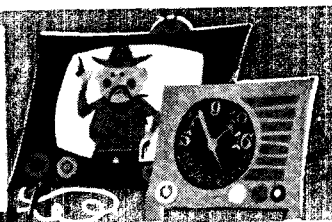


Audio/Video



Which Filter Travels Democracy Best?

By ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON

I REGARD with amusement the claims rival cigarette manufacturers make regarding the alleged superiority of their filters. Nevertheless, I concede the reasonableness, for smokers, of those television commercials which urge the filter test. Verify, by all means; make the pragmatic comparison; experiment.

The advice is no less wise when applied to politics—specifically Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, known as the “equal-time” provision. Congress currently has before it a choice of concepts that affect the future of this highly controversial rule governing the procedure by which candidates for public office may present their rival claims to the electorate on radio and television. Concept No. 1 holds

that the candidates themselves shall act as their own filters, separating the smoke from the tar in the communications that travel from them to the voter during political campaigns. Concept No. 2 urges that the electronic journalists, “self-disciplined,” and having matured “under our traditions of freedom,” be judged the most responsible and effective filter available to travel democracy further.

The first concept was advanced by the Freedom of Communications Subcommittee (Senate Commerce Committee) in a recent report of how radio and television stations handled the 1960 elections. Senators Yarborough (D-Texas), McGee (D-Wyoming), and Scott (R-Pennsylvania) were the three members of this subcommittee (referred to among broadcasters as the “Senate Watchdog Committee”). The

second concept is generally held by broadcast licensees, network officials, and editorial spokesmen for the broadcasting industry.

The Senate subcommittee was appointed in 1960, when the equal-time provision of Section 315 was suspended for the period of the national election, with respect to the candidates for President and Vice-President. The subcommittee was instructed to make a complete study of how the broadcasters presented the candidates and the news to the public. The purpose of the study was to guide Congress in determining whether Section 315 should continue to be modified for future elections or even permanently amended.

Broadcasters forcefully advocate the permanent suspension of the equal-time provision. The law now requires that if a station provides time to one candidate for a particular office, it must also provide equal time to all other legally qualified candidates for that office. Broadcasters have always held this requirement to be an impairment of their service during a campaign; for, rather than give free time to all candidates (including those they judge to be unimportant), they often decide not to grant free time to any of the candidates.

Opportunity to televise the Kennedy-Nixon debates was the lever that moved Congress to suspend the provision in 1960. The Senate subcommittee, in its investigations after the election, compared scripts of broadcasts reporting candidates' major speeches with the actual texts of the speeches. They examined complaints by candidates of unfair treatment by network newscasts. Quantitatively, at least, they found the scales were balanced in most cases. Qualitatively, they deferred making any judgment as a group. Finally, after holding public hearings, the subcommittee recommended that the 1962 elections be studied.

Most of these elections, they argued, will be two-candidate affairs, and this will permit television-radio debates without violating Section 315 or imposing hardship on the licensees. The subcommittee worried particularly about possible abuse at the local level, where “a blackout of political personalities and controversial ideas is maintained by newspapers. . . .” Under the umbrella of editorial judgment by broadcasters, the Senators feared, “the process of selectivity can black out a Congressional or Senatorial candidate.”

In short, a case has not been made. said the subcommittee, for full repeal of Section 315. The 1960 picture was not comprehensive: the suspension became effective after the national conventions of the two parties. Prior performances of networks and stations had

Your Literary I. Q.

Conducted by John T. Winterich

ILLUSTRIOUS TEACHERS AND STAR PUPILS

The names in the first column are those of the notable mentors of equally (or more) famous personalities (some of them mythical) listed in the second column. Betty Eckgren of Los Angeles, California, asks you to indicate who instructed whom. School is out on page 55.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Roger-Ascham | () Alexander the Great |
| 2. Mentor | () Thomas Jefferson |
| 3. Socrates | () King Alfred the Great |
| 4. René Descartes | () Plato |
| 5. Duhan de Jandun | () Erasmus |
| 6. Aristotle | () Charlemagne |
| 7. John Skelton | () Queen Elizabeth I |
| 8. Lucius Annaeus Seneca | () St. Thomas Aquinas |
| 9. Plato | () Queen Christina of Sweden |
| 10. Chiron | () Peter Lombard |
| 11. Albertus Magnus | () Telemachus |
| 12. Alcuin | () Frederick the Great |
| 13. Silenus | () Emperor Nero |
| 14. Pierre Abelard | () King Arthur |
| 15. Thomas Linacre | () Bacchus |
| 16. William of Champeaux | () Aristotle |
| 17. Merlin | () Marc Chagall |
| 18. Leon Bakst | () Achilles |
| 19. William Small | () King Henry VIII |
| 20. John Asser | () Pierre Abelard |

