreme Soviet. They set up the Committee for the State of Emergency to "save the Union" that 76 percent ^{had} voted to preserve in a referendum less than five months before .

Source for quotes?

The conspirators did have a plan but instant history gave them no time to carry it out. The plan called for tough measures backed up with a show of force but avoiding large-scale arrests and bloodshed. Their appeal, in some ways prophetic, was to widespread frustrations, fears, and grievances. They complained that "lack of faith, apathy, and despair have replaced the original enthusiasm and hopes." Echoing disaffected Gorbachev supporters Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, they warned of "mortal danger" to the policy of reform and democratic development posed by those "striving for unbridled personal dictatorial powers." Along with talk about "labor discipline and order," the Committee emphasized that "measures we envisage are not an attack on human rights." They offered "nationwide discussion," developing a "many-tier" economy including private enterprise, and urgent concentration on critical food and housing problems.

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Antonov, one of the builders of the Soviet's two-year-old computer communications network known as Relcom, knew its limitations and its potential to spread information. The messages sent from Antonov's computer in Moscow late on the night of August 19 were copied and posted across the United States and abroad on electronic bulletin boards. KGB agents undoubtedly knew about the underground network. Antonov said later: "During the last night of the coup we got a strange phone call. The caller said, 'We are your users, please give us your modem's phone number.' This was an absurd statement, since anyone who knew about the network knew how to interconnect to it. We said to them rude words."

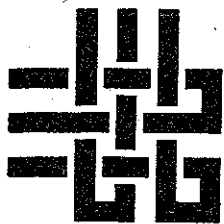
Source?

Yeltsin spent most of the three days on the phone, "talking to President Bush and Prime Minister John Major, to his supporters, to hesitating generals, and to the confused plotters," write ^{Vladimir} Solovyov and ^{Elena} Klepikova (1992, p. 253).

that political communication study and policy must now address.

References

- Gerbner, George (1992) "Persian Gulf War, The Movie." In *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf. A Global Perspective.* With Hamid Mowlana and Herbert Schiller (eds.) Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992.
- Gerbner, George and Ellen Mickiewicz (1991) Unpublished Survey. OK?
- Gorbachev, Mikhail (1991). *The August Coup: The Truth and the Lessons.* New York: HarperCollins. ~~125~~ pp.
- Morrison, John (1991). *Boris Yeltsin: From Bolshevik to Democrat.* New York: Dutton. ~~393~~ pp.
- Loory, Stuart and Ann Inse (1991). *Seven Days that Shook the World: the Collapse of Soviet Communism.* Introduction by Hedrick Smith. CNN Report, Turner Publishing, Inc. ~~280~~ pp. Publish City?
- Pozner, Vladimir (1992). *Eyewitness: A Personal Account of the Unraveling of the Soviet Union.* New York: Random House. ~~220~~ pp.
- Shevardnadze, Eduard (1991). *The Future Belongs to Freedom.* New York: The Free Press. ~~211~~ pp.



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November 27, 1992

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

Dear George;

Thanks so much for the revised pages of your article. I am enclosing the first reviewer's comments which came via a phone call. The reviewer was about to leave for the ex-Soviet Union. Because of the time pressures, I made a few brief changes in the manuscript to incorporate those comments that made sense to me. These changes are brief enough so that there will be no problem if you wish to second-guess me when proofs arrive.

The second reviewer was expected home from the ex-Soviet Union when the manuscript was sent. So whatever changes that may suggest will have to be made at the proof stage. In a case such as yours, I regard reviewers as insurance policies -- I am less concerned about their ideas about how they would have written the article than about their spotting some serious error or ambiguous statement that may have crept in.

Again, thanks for working so quickly. I think that the article makes an important contribution and does it in a very enjoyable way. If you have any papers or articles that report the work that you and Ellen Mickiewicz did on public opinion, media, etc. I would love to see it.

Cordially
Don

P.S. I am enclosing another copy of the Copyright Release Form. My assistant says that we do not have one on file for your article. Please fill it out and return it.

Gerbner Notes from Reviewer #1, telephone call 11-19-92.

