

ARTICLE APPEARED  
ON PAGE 46

THE WASHINGTON STAR

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## Betty Beale

The air was charged with electricity in that debate between the New York Times' Seymour Hersh and former CIA official Jack Maury at the AIM conference last weekend. In case you're not up on such things, AIM stands for Accuracy In Media, a group that drew 300 to the banquet that wound up two days of panel discussions out at 4-H headquarters on Connecticut Avenue.

Three Washingtonians won AIM awards at the banquet — Ben Wattenburg for his television series, "In Search of the Real America"; Frank Scott, WRC's vice president and general manager, for the Pat Buchanan-Tom Braden show; and Victor Lasky for his book, "It Didn't Start with Watergate."

With former career diplomat Elbridge Durbrow moderating, Maury produced a list of New York Times-printed allegations over the years that he said were totally untrue, i.e., that the CIA was involved in Watergate; that the CIA was involved in drug smuggling; that the CIA was not controlled by either the White House or the Congress.

Not only were those stories false, said Maury, but in every significant controversy the CIA was carrying out the orders of the president, as was discovered by the investigations of the Church and Pike committees and the Rockefeller Commission. Also untrue, he said, was the NYT story that claimed a CIA agent was killed in combat in Laos — which could have violated the Geneva Accords. What happened, said the former intelligence officer, was that the reporter saw the last name on a death certificate of a 5-year-old baby and decided it referred to an agent by that name.

Hersh said he was more concerned about the domestic operations. He wondered what Richard Helms thought was going on June 23, 1972, when H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman called him to the White House, he said, and asked him to stop the FBI investigation. He seemed to think Helms should have leaked such information and also

what James McCord was telling him in the letters he was writing to him.

Jack Maury took delight in quoting from a letter he wrote over a year ago to Seymour's boss, "Punch" Sulzberger, in which he listed inaccuracies and distortions and asked Sulzberger to let him know if any were incorrect or unfair. Sulzberger wrote back, "As a matter of policy I do not pre-read articles that comment on the New York Times. I feel that is up to the author." Whatever that means.

But all that was mild compared to what Uwe Siemon-Netto, German correspondent for Die Ziet, said as the main banquet speaker. As a correspondent for a German news service from 1964 to 1969 in Vietnam, he blamed the American media as well as some European correspondents for so distorting the war that people on both sides of the Atlantic thought the United States was the aggressor and the North Vietnamese, the liberal democrats. He told how the Viet Cong mutilated civilians and strung them up. But the press overlooked such things.

In fact, said Siemon-Netto, this was the first war ever lost primarily because the media undermined the war effort on our side and was favorable to the Communist side. . . . When AIM takes aim, no holds are barred.

excerpt

# John Crown

## The Issue Of Outside Exploitation Of The Press

Despite what we would like to think, it must be conceded that the press is neither omnipotent nor all-wise. It is made up of human beings and therefore is subject to the frailties and flaws that beset the human animal.



Thus it shouldn't be surprising that a sort of devil's advocate of the press—and the electronic media—has arisen and seeks to point out on a regular basis our sins of omission and commission. This conscience of the news media is known as Accuracy in Media or by the acronym AIM.

One point recently raised is disturbing to me, and should be disturbing to the entire profession. But apparently it isn't.

The AIM point is that the Soviet police agency, KGB, has succeeded in infiltrating the nation's press.

It requires no feat of memory to recall the outcry over allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency had infiltrated the news media and used writers, reporters, editors in behalf of the CIA.

I think it was an outcry that was justified. For the news media to remain credible they must take pains to insure that they aren't infiltrated by any outside organization.

But what is astonishing and disturbing is that there has been no outcry over the KGB infiltration. There has been no call for a congressional investigation. There has been no breastbeating by those champions—or alleged champions—of a free press. There has been no call to root out the evil.

Reed Irvine, chairman of AIM, takes up the sticky issue in a supplement to the current AIM Report. He wrote that AIM had sponsored a luncheon in February where John M. Maury, a retired CIA official and a former assistant secretary of defense, talked on the issue of the Soviet KGB infiltrating and exploiting the American news media.

Mr. Maury was with the CIA for 27 years. This past December he testified before a House subcommittee and at that time informed the congressmen of the Soviet Union's use of the press in this country. He testified that a Soviet intelligence manual, "The Practice of Recruiting Americans in the USA and Third Countries" placed members of the press second in a list of priority recruitment targets.

"At the luncheon, Mr. Maury said in response to a question that the CIA files contained information about specific journalists who had KGB ties," Mr. Irvine wrote. "However, Mr. Maury declined to name any names. He was not inclined to favor a congressional investigation in this area, but if congressional committees think it is necessary and desirable to investigate CIA use of journalists, why would they not be even more interested in probing the activities of the KGB and other foreign intelligence services in this important area?"

It's a good question. And it deserves an answer. If we're going to get so wrought up over CIA exploitation of the press, why don't we get at least a twinge of irritation over KGB exploitation? But Congress doesn't appear interested. Maybe it's because Sen. Frank Church isn't seeking a presidential nomination this year. And the organizations which squeak with alarm over exploitation of the press in any form haven't discernibly lifted so much as an eyebrow.

In an earlier issue of AIM Report this question was raised:

"Entirely missing from this discussion, as far as we have been able to see, is any exposure by the media of the use of journalists and journalistic covers by foreign intelligence services, particularly those hostile to the United States such as the Soviet KGB and the Cuban DGI. One would think from discussions in our press that the infiltration of our news media by our own intelligence agencies posed a critical danger to our freedoms.

"At the same time the penetration of our media by the KGB and its allied intelligence services is evidently viewed as no problem at all. It is not clear whether this is because the media here think that such penetration is impossible, or whether they accept it as possible but think that it poses no danger."

For my part I believe the press and the electronic types should make every effort to eliminate exploitation by the CIA, the KGB, the DGI and any other outside group.

But it doesn't make any sense to literally and figuratively make a federal case out of CIA penetration and treat KGB and DGI penetration in the manner of an over-time parking ticket.

It reflects no credit on the press or on the Congress.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## *A Reply From Accuracy in Media, Inc.*

We regret that The Washington Post has used an F.Y.I. editorial [Jan. 12] to mislead its readers about our criticism of an article by Lionel Martin about Cuba. Let's set the record straight.

Our Dec. 5 letter to the editor was a short one, just nine sentences long. Six of those sentences were devoted to a discussion of Mr. Martin's article. One of them noted that he had been an adviser to Castro's government and a correspondent of the left-wing weekly, the Guardian. One suggested that it would be helpful to the readers if they knew that, and the last one asked if The Post would tell them this information.

The Post described this letter as an ad hominem attack on Mr. Martin that "impugned a news dispatch and its author, not by demonstrating any inaccuracy in the dispatch itself, but by selectively reciting only a part of the writer's personal and professional background."

The article in question carried this headline: "Will Influx of Capitalist Tourists Bring Back the Vices of the Old Regime?" Our criticism could be summed up in this sentence from our Dec. 5 letter: "The article carried the suggestion that such vices as prostitution and gambling were the inevitable fruits of the free-enterprise system and that Castro's Communist system had established a new higher morality in Cuba."

In a letter to me dated Dec. 13, Philip Geyelin, editor of the editorial page of The Post, essentially confirmed that this was what Mr. Martin was saying. Mr. Geyelin wrote: "He was merely saying that the Castro regime had pretty well stamped out not just prostitution and gambling but the operations of the mob and organized vice in general, and that he was afraid that the return of tourism to Cuba would mean a return to the bad old days of the Batista dictatorship."

As we pointed out in our paid ad in

The Post on Jan. 6, those "bad old days" were the days when Cuba was capitalist and the Cuban people enjoyed freedom of speech, press, religion, association, the right to travel abroad, etc.

We suggested in our original letter that it might be appropriate to speculate about whether the return of tourism to Cuba would "result in a relaxation of the draconian, oppressive laws and punishment with little regard for due process that has characterized Castro's totalitarian system." Instead, Mr. Martin chose to focus on the danger that it might bring back prostitution, gambling and tipping.

Some people might think that this reflects an unusual sense of values, especially in a writer for a newspaper that places such high store by human freedom and which has not been known to get unduly upset by the prostitution, gambling and tipping that can be observed within a few blocks of its Washington headquarters. It was for that reason that we suggested that the readers of The Post might be interested in the background of Mr. Martin so that they could better understand the perspective from which he writes.

The Post is not, of course, indifferent to connections that journalists have that might influence their writing. It has viewed with great disfavor CIA influence on newspaper correspondents—even stringers.

Cuba is one of many countries that uses journalists routinely for intelligence and propaganda purposes. In view of some of the comments in The Post's F.Y.I. editorial, one might well wonder whether The Post would be as careful about not hiring a correspondent or stringer under the control of a foreign intelligence agency, such as the DGI of Cuba, as it presumably is about not hiring anyone connected with the CIA.

I say this because you concede that

great pressures may be brought upon your stringers in countries such as Cuba by the government. You perceive no danger in this, since your editors are very skilled at eliminating any stories that appear to be biased or inaccurate.

It is left to the reader to wonder how a harried editor in Washington can detect the inaccuracies and biases in stories written in countries that are far away and that may be totally unfamiliar to him, when he so frequently lets pass bias and error in stories that concern matters on his own doorstep.

You say to your readers: Trust us to protect you from biased and inaccurate stories. But you are showing by your actions in declining to print letters that point out cases of bias and error that you are not anxious to have the readers know that the trust you seek cannot always be said to be deserved.

REED IRVINE,  
Chairman, Accuracy in Media, Inc.

Washington

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ARLINGTON, (VA) GLOBE

March 10, 1977

# WHITEWASH FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

On February 17, The Post carried a story by Lee Lescaze under the headline, "Letelier Briefcase Opened to the Press." Mr. Lescaze said in his story that the associates of the late Orlando Letelier had "decided to make the briefcase public" because "leaks" had damaged Letelier's reputation.

We have been informed by the office of the attorney who "opened" the briefcase that no press conference was called and that, as a matter of fact, only The Washington Post was invited to a special briefing on the documents. It is difficult to justify the headline in The Post or the statement by Mr. Lescaze that the contents of the briefcase have been made public.

Mr. Lescaze, on the basis of this special briefing, proceeded to attack what had been said about the documents by columnists who had actual physical possession of the papers they were writing about. He said that Anderson-Whitten and Evans-Novak had put "the darkest possible interpretation" on the material.

The main difference between what Lescaze wrote and what Evans and Novak wrote was that the latter actually quoted from the documents. Lescaze's long article includes a single sentence directly quoted from the documents. He paraphrased everything else.

## Money from Cuba

Lescaze also conveniently neglected to mention the most damaging bit of evidence of Letelier's "Havana connection" that had been covered by Evans and Novak. This was the revelation that Beatrice Allende's letter from Havana of May 8, 1975 informed Letelier that a payment of \$5,000 to support his work was enclosed in her letter. That meant that the \$5,000

came from Havana, not from Western Europe.

If Evans and Novak were wrong and the letter did not say that the \$5,000 was enclosed, Lescaze could have seized upon this error and made much of it. The fact that he totally ignored the \$5,000 suggests that it was an uncomfortable morsel that was best handled "by not mentioning it, hoping that no one would notice that it refuted Landau's carefully worded statement implying that the money came from Western Europe.

The Landau statement which Lescaze uses is a prize example of misdirection. Lescaze said that Landau denied that the money came from the Cuban government. He then said that the party funds were kept in Western Europe. The reader is obviously expected to infer that the money came from Western Europe, although Landau is careful not to say that it would be very strange to transfer money from Western Europe to the U.S. via Cuba, which has very tight exchange controls.

## Concealed Goal

Evans and Novak pointed out that Letelier had written to Beatrice Allende saying that Chilean exiles in Washington were seeking to maintain "an apolitical character, devoted exclusively to the problems of human rights." He said, "The object is to mobilize the 'liberals' and other persons, who if they don't identify with us from an ideological point of view are in it for what human rights reflects." He urged that the Chilean human rights committee not be linked to Havana, saying, "You know how these 'liberals' are. It's possible that one of the sponsoring congressmen might fear that they might be connected with Cuba, etc,

and eventually stop giving support to the committee." What is more, he expressed hope that they could soon achieve in Chile what had already been achieved in Cuba, i.e., the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship which would abolish human rights that Chileans now enjoy.

Evans and Novak characterized this as evidence that Letelier was manipulating "idealistic, liberal congressmen" and as evidence that he wanted to conceal "world communist support" for his movement. That would seem to be a fair characterization based on the actual words used by Letelier. Lescaze paraphrases what Letelier said, altering the tone, and then he accuses Evans and Novak of having "summarized" this "as an effort to conceal 'World Communist support for his movement.'" He glides over the evidence provided by Letelier's own words that his real objective was to promote a regime in Chile that would destroy human rights and that he was using the "human rights" campaign to help bring this about.

## Meaning of 'Helsinki'

Finally, Lescaze describes a reference to funds paid to Congressman Harrington as coming from "Helsinki" as "shorthand." He suggests that the money came, not from Helsinki, but from the Commission to Inquire into Crimes of the Chilean Military Junta, which happened to hold its first meeting in Helsinki. He does not say where this commission is based or who funds it. It is our understanding that it is a creature of the World Peace Council, which just happens to be located in Helsinki. It also happens to be one of the better known communist front groups, dominated by the Soviet Union.

The day after the Lescaze effort to downplay the Letelier documents was published, The Post ran an article by a Letelier associate, Saul Landau, which went over much the same ground. Accuracy in Media asked The Post to print our critique of the Lescaze article. The Post has refused to do so. We have therefore been compelled to purchase space to bring this information to the readers of The Post. The cost of this ad is \$2000.

Accuracy in Media, Inc. is a nonprofit organization, and we need your contribution to enable us to continue our work of correcting errors and distortions such as this. Contributions are tax-deductible.

Please send your contribution today.

To Accuracy in Media, Inc. (AIM)

777 14th Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20005 Phone (202) 783-4407 P-2

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (Contributors of \$15 or more will receive the AIM Report for one year)

Send me information about AIM

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to Accuracy in Media Inc.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AIM ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE!

FLASH - THE WASHINGTON POST INFORMED US AT THE LAST MOMENT THAT THEY ARE REFUSING TO RUN THE ABOVE AD. THEIR REASONS ARE LAUGHABLE. THEY RUN ADS BY THE NORTH KOREAN TYRANT, KIM IL SUNG, THAT TELL LIES ABOUT THE U. S., BUT THEY CENSOR ADS THAT TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT THE POST. WE WILL BUY SPACE IN OTHER PUBLICATIONS TO EXPOSE THIS GROSS CENSORSHIP. SEND YOUR PROTESTS TO THE POST. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO AIM.

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 ON PAGE A-30

### Correction

Accuracy in Media issued a report in January criticizing major U.S. papers including The Washington Post for not investigating charges first printed by the Jack Anderson-Les Whitten column that murdered Chilean Socialist Orlando Letelier's briefcase revealed he had ties with Cuba. Reed Irvine, chairman of the press monitoring group, also wrote to 400 newspapers praising the column. The Post erroneously reported yesterday that the Accuracy in Media comments were made in the form of newspaper advertisements.

## Agee in Scotland To Fight Expulsion

LONDON, Feb. 17 (AP)—Former CIA official Philip Agee has gone to Scotland, where he plans to mount a legal challenge based on little-used provisions of Scottish law to fight a British deportation order.

Home Secretary Merlyn Rees announced in Parliament yesterday that the Labor government would expel Agee, 41, and reporter Mark Hosenball, 25, both Americans, accused of being a security threat to Britain. The deportation, unusual in politically tolerant England, is being protested by civil libertarians, members of Parliament and some newspapers.

A leading Scottish lawyer, Lionel Daiches, was quoted by the Guardian newspaper as saying Agee's case hinges on the fact that to deport him from Scotland, London must get independent confirmation from the secretary of state for Scotland. Some constitutional lawyers said the procedure has been used only twice before. In both cases, England backed down from a legal confrontation with Scotland, and those involved were permitted to stay in Scotland.

Hosenball has said he will appeal to the British high court. The two men have until March 1 to leave Britain.

3 November 1976

Mr. Reed J. Irvine  
Chairman of the Board  
Accuracy in Media, Inc.  
777 14th St. N.W.  
Washington D.C. 20005

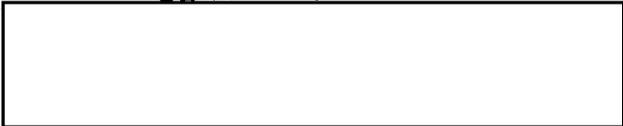
Dear Mr. Irvine,

Thank you for your interesting letter and copy  
of the AIM report for October.

I am sure you will understand that the Director  
of Central Intelligence should not be in any way  
involved in any organization that seeks to influence  
the operation of the public communications media.

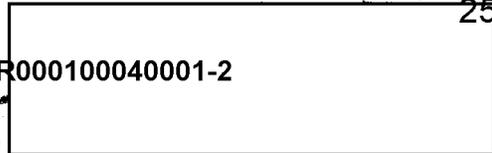
With good wishes.

Sincerely,

  
Andrew T. Falkiewicz  
Assistant to the Director of  
Central Intelligence

STAT

mb



# Politicos Ignore KGB Activities

By REED J. IRVINE

Last October, Accuracy in Media took the news media to task for failing to investigate and report on charges made by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) that the Soviet KGB had infiltrated the staffs of U.S. senators. Sen. Goldwater stated on a Washington TV program that this information had been given to him

by Vice President Rockefeller. He said that the Vice President had told him that the information would be included in his report on intelligence activities. Goldwater said that the Rockefeller Report failed to make any mention of these charges, and that the Vice President had explained to him that he had been asked to leave them out.

In one of our columns, we said that it was shocking that the news media should so completely ignore this story. It involved allegations of a serious threat to our national security and of a cover-up by the Administration.

Some 50 members of the House of Representatives signed a letter to Sen. Frank Church (D.-Iowa) asking that his committee on intelligence investigate these charges. Sen. Church responded by having a couple of aides talk to FBI officials about the matter. On November 5, he released a letter he had received from FBI Director Clarence Kelley, which said that the FBI "has no evidence at this time of any infiltration of congressional staff."

The letter did not point out that the assistant director of the FBI, W. Ray Wannall, had told a seminar on intelligence and internal security sponsored by the American Conservative Union a few weeks earlier that the Soviet intelligence services were showing an increased pattern of activity on Capitol Hill and elsewhere. He told the seminar that the Soviets were trying to develop "agents of influence" and that the U.S. was their prime target.

The FBI letter to Sen. Church has a confidential attachment. Sen. Goldwater told AIM that this mentioned a case of suspected infiltration of a congressional office some time ago. Sen. Church kept this secret. He used the FBI letter to create the impression that there was no reason to be concerned about KGB infiltration of Capitol Hill.

On March 11, the issue exploded again, with the discovery that back in 1967 the KGB actually recruited an aide to Sen. Eastland of Mississippi. The story broke as a result of a brief mention

of this case in a new book on the FBI by Sanford Ungar, Washington editor of the *Atlantic* magazine. Ungar wrote that an aide to a senior senator had "passed information to the Soviet Union for years without being detected...." He was wrong about the length of time. It was a matter of months, but the press showed interest in the case and revealed that the aide in question was Kenneth Tolliver. He had been fired by Eastland in 1968, at the urging of the FBI.