not been tested. A Presidential election is different from one in an off-year like 1962. The Senators were concerned about the trend in radio toward cutting down discussion and news programs and limiting political availabilities merely to spot announcements. The subcommittee had some reservations, too, about the wisdom of permitting the licensees to judge the format and content of political programs. "The interposition of the licensee between the candidate and the public does not mean that the licensee is to act as a filter, substituting his judgment for that of the candidate as to what the American people want to know."

The broadcasters, on the other hand, don't care for the candidate filter. Give the candidates their heads, the broadcasters assert, and they will avoid honest debates; they will choose set speeches and their own productions; they will use the time as their campaign managers and TV advisers see fit. The Senate subcommittee report asks, in effect—why not? "A very substantial part of the public's acceptance of a candidate rests on the public's concept of the candidate's judgment . . . oft times best expressed in his . . . judgment as to . . . tactics and strategy. . . . The exercise of editorial judgment by licensees can very easily be used by them in political programming to direct a political campaign the way they think the campaign ought to go."

The rival claimants agree on the importance of political campaign broadcasting. But each urges upon us his particular brand of filter. More recently, Senator Scott, one of the three subcommittee members, is reported to have changed his position after "reflection." Now he favors amending Section 315 this year to lift equal-time restrictions in House, Senate, and perhaps Governor races. President Kennedy's Commission on Campaign Costs has advised suspension again for the 1964 Presidential campaign. The Senate is considering various bills which seek to resolve the dilemma.

Broadcasters, sensing possible victory, are pushing hard for repeal of all restrictions before the next election. They want their freedom, and they say they will behave responsibly. The Senate report said: "They who test the public response and rate programs accordingly for entertainment value or the sale of commercial products may not be the best judge to analyze the citizen's quest for information or his taste for political controversy."

Between two filters, I hesitate. Like the sociologist, I conclude: "More research is needed." I am in no hurry to smoke more and enjoy it less. Why not wait until after the fall elections and see what new evidence turns up?



Adlai Stevenson



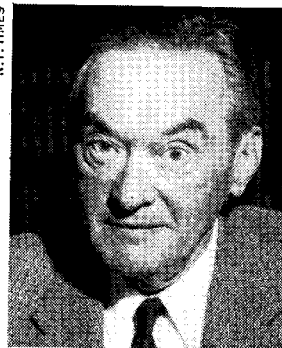
Reinhold Niebuhr



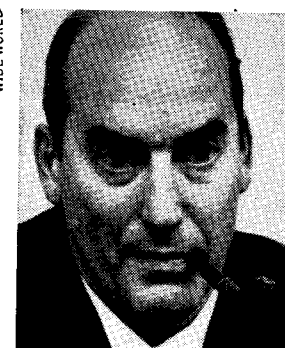
Jerome D. Frank



James Reston



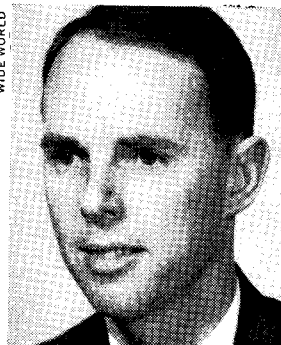
Walter Lippmann



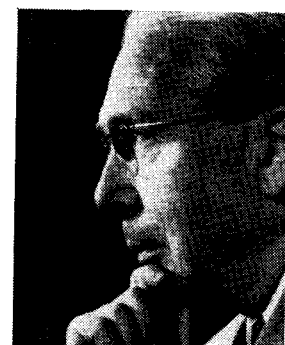
Samuel B. Gould



David Riesman



Roger Fisher



Leo Szilard

Nine leading Americans explain to Young Adults the alternatives to "Red or Dead"

In the current Redbook Magazine, nine outstanding Americans address themselves to the crucial question of our time: *Are We Powerless to Prevent War?* The scope of their replies, the sometimes startling suggestions offered by these knowledgeable men, are sure to provide the basis for widespread discussion. It's a good start toward answering the plaintive query, "What can I, as an individual, do about war and peace?"

