The Network Project

DOWN SESAME STREET

Notebook Number Six

November 1973

...their captain cried out, "Open, O Sesame!" and a wide doorway appeared in the face of the rock. They entered, and it closed. Presently, it opened, they came forth and departed. So Ali Baba, approaching the rock face, pronounced the same spell and went into a vast chamber filled with bales of silks, brocades, embroidered cloths, and mounds of varicolored carpetings, besides coins of gold and silver without measure.

-- "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves"

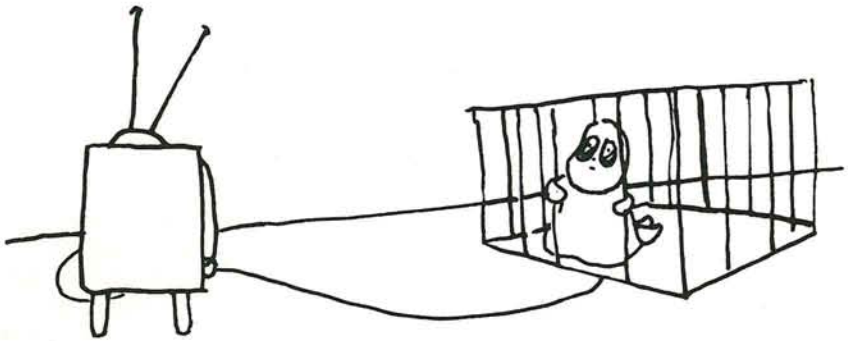
...it would be difficult to overstate the pervasiveness of television in the US... television content inevitably reflects the values, the points of view, and the expectation of audience response held by those in the production process. The decisions made take on importance because all varieties of televised fare can structure the audience member's relationship to reality to varying extents and in various ways, they can engage conscience, modify or mobilize opinion, and challenge or confirm beliefs...suggestible persons may be strongly influenced or even exploited by the ideas and advice offered through television...

-- Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence (Report of the U.S. Surgeon General)

NOTEBOOK NUMBER SIX

DOWN SESAME STREET :

A STUDY OF INSTRUCTIONAL TECHNOLOGY



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It is entertaining, but it also teaches children tangible skills. Its acclaim in the United States has been ubiquitous, and, as a result, the ITV movement has accelerated.

Like any new technology, the growth of ITV demands scrutiny. Its use may indeed realize the dream of universal education, and compensate for the disappointment of earlier technologies which, though heralded with a similar promise, were never able to escape the more pragmatic designs of their promoters. Or, the application of this technology may threaten social values, debase current human institutions and traditions, and vitiate existing civil rights and personal freedoms.

Technology, as an industrial science, embodies such dangers by its nature. The purpose of technology is efficiency, economy of energy spent for goal attained. Technology is inherently mechanistic and quantitative; frequently at conflict with the affective conclusions of the mind, and more often still with the emotional side of the human temper. In any case, it is hardly amenable to education, which is presumably a qualitative process requiring first-hand experience, and error, on the part of the student. Whether instructional technology will accommodate such foibles or force students into its own mold is to an extent decided by the rigidity of technology itself. How easily humans can become performance-based, cost-effective, systems-related beings, however, is still arguable. In any case, the educational technologists' assertion that teaching will become more individualized and humane as each student is equipped with a personal two-way audio-visual/alphanumeric link to a computer seems suspect on the face of it.

Added to these concerns is the problem of centralization, the political characteristic of most information technology intended to serve a mass audience. In the case of instructional media, the power of concentrated control assumes great significance, for centralized teaching will affect entire generations. Despite technologists' promises of wide access to both facilities and information for anyone "down the line," the history of information technology -- especially of electronic media -- belies such optimism. Even assuming the user's access route is open, only that information can be available which has already been placed into the system; and it is doubtful that system will be less guarded against certain beliefs and types of information than, say, CBS-TV or the University of California is now. The increased isolation of the viewer will only complicate the present difficulty of effective access, by continuing a trend which has paralleled the evolution of communications: audience fragmentation. The 19th-century orator could speak to an audience of thousands; most movie theaters can seat a few hundred at a time; it is generally discomforting to watch television in a group of more than a handful of people; and instructional technology now in use has a one-to-one user/console design. The political-psychological consequence of this social atomization is still unclear, but it is hard to contemplate a student getting much imagination or initiative from a process which is of necessity mechanical, suited for teaching by repetition and learning by rote, and unable to respond flexibly to a student's personal needs. It is far more likely that the concomitant of educational technology will be an extreme amount of regimentation and passivity in the student population.

In the case of television, passivity on the part of the viewer is both required and enforced by the medium itself, as it occupies both the vision and hearing of the student. With 526 lines of light changing every 50th of a second, television compels the attention of the eye, which is naturally attracted to light and motion. So compelling is this attraction that it has been described as addictive by some investigating the psycho-pathology of excessive television viewing (in the United States, the <u>average</u> television set is on for six hours and forty minutes each day). At the same time, the psychology of perception is altered. The "sense" of vision enables a person to combine a particular sight with various mental abilities (imagination, experience, etc.) to produce a "perception." This process begins with an objective scene. If there is a fault at any stage of the process -- eyesight, transmission to the brain, interpretation -- the perception is flawed. Built into the sense of vision is a mechanism by which the healthy mind can reject or correct mistaken views. Produced television programs, of course, short circuit this mechanism, for the viewing process does not start with an objective scene. Thus the mind receives an accurate message from eyes which see correctly -- but what they see is an artificial and contrived scene. As a result of this phenomenon, the television viewer's mind is far more vulnerable to the import of a cleverly constructed scene than, say, the play-goer's or the reader's.

Because of its magnetic effect, television -- the most popular form of currently used educational technology and the component central to most projected systems -- may well reverse the traditional, indeed etymological, definition of education, i.e. the process of leading a student out to understanding larger and larger environments of which he or she is a part. As an aesthetic medium, television leads a student in to concentrate on the world offered through what is called, appropriately, the television screen.

Educational technologists seem captive to the same phenomenon. Their focus on the short-term benefits of instructional television and related media prevents them from seriously considering its potential harm. While there is little question that television can make an important contribution to the process of learning, its disadvantages, many of which are only slightly understood, invite some caution in the broad and immediate imposition of such technology.

Experts in the area today plan education within the next twenty years to become "largely at home, electronically delivered and continuous," with televised education beginning at infancy via crib-mounted sets. This Notebook analyses some of the forces behind the ITV movement by examining the activities of its major proponents, the Ford and Carnegie foundations and the United States government, and by illustrating its characteristics through a case-study of the Children's Television Workshop, where the most prominent forces of the movement merge.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

The Ford Foundation was established in 1936 by Henry and Edsel Ford, with the initial purpose of distributing charitable contributions in areas surrounding the Ford Motor Company's factories in Michigan. In the twenty years following, both its assets and activities expanded to the point where the Foundation now has assets in excess of $3-billion, and makes grants throughout the entire United States and to agencies in some 85 foreign countries. Although dedicated "to the advancement of the ideals and principles of democracy," the Foundation has, over the years, expressed its dedication in curious ways. The Foundation's largest single grant was a $30-million grant made in 1969 to establish the Police Foundation, soon afterward criticized for its program of C.I.A. training for municipal police departments within the United States.[1]

The Foundation, and the programs it sponsors, have been criticized for their focus on improving social appearances, rather than removing problems' causes; its basic premise is that "the single most serious breakdown in the society...is one of confidence in the ability of the society to meet the challenges of the time."[2] The Foundation's President, McGeorge Bundy, was prominent as National Security Advisor in the early 1960's, and its Board of Directors includes, in addition to Henry and Benson Ford and other industrialists, Robert S. McNamara, former President of the Ford Motor Company and U.S. Secretary of Defense, and current President of the World Bank.

The Ford Foundation's long-standing concern for domestic education is hardly surprising, given its economic and political interests* and the role of schools in producing the consumer citizens needed for both an efficient labor force and an apparent democracy. Ford has stressed these larger concerns itself:

*According to its 1972 Annual Report, the Ford Foundation's assets include a $1.2-billion investment in the Ford Motor Company and a multi-million dollar investment in U.S.Government bonds and securities.

> Perhaps the greatest single shortcoming of our school system is its tendency to... concern itself almost exclusively with the dissemination of information. School should be the most important influence outside of the home for the molding of whole persons.[3]

According to Ford, the failure of schooling was twofold: first, public education throughout the United States was generally unsuccessful at achieving Ford's goal of molding the whole person; and, second, American education -- like education anywhere else -- requires expenditures which are not usually amenable to cost-effectiveness controls (attempts to "measure" learning have rarely succeeded). Consequently, it is difficult to prove that education is profitable. Complicating the latter is a traditional American antipathy towards education and reluctance to support it, based on the recognition that few scholars attain positions of power in our economic society and few of our powerful figures are noted for their scholarship. This is reflected in the budget priorities of the federal government, where aid-to-education has always been subordinated.* Ford's first move to alleviate such problems was its creation of the Fund for the Advancement of Education in April of 1951.

The Fifties were years of severe educational crisis. The post-war population boom reached school age and elementary enrollment increased by 8-million children in the decade ending 1955.[4] Some 135,000 additional teachers were needed, while many of those already working were poorly trained.[5] Facilities were poor and salaries low.[6] War research had increased knowledge greatly, textbooks needed revision and teachers retraining. To add to these problems, school authorities were attempting to raise secondary enrollment, and encouraging all young people to attend high school.

Under these conditions, the Ford Foundation sought better education at lower cost. It did not attempt to change governmental priorities or public attitudes.

*This was the theme of much domestic anti-war literature in the 1960's, e.g., the money spent to kill a single Vietcong would put 35 students through medical school.

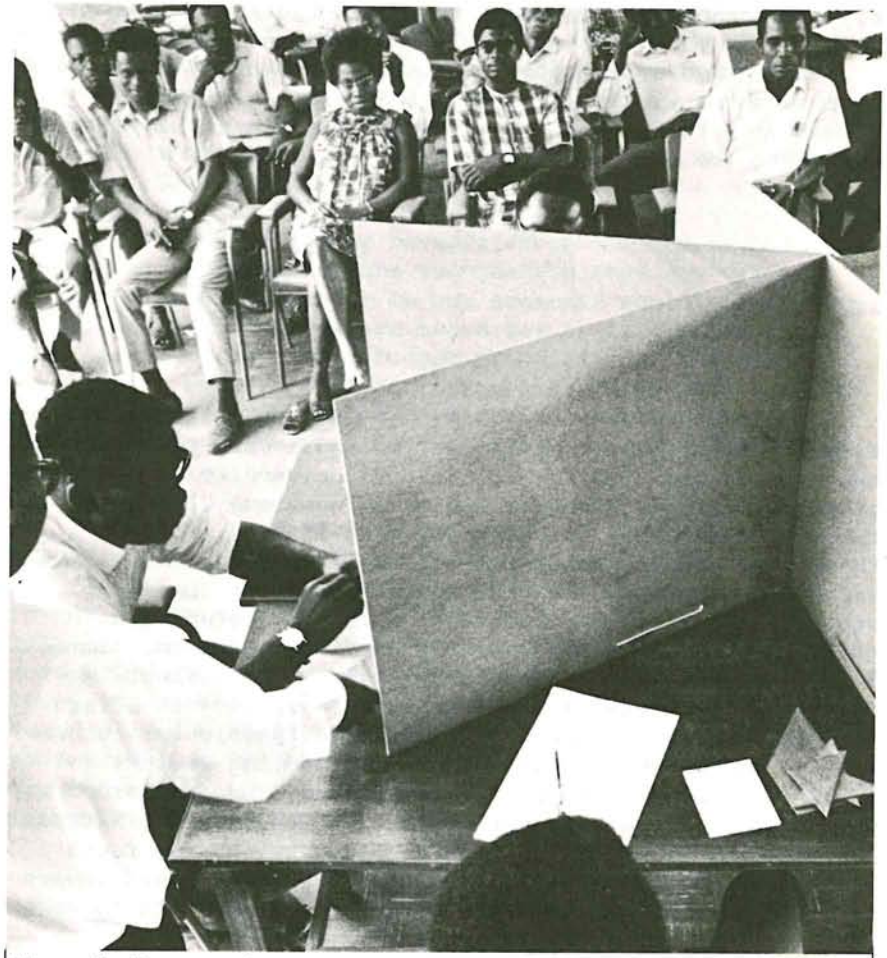
Hoping to "meet the manifest needs of modern society" and to "clarify the question of what kinds of schools America needs, what they should do...,"[7] the Fund for the Advancement of Education initiated or supported over 500 projects[8] in the next ten years, distributing some $50-million in grants. Many of these projects involved the experimental use of instructional television and other forms of educational technology. Although the field had first been envisioned by publishers, media executives, and technicians as "an available, lucrative market,"[9] none of them wanted to assume the financial burden of developing either the machines or the market. As a charitable foundation, Ford was suited to both tasks.

ITV

Developed during the war, television was viewed as both a cost-saving device and a very powerful teacher. Wilbur Schramm of Stanford University's Institute of Communications Research conducted numerous studies of television for Ford, determining that it helps to form tastes and enforce social norms. He also found television effective as an instrument to focus attention, confer status, and direct attitudes.[10] Moreover, television allows for the centralization of curricula, for the "immediate, instant, automatic dissemination...of a single message over the whole of a receiving network."[11] It offers a psychological climate of intimacy and "particular authenticity" which schools lack.[12] By regimenting viewers to fixed timetables of regular delivery and a predetermined presentation of material, televised instruction facilitates quantitative evaluation. Studies cited by Schramm found that technology was very effective "in regions where governments and educators are anxious to revise curricula to make education fit the national need..."[13]

"The Fund has no ideological commitment to any means of educational advancement," it explained with reference to both its at-home and in-school ITV experiments;

...we are concerned that students acquire the values of a democratic society and that they develop special abilities to make important contributions to our national welfare and security."[14]



Through its Institute for Management and Public Administration in Ghana, the Ford Foundation teaches techniques of problem-solving through group cooperation: "Students separated from each other by panels are allowed to communicate by memo only and must exchange wooden pieces of differing shapes to form a square."[15]

The largest single public school program sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education was the Hagerstown Project begun in 1956.[16] In conjunction with a local telephone company, the Fund set up a closed-circuit television system in Washington County, Maryland; it then selected and trained "studio" teachers. Most elementary classrooms had television sets, and the teachers were ordered to use them.[17] The televised lessons composed the core of the instructional curriculum, and teachers supplemented them.[18] Within five years all major subjects were being taught on television to 90% of the students,[19] and by 1966, the Hagerstown Project reached approximately 84,000 students.[20] According to a Ford Foundation officer at the time, the television programs were received with mixed reactions. "The system did save money, but the price was an extreme amount of regimentation...both on the part of the teachers and of the pupils."[21]

Schools for Tomorrow, a Fund sponsored report in 1957, found that television could save both classroom space and teachers' time.[22] Shortly thereafter, the Fund established the National Program in the Use of Television in the Public Schools, which involved over 100 school systems. Its class sizes in the elementary schools ranged to 175 pupils while secondary classes had a maximum of 500 pupils.[23] The Ford Foundation itself then assumed the funding of this project in 1959.[24]

Ford's concern about public education was paralleled in the 1950's by the Foundation's interest in the processes of human behavior. It established a special division of behavioral sciences in 1952[25] with 8 major areas of interest:

1) Political Behavior
   dealing with government power relations, the causes and consequences of political participation and apathy in a democracy, the distribution of political values and doctrines, and the characteristics and codes of political leaders.

2) Communication
   exploring the best means for international communication, the effects of the communication media, and the appropriate channels for distributing ideas.

3) Values and Beliefs
studying the relation between conscious and implicit values, the process of value change, and the factors producing conformity and non-conformity.

4) Individual Growth, Development and Adjustment
researching child development and adjustment, mental health, emotional development and psychological adjustment.

5) Behavior in Primary Groups and Formal Organizations
studying how groups influence individual's decisions and how the individual resolves conflicting group interests, the effects of formal and informal associations on the individual, and the effects of membership in business organizations, unions, political clubs, etc. on the individual.

6) Behavioral Aspects of the Economic System
exploring the psychological factors that affect worker productivity, the opportunities in the economic system for occupational and social mobility, and the psychological and social effects of mass production tasks.

7) Social Restraints on Behavior
studying the unorganized influences with which society controls the individual (customs and mores), and the organized influences (economic, political, religious and legal), the relation between social control and individual freedom in a period of international tension.

8) Social and Cultural Change
the causes and consequences of social changes in family organization, childrearing, leisure time activities, status of women, and the modes of economic organization and production; the social and psychological effects of economic development; how people adjust to rapid social change; and the effect of military development upon social life.[26]

EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY

The Fund for the Advancement of Education became less active in the 1960's for two major reasons. First, the federal government had taken a serious interest in public education, an interest often attributed to a panic caused by the Russian launch of Sputnik in 1957.* A second reason was that, although the Foundation's National Program in the Use of Television in the Schools had succeeded in introducing the notion of the electronic classroom to educators throughout the country, it had failed to attain its goal of widespread and frequent use of television as an educational instrument -- largely because the programming itself was dull and lesson content presented with little imagination over a medium which most students had come to know as entertaining rather than instructive. At the same time, the television itself was being superseded by newer electronic classroom devices.

The Fund had played a major role in encouraging development of this new technology. By 1967, when it was finally dissolved by the Foundation, the Fund had spent some $70-million[28] and left "a major industry... for the production and sale of...new educational hardware and software..."[29] The Ford Foundation's recent efforts have been to facilitate application of this technology, and develop better programs, through grants to agencies like the Center for Understanding Media, "founded to promote media literacy among children."[30]

Ford has also been instrumental in assisting the Educational Products Information Exchange (EPIE), an involvement which is indicative of the Foundation's current activity in the area. EPIE "gathers and disseminates information about the performance and effectiveness of learning materials, equipment, and systems."[31]

*In August of the following year, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act authorizing $887-million over a period of four years "to ensure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States."[27]

> Indeed education is now a profitable business...Manufacturers of electronic equipment are aware of ETV's growth, and several of them are prepared with every prospective customer to furnish consulting services in the use of TV services in education. Clearly, educational broadcasting is a market for industry. [32]

After nine months of planning under a U.S. Office of Education grant, EPIE was chartered in New York in 1967, as an independent, non-profit agency. Ford made two grants totaling $325,000 in 1970, and 1973, to help EPIE develop a "full-scale laboratory testing program."[33] The agency publishes a biweekly newsletter, and monthly Educational Product Reports, which are sent to members -- educational and technical institutions, educators, and interested individuals who can afford the $50 membership fee. The Educational Product Reports present manufacturers' descriptions of new educational materials. EPIE also contracts with individual school districts to provide information in specific curriculum areas.[34]

The irony of schools spending over $600-million each year on educational technology is that it will probably allow for even greater control over education by industry. Patterns of teaching, learning, and school structure itself will be dramatically altered as industrial investment in educational technology grows and the technology conforms increasingly to economic imperatives. EPIE Director P. Kenneth Komoski has suggested one possible change:

> Given the potential size and educational power inherent in the burgeoning new educational industry, it could conceivably become an unprecedented force in American education by contracting directly with local school boards to supply educational service more cheaply and with less bother for the local citizenry.[35]

In 1973, the Ford Foundation concluded a two-year study of instructional technology by publishing a report advertising potential uses of "the things of learning."[36] The study investigated reasons for the failure of

educational technology, and found a major problem was that this "revolution" was being planned and developed outside the school, and consequently met with considerable teacher resistance. The report recommends close collaboration between educators and technologists as a way to avoid such trouble, and states conditions for success: a need for improvement must exist and "a desire to meet the need and to do it through the use of instructional technology must pervade."[37]

Although previous research on the value of technology has had "...a good deal of difficulty in determining either cost or educational effectiveness with any great precision,"[38] the Ford Foundation is still very optimistic about its use. That "the machine cannot recognize a puzzled expression or respond to an uplifted hand," that "it cannot discuss the implications for life of certain ideas or issues as they relate to a specific person"[39] does not deter Ford.

THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION

> The Corporation regards its entire program as "pro-American." That is why the Corporation is in business. It is the whole purpose of the Corporation Trustees and officers to work in behalf of their country, to strengthen it, and to insure its future.[40]

The Carnegie Corporation was established in 1911 by Andrew Carnegie with an original endowment of $135-million, to provide pensions for college teachers and to conduct "educational inquiries." Initially, the Corporation spent most of its money establishing libraries; its current emphasis is on "higher education, early childhood education, certain aspects of elementary and secondary education, and research and dissemination of information in regard to the functioning of government at all levels."[41]

Carnegie and Ford represent similar interests and the foundations have cooperated often over the past decades. Occasionally, they fund the same programs, but generally they collaborate by funding projects in coordinating areas. The foundations also engage in leap-frog funding; a project or area of interest that has been pursued by Ford will be taken over and funded by Carnegie or vice versa. In the field of educational technology Ford took over initial research by Carnegie in the 1950's; in the late 60's, Carnegie resumed research in educational technology which was then supplemented by a Ford report, The Uses of Instructional Technology.

Carnegie had become interested in film as a form of education as early as 1937. That year the Corporation established the Commission of Scientific Aids to Learning, which conducted experiments in the use of movies and other audio visual materials in the schools. The development and use of armed services and civil defense films during WWII led to a "rapid but chaotic postwar expansion of activity in this field."[42] After 1946, Carnegie made no more production grants, instead funding programs to improve distribution and utilization of existing films. In 1947-50, Carnegie funded the Film Advisory Service as a

part of the American Library Association, to furnish film information and circulation services. During this time, Carnegie also supported the Film Council of America, a film promotion and distribution center. In an attempt to reach the younger generation, the University of Nebraska, under a Corporation grant, conducted a statewide experiment at 70 high schools in rural areas using motion pictures to supplement the existing curriculum, and found students who viewed the films learned more than those who did not.[43] Also in 1951, Carnegie funded the University of California School of Librarianship to train librarians in the use of film and to "administer the rapidly increasing number of film collections in public school libraries."[44]

In the mid-50's, Carnegie became interested in educational psychology and decided to increase knowledge of learning processes and child development.[45] In 1955, research exploring creativity and the characteristics of creative people was funded at the University of California. The need for educated manpower stimulated a Corporation conference on the identification and education of the gifted student in elementary school.[46] Interest in educational technology was renewed with a grant to B.F. Skinner in 1959, for development and testing of teaching machines.[47] Carnegie funded subsequent research at Harvard on the cognitive development of infants.[48]

The Corporation's interest in educational technology continued with the establishment of the Center for Programmed Learning, headed by P. Kenneth Komoski. The Center concentrated on developing "curriculum materials of high quality for use in the schools" and helped "disseminate accurate information about programmed instruction to the schools and their communities."[49] It also conducted workshops for teachers and school personnel in the uses of programmed instruction and experimented with materials in some school districts.[50] A Carnegie funded report in 1969, Research for Tomorrow's Schools, recommended that research "review the failures of previous psychological research to lead to a significant educational technology, ranging from ...child development to the teaching of reading."[51]

A June 1972 report by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education exemplifies the Corporation's approach to educational technology. Although not directly concerned with children's television, the report merits

attention. Its title, The Fourth Revolution: Instructional Technology in Higher Education, refers to work done in 1967, when Eric Ashby outlined what he called the four revolutions in education. The first occurred when societies began to differentiate adult roles, shifting the focus of education from the home to the school, from the parents to the teacher. Another educational change occurred with the adoption of the written word for use in the schools. The invention of printing and later books brought the third revolution. And finally, Ashby predicted the fourth revolution to be developments in electronics -- radio, television, tape recorders and computers.[52]

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education agreed:

> The technology of communications and data processing that has had such a profound impact on American society generally in recent decades promises to have powerful influences on higher education as well... The new technology may turn out to be the single greatest opportunity for academic change on and off campus.[53]

Initially the report concerns itself with the potential uses and influences of instructional technology. It then explores the penetration of the new technology and outlines the conditions of its use. And finally, the Commission states the steps to be taken so that "...the benefits of instructional technology will be realized in an orderly and prompt manner..."[54]

> New technology has already transformed (a) research techniques in many fields and (b) administrative methods on many campuses. It is now (c) affecting large libraries and (d) is entering into the instructional process.[55]

Technology can reach people who currently do not or cannot attend school through at-home, at-work, and en-route instruction, potentially 24 hours a day.[56] Moreover, according to the Commission, through independent study with the machines students will become more responsible for their own education and will be able to take a

more active role in that education; and technology can offer more variety and flexibility than is currently possible in higher education.[57] With technology, students could receive instruction at any hour in language or science labs.

The Commission dismisses the warnings of the "impersonality" of technology: "...that danger is present in any situation in which large numbers of students must be served by relatively small numbers of professors. And some institutions that make little use of instructional technologies may provide less opportunities for student-teacher contact than those that use it extensively."[58] The report adds, quoting David Riesman, "a machine is not a sadist and does not suffer from rebuffs or redundancy. Nor does a student feel demeaned by having to take instruction from a person of another class or race or sex."[59] Despite initial large costs, technology having a "centralizing effect"[60] on education will be able to spread "the benefit of a single unit of instruction among very large numbers of students increasing the productivity of education."[61] Standardized tests developed for courses distributed on a large scale would simplify grading problems and help universalize evaluation procedures.[62] It can also replace human failings -- temper and impatience -- and treat the student in a continuingly impersonal tone, repeating over and over the same message or instructions until they become clear.

Teachers would also be greatly affected by the use of instructional technology. Technology will be able to free the teachers from their "routine instructional" responsibilities in the more elementary work." According to the report, it will also improve the quality of instruction by generating competition to the existing classes. Eventually, the report states, technology will lessen the need for more teachers and teaching assistants.[63] The Commission states that general education may suffer because technology is so effective in teaching "training skills,"[64] but shows little concern about the effect of a more specialized and technical education on an individual's ability to perceive his place in the larger social scheme.

Like Ford, the Carnegie Corporation is sensitive to economic imperatives, and welcomes the centralization required by new technology as a cost-saving benefit.

The Commission does not explain how such centralization will increase teachers', much less students', freedom. Nor does it describe the dangers of developing doctrinal curricula from centrally controlled sources and the threat of special interest influence on such sources. Given the Carnegie Corporation's plan for implementing its system -- "Government, industry, and certain non-profit organizations" would be the major forces in designing the instructional software[65]-- and given that the nature of, and limited access to, instructional technology pose serious problems which distinguish it from the printing industry, the Commission's blindness in regard to technology's disadvantages is notable.

THE GOVERNMENT

Although the U.S. Office of Education spent $42.5-million on instructional technology in the elementary and secondary levels in 1955, the federal government did not take an active interest in instructional technology until the 1960's.[66] In 1964, the Institute of Educational Technology at Teachers College in New York City received an OE grant "to create a demonstration of group-paced 'programmed' television in the form of a short series of lessons, designed to enable learners within a specific target population to learn a specific set of instructional objectives."[67] P. Kenneth Komoski, then at Teachers College, headed the project and hoped to show that "more effective ways of using the medium of television for education can be devised."[68] The project developed two hours of instruction in the area of human geography in three 30-45 minute segments. Fifth-grade students were shown the segments and given worksheets to complete while viewing;[69] they were directed to write by a tone from the screen. Another tone was the signal for students to respond to questions aloud during the programs.

Komoski had originally hoped to exclude classroom teachers from any participation in the series. He modified his position, however, for two reasons: 1) "The feeling on the part of the classroom teacher that instructional TV was a competitive rather than a complementary device" and 2) his need of the teachers to reinforce program content and to help the students achieve "specific behavior."[70] A Guide to Teachers was developed to ease any hostility toward the programs and to instruct the teacher on follow-up activities. The teacher guides were not designed to allow any creativity in dealing with topics assigned. Instead, they outlined point by point each action to be taken by the teacher.

The U.S. Commission on Instructional Technology was created in March, 1968, on the recommendation of the Carnegie Commission on Educational TV, which included among its members a Director of the Ford Foundation, as well as its Executive Vice-President. Its task was to study the instructional uses of technology.

During the course of its investigation, the Commission requested numerous papers researching specific areas. One, submitted by Dr. Komoski, found that salaries consumed two-thirds of the total annual U.S. public education budget. Consequently, industry's market is diminished to $2-3-billion dollars of a potential $50-billion market.[71] Greater use of instructional technology would not only enlarge the market, but would also help cut the number of professionals needed in the schools.

In March, 1970, the Commission made six recommendations to the federal government. "In the conviction that technology can make education more productive, individual, and powerful, make learning more immediate, give instruction a more scientific base, and make access to education more equal, the Commission concludes that the nation should increase its investment in instructional technology, thereby upgrading the quality of education."[72] The Commission proposed the establishment of the National Institutes of Instructional Technology (NIIT). The NIIT would take the responsibility for research, development and production of instructional technology for use in American education.[73] It would also establish a "library of educational resources" to make information of educational technology projects available, and encourage projects designed to increase the use of instructional technology. The Commission also charged the NIIT with taking the "lead in bringing businessmen and educators together in a close working relationship to advance the productivity of education through technology" and bringing us into "the space age in education":[74]

> The further one looks ahead, the more benefits technology seems to hold for education ...Tomorrow's student might 'get' his education not within the confines of school or campus, but wherever he happened or wanted to be. Videotaped lessons could be played on a home television set...The 'schools' of tomorrow might also use technology to cultivate not only the student's cognitive powers, but his aesthetic and moral development as well.. Educational managers would have up-to-the-minute information on student characters, behavior, and performance, as well as the latest findings in learning research...[75]

In 1970, President Nixon stated, "Our goal must be to increase the use of the television medium and other technological advances to stimulate the desire to learn and help teach...The technology is here, but we have not yet learned how to employ it to our full advantage."[76] The OE had for some years been funding educational technology projects (for example, it spent more than $160-million on computer experiments alone in the years between 1965 and 1971); this funding was, however, unorganized and sporadic. At the time of President Nixon's exhortation, another office was established, the National Center for Educational Technology (NCET). In 1972, NCET became a part of the Office of Education, with three major functions:

1) to "administer all funds specified under a technology budget request for the support of the development, validation and application of technology;"

2) to be the "central source of knowledge and expertise concerning the <u>total</u> range of OE-sponsored technology for education activities;"

3) to be the "true national focus for educational technology, defining public issues, encouraging states and localities to apply (technology) to their own situations..."[77]

NCET's budget in fiscal 1972 of $15-million doubled in fiscal 1973.[78] It is currently moving, along with the OE, to achieve President Nixon's desire: "We are charting a course of support and development of technology that has at its starting point the rapid establishment of a coherent, forward-looking federal policy to serve as the basis for the crucial decisions that will surely have to be made in the coming years."[79]

One of the largest long-term educational grants has been to the Children's Television Workshop. Beginning in 1968, the Office of Education gave over $3-million for the planning and production of the first season of <u>Sesame Street</u>. (See Appendix C) Since then the NCET, taking over the funding responsibility, has continued support amounting to nearly $13-million. This support now includes the production of <u>The Electric Company</u> as well. These two programs, in the words of Commissioner of Educa-

tion, Sidney Marland, "stand among the finest investments the OE has made in any field, and rank among the supreme revelations of my 30 years in education."[80]

They were so effective in the eyes of the government that in 1971-73, the number of children's educational television projects funded had increased to 14. One produced six hours of programming for use on Captain Kangaroo, to give children "early awareness of careers." Another project, using Headstart funds, spent $500,000 to develop about fifty program segments "incorporating attitudinal concepts concerning good health, nutrition, emotions, being afraid, locomotive skills, anger, joy, etc.," which were also used on Captain Kangaroo. Numerous program series have been produced for NCET by the Public Broadcasting Service and its agencies. In 1973, NCET funded a total of five series in the amount of $11.3-million.[81]

The most extensive of NCET's recent projects is the Rocky Mountain States experiment to begin in April or May of 1974. In conjunction with NASA and various government agencies, this project will utilize an ATS-F satellite for educational broadcasting.