Ungar says he is sure that Tolliver's activity went undetected for some time, because L. Patrick Gray and, later, Clarence Kelley, were both shocked to learn the details of the case when they took the helm at the FBI. Tolliver says that he informed the FBI as soon as the KGB approached him and that he became a double agent, working for the Bureau. The FBI refuses to comment.

It is evidently true that Tolliver did become a double agent, but there are also indications that the FBI did not fully trust him even when they were using him. Tolliver's version has been given a lot of publicity by the media, and it is unfortunate that the FBI or the Church Committee aren't telling what they know of the matter.

This is important. The case shows that Sen. Goldwater was talking about a real danger last year. The KGB has a strong interest in aides on Capitol Hill. If it could recruit the aide to a senior senator, who as chairman of the Judiciary Committee and Senate Internal Security subcommittee had access to highly sensitive information, the danger cannot be lightly dismissed. This shows the folly of the lack of interest in Goldwater's charges by both the media and Sen. Church last year.

*Mr. Irvine is Chairman of Accuracy in Media, Inc.*

CIA 8 CONGRESS

CIA 7.02 FBI

CIA 8 SSC

Tolliver, Kenneth

### *Cover-up Allegation*

Reed Irvine's invitation (Letters, February 9) to comment on the recent Watergate advertisement bankrolled by Accuracy in Media, Inc., offers more temptation than I am able to resist.

As a reader of The Post and as a reporter who devoted two and a half years to Watergate, I feel competent to say that the reason neither The Post nor anyone else gets excited about Irvine's coverup allegation is that most editors and reporters can differentiate between what is news and what is vendetta.

Irvine has been trying to wage a vendetta against Jack Anderson and The Post for some time now. He has succeeded mainly in verifying anew the adage that one cannot make chicken soup from chicken feathers.

Even if Anderson and the Democratic National Committee had advance knowledge of the break-in—and there is no credible evidence that they did—would that somehow have legitimized it?

AIM is off-target.

HAYS GOREY,

*Time, Inc.*

Washington

# WATERGATE COVER-UP BY THE MEDIA

## Reported as a public service by Accuracy in Media (AIM)

(Reprinted from the December A.I.M. Report)

A recently published book reveals that there is evidence that officials of the Democratic National Committee and gossip columnist Jack Anderson were those who had knowledge of the Watergate bugging many weeks before the break-in of June 17, 1972.

The book is *At That Point in Time* and the author is Fred D. Thompson, Chief Minority Counsel of the Ervin Committee, a special committee created to investigate the Watergate scandal.

Thompson devotes an entire chapter to the intriguing evidence that the victims of the Watergate bugging were warned several weeks in advance of what was planned. This evidence was developed by the minority staff of the Ervin Committee. Sworn testimony was taken in executive session from three officials of the Democratic National Committee, columnist Jack Anderson, and the two individuals who gave the warning, A.J. Woolston-Smith, a New York private detective, and William F. Haddad, a former official in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations.

The staff prepared a summary of its findings, but it was never included in the final report of the Ervin Committee. The majority did not think the findings were sufficiently conclusive. We have learned that a copy of the summary fell into the hands of a reporter for CBS News, but that news organization chose not to divulge the story.

The transcripts of the secret testimony became available to the public, and AIM acquired a set, but the major media showed no interest in them and the story they contained. We have discussed the story with many people, including a number of reporters. The reaction is always one of astonishment and interest. But with one or two exceptions the reporters have failed to probe the evidence and inform the public about it.

### Who Was in the Know?

We will give you the story in some detail so that you may judge its newsworthiness for yourself.

First, we must point out that those who dug into this matter were frustrated by witnesses who contradicted themselves and each other, who had incredible lapses of memory, who claimed to have kept no records or poor records of important matters, and who had destroyed documents. But it is precisely the obvious effort to conceal and confuse on the part of the witnesses that strengthens the conclusion that the reaction is always one of a cloud of smoke that some of the witnesses were blowing.

If investigative reporters had devoted a fraction of the time they spent on other aspects of Watergate to investigating how the Democrats and Jack Anderson found out about the bugging in advance, it is conceivable that they might have uncovered either a double agent, some counter-bugging, or even an untried co-conspirator.

Here is the story, partially as told by Thompson, but supplemented by our own analysis of the once-secret testimony.

A private detective in New York named A.J. Woolston-Smith apparently became aware of the Republican plans to bug the Democrats as early as December 1971 or January 1972. He conveyed this information to William F. Haddad, publisher of a small New York weekly, the Manhattan Tribune, who had previously given Woolston-Smith assignments to detect suspected wiretapping. Haddad had held high positions in both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. Satisfied that Woolston-Smith had reliable information, Haddad sent this letter to his friend Lawrence O'Brien, then Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, on March 23, 1972:

I am hearing some very disturbing stories about GOP sophisticated surveillance techniques now being used for campaign purposes and of an interesting group here in New York where some of this "intelligence" activity is centered. The information comes from a counter-wire tapper who helped me once in a very difficult situation in Michigan and who had come to me highly recommended from two lawyers, Galagan (sic) and Shapiro.

Can you have someone call me so you can get the info first hand and take whatever actions you deem necessary. If you want, I will go a little deeper into the situation, but I would prefer that you evaluate the same information I have received, and from the same source, before taking further steps.

O'Brien turned the matter over to a member of his staff, John Stewart, the DNC's director of communications, appending this note to Haddad's letter: "Could you follow up on the attached and put in a call to BU?"

Stewart had phone conversations with both Haddad and Woolston-Smith. A meeting with them was arranged in Haddad's New York office on April 26, 1972. It was attended by Stewart, Haddad, Woolston-Smith, and Ben Winter, the vice president of a New York bank who was a friend of Haddad's. Haddad said Winter had nothing to do with the matter. He just happened to be in his office, and he invited him to sit in on the meeting "to hear something fascinating."

### What Was Known

Woolston-Smith testified that Haddad did most of the talking. Haddad testified under oath that the discussion included plans of the Republicans to bug the headquarters of the DNC, the involvement of Cubans, ways in which the funding of the espionage operation might be traced, and a Republican organization in New York called the November Group that had some connection with G. Gordon Liddy. He also said that the name of former Attorney-General John Mitchell had been mentioned.

Woolston-Smith's sworn testimony also indicated that these were among the matters discussed, but he did not mention John Mitchell's name being brought up. He did, however, say that James McCord, who participated in the famous burglary, had been mentioned at the meeting. Woolston-Smith claimed that nearly everything discussed by Haddad was based on his information except for the Cuban involvement. He thought that information could have come from Haddad's friend, Jack Anderson.

On Winter, the banker, recalled that Woolston-Smith had displayed a "sophisticated bug" at the meeting and had handed it to Stewart and Haddad. Winter thought

Woolston-Smith's information appeared to be hard evidence of surveillance, not just a theory. Woolston-Smith himself tried very hard to get the investigation off with an incredible story that he had presented nothing but a theory. He changed his tune when interrogated a second time, but the staff never felt that he had given them a true statement about the source of his information. He insisted that he did only "defensive wiretapping," i.e., detection of bugging. The bug he exhibited at the meeting, he said, was only a fake one intended to show the type of equipment available in the market.

Two days after this meeting, Haddad addressed a letter to John Stewart, saying that Woolston-Smith had "good information" and that it was his judgment "that the story is true and explosive." Seeming to answer a question from Stewart about whether he wanted to be paid for continuing his investigation, Haddad wrote: "Yes, he did want to cover expenses..." Haddad said: "Instead of pursuing this with money, I decided to see what a good investigative reporting operation could do with it now. So I went along along these lines. If they draw a blank, I'll be back to you on how to proceed, and I'll keep you informed."

Haddad testified that he made copies of all the material in his file and sent it to columnist Jack Anderson with a covering letter. Strangely, neither Anderson nor Haddad could locate any copies of the material Haddad sent. Or, if they did, they had mysteriously vanished. Haddad says he sent Anderson his "one-page" everything he had. Anderson said he received was a "one-page" letter.

### What Was Done

Having been warned that there were plans about to bug their offices, did the Democrats notify the police, have the office swept for bugs, hire a night watchman, or even ask the staff to take precautions?

The answer is that they did none of these. Officials have given various explanations for the seeming total lack of reaction to the warning. Stanley Grieg, then Deputy Chairman of the National Committee, said that John Stewart had told him that Woolston-Smith had warned that there might be electronic surveillance and possibly breaking and entering, but that what he said was very fragmentary. Grieg said he told Stewart that he could not conceive of the notion of conducting that type of campaign. He said he told him that they did not have money to hire guards or buy sophisticated security equipment.

They took great pains to create the impression that they did not really take the warning too seriously, and that they could not afford protective measures. No one seems to have asked why they did not complain to the authorities, but the answer would probably have been that they lacked hard evidence of any crime, in other words, the fact that they had evidence of crimes. Mr. Grieg testified that the office had been broken into and documents and checks stolen in the first week of May. On another occasion there had been an unsuccessful attempt to force the locks. Under these circumstances, legal detection with regard to the bugging warning would be strange. No one has admitted it, but it is conceivable that a search was made for bugs and that it was found in Larry O'Brien's office. The bugging on June 17 was made because that bug was not functioning properly. Perhaps it did not die a natural death.

### Elation After Break-In

Woolston-Smith testified that to the DNC's interest in his information continued right up to the time of the June 17 break-in. He said he was in regular telephone contact with John Stewart once or twice a week. He said his last discussion before the break-in was along the line of "something is about to happen." He also said that after the break-in Stewart called him and was "elated." Asked what he was all about, Woolston-Smith said: "Elated that we had more or less called it the way it happened."

When asked to elaborate further, Woolston-Smith said: "This enthusiasm seemed to have been well, we may not have this election, but they, we have got them in real great position." He said this was because Stewart thought there was definitive involvement of the Committee to Re-elect the President. He added: "They are expanding the newspapers to develop it."

John Stewart painted a very different picture. According to his testimony, his contact with Woolston-Smith was extremely limited, and he really obtained no definitive information from him. He indicated that he had only one telephone conversation with him before Watergate. He could not remember any meeting with him prior to June 17. It was only when he was told that the others had testified that Stewart had met with Haddad, Woolston-Smith and Winter prior to Watergate that he would admit that and then only as a possibility. Stewart also had trouble remembering the letter Haddad had sent to him dated April 28, eight days after the meeting in New York. The letter characterized Woolston-Smith's story as "true and explosive," but Stewart had no recollection of ever having seen it, even though he was sure that he must have. Stewart insisted repeatedly that his only meeting with Woolston-Smith was after Watergate. He claims to have forgotten about him, but after the burglary he recalled his warning. He had his assistant find his name and number and give him a call. He arranged to meet him in New York, together with Haddad.

While Haddad and Woolston-Smith frequently gave the impression of being fussy and less than candid in their testimony, Stewart seemed to go to unusual lengths to downplay his meetings and conversations with Haddad and Woolston-Smith. His testimony was so lacking in credibility that one is bound to wonder what he was afraid of. Would an admission that they took the advance warning seriously be so damaging?

The answer is probably yes. If they took the warning seriously, they would have had to know more about the source of the information. No one has been willing to come up with a credible story about how Haddad and Woolston-Smith managed to assemble such accurate information in advance. Thompson and his staff were strongly inclined to suspect some leak from the CIA if they had access to information obtained by electronic surveillance? Or was there a double agent within the ranks of the CRP group? Suspicions have fallen on McCord, who suggested the break-in was planned to Judge Sirica and ended up serving very little time in jail. They have fallen on another member of his team, Alfred Baldwin, the lookout man, who was never prosecuted. Bald was a Top 40 look-out, and he was also the source of extensive information about the Watergate operation that provided the

basis for a press conference by Larry O'Brien on September 7, 1972, according to Fred Thompson's book. Thompson was inclined to think that Baldwin was a double agent only because he had done so many things that risked compromising the operation.

Finally, if the DNC took the warning seriously, it would be harder to explain why no obvious defensive measures were taken. Woolston-Smith did not accept the idea that there was no way for security. He pointed out that field force meters could have been acquired to detect bugs at little cost. He noted that while the committee was saying it could not afford money for security, it was spending \$45,000 for a major launch as a gift. His conclusion was that they had a plan to let the bugging take place and capitalize on it.

### The Anderson Angle

Haddad, as we noted above, says he turned his file on the bugging plans over to Jack Anderson, expecting that he would be able to develop more detailed information. Anderson admitted that he received some information from Haddad in an article he published in *Parade* magazine July 22, 1973, a little more than a year after the break-in. He also mentioned it in a book he wrote.

Anderson claimed that he was not able to develop any information on the basis of what Haddad had given him. He claimed he ran into a store wall and just dropped the matter. Unfortunately, neither Anderson nor Haddad produced the documents that Haddad says he sent to Anderson. Haddad says that he would have given him everything he had. That would have included the name of King Sturges, who had included information about Cuban involvement, if indeed, that information had not originated with Anderson, as Woolston-Smith seemed to think.

By strange coincidence, Anderson had a very close friend in the Cuban community who knew a great deal about the Watergate matter. He was Frank Sturges, a member of the burglary team who was caught in the Watergate on June 17. Anderson went personally to the Washington, D.C. jail to see Sturges as soon as he heard of the Watergate arrests. In fact he got there before the jailers even had Sturges's correct name. He was still booked under the alias he used, Anderson testified, and he had a hard time finding him. Anderson said he had Sturges's arrest from the papers, and this would suggest that the press had printed his correct name before the jailers became aware of it.

Anderson tried to get Sturges released to his custody, but he did not succeed. He visited him at his home in Miami while Sturges was out on bail, and he testified that he had telephone contacts with him during that period. On the eve of Sturges's trial, Anderson was at the Arlington Towers Apartment one night while the Cubans were discussing whether Sturges should plead guilty or not guilty. Anderson testified that he did not participate in that discussion, but from time to time one of the participants would emerge and report to him on what was happening. He offered to bring Sturges's wife to Washington and have her stay in his home. He visited Sturges twice in the Rockville, Md. jail. He stayed in contact with Sturges's attorney after Sturges was sent to prison in Danbury, Conn. All of this is based on Anderson's sworn testimony.

Why this intense interest in Frank Sturges? Anderson said he was trying to get an exclusive story. He was trying to find out what Sturges was up to at the Watergate.

But actually Jack Anderson published very little in his column about Watergate. Despite his unique connection with Frank Sturges, he seems to have contributed nothing to the breaking of the Watergate story. Indeed, the first column that he wrote on the subject that we were able to find was not published until August 25, 1972, more than two months after the break-in. It dealt with funds used to finance the bugging having been traced to a Minnesota businessman who had also been a financial backer of Hubert Humphrey. That is not the sort of thing Sturges would have known about.

In December 1972 and January 1973, Anderson did publish three columns about the pressure on the defense team to plead guilty, and he intimated that they might reveal embarrassing secrets if they did not get more help. This appears to have been the only journalistic harvest Anderson reaped from all his attention to Sturges.

### Did Anderson Miss the Boat?

Anderson's unusual reticence in the treatment of the Watergate story raises an intriguing question. Was he quiet because he knew so little, or was he quiet because he knew so much?

If he had heard in the spring of Cuban involvement in the bugging plans, Sturges would have been the logical person to whom he would have turned for information. Anderson testified that the first he knew of Sturges's involvement in the Watergate bugging was when he read his name in the paper after the arrests. But he also testified that he had, by chance, met Sturges at National Airport in Washington, D.C. on June 16, 1972, as Sturges was arriving from Miami to participate in the break-in.

This was an inauspicious chance encounter, the way he described it. But there was a question about why Mr. Anderson was at the airport. Here is how the testimony went:

Q: And were you at the airport to travel yourself, you were leaving town?  
A: Yes, I was on my way to keep an engagement in Cleveland.  
Q: A speaking engagement?  
A: Yes.  
Q: Where was that?  
A: Cleveland.  
Q: Where in Cleveland?  
A: I do not recall. I have been to Cleveland three or four times to speak. We have a very entertaining paper there, the *Cleveland Press*, and they are always arranging speaking engagements for me.

A spokesman for the *Cleveland Press* denied that it had sponsored or arranged for a speaking engagement for Mr. Anderson in June 1972, or on any other time. A search of their files did reveal that Mr. Anderson had spoken in Cleveland on June 1, 1972, at the Park Synagogue. The *Cleveland Press* had carried a big story about the affair on June 2. But there was no similar evidence of a speech by Mr. Anderson in Cleveland on June 16 or soon thereafter. If Mr. Anderson did not have a speaking engagement in

Cleveland on June 16, why did he say that he did? Why did he say the *Cleveland Press* arranged for the speech? Why was he being at National Airport that day? These are questions the Ervin Committee investigators did not get around to asking.

The mystery deepens when one notes that *The Washington Post* of June 22, 1972, quoted Anderson as saying that he "happened to bump into Sturges at the airport just several days before the bugging incident." Asked about this on a Washington television program, Mr. Anderson stuck to the June 16th date for the encounter and denied that he had ever given a different date.

The June 22nd article discussed a column Anderson had published two days before that had carried highly confidential information about the expense accounts of Lawrence O'Brien, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. It stated that a spokesman for the Committee said the information in the column could only have come from a file that was missing from the Committee's headquarters at the Watergate. Democratic officials also noted Anderson's close ties to Frank Sturges. Anderson denied that the information had been provided by Sturges.

### The Press Does Not Press

Fred Thompson titled his chapter on the prior knowledge aspect of Watergate, "Unanswered Questions." Some of the unanswered questions he listed were these:

1. Did McCord deliberately leave the tape on the door?
2. Did someone alert Shaffer (one of the arresting officers) who was voluntarily working overtime when the call about the Watergate break-in came over the radio?
3. Did the information pass from Sturges to Anderson to Haddad to the DNC, or had the offices of the November Group been bugged, with information from conversations of McCord or Liddy, or both, combined with Haddad's "other sources" to put the story together before June 17?
4. Or was it some combination of these things?
5. And why had Jack Anderson been so mysteriously quiet?

Thompson said: "We agreed that we had come close but that we had fallen short. To borrow still another Watergate expression, we had been unable to find the smoking gun in anyone's hands."

True enough. But the major missing ingredient was the lack of interest on the part of the press. Thompson's small staff was not up to pursuing every lead and forcing a reconciliation of every contradiction. They let the matter drop, with many intriguing questions unanswered, "and with a gnawing feeling in our stomachs."

The investigative reporters who pursued other Watergate stories so doggedly showed no interest in probing for the answers to Thompson's questions. Indeed, they had no interest in even reporting the existence of the questions. A reporter for *The Washington Post* told us that he had asked the press to report that he understood that Senator Howard Baker thought there was nothing to the story. That conflicts with what Fred Thompson says, and he was close to Senator Baker.

An investigative reporter for *The Washington Star* expressed amazement and interest when the story was outlined to him, but he reported back that his editors had dismissed it as "old stuff." He could not say when *The Star* had ever said a word about it.

A reporter for *The New York Times* reacted similarly. He was very excited about the story, especially since he had just written a story about Bill Haddad getting a new job for New York State Legislature which involved investigating such things as electronic surveillance. But his interest apparently waned quickly. *The New York Times* owns *Quadangle*, the publisher of Fred Thompson's book. That gave the *Times* a special interest in the book and the right to a scoop on any news it might contain. Not only has *The Times* not done a news story on the book, but it was so pre-occupied that it has not even published a review of it. (The same is true of *The Washington Post*.)