1. Distinction needs to be made between role played deliberately by journalists trying to manipulate politics and role played incidentally. Are both "instant history" as author uses the term? Should there be a distinction between instances when governments manipulate the media e.g. Gulf War or when they record events such as Tienanmen Square.

2. Too much credit given to Yeltsin for defeating Gorbachev. Gorbachev was already defeated by the time he returned to Moscow after the coup. See Stephen Meier in "The Coup that Failed" in International Studies journal.

p.3, Quantum leap occurred before 1991. Persian Gulf show sounds too manipulative.

p.6. There was no 2nd coup -- it was a reaction to the coup to undo what the plotters had done.

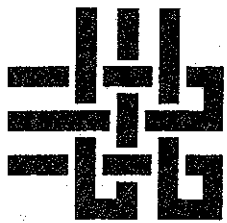
p. 8. top paragraph -- important bec. it showed that Gorbachev was vacillating. Undermined his credibility.

p. 9. 76% figure hides fact that 6 republics abstained and some voted on different texts.

p. 11. Mention importance that military forces were divided and passive in support of plotters.

p. 22. Strains were deeper than depicted here. Yeltsin, after being dismissed by Gorbachev in 1987, returned by popular vote in 1990 after defeating party representatives. Continued to upstage Gorbachev in elections. Gorbachev was smarting because he was non-elected.

p. 23. "Revenge" too strong as sub-head.



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Phone/fax (312) 413-3778
or phone (312) 996-3108, fax (708) 864-2597

December 17, 1993

Professor George Gerbner
Annenburg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear George:

The enclosed manuscript "News and National Interest: Comparing U.S. and Japanese Coverage Of A Chinese Movement" has been submitted to Political Communication. Would you be willing to read it and advise me within a month on whether it merits publication? Political Communication welcomes manuscripts that deal with the construction, sending, receiving, and processing of messages that are likely to have a significant impact on politics, and with the relevant institutional structures and policies. It is an interdisciplinary journal.

Two forms are enclosed. Page 1 is for evaluations and summary comments. It is intended for the editor only. Page 2 is for general and specific comments for the author and editor.

You need not return the manuscript when you have completed your evaluation, but it should be treated as confidential. A stamped envelope is included for your evaluation. If you cannot complete the review within a month, please advise me immediately. Your suggestions for an alternate reviewer will be much appreciated.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (312) 996-3108 or Leta Dally my Editorial Coordinator at (312) 413-3778. Thanks very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Doris A. Graber
Editor

DAG/lad
Enclosures

Taylor & Francis

New York • Bristol, PA • Washington, DC • London

PCP10

Transmittal Form

Please attach this form to each manuscript submitted for publication.

Journal Title: Political Communication Vol. 10 No. 2

Article Number: 8 No. of pages: 26 No. of tables: — No. of figs.: —

Date Submitted: — Date Accepted: —

Date to Publisher: 11/24/92

Article Title: Media and Mystery in the Russian Coup

Shortened title to be used for running head (50 characters maximum):

Media and Mystery in the Russian Coup

Author's name(s) as it is to appear in the article:

George Gerbner, The Annenberg School for Communication University of Pennsylvania

Author's address for receipt of page proofs:

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

Author's telephone and/or fax number:

(215) 898-7041
(215) 898-2024 (Fax)

Double-check:

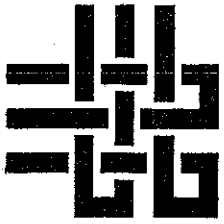
Is all camera-ready artwork enclosed? yes If not, when will it arrive? —

Are copies of figures included with manuscript? yes

Is the Transfer of Copyright Agreement enclosed? no If not, when will it arrive? 12/22/92

Will the author be at the above address for the next four months? yes

If not please provide forwarding address:



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Phone/fax (312) 413-3778
or phone (312) 996-3108, fax (708) 864-2597

August 7, 1997

Dear George;

Congratulations on the award of
the Bell chair and all the other well-
deserved recognitions that are coming your way.
And thanks again for your help and support
of Political Communication.

I hope that our paths will cross
before long.

As ever

Don's

Write 9/12/97
ing. re Dwenis Index