> Satellites form the linkages that are essential to effective cohesion for the system -- the tie that binds the pieces together. At one stroke, cities, towns, and isolated villages will become part of an educational network with a potential, the impact of which is indeed revolutionary.[82]

Scheduled to go up April 12, 1974, the satellite will "receive and relay back to earth voice, video, and data signals from a powerful master station" to about 300 small antennas which will "pick up the signals and pass them along to the TV sets, radios and computers that will form the 'user' end of an extensive closed-circuit network."[83] In this way over 860,000 miles of largely remote mountainous territory will be connected in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Arizona, and Nevada. Modifications will allow this satellite to transmit to Alaska, as well as to the 13 Appalachian states.

The programs will focus on parents and day care workers, "the people around the child -- the people

who can stimulate a youngster's interest and guide him through the learning process." Career development programs will focus on adolescents 14-20 years and, to a lesser extent, on parents, to "help these young viewers assess their own talents and ambitions as well as learn about career opportunities." NCET has spent over $5-million on the Rocky Mountain Project, and expects 200-300 hours of programming to be completed for the 1974-75 year.[84]

According to Commissioner of Education Sidney Marland, the ATS-F satellite "will be able to handle telephone, telegraph, radio, television, facsimiles, and computer data services and spot beam its transmissions to specific target areas on two or three minutes notice. About the only thing this monster can't do is coach the high school football team, and I suspect NASA is working on that..."[85]

In the summer of 1973, the NCET underwent further administrative changes, as the National Institute of Education, established that year, assumed sponsorship of educational technology research and development projects. NCET will continue support of its established and on-going programs, including Sesame Street and The Electric Company.

On April 13, 1972, Commissioner Marland explained the Office of Education's educational policy as "...essentially a reaffirmation of the President's determination to support the uses of computers, television, and all forms of technology in the cause of education. We intend to pursue a planned course of support and development of technology..."[86] Part of this planned course of support has already begun:

1) A concerted campaign of public education, partly through the continued use of favorable exposure by means of such programs as Sesame Street; partly through emphasis on the individualization of education through instructional technology rather than its dehumanization, and partly through direct parent involvement in education by various media.

2) Teacher training, along clearly media-oriented lines, in an effort to accustom teachers to the integration of instructional technology in

curricula, and to overcome their reluctance to adapt its advantages to their specific goals.[87]

A more specific plan for the future use of technology was proposed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to The Domestic Council in 1971. (See Appendix A)

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP

In 1966, the Carnegie Corporation funded a 4-month study of the potential uses of television in preschool education. The report was prepared by Joan Ganz Cooney, who found television to be a viable alternative for teaching children:

> Television is not only the child's window on the world, it is also his Pied Piper, sorcerer, and story teller. And television whether we like it or not, is also the preschooler's unaccredited teacher.[88]

In May, 1968, the Children's Television Workshop was established with Ms. Cooney as its President. An autonomous unit of NET, the Workshop's purpose was to plan and produce an experimental television series to teach cognitive skills to preschool children. It was funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation. Joan Cooney defined its function as preparing young children for school, and reducing the educational gap between middle and lower-class children in order to meet "the national need for more and better educated people."[89]

SESAME STREET

Research for Sesame Street began in June, 1968, with goal seminars composed of educators, psychologists, TV producers, and film makers in the following areas: 1) social, moral and affective development, 2) language and problem solving, 3) mathematical and numerical skills, 4) reasoning and problem solving, and 5) perception. These seminars resulted in working goals in four areas:

I. Symbolic Representation
   A. Letters
   B. Numbers
   C. Geometric Forms

II. Cognitive Organization
   A. Perceptual Discrimination and Organization
   B. Relational Concepts
   C. Classification

III. Reasoning and Problem Solving
   A. Problem Sensitivity and Attitutes Toward Inquiry
   B. Inferences and Causality
   C. Generating and Evaluating Explanations and Solutions

IV. The Child and His World
   A. Self
   B. Social Units
   C. Social Interactions
   D. The Man-made Environment
   E. The Natural Environment[90]

Research found that children's attention is highest in programs with rapid pace; tunes, jingles, animated segments and slapstick were all popular. Children also enjoyed watching animals and other children on television.[91] On the basis of these findings, the daily, hour long show was given a magazine format (short unrelated segments), utilizing commercial techniques to teach children cognitive skills.

Months before Sesame Street's 1969 debut, CTW initiated a major advertising campaign. Publicity notices were sent to homes with phone, electricity and gas bills. More than 13 national magazines carried articles about the program, and on November 9, nearly every major TV section gave cover publicity to Sesame Street. The campaign climaxed in a half-hour preview on NBC, "This Way to Sesame Street," paid for by the Xerox Corporation.[92]

CTW's Community Education Services Division, utilizing 7 regional offices and a national staff, worked to build an audience and increase institutional use of its programs.[93] In ghetto areas, viewing centers were established with sets donated by RCA and other companies. CTW managed to obtain support from church groups, community agencies, city governments, and organizations like the National Council of Jewish Women, Urban League, and Vista. Sesame Street Parent-Teacher Guides were distributed free

to low income areas and to middle and upper-class families at $2/year.[94]

By May, 1970, CTW had grown too large to remain under the auspices of NET, and became an independent non-profit organization, responsible to a 12 member Board of Trustees. (See Appendix D) Two years later, it began a "revision of the basic statement of instructional goals to include a fuller treatment of the affective domain of a child's development."[95] (See Appendix B)

Since 1968, affective goals of the program have increased with each season. One of these goals was examined by an Oregon State University project in 1972, studying the effects of specially produced Sesame Street segments on cooperation. It found them effective in teaching children the meaning of the word cooperation, and its value in the situations viewed.[96] The children were not able, however, to transfer cooperative behavior to "novel situations." On the basis of this research, CTW has developed tentative goal areas and produced special affective segments for the 1973-74 series.[97] CTW researchers, in conjunction with the Harvard Center for the Study of Children's Television, will evaluate these segments on the basis of the viewers' ability to recognize, re-create and generalize the affective behavior shown.[98]

Such CTW ventures into behavioral conditioning have a still unproven value; their desirability is also a matter of some debate. Additionally, sober criticism has been voiced of CTW's attainment of even its more pragmatic goals. In 1970, Dr. Herbert Sprigle, Director of the Learning to Learn School (a federally funded preschool experiment) in Jacksonville, Florida, tested two CTW hypotheses: that "Sesame Street can prepare poverty children for first grade," and that "Sesame Street can substantially narrow the achievement gap which now exists between the poor and middle-class children."[99]

Randomly selecting 48 poverty children, Sprigle paired them according to IQ score, age, background, parents' education, income and occupation. The pairs were then separated into two groups: one was exposed in a kindergarten-like setting to Sesame Street and CTW follow-up material as the "educational component" of the program. CTW guides were also sent to parents for at-home activities.

The control group, also in a kindergarten-like setting, had its learning experiences in a more traditional game format with equal emphasis on emotional and social development. These children were not exposed to Sesame Street.

The next fall, after three weeks of first grade classes, the children were given the Metropolitan Readiness Test (the scores of this test generally correlate with future success in school). The control group scored higher in all sections of the test except the alphabet section. When compared with classmates above the poverty level, the Sesame Street graduates were further behind. "Sesame Street," Dr. Sprigle found, "did not prepare these poverty children for the work they had to do in the first grade, and it failed to narrow the achievement gap between them and the middle-income children."[100]

Commenting on Dr. Sprigle's results, Joan Cooney stated, "He took six-year-olds and pretested them at five in kindergarten, then tested them in first grade, using his measures, his questions, not our questions." The Metropolitan Readiness Test, however, is not Sprigle's test, but a standardized school test and in view of Sesame Street's "school preparation" goal, a fair judge.[101]

Dr. Sprigle undertook additional research, comparing the same two groups of children. Using the Stanford Achievement Test, which measures the effectiveness of "major parts of the elementary school curriculum," he tested the children at the end of their first grade year. The control group again scored significantly higher than the Sesame Street viewers. Again Ms. Cooney dismissed Sprigle, claiming he was "frightened, and I think quite legitimately so, that the government will not fund programs like his which are infinitely more expensive per child if we're around."[102]

Dr. Sprigle also looked at the program's affective goals, "the achievement of self-awareness and of such social values as sharing and cooperating, and the attaining of certain behavior and mental operations which enhance the learning process (such as thinking, reasoning, generating ideas, and imagining)."[103] To learn certain behavior, children must see and hear examples of that behavior. Dr. Sprigle analyzed the communication patterns on 50 Sesame Street shows in the third season (1971-72). There were 36

small group interactions involving children and adults which were "designed to generate ideas, teach problem solving and lead the child to discovery." In the group interactions he studied intensively, Sprigle found that all of the communication was adult generated and controlled, or dominated by adults. Adults talked 89.6% of the time averaging 240.1 words in each activity. The children on the other hand spoke an average of 26.6 words in each activity, talking only 10.4% of the time.[104]

> Sesame Street subscribes to the philosophy that teaching is telling and learning is hearing, and the following adult role in the teaching and learning process comes through loud and clear. Adult control maximizes efficiency and avoids many problems by suppressing naturalness, openness, and spontaneity. By controlling thought, communication and activity, the adult can teach the text and cover more ground in a shorter period of time.
>
> ...when the children say something that is not directly solicited by the adult, it is most frequently ignored, and if not ignored outright, it is interrupted. The adult talks over the child in a louder voice to get the other children's attention...by their behavior and attitudes, the adults are effective in discouraging open, natural and spontaneous expression of feelings and ideas and personal observations.
>
> The methods used to control child behavior on Sesame Street are swift, effective and powerful: merely ignore the behavior you want to extinguish. Another method is simply to interrupt the child by talking in a voice that is a little louder and stronger. The consequence of these methods are achievements of a sort -- discipline, conformity, convenience for the teacher.
>
> Looking behind the claims, hopes and aspirations of the developers and producers, and examining the substance, the evidence shows

a caricature of the weakness of our present-day public education. It is a projection of what many children are in for once they reach school.[105]

Dr. Sprigle is not CTW's only critic. John Holt, a noted educator and author, criticized Sesame Street's reading techniques in an article in the Atlantic Magazine. He noted the basic misunderstanding: "In most ways, schools are working against the poor; curing 'learning deficits' by Head Start, Sesame Street, or any other means, is not going to change that. The Program asks, 'How can we get children to learn what the schools are going to teach them?', instead of 'How can we help them learn what the schools may never teach them?'"[106]

Sesame Street's teaching of reading also misses the basic point defined by Holt, "What we must do in helping anyone learn to read is to make very clear that writing is an extension of speech, that behind every written word there is a human voice speaking, and that reading is the way to hear what those voices are saying."[107] Sesame Street has not changed basic "school teaching." If anything, the limitations of its production have made this process even more mechanical and detached.

In an article for New York Magazine, Linda Francke described other effects of the program by studying the feelings of some ghetto residents toward the show. Ms. Francke found, for example, that many black children identify with the muppet, Oscar the Grouch, who lives in a trash can. To many, he represents the inner-city character, who is bottled up in his trash can; Oscar, however, likes his trash can.[108] "Sesame Street," expressed a black minister, "is telling a black kid that it's perfectly normal for you to live in a garbage can if you keep it clean. The Man is perpetrating the idea that that's where you're going to live; you ought to be happy living there."[109] In reply, Joan Cooney said, "It hurts me to hear that blacks think that. It tells me so much about the damage that 300 years have done that they think they're Oscar. We don't think they are Oscar. I don't understand that. Why would Oscar be them? Lord, I wouldn't dream of identifying with Oscar the Grouch. I'd be embarrassed as a human being."[110]

THE ELECTRIC COMPANY

Research for CTW's second program, The Electric Company, began in early 1970, and was funded by the U.S. Office of Education, the Carnegie Corporation and Mobil Oil Corporation. The series was geared toward second and third graders with reading problems, for, as Ms. Cooney stated, "Beginning reading is very controversial; remedial reading is not."[111] Subsequent research was conducted and goal seminars similar to those for Sesame Street were held. The program stressed the "reasonability and learnability" of the written language. Five main principles were emphasized the first year: 1) left to right reading corresponding to speaking, 2) written symbols standing for speech sounds, 3) decoding as a successful reading technique, 4) successful use of strategies for figuring out the symbol-to-sound relationship, and 5) that the goal of decoding is the meaning of the words, not just their correct sounds.[112]

The Electric Company began its first season on October 25, 1971, when it was broadcast on most public television stations twice each week-day, for both at-home and in-school viewing.[113] Since then, The Electric Company has become "the most widely used instructional television resource in the United States."[114] In conjunction, CTW distributes a bi-weekly guide for teachers "suggesting activities and games the teacher may introduce in relation to the series."[115]

The Educational Testing Service evaluated The Electric Company and found that the show was viewed in 22.8% of the schools in the U.S.[116] The testing service reported 80% of the teachers who elected to use the programs found their students "very interested" in the program, and attributed gains in specific reading skills to the show. However, only 46% of the teachers found television greatly useful in the teaching of reading.[117] It is important to note here that only the teachers who chose to watch The Electric Company were polled; teachers who chose not to watch were not questioned.[118]

Viewing and non-viewing students were tested by ETS before and after the series aired, and The Electric Company viewers scored higher in most post-tests than non-

viewers.[119] While such improvement indicates effectiveness, it does not conclusively prove television's superiority in teaching reading. Those who watched the program did so in addition to their regular classroom reading instruction, thus receiving a half-hour more reading instruction per day than did the non-viewers.[120] Moreover, the ETS test is specifically based on The Electric Company goals and does not clearly reflect reading comprehension. When asked if the show actually teaches a child to read, Dr. Vivian Horner, Director of Research for The Electric Company, replied, "We don't know yet. But the program is teaching reading skills."[121]

During The Electric Company's second year, Dr. Courtney Cazden of the Harvard Graduate School of Education worked to develop standardized procedures for exploring how The Electric Company can be used in schools as a regular part of classroom instruction. Dr. Cazden found that greater attention needs to be given to teacher training and the development of classroom support materials, and the Workshop is hoping to demonstrate a classroom utilization project built around The Electric Company in the 1973-74 school year.[122] This is one part of a major effort currently underway to expand The Electric Company's use in the schools. At the same time, CTW is vigorously extending its activities abroad.

INTERNATIONAL EXPANSION

> Whether at some point there will be half-hour versions in virtually every language is anybody's guess. We're like the British Empire. Some day the sun will never set on Sesame Street.[123]

CTW has expanded from a small unit of NET producing one television show, to a corporation producing two television shows, community service divisions in cities throughout the U.S., with plans for two new television shows, including a health series sponsored by the Johnson Foundation (Johnson & Johnson), and various educational films and feature movie productions.[124]

Hoping to increase its influence, the Workshop has entered into three non-broadcast fields and become something of a mini-conglomerate. Contracting with over 20 private corporations, CTW supervises the production of many Sesame Street and Electric Company books, toys and records which are for use both in school and at home.[125] Secondly, the Center for Research in Children's Television was established in July, 1972, in conjunction with the Harvard Graduate School of Education to study the effects of television and films on children.[126] One of its first projects was to study the effects of Sesame Street on Jamaican preschoolers in remote villages of the Blue Mountains (video cassettes were used because of lack of electricity).[127] CTW has created a subsidiary program advisory service, Communications, Inc., which will help "guide local systems in selecting program topics, staff and equipment, in conceptualizing programs and series, and in designing the technology and financial capability to produce such programs," in exchange for acquiring stock in the broadcast company.[128] CTW is already the second largest stockholder in a Hawaiian cable company which will potentially reach 93,000 homes on the islands with a 20 channel capability.[129] Perhaps the most ambitious of CTW's undertakings is the internationalization of both its programs. Sesame Street, for example, is distributed to over 50 foreign countries in its original English form.[130]

Many countries have raised important questions about the validity of this American educational export. In the Philippines, the program series was found to be "largely alien to great numbers of Filipino children," partly because of the English language* and partly because of its American frame of reference. Sesame Street left the Philippines in December 1971, and has not been shown there since.[131] Ethiopia is another country where Sesame Street did not receive anticipated acclaim. According to the Ethiopian Herald's critic,

> Sesame Street has been running on Ethiopian television for several months now. From what I was able to gather, the program was originally designed to meet the

*CTW does not allow host countries to provide their own translations to accompany broadcast.

educational needs of children belonging to socially and economically deprived American families. As Africans living in a non-American environment and as Africans to whom English is a second language, our children's needs have obviously very little in common with those of the kids we see going to school on Sesame Street and talking in an 'unintelligible language.'[132]

Australia was one of the first countries to receive the show on a regular basis. Cynthia Felgate, executive producer of children's television for the BBC there, found it to be "unimaginative and overrated, dishonest" often "confusing fantasy with reality." She also felt Sesame Street did little to stimulate children.[133] Others worried if the programs were "an introduction to (American) politics for the under-fives."[134] Ms. Cooney, however, has no such reservations on Sesame Street's suitability for foreign youngsters: "For good or ill the whole world is being Americanized and paced by 'Laugh-In' and other U.S. shows. There's no question of universality. Some of the shows were shown in a village in India to children who had never seen TV before. It was a smash hit." She conceded that, "...The show is most beloved in the middle-class," but added: "Four-year-olds are really very much alike, because TV has moulded them." Recognizing this power of television, Ms. Cooney has stated, "We have to be extremely careful to avoid imposing our own, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, middle-class ethic unless we're very sure it's right."[135]

The U.S.S.R. denounced Sesame Street "as the latest example of United States cultural imperialism," and named the "Sesame Street series as a clear example of the veiled neocolonial culture. By means of such programs, imperialism penetrates the foreign house, even if its doors and windows are firmly locked."[136]

In September, 1971, the BBC banned the show from its network. This decision was made by the Director of Children's Programming, Monica Sims:

Educationalists in America have questioned the value of 2, 3 and 4-year-olds

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Look and learn television

Sir,—In view of Catherine Stott's enthusiastic advocacy of "Sesame Street" ("Woman's Guardian," December 16) may I explain why producers of children's programmes at the BBC feel that this programme should not become the daily television fare for children under five in Britain.

1. It is an American programme which has been built on the television experience of American children, most of whom have until now only watched endless cartoons, commercials, soap operas and crime series. In this country, children have been in the more fortunate position of having a variety of high quality programmes specially made for them. Indeed, the BBC was the first television organisation in the world to recognise the needs of young children when it began "Watch With Mother" specially for them 20 years ago, and more recently when extra broadcasting hours became available they were used for repeats of "Play School" on BBC-1.

Do we really have to import commercial hard-selling techniques into our own programmes because "Sesame Street" researchers tell us that in America children will not watch anything quiet or thoughtful?

2. "Sesame Street" is an outcome of a philosophy of ever-available "wall-paper" TV programming. American children watch television for hours on end. In all the programmes we make for British children we set out to discourage passive box-watching; our aim is to provide an imaginative and intellectual stimulus and to encourage creativity and activity.

Surely it is more valuable to watch with concentration and involvement for the 20 minutes of "Play School" and then go off and do something suggested in the programme, than to be hypnotised into gazing for an hour at a succession of fast moving images which may often be incomprehensible to a four-year-old.

3. "Sesame Street" claims to be an educational programme and uses didactic teaching methods which we consider inappropriate for a mass medium. Television can never be a substitute for the actual contact between a child and his mother, his companions, or his teacher. Our job is to provide the best possible programmes to enrich and stimulate and entertain.

It is not our job to dictate what young children should learn and producers of educational programmes for use in schools are always in touch with the teachers who follow up with individual children the stimulus that television can provide.

4. We are by no means complacent about our programmes but we believe we would be betraying the principles evolved over twenty years of children's television programmes if we abandoned "Watch With Mother," "Play School," "Jackanory," "Blue Peter," "Vision On," "Basil Brush," "Animal Magic," "Magic Roundabout," or any of our programmes loved by young children, to make room for five hours of an American import however popular it may be in America. We are glad to include American programmes among the ten or eleven hours of our children's output each week and we choose from any part of the world programmes like the American cartoons or European films which we cannot make as well ourselves.

But we believe we can make better programmes for British under-fives than "Sesame Street." "Play School," like "Sesame Street," is also seen in many different countries but it is tailored to fit the needs and culture of the country concerned and is presented and produced by people of that country.

5. "Sesame Street" is carefully geared to the needs of "disadvantaged" children in the United States and properly reflects the society in which they live. Everyday words used in "Sesame Street" like "trash," "side-walk," "zip codes," "elevators," etc. might be puzzling to four-year-olds in this country, but these are just a superficial reflection of the underlying social, philosophical and educational differences which would make "Sesame Street" inappropriate in the mixed diet of children's programmes we provide every day.

—Yours faithfully,

Monica Sims.
Head of Children's Programmes.
BBC Television.

The Manchester Guardian - December 22, 1970

> acquiring knowledge in a passive, uninvolved fashion, and have criticized the program's essentially middle-class attitudes, its lack of reality and its attempt to prepare children for school, not for life. I share some of these doubts and am particularly worried about the program's authoritarian aims. Right answers are demanded and praised and a research report refers to the program maker's aim to change children's behavior. This sounds like indoctrination and a dangerous use of television."[137]

David R. Boorer of University College in Cardiff also doubted, given "its high cultural bias, and its intrinsic demand for most nursery pupils to spend over 50% of school time looking at a television screen, that Sesame Street will be a valuable educational opportunity for millions of British children."[138] The program has nonetheless been accepted by a commercial television station in London and has been popular in the areas where it is seen.

In the fall of 1971, Sesame Street came to Israel, where television itself was only three years old. Gavriel Salomon of the Hebrew University School of Education soon afterward conducted a study of its effect on some 300 children, of low and middle-classes, by testing them before and after viewing the series.[139] Salomon's findings showed that the middle-class children "benefitted far more" than the lower-class children.[140] Sesame Street had failed in Israel to narrow the achievement gap between the middle and lower-class children. It did succeed, though, in having a "profound effect" on most Israeli children: "We seem to discover that the 'coca-colonization' of the world, through the wide dissemination of Western media, makes the world into a 'global village,' not only in terms of shared knowledge, interests, habits, aspirations and attitudes, but also in terms of shared mental skills."[141] After one and a half years, Sesame Street was taken off the air.

As early as 1969, CTW investigated the possibility of producing foreign versions of Sesame Street.[143] Currently there are three foreign language versions: Plaza Sesamo for Latin America, Vila Sesamo in Portuguese for Brazil, and Sesamstrasse for West Germany. Sesamstrasse

bears the "closest resemblance to the U.S. original utilizing many of the original cartoon sequences and street scenes. The only originally German segments, produced in Hamburg, are to facilitate social learning."[144] The new show appears twice daily in Northern Germany, and supplements the original version which is still broadcast in Germany to help high school students learn English.[145] It publishes a book series in German as well as magazines for parents and teachers and children.[146]

West Germany is divided in its enthusiasm, however, and Sesamstrasse is not shown to the 400,000 children south of the Main River; Bavaria chose not to broadcast it because it portrayed "a friendly sterile world" and discouraged "a questioning attitude" on the part of the young.[147] One official of Bavarian Broadcasting stated, "To make a garbage can into the most beautiful home in the world, to animate the misery of black slums symbolically in the form of Oscar and to invite children to console the grumbling puppet or to convince it that the environment it lives in is beautiful, borders on educational infamy."[148] Other Sesamstrasse critics find its magazine format to be "a hectic educational trip."[149] Jurgen Zimmer, Head of the Preschool Division of the German Youth Institute, and an eminent preschool education authority, disliked its "cramming with repetitions -- albeit in a more stylish package. Learning in fragments does not trigger questions."[150]

Vila Sesamo, the Portuguese version of Sesame Street, is produced in Sao Paulo for 11 million children of preschool age in Brazil. It has received overwhelming and unanimous praise from Brazilian authorities. Jarbas G. Passarinho, Minister of Education and Culture, believes the program "represents an excellent instrument of preschool education, which is of great value and power in the field of communications."[151] The program has been so successful that one of its characters, a puppet, received a surprising number of write-in votes for public office at a local election in Sao Paulo.[152] There has been no audible criticism of the show from Brazil.

The most widespread and well-known foreign version is Plaza Sesamo.

> There are educational as well as practical reasons for producing a Spanish language Sesame Street. As so many painful failures in 'compensatory education' for older children have taught us in this country, the earliest interventions in education may well be the most profitable.[153]

Plaza Sesamo's goals, like those of Sesame Street, were developed in goal seminars. Held in Caracas, Venezuela, in March 1971, the first seminar was attended by Latin American educators, television specialists and CTW staff already working on the project. The second season Sesame Street curriculum was used as a basis for discussion and goal formulation. More emphasis was given to social skill development, reasoning and problem solving and improving self-esteem, and a new cast and stage-setting for the Spanish program were chosen.[154]

John Page, the American producer for the series, then made a pilot episode of Plaza Sesamo in Mexico City based on the seminar's results. During that time, assistants conducted ETS tests on about 200 four-year-olds in the Mexico City area from low income homes, to measure the program's appeal. These results and the programs produced were the basis of the second seminar, also in Caracas, in March of 1972.[155]

In the following months, the cast was chosen and final production for the six-month series began. Norton Wright of CTW was in charge of the script[156] and CTW retained final rights of approval on all programs.[157]

The 130 one-hour shows are comprised of mixed Mexican and U.S. material. 46% of the show's material is taken from the CTW library of Sesame Street segments appropriate for international use. These segments and new CTW-produced segments (16% of the show) are shown along with the "wrap around" show material produced by the Latin American cast in Mexico City,[158] to produce a series "basically the same as Sesame Street -- in Spanish."[159] The cost of the show, about $2-million, is comparatively low because of the extensive use of the CTW library materials, and over half of it is recouped by the sponsorship of Xerox and commercial television stations in Latin America. ABC,

for example, bought Plaza Sesamo for its television network in Central America.[160] The reason Xerox gave for its 1973 contribution of $1-million was that "The company wants to be a 'full contributor' to society in each of the more than 80 countries where it does business."[161] Bernard J. Flatow, general manager of the public relations firm for Plaza Sesamo, explained, "Xerox recognizes that Spanish and Portuguese versions of Sesame Street especially adapted to Latin American children of 3 to 6 years of age, will meet an urgent national need and is willing to contribute to that objective with no expectation of immediate return."[162]

Like its counterpart, Plaza Sesamo is geared to the young children of what CTW calls low socio-economic strata (SES). Hector Escallon, under an O.A.S. grant to study Plaza Sesamo, stated, "...the program presents the primary solutions in human relations and in the social integration of the young." Children will also learn about social values and education through the program.[163] According to Manuel Barbachano Ponce, a consultant for Plaza Sesamo in Mexico, there are plans to get the show into as many small Mexican villages as possible, for "there is nothing with more fundamental social sense than the intellectual development of the have-nots in Latin America."[164] Potentially the program hopes to reach the estimated 16-million television sets in Latin America. These sets are not exclusively the property of the rich; "...it is not unusual to see antennas in the poorest city districts, even on cardboard shacks."[165] For example, in Tepoztlan, a small Indian community near Mexico City, those earning only the equivalent of $1 a day often own sets.[166] Additionally, Mexican planners hope to place television sets in gathering places and town plazas, "which would lead to the expert's dream of complete participation and identification -- millions of preschoolers all over Latin America, watching Plaza Sesamo while sitting smack in the middle of the typical plaza the scenery was based on."[167]

A few months after Plaza Sesamo's debut in Mexico, Raul Cremoux wrote an article questioning the program's appropriateness for a Latin American audience. Cremoux was curious about the interests of Ford and Carnegie "in insisting and emphasizing that this program be transmitted expressly in Latin America and Asia," and examined the motivations behind Xerox's contribution to the

series. He finds the Latin American adaptation of the program to be "not as good as it could be...the Mexican reality is changed quite a bit."[168] Plaza Sesamo's "continuous movement of images and sound," furthermore, put "an excessive stress on the sensorial area of children with consequent neglect of reflective areas. Professor Jean Piaget has countlessly made this observation."[169] Finally, Cremoux concluded:

> In Plaza Sesamo the concepts of relation, quantity, identity, differences, location, and distance, in spite of the good intentions of Mexican script writers, are responsible for orientations, values and comparisons which derive solely from the industrial and commercial macrocosm. The presence of a grocer and a repairman, as well as the absence of social figures more representative of other interests such as teaching, science, public services or artistic creation, is a clear indication of this.[170]

Two journalists in Chile, Armand Mattelart and Daniel Waksman, have recognized that it is natural for television programs to reflect the culture and society of their home countries, and condemned CTW's persistant claim of neutrality. They maintain that Plaza Sesamo's world, and the society it prepares its viewers for, is strictly commercial and American. Examples of the U.S. orientation are cited in the article: in Plaza Sesamo the main adult male characters are all owners of their own businesses, ownership is portrayed as the natural and only relationship to property, and Gonzalo's mechanic status illustrates a social division of labor.[171] Children on Plaza Sesamo, Mattelart and Waksman charge, never take the initiative on the show, but merely follow instructions given them. Without discussion or doubt, adults' explanations of the origin and nature of things are taken as valid.[172] "Such 'neutrality' thus maintains dangerously disjointed minds among the youth of the Xerox generation."[173] Presumably, Sesame Street's "neutrality" is not compromised by the USIA's promotional efforts on its behalf.[174]

Plaza Sesamo is not the only program that promotes U.S. values, but it is the most perfected, widespread and ideologically subtle.[175] "Sesame Street-Plaza Sesamo is the crest of a wave of educational programs (to be sure, all 'neutral') which the United States is preparing for large scale, massive diffusion to the television sets of the underdeveloped world."[176]

Probably the most extensive and profound criticism of CTW's programs has come from Peru. This criticism was prepared by the Ministry of Education and announced as national policy in June, 1972. Admittedly it is voiced by a curious administration, described by Ernest Conine of the Los Angeles Times as "the most interesting and appealing revolution in Latin America. The Peruvian junta is the foremost example of one of the most fascinating phenomena in Latin America: the emergence of military men who have abandoned their traditional defense of the status quo and committed themselves to bringing about genuine social revolution."[177]

Five objections prevented Peru from accepting Plaza Sesamo:

1) Plaza Sesamo's conception of education differs in the most absolute manner from the objectives of the Reform.