News is what the editors decide is news. As with Senator Goldwater's story about KGB activities on Capitol Hill, the editors seem to have decided with virtual unanimity that the "prior knowledge" side of Watergate should not be treated as news. It may be interesting. It may be intriguing. It may be of historical importance. But news it is not. *The Times*, *The Post*, the wire services, the networks and the news magazines have a point.

It is an illustration of a so-called Leopold Tyndrum makes in his provocative article, "Media Shangri-La," in the winter 1975 issue of *American Scholar*. He writes:

"It took the bloody atrocities of the totalitarian movements to force the unpopularity of their communication system in the name of faith and freedom. And the American media achieved like-mindedness by entrenching themselves as a separate power in the name of orthodoxy and variety of opinion. This cartel of solid, preordained thinking is a threat to democracy, all the worse because it occurs in its name, speckled with bogus paraphernalia, democratic in word but not in spirit."

Accuracy in Media (AIM) has sought space to bring this story to your attention because we feel that the failure of the major media to inform you of constitutes serious news distortion. Your right to know has been abridged. AIM is a non-profit, educational organization that combats error and distortion in news reporting. It depends on contributions from members of the public who see the danger to our society inherent in misleading reporting. We need your help. Support AIM!

Contributions of \$15 or more will receive AIM's monthly newsletter, the *AIM Report* and a copy of an important new book, *The Gods of America* by Bruce Herschenovitz. Offer good for limited time only. Send your tax-deductible contribution today.

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AUG 20 1975



Robert E. Baskin

Senior Political Analyst

Is there an orchestrated effort in some quarters to destroy the effectiveness of the Central Intelligence Agency?

There are those in Washington and elsewhere who think they detect signs of this. And they point, quite rightly in our judgment, at what appear to be indications in the media of a deliberate attempt to serve up all the unfavorable news possible about the CIA—authenticated or not.

### Critical Report

At the same time it is evident that the Washington media are not interested in presenting the CIA in a favorable light.

Accuracy in Media, Inc. (AIM), a conservative organization in the capital which monitors newspapers, television and radio for signs of news inaccuracies, distortions and omissions, recently issued a highly critical report of coverage of the CIA.

AIM took particular note of a speech made recently before the American Security Council by Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters which was ignored almost entirely by the news media.

In his speech Walters declared that it may be possible to conduct intelligence operations "in a goldfish bowl," but he added that if we do it, it will be like going to the moon. "We will be the only ones ever to have done it."

A "goldfish bowl" operation seems to be what is wanted by the liberal inquisitors in Washington, and Walters, who is deputy director of the CIA, is clearly apprehensive about it.

AIM noted that the *Washington Star* on the day Walters made his speech devoted 70 columns to a critical report

of the CIA, but not one line about Walters' remarks. A *Star* reporter, who was at the luncheon, said he found nothing new in Walters' remarks. Hence no story.

"It would appear," the AIM report said, "that in the minds of some journalists the only thing that is newsworthy is material that is critical of the CIA."

"Statements that put our intelligence activities in proper perspective, defending what has been done, are simply not deemed to be worth reporting."

AIM quotes a speech made last February by Peter Arnett of the *New York Times* as reflecting the media attitude toward the CIA.

"It seems to me," Arnett was quoted as saying, "that this is going to be the year the 'spooks' (CIA) get theirs, or they have to start answering questions . . . Many reporters that I know are starting to go to Washington and are trying to find all the security people, all the discontented CIA officers and others who could feed the grist for the mill to find the story of what went on."

I THINK there are going to be some embarrassing stories about this in the next few months and the next year."

General Walters, in his speech to the ASC, recalled that 20 years ago the United States believed that it was faced with a ruthless and implacable enemy who was determined to destroy us by any means in its power. The CIA at that time sought to counter the Soviet bid for world dominion.

As of today, Walters had this to say: "I think we are facing a very tough situation. I think the tactics may have changed, but I don't think the

long-term goal has changed very much."

According to the AIM report, Walters noted that many people now expect the intelligence service to operate with a degree of purity that will not be reciprocated by our enemies. He compared this to fighting by the Marquis of Queensbury rules against an opponent with brass knuckles.

As a result of the current wave of calumny against the CIA, the agency's ability to operate is being severely impaired. Said Walters:

"People who used to give us whole reports are giving us summaries, and people who used to give us summaries are shaking hands with us."

"People who used to help us voluntarily are saying don't come near me. This must be a delight to the American-wrongers. For the people who believe that the U.S. represents the best hope of mankind for freedom in the world, it is not an encouraging factor."

### Steadily Losing Ground

Perhaps we have only to look at Portugal to see what the attacks upon the CIA are doing to the world balance of power. The Soviet Union reportedly is pumping \$10 million a month into the Communist party of that country. There is evidence that the United States now feels inhibited about trying to counter this activity.

The destructive attitude of the Washington news media undoubtedly is contributing in one way or another to the continuing encroachments of the Soviet Union, despite the widely hailed virtues of detente.

We are losing ground steadily just about everywhere, and it seems that there are plenty of people in Washington who, in effect, are eager to cheer for the enemy.

# CBS Earnings Rose 15% to High In First Period

## Sales Climbed 7%; Holders Reject AIM Proposal for Study of News Handling

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

NEW YORK--CBS Inc. said first quarter earnings rose 15% to an estimated record of \$24.2 million, or 84 cents a share, from the year-earlier \$21 million, or 73 cents a share. Sales climbed 7% to \$442.2 million from \$412.6 million.

The earnings announcement by William S. Paley, chairman, came at the outset of what developed into a three-hour annual meeting yesterday. Among other actions taken during the session, which was occasionally marked by extended debate on a range of subjects, shareholders rejected a proposal by Accuracy in Media Inc. that would have required the company to investigate charges of unfairness in programming by the CBS News division.

AIM, a group established to expose errors in the news media, had charged that CBS News reporting was "partial, slanted and lopsided." CBS officials didn't disclose the exact shareholder vote on the AIM or other shareholder proposals, all of which were defeated.

On the financial side, Arthur R. Taylor, president, said that CBS-Broadcast group sales in the first quarter rose 5% from last year, with the company's television network making the largest contribution. Mr. Taylor said the CBS-Records group had record first quarter sales, up 8% from a year ago, "with significant gains for the international division more than offsetting some weakness in the domestic market."

The CBS-Columbia group and CBS-Publishing group, Mr. Taylor said, had sales gains of 14% and 16%, respectively.

Under questioning by shareholders, Mr. Paley disclosed that CBS's previously announced plan to sell the professional products department of the CBS Laboratories unit to Thomson-SF S.A., a French company, involved a sales price of "about \$3 million." Mr. Paley, who is 73 years old, also reiterated that he has no plan to retire.

A major reason for the length of the meeting was debated between Mr. Paley and Evelyn Y. Davis, who attends many stockholder meetings. Other shareholders also spoke at length on Mrs. Davis's criticisms of Mr. Paley, and CBS.

Charles B. Seib

# A Columnist vs. a Critic

Accuracy in Media, which likes to travel under the catchy acronym AIM, is a Washington-based organization that bills itself as a non-partisan guardian of "the people's right to accurate, unbiased news coverage." Its mission, which it pursues with disconcerting zeal—and a certain selectivity—is to blow the whistle on inaccuracies and distortions in the media.

AIM is neither loved nor respected by the press—meaning all branches of the media. The press is peculiarly sensitive to fault-finding outsiders. Moreover, AIM's interest in accuracy has a decided right-wing tilt that belies its claim to being non-partisan. The accuracy it is interested in is that which serves the conservative cause.

Many news people dismiss AIM's complaints and criticisms as tainted at the source; an outfit that is guilty of self-mislabeling doesn't deserve to be taken seriously. Others consider them on their merits, despite the fact that AIM is a right-wing organization. As The Washington Post's legal counsel, I have tried to follow the proper course.

AIM does not disclose its contributors, but it says it gets along on about \$50,000 a year. Its founder, chairman, guiding spirit and brain is a most persistent man named Reed J. Irvine, a \$37,000-a-year senior economist for the Federal Reserve Board. It is Irvine who directs AIM's monitoring of the press, particularly the so-called Eastern Establishment press—The Post, the New York Times, the television networks. And columnist Jack Anderson, which brings me to the point of this column. Irvine, Anderson and The Post have figured in a series of incidents of special interest to the news business and its customers.

Irvine's monitoring of Anderson's column has had something of the character of a vendetta. On at least four occasions this year, AIM has circularized editors of papers carrying a column with charges of distortion and deception. In addition, an AIM complaint to the National News Council, a press monitor with more credibility claims to impartiality, resulted in finding by the council that Anderson is guilty of distortion in one instance.

Early last month, Anderson struck back with a column attacking AIM in general and Irvine in particular. He charged that AIM was not only infected with severe right-wing bias but that there was a relationship between its press monitoring and its fundraising—that it solicited and received money from sources which benefited from its activities.

But the main target was Irvine himself. Anderson charged that as a Federal Reserve Board official he used government time and facilities to forward AIM's "Watergate-style assault on the press," possibly in violation of the law. Specifically, he said that Irvine, working for AIM undercover of his federal job, obtained a copy of an unpublished government report Anderson had used in writing an earlier column and not only used it in framing an AIM attack on Anderson but also sought to discredit the report.

Irvine says the charges are false. He says he didn't use federal time or facilities on AIM business and what he did in connection with the report, a Library of Congress study on loans to Chile, was a legitimate part of his Fed job. He says his AIM work is strictly moonlighting. And he says the real purpose of Anderson's column was to silence a troublesome critic.

Soon after the column appeared, Anderson and Irvine were called to a House Banking subcommittee hearing, where each told his story. The hearing ended with a charge by Anderson that Irvine had committed perjury there in denying he did AIM work in his Fed office. The columnist offered to produce proof that Irvine had made a call on behalf of AIM on his government phone, but the offer was not taken up.

Two days later, the Federal Reserve Board announced that an investigation had cleared Irvine of the misconduct charges. Anderson says the case isn't closed. The House subcommittee is continuing its investigation.

A thorny question is raised by the foregoing, one that has nothing to do with the accuracy of the Anderson charges against Irvine. It is this: Did Anderson abuse the power of the press—specifically the great power he himself wields by virtue of publication in nearly 1,000 newspapers—to shoot down a critic?

Anderson indignantly says no. He concedes that annoyance over Irvine's "constant misstatements" about his column and Irvine's letters to editors figured in the decision to investigate AIM and its chairman. But he maintains that the resulting column stands on its own feet. Irvine is a public figure guilty of improper conduct, he says, and he deserved to be exposed. Further, Anderson sees sinister implications in Irvine's AIM that make its exposure as a right-wing anti-press operation a matter of public interest.

Irvine maintains that Anderson's column was a gross misuse of the power of the press and a violation of his civil liberties.

The issue is delicately handled. I will not attempt to pass judgment. I think, however, that there is one

point that v  
Even if An  
be accepted

would not register very high on the scale of bureaucratic misbehavior; it doesn't seem to be the sort of offense to which Anderson would normally devote a whole column. In fact, there is something faintly amusing about his indignation over Irvine's obtaining and using a report that he himself had already obtained and used.

There is another news business aspect to the Anderson-Irvine story, one that involves The Post.

Irvine learned of the Anderson column a few days before publication and tried, by letter and personal visit, to persuade The Post's editors that it should not be printed. After considering his arguments, they decided to use the column after editing out specific suggestions of illegal conduct.

That was a defensible decision. Anderson was, after all, dealing with the conduct of a government official and an important federal agency. Also, there is logic to the argument that if AIM has the right to criticize the press, the press has the right to examine AIM.

However, because of the circumstances behind the Anderson column—the taint, if you will, of the existing antagonism between the vociferous critic and the columnist—in my opinion the decision to publish carried with it a special responsibility on the part of The Post's editors to lean over backward to be fair to Irvine and to see that any future developments were fully covered. I think the paper fumbled that responsibility.

Soon after the column appeared, Irvine issued a denial of the Anderson charges. It was carried by the Associated Press and Irvine offered to dictate it to The Post. It was not published by The Post.

Irvine then wrote a letter to the editor for publication. In it he set forth in detail his answer to the charges. The letter was received several days before the House hearing, but it was not published until the day after the hearing—eight days after the column.

Although the House hearing was announced in advance, The Post did not assign one of its own reporters to cover it—a failure in my opinion to meet its responsibility as the Washington paper that had published the Anderson column. As a result, a totally inadequate and misleading six-inch story, rewritten from the wire service coverage and leading with Anderson's dramatic but inconsequential perjury charge, was what the paper carried the next morning.

There was one small counterbalance: a brief but accurate story on Irvine's clearance by his Fed superiors.

All in all, though, it sounds almost like a project for AIM.

# Anderson, AIM and t Speech Issue

By ALLAN H. RYSKIND

Columnist Jack Anderson exudes a certain piety when he sinks his teeth into a victim, but he is also a self-righteous bully, a below-the-belt street fighter, who relishes flinging mud at those who challenge him in any way. Anderson the bully was on full display before the Subcommittee on Domestic Monetary Policy of the Committee on Banking, Housing and Currency on March 18.

The hearing produced a bit of fireworks, with Anderson frenetically shouting "perjury" at his prey, arguing with clumps of interested bystanders, and, finally, just before exiting the hearing room, engaging in a near brawl with columnist Paul Scott. Wherever Anderson goes, controversy is sure to follow.

The hearing had been called by Chairman Wright Patman after Anderson and his associate, Les Whitten, had penned an awful diatribe—straight from one of Herblock's famous sewers—against Federal Reserve Board economist Reed Irvine.

Serving in his spare time as chairman of Accuracy in Media (AIM), a private organization devoted to correcting media misinformation, Irvine had gone so far, argued Anderson, as to engage in a "Watergate-style assault on the free press." He had used "his federal post to gather ammunition for his anti-press campaign from unsuspecting government researchers." And then Anderson wandered around to the crux of his ire: "Irvine has also kept up a torrent of abuse against us. . . ." (Italics added.)

Irvine had clearly committed a "no-no." While Anderson, of course, feels it his solemn duty to pulverize his targets at will in the 400-plus papers that carry his daily column, he apparently believes that Irvine has no right of reply. No matter how erroneous Anderson is, Irvine, supposedly, is to behave like a vegetable or a lump of sod. Freedom of expression is only for the privileged few of the fourth estate, you understand.

Patman initiated the inquiry into Irvine's activities as a means of getting at his old enemy, the Federal Reserve Board, which Patman views as a creation of Beelzebub. The Texas populist has been seeking an audit of the Federal Reserve, and he clearly hopes to force one by proving that the board is somehow improperly backing Irvine's crusade for accuracy.

The Patman panel, however, is not the place to expect a judicious finding on Irvine's activities. Patman, as noted, is out to lynch the Federal Reserve Board, and he has latched onto Irvine as a convenient scapegoat. He also unleashed Anderson as Irvine's chief accuser, though Anderson can hardly be considered an objective observer, since AIM has so frequently caught Anderson with his facts down.

Patman's administrative aide, Baron I. Shacklette, curiously enough, has also had a close association with Anderson. In 1958, Shacklette was an investigator for the Special House Committee on Legislative Oversight. "Mr. Shacklette," noted the *New York Times* recently, "was forced to resign [in 1958] when it was discovered that he and Mr. Anderson, then an assistant to the late Drew Pearson, had electronically bugged a hotel suite rented by Bernard Goldfine, a Boston industrialist accused of seeking and receiving favors" from President Eisenhower's assistant, Sherman Adams. If Patman is searching for possible conspiracies and conflicts of interest, he might cast a glance in the mirror.

Anderson's bias against Irvine was evident from the outset of the hearings. The lead-off witness, the columnist began with his mud-gun on fully automatic. Splattering away, he decided to speculate on the possibility that Irvine's efforts to correct the media just might have been part of the Watergate "plumbers" operation. Any proof? No, just throwing ideas around. He suggested AIM was a front for bankers and the oil companies because it had rallied to their defense on an issue or two. But then why didn't Anderson accuse AIM of being a front for Ralph Nader, since it has also rallied to his defense as well?

Anderson then tossed his biggest mud-pie of all: he hinted, ever so vaguely, that AIM members may somehow have a Ku Klux mentality. He managed

this by quoting some newspaper to the effect that AIM "was afflicted by paranoia symptoms usually associated with the Ku Klux Klan syndrome." Anderson's efforts to conjure up the Klan in connection with AIM was not only wicked but stupid, since such an insinuation could only damage Anderson's reputation, not Irvine's. (Just for the record, AIM's first two executive secretaries, Benjamin Ginzburg and Abraham Kalish, are Jews, while Irvine has a Japanese wife. Not exactly Klan material.)

Not having thrown enough sludge at AIM, Anderson tried to convey the idea that everyone connected with AIM was somehow on the extreme right. He depicted its board of directors as a bunch of "ex-military men, former ambassadors, rightist ideologues, retired Red-hunters," a description which drew hoots of derision from those in the hearing room actually familiar with the composition of the AIM board.

Anderson described Murray Baron, a board member, for instance, as "a former AFL-CIO official, who worked with the right-wing Committee of One Million [to keep Red China out of the United Nations.]" Mr. Baron, however, also happens to be a former official of the Liberal party in New York and an early stalwart of Americans for Democratic Action. How could this information have eluded Super Sleuth? Moreover, Senator Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) and William Proxmire (D.-Wis.)—hardly right-wing ideologues—also belonged to the Committee of One Million, as did the overwhelming majority of Congress at one time.

Anderson dismissed AIM board member Lewis Walt, one of the country's most distinguished ex-Marine generals and a member of President Ford's Clemency Board, as a "crony of Sen. James Eastland [D.-Miss.]," which happens to be totally inaccurate. He is, however, a crony of ex-Sen. Paul Douglas, a liberal, who, having served under Walt in World War II, became one of Walt's great admirers and friends.

It also eluded Anderson that former Secretary of State Dean Acheson was on the AIM board until his death and that such noted liberals as Morris Ernst, a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Harry D. Gideonese, chancellor of the New School of Social Research in New York, are current members.

Anderson saved much of his wrath for Irvine directly. Irvine's "diatribes, issued in the name of accuracy," thundered Anderson, "have no more to do with accuracy than the Communist people's democracies have to do with democracy."

Then the columnist delivered a sentence that, for sheer gall, deserves a Pulitzer Prize. "We should," he proclaimed, "caution the subcommittee that Irvine is a specialist at manipulating facts to form a false picture which, at quick

glance, appears authentic. He will shave a fact here, twist a truth there, remove a statement ever so slightly from context. Then he will present the fabrication with such bold authority that the unsuspecting reader easily can be taken unaware." In psychology, this is called "projection," attributing your worst offenses to others.

Yet it was Anderson who came up short on the facts. His major accusation against Irvine before the Patman panel is that he used his official Federal Reserve position on behalf of Accuracy in Media. But Federal Reserve Board Gov. Robert Holland wrote Rep. Patman on March 19 that a thorough review leads the board "to conclude that Mr. Irvine did not abuse his official position through use of Federal Reserve facilities on behalf of AIM." In all of Irvine's correspondence at the Federal Reserve, only two letters even mention AIM at all, and these mentions were only asides.