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REDBOOK
The Magazine for Young Adults

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THE MAN WHO "SHOT" LEE

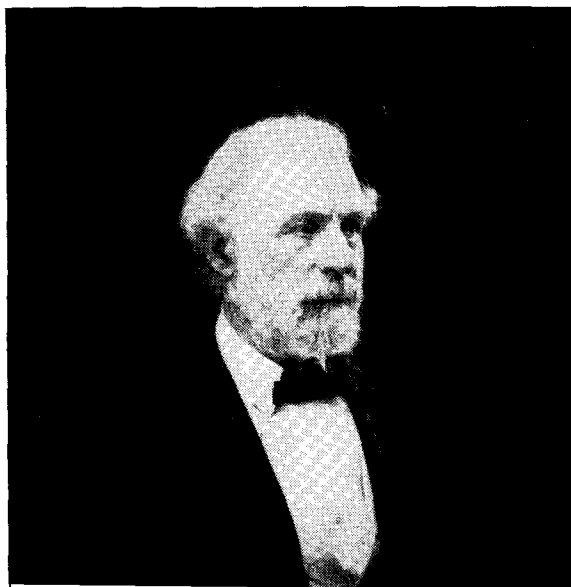
By MARGARET R. WEISS

NOT MANY months after Robert E. Lee had settled in Lexington, Virginia, as president of Washington College, a slight, dark young man arrived in town. Unprepossessing and diffident as he might have seemed, there was no equivocation as to his aims. Michael Miley knew exactly what he wanted: a photographic studio of his own, and a chance to document in pictures the person he regarded as "the greatest man who ever lived," General Lee.

That both of these ambitions were fulfilled is a matter of record. For more than a half century, Miley operated his studio in Rockbridge County, leaving behind fifty-two huge boxes of negatives that document not only his personal hero, but two generations of life in the Shenandoah Valley from Reconstruction days to the close of World War I. Now owned by the Virginia Historical Society and housed in the Virginia State Library in Richmond, the Miley Collection contains 15,000 negatives, of which more than 100 are concerned with Lee, his family, his homes, his letters and documents, and his statues and memorials.

During the war years as an infantryman in the Stonewall Brigade, Miley had no contact with Lee, except as a

The Saddest Face in History—the last picture of Lee taken at Lexington shortly before his death.



symbol of the cause for which the South was fighting. Nor had he as yet learned the basic elements of photography. Field photojournalism for the Confederate side remained the purview of such men as George Cook, A. D. Lytle, and Edwin McPherson. And, of course, the famous pictures of Lee's surrender at Appomattox were made by the Union photojournalist Mathew Brady and his colleagues.

There is evidence in Miley's files to show that he was familiar with Brady's work. Enough, in fact, to invite speculation that it may even have been "Mr. Lincoln's photographer" who inspired the young Civil War veteran's interest in the new art—the art which was, in turn, to earn him the title of "General Lee's photographer."

In that capacity, Miley was able to make an important contribution to history and communications. The firm friendship which developed between the photographer and his favorite subject gradually succeeded in breaking down Lee's natural reticence and dislike of public attention. It was at the General's own invitation that Miley photographed members of the Lee family as well as a number of his military aides and associates. The friends Lee brought to Miley's studio included Jefferson Davis and Generals Beauregard and Breckinridge.

But the reminiscences Lee shared with Miley during sittings were not those of his war experiences. He preferred discussing early childhood memories, the local scene, details of family history. And this, too, is reflected in Miley's sensitized glassplates recording the Washington, Custis, and Lee ancestral portraits (Mrs. Lee was Martha Washington's great-granddaughter), old daguerreotypes, family documents, and coat-of-arms and genealogical tree.

After Lee's death in 1870, Miley devoted most of his camera work to campus functions and functionaries. At Washington and Lee University and Virginia Military Institute, the yearbooks, student and faculty pictures, and portraits of visitors and townspeople kept his studio busy—with time off only for shooting nature studies and landscape scenes of the valley region he loved.

Miley had realized his two youthful ambitions. But his inventive genius spurred him to new ones. Experimenting on his own with primitive equip-



(Above) Mess kit used during the Civil War.

(Below) Lee as General of the Confederate Army, 1862-63—Miley here preserved the work of another photogra-