2) The established system of passing from one scene to another, through short color segments supported by musical effects, persuades the child to have a concept of order that is totally rigid, invariable and depersonalized...to train children through powerful audio-visual means in strict frameworks, is totally contrary to the spirit of the General Law of Education.

3) Plaza Sesamo has a concept of strongly directed and vertical participation. The older stars always prompt children to create the learning structure. Our Reform has clearly defined that which is important in the act of participation is the spontaneous desire and creative collaboration capable of generating replies from the bottom upwards.

4) Plaza Sesamo's teaching of numbers and letters is through the old abstract and mechanical

system of memorization...Professor Elvira Deza, our representative to the Caracas seminar, opposed the focus so alien to the reality of the child, but her objections weren't taken into consideration.

5) Many of the puppets that appear on Plaza Sesamo are figures of animals, their deformation approaching monstrosity. These animals, on the border of offering a completely false idea of reality, provoke in the pupils inconsistent feelings of fear and inhibition that together are dangerous.[178]

Rose Goldsen, a sociology professor at Cornell University, developed her opinion of Plaza Sesamo during a trip through Latin America. Viewing the program in Bogota, Colombia, she questioned the neutrality of the series after seeing the opening sequence:

> Here's how the program begins -- every time. First thing you see on the television screen is a hand. The hand writes: "X - E - R - O - X." And then, voice over: "This program has been made possible by a grant from the Xerox Corporation."[179]

She later examined U.S. foreign policy and the political nature of Xerox and its various activities, and looked particularly at the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic ("this event divided Latin Americans as much as Southeast Asians are divided today over our role there") in 1965. Jack Hood Vaughn, currently CTW's Director of International Affairs, was Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America that year, and Sol Linowitz, former Chairman of the Board and still closely related to Xerox, was Ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS) at the time. Recognizing that these two names, standing alone, are far from neutral in Latin America, she concludes:

> So when many Latin Americans see the announcements for Plaza Sesamo, indicating that it is sold by an outfit whose head is Jack Vaughn; and when they see that the series is supported by funds granted by the Xerox Corporation -- Linowitz's Xerox Corporation, they would say -- and if they do a little research and

> determine that the principal contributor to Children's Television Workshop is the U.S. Government through its Department of Health, Education and Welfare -- well, that's as if we in the United States saw on our television screens as announcement of a program series "made possible by a grant from the Educational Division of the Soviet Foreign Office;" or "distributed by the International Department of the Cuban Propaganda Ministry." But don't worry, friends, the program is only about letters and numbers. It's strictly neutral![180]

CONCLUSION

This Notebook provides analysis of the rapidly advancing instructional technology movement destined, we are told by its proponents, to transform radically the structure, operation and process of American education. The breadth and scope of this movement are vast, and the limited purpose here has been to examine the history and activity of the movement's principal representatives. This may allow some insight into the direction the movement's advocates foresee American education taking, and the specialized economic and political interests served by the introduction of the new "learning technologies."

Notwithstanding certain claims made for it, this technology could not be less revolutionary, nor the assumptions which bind its enthusiasts more firmly imbedded in the existing social and economic structure. These include assumptions about people, about education, and about society; some of them, which deal with television, can be discussed here.

First, it is accepted that children watch large amounts of television each day and assumed that this will not change. This assumption condones an activity which has no small social consequence. Its apologists argue that a program like Sesame Street provides real benefit by improving the quality of television programming. They fail to perceive that the point is not for children to watch better television; it is for children to watch less television. As the U.S. Surgeon General reported, the child who watches television

> ...has no opportunity to ask questions of those he sees on the screen. He has no need to plan what he will do next, or how he will carry out his plan of action. There is no way he can change the pace of the action on television or divert the inexorable unfolding of events before him. Whether he smiles or frowns, whether he looks puzzled or enlightened, whether he shows amusement or fright, whether he approves or disapproves, the events roll on.[181]

This assumption has been carried even further by some ITV advocates. Not only do most children watch large amounts of television, but some children of necessity watch large amounts of television. CTW President Joan Ganz Cooney, for example, explained in the London Evening Telegraph, "A lot of children who view television so incessantly come from poor homes or live in cold regions and are not properly clothed, so what else are they to do?"[182] The question of what to give children who are inadequately clothed could be answered in other ways. On a different scale, the same mentality underpins policy for the Rocky Mountain ITV Project, discussed in earlier pages. In that case, technologists are confronted by large numbers of poor people without electricity. Their solution is not to provide this power, with its derivative opportunities, but to supply battery-powered television sets.

In the area of education, a major assumption of the ITV movement is that radical educational change can be accommodated to established educational institutions. In the case of CTW, this assumption resulted in two conscious political decisions: first, Sesame Street would not compete with the elementary school system, but rather address itself to preschoolers; and, later, The Electric Company would teach only remedial reading to older children. CTW never risked the antagonism of academic interests by seeking to correct the failings of elementary instruction; nor has this ever been its concern. Rather, CTW has built upon the problems of public school education, perpetuating its flaws and ideology, while at the same time extending them from school to the home through television's pervasive reach.

The assumptions about society made by instructional technologists complement assumptions already described and reflect similar constraints. The practical objective of the ITV movement, at its inception, was to alleviate post-war classroom conditions, particularly the growth of the student population and the shortage of teachers. This situation no longer exists, replaced by dwindling enrollments and a teacher surplus. This has not deterred the movement, which instead, embraced a set of new objectives intended to remedy putative ailments of public education, such as the impersonalization of teaching and the dehumanization of students.

What began as an attempt to improve the

quality of classroom teaching by enabling the teacher to do more has become an attempt to utilize industrial techniques and devices to eliminate the need of future teachers. It has done so by dealing with education as if it were an industry, with commercial goals of economy, efficiency and productivity. One improvement instructional technologists seek, as Dr. Kenneth Komoski suggested to the U.S. Commission on Education (see p. 20 above), is to make national education less labor intensive and "to correct" the allocation of two-thirds of its current budget to teacher salaries. They may succeed in reducing the money spent for teachers, but they will not reduce the amount spent for personnel. Indeed, the Carnegie Commission's scenario foresees the need for four people, the teacher, media technologist, instructional technologist and the information specialist, where there now is one. The extent to which this will improve the quality of education is undetermined; the extent to which it will promote the designs and interests of the ITV campaign, comprised not of educators but of industrial entrepreneurs, is clear.

It is not by chance that this Notebook accords special attention to Children's Television Workshop, which has emerged as the most acclaimed educational television experiment in this country. The $70 million poured into it by government agencies, large corporations, and private foundations suggests one important factor in its achievements. Equally significant has been its positive response from millions of Americans who had all but given up on television's ability to provide anything beyond the escapist, crass commercial fare so long associated with the medium. Sesame Street and The Electric Company were evidence that our most powerful communications medium could overcome the misplaced priorities of the marketplace.

The popularity of CTW's productions has made of Ms. Joan Ganz Cooney's Workshop something of a sacred institution. Yet, such enthusiasm has been based largely upon CTW's presumed contribution to the betterment of disadvantaged youngsters. Careful examination of its results over the past four years render suspect both its actual achievement and potential benefit. Although it can be said that CTW has demonstrated television's value as a pedagogical tool, the Workshop has failed to realize its principal educational purpose, of decreasing the learning gap between rich and poor. To the contrary, the Workshop's presentations increase this gap.

Reasons for the Workshop's failure in this crucially important area are numerous; but most follow from the notion that educational achievement is a factor of opportunity rather than circumstance. From the start, it was presumed that a well conceived, expertly produced, and highly entertaining series of educational television programs directed at disadvantaged, urban preschool youngsters could raise their learning capability to the level attained by their suburban middle-class counterparts. Impoverished and less fortunate members of the society could, through improvements in education and the beneficence of government agencies and philanthropic foundations, surmount the limitations imposed by a hard physical environment and acquire the fruits of a material world.

The process of learning does not take place within a vacuum. To be effective, it must correspond to, and be reinforced by, the child's home and social environment. The content of both Sesame Street and The Electric Company, thus, is readily retained by the middle-class youngster, whose aspirations and conditioning are much more in tune with CTW's objective of preparing three-to-five year-old children for schooling. This youngster is already familiar with the relationship between educational achievement and economic success.

This circumstance belies CTW's revolutionary posture in the field of education. While the Workshop has established television as a teaching device and challenged more traditional modalities of classroom instruction, its main contribution has been to add another psychopedagogic technique to modern progressive education, whose principal goal is social adjustment. Its essential features include a balanced environment in which the child can relax, rid himself of complexes imposed by disruptive influences, and learn while engaging in various forms of play. Schooling is intended to temper conflict and placate fear as much as it is to instruct. It is a world to which, as this Notebook has demonstrated, both Sesame Street and The Electric Company are comfortably suited.

A child subjected to such socio-psychological training could hardly be expected to develop a personality in accordance with his unique talents, propensities and circumstance. This approach views freedom as consistent with profound surveillance and a complete shaping of

the child's psychological life, with strict regulation of purposeful activity. Nor is this "education" oriented toward some abstract social end. To the contrary, the child is fitted with a conscience that need not critically analyze or thoroughly understand a complex social problem but only know how to adapt to it. Society, through the leadership supplied by its principal political and economic institutions, is designated to define such problems -- and to solve them. The purpose of this education is the induction of the child into a society whose development must not be impaired.

CTW's contribution to this process has been both to expand its outreach and increase its effect. Beyond the rudimentary skills of reading and arithmetic, children reared by CTW's productions are trained to respect the differences of others, cooperate with all members of society, love humanity -- in short, to become exactly what social institutions expect of them. Nor are these lessons presented incidentally; as a following Appendix (B) documents, they are carefully engineered by the Workshop's collection of psychologists, assisted by others from government agencies and academic institutions. Their efforts assure that CTW productions broaden the child by molding his social personality. Despite the pretentious aims of CTW, it is educating children not for their own sake but for their value to society. The Workshop is its students' introduction to a universe of predetermined goals which may be neither evaluated nor questioned.

CTW should not be criticized merely because it does well what every other agency in the ITV movement is attempting. It is the movement's underlying premise that is faulty: that television, or any other form of technology, can surmount the social, economic and political imperatives it was created to serve. The notion that television, with its attendent professionals and paraphernalia, can become an independent instrument capable of disinterested human service, is false. Its development must parallel other trends: just as we have conglomeration in business and the concentration of power in government, so we see a centralization of control over information technology.

The assumptions supporting the ITV campaign are those of industrial progress. In this schema, freedom is inefficient. Educational enterprise cannot be left to

the whims of scattered individuals and disparate communities, whose interests may be at odds with the larger society and whose resources are inadequate to prepare today's youngsters for tomorrow's technocratic world. Proper education, which began with the individual and his family, and led him to his school, his community, his society, and his world, is incompatible with such preparation. Only the organs of the state, assisted by the extensive technical and financial resources of the industrial order, have the means to teach what is essential to their -- not the students' -- welfare. What is indeed ironic is that those parents most alarmed by the literature of 1984 should be CTW's -- and the ITV movement's -- most ardent supporters, ...thus preparing their children for precisely this future. It means the demise of individually controlled learning and thus the end of a traditional freedom.

APPENDICES

AND

FOOTNOTES

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

August 6, 1971

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

MEMORANDUM FOR

Dr. Walter Hinchman
Associate Director
Office of Telecommunications Policy

I am enclosing the draft outline of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on Telecommunications Aids for Social and Economic Development. Our package includes an executive summary, an outline of our final report and descriptive material summarizing significant problems in social areas lending themselves to technological solutions.

Our final report will focus on major technological experiments and programs that we will be recommending for action. The cost, impact and subsequent course of action associated with each of these experiments will also be included.

Albert Horley
Director
Office of Telecommunications Policy

APPENDIX A

In 1971, an omnibus study was prepared for the White House Domestic Council, entitled Communications for Social Needs. Cultural problems and solutions were described by the Office of Education, and technical data, budgets and implementation schedules were supplied by NASA. In all, over fifteen different government agencies participated in the study, including the Departments of Commerce and Justice, the U.S. Postal Service, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is useful both as an indication of thinking at the highest levels of these offices, and as a statement of national policy. The report was received at the White House in September 1971 by Walter Hinchman, now Director of Policy and Planning at the FCC.

Excerpts from the Office of Education section are printed below, each followed by a page reference in parentheses. The entire study is classified "Administratively Confidential."

TELECOMMUNICATIONS AIDS FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

There are approximately 23 million children in the United States under six years of age. Of these, 3 million come from families in poverty, 6 million come from the "working class poor," 13 million have families whose income is "comfortable"; 900 thousand have wealthy parents. Of these children, 11.8 million have mothers who are employed; 50,000 suffer from physical and other handicaps; 450,000 are mentally retarded. Many more live on Indian reservations, are part of the migrant streams, and live in rural areas.

The first six years of life are a period of extremely rapid physical, linguistic, cognitive and personal-social development. Development is a continuous life-process. However, a child who in the first six years lays strong foundations in his physical growth; in his

ability to use language effectively to communicate his needs, ideas, feelings; in understanding who he is, who others are and how people relate to each other; and in his ability to learn from experience and his acquisition of a rich fund of information about his heritage as a member of many groups is far more likely to enjoy a productive life than one who is retarded or handicapped in any of these areas. (7)

. . .

There has been, however, no previous effort to consider how telecommunications technology, seen as one major approach, could be directed to these objectives and to specifying what sequence of studies and field experiments might be undertaken as part of a national plan for telecommunications systems.

The success of Sesame Street in coordinating resources of talent, funds and expertise in providing a nationally accepted educationally stimulating program for millions of preschoolers is perhaps among the outstanding examples of the power of telecommunications applied to developmental needs. (10)

. . .

Developmental Day Care

Recent data from a Department of Labor survey indicates that of the non-working population who would like to work, 39% cannot because of home responsibilities, including the lack of day care facilities. A survey conducted in New York City suggests that 6 out of 10 welfare mothers with preschool children would prefer to work if day care facilities, and jobs, were available.

A major obstacle to increasing day care facilities has been the difficulty of providing comprehensive developmental services with the presently available resources. "Developmental" day care which promotes the intellectual growth of the child as well as meeting normal supervisory, physical, health and safety needs is typically contrasted with "custodial" care which focuses on the latter. Within the constraints of existing technology and delivery systems, developmental care requires full-time employment of trained professionals in early childhood education (a ratio of approximately one professional to from 8 to

12 children is typical). As a result, the cost of providing full-day developmental care ranges between $1600 and $2000 per child per year, of which the major portion is accounted for by staff salaries. (11)

. . .

Assessment of the impact of Sesame Street has indicated that filmed curricular materials can have a major impact on the child's cognitive growth. Availability of age-graded programs for infancy through kindergarten age would allow hard-pressed day care staffers to divide up the children and work with one age while another group was instructed or entertained via TV, providing the more personalized instruction which is necessary for optimal development but hard to come by in a multi-aged group with few staff members. Interactive computer systems, which also are of proven interest and educational value to preschoolers (O.K. Moore, 1968) would also help to provide quality day care with personalized learning experiences at a long term cost lower than that of maintaining extensive professional staff. (11)

. . .

A potential solution to the current impasses is to develop programs, a large number of televised programs similar to Sesame Street which promote children's intellectual growth through telecommunications media. Utilization of such programs should enable day care operators to provide some aspects of "developmental" experiences for children at price-tags nearer to the $850 of "custodial" care. (12)

. . .

Telecommunications Requirements -- The potential role of telecommunications in day care focuses on daily programming as a substitute for the cognitive and language stimulation currently provided by trained professionals. This should enable center-based, school-based and home-based programs to provide "developmental" care with staffs comprised largely of para-professionals and at approximately half the present cost.

Since a solution to inadequate day care facilities is urgently needed, a three-phased strategy is recommended. In the first phase, nationally available programs would be developed for utilization in day care

centers, in schools and homes. They would be of the same nature as Sesame Street, but would increase the total amount of high quality early education programming. They would both cover a wider age range than does Sesame Street and would have a broad developmental focus (rather than concentrating simply on pre-reading and pre-academic skills). In addition, the new programs would be designed as a bridge from standard televised services to cassette facilities and two-way transmission. (13)

. . .

Preschool Development for At-Home Children

Programming for Infant Development -- Most children begin watching television at 2.8 months of age (Himmelweit, 1958) and by six years of age, more than 90 percent are watching two or more hours daily. Since the infant's visual and auditory systems are able to differentiate among organized stimuli as early as three months of age, the physical requirements for viewing (infant mobility? ability to sit up? to control usual sets?) or the nature of the programs rather than the infant's ability to watch, listen or benefit from this kind of presentation may be involved in the initiation of watching during the latter half of the first six years. Certainly there are many anecdotal records of children far younger watching intently and apparently learning from the more frequently repeated experiences. It is likely that research would show that television advertising plays a significant role in the content of the 18 to 36 month old child's vocabulary. (17)

. . .

...although there are many kinds of supplementary services that could be provided, the field of telecommunications for infants is currently a void. These include:

1) a language/speech development series for three to 18 month old infants, presenting appropriate auditory stimuli. An inexpensive safe crib-mounted one-way radio with AM quality transmission providing an on-off mechanism responsive to child's control would be a minimal system.

2) a mother/infant TV series, shown 15 minutes daily, five days a week, that would stimulate interactive experiences between the mother and child, using simple, readily available materials.

3) for hospitalized or institutionalized infants who may be deprived of varied stimulation (0 to 36 months months), a crib or ceiling mounted one-channel closed circuit TV, with an infant controlled on-off mechanism. Videotapes to develop mentally appropriate stimuli could be provided for staff selection for different age groups. Color presentation would be desirable for this application. (17)

. . .

Regional and Special Interest Groups -- The interest in comprehensive regional telecommunications programs (e.g., Alaska and Rocky Mountain proposals) and programs for special groups (e.g., Spanish-speaking preschoolers) should be supported and studies of the cost/effectiveness of different delivery and promotional systems initiated. For some groups (for example, migrants) receivers that are light-weight and do not require electrical service would probably increase frequency and continuity of program watching. (18)

. . .

...Assumptions for these programs would include:

1) a 3 to 6 year old age range
2) half-hour to hour long programs, five days a week, on commercial stations
3) no home visitor or associated services. (18)

Increasing Program Choice -- Special child or "Average American," there are some developmental needs that can most effectively be filled through national efforts. Sesame Street has been a path-finder in showing what can be done; it is only one approach among many to its objectives, and there are other non-cognitive goals, for young children. It would be ironic indeed if Sesame Street's success meant fewer rather than more effective, entertaining programs for preschoolers. There rather should be a far greater variety of developmental programs, reflecting different curriculum models, focusing on many aspects of the growing child. (19)

. . .

Some Aspects of Child Development for and in the 21st Century:

There is another reason for a more prolonged look at the implications of TV as a technique for providing at-home educational choice. Education in the year 2000 is predicted to be largely at-home, electronically delivered and continuous.

The study described [elsewhere] might evolve to a prototype of one educational system predicted for the future, where the majority of educational instruction is provided at home, and school buildings would be educational hubs, community centers or would house the gymnastic, artistic and laboratory components. In the vision of the White House Conference Forum on Learning in the 21st Century,

> It is possible that advanced technology will return the family to the center of the stage as the basic learning unit. Each home would become a school, in effect, via an electronic console connected to a central computer system in a learning hub, a video-tape and microfilm library regulated by computer and a national educational television network..." (p. 79)

With only thirty years to go, development of the pilot technology for the home as a school could meaningfully begin with the education of the preschool child. The alternative curricula are available for a three year to nine year old age range and continuing education for the parents as well as direct programming for children could be incorporated into the facility. (20)

. . .

Many have been deeply concerned with the apparently low place of humanistic values in our national priorities:

1) "More time on television and elsewhere is needed for value education." (WHC,* Forum 3, p. 87)
2) All schools should place special emphasis on the process of ethical reasoning and value formation. (WHC, Forum 3, p. 68)

* White House Conference

3) "We recommend that school curricula at all grade levels be required to include the heritage and contributions of all ethnic groups in America." (WHC, Forum 18, p. 300)

There is, however, no current national effort to provide widely the kind of developmental experiences that foster humanistic values. Here is an area where urban and suburban, and rural and migrant children are equally in need. Here also, as Mundel has observed (1971) may telecommunications most truly be able to provide essential experiences that are feasibly available in no other way.

The Federal role in direct provision of moral and ethical training may be controversial; so, in the 1970's, would a Federal non-role. (22)

. . .

Television and Education for Parenting

The lack of adequate educational services to aid parents in their role as primary child-rearing agents has become increasingly clear in the last few years. A first major problem in this realm concerns the entire nation and focuses on insufficient education in the areas of child development, health, nutrition and safety. A second crucial problem concerns the lack of a coordinated approach to developing parent-training programs for low-income parents and adolescents. (23)

. . .

Telecommunications Opportunities -- Five major telecommunications services appear to be readily adaptable to serve national needs in education. They are a) utilization of conventional and audio systems, b) extended television systems, c) cable television with multiplex sound channel, d) dial-access video retrieval system, and e) fully-interactive computer-based systems utilizing video and audio input. Each system and its potential applications is described below in the order of technical complexity.

Extension of present audio systems requires little in the way of hardware development, but much in the realm of software. Conventional radio could be applied readily both to parent education and to dissemination of early childhood innovations. A major advantage to its

application is the fact that a large number of adults are a "captive" audience as they commute to and from places of work and as they engage in activities in the home. An additional consideration is the obvious fact that most American families already have radios in their homes.

Broadcast, cable and closed-circuit television can be utilized to provide educational programs and for teaching parents and professionals in individual homes, in schools and in community institutions. We already know from Sesame Street the large potential these systems provide for educating children. Applications reaching an even larger audience with quality picture -- including children in rural areas and those with special needs such as the handicapped -- should be explored. In general, efforts to provide a greater quantity of programs, more frequent viewing opportunities, coverage of a wider range of content, and a broader age spectrum should be undertaken. One advantage to further utilization of television for promoting children's intellectual growth is the fact that most families- including low-income families- already own televisions and that large numbers of children already spend many hours watching television. The Nielsen estimates, for example, indicate that on Saturday mornings, approximately 6,200,000 children between the ages of 2 and 5 watch television with an average viewing time of one hour and 53 minutes. Approximately 9,050,000 children between the ages of 6 and 11 years watch an average of approximately one hour and 43 minutes. (29)

. . .

Utilization of television for parent education and dissemination of innovations is also an important area. In addition to the fact that hardware is either already in place or can be readily installed, an important factor is that adults find television the most believable of the mass media. The Roper poll of March, 1971, found that more Americans find TV the most believable of the mass media (49% compared with 20% who find newspapers the most believable, 10% radio, and 9% magazines).

A simple technological innovation having important applications for education is the use of cable televisions with a single video channel accompanied by multiple sound tracks. In conjunction with sophisticated software, this would allow for child responses and for corrective

feedback through differential output on the different sound tracks. Another advantage to selectable multiple sound tracks is their ability to transmit information in several languages simultaneously. An initial estimate of the optimal number of simultaneous sound channels is between four and six. Another major advantage to this system is the ability to measure the individual's choices and responses through on-line automated tabulation. This allows for evaluation both of the attractiveness of programs and of their instructional success (on the basis of whether children make "correct" responses). (30)

. . .

A final telecommunications system with broad educational opportunities consists of fully interactive computer based terminals with the capacity to incorporate user generated video and auditory input. Such systems have proven very popular with pre-school children (O.K. Moore, 1968), and provide the opportunity for self-paced learning without constant interaction by parent or care taker. These would probably be most feasible as an adjunct to group care centers and could possibly be incorporated in the video access system mentioned previously. Such a system would allow staff ratios to be reduced, and after the initial cost of development and installation should prove cost-effective. They would also allow instant delivery to children of new methods of instruction, since a central computer is far easier to retrain than a far flung staff. (31)

Priorities in Telecommunications Opportunities for Early Child Development

The technology required to serve many education and child development needs doubtless already exists on the drawing boards or as prototypes. Many "new" ideas are probably already being piloted and some may even be operational on a city, county or even state-wide scale. For at least some of the areas discussed, providing the software for the broadcast televisions already available and installed would be educationally cost/effective. Use of satellites to transmit programs to areas not currently reached by public broadcasting and provision of extremely inexpensive, battery-forwarded television receivers so that a personal TV would be available to all preschool children are probably within current technological reach. (31)

. . .

Objective: Providing developmental programming for infants from 0 to 3 years of age.
Methods: 1) Nationally broadcast program for infants and their mothers -- an extension of Sesame Street downward and 2) Infant-controlled, crib-mounted audio and video systems for public and institutional use.
Uncertainties: 1) There is no television program designed to attract infants' attention and be developmentally effective. While there is no prior reason why such programs should not be successful, there will doubtless be some trial-and-error in both TV production and program specifications before a Sesame Street scale project can be undertaken and 2) Many applications suggested for early child development require cable, rather than public broadcast, transmission. Few of these would be sole justifications for installing cable networks nationally. If, however, a cable network is already available, infant-controlled programs would almost certainly be developmentally worthwhile [...] given the current evidence on the value of beginning early with continuous, well-planned developmental programs. (33)

Objective: Providing child development training for parents and adolescents.
Method: 1) public broadcast programs for the general public, 2) two-way video temporary installations for parents in special parent training programs, 3) multi-media libraries including broadcasts of lectures, access to video-tape libraries, and interactive programs for high school and college courses.
Uncertainties: 1) availability of suitable software for methods 1 and 2, 2) acceptability of a national program on child-rearing (similar in prominence to a Sesame Street for adults), and 3) acceptability of in-home two-way videos by parents in special training. It is possible that a national broadcast effort focused on reducing preschool deaths from car accidents and fires would gain initial acceptability on which the child development education programs could build. (33)

. . .

Objective: To educate preschool children for world citizenship with their fellow-men and protection of their physical environment.
Method: 1) International program similar in scope and promotional support to Sesame Street, with content directed to personal-social, values and attitudes; 2) development of

videotape cassettes for child care centers and at-home use to promote interracial, intercultural and international understanding, and an informed concern with environmental protection; 3) availability of a satellite transmission system and child-level "newscasts" for international presentation of current events.
Uncertainties: 1) acceptance of Federal leadership in moral and ethical education for preschoolers, 2)availability of cable installations and tape library facilities; 3) implication of complete television services for children, in contrast to filling daytime hours with child and housewife shows and evenings with adult newscasts, drama, and situation comedy. (34)

. . .

Teacher usage, of course, will be inextricably tied to the quality of the materials available, so it might be useful to restrict several centers to Sesame Street reruns, that is, to materials with which they are familiar and which are of known quality and appeal.

In conjunction with the development and testing of delivery systems, attention must be paid to innovative uses of filmed software as a means of reducing necessary staff time and training needs in day care, and of cost-effectively upgrading the quality of custodial centers. Apart from the need for cognitively oriented programming which will be discussed in relation to public broadcast, answers should be explored for use of media in directing play activities of children. One is the use of filmed play activity direction which could be broadcast over limited access cable channels, local video hookup, or satellite broadcast to remote area centers aimed at relieving day care staffers of direction of some of the children at any given time. The feasibility of such films, of an adult direction games, should be explored toward seeing whether children remain attentive through the activities, etc. An alternative which is more interactive would be the use of two-way video monitor connected citywide so that a central staff could view and direct groups of children all over the city at one time. While the center staffers, for example, prepare lunch or work with a particular age group. (41)

Technology

Projects associated with established equipment (e.g., radio, television). Almost everyone (over 90% of all families and perhaps as high as 95% of families with children) own television sets...The development of extremely low-cost but also high performance radio and television receivers that do not rely on electrical service is priority #1 in technological needs. The availability of such equipment would also open international markets for non-industrialized countries who have already demonstrated their interest by adoption of Sesame Street ... and by such proposals as the India/United States educational satellite project. (42)

Projects associated with established equipment. Many of the suggested programs require child control of the equipment and crib-mounted sets. Apart from human engineering questions (e.g., optimum on-off control design for infant control), a re-assessment of the safety aspects would be essential. (43)

Projects associated with non-standard equipment. Inexpensive, portable, two-way communications facilities are required for short-range transmissions for several projects. These include:

-- video presentation to the home and video transmission from the home, with stop action, replay, and interrogation/response capacities would be required for parent training in child development. (43)

-- video cassettes for crib-attatched color units for institutionalized and hospitalized infants. Development of more complex response capability for example, infant-controlled choice of stimuli: infant/system interaction in presentation of developmental materials would further expand the educational capabilities of a system. (43)

. . .

It is interesting to speculate that a simpler approach would be one-channel only availability on the children's own TV sets. Himmelweit et al (1964) noted "...children with access to only one channel must either stop watching

or view programs which they do not expect to be very interesting. Under these circumstances, quite a number of children chose to see such programs and in fact enjoyed them. Children with access to one channel only get the chance to discover such programs but those with two channels hardly ever" (1958, p. 14). (45)

. . .

Telecommunications Aids for Education

The role of the Federal government in education is that of an active partner with state and local governments, responsible for that portion of total educational activity that promotes the national interest and transcends state and local capability. In this role, the Federal government encourages innovation and change in order to promote improvement in the quality of education and elimination of all barriers to equal opportunity.