What had really set Anderson off was that Irvine and AIM had nailed an Anderson column concerning Chile as inaccurate. Anderson had charged that the U. S. sought to bankrupt the Allende government and had helped to bring about that country's "financial strangulation" by cutting off loans from the Inter-American Development Bank. He based his column on an unpublished Congressional Research Service study. Irvine, whose responsibilities at the board include monitoring and analyzing the operations of the IDB, found some serious errors in the study which he pointed out to the CRS in his official capacity.

On his own time, Irvine wrote a letter for AIM saying that the Anderson column, based on the CRS study, was dead wrong, that the IDB, in fact, was disbursing loans to Allende up to the time of his overthrow. Irvine also pointed out that Chile's dependence on IDB disbursements was actually quite small, contrary to Anderson's report.

Irate over Irvine's efforts to correct him, Anderson charged in his column and before Patman that Irvine had misused his position at the Federal Reserve to get information for AIM. In effect, Anderson seemed to be saying that Irvine might be permitted to respond, but only after he had obliterated from his memory any knowledge he had gained through his profession. In fact, Gov. Holland asserted that Irvine acted in a perfectly proper way. And Irvine testified that, unlike Anderson, he does not even use information in his work for AIM that is not available to the general public.

Though ostentatiously demanding to be sworn in, Anderson uttered another massive falsehood when he took issue with Irvine's previous criticism of an Anderson assault on the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Anderson's

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on him revealed how Irvine engages in twisting the truth, but it clearly revealed more about Anderson than Irvine.

One sentence deep in the seventh paragraph of his February 4 column, said Anderson, said that the subcommittee's only major achievement lately was a "crackpot report on marijuana prepared mainly by an outside consultant." Though Irvine had charged the attack was based on "inaccurate, hearsay information," said Anderson, "the 11 words were based on our reading of the report." Anderson also said Irvine "neglected to mention that one of AIM's board members is Lewis Walt, the very consultant who helped produce the report."

That Anderson would repeat such inaccuracies under oath is astonishing. First of all, there is no recent report on marijuana, but a hearing record, which is quite different. Secondly, Gen. Walt had zero to do with the hearing record. Thirdly, the hearing record was put together by a full-time staffer, David Martin, not an outside consultant. Fourthly, the hearing record of over 400 pages can hardly be considered "crackpot," since it includes the considered and qualified testimony of 21 top-ranking scientists from around the world. Among them: Prof. W. D. M. Paton, head of the British drug research program, perhaps the world's top-ranking pharmacologist; Dr. Henry Brill, regional director, New York State Department of Mental Hygiene; Dr. Julius Axelrod, a Nobel laureate, of the National Institute of Mental Health; Prof. Nils Bejerot of Sweden, one of the world's top experts on drug abuse; and Prof. M. I. Soueif, chairman, Department of Psychology and Philosophy, Cairo, Egypt, who has done the classic study of the hashish impact on the Egyptian population.

The hearing record, in fact, has revolutionized the thinking on marijuana, and has altered the thinking of many persons in the area who previously had a much more tolerant attitude toward marijuana's dangers. To disagree with its findings is one thing; to call it crackpot is, well, crackpot.

Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), who, along with Jack Anderson, hopes to rid the Senate of its Internal Security subcommittee, said on March 7 that he believed the marijuana hearing was "a very extraordinary piece of research" and commended the SISS's general counsel, Jay Sourwine, and staffer Martin "for this very outstanding work."

In trying to assail Irvine's credibility vis-à-vis his own column, Anderson's testimony, however, contained a curious omission. It failed to mention that on February 4 the National News Council, whose executive editor is William Arthur, former editor of *Look* magazine, issued a formal finding upholding AIM's complaint that Anderson had twisted facts regarding the International Police Academy.

AIM asserted the quotations were taken out of context, while Anderson and his associate, Joseph C. Spear, denied it. But the News Council, in a decision that made news across the country, said AIM was right and Anderson wrong.

AIM asserted the quotations were taken out of context, while Anderson and his associate, Joseph C. Spear, denied it. But the News Council, in a decision that made news across the country, said AIM was right and Anderson wrong.

"Members of the council staff," said the NNC, "visited Washington and examined the five papers in full and in detail. They found that the quotations by Anderson did in fact misrepresent the attitudes of the students toward torture as set forth in their papers. In addition, they found that all five papers were written in the years 1965-67, a fact not mentioned in the Anderson column (which gave the impression that they were reasonably contemporary).

"In a letter dated Dec. 30, 1974, Mr. Anderson insisted that the statements in his column were supported by sources whose identity he could not reveal, and suggested that members of the Council staff 'spend a couple of months talking to Amnesty International and the National Council of Churches,' as well as with Sen. James Abourezk and unnamed members of his staff—all of whom, it was suggested, would support Anderson's charges.

"If such support as was alleged by Mr. Anderson exists, it is up to him, not this Council, to develop and publish it. AIM's complaint alleged simply that the five quotations set forth and relied on in the original Anderson column misrepresented the views of the writers; and the complaint is quite correct."

But the NNC wasn't finished. "Nor can Mr. Anderson," it went on, "escape responsibility for the misrepresentations by pointing to the second sentence of his column, which stated, 'After a lengthy investigation, we found no evidence that the academy actually advocates third-degree methods.' In the first place, exculpating the academy itself does not excuse leaving a false implication with respect to the views of the five named students. In the second place, the sentence was simply inconsistent with the general thrust of the column, which Mr. Anderson's own syndicate titled 'The Torture Graduates.'"

Briefly, then, Anderson's attack against Irvine, far from a public service, looks more like a private vendetta—launched from a platform financed by the taxpayers—to squelch a critic who has rattled Anderson on numerous occasions. Rep. Patman, moreover, has clearly been a willing party in helping Anderson carry out his feud.

As Rep. John Conlan (R.-Ariz.) stated at the Patman hearings: "I think the basic question here is, does an official, whether an employed official, as elected, as a citizen, have his right to express his viewpoints in criticizing the press...." If Patman and Anderson have their way, officials such as Irvine will be denied that right.

Crucial Comments Cut from Interview

# AIM Protests CBS Editing of Castro Special

By JEFFREY HART

The big guns are now being trained on Accuracy in Media (AIM), a private Washington organization devoted to publicizing distortions and misrepresentations in the major media. It was only a matter of time, of course, before so persistent and persistently accurate a media critic would come under attack.

AIM is now involved in a bitter controversy on two fronts. The first involves an argument with columnist Jack Anderson over AIM's charge that Anderson has slanted the facts in a recent column on attitudes toward torture at the International Police Academy. The dust has not settled on that one yet. AIM, of course, is not infallible. But the foundation-supported National News Council, headed by a former New York chief judge, and embracing many shades of opinion, has backed AIM against Anderson.

Anderson, however, in the course of replying to AIM, launched a secondary and unrelated attack upon AIM Chairman Reed Irvine, who is also a Federal Reserve Board economist. Anderson charged that Irvine has used his federal office for his AIM work. This was followed by the decision of Rep. Wright Patman of Texas to call a hearing of his House Banking subcommittee to look into Irvine's alleged infraction. (A Federal Reserve Board inquiry said Irvine "did not abuse his official position through use of Federal Reserve facilities on behalf of AIM.")

Ominously enough, in a letter to Fed Chairman Arthur Burns, Patman stated it as a fact that

Irvine and AIM seek to "harass the press, and hamper their reporting of news of major public interest." That statement sounds as if it had been concocted by some PR man for the major media, and it certainly does not describe the work or the motives of AIM. Time and again, AIM has documented a major distortion or an outright lie by the media, most recently catching none other than CBS and Mr. Dan Rather with their hands in the ideological cookie jar.

Last October, CBS put on an hour-long documentary, "Castro, Cuba and the U. S. A." featuring Dan Rather and including an interview with Castro by Rather. In his commentary, Rather sought to convey the impression that Cuba no longer supports revolutionary movements in other Latin American countries. This is a key political point, since Cuba's ostracism by the Organization of American States was based on precisely such export of Marxist revolution.

Today, said Rather, Castro talks "more of conciliation and trade." In a central passage on the issue, Rather said: "Ché [Guevara] went to Bolivia in 1967, was killed there trying to carry out a Castro-style guerrilla war. Ché's way failed. Now, Castro talks more of conciliation and trade. Indeed, while keeping Ché's memory alive in Cuba, Castro is pushing elsewhere an economic union of all Latin American nations." The greening of Castro, you gather.

Now AIM noticed something interesting. Included

continued

in the Rather documentary on Cuba were some excerpts from a taped interview with Castro made by Frank Mankiewicz and Kirby Jones, to which CBS had acquired the rights. CBS obviously knew everything Castro had said in this interview.

In it, Castro was asked about his support for revolutionary violence elsewhere. He replied: "Do we sympathize with revolutionaries? Yes, we do. Have we aided revolutionaries as much as we have been able to? Yes, we have."

Asked under what conditions he would support revolutionaries abroad, Castro elaborated: "It is essential that they be fighting. If they are not, then we don't. When they fight, we back them."

**Those words, of course, contradicted the entire thrust of the Rather broadcast. And so they were just omitted.**

I give you AIM's conclusion: "That comes close to being deliberate falsification with intent to mislead. Instead of informing the American people that Castro had not changed his policy, letting them hear it from his own lips, CBS censored Castro. Knowing that Castro was still helping those dedicated to violent overthrow of other governments, Dan Rather falsely implied that this was all past history and that Castro had switched to talking of 'conciliation and trade.'"

It looks as if CBS has decided to put its considerable resources behind the policy of detente with Cuba, even if that means a little judicious editing.

And you can see why AIM, ferreting out this sort of thing, is such a nuisance to the media barons. Naturally, AIM has come under attack, Wright Patman taking on the role of Sam Ervin.

*King Features Syndicate*

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## Jack Anderson Column Is Found 'Inaccurate'

NEW YORK, Feb. 5 (AP) — The National News Council said today a syndicated Jack Anderson column entitled "The Torture Graduates" made biased and inaccurate use of quotations from source letters.

Accuracy in Media, a Washington-based group, had filed the complaint against the column with the National News Council, a private organization that investigates allegations against the national news media.

The column, which appeared in The Washington Post Aug. 3, 1974, asserted that "students at the International Police Academy, a school run by the State Department to train foreign policemen, have developed some chilling views about torture tactics."

Accuracy in Media charged that statements from papers written by five students at the academy were taken out of context to support the assertion.

The council said members of its staff examined the five papers and "found that the quotations by Anderson do in fact misrepresent the attitude of the students toward torture as set forth in their papers." The papers were written in

1965-67, a fact that was not mentioned in the column, the council findings said.

Anderson said in a letter dated Dec. 30 that the statements in the column were supported by sources whose identity he could not reveal. The council said that if support exists, it was Anderson's responsibility to develop and publish it.

Anderson could not be reached for comment on the council's findings. However, reporter Joseph Spear, who researched the story, said, "We think they are absolutely wrong. They have not yet done a thorough job. We feel justified in what we wrote."

5 JAN 1974

# letters

## FOR THE RECORD

Margaret Fisk's characterization of Accuracy in Media's complaint against Eric Sevareid for his inaccurate assessment of American news media coverage of the Hue massacres was misleading.

On September 12, Eric Sevareid criticized Soviet Nobel Prize-winning novelist, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for saying that the Communist massacre of over 5000 civilians at Hue did not arouse much attention or protest in Western countries. Sevareid said Solzhenitsyn was wrong and that the Hue massacres had been heavily reported.

This was obviously not a minor issue. Solzhenitsyn's statement had been widely reported around the world. Sevareid thought it important enough to criticize in his nationwide television commentary. The question was, which was correct.

Accuracy in Media informed Mr. Sevareid that we could find only two stories on this terrible massacre in the *New York Times* in 1968. There was no editorial comment and no photos. By way of contrast, we noted that *The Times* index for 1969 had no less than 3½ pages of entries on My Lai even though that story did not break until the 11th month of the year. We have presented to CBS and Eric Sevareid considerable additional evidence demonstrating that Solzhenitsyn was absolutely correct in his criticism of the scanty attention paid to the Hue massacres by the news media in this country. We invited CBS to tell us how heavily they covered the massacres in their news programs.

CBS has revealed nothing whatsoever about its own coverage of the Hue massacres, and neither Sevareid nor CBS has presented a single piece of evidence to show that the reporting of the massacres was anything but scanty. Indeed, Sevareid has said that it would require considerable research to check his impression that the coverage was heavy and he has said that he is unwilling to undertake that research. This is tantamount to an admission that he criticized Solzhenitsyn on network television without having first checked the facts.

After having failed to persuade Sevareid that he owed Solzhenitsyn an apology, AIM decided to see what the National News Council would do with this case. We filed a complaint with them on October 22, over a month after we first wrote to Sevareid. (This is of some importance, since the National News Council will not take a complaint unless the complainant has first written to the newspaper or broadcaster and has failed to receive a satisfactory reply within 30 days. This is no doubt one reason the Council does not get many complaints.)

The NNC responded promptly to AIM on November 2, 1973. Your article was inaccurate in saying that the decision came after three months of correspondence. The decision had two points:

(1). Since Mr. Sevareid's statement was labeled "commentary" the NNC did not

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(2). The Council thought that the publication by *The New York Times* of two stories on a cold-blooded massacre of over

5000 innocent civilians could be considered "heavy" coverage. It thought that the contrast with the incomparably heavier coverage of the My Lai massacre of 109 civilians was irrelevant since "the My Lai massacre involved the killing of defenseless civilians by American soldiers, an act unprecedented in the history of our country."

On the first point, the NNC seems to take the position that editorials are privileged ground for factual inaccuracy. AIM does not agree. We agree, rather, with Franklin R. Smith of the *Burlington (Vt.) Free Press*, who, in a talk published in *E & P* on May 1, 1971, said:

"An editorial can promote any cause, criticize any situation or express any opinion no matter how far out—but don't get caught with erroneous facts."

On the second point, I feel that the NNC position bears out the very criticism that Solzhenitsyn was making—that there exists a terrible double standard in the treatment of misdeeds. The killing of 109 Vietnamese civilians at My Lai was given saturation coverage while the killing of 5000 Vietnamese civilians by the Communists at Hue was all but ignored. The National News Council apparently thinks that reflects good news judgment. Accuracy in Media does not. Nor do we think that the issue is "petty," the characterization applied to our complaint by Margaret Fisk.

Incidentally, your article did not mention that the complaint on *Newsweek's* article, "Slaughterhouse in Santiago," was also taken to the NNC by AIM. We have now filed a total of five complaints with the NNC to test them and to help them out by giving them something to work on. We could give them a lot more, since we have not found the same lack of specific, actionable complaints that the NNC has encountered. We have taken up over 130 complaints in 1973. Our budget is about one-tenth that of the NNC.

REED, J. IRVINE

(Irvine is chairman of AIM, Washington, D.C.)

# Media Panel Fights Obscurity

By Stephen Isaacs.

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—The experimental new National News Council's principal grievance so far is not the complaints about the media it is receiving, but its own obscurity.

In fact, few complaints that would come under the council's purview have been received—probably because so few people know of the council's existence, says William B. Arthur, its executive director.

As a result, Arthur, the 59-year-old former editor of *Lock* magazine, and Ned Schnurman, associate director of the council and former city editor at WCBS-TV here, have had to become promoters of the council itself—a public relations role they do not relish.

So, says Arthur, he and Schnurman are accepting any speaking invitations that they feel do not involve conflicts of interest. Schnurman, for instance, in one 24-hour stopover in Chicago scheduled five radio and television appearances while there.

The Twentieth Century Fund and a task force considered many potential pitfalls of such a council—possible areas of contention between and among the media, private interests and the government—before establishing it.

But the fund did not fully anticipate the dearth of complaints that has greeted the council's birth.

Most of the complaints directed to the council in its few months of existence have been from "professional letter writers," persons who are known ubiquitously to editors around the country.

The council is hearing several times a week from Accuracy in Media, Inc., a non-profit Washington organization that describes itself as "an educational organization representing you (the public) in combating and distortion in the news media."

So far, says Arthur, none of AIM's complaints has been of the nature of the type of grievance the council was set up to investigate. "We take their letters one by one," says Arthur. "That's the only way to deal with them fairly."

"We certainly hope we're not going to be used on a regular basis by organizations with big public relations departments," says Arthur. "We hope to encourage complaints from far less organized sources."

So far, then, the several hundred letters that have come to the council are no barometer of either happiness or discontent with the media. They are, says Arthur, more emotional than substantive, "like the psychologist who wrote us and said that Harry Reasoner always has a leer when he mentions the President's name. That's an emotional response."

One letter-writer from Vancouver, Washington, said that "I wish to propose to you investigation of national news coverage of the abortion movement of the last five to six years."

"It is continuously clear," said the letter, "that the pro-abortion forces receive better coverage than the anti-abortion ones at all levels and in all media."

Schnurman's reply stated: "The abortion issue is a complex one which does receive a sizable amount of media coverage. However, it is not our purpose, or the spirit in which the council was conceived, to examine general charges of bias in the media. If you can cite specific examples of media bias involving a national news organization we shall be happy to entertain consideration of your complaint . . ."

Another letter complained of "a specific practice of CBS radio news. I have no way of documenting what I heard, but perhaps my letter will reinforce someone else's complaint."

The letter cited radio reports "the reporter ended his newscast with the flat state-

ment that he was broadcasting from 'Chile, the most democratic nation in South America.' Now this may or may not be true, I am sure there are many South Americans who would dispute it. However, such a statement is strictly a matter of opinion, and I strenuously object to this kind of propagandizing in a so-called news report.

"This is not exactly an earth-shaking matter, but I find it indicative of the bias and irresponsibility that sometimes plagues the news media. 'Credibility gap' is a cliché, but it certainly does exist."

In this case, the writer was told that complaints had to be more specific.

Yet another letter complained about a story carried by The Washington Post-Los Angeles Times news service that described a new drug for treating gonorrhea.

"Gonorrhea is a terrible problem," said the letter, "but this (article) implies some new drug was discovered." Instead, said the letter, the drug in the article was not new, and a far cheaper version of the drug has "been around about a decade."

The council's by-laws authorize it to study First Amendment issues, and last week the council announced its first such study, to be directed by Columbia University constitutional law expert Benno C. Schmidt, Jr.

The study of "the potential threat of a free press posed by increased demands for access to the media," was triggered by a Florida court decision that extended the FCC's equal time provisions to newspaper editorializing on political campaigns.

"Maybe the results of such a study will be directly valuable," says Schnurman, "in case that some day goes all the way to the Supreme Court. At least we'll hope to have this study published by early 1974."

Schnurman and Arthur have been considering all elements of contention between the media and the government, and have debated as to what procedures they would have followed if vice-

president Spiro Agnew had brought his complaint about news leaks to the council instead of to court.

In one case where another action was taken, Schnurman says, the complainant might have preferred news council action.

Schnurman says the American Medical Association complained to the Federal Communications Commission about an NBC documentary last December about the nation's health care.

A copy of the AMA's complaint was sent to the news council, and AMA was told that, since it had its case pending before a regulatory agency, the council could not act.

NBC gave in before the FCC was through hearing the case, Schnurman says, by giving the AMA time to rebut the program on the "Today" show and by admitting certain errors in fact.

"Our postulation," says Schnurman, "is wouldn't it have been more interesting if it had gotten before us and gotten to the open hearing stage. Couldn't the council, by its publicity, have ended the thing. Then NBC would not have been obliged to make the 'Today' show time available. If that publicity had been publicized in enough areas, wouldn't NBC have been better off. The kind of thing they did makes it look like they were guilty."

The NBC action, says Schnurman, had a further impact in that other related programs "have been shelved or put aside because of it. You have to ask yourself why."

Schnurman says he understands that the AMA in retrospect would have

continued

1 MAY 1973

## A Group Keeps Busy Trying to Ensure Accuracy of Media

So-Called Liberal Media Are  
Targets of Pest, er, Gadfly;  
Does It Have Any Influence?

By JOHN PIERSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Washington Post, it seems, has discovered a nifty way to make money.

First, it prints some slanted and/or inaccurate stories. This stirs up an organization called Accuracy in Media Inc., which writes several letters to the Post to complain. Then the Post publishes only one.

So AIM buys space in the paper to advertise its "letters the editor of the Washington Post refused to print." This cost AIM \$1,800.

Next, a reader writes in to ask why the Post didn't run AIM's letters in the first place. And the Post explains that printing all of them wouldn't have left any room for anybody else to voice his opinions. And AIM writes back that correction of error deserves top priority. But the Post won't run this letter, either.

So AIM buys more space—for the original letters from its first ad, for the Post's reply, for AIM's reply to the reply and for a ballot so readers can say how they feel about it all. That's \$2,400 more for the Post, and the end may not be in sight.

This said, it now is necessary to report, in the interests of accuracy and fairness, that the Post thinks its original stories were both fair and accurate and that if AIM wants to spend money to print letters that didn't make the paper free of charge, that's AIM's business.

"They are biased, and they're trying to substitute their news judgment for ours," declares managing editor Howard Simons. "But I don't really worry about them. They're more of a pest than anything."

AIM doesn't mind being called a pest, although it would prefer the more dignified "gadfly." But the group rejects the idea that the nips it has been taking out of the hide of the Post, The New York Times, the TV networks and others of the allegedly liberal media are having no effect.

"I like to feel we have a sort of background influence, that writers are a little more careful of their facts after we've had a paid ad in the Times or the Post," says Abraham Kalish, AIM's executive secretary.

### Some Allegations

Although go-rounds with the Post are taking the lion's share of AIM's time just now, during the past year the Washington-based organization has:

—Run an ad in The New York Times criticizing Times columnist Anthony Lewis for reporting that the North Vietnamese might be clearing mines from Haiphong harbor as quickly as U.S. planes dropped them. (Mr. Lewis replies that "some of the AIM criticism in that ad was justified—indeed I filed a corrected piece from Hanoi immediately—and some of it was quite wrong.")

—Placed another ad in The Washington Star-News demanding that another New York

Times columnist, Tom Wicker, correct eight "serious" errors concerning electric power projects in the Southwest, a State Department computer and the Communist massacre of civilians in Hue in 1968. (Mr. Wicker concedes he "probably should have run a correction" of his computer mistake, but he says his Southwest power errors were "not fundamental" and maintains the Hue massacre is "a matter of how you read history.")

—Filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission charging that NBC had violated the "fairness doctrine" with its documentary "Pensions: The Broken Promise." (NBC says that "the program was fair, and in addition to focusing on abuses in private pensions, it did acknowledge the existence of many good private plans and satisfied participants.")

—Brought a Rand Corp consultant to Washington to take part in a televised discussion of whether a bloodbath would follow a Communist takeover of South Vietnam. Mr. Kalish told Martin Agronsky, host of WETA-TV's Evening Edition, that the consultant was needed to "balance the anti-bloodbath views" of other participants. (Mr. Agronsky says that Mrs. Howard Nutt was a welcome addition to the program but denies that without her it would have been one-sided.)

—Helped persuade ABC to correct five factual errors in a documentary, "Arms and Security; How Much is enough?" ABC senior vice president William Sheehan says, "There was one bad error, but the rest were trivial."

—Urge businessmen to insist on seeing the text of any program they sponsor before it's broadcast on radio or TV.

### "Right-Wing Point of View"

Many of AIM's targets refuse to take the organization seriously, because they feel its criticisms are so one-sided. They note, too, that AIM almost never finds error or bias in conservative columns or publications. "Kalish is for accuracy as long as it's his kind of accuracy," says Charles Seib, managing editor of The Washington Star-News. "He obviously represents a right-wing point of view."

But Mr. Kalish says AIM has remonstrated with a Midwest paper over an article blaming fluoridated water for causing sickle-cell anemia. He says AIM has challenged the National

Review, a conservative periodical, for at least four "errors."

"Most of the news media are liberal-oriented, and most of the complaints that come to us concern the liberal media," Mr. Kalish says. "I make a special effort to find conservative error, but we can't make up cases if they don't exist or if we don't get complaints."

Complaints come in from ordinary citizens as well as special-interest groups. The NBC documentary on pensions, for example, was brought to AIM's attention by businessmen, business groups and actuaries, AIM says. In addition, AIM's officers and advisory-board members are also careful newspaper readers and TV watchers.

AIM's president is Francis Wilson, professor emeritus of government at the University of Illinois, and its chairman is Reed Irvine, an economist with the Federal Reserve Board. But the man who does most of the work is Mr. Kalish, a Harvard classics major and retired intelligence school. Mr. Kalish, who favors fluorescent bow ties, gaudy shirts and lizard-skin

shoes, says he takes no pay from AIM and lives on his government pension. He holds down expenses by renting office space at a cut rate from his wife, who has a secretarial and phone-answering service.

AIM started small in 1969, and even in the year that ended last April 30—the first year AIM had tax-exempt status—contributions totaled only \$6,412 and expenses \$5,047. But business is picking up. This year's budget should be about \$65,000, Mr. Kalish says, and next year's goal is \$100,000.

AIM's two largest donors so far are an undisclosed foundation (\$10,000) and an anonymous company (\$10,000). The 1,200 other contributors include, according to Mr. Kalish, foundations, trade associations, professional groups, labor unions, women's clubs, business firms and individuals. He declines to identify any contributor, because some are worried about getting "on every mailing list in the world" while businessmen have expressed fear of "bad publicity that would hurt their business."

In answer to one question sometimes asked, Mr. Kalish says AIM receives no money from the White House. Nor does the White House send AIM complaints about the media, he adds. Lyndon Allin, the man who prepares President Nixon's daily news summary, agrees. "They've done some very good stuff," he says, "but we haven't had any contact with them."

When a complaint comes in, Mr. Kalish normally farms it out to one of some 30 "consultants." They prepare rebuttals, often in the form of letters to the editor.

If a paper or network refuses to run a letter or recant error, AIM urges the 4,000 readers of its monthly report—contributors, newsmen, librarians, and others—to complain to the editor, the network president, the network's affiliated stations, their Senators or their Congressmen.

How effective is all this? Mr. Kalish claims AIM's biggest success was in getting ABC to admit those five errors in its defense documentary. But ABC's Mr. Sheehan says the network received a lot more complaints from another conservative organization, the American Security Council.

Mr. Kalish thinks Martin Agronsky's past show has "gotten better" since AIM began hounding him about "lack of balance." (Mr. Agronsky calls Mr. Kalish "utterly irresponsible" and adds: "If we're going straight according to him, I'm ashamed of myself.")

Mr. Kalish claims he has forced the FCC to take speedy action on his "fairness doctrine" complaints. "But, of course, they're ruling against me in every case," he concedes.

And AIM achieved "sort of a breakthrough," Mr. Kalish adds, when The New York Times finally printed one of his letters to the editor. In fact, Mr. Kalish's proudest possession appears to be a framed letter to him from Times publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger which begins: "I believe you must be the mo-

thorough reader that The New York Times has, and I think in the particular instance that you mention in your letter of January 24 you are correct." (The January 24 letter called the publisher's attention to a column by correspondent Lewis which, as Mr. Kalish put it, erred by suggesting that the British involvement in World War II "was in response to a German attack on Britain;" Mr. Kalish pointed out that Britain entered the war after Germany invaded Poland and before Britain itself had been attacked.)

Beyond this, what about that "background influence" Mr. Kalish likes to think AIM brings to bear upon reporters to keep them straight? The Post's Mr. Simons doubts this influence is very influential, and so do a lot of other newsmen.

But the Star-News' Mr. Seib gives AIM more credit. AIM, he says, "keeps us on our toes. Only I wish we had someone on the other (liberal) side doing the same thing."

# SOVIET GENERALS SHOW NEW STYLE

## A Younger High Command Is Thought to Stress Offensive Strategy

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22—

The Soviet Union has made major changes in its military high command in the last 18 months, motivated by a need for rejuvenation, according to military and civilian analysts.

Senior generals have been replaced by younger men. One-star generals and colonels with technological experience have moved into areas previously dominated by rough-and-ready veterans of the mass battles of World War II. A naval officer has been appointed to the general staff although the Soviet Air Force still lacks a representative there.

Two civilian analysts who have studied the records, published military comments and personalities of the new generals believe that, as a group, the new men will emphasize the doctrine of the offensive in their leadership. This would mean that the training, procurement of weapons and tactical planning of Soviet forces would be aimed at the ability to support an offensive in the event of war in Europe or Asia.

The analysts are Alexander O. Gebhardt and William Schneider Jr. of the Hudson Institute at Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., a private research organization that does most of its work for the Government.

Their studies on the Soviet high command and the air force high command will appear in the May issues of Military Review, published by the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., and the Air University Review, published at Colorado Springs.

Analysts at the Pentagon disagree that the command changes mean new emphasis on the offensive. In their view, the Soviet armed forces embraced an offensive strategy as early

as 1956.

The basic change since then has been the adoption of the strategy to nuclear warfare. This has involved the replacement of mass operations, so successful in the latter stages of World War II, by small-unit tactics.

New weapons, missions and organizations have been fitted into the offensive strategy. The new Soviet Navy, for example, has been designed and armed to fight well away from the nation's coastal waters with the mission of finding and destroying United States surface and undersea forces. The seven airborne divisions, each with 7,500 men, concentrate during maneuvers on seizing airfields and river crossings.

The difference between 1956 and today, as American and European analysts see it, is that command is now held by men willing to use new tactics and weapons.

Three deaths of high officers provided the opportunity for rejuvenation of the high command which, in 1971, had an average age of 66 for its top 15 officers. The passing of Marshal Matvei V. Zakharov, chief of the general staff, Marshal Nikolai I. Krylov, commander in chief of Soviet rocket forces, and Col. Gen. Sergei S. Maryakhin, the chief of logistics, opened the door to a new generation.

### Most Important Appointment

The first—and in the opinion of the civilian analysts, the most important appointment — was that of Gen. Viktor G. Kulikov as chief of the general staff. General Kulikov, who is 51, was the energetic commander in chief of Soviet forces in Germany before he assumed his new appointment.

When Marshal Krylov died, the Soviet Defense Minister, Andrei A. Grechko, chose Gen. Vladimir F. Tolbuko, formerly commander of the Far Eastern military district, to head the missile forces. At 59, General Toluko cannot be considered young but he is said to be more in accord with the younger leaders' views than with those of the elderly marshals.

Col. Gen. Semyon K. Kurotkin, who followed General Kulikov in Germany, replaced General Maryakhin as logistics chief. He is 55 with no previous logistics experience. This is not uncommon in the rejuvenation programs where commanders of proven field ability like General Kurotkin are named to top jobs in new fields while they are young enough to bring a fresh approach to the prob-

The Soviet forces in Germany received their third com-

mander in four years when Gen. Yevgeny F. Ivanovsky, 54, took General Kurotkin's place. General Ivanovsky had been in command of the politically important Moscow military district for four years. That command went to the 48-year-old Col. Gen. Vladimir F. Govorov.

At the same time, the composition of the general staff under General Kulikov was changed to include generals with technological background.

The most important appointment, analysts believe, was that of Gen. Nikolai V. Ogarkov, as first deputy chief of staff. He was a member of the Soviet delegation to the talks on limiting strategic arms and is now believed to be in charge of military research and development.

### Radar Specialist Advanced

Another technical expert appointed to the staff was Col. Gen. V. V. Druzhinin, a deputy chief of staff. He is an engineer who has specialized in radar and radio technology. For five years until 1967 he was chief of the air defense forces' radio engineering service.

Until last year, the general staff was the preserve of ground-force generals. The first break was the appointment of Adm. S. M. Lobov as assistant chief of the general staff.

Admiral Lobov is an expert on nuclear submarines and since 1964 has been commander of the Northern Fleet, which is based at Murmansk and includes all Soviet nuclear-missile firing submarines with the exception of those in the Pacific.

General Kulikov, in addition to remaking the general staff, has replaced, transferred or retired 12 chiefs of staff of military districts since December, 1971.

Most of the new chiefs of staff are one-star generals in their early 40's who saw little fighting in World War II but who are presumably more at home than their elders in an age of technological warfare.

One conclusion drawn from the rejuvenation program is that Soviet procurement will shift to more sophisticated weapons than the previous ones designed for mass operations.

The Hudson Institute's experts suggest two hypotheses on Soviet strategy. The first is that the Russians "have assimilated and accepted" American ideas on deterrence that make

active defense inappropriate to their strategy.

The second asserts a shift toward greater emphasis on the offensive, arguing in part that "the recent changes in the Soviet command structures have brought into prominence officers who have expressed a preference for an offensive emphasis."

7 MAR 1973

# Letters the Editor of the Washington Post Refused to Print:

The following letters have been submitted to the Post by Accuracy in Media for the purpose of correcting inaccuracies or misleading information published in the Post and other papers. The editor has declined to publish these letters. Since AIM believes that the readers of the Washington Post really do have a right to know, we are publishing them at our own expense:

## John Stewart Service

Jan. 31, 1973

SIR: In reporting on a luncheon given at the State Department to honor John Stewart Service and other "old China hands" of the 1940's, the Post described the recipients of this honor as "the men who were persecuted and dismissed for sending news their country did not want to hear." This statement was apparently based on an uncritical acceptance of an assertion made by Mr. William C. Harrop, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Foreign Service Association, the sponsor of the luncheon.

In a letter announcing the luncheon, Mr. Harrop said: "The facts they reported were unwelcome at home. Many of these officers suffered harsh domestic criticism and were unable to continue their careers."

Mr. Harrop has admitted in private conversations that he had never made any systematic study of the reporting of the foreign service officers whose reporting his association was honoring. Nor was he able to cite any study that would confirm that Service and his colleagues suffered because they reported factually and objectively information that was "unwelcome at home."

An analysis of the reports from China submitted by John Stewart Service in 1944 suggests that Mr. Service was fundamentally wrong in his judgments about the philosophy and intentions of the Chinese Communists. For example, a report of his dated September 28, 1944, said: "The Communist political program is simple democracy. This is much more American than Soviet in form and spirit." In the same report, Mr. Service assured Washington that it was wrong to think that Mao wanted to bring socialism to China. He said: "The next stage in China's advance must be capitalism."

Mr. Service's analysis of the Chinese communists was dead wrong, but it is incorrect to say that it was unwelcome in Washington. On the contrary, this kind of analysis was very popular in the United States in 1944. Mr. Service was simply one voice in a loud chorus that was telling America that the true democrats in China were the communists and that we should support them, not Chiang. That chorus was largely successful in getting American policy changed, and the policies recommended by Service and his colleagues were to a large extent adopted.

Those historians who are now rewriting history would have us believe that Washington ignored Service and Davies and gave unstinting support to Chiang Kai-shek. That is not true. The policies followed in the critical postwar years were essentially those that these experts recommended. We actually withheld vitally needed arms from Chiang for a whole year while we tried to force him into forming a coalition government with the communists.

When America later discovered that these policies had helped bring about Mao's absolute control of the mainland and when they found that the communists were Stalinist totalitarians, not the democratic reformers described by Service, there was strong criticism of Service's reports and policy recommendations.

However, John Stewart Service would probably never have been fired on the basis of his misleading reporting alone. What got him into hot water was the fact that it was found that in 1945 he wrongfully gave copies of some 18 classified State Department documents to Philip Jaffe, the editor of *Amerasia*, a pro-communist publication. He has admitted this serious violation of security, and there is no doubt that it weighed heavily in the judgment of the Loyalty Review Board.

The American Foreign Service Association does no credit to its own reputation when it honors Service and his colleagues without question. The Washington Post practices poor journalism when it parrots this distorted version of history without checking the record.

## Amnesty

Feb. 9, 1973

SIR: Haynes Johnson's recent article on the issue of amnesty (2/4/73) suggests that there is a need to clear up the serious misunderstanding that has arisen about the actions and attitude of Abraham Lincoln toward deserters and draft evaders. Johnson and others have discussed Lincoln's policies without drawing a clear distinction between his offer of amnesty to those who had rebelled against the Government of the United States and fought for the Confederacy and his policy toward those who deserted from the Union forces or evaded the draft. The distinction is an important one.

Lincoln issued an amnesty proclamation on December 8, 1863, while the war was still in progress. It provided that members of the Confederate forces below the rank of colonel and others who were supporting the Confederate cause, with certain exceptions, would be exempted from any punishment if they took a loyalty oath. The purpose of the proclamation was to encourage desertion from the Confederate forces. It did not apply to those who were already prisoners of war, and Lincoln made it clear that it was "not for those who may be constrained to take (the oath) in order to escape actual imprisonment or punishment."

It is most misleading to confuse this tactical move by Lincoln to encourage enemy desertions with Lincoln's policy toward deserters from his own forces. The standard punishment for desertion during the Civil War was death, and although Lincoln commuted many death sentences, many such sentences were carried out. As the war neared its end, on March 11, 1865, Lincoln issued a proclamation offering a conditional pardon to deserters. The condition was that they return to their units and serve out their enlistment, adding time for the period of their desertion. The proclamation stated that those who failed to turn themselves in or who fled to avoid the draft would be deemed "to have voluntarily relinquished and forfeited their rights of citizenship" forever. Lincoln clearly took a very firm stand toward deserters and draft evaders, a fact that has been badly obscured in much of the current discussion.

Post readers might also be misled by Haynes Johnson's discussion of Truman's pardoning of some selective service violators after World War II. Johnson says that Truman granted amnesty to 1523 violators, but he fails to say that

continued

90 per cent of the selective service violators whose cases were considered by Truman's amnesty board were not pardoned. Nor does he say that the pardons were not extended to deserters. None of those pardoned by Truman were excused because they sympathized with the Nazi cause and had moral scruples about fighting them.

Mr. Johnson advocates that an amnesty board be established "to determine those cases that merit pardon on grounds of moral objections to the war." These would not be persons who could qualify for conscientious objector status because of opposition to all war, but persons who objected to this particular war. There is no precedent in American history (or probably the history of any country) for forgiving deserters and draft evaders for such a reason.

**TV Bias**

Feb. 14, 1973

SIR: By coincidence, George Will's article arguing that TV bias does not matter appeared in the Post at the same time as an article in *TV Guide* demonstrated that TV bias matters very much.

Will contends that the networks are indeed biased but lacking in power to influence public opinion. Therefore, we need not worry about the distorted view of the world that comes over the tube.