It is widely agreed that we have reached a point in time when the application of telecommunications can promote significant and revolutionary improvements in existing forms of education. The total national expenditures for education in the 1970-71 school year were $74-billion, but despite this investment American education continues to be plagued by its inability to meet the expectations of the public. The challenge and opportunity which telecommunications now provides is to channel expenditures into systems that will improve the quality and access of education to our own citizens while also providing a major role of international leadership. (48)

. . .

American education at the elementary-secondary level is a fragmented non-system of autonomous educational programs typified by the lock-step, teacher-based, information-dispensing activities. The major deficiency of American education is that it does not provide the flexibility by which any given learner may use the learning resources which would allow him to develop his intellectual potential and societal-needs skills. (49)

. . .

There are additional constraints which have prevented overall systematic support and improvement in

American education. One basic obstacle to reform is the diffuse and decentralized structure of authority, the major characteristic of which is the fact that decision makers within the educational community are 1) local and 2) vary from agency to agency, whether state or national. Another obstacle is the resistance to change within the system brought about by apathy, fatalism and fear on the part of professionals and the community. Professionals have been and continue to offer some resistance to the acceptance of technology and other innovations. The public has been increasingly unwilling to support (or to provide resources) for the reform of the system or the installation of innovations and technologies. For example, city after city has rejected educational bond issues this year, and a recent Gallup poll indicated that only 37% of the parents interviewed would vote to raise taxes for local public schools. (50)

. . .

It should be noted that the educational system, like all other aspects of American society, is in drastic need of humanization. Educational technology including communications and other technologies can and should provide a forum for humanistic dialogues and interactions that in no way be conceived of as a further dehumanization of the educational process.

The characteristics of a system that would overcome the deficiencies of the current state of American education are that it would 1) be relevant to current American society, 2) provide services to all children, 3) allow for individualized learning in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains, and 4) foster humanistic dialogues and interactions toward the goal of what the 1970 White House Conference on Children characterized as "the struggle to assert truly human values and to achieve their ascendancy in a mass, technological society."

Such a system must maintain an accessibility of appropriate materials, and services through development, packaging, dissemination, and installation activities commensurate to the demands of the situation. The nature of the process and product utilized within the system must be such as to generate high levels of motivation, participation, and support among the expected target groups (toward the achievement of high levels of performance). Any delivery system designed to accomplish the foregoing must meet the prerequisites of being perfommance based, cost-effective, and systems related. (52)

APPENDIX B

Report of June 14-16, 1972
Meeting at Arden House, Harriman, New York

The Children's Television Workshop staff, associates and guests met from noon June 14 to noon June 16 to discuss a projected program series treating the emotional development of young children. Although all decisions about the program are tentative, current thinking is to produce a half-hour weekly television program for early evening viewing aimed primarily at 6-10 year-olds but assuming an audience of older children and parents. (1)

. . .

Moral Development

The first afternoon's guests were Lawrence Kohlberg and Robert Selman, both from the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University. Both have done extensive work in moral development and the participants had background papers on some of their studies. Although their papers give a far better summary of their premises and conclusions, some of their most salient ideas relevant to the meeting's discussions were these:

-- The better a child's reasoning ability, the more likely he is to act in a moral way.
-- There is a natural path, or series of stages, through which moral reasoning must pass. The six stages of moral development are:

1. Orientation toward punishment and unquestioning deference to superior power. An action is good or bad depending on its physical consequences rather than its human meaning or value.
2. Right actions are those that satisfy one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. The element of fairness or reciprocity is seen pragmatically. "You do something good for me, I'll do something good for you."
3. Good behavior wins approval, so conformity is a major factor.

4. Orientation toward authority, fixed rules and the maintenance of the social order. Right behavior consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining the social order for its own sake.
5. A social-contract orientation, whereby right actions tend to be defined in terms of general rights and society's standards.
6. Orientation toward the decisions of conscience and toward self-chosen ethical principles that are universal rather than concrete moral rules.

The projected audience for the new program would typically be in the first three stages of development, with most at stage 1, some in 2, a few in 3.

The movement from one stage to the next is always sequential, is long-term and is not automatic. Movement can be facilitated by exposing children to reasoning a stage above their own and giving them opportunities to role-play the next higher stage.

The guests' research indicates that the most effective way to develop moral reasoning involves the use of open-ended dilemmas, which have no obvious or culturally approved "right" answer. (3)

. . .

Kohlberg warned that there will be some parents and teachers who will say CTW shouldn't be into this type of programming. He noted the instance of Great Neck, New York, where $8,000 had been proposed in the school budget to train teachers in value clarification. In the uproar that ensued, the entire budget was turned down by the parents who "wanted to retain the right to indoctrinate their children." (7)

Because of the problem of wanting to avoid indoctrination, various approaches to programming could be considered, he said. One approach would be to decide on what he called "values virtues," such as desirable traits of character that might be culled from a Boy Scout list. "This is not really a solution because everybody's got a different bag and won't agree on definitions." A better way might be to set goals, such as justice or fairness, for people to aspire to as a way to resolve conflicts. Still

another avenue might be to concentrate on self-awareness, since ego development and moral development are closely related.

Ego Development

Harry Lasker, consultant to Sesame Street International, spoke about some work he has been doing in Curacao concerning ego development. As background, participants received a chart of the six stages of ego development as worked out by Jane Loevinger. The stages are impulsive, self-protective, conformist, conscientious, autonomous, and integrated. The chart noted the behavior, conscious preoccupations and cognitive style for each stage. In many aspects, the stages of ego development overlapped those of moral development.

Extensive testing was done in Curacao with a sample of 1,000 male adults, more than 90% of whom are in one of the first three stages. The experiment attempted to devise group experiences or training that would move the adults along the continuum.

The tests showed that it is possible to stimulate change. Usually the movement is a half stage to a full stage. Change is possible regardless of the starting point. The rate of change is not related to either the starting point or age. "You can't teach ego development, but you can stimulate it," said Lasker. "It's generated internally."

Like moral development, change appears always to be to the next higher stage. Another similarity to moral development is that backward movement is possible, especially as an adaptive device, as when a prisoner adjusts his development to survive a prison situation. (7)

. . .

The technique used in the experiment was experiential learning which involved active experimentation, concrete experiences to create feelings, reflective observation about what had happened, and abstract conceptualization to understand the point. The process is a cycle that can begin anywhere but it works best to start with active experimentation. Traditional education, in contrast, starts with the last part -- conceptualization.

"We've been focusing almost entirely on self-awareness," said Lasker, "rather than cognitive awareness. It would be fascinating to combine them." (7)

. . .

Lasker suggested that the Loevinger scoring manual could be an important source book for creating materials for the new program.

Commenting on the similarities and differences between the ego development and the moral development stages, Kohlberg said that the correlation between the two is high and that there is much overlap in the theory too. He felt that Loevinger's descriptions of the lower stages are somewhat negative with a certain elitist ring. The ego stages, he said, are broader than the moral stages.

Speaking of the cognitive stages, ego stages and moral stages, he pointed out that one could be high on the cognitive scale but low on the other two, or high on ego development but low on moral development. It is possible to change the stage of moral development without changing ego development, but if ego development occurs, it is likely that moral development will also occur. (8)

. . .

For the rest of the morning session, the group discussed the materials and also four major topics that were to be the recurring ones throughout the rest of the meeting: indoctrination, goals of the program, curriculum, and techniques. They were not discussed as topic headings but emerged as questions to be resolved.

One point of difference revolved around whether to have a fixed curriculum, written down by goals, for the production staff to follow. Some of the group suggested taking all ideas into consideration but then never speaking of them again. "Just do a show with tacit acknowledgement of goals." These staff members felt that the whole process of a ten-page curriculum and writers' assignment sheets should be abandoned because it resulted in a fragmented show. They also felt that this show would not be susceptible to the ETS*-kind of testing and the

* Educational Testing Service

show's non-measurable effectiveness may be better anyhow. Another group believes that writing down what the show is going to try to do helps specify the goals and the paths to follow. Further, it is necessary to communicate the goals to new writers as well as to backers of the show, who may also ask for some estimation of accomplishments. The middle ground is to hammer out the curriculum goals but not uo use the resulting document operationally.

It was generally agreed that all television, by its very nature, has implicit goals, although they may not be stated on the air. "Adam 12," for example, has a strong law-and-order message. (10)

. . .

Pro-Social Behavior

The discussion of these basic questions continued after the presentations of the afternoon guests: James Bryan, Department of Psychology, Northwestern University, Willard Hartup, Institute of Child Development, University of Minnesota, and Aimee Leifer, Department of Psychology, Stanford University.

Bryan has done a great deal of work on observing children's words and behavior after viewing films and television. As background, the participants received a paper he co-authored on "Effects of Film Materials Upon Children's Behavior." Always working in an experiential laboratory, he has tested some 1500 children, black and white, mainly lower class, first to sixth grade, in Denver, Los Angeles and Illinois.

Words and deeds appear to affect people differently. Words cannot substitute for deeds. Each calls out different responses. "We have yet to find a behavioral effect of words," he said. But words do affect the child's rating of the model. If the model says nice things, the child tends to think the model is nice, no matter what he does. (12)

. . .

Regarding the earlier discussion on indoctrination, Hartup said, "I realize the risks but I can't see how the program can have impact without it. You won't

affect behavior otherwise, especially with young children. Kids need experiences with a wide range of social situations for later fallout. Supply children with a range of alternatives for them to pin together later. Take a pragmatic approach: go softly and see how far you can go. Start with easy things, such as competence in the face of frustration -- a universal. Don't do 'cooperation is a good thing' because it isn't always. Instead, psych out the situational." (14)

. . .

Hartup said there were two ways television can affect children: vicariously, a la Mr. Rogers, and by giving the child social equipment so that his real-world feedback will be positive. The latter will determine how he feels about himself.

Alternative behavior could be done two ways. One, it could be built into characters. For example, it's acceptable for Cookie to steal cookies. Another way would be to show that people have different behaviors for different roles or situations. You do one thing one time, another the next. (15)

. . .

Another pointed out that the child still can't overcome his environment. Minority kids are told to keep trying and they'll achieve -- and they don't, no matter how hard they try. "Some people will dislike you no matter how nice or cooperative you are."

It was suggested that some social competences are classless. Injustice comes to all children, such as when a parent or teacher accuses a child unjustly. Perhaps situations could be chosen that are common to all children rather than get into environmental differences. (15)

Concluding Session

Some tentative conclusions were reached in the final morning of the meeting.

It was felt that the culture has certain agreed-upon values, such as respect for personality and individual differences, which could provide some of the focus for the program. Another goal might be to help push

children along the stages of moral development, if it could be decided what could be done for 6-12 year-olds that would move them in the direction of the kind of 21-year-olds it would be good for them to be.

Consultation with psychologists and others who work with children is indicated to find out where children in the target audience are in relation to the goals of the show.

Everyone was agreed about being turned off by phrases such as pro-social behavior, teaching social competence, and indoctrination. Instead, it was felt better to focus on concerns, such as the lack of respect for personality and individual differences and the amount of violence in society, to see if CTW could do anything about these concerns without saying everybody's the same and be docile. (16)

. . .

Besides transmitting the idea that feelings do not have to be hidden, the show could transmit how they can be used as a kind of social tool. Aggression, for instance, is not the same as violence and can be used constructively. However, there was some feeling that "naming our parts" in this way would prevent them from functioning normally. Furthermore, less skillful people might try to do similar shows, if this one were successful, and manipulating children would become the fashion on television. (17)

. . .

Another meeting will be held July 19-21, by which time it is hoped some rough pieces of program material might be produced for reactions from the group. By then, too, it was hoped that some existing material could have been tested on some children. People who work with children will be invited to the meeting to tell of their experiences in this area of affective behavior. (17)

APPENDIX C

CHILDREN'S TELEVISION WORKSHOP
SUMMARY OF GRANTS
(DOLLARS IN THOUSANDS)

Grants Received for Programming	1968 - 1970 Season[1]	1970 - 1971 Season[2]	1971 - 1972 Season[3]	1972 - 1973 Budget[4]
Department of Health, Education and Welfare	$3,990.0	$2,900.0	$ 7,000.0	$ 6,000.0
Corporation for Public Broadcasting	750.0	500.0	2,000.0	5,000.0
Carnegie Corporation	1,500.0	600.0	1,000.0	500.0
Ford Foundation	1,538.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
Mobil Oil Corporation	--	--	250.0	--
John and Mary R. Markle Foundation	250.0	--	--	--
Learning Resources Institute	150.0	--	--	--
Xerox Corporation	59.1	--	--	--
3M Company	37.3	--	--	--
Quaker Oats	--	--	25.0	--
Johnson Wax	--	--	22.6	--
Meredith Foundation	10.0	--	--	--
Ralph Rogers Foundation	--	10.0	--	--
Sherman Foundation	--	5.0	5.0	--
Catto Foundation	.3	--	--	--
Nonbroadcast Activities Net Contribution	126.3	259.0	369.0	2,436.4
Miscellaneous Income	--	.3	60.9	--
Total Programming Grants	$8,411.0	$5,274.3	$11,732.6	$ 14,936.4

Source: A Special Report from the Children's Television Workshop, pp. 27-28, New York, July 1972.

1. Start Up Period; 130 Sesame Street Programs
2. 145 Sesame Street Programs; Electric Company Start Up
3. 130 Sesame Street Programs; 130 Electric Company Programs
4. 130 Sesame Street Programs; 130 Electric Company Programs

APPENDIX D

CTW Officers and Directors

I. Officers (partial listing)

President - Joan Ganz Cooney

	Staff member, US Information Agency (USIA)
1954-55	Publicist, National Broadcasting Co., (NBC)
1955-62	Publicist, US Steel Hour
1962-67	Producer, Public Affairs Dept., WNET-TV
1967-68	Consultant, Carnegie Corporation
1968-70	Executive Director, CTW
1970-pres.	President, CTW
	Trustee, Education Broadcasting Corporation
	Trustee, American Film Institute
	Director, First Pennsylvania Corporation

Director of International Development - Jack Hood Vaughn

1949-51	Director, Overseas Information Centers (Bolivia; Costa Rica), USIA
1952-61	Various positions, International Cooperation Administration (now US Agency for International Development - AID)
1961-64	Regional Director (Latin America), The Peace Corps
1964	US Ambassador (to Panama)
1965-66	Assistant Secretary of State (Inter-American Affairs)
	Coordinator, Alliance for Progress
1966-69	Director, The Peace Corps
1969-70	US Ambassador (to Colombia)
1970-71	President, National Urban Coalition
1971-72	Dean (International Studies), Florida State University
1972-pres.	Director (International Development), CTW

Other CTW officers include Edward L. Palmer, who pioneered research in children's television viewing habits at Oregon State, before coming to CTW as Vice-President of Research. Norton Wright, CTW's Production Director, previously made adventure films in addition to being a film producer at CBS for Captain Kangaroo. He came to CTW in 1970, in charge of developing the first three foreign language productions of Sesame Street. As production director, he is currently responsible for all CTW productions. After completing a two year cable study for CTW, Franz Allina was made President of CTW's new cable program advisory service, Communications, Inc. Before coming to CTW, he had been an official of the US Agency for International Development (AID), a consultant to CBS and a staff member of the Strauss Broadcasting Group.

II. Board of Directors

Through its Board of Directors, CTW maintains ties with both academic and financial institutions. In the economic sector, with: Lehman Brothers, through Robert A. McCabe, a Partner; Texas Industries, through Ralph B. Rogers, Chairman of the Board (Mr. Rogers is also Chairman of the Public Broadcasting Service - PBS); and J.H. Whitney & Co., through Richard C. Steadman, its Managing Director.

Academic institutions are represented by Lawrence Cremin, from Teachers College at Columbia University (Dr. Cremin has twice been a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences); Eugene Cota-Robles, from Pennsylvania State University; Gerald S. Lesser of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education (Dr. Lesser is also Director of the Laboratory of Human Development); and by Mrs. Emmet J. Rice, of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB).

Other members of the Board include Eddie N. Williams, President of the Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C.; Luis Alvarez of Aspira, Inc.; and James Day, former President of National Educational Television and the Educational Broadcasting Corporation. The Board's Chairman, Lloyd N. Morrisett was instrumental in establishing CTW in 1968, when he was Vice-President of Carnegie Corporation. More extensive biographical material follows:

Chairman - Lloyd N. Morrisett

1958-59	Staff member, Social Science Research Council (funded largely by the Ford Foundation)
1959-61	Executive Assistant, Carnegie Corporation
1961-65	Executive Associate and Assistant to the President, Carnegie Corporation
1965-69	Vice-President, Carnegie Corporation Vice-President, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
1969-pres.	President, John and Mary Markle Foundation Trustee, Systems Development Foundation Trustee, New York Rand Institute Member, Council on Foreign Relations

FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations

FF	The Ford Foundation
CC	The Carnegie Corporation
CTW	The Children's Television Workshop
USGPO	United States Government Printing Office
USOE	United States Office of Education

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NOTES

The Network Project conducts research on the structure and control of American telecommunications. Information is disseminated in various ways. The Project is currently producing a second series of radio documentaries which examine television and other forms of media; the earlier series is now distributed on audio-cassette tape by Radio Free People (133 Mercer Street, New York 10012). Members of the Project have also testified in Congress and before the FCC, and have spoken on campuses and with community groups.

Information based upon the Network Project's research has also led to various legal actions. In May, 1973, the Project filed a suit in Washington Federal District Court charging the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and various White House agencies with extensive centralization of control over programming, and violation of First Amendment freedoms. The Project's other legal challenge, involving the FCC's decision to hand over control of domestic satellite systems to the nation's largest communications and aerospace corporations, was filed with the District of Columbia Appellate Court in October, 1973. These cases are pending.

This is the final publication of the Network Project's 1973 Notebooks series, which is available by annual subscription (all past issues sent to late subscribers):

$10/individual
$25/institution

Individual Notebooks are also available:

$ 2/individual
$ 5/institution

No.1: Domestic Communications Satellites
No.2: Directory of the Networks
No.3: Control of Information
No.4: Office of Telecommunications Policy
No.5: Cable Television
No.6: Down Sesame Street

The Fourth Network, a study of public television published in December, 1971, is available for $3.

Please make checks payable to The Network Project Notebooks.

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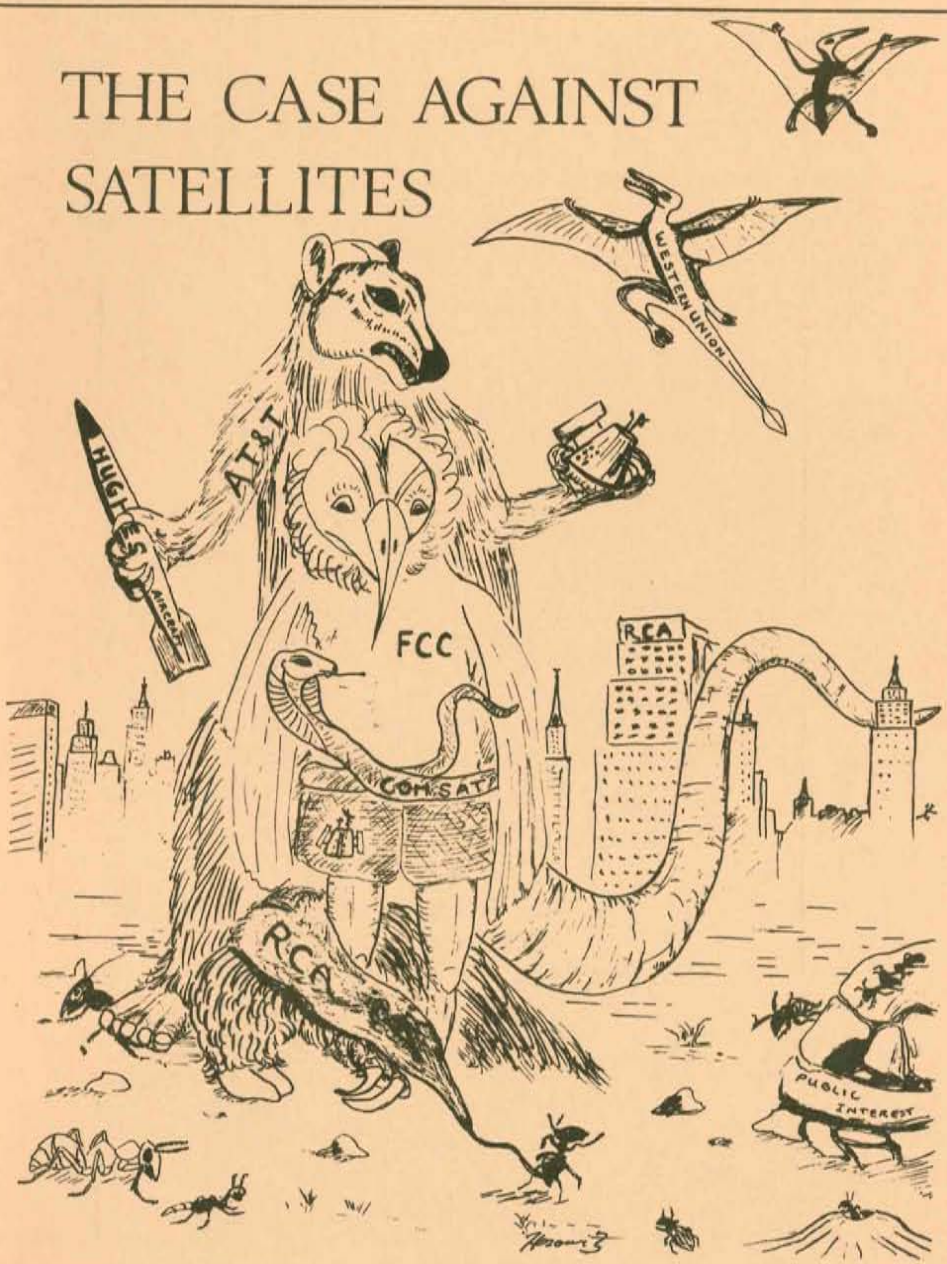
The Network Project

THE CASE AGAINST SATELLITES



Notebook Number Seven

Spring 1974

[Man's] lack of a sense of history carries a special liability; it makes him identify all his values with the present...Our own leaders are now living in a one-dimensional world of the immediate present unable to remember the lessons of the past or to anticipate the probabilities of the future.

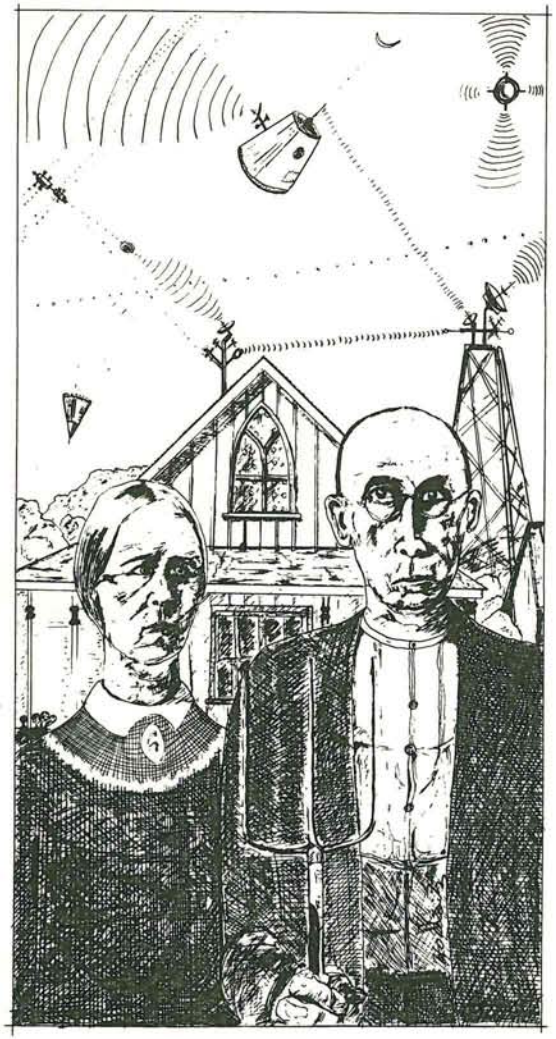
Lewis Mumford

This Notebook, the first of four quarterly reports for 1974 and seventh in a series begun in the Fall of 1972 describes efforts of The Network Project to affect the application of a powerful space technology. It proceeds from the analysis in Notebooks Nos. 1 and 4 of the Federal Communications Commission's 1972 domestic satellite ruling.

Cover design and art work contributed by T. Q. Horowitz.

NOTEBOOK NUMBER SEVEN

THE CASE AGAINST SATELLITES



CONTENTS

The Network Project
101 Earl Hall
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New York, New York

INTRODUCTION

The Network Project commenced its Notebook series in 1972 with an examination of the most important issues surrounding the emerging satellite technology. Domestic Communications Satellites focused attention upon the myriad problems posed by the Federal Communications Commission's decision to surrender public control of domestic satellites to private interests. It reviewed efforts by The Network Project to block implementation of this policy, which represented the grandest betrayal of the public interest in the history of American telecommunications. It is no accident that the first release of our 1974 Notebook series resumes consideration of this matter, for activity in the satellite area has escalated dramatically in recent months. Having made satellite licenses freely available to anyone with $100 million or more, the FCC began passing them out last September (1973) -- first to Western Union; then to Hughes, RCA, and Fairchild Industries; and, finally, to Comsat, GTE, and AT&T.

The Case Against Satellites, which is divided into two parts, provides a continued chronicle of the dangers presented by the corporate ownership of a communications technology that will centralize command over the flow of information both within and between national boundaries. The first half reprints the transcript of a radio documentary on satellite communications, one in a series of five MATRIX radio programs produced by The Network Project in 1974. It includes discussion of the technology's military heritage, its subsequent patterns of institutional control, and a less than optimistic forecast concerning its worldwide application.

In addition, the transcript serves as an introduction to the second half of the Notebook, which documents The Network Project's most recent attempt to deter the corporate imposition of domestic satellite systems. That effort took the form of an Appeal, filed last January (1973) in the District of Columbia's Court of Appeals, challenging the legality of the FCC's grant of satellite licenses to the Hughes Aircraft Company, RCA, and Fairchild Indus-

tries. An abridged edition of that Appeals Brief begins on page 17, and recounts the Commission's irresponsible handling of the domestic satellite matter. As with its earlier submissions to the Commission, The Project's Appeal is intended to assure the public access to both the facilities and the benefits of a communications resource developed with billions of dollars in public funds.

The introduction of domestic satellite systems, however, goes far beyond this. It is not just a matter of introducing another food product of negative nutritional value, or another automobile of questionable safety. Communications are the nervous system of a society whose dominant forces shape the messages and regulate their flow. Beyond its indication of regulatory negligence, corporate control of domestic satellites will aggravate the crisis between a technology-based autocracy and the majority's needs. No corporate propaganda about the social benefits of satellite technology can change this political and economic reality; it only camouflages the specialized interests served by our commercial communications process.

MATRIX

SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS

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NARRATOR. Matrix: a place or enveloping element within which something originates, takes form, or develops.

Matrix: that which gives form, origin, or foundation, to something enclosed or embedded in it, as a mold for casting.

Matrix: a lattice; a web; a network; the name of a series of programs by The Network Project examining the American communications process and the ways that process shapes our environment, our communities and our lives.

This program, one in a five-part series, examines communications satellites, a new medium for information management in a technocratic age, destined to have profound impact on future generations.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES ARE THE WORLD'S ONLY GLOBAL INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY -- THE MOST POWERFUL COMMUNICATION DEVICE EVER MANUFACTURED.

SCHILLER. There are military considerations; there are political considerations. In Vietnam, there was for a long time consideration of using satellites for advanced warfare techniques. I've come across all kinds of articles -- five and six years ago -- where they talked about having a soldier going out with a pack and a little antenna on his back to the enemy lines. Using his transmitter, he could send his stuff to the satellite and call in bombers. Military communications was a very early thought in the Vietnamese situation.

BUTTON. In 1945, Arthur Clarke wrote an essay called "The theory of extra-terrestrial relay." This posed the theoretical possibility of relay towers 22,000 miles high, synchronized in orbit with the rotational speed of the earth. Thus, theoretically three of them could cover the entire surface of the earth. Arthur Clarke conceived of the satellite as an instrument of all communications capability, but primarily to permit people in one country to receive directly the broadcasting signals of another country. He thought that would lead to world brotherhood and great understanding on all parts.

KLASS. The American people can be proud of the United States government policy -- whether it has been a Democratic or Republican Administration -- for it has been a very enlightened one. Except for the reconnaissance and early warning satellites, our entire space program has been open not merely to American citizens but to the world.

SOMMERLAD. Satellite technology has enormous possibilities. I have great faith and great confidence and great excitement. You and I watching men on the moon is a result of satellite technology, and it is the most marvelous thing that has happened in our lifetime.

IT WAS CREATED BY THE PENTAGON TO CARRY OUT COMMAND AND CONTROL FUCTIONS.

NARRATOR. Satellites have shown the world lunar landings, Olympic games, and President Nixon visiting China. Yet the publicity given these transmissions distorts the purposes for which satellites were created, and disguises their military heritage. Satellites are a product of the Cold War, created to serve the need for fast, reliable, global, centrally controlled communications.

KLASS. When the space age began with the Russian launch of Sputnik, when they demonstrated that this wasn't really science fiction, when they demonstrated that our blue-sky scientists were correct and that you could get a satellite up -- a pretty big one -- that served to trigger us, to unleash us.

POE. The total budget for telecommunications of the Defense Communications System (DCS) runs well over a half billion dollars a year. Capital investment in defense systems is dif-

ficult to calculate, but it runs about four or five billion dollars. There are on the order of a thousand stations around the world that carry out Defense Communications System functions.

KLASS. Communications and global communications have always been an important requirement for the military, especially for the United States, with its global peace-keeping responsibilities.

TERRY. First we are able to move terminals with some degree of ease from location to location and to deal with emergency communication requirements that the military forces may be confronted with. Second, we find it a relatively economic way in underdeveloped areas of the world of satisfying communication requirements where more sophisticated means of communication have never been built by either the United States or the indigenous country.

DEVELOPMENT OF SATELLITES REPRESENTED THE FUSION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POWER IN THE COMMUNICATIONS FIELD.

POE. At times the military has led in research-and-development; at other times industry has led, and we in the military have borrowed from them. There is a real sense of cooperation between the military and industry in the communications area.