*TV Guide's* article, "The Black Eye That Won't Go Away," shows that the city of Newburgh, N.Y. is still suffering today from the unfair negative image that it was given by an NBC documentary aired over ten years ago. The mayor of Newburgh is quoted as blaming the difficulty experienced in attracting industry to his city on the unfavorable impression that was created by the NBC program.

Was the NBC portrayal of Newburgh accurate and fair? The people of Newburgh don't think so. The local newspaper described the program as "a hatchet job on the city." It asked for an apology from NBC, but no apology was ever made. The *TV Guide* points out that because of the NBC documentary the local media are extremely distrustful of the national press, both print and broadcast.

The Newburgh case is only one of many that could be cited to show that TV has a stronger influence on public opinion, for good and ill, than Mr. Will seems to believe.

**More TV Bias**

Feb. 15, 1973

SIR: In a recent speech the president of NBC, Julian Goodman, charged that "some Federal Government officials are waging a continuing campaign aimed at intimidating and discrediting the news media." Singling out an official who recently charged that there was bias in TV network news, Mr. Goodman said: "He did not say how we are biased."

Accuracy in Media, Inc. has spelled out in detail many specific cases of TV network bias. Many of these involve NBC, and Mr. Goodman knows of them. He misleads the public when he implies that charges of bias are lacking in documentation.

In the AIM REPORT for February 1973, we cite the following cases of bias in NBC News programs in recent months.

1. An attack on private pension plans in America in a documentary called "Pensions: The Broken Promise." The program was very one-sided.
2. An attack on private health care systems in a documentary called "What Price Health?" Another one-sided presentation.
3. A documentary on San Francisco's famed Chinatown based entirely on the carping criticisms of two radical youths whose sympathies for Mao Tse-tung came through loud and clear.
4. A documentary about the drug traffic in Southeast Asia transmitting the views of those who wanted to portray America and its Southeast Asian allies in a bad light. At the same time, NBC did not report the testimony on the other side that was given by Marine General Lewis W. Walt before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

It is not the government that is discrediting the networks. The networks are discrediting themselves by their one-sided presentations of controversial issues of public importance.

**Election Campaign Law Violations**

Feb. 19, 1973

On February 13, the Associated Press sent out a story which began this way: "The General Accounting Office reported today that the campaign organizations of President Nixon and Senator George McGovern failed to report within 20 hours a series of large contributions received in the last 20 days of the 1972 Presidential campaign." The story proceeded to say that no legal action was being recommended because "neither the new law nor the regulations were sufficiently explicit on these matters," according to the Comptroller General.

This report was a very accurate account of the GAO press release on this subject.

The *Washington Post* carried a story about the GAO release under the headline: "GAO Says Nixon Funds Unit Violated Spirit, Intent of Law." The headline was a summary of the Post's lead paragraph. It was not until the reader proceeded to the sixth paragraph of the Post story that he learned that the GAO had "also reported apparent violations by the campaign organization" of Senator McGovern. The Post story then reverted to the Nixon campaign funds, describing how large contributions had been divided among numerous committees so that each amount would be under the \$5000 floor for contributions that had to be reported within 48 hours. Nothing was said about the fact that the McGovern campaign organization was reported by the GAO to have followed the same practice.

The GAO criticized the Nixon committee for its handling of funds totaling over \$1 million. It criticized the McGovern committee for its handling of funds totaling over \$150,000. Is the difference in the amounts that justifies the difference in the way the Post reported the criticism of the two committees? Does that wipe out the fact that the GAO criticism was directed evenhandedly at both committees?



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HUMAN EVENTS  
30 SEP 1972

## AIM Gets ABC to R

By REED J. IRVINE

With criticism of inaccurate and biased news reporting mounting at a rapid rate, it is surprising that the news media have done almost nothing to remedy the faults that the customers are complaining about. The press and TV news departments are on the defensive. Their thin skins show as they react with irritation to well-intentioned criticism and with supercilious contempt to suggestions that there is a demonstrated need for an independent media watchdog.

In the fall of 1969 such a media watchdog made its appearance. Called Accuracy in Media, or simply AIM, it was a toothless puppy at the time, possessing neither bark nor bite. In three short years, however, AIM has demonstrated that it is possible for ordinary concerned citizens to do something about the serious deficiencies in news reporting. The little pup has developed both bark and bite.

This was demonstrated on Sept. 17, 1972, when the American Broadcasting Co. televised a statement admitting that several inaccurate statements had been made in an ABC documentary, "Arms and Security: How Much is Enough?"

ABC took time at the beginning of its popular Sunday afternoon program, "Issues and Answers," to correct the erroneous statements. It admitted that it had erred in saying that 60 per cent of the American tax dollar goes for defense, amending the figure to 40 per cent. It admitted that it had been incorrect when it said that the President's blue ribbon defense panel had characterized our defense policies as sufficient. It acknowledged that the panel had not made such a judgment and that seven of the 16 members of the panel had signed a supplemental report which said that the strategic military balance was running against the United States.

ABC conceded that it had erred in saying that the American Security Council had criticized the blue ribbon defense panel, and informed its audience that the Council had circulated the supplemental statement to the panel's report. ABC also conceded error in saying that the B-52 was a supersonic bomber.

This amazing and unprecedented public admission by a TV network of serious errors in what was supposed to have been a carefully prepared documentary by its own staff was the result of the efforts of Accuracy in Media and the American Security Council.

AIM and the ASC both lodged strong protests with ABC about the factual inaccuracies in "Arms and Security: How Much is Enough?" and both scored the program for its lopsided presentation of the defense debate. It was heavily weighted in favor of the disarmament lobby. A detailed and accurate documentary that I prepared was widely circulated by the ASC in its *Washington Report*.

As a result, the president of ABC News, Elmer Lower, ordered that the corrections be made on the air. ABC notified both AIM and the ASC in advance that this would be done. AIM's executive secretary, Abraham H. Kalish, immediately issued a statement to the press commending ABC for taking this corrective action, contrasting it with refusals by CBS and NBC to make public correction of errors pointed out by AIM. However, Mr. Kalish noted that the ABC program was faulty not only because of its factual errors but because of its lack of balance, which was contrary to the requirements of the fairness doctrine of the Federal Communications Commission. He said ABC still had an obligation to correct the imbalance by airing a program that would deal fairly with those who are concerned about the deterioration of our military defenses.

Accuracy in Media had previously succeeded in getting some publications and broadcasters to correct errors. *National Review*, for example, has printed two out of three criticisms that AIM has made of errors found in its pages, and a fourth is yet to be disposed of. But the media giants, the television networks, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have stubbornly refused to correct errors that AIM has heretofore called to their attention. After

bombarding them with polite letters, documenting their mistakes, to no avail, AIM recently escalated its attack on media errors.

On June 30, readers of the *New York Times* were startled by a two-column quarter-page ad with this bold headline: "CAN YOU TRUST THE NEW YORK TIMES?" The ad challenged the credibility of Anthony Lewis, a top staff writer for the *Times*. It showed that Lewis had printed false statements on the subject of Viet Nam, including a claim that North Viet Nam was successfully sweeping the mines in the port of Haiphong. This had been printed on the front page of the *Times*. The ad said that Lewis had previously declared his overriding commitment to bringing about an end to the Viet Nam war, and it suggested that his reporting was influenced by that commitment.

The ad was the work of Accuracy in Media. Having failed to get the *Times* to correct the Lewis errors, it laid out nearly \$3,000 to buy the space in the *Times* to have the corrections made. It not only set the record straight, but the ad put readers of the paper on notice that Anthony Lewis was apt to let his anti-Viet Nam emotions get the better of his journalistic duty to report the facts fully and accurately.

WASHINGTON REPORT  
1 September 1972

## TV SPECIAL: ABC Touts Disarmament

*"The key to security is public information."*

So wrote Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R., Me.) in the March, 1972, issue of *Reader's Digest*. Sen. Smith said she had no doubt about the will of the American people to safeguard their freedom and the security of their children, but they had to understand what had happened and what is happening.

Network television probably has done more than any other medium to misinform the American people about our national security posture. In its 1971 documentary, *"The Selling of the Pentagon,"* the Columbia Broadcasting System employed highly unprofessional practices to heighten the effectiveness of its attack on the military. The National Broadcasting Company's ace commentator, David Brinkley, has been caught using phony figures to try to prove that the United States is more militaristic than Prussia ever was.

The American Broadcasting Company has now joined the parade with its Aug. 7 documentary, *"Arms and Security: How Much Is Enough?"*

The dominant theme of this program was summarized in narrator Frank Reynolds' closing remarks. He said:

*"Sixty per cent of America's tax dollar goes for defense. It is estimated that the United States has enough nuclear power to destroy the major cities of the Soviet Union 34 times. She can destroy our major cities 13 times over. And it's getting more ominous.*

*"To all intents and purposes, there are no secrets in science, for each time we escalate the arms race, each time we develop and build a new and more sophisticated weapons system, the Soviet Union matches us, and each time the Soviets start on a new weapons system, we follow suit. And so the longer the arms race goes on, the less security we have, rather than more . . .*

*"For a generation, the United States has been the leader in the arms race. The time has come for us now to become the leader in the race to limit arms. That's a job for Congress—to watch closely the programs and*

*appropriations, but it is also a challenge to all of us, for we must assess just how vulnerable we are, not only to an enemy attack, but vulnerable to old fears and suspicions in a new, perhaps very different, age."*

ABC was suggesting, not very subtly, that we are spending too much on defense and that our expenditures are not providing us with security. The time had come, said the message, to reverse the course and cut back on defense expenditures and reliance on military strength for our security.

The program was a stacked deck. It was heavily loaded with statements by men who supported the ABC conclusion. All of them were introduced with credentials that suggested that they were unbiased authorities, well-qualified to discuss defense questions dispassionately.

This was the lineup and the manner in which each was introduced:



[**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Reed J. Irvine is chairman of the board of Accuracy in Media, a private, non-profit organization which *Time* magazine reported Aug. 14 "seeks out errors in news reporting and commentary, requests retractions, then buys ads to publicize the mistakes if they are not corrected." This article represents Mr. Irvine's personal views. The American Security Council publishes it for the benefit of its members, contributors and subscribers who may have had difficulty recognizing ASC from the treatment it was accorded in the ABC documentary, *"Arms and Security: How Much Is Enough?"*]



**ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE NATION'S SECURITY**

3

# ACCURACY IN MEDIA INC.

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25X1

At  
Mr. William B. Ray, Chief  
Complaints and Compliance Div  
Broadcast Bureau  
F.C.C.  
Washington, D. C. 20554

Dear Mr. Ray:

On July 28, 1972, NBC presented in its Chronolog series a documentary on the narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia.

We have analyzed this program and have concluded that it fails to meet the Fairness Doctrine requirement that the licensee provide a balanced presentation of all sides in programming that deals with controversial issues of public importance. We therefore wish to file a complaint of violation of the fairness doctrine against all NBC-owned and affiliated stations that carried the program.

There appear to be three principal controversial issues involved in the NBC documentary.

1. The documentary dealt with the question of whether or not America's allies in Southeast Asia--Thailand, Laos and Vietnam--are important sources of supply of heroin for the American market.

2. It discussed the charges that U. S. Government agencies have been involved in assisting those who are trafficking in narcotics in Southeast Asia and the accusation that our Government has not been aggressive in fighting the traffic because we did not want to do anything to hinder the war effort.

3. It discussed charges that the Governments of Thailand, Vietnam and Laos are not cooperating adequately in combatting the narcotics traffic, charges that have led to legislative proposals that aid to these countries be terminated.

Our analysis suggests that all of these issues were deliberately treated in a manner that was intended to lead the viewer to the conclusion that American allies in Southeast Asia were important sources of heroin for the American market, that the governments of Thailand, Laos and Vietnam were not cooperating adequately in putting down the traffic and that U. S. agencies were themselves involved in supporting the traffic.

Moreover, we find that NBC has managed to give support to these conclusions and to avoid presenting evidence that would lead to contrary conclusions by its news programming. For example, perhaps the largest amount of opium ever deliberately destroyed was burned in Thailand on March 7, 1972 by the Thai Government. This event was not reported on the NBC evening TV news program at that time. Never-

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theless, on its July 28 program, NBC referred to this massive destruction of opium as Thailand's "well publicized March extravaganza." It was certainly not well publicized by NBC. On the contrary, NBC suppressed any report of it.

On August 14, 1972, General Lewis W. Walt, USMC (ret.) testified before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia. General Walt, who had recently made an on-the-spot investigation of the narcotics problem in Southeast Asia for the committee, praised the efforts being made by the Thai Government and others to control the traffic. NBC did not report one word of General Walt's testimony on its evening TV news program. However, on the same day that the General testified, NBC put Alfred McCoy, the chief promulgator of the line that Southeast Asia has become a main source of heroin for the U. S., that our allies are doing little to control the traffic and that our own government agencies have helped the traffic, was given five minutes on the NBC Today program to plug his line and his new book.

We submit that the suppression of news of General Walt's testimony and the granting of an additional 5 minutes of time to Alfred McCoy on the very day that General Walt testified confirms that one-sidedness has characterized the NBC discussion of the narcotics traffic of Southeast Asia. The Chronolog program is part of the same pattern.

To make the point that Southeast Asia is an important source of heroin for the U. S. market, NBC Chronolog quoted a "professional estimate" that one-third of the heroin in our market came from Southeast Asia. Even Alfred McCoy thinks this is too high a figure. NBC did not put any other estimates before its viewers, nor did it point out that until recently it is believed that 80 per cent of our heroin came from Turkey. NBC did not point out that Turkey had been a serious problem for several years and that it was only after long and difficult negotiations that we succeeded in persuading Turkey to make the cultivation of opium poppies illegal. By failing to give this broader background, NBC created the impression that Thailand, Laos and Cambodia were major problem suppliers and were particularly uncooperative in dealing with the traffic. The fact is that they have been nothing like Turkey as a problem source of supply, and they have all moved more rapidly than Turkey in making efforts to stamp out the traffic. NBC charged that the so-called "golden triangle" area produces 900 to 2700 tons of illicit opium a year. A recent government report puts illicit opium production in Burma, Thailand and Laos at 700 tons a year. This difference between NBC's estimates and our official estimates was not mentioned, much less explained.

By exaggerating the importance of Southeast Asia as a source of heroin supply to the U. S. market, NBC misled its viewers about the significance of the fact that the United States has taken action only within recent years to get Southeast Asian governments to curb opium production and traffic. NBC promotes the view that the U. S. officials were deliberately ignoring the problem because it would hurt the war effort to pressure the governments to ban opium. No one was presented on the program to point out that U. S. concern with opium in this area began as soon as it became known that heroin use by American troops in Vietnam was a serious problem.

While NBC permitted charges to be aired that the CIA and our military forces were involved in the narcotics traffic, it did not put on a single government official to deny those charges. In a letter published in The Washington Star on July 5, 1972, W. E. Colby, Executive Director of the CIA, responded to similar

- 3 -

charges, denying them. NBC made no use of this statement by Mr. Colby nor of any similar statement by any of his colleagues.

NBC did discuss some of the progress that had been made by Southeast Asian governments, but it minimized the achievements and emphasized the failures. For example, in discussing the destruction of 26 tons of opium by Thailand, opium whose street value in heroin equivalent in the U. S. would be in excess of \$1 billion, NBC dismissed this as little more than a public relations stunt. NBC permitted Mr. McCoy to make much of the fact that the KMT Chinese in northern Burma were once supported by the CIA, implying that the CIA is therefore responsible for everything they have done over the past 20 years. NBC did not mention that the 26 tons of opium destroyed in Thailand in March came from the KMT people and that they pledged to give up dope-running as part of the deal made with the Thai government. Nor did NBC mention that the Thai Government was the first to enter into an agreement with the United Nations to provide for compensation of farmers who give up opium cultivation.

The issue of cutting off aid to Thailand because of the opium traffic is one that is currently agitating our Congress. NBC put on three congressmen, Wolff, Rangel and Steele who have taken a very hard line on this issue. NBC put not a single congressman on the program to represent the view that cutting off aid would not be desirable. There are, of course, many congressmen who take that point of view. They would point out, among other things, that we are getting far better cooperation from Thailand than we are from Burma, a country that we do not give aid to.

Our timing of the various statements on the Chronolog program indicates that nearly four times as much time was given to those who made statements critical of the Southeast Asian countries and the United States policies than to those who answered these criticisms and charges. NBC's own statements were very heavily weighted on the side of the McCoy thesis.

Moreover, the program gave a one-sided and misleading impression about the attitude of the communists toward production and distribution of narcotics. It suggested that the communists were hard on the producers and traffickers. It made no mention whatsoever of charges that have been made about illicit opium being produced in North Vietnam and of illicit opium coming from Mainland China. The role of these countries in the drug traffic is certainly an issue of importance and controversy, and omission of it could be explained as being motivated by the desire of NBC to focus criticism on the allies of the United States in Southeast Asia.

In summary, we believe that NBC did not comply with the requirements of the fairness doctrine in discussing the narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia on July 28, 1972. Its powerful voice was lent to a campaign that is underway to discredit the United States Government and its allies in Southeast Asia, playing upon the public's fear and hatred of heroin. The program did not provide the viewers with balanced information that would enable them to weigh charges made by Alfred McCoy. Instead, the program was largely a vehicle for the transmission of McCoy's ideas. This was supplemented by McCoy's appearance on the Today show on July 14 and by the blackout of the testimony of General Walt on the same day.

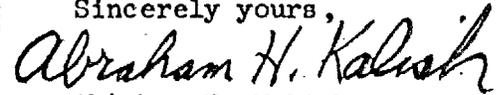
- 4 -

AIM raised a number of questions about this program in a letter to NBC dated July 28, 1972. We have received a reply from NBC that is not at all responsive to our request for comments.

We request that you investigate the Chronolog program of July 28, 1972. We feel that you will conclude as we have that NBC has not given adequate representation to the views of the CIA, the U. S. military, many members of Congress and to that substantial body of opinion which holds that both Communist China and North Vietnam are an important part of the Southeast Asian narcotics problem.

We ask that you instruct the NBC-owned stations and the NBC affiliates that they have a duty to offset the one-sided presentation of the Chronolog program by appropriate programs, including interviews with such men as General Walt, who can put the matter into perspective and tell the people what is being done.

Sincerely yours,



Abraham H. Kalish  
Executive Secretary

cc: Julian Goodman  
Reuven Frank  
Cong. Harley O. Staggers  
Richard Helms  
Clay T. Whitehead  
Gen. Lewis W. Walt  
Senator James Eastland  
Nelson Gross  
Variety  
Broadcasting

# ACCURACY IN MEDIA INC.

501 THIRTEENTH STREET, N.W.  
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OFFICERS:  
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David S. Lichtenstein, *General Counsel*

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD:  
The Hon. Dean Acheson/*Murray Baron*/Ambassador Elbridge Du  
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R. Adm. William C. Mott, *USN (Ret.)*/Edgar Ansel Mowrer

July 28,

Mr. Reuve  
President  
NBC News  
30 Rockefeller Plaza  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Frank:

Accuracy in Media wishes to call to your attention a few apparently erroneous statements in the Chronolog program of July 28 on the narcotics traffic in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Utley, the narrator, made the following statement.

"CIA went to the publishing house of Harper & Row to get and to read the manuscript of McCoy's book before its publication date. And surprisingly Harper and Row acquiesced. It surrendered to the threat of prior censorship."

A story on this matter was published in The New York Times on July 22. According to this story, CIA asked to have an opportunity to review the book because it believed that it contained statements concerning the agency that were totally false and without foundation. The CIA letter to Harper and Row stated: "It is our belief that no reputable publishing house would wish to publish such allegations without being assured that the supporting evidence was valid."

B. Brooks Thomas, vice president and general counsel of Harper and Row, said: "We're not submitting to censorship or anything like that. We're taking a responsible middle position. I just believe that the CIA should have the chance to review it."

I am sure that it is known at NBC that manuscripts being considered by reputable publishers are always submitted to experts for review prior to publication. One of the big mistakes McGraw-Hill made with the Irving book on Howard Hughes was that it did not take the precaution of having the book read by people who were sufficiently knowledgeable about the subject of the book. Of course, a publisher is free to accept or reject the suggestions made by the reviewers. We think it would be irresponsible for a publisher to ignore warnings that a manuscript contained serious inaccuracies and to refuse to permit those able to point out the inaccuracies to have an opportunity to do so prior to publication. By taking every precaution of the book, and he avoids increasing the amount of misinformation that circulates in public channels. We do not think this has any connection with censorship, which connotes legal compulsion to prevent statements from being published. Since CIA has no legal power to prevent Harper and Row from publishing anything, Mr. Utley's charge that the publisher had submitted to prior censorship seems to be clearly false.

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A second statement that was made on this program that probably conveyed information to the viewer was the following:

30 JUN 1972

ADVERTISEMENT

## CAN YOU TRUST THE NEW YORK TIMES?

We raise a question concerning the reports of Anthony Lewis, one of the top writers of *The New York Times*. Mr. Lewis' words speak for themselves.

1. "Haiphong, May 17—The North Vietnamese say they are clearing American mines from the Haiphong harbor as planes drop them, and moving ships in and out. *Independent sources give support to that claim.*" Lewis, *The Times*, May 18. [Emphasis added. This report was carried on the front page of *The Times* even though Administration officials had informed the paper that it was false. Their denial was included in the story.]
2. "The only way to be certain (about the minesweeping) would be extended investigation or observation of the harbor, which the North Vietnamese would not allow. So the claim could be mere bravado." Lewis, *The Times*, May 20.
3. "The consensus of foreign observers here (Hanoi) now is that American mining has effectively closed North Vietnam ports." Lewis, *The Times*, May 23.

Five days after the disputed report was front page news in *The Times*, Lewis reported the consensus that it was erroneous. He never identified the "independent sources" that were supposed to have given it support.

Why did this veteran newsman report Hanoi's claim when Hanoi would not permit the inspection that he knew was essential to its verification?

A clue to the answer may be found in this passage from Lewis' May 13 column:

"This issue (stopping the war) is now paramount. It comes before other obligations, before personal ambition or comfort. For the ordinary citizen that means participation in some form of political expression, however inconvenient . . . involving one's professional association, school or other activity in the attempt to stop the war."

We believe that Mr. Lewis has enlisted in a crusade. We believe that he feels his obligation to the crusade comes before his obligation to report the news accurately and objectively.

This might explain why Lewis told the readers of *The Times* on April 10 that the United States had never offered total withdrawal of troops from Vietnam in return for the POW's, "even in the secret talks." The fact is that President Nixon revealed that the United States had offered to agree to a deadline for withdrawal of all American forces in exchange for the release of all prisoners of war and a ceasefire in the secret talks in his televised address of January 25. The President said North Vietnam had rejected the offer, continuing "to insist that we overthrow the South Vietnamese Government."

Ardent advocacy which leads to misleading reporting should not be tolerated by any responsible newspaper. No responsible paper should refuse to correct promptly and prominently serious errors when they are pointed out. *The New York Times* has refused to print our letters protesting what we say are numerous serious errors, such as those cited above, which *Accuracy in Media* has pointed out.

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Dr. William Yandell Elliott / Morris L. Ernst / Eugene Lyons / Dr. Charles Burton Marshall  
R. Adm. William C. Mott, USN (Ret.) / Edgar Ansel Mowrer

### AN OPEN LETTER

March 17, 1972

Dear Mr. Hallissy:

Thank you for sending the material on Media Probe. We had heard of this organization but had not seen any of its literature until we received your letter and enclosures. You ask a very pertinent question, "Is one of you a phoney"?

We have examined the names on the letterhead of the Media Probe stationery. They belong to men of good reputation, and we are sending copies of this letter to them as well as to other individuals who might be interested.

We note that Media Probe is asking the public for \$80,000 to be used to finance future activities. It asks this even though it has no record of actual performance. Accuracy in Media, on the other hand, already has a widely recognized record of achievement. We have carried on extensive correspondence with the top officials in the news media, pointing out errors and seeking corrections. We have already made ten studies of significant news media issues. Most of these have been placed into the Congressional Record, with highly complimentary introductions by various Congressmen from both parties. Examine the back of this letter which lists the principal AIM releases and reprints. Other studies are in process.

Articles about Accuracy in Media have been published by Editor and Publisher, Seminar, The UPI, Washington Star, Columbia University Journalism Review, Barron's and by nationally syndicated columnists. AIM officers have appeared on TV and radio discussion programs. CBS, Newsweek, the New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times have investigated AIM, but have not to date published anything about us. We feel sure that they would have hurried to do so had they discovered anything "phoney" about Accuracy in Media.

AIM has two cases now pending before the FCC, charging violations of the Fairness Doctrine. We are preparing a third complaint. The Ervin Committee has promised to print AIM's statement to the Committee, in its final report. We expect to be invited to testify on the Fairness Doctrine in a coming FCC hearing. We have also placed two paid advertisements in the Washington Post in order to expose an error by a prominent TV commentator.

We send all our releases free of charge to 300 leading news media. The cost of this has been met by 240 individuals who to date have sent us \$10 each for annual subscriptions. The same people have also donated an average of \$15 each. We are financially solvent because tens of thousands of dollars worth of time and talent in research, writing and many other tasks have been contributed free by individuals who know that without truth in our communication media, our democracy will perish.

If you have any further questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Abraham H. Kalish

STAT

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BARRON'S

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EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

# "Pentagon" Revisited

## CBS Is Still Doing Business at the Same Old Stand

**A**CCURACY in Media (Warner Bldg., Washington, D.C., 20004) is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization launched a few years ago "by a group of concerned citizens who had become increasingly fearful that the content and presentation of the news by many sections of the media were undermining the democratic process and threatening our freedom." A.I.M. boasts a National Advisory Board comprising such prestigious figures as Morris L. Ernst, Eugene Lyons and Edgar Ansel Mowrer. In pursuit of its goal (which is aptly described by its name), A.I.M. since its inception has issued perhaps two dozen "critiques, articles, editorial replies, bulletins, reports and news releases", as well as filed several complaints with the Federal Communications Commission charging violation of the Fairness Doctrine. Letting the chips fall where they may—a warm reference to its activities in the March 29, 1971, issue of Barron's evoked a courteous response and a correction of two factual errors—A.I.M. has not blinked at taking on some of the leading lights of the liberal establishment.

\* \* \*

Perhaps its chief claim to fame has been its confrontations with the Columbia Broadcasting System. Taking dead aim in 1970 at one of CBS' famous "documentaries,"

dealing with Castro's Cuba, Accuracy in Media listed 10 major doubtful statements, including: "For Cuba's poor, things are a good deal better than they used to be . . . the Cuban poor man doesn't want to leave . . . there is a quiet equality of the races now . . ." Noting in meticulous detail that real life refuses to follow the script, A.I.M. solicited comment from Richard S. Salant, then and now president of CBS News. Nine times out of 10, in the organization's view, his answers failed to meet the objections. Painfully aware of the mounting national interest in his network's efforts, Mr. Salant lately has grown more responsive. Thus, the CBS point-by-point defense of its controversial program, "The Selling of the Pentagon," which finally surfaced in mid-December, nine months after its promised appearance, addresses itself—albeit inadequately, in the main—to 13 of the 23 issues raised by A.I.M. and a host of other critics. Again, in its eagerness to refute the devastating proof of network bias which emerges from the recent best-selling book, "The News Twisters," by Edith Efron of TV Guide, CBS hastened to release a rebuttal on the day of publication.

Lesser communications media, as we have observed before, occasionally run a correction or retraction, but CBS is made of sterner

stuff. "We are proud of 'The Selling of the Pentagon,'" Mr. Salant told a nationwide television audience a year ago. "We are confident that when passions die down, it will be recognized as a vital contribution to the people's right to know." Recognition—in the form of the George Foster Peabody, *Saturday Review* and National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences awards for distinguished journalism—followed with almost indecent speed. Nor has CBS lacked for support—notably from a professor of sociology at City University of New York and a vice president of United Press International—with respect to the "News Twisters."

Yet on both occasions, so the facts suggest and the critics affirm, the network has staged a really poor show. Thus, while professing continued pride in its brainchild, CBS, by A.I.M. count, "actually concedes that five points of criticism are to some extent justified . . . and makes de facto admission of error in two other cases." As for Miss Efron's best-seller, professional statisticians have defended her methods and endorsed her findings. On even a casual inspection—and the author has prepared an 87-page report, as she testified recently before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, "in which I identify every misrepresentation; restore every vi-

olated context; present the stories CBS sought to conceal"—the CBS "spot-check" plainly fits her description of a "carefully calculated smear" and "fraud." Last summer, the House Interstate and Commerce Committee voted to cite CBS for contempt of Congress (the full House killed the move). Evidently CBS' real contempt is for truth.

Regarding the controversial documentary, CBS explains that "decisions were made by intelligent, conscientious journalists applying the best professional judgment with the intent only to condense and focus a vast amount of material . . . no one has refuted its basic veracity." Accuracy in Media—and Barron's—disagree. As A.I.M. points out, "CBS now actually concedes that five points of criticism were to some extent justified. It admits that the editing of one of the answers Assistant Secretary of Defense Henkin gave to a CBS question might not have conveyed accurately what Mr. Henkin actually said. CBS also admits that it was wrong in saying of defoliated areas that 'nothing will grow there any more.' It agrees that it should have mentioned that one of the Pentagon films it criticized was actually produced by CBS. CBS also concedes that it greatly exaggerated the number of offices in the Pentagon, and allows that it should not have used language that implied

that it had to track down the Industrial War College team that was putting on a National Security Seminar in Peoria, Ill.

"In addition, CBS makes *de facto* admissions of error in two other cases. In the broadcast, CBS had said that a still unpublished report of the prestigious 20th Century Fund had estimated real total spending by the Defense Department on public affairs at \$190 million, compared with the budget figure of \$30 million. CBS now concedes that the report of the 20th Century Fund had been published at the time the broadcast was made and that it contained no such figure. CBS tries to wriggle out of this embarrassing situation by showing that such a figure was used in some of the research done for the study. However, it was also clear that the figure was not used in the published study precisely because it could not be verified and the 20th Century Fund quite properly would not accept it as valid. CBS was therefore both wrong and unethical in foisting such a figure on its unsuspecting audience and using the prestige of the 20th Century Fund to authenticate it."

Accuracy in Media proceeded to dissect the reply made by CBS to eleven other points of criticism, including "the editing of the remarks of Col. John MacNeil, which involved creating a synthetic statement from widely separated sentences in his speech; the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the Industrial War College lecture team in Peoria, Ill., especially whether or not the visit was arranged by Caterpillar Tractor Co. (Ed. note: "which," according to the broadcast, "did \$39 million worth of business with the Defense Department last year"), charges that CBS selectively edited films of press briefings in Washington and Saigon to make the spokesmen appear unresponsive to newsmen's

questions; charges that CBS gave a wrong impression in saying that the U.S. had resumed bombing in North Vietnam." In A.I.M.'s judgment: "CBS refuses to admit that there was merit to any of these charges, but in every case its refutation is weak and unconvincing."

By deed, if not word, CBS in effect has conceded the point. In striking contrast to the publicity splash which accompanied Mr. Salant's television debut last March, the company's point-by-point rebuttal was quietly inserted into the Congressional Record toward Christmas by Rep. Ogeden R. Reid (R., N.Y.), allegedly at the behest of the head of the Radio Television News Directors Association. Last June, moreover, CBS, in reviewing its "operating Standards for News and Public Affairs," specifically outlawed most of the dubious practices in which those responsible for "the Selling of the Pentagon" had indulged.

The rank-and-file at CBS now may have gotten the word—veraciously. However, to judge by the corporate response to "The New Twisters," there's plenty of room for improvement at the top. To demonstrate the pervasive political bias of all three networks, Miss Efron selected 13 controversial issues "on which strong opposing positions were taken by the Republican-conservative-right axis and by the Democratic-liberal-left axis." Then, with the help of The Historical Research Foundation, she tape-recorded and transcribed the prime-time (7-7:30 p.m.) news broadcasts of all three networks for the seven weeks ended November 4, 1968. She isolated all stories dealing with the chosen issues, excerpted all stands "for" and "against," and, in each case, tallied and totaled the number of words. What she found ought to open the country's eyes. On all three networks, the number of words spoken

against Richard M. Nixon far exceeded those spoken for him, sometimes by a margin of 10-to-1. On such issues as the bombing halt or U.S. policy in Vietnam, broadcast sentiment, as expressed in wordage for and against, was equally one-sided.

In a press release last October, Richard S. Salant of CBS News offered another rebuttal, in which he charged Miss Efron with "distinct bias and gross distortion," as well as "using statistical procedures which are seriously flawed." Mr. Salant went on: "With full recognition of its responsibility to be fair and objective, CBS News has retained two highly qualified, experienced, independent research organizations, one to study the methodology used by Miss Efron and the other to review the identical 1968 campaign coverage on which her book reports. They will advise us of their conclusions when these studies have been completed, and the findings will be made public."

Since then CBS News has come up with a critique by Dr. Charles Winick, professor of sociology at City University of New York, who failed to examine the author's textual analyses and whose cautiously worded complaint seems to be that Miss Efron's pioneering effort ignored standard operating procedure. As to the authoritative review of the network's 1968 campaign coverage (which Broadcasting Magazine on October 18 assured readers will be "completed shortly"), a diligent search of the Congressional Record so far fails to disclose it. Meanwhile, two ex-

perts in content analysis—Paul H. Weaver, assistant professor of government at Harvard University, and Dr. George Weinberg, research consultant and author of "Statistics—an Intuitive Approach," used as a university text—have publicly supported the book's methodology and data. On October 27, Dr. Weinberg stated: "Miss Efron is far more objective, systematic and explicit in her method than anyone known to me who has ever written a book about TV. After examining her data, I believe that any systematic tabulation by any method would result in essentially the same findings."

Let the lady have the last word. "Now I respectfully submit that the very existence of an ideological oligopoly that controls the airwaves is an immense danger to this country. . . . There is only one way to destroy it. . . . It is for the government to acknowledge the sacred status of the First Amendment in this country; to acknowledge that it has no business regulating an intellectual and artistic medium—that it never had any business doing so—that it never should have allowed three nationwide monopolies to form on this intellectually stagnant base—and that it should not year after year, have blocked economic and technological competition in this area. . . . Only this hurricane of fresh air will bring about in broadcast diversity and intellectual freedom."

Robert M. Bleiberg



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"The government must acknowledge all this, however painful. It must get out of broadcasting lock, stock and barrel and let CATV, Pay TV, and cassette technology rip, uncontrolled, unlicensed, unregulated, uncensored and uninhibited — dominated exclusively by the desire to win voluntary customers, and regulated by the law of supply and demand alone. Only this hurricane of fresh air will bring about in broadcasting . . . diversity and intellectual freedom."

continued

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United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 92<sup>d</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 118

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1972

No. 20

## CBS DIGS DEEPER HOLE

### HON. F. EDWARD HEBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 16, 1972

Mr. HEBERT. Mr. Speaker, it has been nearly a year since the nostrils of America's television audience were choked with the stinch of the irresponsible, politically carious presentation disguised by the title, "The Selling of the Pentagon."

The odor has never faded as is witnessed by the most recent analysis published by Accuracy in Media, an independent organization which will not let the truth die.

And after 1 year of squeamish, pusillanimous explanations by the Columbia Broadcasting System, the truth continues to emerge. The following speaks for itself:

[From AIM Bulletin, Feb. 1, 1972]

#### CBS REPLIES TO CRITICS' QUESTIONS ABOUT "THE SELLING OF THE PENTAGON"

February 23 will mark the anniversary of the first showing of the CBS controversial documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon."

Claude Witze of the *Air Force Journal*, Congressman F. Edward Hébert, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Accuracy in Media were among the severest critics of this program. On March 20, 1971, AIM sent a 7-page letter to Richard S. Salant, President of CBS News, asking for his comment on many inaccuracies or questionable points in the documentary. In our letter to Mr. Salant, we said that we agreed with a statement made by Roger Mudd in the broadcast, which said: "Nothing is more essential to a democracy than the free flow of information. Misinformation, distortion, propaganda all interrupt that flow." AIM said that "The Selling of the Pentagon" contained a great deal of misinformation and distortion. We wanted CBS to clear up the disputed points as quickly as possible.

#### CBS PROMISES COMPREHENSIVE REPLY

On March 29, 1971, Mr. Salant replied to AIM saying that he had decided to wait for the myriad of complaints and charges to accumulate and then prepare a comprehensive analysis. He said: "When this analysis is completed and at such time as we determine its release is appropriate, I will include you on our distribution list."

Many months passed and no reply to the questions was forthcoming. AIM raised this with CBS from time to time. We urged our supporters to write to CBS to prod them into releasing the promised analysis. Finally, in December 1971, CBS informed us that we could find the long-awaited analysis in the Congressional Record for December 15 and December 17, beginning on pages E 13493

and E 13697. There was no press release, no announcement that CBS had met its critics head-on and had shown them to be wrong. No copy of the reply was sent to the principal critics. We all had to look it up in the Congressional Record, where it had been inserted by Congressman Ogden Reid, who said he obtained it from the president of the Radio-Television News Directors Association. The press has completely overlooked this latest word in the great controversy over the CBS documentary. It appeared that that was precisely what CBS wanted. The less publicity the better.

#### CBS ADMITS A FEW ERRORS

CBS does not claim to be infallible, but AIM's experience is that it will rarely admit an error. Mr. Salant appeared on TV on the night of March 23, 1971, to reply to the critics of "The Selling of the Pentagon." He said: "We are proud of "The Selling of the Pentagon" and CBS News stands behind it." He said they could refute every charge of the critics who had appeared on the air—Cong. Hébert, Secretary Laird and Vice President Agnew. Nine months later, in the statement quietly slipped into the Congressional Record CBS admitted that not all of the criticisms could be refuted. For CBS that was quite an admission. That was why they sought no publicity for their statement, we believe.

CBS now actually concedes that five points of criticism were to some extent justified. It admits that the editing of one of the answers Assistant Secretary of Defense Henkin gave to a CBS question might not have conveyed accurately what Mr. Henkin actually said. CBS also admits that it was wrong in saying of defoliated areas that "nothing will grow there any more." It agrees that it should have mentioned that one of the Pentagon films it criticized was actually produced by CBS. CBS also concedes that it greatly exaggerated the number of offices in the Pentagon, and allows that it should not have used language that implied that it had to track down the Industrial War College team that was putting on a National Security Seminar in Peoria, Illinois.