TERRY. As a military advantage begins to disappear which has been based on military research-and-development, we should expedite the flow of that information into our economic environment to take full advantage of the work that has gone on, and apply those advantages on a broad base throughout the country. The total cost of military research-and-development is recouped not only in a military advantage, but also from the by-products which appear in the industrial environment.

NARRATOR. This industrial environment has been the beneficiary of almost 30 billion dollars in public funds, spent by the Federal government since 1957 to build, launch, and operate more than 500 satellites. These satellites are now the private property of the Pentagon, which first supplied the funds, the reasons, and the means for launching satellites.

KLASS. Things pay for themselves and that goes for the communications satellites. True, they had a military heritage and military research was the foundation and we couldn't launch any of these satellites if it were not for the giant rockets that were developed for our ballistic missile program -- you simply couldn't put one in orbit.

ALTHOUGH SATELLITES HAVE BEEN SUBSIDIZED WITH BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN PUBLIC FUNDS,...

SCHILLER. To sum it up, satellite communications were developed largely in the United States, with United States public funds coming from taxpayers money, with some of the development also occurring at Bell Telephone Labs. The bulk of the funds came from American taxpayer dollars channeled through the United States National Aeronautics and Space Administration. These were really used for a dual function of economic supremacy to oust British control of international communications and military capabilities to protect expanding economic interests of the United States, and to assist in the military deployments that became global in terms of U.S. commitments.

BUCHAN. Sure, there was certain assistance by the government, but we're all part of that government. Government policy encouraged the development of technology, but this has not been public expense directly involved in setting up any satellite systems. If satellites were developed at public expense, go use them. Which ones are you going to use?

NARRATOR. The United States will soon have civilian communications satellites, as the result of a 1972 ruling by the Federal Communications Commission. In this decision, the Commission abdicated its regulatory responsibility and surrendered control of domestic satellites to America's largest aerospace and communications conglomerates: AT&T, RCA, Western Union, Lockheed, Hughes Aircraft, Fairchild, Comsat, General Telephone and Electronics.

...THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL HAVE NO ROLE IN DETERMINING THEIR DOMESTIC APPLICATION.

BUCHAN. The advent of satellites to a country like the United States would be slightly more prosaic for, after all, we do have the most sophisticated communications system in the entire world. So, the use of satellites -- how they're going to be applied -- is a very important decision.

OLSSEN. For broadcasting purposes, these satellites might be used to distribute network programs to affiliated stations.

USE OF THE TECHNOLOGY WILL BE DICTATED BY, AND SERVE, THE CORPORATE MARKETPLACE.

BUTTON. Cable, on the other hand, intends to use satellites to create something that does not now exist in the way there's a national network called NBC, CBS, or ABC. The satellite makes it possible for the cable industry to become a national structure of communications -- an interconnection of the broadband facilities now only localized in nature. What I'm trying to do is create a pattern of satellites used to interconnect thousands of cable systems all across the country.

BUCHAN. The satellite operator should try to do more than duplicate existing services. It should offer relatively large users of communications flexible means of transmitting data, video, voice communication, and should be able to do this over relatively long distances in a way that is more flexible and

economic than he can do at the present time. I am sure that in the years to come satellites will be used as the present terrestrial systems are used to transmit some rather dull and turgid program material. Don't blame us then.

BUTTON. The control of the content that's put through them has really nothing to do with the satellite itself. All a satellite is is electrons, and electrons can do anything. Control of what is put through them is in the hands of the user, and the chief users will be the cable industry, the data industry, the publishing industry, the educational establishment, and Hollywood. The Federal Communications Commission's rules simply say that anyone with enough money and imagination and confidence can put up a satellite and sell it to anybody else.

U.S. DOMESTIC SATELLITES WILL FOLLOW THE COMMERCIAL PATTERN SET BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM.

NARRATOR. 'Selling it to anybody else' includes our foreign neighbors. In 1962, the Communications Satellite Corporation -- Comsat -- was created to establish an international, commercial, communications satellite system. Eighty-three countries are currently members of this consortium, called Intelsat. Its satellites are used primarily by multinational corporations as links to their foreign subsidiaries and affiliates.

SCHILLER. Comsat, of course, was called the American way of doing business. Comsat was an instrumentality dressed up to appear as some sort of public institution. But its basic reality, in terms of how it was organized and who controlled it, who owned it and who derived benefits from it, was the same as any other large scale corporation. But it did have a window dressing which was given an enormous amount of hoopla in our mass communications because it had three public directors appointed by the President. Fundamentally, when Comsat was first set up, it re-

flected the basic interests of the already large scale ownership groups in the existing communications industry. AT&T, in the very earliest phases, had something like 40 percent of the stock in the corporation, and the other major communications giants -- RCA, ITT -- also had substantial holdings. This has since changed, but the origins of the corporation were clearly a corporate unit which embodied the same principles as the rest of the private ownership structure of our communications industry. It was designed to make money; it was designed to be profitable; it was designed to wrest control.

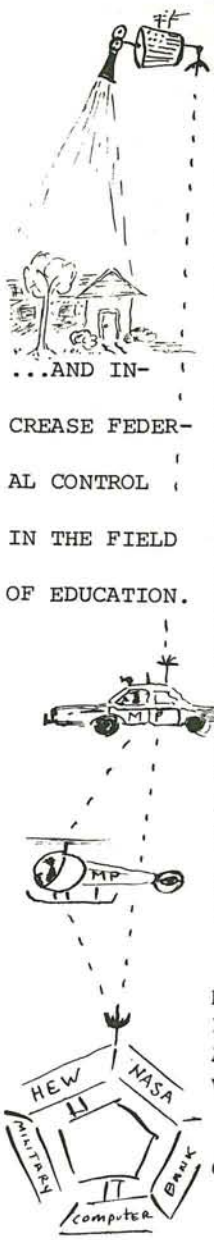
SATELLITES WILL CENTRALIZE CONTROL OVER SOCIETY'S INFORMATION RESOURCES.

NARRATOR. This potential has not been lost on prospective satellite owners. They recognize the revolutionary character of this technology is its ability to concentrate control over all means of electronic communications in a single complex. Creation of such national systems was encouraged by both NASA and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in their 1971 study "Communications for Social Needs." This report envisioned computers and closed-circuit television interconnected by satellites with centralized data banks -- a system modeled after the Pentagon's currently operating ARPANET, which coordinates university research and other intelligence-gathering operations.

THEY WILL EXTEND GOVERNMENT SURVEILLANCE ACTIVITY...

KLASS. The United States government is doing reconnaissance using spacecraft over the United States. I don't think you or anyone else need have any fear there. This latest Big Bird satellite had a camera powerful enough to see an individual citizen.

BUTTON. The engineers will dream up and put into effect anything the businessmen or politicians tell them to. Engineers are fantastic people -- they can do anything. This is not a question of the technology, but of the particular political policy of a given administration.



SCHILLER. In communications, there is this belief that technology is neutral and that it can be easily adjusted, and if you can invent some kinds of social purposes to which it can be applied, then that's the next step. I don't share that simple view. I think the very notions by which the technology has been organized carry through, and even the notion that it can be applied easily to some other more social purpose has to be very severely reviewed and looked at most carefully.

NARRATOR. Since 1966, NASA and HEW have experimented with satellites to provide preschool and elementary education in remote Alaskan villages. In 1974, the Federal government initiated a far more ambitious satellite project to televise programs on early-childhood development and career-training to Indian, Chicano, and poor-white populations in the Rocky Mountain and Appalachian states. This effort is costing more than 10 million dollars.

CONANT. It came out of Ehrlichman and the Domestic Council. Many people in government, particularly when prodded by the White House, were very lyrical about the subject. Horley [Dir. of HEW's Office of Telecommunications Policy] got Marsten turned on. Marsten saw it as a scheme for empire building.

MARSDEN. HEW's Office of Telecommunications Policy came to us with the proposal for the ATS-F experiment in the Rockies. We've worked very closely with that office.

CONANT. It's a highly political project.

KLASS. It's being built by Fairchild and it is being paid for by the Space Agency and, thus, by the American taxpayer.

CONANT. Can you imagine mothers getting up -- poor Navajo mothers, Chicano mothers -- at say five in the morning, somehow or other abandoning their husbands and their children, getting into their only ranchwagon or jalopy or pickup and driving 80 miles so they can arrive at the school at seven in the morning to see a special program about early childhood education three or four days a week. How many Navajo mothers -- assuming they have the transportation at all and can afford the gasoline -- do you think would do this? I mean this is what we're talking about.

MARSDEN. Here we're trying to promote technology to bring some of these utopian ideas into some reality.

CONANT. Everybody's been told around the world that this is what satellites can do, and we hope that our free-world democracies like Brazil and South Korea and South Vietnam will order satellites.

THE ADVENT OF DIRECT SATELLITE BROADCASTING WILL REALIZE THE TECHNOLOGY'S MOST DEVASTATING CONSEQUENCE.

NARRATOR. A worldwide market for America's satellite technology has rapidly grown. Canada's satellite system was built by the Hughes Aircraft Company. The Brazilian Government hired Hughes and Lockheed to construct its own system by 1976. In 1975, India plans to inaugurate a national experiment using a Fairchild built and NASA launched communications satellite. This will test the feasibility of direct satellite broadcasting.

SCHILLER. Direct broadcasting, as I think the term is being used, is where the signal will go up from wherever the source -- possibly outside the country -- and will come down inside the country, bypass any intermediate reception center, and go directly into individual receiving sets.

SOMMERLAD. Most countries that foresee the use of direct satellites for television broadcasting service would envisage paying for them very heavily from public funds as part of the education budget. This system is not seen at all as being a commercial system.

DIRECT BROADCASTING WILL EXTEND THE COMMERCIAL OUTREACH OF POWERFUL MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS,

RUDDY. Many countries don't want this commercialization of direct broadcast satellites and one can see their reasons for that. Their own systems are non-commercial. On the other hand, to say that Americans must abandon their free enterprise approach to broadcasting simply because they are state-controlled in various other countries doesn't make an awful lot of sense.

...

SCHILLER. Up to now, we have sort of modified systems whereby signals that are sent up come down and can be picked up by national structures, and then these national structures may or may not allow the signal to be distributed to all of the individual sets in the locality concerned.

...INCREASE THE ONE-WAY FLOW OF COMMERCIAL PROPAGANDA FROM INDUSTRIALIZED TO NON-INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS,...

SOMMERLAD. The developing countries in the world are concerned about the one-way flow of information. They are concerned that the growth of communications technology rather than putting them in a position where the flow of information is increasing -- they are afraid that the technological dominance of a few powerful nations -- may place them in a position where they will have to submit even more.

SCHILLER. We can see programming with private sponsorship being beamed directly into these areas in which a limited number, but still a considerable portion, of possibly the taste-making part of the society have access to this kind of programming thereby permitting the extension of certain types of pro-

gramming and also value systems, attitudes, and beliefs which would accompany this programming and which, of course, are totally embodied in the commercial sponsorship and the kinds of commercials that accompany this material.

...AND THREATEN THE FUTURE EXISTENCE OF FOREIGN CULTURES AND TRADITIONS.

OLSSEN. Out in the world there is a conflict between ideas -- between truth and error. The best way to let truth emerge is to let the two battle it out freely in the newspapers, in books, and broadcasting. I don't know whether the world and its political organs have an obligation to states everywhere to preserve all the existing cultures.

SOMMERLAD. Many countries have espoused the principles that television broadcasts via satellites should not be beamed across national frontiers without the agreement of the receiving country.

ALTHOUGH INDIA WILL BE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO EXPERIMENT WITH DIRECT SATELLITE BROADCASTING, ...

OLSSEN. There is a lot of eyewash to the effect that you are protecting the populations of the places where the international broadcast would be received. Dictators, people who try to put restraints on legitimate freedom of speech, always talk in terms of protecting populations and people from dangerous thoughts and untrue broadcasts. I suppose if I were an Indian, and believed deeply in Hinduism, I might very well worry about the mechanistic, materialistic culture of the West being reflected in television programs in India. Perhaps it's good that cultures change and that they come and go.

KLASS. After we've conducted experiments here and seen that the satellite is working well, it will be moved over the Indian Ocean. There it will be used by the Indian government to transmit television to several thousand villages that have never had television.

India is too poor a country for everyone to have television sets, but what India is doing is taking these several thousand villages and putting up in each village a little antenna and a television set -- a community television set.

SCHILLER. What we have here is a very definite pattern, and it's based on the prevailing organization and distribution of power in the American society.

RUDDY. This is a non-political type satellite. Reception is diffused to various communities wholly in the control of the receiving country.

...SATELLITE HARDWARE MANUFACTURERS SEE THEIR PRODUCT SOON IMPLANTED ON A VAST INTERNATIONAL MARKET.

KLASS. And they will be able to transmit to millions of their people education, birth control, and what have you. The United States has been very generous, I think, in sharing its space technology.

SCHILLER. You know, if you want to launch a new toothpaste -- and by that I don't mean you as a small entrepreneur, but if you are one of the two or three major dentifrice corporations -- you may offer the tube of toothpaste free. You just sign up a whole bunch of carriers and distributors and they drop off a tube at your door to make you aware of the product, therefore making you potentially a future customer. Its conceivable that our society, in its quest for saturation, might drop four or five hundred million television

sets in various parts of the world to permit these messages to come in.

NARRATOR. Considering the past and present performance of communication managers, optimism about the prospect of satellite use for the "benefit of mankind" is neither proper nor informed. History does not warrant such optimism; not the history of broadcasting, nor the more recent history of satellites.

DESPITE UTOPIAN CLAIMS, THE HISTORY OF SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS SUGGESTS THAT THIS TECHNOLOGY WILL EXACERBATE RATHER THAN SOLVE SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

SCHILLER. The whole distribution of the international satellite communications system reflects precisely this kind of an influence of business domination -- profit making -- despite the original assertion in President Kennedy's documents which said that this would be a system that would take the needs of the poor into account, that it should have equitable distribution all around, and that non-profitable areas should be given just as much attention as profitable areas.

CONANT. Satellite systems, whatever their contribution to communications technology, make little or no contribution to communication, to the exchange of ideas.

KLASS. There has been a great deal of unduly alarmest writing about the invasion of privacy. I really don't worry about the invasion of my privacy, and I think that any law-abiding citizen should feel that way.

BUTTON. I think in public service terms, not police.

UNITED STATES COURT OF
APPEALS FOR THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

----------x

THE NETWORK PROJECT, :

Appellant, :

v. :

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION, :

Respondent. :

----------x

ON APPEAL FROM THE FEDERAL
COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

BRIEF FOR APPELLANT

* * *

ARGUMENT

I. THE COMMISSION ERRED IN FAILING TO RECEIVE EVIDENCE OF AND WITH RESPECT TO THE TYPES OF SERVICES TO BE PROVIDED BY THE APPLICANTS AND CONCERNING THE COMMUNITIES TO BE SERVED BY THEIR FACILITIES.

The proceedings concerning the establishment of domestic communications satellite systems took place at the Federal Communications Commission for almost eight years, and the documents submitted to the Commission by various interested parties now take up a separate room at the Commission. Running throughout the record in these proceedings is the clear indication that satellite communications technology can have a significant impact upon the nation's domestic communications structure by providing a unique opportunity for greatly increasing the amount and efficiency of international and domestic distribution of broadcast signals

to a wide variety of potential receivers, and that the decisions of the Commission in these proceedings will significantly affect the ultimate quality and character of the people of this nation and others. Although the record is extraordinarily replete with technical and economic data concerning a domestic satellite system or systems, there is an overwhelming dearth of information concerning access, programming and likely social and behavioral results of the utilization of the satellite systems. In spite of this, the Commission held, and we urge erroneously, that the applicants were[1] "legally, technically, financially and otherwise qualified and that a grant of the...applications would serve the public interest, convenience and necessity."[2]

These proceedings were initiated by the Commission pursuant to Sections 151, 152(a), 301, 303, 305, 307, 308 and 309 of the Communications Act of 1934.[3] Clearly, by this the Commission acknowledged that the term "radio" as used in the Communications Act of 1934, not only meant television, as well as cable television and subscription television, but domestic communications satellites and earth stations as well.[4] Accordingly, the statute, and particularly those sections upon which the Commission originally based its authority, is totally applicable to these determinations. The Commission would seem to believe that only a portion of the Act is applicable, while other seemingly relevant portions need not be applied to this new technology, at least not in making a determination as to whether or not the applications for construction permits should be granted.

We need not burden this particular Court with a recitation of the history of legislation in the broadcasting area. However, a most significant point made by the Appellant in its filing below is elaborately validated in one of the leading cases which sets out such history. There Mr. Justice Frankfurter stated:

> The avowed aim of the Communications Act of 1934 was to secure the maximum benefits of radio to all the people of the United States. To that end Congress endowed the Communications Commission with comprehensive powers to promote and realize the vast potentialities of radio...These provisions, individually and in the aggregate, preclude the notion that the Commission is empowered to deal only with technical and engineering

> impediments to the 'larger and more effective use of radio in the public interest.' We cannot find in the Act any such restriction of the Commission's authority. Suppose, for example, that a community can, because of physical limitations, be assigned only two stations. That community might be deprived of effective service in any one of several ways. More powerful stations in nearby cities might blanket out the signals of the local stations so that neither could be clearly heard at all. The stations might interfere with each other so that neither could be clearly heard. One station might dominate the other with the power of its signal. But the community could be deprived of good radio service in ways less crude. One man, financially and technically qualified, might apply for and obtain the licenses of both stations and present a single service over the two stations, thus wasting a frequency otherwise available to the area. The language of the Act does not withdraw such a situation from the licensing and regulatory powers of the Commission, and there is not evidence that Congress did not mean its broad language to carry the authority it expresses.[5]

Although it has been thirty years since these words were written, they seem all the more applicable today than ever before, and particularly with respect to these proceedings. It seems extraordinary that the Respondent herein, with all of the time that had been made available to it, with its own significant talents and with the intellectual resources available to it, would not require the applicants who wish to put up and operate domestic communications satellites and earth stations under its jurisdiction to submit some plans with respect to how they intend to use such technology and how this technology would be utilized in the public interest. The simplest radio station license applicant in this country, both before it is granted a license to operate such a station and certainly before it is granted any renewal of any such license, must ascertain the needs, interests and problems of the community which its

radio station supposedly serves.[6] Naturally, these requirements are also applicable to television station applicants and licensees. Yet, the Commission did not predicate its grants on any such data. It could not have done so, since no applicant in these proceedings presented such information as part of its application. All that was presented were vague and meaningless statements by the applicants, in respect to how they might work with cable television operators and others.

Under Section 307(b) of the Communications Act, the Commission is obligated to require that licensees serve all communities within the range of their broadcast coverage. The Appellant contended, in its Petition to Deny these applications, that it was incumbent upon the Commission to meet its legal mandate under Section 307(b) before the Commission acted upon the applications. They contended that the applicants failed to show the geographic communities they would serve and that they also totally neglected communities of interested parties they should serve. They indicated that communities can no longer be divided solely in geographic terms, particularly in light of the extraordinary mobility of the American population. It was pointed out that there exist discrete ethnic, professional, occupational and behavioral communities -- "communities of interest" rather than of location. It would have, we believe, been not only required but an easy task for the Commission to call for evidence of plans concerning fulfilling the needs and interests of such "communities" by the applicants, but the Commission failed to do so in what we believe to be an arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable determination.

This Court has determined that consideration by the Commission of the types of services to be afforded in the public interest, as well as the assurances that all significant communities are served, rather than leaving such determinations to private considerations of willingness to serve and ability to pay, is not limited to the reception of a technologically adequate signal, but also encompasses "community needs for programs of local interest and importance and for organs of self-expression."[7]

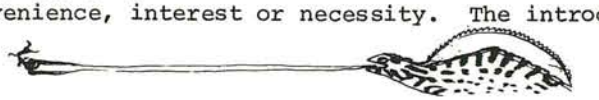
Speaking of this mandate in terms of the public interest in the Communications Act, this Court has also ruled that "it is surely in the public interest...for all national aspects of contemporary culture to be accommodated by the commonly owned resources whenever then is technological and economical feasibility.[8]

Presently, enormous problems in our American society, such as energy and ecology, more than adequately point out the need for advanced planning before supposedly significant technology is introduced. We can only speculate on where our present society might be had any of our governmental agencies undertaken, either by themselves or by calling for submissions by others, to determine what might happen in fifty years if there were mass production of large automobiles with oil-fired engines or significant utilization of lakes and rivers to serve as dumping grounds for waste, industrial and otherwise. During the course of the last eight years, the Commission had an opportunity to do this in the field of domestic communications satellites, but it failed, as it has failed in so many other ways, to thoroughly explore a problem before taking action.[9]

One of our most knowledgeable federal judges, in reviewing the federal administrative agencies more than ten years ago, initially quoted the following statement:

> The Federal Communications Commission presents a somewhat extraordinary spectacle. Despite considerable technological excellence on the part of its staff, the Commission has drifted, vacillated and stalled in almost every major area. It seems incapable of policy planning, of disposing within a reasonable period of time, the business before it, of fashioning procedures that are effective to deal with its problems.[10]

Although Judge Friendly did not defend the Commission's performance in awarding licenses, he did, in the interest of fairness, acknowledge the frustrating nature of the Commission's task in this area because of the inadequate standard of "public convenience, interest or necessity" established in the Communications Act. Despite the passage of almost 12 years since Judge Friendly's text was published, the standard remains just as "frustrating," but the Commission has tried earnestly to fulfill its obligation with respect to the issuance of new licenses, as well as the renewal of old ones, in the broadcasting area. The Commission has before it every year thousands of applications for construction permits, radio and television licenses, renewals of such licenses, and comparative hearing matters. It is able to decide upon these various matters every day by applying the standard of what will serve the public convenience, interest or necessity. The introduction



of new technology in the satellite area does not in any way mean that the Commission may absolve itself of its obligations to comply with the statute, and yet this is what it has done here.

We ask, how could the Commission have found any of the applicants "legally" or "and otherwise" qualified to construct and operate the facilities without knowing how they are going to be used, who will use them and at what cost, or whether or not such plans, if submitted, would be in the public interest? It is the Appellant's conviction that answers to these questions are of the utmost public importance at this time, before Respondent commits the American people to a new technology destined to have a profound impact upon the structure and flow of information in our society. Instead, Respondent has chosen to leave these determinations to the economic imperatives of the corporate marketplace. Its contention that by establishing standards of satellite service and guidelines of public access to satellite facilities it might adversely prejudice the emergence of satellite systems is, at best, conjecture. At worst, by elevating technical qualifications and economic criteria above other public interest considerations, Respondent has ordained a precedent in the satellite area of questionable, if not negative, public benefit. In any case, Respondent's reluctance to make such determinations prior to its authorization of satellite construction permits constitutes a violation of its statutory mandate.

We submit that the Commission erred in failing to call for an evidentiary hearing with respect to the applications, requiring reversal of its September 12, 1973 Orders.

II. THE COMMISSION'S DECISIONS FAILED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION UNDER THE FIRST AMENDMENT.

Although it was in 1966, it seems not so long ago that this Court, speaking through then Circuit Judge Warren Burger, established the right of representatives of the public to intervene in FCC licensing determinations. It did so not only because it recognized that the Commission required the assistance of those in the community who took an active interest in the scope and quality of the television services which stations provided, but because the Court also recognized that the broadcaster is not a public utility in the same sense as strictly regulated common carriers or purveyors of power, and it is also not a purely private enterprise like a newspaper or an automobile agency.[11]

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the Red Lion case,[12] not only upheld the Fairness Doctrine established by the Commission, but it further recognized the application of the First Amendment to freedom of expression of the public which the broadcasters serve.

* * *

These rights were also recently recognized by the Supreme Court in CBS, Inc. v. Democratic National Committee,[13] notwithstanding the ultimate determination in that case.

The regulation of broadcasting as it presently exists points up the difficulty of enforcing the public's rights as against a strong broadcasting industry with significant economic resources to preserve their rich lode of radio and television licenses. Where but a few licensees out of many thousands have been denied license renewal, an entire industry becomes disrupted and claims that new legislation is required to protect them against the "consumers." They claim that their First Amendment rights are being denied, not those of their listeners in spite of extraordinary evidence to the contrary. However, at least those who are challenged are required to prove that they have acted and will act in the public interest, and that they have not denied First Amendment rights.[14] In the case of the domestic communications satellite applicants, they have not been required to make any showing. Yet they have been granted unequaled rights to dominate the field of domestic communications satellites, and to use research and development paid for by the United States government (some estimate the sum at $20 billion), without establishing even the slightest guidelines as to how they will fulfill their burden of acting as a public trustee. And we contend that these obligations not only apply to a non-common carrier, but common carriers as well.

It will be simple for the Commission and the applicants to contend that they cannot be required to deter-



mine whether or not the applicants will breach First Amendment rights until the satellites are up and operating. We strongly urge that the Court cannot countenance such evasiveness in this situation. It is easy to perceive the Commission, one day in the future, taking up a Petition by some citizens' group to cancel the grant of, for example, NSS, for failing to provide the group with some kind of expression over its facilities. Putting aside the respective resources of the "contestants," the respondent in such an example would obviously contend that it has expended many millions of dollars to put its technology in place with the Commission's blessings and it cannot be asked afterwards to make the huge financial sacrifice of giving up its installations. Far-fetched? Perhaps. Impossible? We strongly believe not.

Were the Commission to receive some data now as to how these expensive technological advances will be used, not may be used, and if our sociologists, psychiatrists, child psychologists, educators, dramatists, and the like were able to comment upon such, we are certain that then those applications that are granted could be adequately reviewed should problems concerning constitutional rights be raised.

The Commission's staff recognized, in the recommendations contained in the March 17, 1972, Memorandum Opinion and Order, that government funds are almost entirely responsible for the basic research included in the development of launch vehicles. However, the staff did not choose to support the Ford Foundation's recommendation of a "public dividend," nor was any indication given of the fact that rates would have to be charged for use of domestic satellites which would make it economically unfeasible for all but the most affluent to use the systems. While interconnection for public broadcasting was partially provided for through requiring Hughes to include in its application its stated offer to provide full-time use of two satellite transponders without charge, this cannot substitute in any way for a fully-evaluated plan to provide access for all of the people to this technology to satisfy constitutional requirements. The financial difficulties that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has been encountering recently points up the fact that providing some access for its programming will not suffice.

To protect the public's right to freedom of expression now, rather than at a time that may be too late,

is, we believe, the best kind of protection under the Constitution. The Commission failed to do so, and should be reversed.

III. THE DECISIONS OF THE COMMISSION PERMITTED VIOLATIONS OF THE ANTI-TRUST STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES, AND ALLOWING SUCH MULTIPLE ENTRY FOR DOMESTIC COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE FACILITIES VIOLATED THE INTENT OF THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT.

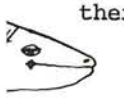
When President John F. Kennedy initiated this country's exploration of space, he committed our government to one of the most enormous expenditures of public funds in the history of our nation. Obviously, these expenditures were made in the public interest, or at least what our President and his Administration then believed was in the public interest. These funds were expended, primarily through the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. The actual arrival on the moon by United States astronauts in 1970 was preceded by an extraordinary amount of research and development, paid for by the U.S. taxpayer. Clearly, the research and development that took place in our space program not only permitted the establishment of the international satellite system, but was the forerunner for the domestic communications satellite systems which are the subject of these proceedings. Indeed, NASA is to provide the rocket launching vehicles for all of the domestic satellites under the applications submitted in the proceedings below, save only for temporary authorizations granted by Respondent in certain cases to make immediate use of existing Canadian satellites.

Although President Lyndon B. Johnson and his Task Force on Communications Policy recommended, at least initially, a governmental entry into the domestic communications satellite field, the signals were suddenly switched when the Administration of President Richard M. Nixon came into power. Multiple or "open" entry was recommended by the White House. In spite of significant data submitted to the contrary, the policy recommended by the White House was adopted by the Commission. The largest companies in the United States, indeed in the world, are those which submitted applications pursuant to the policy adopted by the Commission.

The record indicates the make-up and the interests of the applicants in question in these proceedings. They are not only giant manufacturing companies, but they control many of the communications facilities of our nation. Appellant challenged the applications on the ground that by obtaining ownership of yet another mode of communications, one which promises to dominate all future communications, the applicants' control over communications satellites would extend further their pre-eminent positions in the communications field. Appellant contended that as a matter of vertical integration, ownership and operation of domestic communications satellites must be recognized as having possible detrimental effects on unrestrained competition. The Commission almost totally ignored these contentions, and gave no reason as to why the granting of the applications would not tend to violate the anti-trust statutes. To the best of our knowledge, no opinion of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice was sought or submitted with respect to the points raised by Appellant in this regard.

The strangest grant is that awarded by the Commission to the National Satellite Services, Inc. ("NSS"). Following the issuance of the Second Report and Order, Hughes Aircraft Company formed NSS as a separate corporate subsidiary to pursue its domestic satellite proposal, which it was doing in conjunction with GTE Satellite Corporation. Appellant pointed out in its Petition to Deny the NSS Applications that Hughes Aircraft Company had significant interests in the Hughes Sports Network, a television programming company, TelePrompter Corporation, one of the largest cable television operators in the United States, Theta-Com Corporation and Theta Cable of California, producers of cable television equipment and that the Hughes Aircraft Company also played a significant role as a manufacturer of communications and space-craft hardware.[15]

The Commission commented on these points in its September 12, 1973, Order granting the NSS, RCA and American Satellite Corporation applications by simply referring to the rejection by the Commission of an identical contention in the earlier policy making proceeding. We have searched all of the Decisions, Opinions and Orders of the Commission preceding the September 12th Order, and we are unable to find an adequate rejection of the anti-trust questions raised by Appellant. We do find only bald statements that indicate that if there is completely open entry, there will not be any anti-trust violations. We cannot



accept this as a matter of law, and we believe that this Court should not condone such inaction.[16]

We foresee a domestic communications satellite system in which one company either wholly controls, or has a significant voice in decisions with respect to, technology for creating, carrying, disseminating and charging for a great amount of television programming in the United States. Such a company may be controlled, directly or indirectly, by one of the richest men in the world who at this time is under indictment for criminal acts in the United States, and who is suspected of flaunting the nation's laws.[17] Shades of 1984! And it may be that in that year all of this may occur. How carefully the Commission reviewed these questions is a matter of conjecture, but clearly very little time was afforded for their consideration. We know that very little data was established in the record for such consideration. We submit that the Commission erred in this regard, and the matters require further evidence for the Commission to decide whether or not the applicants, particularly NSS, are "legally" qualified.