In addition to these admissions of error, CBS makes *de facto* admissions of error in two other cases. In the broadcast, CBS had said that a still unpublished report of the prestigious 20th Century Fund had estimated real total spending by the Defense Department on public affairs at \$190 million, compared with the budget figure of \$30 million. CBS now concedes that the report of the 20th Century Fund had been published at the time the broadcast was made and that it contained no such figure. CBS tries to wriggle out of this embarrassing situation by showing that such a figure was used in some of the research done for the study. However it was also clear that the figure was not used in the published study precisely because it could not be verified and the 20th Century Fund quite properly would not accept it as valid. CBS was therefore both wrong and unethical in foisting off such a figure on its unsuspecting audience and using the prestige of the 20th Century Fund to authenticate it.

The second *de facto* admission of error relates to the CBS charge that Pentagon expenditures on public affairs in 1971 were ten times the 1959 level. CBS now admits that the 1959 figure for public affairs expenditures was not comparable to the 1971 figure because different definitions for "public affairs expenditures" were used in these two years.

#### ARE THE ADMITTED ERRORS SERIOUS?

Yes. Three of them are quite serious. The improper editing of the Henkin interview, which CBS now concedes, was one of the objects of the heaviest attacks of the critics of the documentary. For example, Martin Mayer in the December 1971 issue of *Harpers* magazine said this about the editing of the Henkin interview: "This episode shows at least subconscious malice, a desire by the producers of the program that the man in charge of the Pentagon selling apparatus look bad on the home screen." Reed J. Irvine, writing in the August 10, 1971 issue of *National Review*, said that in editing the Henkin interview, CBS did more than make Mr. Henkin look bad. He stated in his reply to one of CBS's questions his justification for spending public money to inform the public of the reasons why we need national defense. Since CBS was clearly out to prove that such expenditures were wasteful, the mangling of the Henkin interview was necessary to make sure the viewers were not provided with any effective counter-arguments to the point CBS wanted to make.

CBS, of course, does not go very far in admitting that it might have done better by Mr. Henkin. Discussing the transposition of answers that Mr. Henkin gave to incorporate them as parts of answers of different questions, CBS says: "Upon review, one might judge that a fuller answer could have been broadcast by including, in the composite answer, the second sentence of the 'original' answer . . ." CBS concedes that editing involves subjective judgments and that others may disagree with the judgments of CBS. It insists, however, that in editing the Henkin interview its intent was to condense and clarify, not to deceive. The admission that it might have done better by Mr. Henkin is limited and grudging, but it is a step forward from the previous insistence by CBS President Frank Stanton that the editing was completely fair.

The two errors cited above relating to the amount of money the Department of Defense spends on public affairs are serious because in the documentary CBS placed a great deal of emphasis on the amount of money being spent on these activities. It used the false \$190 million figure in comparison with the combined news budgets of the three commercial television networks, showing a graph on the TV screen that told the viewer that the Department of Defense spent more to tell its story to the people than all three networks spent to bring them the news. The exaggeration of the size of the Pentagon expenditures at the beginning of the program helped establish the important nature of the subject of the documentary.

The other three admitted errors are significant in that they cast light on the bias and carelessness of CBS. The bias is clearly shown in the incorrect description of the results of defoliation in Vietnam. The truth could easily have been ascertained by CBS, but it would not have been so dramatic. The exaggeration of the number of offices in the Pentagon by a factor of 6 shows the same kind of bias, as does the implication that CBS had to "find" the Industrial War College lecturers. The criticism of the film, "Road to the Wall," would have been blunted if CBS had correctly attributed its production to CBS rather than to the Pentagon.

#### THE ERRORS CBS REFUSES TO ADMIT

The purpose of the CBS reply is not to admit and apologize for errors in *The Selling of the Pentagon*, although that is grudgingly done in a few cases. Rather, CBS set out to show that the critics, not CBS, had erred. Thus the reply is mainly an effort to rebut the numerous criticisms made of the documentary. In addition to the points already discussed, the CBS reply takes up the following criticisms:

(1) The editing of the remarks of Col. John MacNeil, which involved creating a synthetic statement from widely separated sentences in his speech;

(2) The circumstances surrounding the appearance of the Industrial War College lecture team in Peoria, Ill., especially whether or not the visit was arranged by Caterpillar Tractor Co.;

(3) Whether or not the IWC lecturers violated regulations in discussing foreign policy;

(4) The accuracy of the statement that the Pentagon "used" sympathetic Congressmen to interview military heroes such as Maj. James Rowe to counter anti-war reporting;

(5) The charge that CBS used false pretenses to obtain a tape of the interview of Maj. Rowe by Congressman Hébert;

(6) The charge that CBS falsely suggested that the Pentagon spent about \$12 million a year on films to be shown to the public;

(7) The charge that CBS gave a misleading impression about a film narrated by Robert Stack;

(8) The charge that CBS implied that an expensive war game was staged for the benefit of a few VIP civilians;

(9) Charges that CBS selectively edited a film of a press briefing by Jerry Friedheim to make it appear that he was unresponsive to newsmen's questions;

(10) ditto for a Saigon news briefing; and

(11) Charges that CBS gave a wrong impression in saying that the U.S. had resumed bombing of North Vietnam.

CBS refuses to admit that there was merit to any of these charges, but in every case its refutation is weak and unconvincing.

(1) CBS justifies creating a synthetic statement and putting it in the mouth of Col. John MacNeil on the ground that each of the sentences used was actually said by Col. MacNeil and their meaning was not altered. It admits that one of the sentences was taken out of chronological order, but it does not mention that this is contrary to the CBS Operating Standards for News and Public Affairs, which state that this kind of transposition must not be done without informing the audience. This rule was adopted in June 1971, after the controversy about *The Selling of the Pentagon*. But if CBS says that there was nothing wrong with this kind of transposition in *The Selling of the Pentagon*, we wonder how seriously CBS intends to enforce its new regulation.

The same point can be made about the editing of the Henkin interview, which also involved clear violations of the rules against the transposing of answers to questions without giving an indication of this to the audience. In its discussion of the editing of the Henkin interview, CBS makes no mention of

the fact that the editing was clearly contrary to the rules later adopted.

These are the most obvious criticisms to be made of the CBS defense of its editing of the MacNeil speech and the Henkin interview. CBS is actually dishonest in suggesting that there was no significance to the fact that it took a sentence out of proper chronological order to begin the synthetic statement it created for Col. MacNeil. The sentence was: "Well, now we're coming to the heart of the problem, Vietnam." This was then followed by a statement the colonel had made about Thailand and two sentences that he had quoted from the Premier of Laos concerning Southeast Asia. The latter two sentences were taken so completely out of context that they were not shown as quotations at all in the CBS synthetic statement.

Why was it necessary to introduce statements about Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and other Southeast Asian countries with the statement on Vietnam which CBS took out of its proper order? CBS did this for the very good reason that it wanted to lead into Col. MacNeil's synthetic statement with this: "The Army has a regulation stating: Personnel should not speak on the foreign policy implications of U.S. involvement in Vietnam." It would appear that CBS wanted to create the impression that Col. MacNeil was speaking in violation of that regulation. The easiest way to do this was to lead off the synthetic statement created for him with a sentence taken out of order. CBS seems not to understand the meaning and importance of context. If it can still say that what it did to Col. MacNeil's statement was fair editing, then no one's words are safe with CBS.

(2) CBS described the National Security Seminar given by the Industrial War College in Peoria, Ill., this way: "The Pentagon has a team of colonels touring the country to lecture on foreign policy. We found them in Peoria, Ill., where they were invited to speak to a mixed audience of civilians and military reservists. The invitation was arranged by Peoria's Caterpillar Tractor Co., which did \$39 million of business last year with the Defense Department."

Every one of these sentences was challenged by the critics. The team did not come from the Pentagon, but from the Industrial War College. In addition to colonels, it included a Navy captain and a State Department civilian. The seminars cover 33 topics, including foreign policy, and they are given each year in seven locations throughout the country, primarily for the benefit of military reservists. They were invited to Peoria by the Association of Commerce of Peoria, which shared sponsorship with the 9th Naval District.

CBS, in a lame rejoinder, justifies its phrase, "a team of colonels," by asserting that the Navy captain is equivalent to a colonel and the State Department civilian was a reserve Lt. colonel. It does not explain why it called this a "Pentagon" team rather than identifying the responsibility of the Industrial War College (Industrial College of the Armed Forces), but it justifies the misleading term by saying that the military officers are all subject to the authority of the Pentagon. It admits that it should not have said it "found" them in Peoria. It admits that the team lectures on many subjects other than foreign policy, but it defends the misleading statement by saying that the broadcast did not say the team lectured *only* on foreign policy. Presumably if the listeners inferred that, that was their mistake.

CBS says it was justified in saying that Caterpillar arranged the invitation, because an official of Caterpillar was co-chairman of the committee that arranged the seminar and they were told that he and his associates were very helpful "in heading up the committee and making all the necessary arrangements." CBS would apparently have us believe that

anything an employee of a company does, including civic activities, can be attributed to the firm that employs him.

(3) CBS accused the lecturers for the Industrial College of the Armed Forces of violating military regulations in discussing foreign policy implications of Vietnam. It was criticized for not pointing out that the talks given by these speakers had been cleared not only by Defense but by the State Department. The Assistant Secretary of Defense says this is all the regulations require. CBS insists that the talks violated regulations, no matter who cleared them. Since national defense and foreign policy are frequently intertwined, it would seem clear that the Departments of Defense and State are in a better position than CBS to determine whether or not a speech runs counter to government regulations and policy.

(4) CBS was charged with having falsely suggested that friendly Congressmen, specifically Cong. F. Edward Hébert, had been "used" by the Pentagon in broadcasting interviews that they had made with Maj. James Rowe. This was vigorously denied by Cong. Hébert, who denied that the interview with Maj. Rowe was produced at the suggestion of the Pentagon or that the broadcast to his home district involved the use of Pentagon funds. This could easily have been the inference drawn by those who heard the CBS statement. CBS says the program did not say that the Pentagon produced the Hébert-Rowe interview or that it was the Pentagon's idea.

However, it undermines this denial by stressing that Cong. Hébert thanked the colonel who served as liaison with the House Armed Services Committee for bringing Maj. Rowe to him. They do not seem to consider that Cong. Hébert might have asked the colonel to bring Maj. Rowe, who was famous for surviving five years of captivity as a VC prisoner and who successfully escaped, to see him. While denying that it meant to imply what it implied, CBS persists in conveying the same unfair implication.

(5) Cong. Hébert charged that CBS obtained the tape of his interview with Maj. Rowe by telling his office that it wanted it in connection with a documentary it was doing on prisoners of war. CBS denies this, saying that it was public knowledge that it was doing a documentary on public information activities of the Department of Defense at the time it obtained the Hébert tape. CBS asserts that no one on its staff ever represented that the tape it wanted from Cong. Hébert was to be used for a POW documentary.

On the contrary, says CBS, they said they wanted the film in connection with a documentary on Pentagon public relations activities. This is flatly contradicted by Cong. Hébert's press secretary and by the Congressman. Congressman Hébert has put into the record letters or memos from the offices of five other congressmen who assert that they were approached by the same CBS staffers who approached Congressman Hébert's office to obtain tapes of interviews with Maj. Rowe. Four of them said they were told that CBS wanted these tapes in connection with a documentary it was doing on POW's. CBS makes no mention of this evidence confirming Cong. Hébert's charge that the CBS staff sought tapes of interviews between congressmen and Maj. Rowe under the pretense that they were working on a documentary on POW's. In a delightful evasion, CBS says:

"Months after the Rowe-Hébert program was delivered to Mr. Seabrooks, Mr. Branon contacted Mr. Hébert's office and the offices of other Representatives to obtain information with respect to additional Congressional interviews with Major Rowe and other military personnel, including other former prisoners of war. It is at this point, seemingly,

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that the confusion began. The focus on additional Rowe interviews and other POW interviews may well have been the genesis of the misunderstanding which arose."

We are expected to believe that five Congressional offices all got the impression that CBS wanted these tapes in connection with a documentary on POW's even though they were all presumably told that CBS wanted them in connection with a documentary on Defense Department public relations activities. That is too strange a coincidence to be swallowed.

(6) CBS devoted nearly one-fourth of "The Selling of the Pentagon" to films made by the military and available to the public. It said that most of the films were made originally for troop information but a large number was later released for public showing. It said that the Pentagon spends over \$12 million a year on films. Later, in criticizing anti-communist films made by the Pentagon, CBS said: "But to the filmmakers at the Pentagon, with at least \$12 million a year to spend, 1946 seems to have lasted a whole generation." One could easily infer from these statements that a very large part of the \$12 million goes for films that are intended for public release. The Pentagon notes that the great bulk of the films are made for troop training, research development, recruiting, medical and religious use. It charges that CBS was wrong in implying that the \$12 million in films was largely used to influence the public. CBS responds that it had no intention of implying what most of the viewers probably inferred from what was said.

(7) It is charged that CBS showed Robert Stack narrating a Defense Department film in a way that suggested that he was doing a film on the use of weapons in Vietnam when, in fact, the film was about unarmed reconnaissance pilots. The brief film clip used by CBS did give the impression that Stack was going to talk about guns in Vietnam. CBS says they had no intention of implying this and that "no such implication was created." Nevertheless, the inference was created.

(8) "The Selling of the Pentagon" gave many viewers the impression that a large military training exercise called "Brass Strike" was put on for the benefit of a small group of civilian VIP's. Describing this military exercise, CBS said: "An air and land assault on enemy territory was simulated for the visitors." The Defense Department points out that the training exercise would have taken place with or without the VIP visitors and that many other observers, including military personnel saw it. The answer CBS gives is that it did not say that the exercise would not have taken place in the absence of the VIP visitors, that it was other than a training exercise and that no other observers were present. True, CBS did not say any of those things, it only created that implication.

(9) It was charged that CBS showed Assistant Secretary of Defense Jerry Friedheim declining to answer half of the questions he was asked at a press briefing when actually at that briefing he responded to 31 of the 34 questions asked. The complaint was that CBS deliberately focused on those questions that Mr. Friedheim declined to answer for security reasons to create the impression that he did not provide the press with much information. It was charged that CBS used the same technique to indicate that press briefings in Saigon were characterized by "no comment" answers to newsmen's questions.

CBS said that at the Friedheim briefing at least 56 questions were asked and Mr. Friedheim was unable to answer 11 of these completely for varying reasons. This meant that he answered 80 per cent of the questions asked completely. CBS showed six questions

being asked, the first three of which Mr. Friedheim declined to answer or could not answer. In the CBS portrayal, his response rate was only 50 per cent compared with the actual 80 per cent which CBS says prevailed for the entire briefing. CBS says: "This is a fair representation which does not reflect adversely on Mr. Friedheim." What CBS selected to show was clearly not typical of Mr. Friedheim's performance at the briefing. CBS appeared to be trying to make the point that the press briefings are an occasion when the press is trying, without much success, to extract information from unwilling Defense Department spokesmen.

In introducing Mr. Friedheim, CBS described him as an "adversary" of the press. The briefing was described as a "confrontation," and CBS said of Mr. Friedheim: "He does not, of course, tell all he knows; he wouldn't have his job long if he did." There followed the carefully selected segment from the briefing showing Mr. Friedheim avoiding answering reporters' questions. That is what CBS calls a "fair" representation. The same kind of treatment was given the press briefing in Saigon for exactly the same reason. CBS said the daily press briefing there was "known among newsmen in Saigon as the Five O'Clock Follies." It indicated that the most popular phrase at the briefing was "no comment."

It then illustrated this by showing a film clip of the briefer declining to answer questions. The Defense Department claims that this was not a typical scene. CBS does not deny that the sequence it showed was not typical. Instead it argues that the briefer should have been authorized to answer the particular questions that he was shown declining to answer. Arguable though that may be, it does not get CBS off the hook for presenting an atypical sequence and passing it off to the viewers as completely representative of the daily briefings.

(10) CBS was criticized for saying that the phrase "protective reaction" means that the U.S. resumed the bombing of North Vietnam. The Defense Department states that "protective reaction" means a very limited kind of bombing undertaken to protect unarmed reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam. It emphasizes that this does not mean the resumption of the widespread bombing of North Vietnam carried out prior to November 1968. CBS responds that it only said the bombing had resumed, without saying that large scale bombing had been resumed. They say that the Defense Department has made it clear that "protective reaction" bombing is different from the pre-November 1968 bombing. CBS made not the slightest distinction of this kind, and many in the audience could well have been misled into thinking that the phrase, "the U.S. resumed the bombing of North Vietnam" meant that the U.S. had resumed the kind of bombing that was being carried out in 1968.

THE QUESTION CBS DID NOT EVEN TRY TO ANSWER

Although CBS once claimed to have an answer for every one of the criticisms of "The Selling of the Pentagon," its comprehensive reply to the critics leaves many questions unanswered. AIM criticized 23 points in the CBS documentary, and CBS dealt with only 13 of these in its "comprehensive" reply. Ten points, with 35 questions attached, were completely ignored.

Among the questions CBS avoided were these: (1) was it not inaccurate and unfair to suggest that John Wayne narrated Defense Department films in return for help in making "The Green Berets?" (2) How does CBS define its phrase, "Pentagon propaganda," and would any factual description of the record of communist oppression be la-

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beled "propaganda" by CBS? Does CBS know that Walter Cronkite has changed his mind about the aggressive nature of communism, and if not why was it implied that he had changed his views?

In analyzing Pentagon films, why did CBS focus on films on communism and then complain that they dealt with communism? How does CBS reconcile its assertion that we adopted a policy of "peaceful coexistence" prior to 1961 with the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, the building of the Berlin Wall and the Gulf of Tonkin resolution?

Many of the questions CBS did not try to answer probed the most serious flaw in "The Selling of the Pentagon," the fact that it was fundamentally dishonest. CBS says no one has refuted the basic veracity of the documentary. That is precisely what AIM did.

That is why CBS has not answered AIM's deep probing questions.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone is further interested in the type of propaganda, such as was evidenced by the "Selling of the Pentagon" program, I add this bit of information from Claude Witze's column in Air Force magazine:

[From Air Force magazine, February 1972]

In case anyone is still interested, "The Selling of the Pentagon" is available for rental. It can be obtained for a fee of \$65 from American Documentary Films, a non-profit educational organization with offices at 336 West 84th St., New York, N.Y. 10024, or from 379 Bay St., San Francisco, Calif. 94133.

American Documentary Films advertises that it circulates "Films for Agitation." In addition to the CBS masterpiece, you can select from a list that includes, for example, "79 Springtimes," described as "a brilliant impressionist biographical tribute to Ho Chi Minh." And there is "Hanoi, Martes 13," which is a "moving salute to the Vietnamese," presumably those in North Vietnam. Then there is available, "Stagolee: Bobby Seale in Prison," a film in which the Panther leader speaks out, and another picture in which Angela Davis tells it like it is, from her viewpoint in jail.

The American Documentary Film catalog does not include "Road to the Wall," a documentary produced by CBS for the Department of Defense in 1962.

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