CONCLUSION

The various Orders of the Respondent appealed from should be reversed, and the record should be remanded to the Commission. The Respondent should be directed to conduct a full evidentiary hearing with respect to all applications for the construction and/or operation of domestic communications satellite systems and earth stations.

Respectuully submitted,

Richard L. Ottinger
Peter Weiss
Morton Hamburg

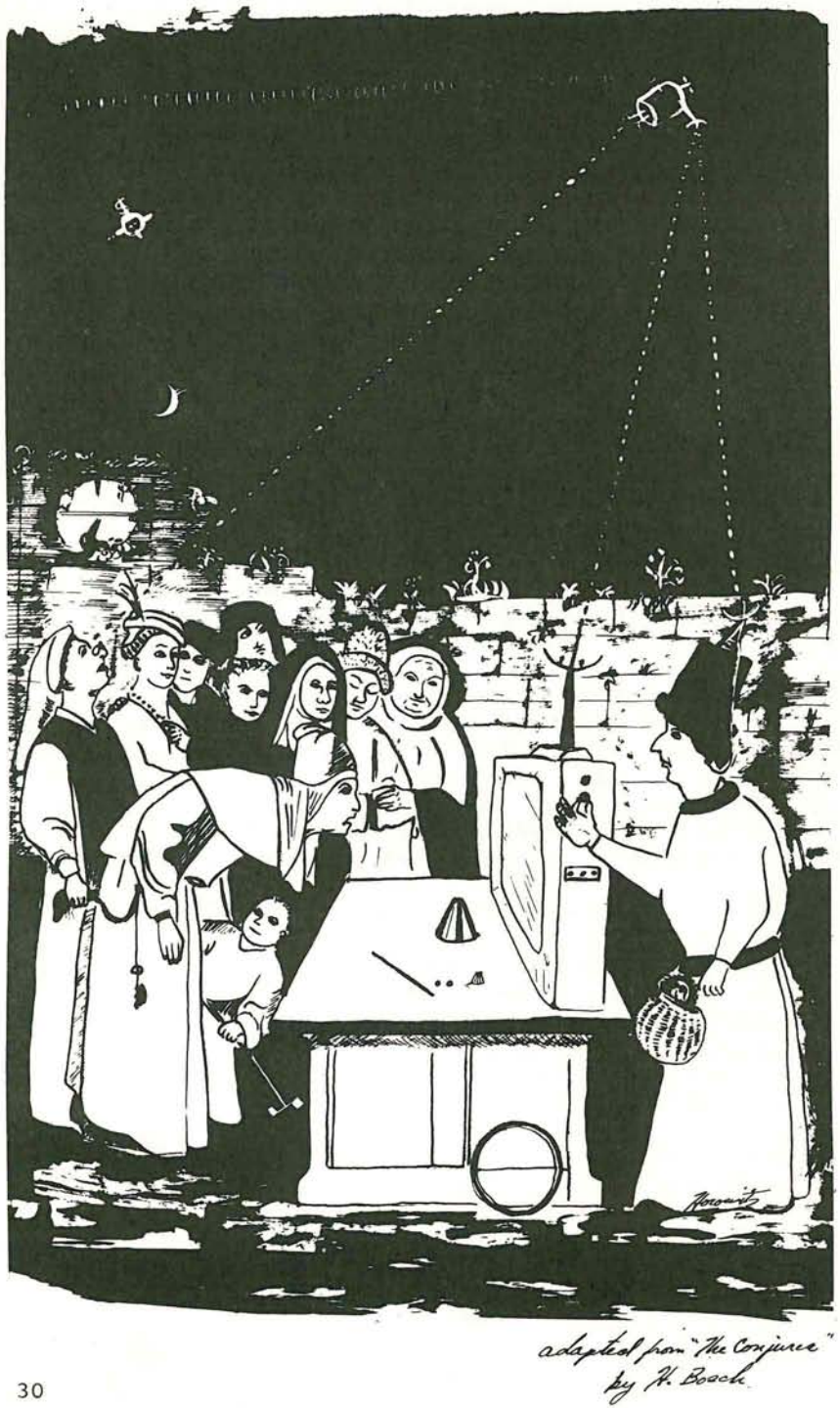
Attorneys for Appellant

Dated: New York, New York
January 18, 1974

FOOTNOTES TO BRIEF

1. The term "applicants" as used in this brief must, of course, technically refer only to those entities that filed applications against which Appellant filed Petitions to Deny. However, we believe that the court may take notice of the fact that all comments herein are generically applicable.
2. September 12, 1973, Memorandum Opinions, Orders and Authorizations, FCC 73-959, 73-960, 73-961.
3. 31 F.R. 3507.
4. The Supreme Court has also recognized that the Act authorizes the Commission to regulate cable television. United States v. Southwestern Cable Co., 392 U.S. 157 (1968). See also United States v. Storer Broadcasting Co., 351 U.S. 192, 203 (1956), where the Court indicated that the Commission's "authority covers new and rapidly developing fields." And see Connecticut Committee Against Pay TV v. FCC, 301 F. 2d 835 (D.C. Cir.) cert. denied, 371 U.S. 816 (1962).
5. National Broadcasting Co., Inc., et al. v. United States, et al., 319 U.S. 190 (1943).
6. 27 FCC 2d 650.
7. Pinellas Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 230 F.2d 204 (D.C. Cir., 1956).
8. Retail Store Employee's Union v. FCC, 436 F.2d 248, 254 (D.C. Cir. 1970).
9. The most immediate and pronounced example of this is the sorry state of cable television in the United States, and particularly in our largest cities. Had the Commission carefully examined the entire matter prior to In re Carter Mountain Transmission Corp., 32 FCC 459 (1962), aff'd 321 F.2d 359 (D.C. Circ, 1963), cert. den., 375 U.S. 951 (1963), many millions of dollars might have been saved, many of our municipalities might not be declining CATV franchising entirely (e.g. Boston, Mass.), and many more members of the public might gain access to media. Such access, unfortunately, does not now exist.
10. Friendly, The Federal Administrative Agencies, Harvard University Press, 1962, at p.53, quoting Landis, Report on Regulatory Agencies to the President-Elect (1960) at p.54.
11. Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ v. FCC, 359 F.2d 994 (D.C. Cir., 1966).

12. Red Lion Broadcasting Co., Inc. v. FCC et al., 395 U.S. 367 (1969).
13. CBS, Inc. v. Democratic National Committee, 412 U.S. 94 (1973).
14. 47 U.S.C. §202(a). See also Ambassador, Inc. v. United States, 325 U.S. 317 (1945).
15. Appellant also requested denial of the RCA Globcom/RCA Alascom application, indicating that in addition to being an equipment supplier, RCA has wide-spread communications interests already, including being a large international carrier, an intrastate carrier, and the owner of the National Broadcasting Company, which has nation-wide radio and television networks and owns and operates five VHF television stations and seven AM radio stations, all in major markets. The American Satellite Corporation was formerly owned jointly in equal amounts by Fairchild Industries, Inc., and Western Union International, Inc. It was pointed out by Appellant that both of these companies already have significant interests in the communications industry. In this regard, Appellant was addressing matters raised previously by Western Union and Comsat concerning Hughes Aircraft Company and RCA.
16. Appellant believes that the record will indicate that Hughes Aircraft Company is now the only supplier of satellite equipment in the field, a fact which, if true, would support the contention of vertical integration, at least as far as NSS is concerned.
17. Subsequent to submission of Appellant's brief, the indictment against Howard Hughes was dismissed.



adapted from "The Conjurer" by H. Bosch

Since organized in January 1971, The Network Project has worked to decentralize control of communication in the United States, and to inform people about the profound ways electronic media affect their lives and their communities. To do this, The Project has published studies on satellites and other communications technologies, produced a series of radio documentaries about television (broadcast on Pacifica stations and now distributed on tape by Radio Free People, 133 Mercer Street, New York, N.Y. 10012), and initiated litigation in areas of public broadcasting and domestic communications satellites. Members of The Project have also testified in Congress and before the FCC, and speak on campuses and with community groups.

This year's series of Notebooks (4) are available by subscription:

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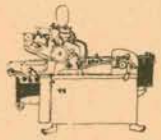

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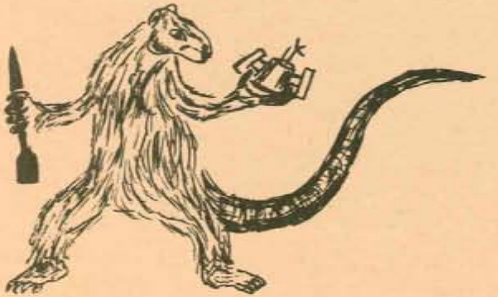

The Network Project

Global Salesman

Notebook Number Ten

Winter 1975

A society geared to technology is compelled, in order to remain viable, continually to lift the levels of human welfare. Greater purchasing power, more leisure, expanded relish for the end products of factories, communications, and entertainment -- these are the very conditions of its survival.[1]

David Sarnoff
Former President and Board
Chairman, RCA

By being alert advertisers, we can make the miracles of the 1970's our own. During the coming decade, too, these miracles will serve to strenghten commercial television in many nations, and to encourage the introduction of television into others.[2]

Donald W. Coyle
Former President, ABC
International

Notebook Number Three, Control Of Information, described the domestic development of U.S. commercial television. This Notebook explores the medium's global development. The first half is comprised of a transcript that examines the international activity of the three U.S. commercial networks, their strategies of foreign penetration, and the economic interests served by their expansion abroad. The second half provides additional documentation of the American broadcasting community's impact on television worldwide.

Research for this Notebook was contributed by K. Reed.

NOTEBOOK NUMBER TEN

GLOBAL SALESMAN

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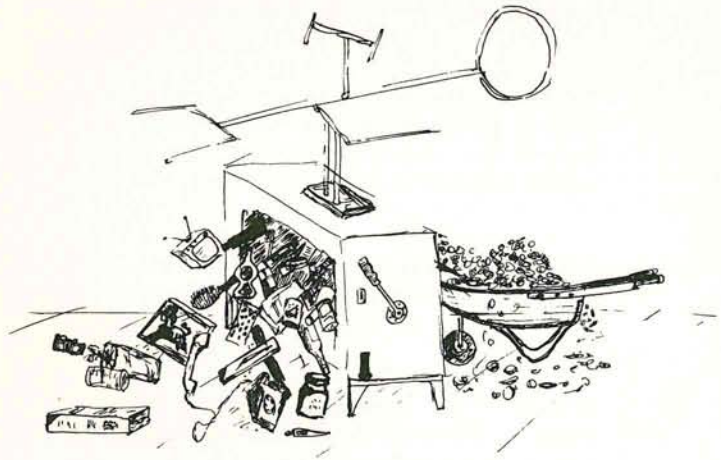
The Network Project
101 Earl Hall
Columbia University
New York City, New York

SELLING THE WORLD



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Australia and Latin America; as network organizations in Central America and the Middle East.

THE EARLIEST, AND MOST DIRECT, FORM OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE WAS INVESTING IN TELEVISION ABROAD.

O'SULLIVAN. The investment really had to be on the basis of the potential growth of the market. In order to make that decision you had to also analyze the kind of products that were going to be promoted in those countries, look into their GNP, into their consumerism level -- and ask where is the country going.

McMANUS. When we make an investment we make it for our capital, and we do obviously then -- by having people on the Board of Directors of a company of that kind -- bring what knowledge we have to bear.

O'SULLIVAN. ABC Inc., through its ABC International arm, owns forty-five percent of one of the three major networks in Venezuela. And we took a position in Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ecuador, Honduras, and Guatemala. In October, 1970, these countries achieved an interconnection ability. So now it is possible to network all the way from the U.S. through Mexico all the way down to Central America. And very shortly an interconnection will be achieved throughout the whole Western Hemisphere.

So, in fact, you could connect all the way from Anchorage, Alaska, to Tierra Del Fuego in Argentina. The advertiser, of course, can buy time from us just for any one of these stations individually, but we also market them as the Central American Network.

NARRATOR. Television was soon recognized abroad as an instrument of political and social control. Foreign entrepreneurs and political leaders moved as quickly to install television systems as their American counterparts did to export them.

THE NETWORKS' EAGERNESS TO EXPAND ABROAD WAS SHARED BY FOREIGN ENTREPRENEURS, WHO WERE JUST AS EAGER TO EXPLOIT TV'S ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POSSIBILITIES.

DIZARD. For all the talk about the educational function of tv, I think there's a great question in many of these countries whether the leadership ever wanted this or not. I think that they looked upon tv as something they wanted to control. They certainly didn't want to have probing investigations of corruption in high places. By and large, they wanted to keep it down to an entertainment level -- a keep the people happy kind of thing.

O'SULLIVAN. The countries we operate in, I think, have a great deal of respect for our position. We came in with capital. Some of these broadcasting facilities may never have gotten on the air if we weren't there to back them up. Tv is a great service area; it goes beyond making money.

DIZARD. Basically, tv started off as an elite function. The people who got it first were the upper classes because they had the money. The programming was aimed at them. But that set the pattern. When the sets started moving out into the middle classes and up into the villages around the big cities, that pattern held.

O'SULLIVAN. We've never had any trouble with any of the local political power structures.

(Reading) Press release of National Association of Broadcasters, February 26, 1962:

> A delegation of U.S. broadcasters on return from a 23-day, 20,000 mile flying tour of Latin America reported that broadcasters there join with those in the U.S. in the common cause of advancing freedom of communication in the Western Hemisphere. Described as 'most timely' by the U.S. State Department and arranged by the National Association of Broadcasters, the tour

visited Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico and Peru.

O'SULLIVAN. At the time of the formation of ABC International, Mr. Goldenson had many personal friendships with broadcasters from various parts of the world.

NARRATOR. Leonard Goldenson, current Chairman of the Board of ABC, was the executive quickest to grasp television's foreign potential. In 1964, he called for creation of a 'Broadcast Corps,' modeled after the Peace Corps, to extend the medium's impact into impoverished regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Mr. Goldensen commented:

> There is perhaps nothing so incongruous as a television set in a mud hut or slum shack. But this incongruity does exist in many countries around the world. It may do more to change the world more quickly than any development since the invention of the wheel.

DIZARD. It moves them a little closer to the middle class ideal of the way things should be. There's the tv set and it's showing the good life. It tends to calm things down.

THE NETWORKS HAVE ALSO BEEN ACTIVE EXPORTERS OF EQUIPMENT, TECHNICAL AID, AND MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES...

NARRATOR. Network ownership of foreign broadcast facilities represents the most observable form of American control. But in the mid-1960's, with many nations preferring less visible modes of American influence, U.S. broadcasters turned to exporting equipment, technical assistance, and management expertise.

McMANUS. When the developing countries were coming along, one of the first things everybody wanted was a tv set. They would come asking advice from RCA and NBC -- RCA being, as you know, our parent company.

COWLAN. You build a system, you present it to a developing nation. Now somebody has to program it, and the people who have to program it are going to have been trained somewhere.

...NBC HAS BEEN THE LEADER IN THIS AREA.

McMANUS. We found that there was, in fact, a business there, and we would hire people for them -- for their payrolls -- who were experts in the areas they were interested in.

COWLAN. I sat in a meeting with 26 department heads of the national radio and television station in Iran. Eighteen of them spoke fluent English and had their Masters Degrees from American colleges.

McMANUS. And that ranged from the technical side right through to the business, administration and sales side.

COWLAN. They had a management contract, and really existed to ride herd...

ONE OF NBC'S MORE IMPORTANT PROJECTS WAS BUILDING SOUTH VIETNAM'S TELEVISION SYSTEM.

McMANUS. We had a division of the operation here called NBC Management Services, which was very effective, very successful, and used by a lot of foreign broadcasters. It was a very good business.

It took us to some very interesting parts of the world. Our company got the tv operation going in South Vietnam. Now obviously the Americans were funding it, and there were American agencies -- I don't know which ones were involved.

In that instance, you'd establish a cadre of local people, and they in turn would be encouraged to train other local people to do the lesser jobs. If you were needed at all, it was only on a consulting basis.

NARRATOR. American programming abroad began in 1927, when NBC Radio first transmitted to

Latin America a regular series sponsored by the United Fruit Company. But it was not until television systems had been created in foreign countries that program syndication became a major broadcast activity. After systems had been built abroad, the problem of filling airtime remained. U.S. networks were quick to fill this vacuum, and by 1970 the foreign distribution of old tv serials mushroomed into a $100 million business.

WHILE SYSTEMS WERE BEING BUILT IN THE 1960'S, A THIRD MODE OF U.S. INFLUENCE EMERGED: PROGRAM SYNDICATION.

O'SULLIVAN. All we do is advise them. We do not ever tell them what they should or shouldn't do. We're more or less silent partners. We're interested to see that it's profitable. If it is not profit making, they're certainly going to hear from us. We're going to want to know why.

ZORTHIAN. We certainly, under no circumstances, make any attempt to control public affairs content, or even the make-up of programs.

McMANUS. We do that by distributing our own programs, and, in order to defray the costs of that activity, we sell them and hope that we make a profit.

GUBACK. Something which does not exist in the developing countries is production facilities. And this is going to make it much easier for exports to these countries.

O'SULLIVAN. ABC International, through its New York office, buys a great deal of programming for these stations. They set up seminars and screenings in California for broadcasters from Australia, Latin America, Canada, and the Far East, so they have an opportunity to see the new product for the new season.

McMANUS. American programming is really used for economic purposes.

BY 1970, THE FOREIGN SALE OF OLD U.S. TELEFILMS HAD BECOME A $100 MILLION BUSINESS...

GUBACK. In the early 1960's, American tv companies were exporting half-hour programs for $35. It would hardly pay the transportation expenses from the U.S. to, say, Ireland or to another country. Now that they have already become accustomed to this supply of cheap programming, it becomes very possible to start jacking the prices up. You've created a market, and now you can set your price for that market.

McMANUS. It enables the man, then, to sell some of this programming time well -- he's satisfying the audience -- and to use the money (that it would cost him to do it live locally) to develop better programming.

CONANT. The CBS television salesmen are the people who sell syndicated shows. They've been extraordinarily successful because they can dump their product for a song overseas. It's almost wiped out local programming.

...TODAY, TELEVISION SCREENS ALL AROUND THE WORLD ARE FILLED WITH SUCH PROGRAMS AS <u>BONANZA</u>, <u>I LOVE LUCY</u>, AND <u>MOD SQUAD</u>.

NARRATOR. In addition to its impact on local program production, American television programs have given the world's citizens new common bonds. Last week, for example, the single cultural experience shared by most of the world's population was <u>Bonanza</u>, viewed by 400 million people in 82 countries. This experience is the vehicle for a constant flow of exclusively American symbols, brand loyalties, and patterns of behavior.

O'SULLIVAN. The most successful show we have right now is <u>Mod Squad</u> -- that's in 86 countries. And, of course, everybody understands police action.

CONANT. Shootemups...and gangster pictures and horror pictures and sex pictures are the categories that go. I think the view of America held by many people in the third world countries -- and in European countries -- is conditioned by these films.

Of course, there's also a lot of conditioning that comes in subtitling and dubbing and so on. I'll give you an example. Years ago in Paris, I was at a Western, when the sheriff went to the bar and ordered a drink -- or the cowboy -- he said 'Une dubonnet s'il vous plait.'

DIZARD. It's amazing how people will lay out money in ghetto areas where the people don't have adequate sewers, don't have adequate sanitation facilities, will put out for a color television set. There are a lot of psychological reasons for that -- the tv set bringing in this beautiful world of outside reality -- of travelogues, I Love Lucy, cowboys all clean and pretty. It's a great opiate.

THIS CONSTANT BARRAGE OF U.S. CULTURAL MATERIAL HAS GIVEN THE WORLD NEW COMMON GOALS.

McMANUS. It's affected consumerism. It really has. This is another reason why I think that quotas are placed on our shows, to keep our shows out. We've seen in certain countries, for example, that they don't want a lot of our shows shown because their standard of living is not quite up to ours.

The politicos in those countries think, 'well, gosh, if we let too many of these American shows on the air, with all these people driving sleek cars and dressed nicely and the ladies beautifully coiffed and cosmetized, the people here are going to start wanting to know how come they're not having that kind of good life that we see in there.'

The promotion of products and advertising develops a taste on the part of the viewer for more of those "Goodies" of the so-called capitalist society.

DAVISON. The fact that the U.S. is such a large exporter of entertainment has frequently

aroused expressions of unhappiness abroad, where smaller countries say 'We're being submerged, overcome.'

SMYTHE. So, there is a constant state of frustration created in the government of a developing country, which is trying to implement any kind of autonomous development program, when it has to contend with the flood of imported cultural materials, including tv and radio programs, from the United States.

IT'S EFFECT: TO STIFLE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT...

DAVISON. Significant political impacts arise unintentionally from lack of understanding of how other people will interpret entertainment programs. There are unintentional inputs that give people political ideas about the United States. For instance, many Eastern societies think that Americans are extremely immoral. Americans don't support their extended families. If you have adequate income yourself and your cousin is hungry, then clearly you are a very immoral person if you don't share your income with your cousin.

ZORTHIAN. It's simply a vision of what can be achieved through modern technology, modern knowledge, and improvement in life.

...AND TO SPREAD THE VALUES OF A CONSUMER-BASED SOCIETY.

DAVISON. Even if you feel that the cultural level of Peyton Place is not too high, it does tend to make national borders wither away. You can go to almost any country and discuss this program with them there, and they'll know something about it.

O'SULLIVAN. It must have some effect on the average Russian, who has to wonder why he isn't able to get these things. Russia, today, is one of the most literate countries in the world, and it is stabilizing its economy. There's got to be a tremendous push for goods and some of the creature comforts of the twentieth century.

NARRATOR. Selling the creature comforts of the twentieth century ignited the spread of television beyond U.S. Borders. The exportation, first, of U.S. designed television systems, and, later, American produced programs, went hand-in-hand with the worldwide expansion of American industry. What television provided was the means to reach and persuade a global audience, whether to buy a product or an ideology.

IT'S PURPOSE: TO SERVE THE NARROW ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF ITS CORPORATE CLIENTELE.

SMYTHE. The commercial system of broadcasting embodies a social decision. What should be taught to the public at large is the values of consuming goods and services.

GUBACK. Perhaps the major impact of consumerism has come really through certain kinds of advertising techniques, certain kinds of marketing techniques.

O'SULLIVAN. The J. Walter Thompsons and the Young Rubicams, and all of the major U.S. agencies today have involvement abroad, either through their own offices or through very close affiliations. And they share knowledge, so there is that kind of cross-fertilization of creative thinking.

GUBACK. The American managers are likely to be thinking in terms of a world market.

O'SULLIVAN. But they're not interested in promoting Americanism through their commercials, or any sort of a chauvinist approach. They are selling product, or they're selling services. And they're selling them on the basis of quality and best and whatever.

GUBACK. These large international conglomerates have the power to move men, material and capital wherever the international marketing strategy thinks these materials are needed.

O'SULLIVAN. IBM has done a phenomenal job. National Cash Register is another one that comes to mind. The food areas and the soft drink areas come to mind as well. The soap companies -- the Colgates and the Proctor & Gambles -- are very, very important abroad.

THE EXPANSION OF U.S. COMMERCIAL TELEVISION HAS PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE IMPERIAL DESIGN OF THE U.S. MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION.

GUBACK. And this might have nothing to do with the priorities in an individual country.

O'SULLIVAN. Most American companies now are incorporated in these countries. They're really not American companies anymore, although overall profits do have to go somewhere.

GUBACK. This is another aspect of economic control which is perhaps overlooked, the more subtle kinds of economic control which guide the industry over a period of decades, which are responsible for broad trends.

SMYTHE. The distribution of television programs around the world, from the United States, is one which has the double purpose of making money for itself and serving as the frontrunner for the industry of the country which produced it. It is a form of advertisement; it is like the battleships, gunboats which used to show the flag...

McMANUS. We're first. And as such we think we have an important place in the international -- the world -- broadcasting community...And we think it's important that we show the flag of NBC and of the United States.

SMYTHE. ...which used to show the flag off the shores of the underdeveloped countries in the heydey of Victorian imperialism. And this is the way it works with contemporary U.S. imperialism.

THE WIDE WORLD OF AMERICAN TELEVISION

> Our influence upon television is primal; more than any other nation we have set its standards and its pace. Television abroad is often a reflection, or at least a caricature, of our own.[3]
>
> Wilson Dizard, USIA

Since first introduced in the United States in 1941, television has been established in more than 130 countries. The preceding transcript has described the American broadcasting community's decisive impact upon the character of the medium's international development. That community includes not only the three U.S. commercial networks, which, since 1953, have pioneered the construction and expansion of foreign television systems. It also comprises American television production companies that annually export almost a thousand telefilms abroad, and U.S. advertising agencies that have found foreign broadcasters willing allies in spreading commercialism worldwide. The remainder of this Notebook, which is divided into three parts, supplies additional evidence of this American influence.

PART I provides a chronology documenting the international activity of each U.S. television network. While the networks explain television's global expansion in terms of international service, of rising living standards, and of world enlightenment, the chronology shows how the medium's impact abroad can be understood more accurately in terms of the economic reward it offered its promoters. It also depicts how each network's strategy of penetration conformed to its peculiar corporate setting and need.

The networks did not begin their move abroad until the 1950's -- almost fifteen years after the medium was born in the United States -- when signs of a saturated domestic television market began to appear. This saturation, combined with a growing interest among other nations to develop their own tv systems, led to the surge of foreign activity. NBC, the broadcasting arm of the powerful Radio Corporation of America (RCA), emerged as an early supplier of management and technical advice to foreign

entrepreneurs whose broadcast systems were being built with equipment purchased from its parent company. ABC, on the other hand, found its success abroad by integrating television stations located in Central and South America, the Middle East, and parts of Asia into a single, worldwide television network, called Worldvision. Although the least active network domestically, ABC, by the end of the 1960's, had become the most active abroad. The third U.S. network, CBS, like its sibling networks, played an active role abroad in such areas as station financing, establishment of television production centers, and program syndication.

The networks' success in fostering the development of television systems, in Japan, Australia and the industrialized nations of Europe, and later in Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, had created a need for programming by the early 1960's. Although much of it was met by the networks, the predominant share of this worldwide market for U.S. telefilms became the near-exclusive province of ten California-based multinational entertainment conglomerates: Allied Artists, Avco-Embassy, Four Star Entertainment, MCA, MGM, Paramount, Screen Gems, Twentieth-Century Fox, United Artists, and Warner Brothers. By 1970, this Hollywood 10 had turned the foreign sale of old telefilms into a $100 million-a-year business.

PART II presents a compilation of data reflecting both the magnitude and scope of this program syndication activity. While a table on page 24 shows the business' growth in revenues from 1958 to 1970, a chart on page 26 indicates the countries which receive U.S. telefilms, and notes the prices each is charged on the world market. Finally, on page 25 is listed the principal foreign suppliers of American programming (ten Hollywood companies named above), their number of foreign subsidiaries, the number of countries to which they export, and a partial listing of their exports.

PART III examines another important member in America's global television design: the U.S. advertising industry. As the transcript pointed out, television abroad merely rests atop a vast pyramid of econmioc exploitation. Its base comprises more than 200 U.S. multinational corporations which, through their exports and the sales of their foreign subsidiaries and affiliates, are engaged in a $200 billion-a-year business.[5] Embedded in this formidable economic structure are a flock of U.S. advertising agencies, which, since 1953, have followed their clients around the world.

By 1972, more than 40 agencies were operating in more than 50 countries, generating television billings of more than $5 billion.[6] Tables on pages 27 and 28 list the ten largest U.S. agencies abroad and the number of their foreign subsidiaries and affiliates, and indicate the magnitude of their foreign business.

A. CHRONOLOGIES OF NETWORK EXPANSION

NBC/RCA

1950 Although its parent corporation, RCA, had been selling broadcast equipment abroad for decades (including a television transmitter to the Soviet Union in 1939), it was not until 1953 that NBC made its first foreign investment -- in UTL-TV, Sydney, Australia. Four years later, NBC formed its international division, which immediately provided the technical assistance for the first television station built in Saudi Arabia. In 1958, such assistance was broadened to include managerial and administrative service to television station systems inaugurating some form of commercial operation in Portugal, Peru, Germany, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

In 1959, NBC returned to Australia to purchase stock in QCQ-TV (Brisbane), and extended its investment to Mexico's XET-TV (Monterey). That year, NBC also received assistance from two government agencies, the Agency for International Development and the United States Information Agency, which arranged a color tv exhibition in Moscow. In addition, AID made a $12-million loan to Egypt to hire RCA to construct a television station.

1960 The same year RCA built Egypt's first station, it completed construction of its own television set manufacturing plant in Egypt. NBC pursued its investments to the south, acquiring stock in Buenos Aires' Channel 2 -- which station NBC then provided with both technical and managerial aid. When the company found it could attract major advertisers (including Coca-Cola, Philco, General Electric and Alka Seltzer) for these new markets, it signed stations in France, Japan, Argentina and Mexico as program affiliates.

By the end of 1960, NBC had extended its program distribution to 51 foreign markets. A year later, it formed its film division to syndicate abroad all programs to which it held rights, including those produced by the NBC Television Network. NBC International provided technical and managerial assistance in the formation of Italy's second television network in 1961, the same year it began to expand into Africa. The Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation was created, with help of 20th-Century Fox, and the broadcast system of Nigeria was established with NBC programming, technical aid, and sales assistance. In 1962, the Nigerian system began full scale commercial operation, with J. Robert Myers, Co-ordinator of NBC International's Management Services, as the system's Managing Director.

In 1963, NBC continued to expand in Africa by designing broadcast systems for Sierra Leone and the Sudan, and supervising construction of television stations in Uganda. To the north, an enterprising RCA salesman, seeking a new market for the company's hardware in Kuwait, began broadcasting imported programs into that country from an unauthorized transmitter.

RCA's other efforts in the Middle East paid high returns in 1965, when the company received a $1.5-million contract for transmitters and microwave links from three stations in Iran. The company also sold $3.5 million worth of television equipment to Egypt, whose first station it had built five years earlier. NBC's first move abroad in 1953, when it had built a tv station in Saudi Arabia, flowered in 1964, when the company began construction of a 13-station television network in that country -- the largest single broadcast project ever undertaken by an American firm. NBC completed the work under contract to the U.S. State Department and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. This contract signified the increasing collaboration between RCA and the United States Government. Such cooperation was further evidenced when RCA President and Chairman of the Board David Sarnoff reported in 1965 that "hundreds of millions of people still go to sleep hungry" and recommended that private industry and government increase their efforts to solve this problem via satellite broadcasting. That year John Chancellor temporarily left NBC to direct the USIA's Voice of America. A year later, NBC distributed the USIA film "Lyndon Johnson's Texas" to the Philippines for a Presidential visit to Manila, and received a contract from the USIA to construct a national television system in South Vietnam. Further Asian expansion in 1966 entailed a cooperative investment (with Time Inc.) in tv station HKB-TV, Hong Kong.

In 1967, RCA supplied transmitters to the pirate broadcasters operating in Holland. NBC announced that Bonanza, which three years earlier reached 350 million people in 49 countries, was still the world's most popular program, now in 78 countries. The following year NBC contracted to build the first color television production center in Austria. It closed the decade with its first sale of programs to Indonesia and Abu Dhabi, just as RCA announced a new program of global expansion.

1970 The new decade began with Robert Sarnoff becoming Chairman of the RCA Board of Directors, and calling for the creation of a "World Broadcasting Union." NBC followed by acquiring international disbribution rights to telefilms produced in Germany, Australia, Mexico, Poland, Japan and Canada, and by signing a contract to advise Ireland on cable television development, corporate planning and color television production.

In 1971, RCA contracted with China to construct a satellite earth station in Shanghai for $2.9 million; a year later it entered into another contract for $5.7 million to build a second satellite facility in Peking. It also leased space on Canada's domestic domestic system. In 1973, NBC signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for the exchange of both radio and television programming.

ABC

1960 A year after forming its international division following the purchase of stock in News Ltd., an Australian broadcast owner, ABC concentrated much of its effort in Latin America. The company constructed Ecuador's first television station, and provided it with programming, sales, and financial assistance. It also invested in Buenos Aires' Channel 11, and, after a $250,000 investment in stations in Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua, formed the Central American Television Network (CATVN). ABC also invested in the Lebanese television network, and began supplying it with management and sales advice. The following year, it organized stations in Lebanon, Argentina, Ecuador, and Australia into the ABC Worldvision Network. ABC extended investments to three Japanese stations and the Philippines' Republic Broadcasting System in 1961, and completed its agreement to syndicate a full programming schedule to CTF-TV, Toronto.

In 1962, it incorporated additional stations in Canada, Japan, Iran, Nigeria, Brazil and Mexico to its list of foreign affiliates.

In 1963, ABC sponsored a conference in Beirut on the formation of an Arab Middle East Television Network; it then provided programming and sales assistance to the new network, comprised of stations in Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait, Iraq, and Jordan. In the same year, ABC announced its Worldvision network reached an audience "with upwards of $136 billion in disposable income," and listed 31 multinational corporations which the network had signed as advertisers.

By 1965, the company had financial interests in 54 stations in 24 countries, as well as in television production centers in Mexico. In 1966, ABC spent $5 million to improve its Mexico City production facilities and expand its distribution service throughout Latin America. That same year, it became the sales representative for South Korea's Joong Ang Broadcasting System. ABC organized Venezuela, Argentina, Ecuador, Uruguay, Chile and Mexico into the Latin American Television International Network (LATINO) in 1968, the year it broadcast the Summer Olympics from Mexico to a world audience of 800 million people.

1970 ABC announced the sale of 900 television programs in 90 countries, and established production subsidiaries in Venezuela and Brazil. It broadcast the 1972 Summer Olympics from Munich, via satellite, to an audience of one billion people in 100 countries. Also in 1972, ABC News correspondent John Scali became U.S. Delegate to the United Nations. The following year, ABC Board Chairman Leonard Goldenson visited China to discuss the creation of an ABC News Bureau in Peking.

CBS

1960 CBS laid the foundation for its decade of global expansion in 1959, when it formed its international division after signing agreements for syndicating programs to stations in Bermuda, Guam, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Uruguay and Peru. CBS had also assisted in the creation of a second German network, which was then declared unconstitutional and dismantled. The company's expansion policy was clarified in 1960, when it initiated investments throughout

the world. It acquired 10% of Venevision -- Channel 4, Caracas, and 20% of Proartel -- Channel 13, Buenos Aires, where it assisted the creation of a production company. CBS also exported 550 hours of programming in 12 languages to 40 countries. In 1961, the company signed a "mutual assistance agreement" with the Italian Broadcasting Corporation in the areas of program production, news and public affairs, promotion, and technology. In the same year, CBS News Executive Producer Edward R. Murrow became the Director of the U.S. Information Agency.

In 1962, CBS invested in a production company in Lima, Peru, as well as in stations in Tobago and Trinidad. The latter then received monthly shipments of television sets from CBS. In 1963, the company extended its Peruvian investment to include a company manufacturing television picture tubes, sets, and radio equipment.

By 1964, CBS was syndicating programs to 107 countries. It then established a wholly-owned subsidiary in Japan to produce Japanese television programs, and, with Time Inc., a production company (Proventel) in Venezuela to provide programming for Channel 8, Caracas. The following year, it invested in Leeward Islands Television Services, Ltd., Antigua.

In 1966, CBS established program production and distribution subsidiaries in Brazil and Canada, and supervised construction of a nationwide television system in Israel. That year it also added six African nations to its international distribution network: Ghana, Liberia, Gabon, Aden, the Ivory Coast and the Congo.

In 1967, CBS moderator Charles Daly replaced NBC's John Chancellor as Director of the USIA's Voice of America. A year later, the company began broadcasting its newsfilms via satellite, reaching "95% of all free world homes." CBS ended the decade with investments in a television set manufacturing plant in Japan (the following year it built such plants in Denmark and Sweden), the creation of a program production subsidiary in Sweden, and with the departure or Vice-President Frank Shakespeare, who left to become Director of USIA.

GROWTH OF TELEVISION WORLDWIDE

With worldwide television, which I regard as a certainty before 1980, the sense of our common humanity will deepen.[7]

David Sarnoff

Television is wedded to the new economy of the United States. It is a willing ally of commerce. And it is proving a willing ally in every part of the world.[8]

Donald Coyle

NUMBER OF TELEVISION SETS, BY REGION
(In Thousands)

	1961	1965	1972
EUROPE	29,350	49,400	88,500
Western Europe	29,350	49,400	88,500
USSR & Satellites	9,600	24,000	63,500
MIDDLE EAST (inc. North Africa)	275	1,250	3,500
AFRICA			
South Africa	--	--	--
Other African Countries	45	98	410
ASIA			
Japan	9,000	18,000	25,000
Communist China	30	70	650
India	.5	2	35
Other Countries	145	700	4,615
AUSTRALIA, PACIFIC & OCEANIA	1,425	3,200	4,200
WESTERN HEMISPHERE			
United States	54,000	68,000	98,000
Canada	3,950	5,000	8,300
Latin America	3,900	7,400	18,200
West Indies	15	101	910
World Figures	112,000	177,000	316,000

SOURCE: BBC Handbook, 1962, 1966, 1973.

World Television Stations and Sets

Stations and Sets as of March 1973

(Low-power satellites & repeaters in parentheses)

Country	Stations	Sets: Black & White	Sets: Color
Afars & Issas	1	2,000	
Albania	1	2,500	
Algeria	6	260,000	
Antigua (Low-power: 2)	1	8,500	
Arab Republic of Egypt (Low-power: 10)	23	550,000	
Argentina (Low-power: 42)	33	3,800,000	
Australia (Low-power: 42)	131	2,950,000	
Austria (Low-power: 123)	170	1,681,000	
Bangladesh	1		
Barbados	1	25,000	
Belgium (Low-power: 10)	15	2,203,000	180,000
Bermuda	2	18,000	2,000
Bolivia	1	12,000	
Brazil (Low-power: 54)	53	7,500,000	100,000
Bulgaria (Low-power: 111)	8	1,286,000	1,250
Cambodia	2	30,000	
Canada	450	6,380,000	2,680,000
Chile (Low-power: 10)	31	1,000,000	
China (Mainland)	30	300,000	
Colombia (Low-power: 36)	18	1,200,000	
Congo	1	1,900	
Costa Rica	4	150,000	400
Cuba	25	555,000	
Cypress (Low-power: 3)	2	64,000	
Czechoslovakia (Low-power: 300)	28	3,250,000	
Denmark (Low-power: 22)	30	1,475,000	60,000
Dominican Republic (Low-power: 1)	6	150,000	
Ecuador	12	250,000	
El Salvador (Low-power: 4)	4	108,000	1,300
Equatorial Guinea	1	500	
Ethiopia	1	7,000	
Finland	67	1,177,000	32,300
France (Low-power: 1,097)	173	12,326,000	1,200,000
French Guiana (Low-power: 1)	1	2,500	
French Polynesia (Low-power: 3)	1	4,000	
Gabon	2	2,400	
Germany (East)	28	4,800,000	10,000
Germany (West) (Low-power: 1,306)	176	17,000,000	4,300,000
Ghana (Low-power: 7)	4	25,000	
Gibraltar (Low-power: 1)	1	6,700	
Greece	19	450,000	
Guadeloupe (Low-power: 1)	2	7,200	
Guam	1	35,000	
Guatemala (Low-power: 4)	3	105,000	4,500
Haiti	3	10,500	
Honduras	5	45,000	
Hong Kong (Low-power: 20)	4*	679,000	
Hungary	11	2,000,000	
Iceland (Low-power: 25)	7	43,000	
India	1	21,000	
Indonesia	11	150,000	
Iran (Low-power: 31)	12	250,000	
Iraq	5	500,000	
Ireland	23	539,000	21,000
Israel (Low-power: 14)	12	430,000	
Italy (Low-power: 1,105)	88	11,800,000	
Ivory Coast (Low-power: 3)	6	70,000	
Jamaica	9	100,000	
Japan (Low-power: 4,380)	204	14,000,000	13,327,200
Jordan	1	85,000	
Kenya	3	35,000	
Korea (Low-power: 20)	11	910,000	
Kuwait	3	130,000	
Lebanon	9	320,000	
Liberia (Low-power: 3)	1	8,000	
Libya	2	1,500	
Luxembourg (Low-power: 2)	2	77,500	6,000
Malagasy Republic	1	1,000	
Malaysia (Low-power: 3)	21	296,000	
Malta	1	65,000	
Martinique (Low-power: 3)	1	9,500	
Mauritius (Low-power: 3)	1	25,000	
Mexico	80	3,700,000	300,000
Monaco	1	16,000	
Mongolia	1	2,000	
Morocco (Low-power: 5)	9	300,000	
Netherlands	18	3,320,000	550,000
Netherlands Antilles (Low-power: 2)	2	32,000	
New Caledonia (Low-power: 3)	1	6,000	
New Zealand (Low-power: 280)	24	717,200	
Nicaragua (Low-power: 1)	2	60,000	
Niger	1	100	
Nigeria (Low-power: 2)	8	75,000	
Norway (Low-power: 331)	69	880,000	20,000
Okinawa (Low-power: 1)	2	230,000	
Pakistan	4	150,000	
Panama	11	183,000	5,000
Paraguay	1	45,000	
Peru	18	450,000	
Philippines	17	420,000	30,000
Poland (Low-power: 80)	30	5,000,000	
Portugal (Low-power: 26)	12	540,000	
Puerto Rico	1	625,000	20,000
Qatar	1	25,000	
Reunion (Low-power: 13)	1	21,000	
Rhodesia	2	58,000	
Rumania (Low-power: 65)	17	1,485,000	
St. Pierre & Miquelon (Low-power: 2)	1	1,500	
Samoa (American)	6	4,750	250
Saudi Arabia	8	300,000	
Senegal	1	1,500	
Sierra Leone	1	3,500	
Singapore	2	169,000	
Spain (Low-power: 632)	32	5,200,000	
Sudan	2	65,000	
Surinam (Low-power: 2)	1	27,000	
Sweden (Low-power: 80)	212	3,000,000	700,000
Switzerland (Low-power: 255)	151	1,521,000	208,000
Syria	5	160,000	
Taiwan (Low-power: 4)	5	2,000,000	100,000
Thailand (Low-power: 4)	5	225,000	
Trinidad & Tobago	3	70,000	
Trust Territory of the Pacific (Low-power: 1)	1	3,000	
Tunisia	9	92,500	
Turkey	9	150,000	
Uganda	6	15,000	
United Arab Emirates	2	7,500	
United Kingdom (Low-power: 185)	212	14,461,000	2,470,000
Upper Volta	1	4,000	
Uruguay	13	350,000	
USSR (Low-power: 698)	167	40,000,000	
Venezuela	31	700,000	10,000
Viet Nam (South)	1	500,000	
Virgin Islands	1	18,000	5,000
Yemen (Low-power: 2)	4	30,000	
Yugoslavia (Low-power: 182)	35	2,315,200	5,000
Zaire	2	100,000	
Zambia	3	18,500	
TOTAL	3,290	193,614,450	26,349,200
Satellites & repeaters	11,656		
U.S.	927	*64,700,000	*46,600,000
U.S. Military	32		
GRAND TOTAL	15,907	258,314,450	72,949,200

[1] Stations included in U.S. count. * One closed-circuit system.
* Preliminary estimate.

1973-74 Edition Television Factbook

B. FOREIGN PROGRAM SYNDICATION: THE WORLD OF HOLLYWOOD

> Speaking to all of you, and to everybody in this whole community we call Hollywood, I would like to express appreciation as an individual, and also speaking as President of the United States, for what you, the people of Hollywood, have done for America and have done for the world.[9]
>
> Richard M. Nixon

U.S. TELEFILM FOREIGN SALES, 1958-1970
(In millions)

1958 - $15
1961 - 45
1964 - 70
1967 - 78
1970 - 100

Source: Barnouw, The Image Empire

THE NUMBER OF EPISODES AND THE TOTAL DURATION OF SOME OF THE INTERNATIONALLY WELL KNOWN AMERICAN SERIES

Title	Distributor	No. of episodes	Episode duration	Total duration
Virginian/ Men from Shiloh	MCA	249	90'	373 hrs 30'
Bonanza	NBC	359	60'	359 hrs
Peyton Place	20th Cent. Fox	514	30'	257 hrs
Wagon Train	MCA	252	60'	252 hrs
Alfred Hitchcock	MCA	268	30'	
Presents		+93	60'	227 hrs
Daniel Boone	20th Cent. Fox	165	60'	165 hrs
Dr. Kildare	NBC	132	60'	
		+58	30'	161 hrs
Famous Playhouse	MCA	314	30'	157 hrs
Ben Casey	ABC	153	60'	153 hrs
Combat	ABC	152	60'	152 hrs
Hollywood Star Playhouse	MCA	292	30'	146 hrs
Andy Williams Show	MCA	144	60'	144 hrs
Badge 714	MCA	276	30'	138 hrs
The Donna Reed Show	Screen Gems	275	30'	137 hrs 30'
Ironside	MCA	130	60'	130 hrs
The Soupy Sales Show	Screen Gems	260	30'	130 hrs
International Showtime	MCA	129	60'	129 hrs
Laramie	NBC	124	60'	124 hrs
The Fugitive	ABC	120	60'	120 hrs
Leave it to Beaver	MCA	234	30'	117 hrs
Route 66	Screen Gems	116	60'	116 hrs
Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea	20th Cent. Fox	110	60'	110 hrs
The People's Choice	ABC	104	60'	104 hrs
Father knows Best	Screen Gems	203	30'	101 hrs 30'
I Spy	NBC	86	60'	86 hrs

Source: Varis, Inventory of Television Programme Structure

TELEFILM DISTRIBUTORS*

FIRM	NO. FOREIGN SUBSIDIARIES	NO. FOREIGN MARKETS	TYPICAL SYNDICATED FARE
Allied Artists @	9	N.A.	The Evil Touch; Cabaret
Avco-Embassy@	13	N.A.	The Graduate; Lion In Winter; Soldier Blue; Nevada Smith
Four Star Entertainment	N.A.	91	Police Surgeon; Smothers Brothers
MCA	24	115	Marcus Welby M.D.; Ironside; Adam-12; Owen Marshall; Leave It To Beaver; Wagon Train
MGM	40	109	Medical Center; Then Came Bronson; Man From U.N.C.L.E.
Paramount (subs. of Gulf & Western)	38	80	Star Trek; Mannix; Mission Impossible; The Odd Couple
Screen Gems (subs. of Columbia Pictures)	45[b]	80	Bewitched; The Flintstones; Father Knows Best; Rin Tin Tin
Twentieth-Century Fox	33	N.A.	Daniel Boone; Land Of The Giants; Room 222; Dobie Gillis; Peyton Place; Beat The Clock
Warner Brothers	52	117	FBI; The Little People; Search; Kung Fu; Superman
United Artists	31	100	Gilligan's Island; Sea Hawk; Highway Patrol; Rat Patrol

* These 10 Hollywood companies distribute 70% of all U.S. telefilms syndicated abroad.
@ Syndicates feature films only.
b Includes foreign subsidiares of Columbia Pictures.

Source: Disclosure Journal, Vol. 1, Jan. - Apr., 1973; and personal interviews.
Note: None of the information in this table was supplied by the individual companies; they do not make this information available to the public.

Global Prices For Films On TV

U.S. television exporters anticipate a total foreign gross of between $85,000,000 to $90,000,000 for 1973, reflecting a market characterized by relative stability. The total estimate includes sales of public affairs shows, cartoons, etc., as well as series and feature film product, but the major part of the total is for vidfilm product. One-hour series generally bring twice the half-hour price.

	Price Range Half Hour Episode	Price Range Feature Film
CANADA		
CBC	$2,500-$4,000	$8,500-$12,000
CBC (French Net)	2,000- 3,500	4,500- 5,500
CTV Network	1,500- 2,000	5,000- 10,000
LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN		
Argentina	500- 800	1,600- 3,500
Bermuda	25- 40	90- 150
Brazil	1,400- 2,000	4,500- 7,500
Chile	65- 70	350- 400
Colombia	190- 200	700- 1,000
Costa Rica	35- 45	170- 180
Dominican Republic	50- 60	225- 250
Ecuador	40- 70	150- 200
El Salvador	35- 40	150- 175
Guatemala	50- 55	175- 200
Haiti	20- 25	75- 100
Honduras	25- 30	75- 125
Jamaica	30- 35	90- 100
Mexico	700- 850	800- 1,400
Netherlands Antilles	25- 30	90- 100
Nicaragua	25- 35	150- 200
Panama	45- 55	150- 175
Peru	115- 130	700- 800
Puerto Rico	500- 600	3,000- 3,750
Trinidad & Tobago	30- 35	60- 100
Uruguay	75- 85	350- 550
Venezuela	500- 600	2,000- 3,500
WESTERN EUROPE		
Austria	375- 400	1,400- 1,800
Belgium	400- 600	1,200- 2,000
Denmark	200- 250	1,000- 1,200
Finland	250- 350	1,000- 1,200
France	2,700- 3,000	7,000- 8,000
West Germany	3,000- 3,500 (unbubbed)	11,000- 16,000 (dubbed)
Gibraltar	26- 35	75- 125
Greece	110- 140	400- 600
Ireland	70- 75	275- 300
Italy	600- 900	5,000- 6,000
Luxembourg	160- 200	175- 225
Malta	28	no sales
Monaco	130	175
Netherlands	550- 575	1,850- 1,950
Norway	150- 175	300- 450
Portugal	150- 200	500
Spain	330	2,000- 2,200
Sweden	400- 500	1,400- 1,600
Switzerland	150- 210	900- 1,500
United Kingdom	3,500- 4,200	18,000- 30,000
EASTERN EUROPE		
Bulgaria	45- 100	no sales
Czechoslovakia	150- 250	1,000- 1,500
East Germany	350- 400	1,500- 1,800
Hungary	100- 160	400- 600
Poland	150- 200	400- 600
Rumania	150- 200	200- 300
USSR	*120- 300	*6,000- 8,000
Yugoslavia	75- 90	200- 450
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA		
Cyprus	30- 35	100- 150
India	no sales	no sales
Iran	100- 110	350- 500
Iraq	100- 125	200- 250
Israel	75- 200	***500
Kuwait	60- 90	250- 350
Lebanon	50- 60	200- 250
Saudi Arabia	60- 70	250- 350
Syria	50- 70	90- 120
UAR-Egypt	150- 170	400- 800
AFRICA		
Algeria	90- 100	no sales
Kenya	25- 30	no sales
Nigeria	35- 40	80- 110
Rhodesia	no sales	no sales
Zambia	25- 30	no sales
	50	100
FAR EAST		
Australia	**	12,000- 30,000
Hong Kong	60- 75	200- 400
Japan	3,000- 3,500	16,000- 40,000
South Korea	50- 80	250- 350
Singapore	50- 60	175- 200
Malaysia	50- 60	175- 200
New Zealand	287	700- 900
Philippines	150- 250	500- 900
Ryukyu Islands (Okinawa)	50- 60	100- 125
Taiwan (Formosa)	50- 60	100- 125
Thailand	100- 175	150- 250
		500- 800

*USSR: Dollar sales very rare and prices unsettled; still seeking barter deals.

**Australia: Teledim sales in Australia are made under various arrangements: rights for the four capital cities (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Adelaide), rights for all Australia, original telecasts only, originals with one-half repeats guaranteed at 50% of the price, multiple runs and various types of rerun deals.

One run in the four capital cities with one-half repeats guaranteed at 50%—$5,000 per hour. The Australian Broadcasting Commission buys rights for all of Australia. The ABC pays 20% more than the above price. All-Australia rights are thus $6,000 per hour (also with 50% repeats guaranteed). Those prices are for primetime. Prices for daytime range from $800 to $1,600 per hour in the four capital cities only. The Australian Broadcasting Commission pays 20% more. Potential revenue for the commercial country stations (in markets outside the capital cities) is anywhere from $850 to $1,300 per hour

*** Israel: Few American sales of features so far.

Source: Variety, April 26, 1974

C. THE U.S. GLOBAL ADVERTISER

The influence of television is pervasive. Speech patterns, dress styles, home furnishings, working aspirations and vacationing are all modeled after the good life as reflected in the commercials and programs of the home screen...Television, as the most powerful communications force yet known, is the basic medium for most of the leading U.S. advertisers.[10]

Editorial Board, Advertising Age

DOMESTIC AND OVERSEAS ADVERTISING BILLINGS: TOP TEN U.S. INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES AND SIX OTHERS ACTIVE IN LATIN AMERICA

(Millions of Dollars)

Agency	International billings 1966	1967	1969	1970	Domestic billings 1966	1967	1969	1970
J. Walter Thompson	201	227	295	328	380	364	445	436
McCann-Erikson	170	195	158	300	283	281	353	246
Ted Bates & Co.	88	110	145	160	177	190	230	254
Young & Rubicam	87	104	152	164	320	326	371	356
Ogilvy & Mather	69	69	73	91	98	114	152	159
Foote, Cone & Belding	61	62	63	61	201	207	198	179
Compton	32	55	60	66	105	120	120	120
Norman, Craig & Kummel	41	47	71	86	56	59	69	67
Grant	32	34	42	50	9	8	8	4
Grey	20	30	44	50	154	170	184	201
Kenyon & Eckhart	24	28	12	19	94	85	95	95
Doyle, Dane, Bernbach	20	27	35	41	192	219	235	250
D'Arcy	12	10	—	—	109	111	—	—
Lennen & Newell	10	9	10	20	105	111	116	140
Gardner	5	4	4	5	62	61	54	58
Wells, Rich, Greene	—	1	4	6	10	41	76	91

Source: Advertising Age, February 26, 1968, p. 48 (for top ten), and pp. 31-65, and February 22, 1971, p. 26. Leo Burnett billed $70 million overseas in 1969, $106 million in 1970. Other agencies not reported for 1966-1967 include Benton and Bowles with $40 and $48 million in 1969 and 1970, and SSC&B, which billed $96 million overseas in 1970.

HOW FOREIGN BUSINESS RANKED AT TOP TEN INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES, 1973
(In millions)

AGENCY	NO. FOREIGN SUBSIDIARIES	TOTAL BILLINGS	TOTAL FOREIGN BILLINGS	% OF TOTAL BUSINESS
J. Walter Thompson	24	$845	$455	54%
McCann Erickson	35	681	476	70
Young & Rubicam	20	650	260	40
Leo Burnett	22	512	182	35
Ted Bates	9	484	243	50
SSC&B-Lintas	24	483	347	71
Ogilvy & Mather	17	432	228	53
BBDO	2	428	90	21
Massius-D'Arcy-MacManus	16	396	196	50
Grey Advertising	8	352	77	21

Source: Advertising Age, March 26, 1974.

FOOTNOTES

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6. Advertising Age, Vol. 43, June 4, 1973.
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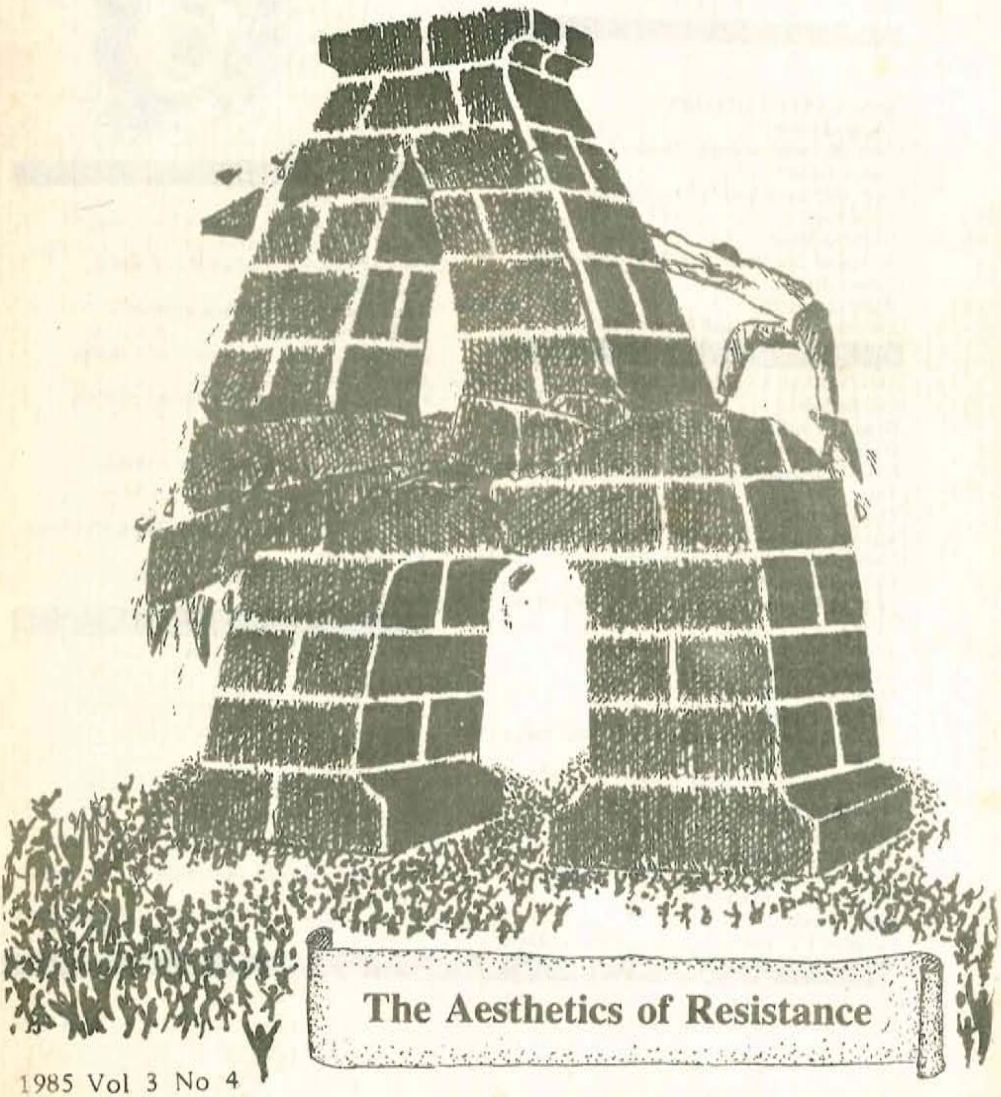
The Network Project is a voluntary organization created in 1971 to conduct independent research on commercial and non-commercial television and new communication technologies, particularly cable television and satellites. In addition to its Notebooks, the Project has produced two series of radio documentaries, FEEDBACK and MATRIX, which are syndicated for broadcast and distributed on tape for private listening. The Network Project also sues companies and government agencies; current defendants include the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Public Broadcasting Service, the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy, and the Federal Communications Commission. Members of The Network Project testify before various House and Senate committees, and speak before campus audiences and community groups. The Project's membership is open to anyone who wishes to spend time investigating an aspect of electronic media and its impact on private life, community, or society.

The Network Project is supported by sales of the Notebooks and radio programs. The programs are available for $12 apiece, or $55 for a series of five. Notebooks are sold by annual subscription, $10 for individuals and $25 for institutions; single issues are $2 and $5 respectively. A brochure describing each publication and program can be obtained upon request from The Network Project.

The Network Project
101 Earl Hall
Columbia University
New York, N.Y. 10027

CRITICAL ARTS

A Journal for Media Studies



The Aesthetics of Resistance

1985 Vol 3 No 4

CRITICAL ARTS

Published by:
Critical Arts Projects of
the Universities of Natal,
Rhodes and the Witwatersrand.

Typeset by University of Natal

Printed by the Multicopy Centre
University of Natal,
King George V Ave, Durban ISSN 0256-0046

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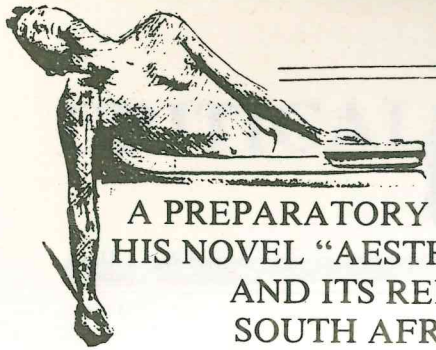
Vol 3 No 4 1985

Cover design by Nicholaas Vergunst. Text artwork and design by Fred Kokett.

Critical Arts is published two or three times a year.
Articles are indexed in *Film Literature Index, Communications Abstracts, International Bibliography of Theatre, MLA international Bibliography, IMMRC* and the *Centre for South African Theatre.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Critical Arts is indebted to the University of Cape Town for making available a Publications Grant for the production of this issue



A PREPARATORY NOTE ON PETER WEISS, HIS NOVEL "AESTHETICS OF RESISTANCE" AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION

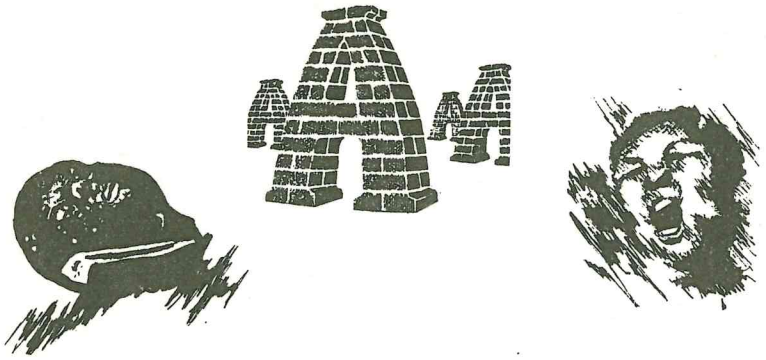
PETER HORN

It is not true to say that there is no culture of the oppressed: but it is true to say that, where the oppressed are forcibly separated from their own political and cultural organisations, the influence of the media on the consciousness of the oppressed is much greater than in those countries where they create and distribute their information through their own media. Secondly, the culture of the oppressed is much less nationalistic than the culture of their oppressors: it has always assimilated whatever cultural elements of the oppressed of other countries became available to them. Thus Brecht and Hikmet, Neruda and Yevtushenko are very much part of a South African culture of the oppressed.

One of the writers, whose works belongs to that growing library by and for the oppressed is Peter Weiss, whose world fame so far rests on his drama ***Marat/Sade*** and the film made from this drama.

Born in 1916 near Berlin, he emigrated with his parents first to London (1934) then to Sweden (1939), to escape the persecution of Jews in national-socialist Germany. He became a painter, later a writer of experimental modernist drama, novels and short stories. His first successful play ***Marat/Sade*** (1964) was performed both in East and West Germany. Less well known, but potentially highly interesting to South African audiences, are his two plays on colonialist issues, "The Song of the Lusitanian Bogey", on pre-liberation Angola, (1967) and his ***Viet Nam Discourse*** (1968). Other dramas include one on ***Trotzki in Exile*** (1969) and one on the German poet of the French Revolution, ***Hölderlin.***

Before his death in 1981 Peter Weiss wrote his monumental novel on the resistance in Nazi Germany, ***The Aesthetics of Resistance*** (1971-1980). Critics have hailed this as one of the most important novels of the century, and it is hoped that



a translation of this work will become available in the near future. This novel is based on years of patient research and on interviews with many of the surviving members of that resistance. The narrator of the novel is a young worker, who leaves Germany in 1937 to participate in the Spanish Civil war. Two of his friends, the bourgeois intellectual Heilmann and the worker Coppi remain behind in Nazi Germany, later becoming part of the underground network of resistance. A large part of the first volume of the novel deals with their discussions and explorations of political and aesthetic questions and the description of the destruction of all workers institutions in the first years of the Nazi regime. The narrator then departs to Chekoslovakia, where he waits to be transported to Spain. During this wait he reads Kafka and is fascinated by prints of the pictures of Breughel. After his arrival in the Spain of the Civil War, the narrator works as an assistant in two hospitals in Spain, where he again encounters Hodann, a socialist doctor, whom he first met at the communist evening school at Berlin, and with whom he continues the discussions on politics, culture and art, which they used to have in the pre-Nazi communist milieu of Berlin. Hodann maintains that the active struggle against Fascism in Spain must go hand in hand with the intellectual growth of the participants. The open discussion in the hospital engenders some hostility in visiting party officials, and Hodann is branded as "unreliable", particularly after discussions of the Anarchists and the Trotzkyites. One of the main discussion partners of the narrator during this time is a bourgeois intellectual, Ayschmann, and a young worker, Münzer. Some of the events falling in this period are the elimination of the Anarchists and Trotzkyites in Spain, the German occupation of Austria and the Stalinist trials

in Moscow. After the withdrawal of the International Brigade the narrator is first moved to Paris, where he meets among others Münzenberg, the first editor of a communist illustrated journal, and friend of Lenin during his Zürich exile. It is here in Paris, where he is deprived of the friends in Berlin and the comradeship of the International Brigades, that he decides to join the party formally, at the same time vowing that he would continue his intellectual and artistic quest. During a visit to the Louvre he confronts the wealth of the art of the past, both as an art of the ruling classes of the past and as an art which "resisted" the ruling classes. (Géricault, Meissonier etc.). He eventually obtains a permit to enter Sweden and work there in the same factory as his father. His mother, totally withdrawn from reality after her experience of Nazi horrors, is one of the figures crushed by the brutality of the epoch. In Sweden he observes both the fierce struggles within the party, as well as the ruthless attempts of the Swedish authorities to track down the illegal German communists and to hand them over to the Nazis. While taking part in the underground illegal activities of the German and Swedish communist party, he runs vital errands for such leaders as Wehner, Rosner and Mewis, while continuing his friendship with Hodann. Through Hodann he meets both the feminist writer Boye and later Bertolt Brecht, who was in exile in Sweden at that time. He takes part in Brecht's attempt to write a drama on the leader of a Swedish peasant revolt, helping Brecht in the research for the drama, and participating in the discussions of the Brecht circle. During that time he helps to prepare various attempts to smuggle comrades into Germany, amongst them the highly successful Käthe Bischoff, who links up with the "Rote Kapelle" (with such members as Schulze, Boysen, and Harnack). His friends Coppi and Heilmann are by now members of this successful espionage and resistance group, which was caught only by a blunder of the Brüssels representative, and which in the person of Heilmann had penetrated the Headquarters of the German army. While the novel describes the exploits of Käthe Fischer, it allows the reader to experience the underground activities of the resistance movement, culminating in the brutal execution of most of the members of the "Rote Kapelle" in the infamous Plötzensee prison. The novel ends with the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945. The description of the resistance is interwoven with a constant struggle of the narrator and other figures in the novel to overcome the limitations, which the culture of the ruling class imposes on the members of the working class. He finds friends and teachers both amongst the workers and bourgeois intellectuals, who have deserted the bourgeoisie. The novel thus becomes a completely new type of

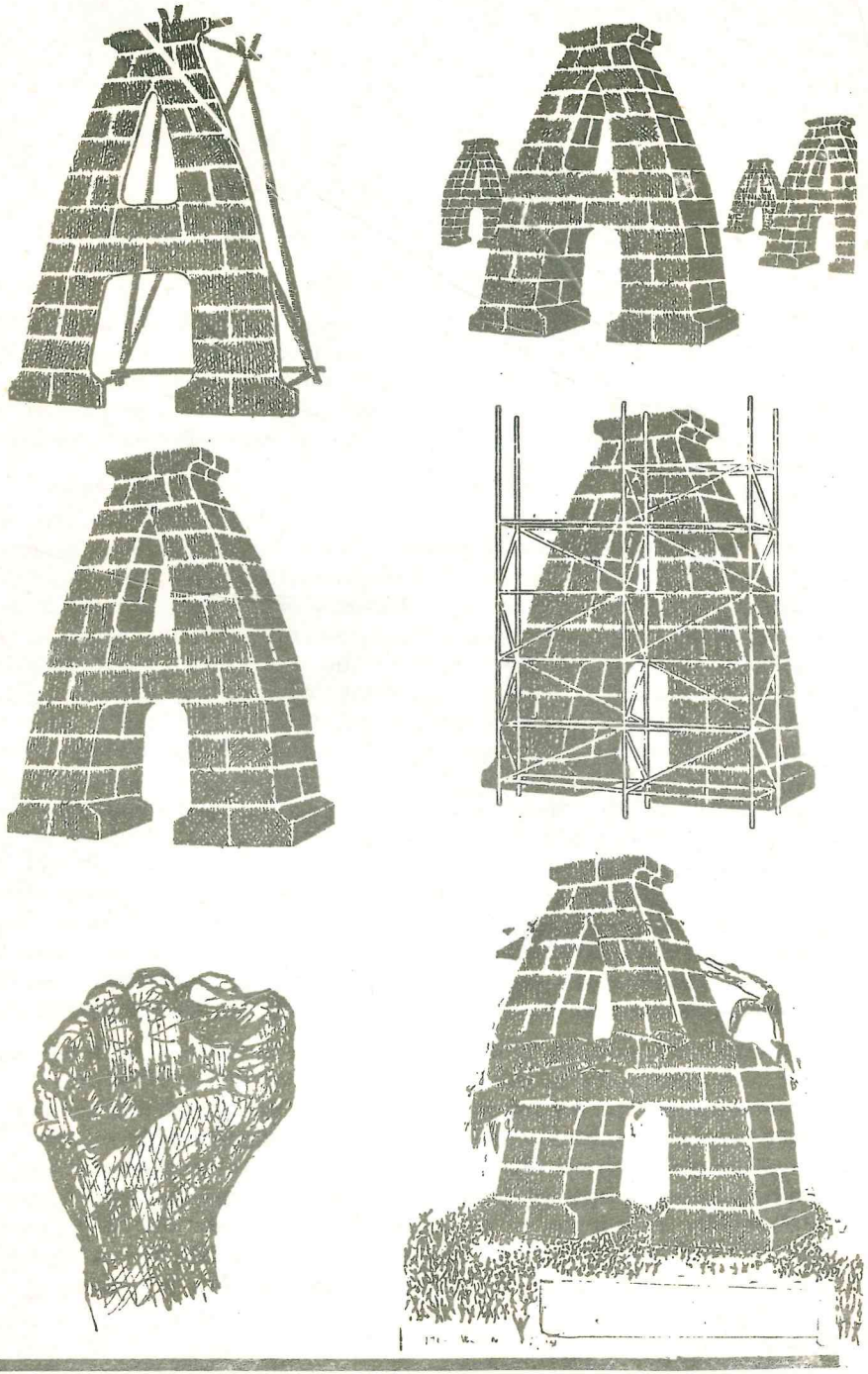
a "novel of education" (Bildungsroman) under the circumstances of repression, resistance and revolt.

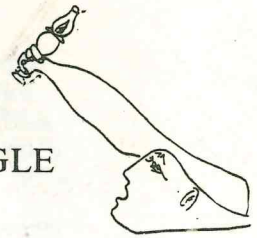
While the historic differences between Nazi Germany and South Africa are clear, analogies and comparisons are possible. Under the surface of 'normality' the struggle against the resistance movements is as fierce and unremitting as it was in Germany, and the difference between the death row in Pretoria and the butchers of Plötzensee is not all that great. Obviously South Africa is neither involved in a major military confrontation with the West as well as the East, nor does it have a policy of extermination of an entire population group. There are remnants of "democratic" freedoms (one of them being the very possibility of publishing an article like this in *Critical Arts*). Nevertheless there are valuable lessons to be learnt from a book which deals with resistance against a totalitarian regime. Equally important is that the book offers a unique image of the "worker as intellectual": it presents the possibility of the worker becoming his own interpreter, by gaining access to the tools of the ruling classes to interpret history and human behaviour, and thus to become the master of history. A lot depends on how one treats the "uniqueness" of the narrator: as a sign that the worker only rarely overcomes the limitations imposed on him or as an encouragement that despite the limitations the "production" of "organic intellectuals" of the working class is possible. I would place the emphasis on the creation of an environment in which such a production and reproduction of an 'organic intelligentsia of the working class' can take place: and it is there that the renegade bourgeois intellectual might find his most useful place in the resistance movement. Just as the intellectual development of the narrator, at first stunted by the state school system, was started in the intellectual environment of communist day schools and evening classes, (possible only in a "revolutionary" situation, where the working class could force the rulers to allow them their own institutions); one of the tasks of a revolutionary intelligentsia in South Africa could be the creation of such alternative networks, where the worker would find the expertise he needs to break out of the state imposed boundaries. Now such institutions can obviously only exist for any length of time, if they are protected by the power of the revolutionary class. Within such revolutionary institutions (where political and cultural decisions are closely linked) the question of the origin of intellectuals becomes subordinated to the goals of intellectuals.

Many questions remain: neither does Weiss pretend that his novel is more than an example of the self-education necessary to make

the workers able to direct their own future, nor can I pretend that my essay has addressed all the questions which one could have raised, particularly in a Southern African context. One might legitimately ask, whether a journal like *Critical Arts* does have a role in the network of alternative institutions, and if yes, whether its 'academic' style does not prevent its widespread usefulness: whether the fact that it does not (not even in the degree that *Staffrider* did) reach a wide audience outside a circle of academic intellectuals, disqualifies it as a tool in the current struggle. Nor do the working masses, as far as one can see, contribute to *Critical Arts.* Assuming that the worker aspiring to become his own intellectual does not want to be fed 'popular' abstracts of the problems (which would put him precisely in the position of being fed by superior intellectuals, who dose the amount of knowledge according to his assumed capacity of understanding!), one nevertheless is confronted with the fact that the education provided to the mass of the working class in this country is so abominable that even the first step towards such self-education will often be inhibited. Is the answer to the question — how can a worker become his own intellectual? — not perhaps that the working class needs support at all levels: that the literacy school is perhaps at the moment a priority, but what does the worker read, when he has learned to read? That alternative evening schools, cultural societies with 'popular' lectures, SACHED on the university level and *Critical Arts* are each useful at a different level, and that none is superfluous? That the answer is not either a mass audience (such as was reached by the *Sunday Times* during and after Soweto) or *Work in Progress* but both? That the results of the efforts on an 'academic level' may perhaps be useful on the grass roots level? Has not the history of the ANC, the PAC, the Black Consciousness Movement shown that really useful ideas of academics tend to filter out beyond the boundaries of academia?

This is not intended as an apology for my existence as a literary critic: I merely attempt to address some of the 'wrong' alternatives often posed in the discussion of such issues. If one takes Weiss' concept of 'Mnemosyne', a kind of collective memory of experiences and strategies, one begins perhaps to understand, why those in power are most concerned that such networks of consciousness do not materialize amongst the oppressed, and that it is our duty as intellectuals to contribute to their continued existence.





AESTHETICS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

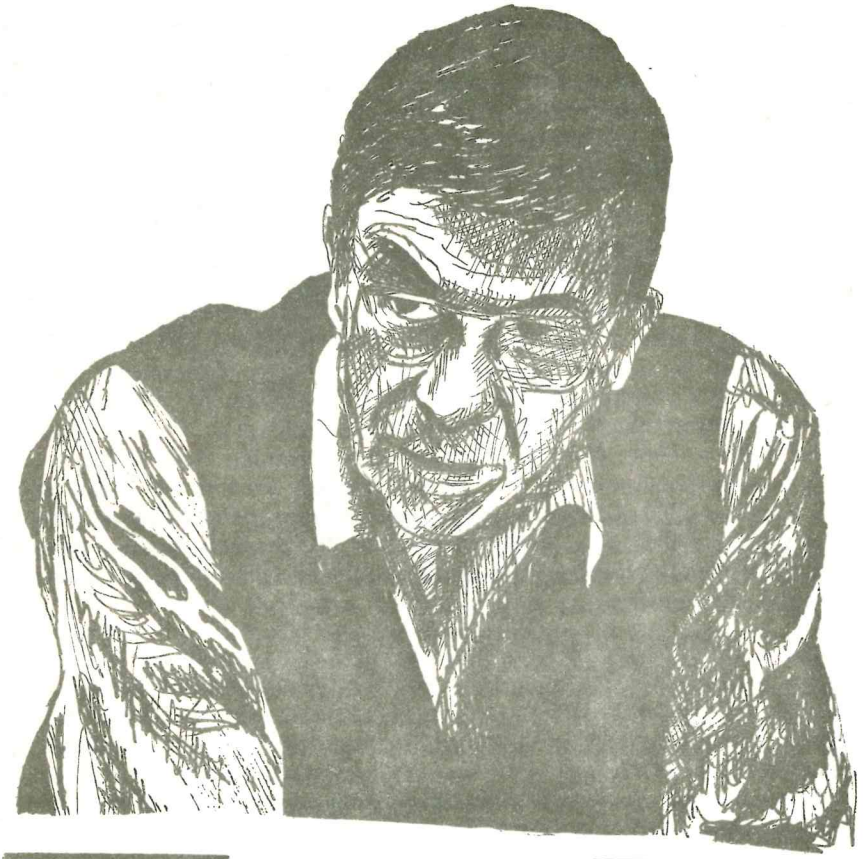
PETER WEISS'S NOVEL "THE AESTHETICS OF RESISTANCE"

PETER HORN

"Their sensuality was cruel. Their serenity was bought with slave labour. Again, just as in all other empires, which had slaves, an essence was extracted from wearing out people, which offered the ultimate of refinement. Art did not ask, which torments had made it possible . . . The unique grew out of the terror of the people and became the monument of an even deeper humiliation and contrition for the people." (III, 108)[1]

As long as the artist presupposes the coincidence of his rational and free subject with his own project, he denies his determination by a heterogeneous economy. This heterogeneity, however, cuts right through his intentions as an artist, fragmenting his efforts, twisting them subtly or not so subtly. Before long he finds his humanism unwittingly serving a cruelty, which in his consciousness he rejects. Both Marx and Freud have denied that a coincidence of the subject with its own intentions is possible under the conditions of an alienating society. The texts of modern literature are nothing but the half-conscious realization of this truth, when they remove the acting subject from the centre of the stage, show the impossibility of the 'hero', the individual, who by his deeds attempts to change his historical surroundings, replace him by the anti-hero, buffeted by forces he is unable to control. To overcome the 'cruelty' of an aesthetics which excludes the great majority, and which lives directly and indirectly by the oppression and exploitation of this majority, which serves the enslavement of this majority by glorifying the social order which makes this enslavement possible, can not be the work of an individual artist, establishing his own freedom as an artist. He will discover that his individual freedom can be posited only as an imaginary (fictional) freedom.

If he wants to oppose the 'cruel' aesthetics of the oppressor with an aesthetics free from oppression, he will have to consider an alternative praxis: one in which art is no longer based on the privilege of the 'outstanding' individual, the 'genius' of Romantic aesthetics, but on the cooperation of collectives; the 'I' will be replaced by a 'We' of artistic practice; the institutions of radical, anarchic subjectivism, which are the bourgeois utopia of artistic freedom, replaced by institutions of participation and cooperation. Many artists, basically in sympathy with the masses and their demands, have turned their back on the movements of the masses, because they feel their 'artistic



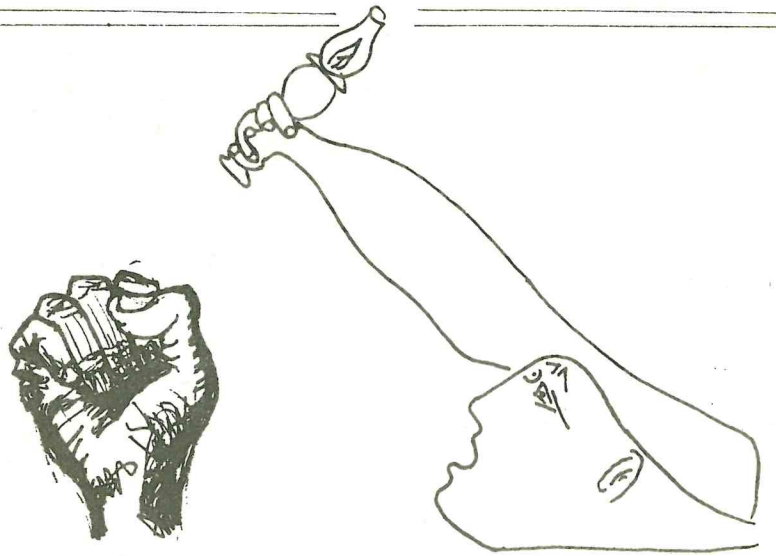
Peter Weiss (1980)

He removes the acting subject from the centre of the stage — shows the impossibility of the 'hero', the individual, who by his deeds attempts to change his historical surroundings — he replaces him with the anti-hero, buffeted by forces he is unable to control.

integrity' and the standard of their work threatened by such a concept of collective artistic production. On the other hand, many proponents of the struggle of the oppressed have demanded an art which de facto perpetuates the division of art for the privileged and art for the oppressed with the good intentions of a revolutinary art for the thoughtless: Mills and Boon with a positive socialist hero. The distance between the development of the aesthetic sensibilities of the masses, depraved by the entertainment industry of the capitalist state and the burden of their constant struggle to survive, and their future potentiality, can not be overcome either by the individualist exertions of an isolated artist nor by the sporadic exploration of the arts by a few workers.

Even that were of little consequence if art were our only concern: but when we talk about art, we talk about more: we talk of that kind of participation in an ideological discourse, which tentatively exerts the neurons that will steer the cooperative bodies in action. The 'cruel' aesthetics of past and present regimes limits the discourse to elites and their elaborate sign systems: leaving to the masses a simplified and distorted discourse which inactivates them as subjects and steers them as automata in an economics of profit and a game of power politics. They, who are only allowed to formulate their desires along stereotyped precast patterns, are excluded not only from art: the meaning of their lives is spelled out to them in the deep structures of television series and photographic novels: they receive their defeat, and the interpretation of their defeat as well as the configuration of their castrated desire in *Dallas* and *Tessa* from the same source.

If an alternative aesthetics wants to establish itself as 'revolution', it can not bypass the question of that process which is the coming into being of the revolutionary subject. The necessity of aesthetics, its much more than marginal importance in the struggle of the oppressed, becomes apparent in the moment when the customary division between masses and intellectuals dissolves: the subject of the revolutionary struggle can not but be intellectual, and the process of that becoming is revolutionary. That process is the "fighting acquisition of an intellectual and aesthetic culture" by the worker and in turn "the social project of the liberation of labour from the class oppression and exploitation"[2]. One of the decisive factors in this process is that the worker at the end of it has become an intellectual. Unless s/he acquires the ability to be his own 'interpreter', to construct his/her own images of desire, and to engage in a struggle to realize them, revolution remains a phrase which hides the regime of the apparatshik. Once workers acquire a coherent knowledge, and start to interfere in the cultural life and its organization, they themselves become coordinators, organizers, producers and consumers, of knowledge, mediators of knowledge for others. In the words of Gramsci: they become organic intellectuals of the working class[3]. A revolutionary process which would not enhance the process of the oppressed



to become their own interpreters, would forget that there are three not two parties in every power struggle — those who exercise power, those who would exercise it in their place, and those on whom it is exercised by both, unless they are able to become their own rulers in a truly participatory democracy[4]. Interpreting the needs of others is as surely a weapon in the struggle to install oneself in power as the gun and the explosive attached to the symbolic building: in the end the manipulator of the interpretations often defeats the holder of the gun, whom he has used in his own ascent. One need not deny, as Foucault tends to do, that the oppressed class is "thoroughly imbued with the ideology of the ruling class [that] they cannot recognize their destiny, [that] they need a Party to teach and guide them"[5]. Yet one can grasp the danger that such a leadership — largely made up of renegade bourgeois intellectuals — will use its position as interpreter to perpetuate itself and the need for interpretation and representation.

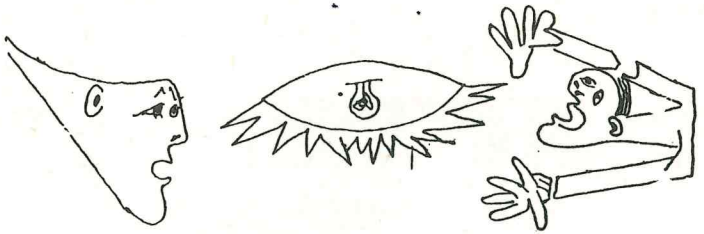
The theoretical dispute between the various forms of anarchism and various forms of marxism and socialism is a smoke screen, behind which the power struggle of alternate elites goes on: on the one hand the centralizing power of a party, ready to take over the power of the state, on the other hand the diffusion of revolutionary energy into isolated explosions. Neither the one nor the other addresses the problem not of replacing but dissolving power itself, by dissolving the privilege of the interpreters. There are, however, guidelines in Gramsci's theory of the organic intellectual, and there is the image of the worker becoming his own intellectual in Peter Weiss's "Aesthetics of Resistance"

NO NEED FOR HERACLES
THE FACELESS LEARN TO CONTROL THEIR FISTS

The novel of Peter Weiss starts off with an extended "description" of the Pergamon altar (180-160 BC), which in itself is a tour de force of a new concept of art, art criticism, art appreciation, and the appropriation of the art of the past by three young workers of the present. Recognizing in this monument of the powerful to commemorate their own victory the prehistory of their own struggle, interpreting the battle of the giants, the sons of the earth (Ge), against the Olympic Gods as the struggle of "our kind" against the godlike appropriators of power, the three young workers isolate the figure of Heracles as one of the central and decisive images of the altar, a figure which will reappear in their theoretical discussions throughout the book. At first they formulate their consciousness as the demand that Heracles ought not to fight on the side of the powerful, but on the side of the oppressed, and they follow the turns and twists of the Heracles saga, to unravel the fate of the worker's movement in the twentieth century. Filled with the experience of the victory of the Nazis and the massacre of the workers' organization in the wake of that victory, facing the nearly total defeat of the workers, they start to rethink the future. "And with every sentence there was present the learning to think, the learning to speak, the abyss between understanding and speechlessness which had to be bridged" (I, 37) — this is how the narrator recounts his own experience of this process, which eventually will see him as the worker/intellectual attempting to intervene in history. That labour is the consequence of the advantage of the ruling classes in relation to the oppressed classes, which faces the worker with the constant fact that whatever he produces is used high above him, and against him. "If we want to concern ourselves with art, with literature, then we must treat it against the grain, that is, we must exclude all privileges, which are bound up with it, and we must insert into it all our own demands" (I, 41). This "treatment against the grain" is the essential process of acquisition of the culture of past oppressions by the oppressed: and it includes the question of Coppi's mother, a worker ar the Telefunken plant in Berlin, "whether the burden of torments with which the coming into being of the works of art had been paid, must not give them something repulsive for all times" (I, 50). And "that which is cruel, can never contain beauty" (I, 52). But this is not the last word. (Heilmann answers "that works like those, which derive from the Pergamon, must be reinterpreted again and again, until a reversal was won and those born from the Earth were awakening from darkness and slavery and showed themselves with their true face" (I, 53). Because those who "transmit an image of the world, always stood on the side of those who determined the rules of the world" (I, 73), these attempts at reinterpretation, these attempts to overcome the speechlessness are necessary prerequisites of a "reversal" which goes beyond the replacement of one governing elite by another.

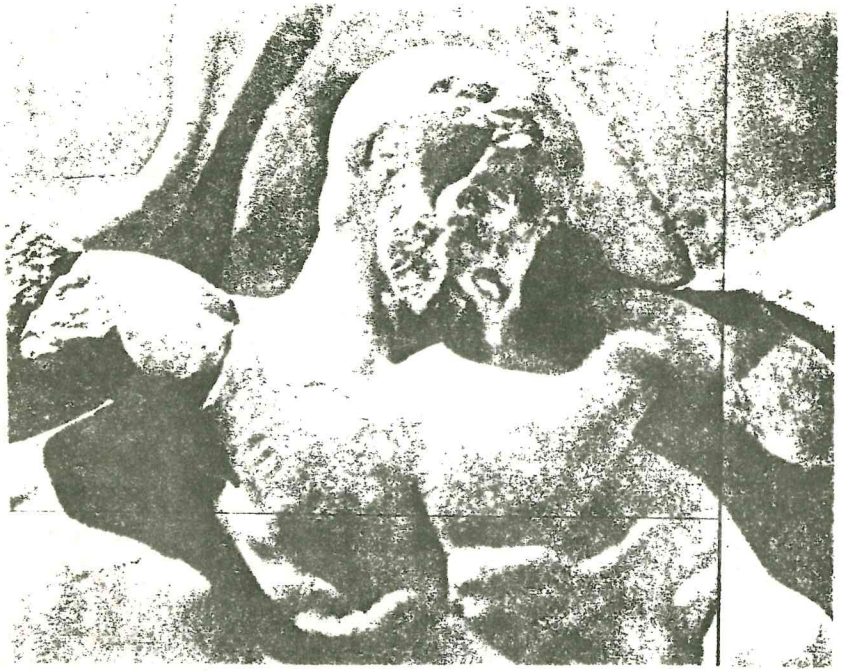
They interpret the battle of the giants, the sons of the earth against the Olympic Gods, as the struggle of 'our kind' against the godlike appropriators of power. The image of the altar becomes the key to their understanding of the present situation.

In this sense the exertion to rethink the Pergamon altar is indeed an exertion on which a lot depends: it negates the division into privileged and underprivileged, which distributes thinking and doing according to class structures. The altar of the years 180 to 160 BC becomes the test case of a new aesthetics, which understands itself as the preface of a new art of seeing, feeling and thinking. Those who may object that this process has nothing to do with their own present situation, must be reminded that this process takes place under the very eye of the Nazi party (the room is filled with various Nazi uniforms) and that in order to protect the meeting with his friends active in the underground resistance, Heilmann has to don the mask of the Hitlerjugend uniform. The three workers do not see this activity as springing from the superfluity of leisure, on the contrary, it is a decisive part of their struggle. The image of the altar becomes more than a 'symbol' of continued suffering and continued revolt: it becomes the key to their understanding of the present situation of resistance, it adds that perspective to their actions, without which their actions might easily end in desperation, apathy and resignation, when confronted with the apparently unchangeable.



Without the exertion to overcome the mystifying effects of the ruling culture, whose subtext constantly justifies its own existence — "those who conquer, will be like the gods" (I, 10) — without the effort to see the beauty of these godlike creatures as the effect of their cruelty and to see the subjected as the winners of the future, the dominance of the visual image over the mind cannot be broken. The rule of the visual images is shown to be a powerful weapon over the minds and the bodies of the oppressed: fearing their own bodily destruction, portrayed in the giants of Pergamon, the pictures of Angkor Wat and the crucifixion of gothic churches, they hesitate to attack their tormentors. This is an aesthetics which is aware all the time of the contemporary battles of the oppressed in Spain, in China, in South East Asia, in Africa, in South America, an aesthetics which departs from and returns to the workers' struggle in Germany during the Nazi regime. Right in the middle of the reality of the tram, traversing the busy Berlin Alexanderplatz, Heilmann proclaims the quintessence of the experience of Heracles: "that all magic incantations can be resisted, that all fabulous monsters can be overcome, and that it was a mortal, who was able to do this" (I, 25). Precisely because Heracles is not omnipotent, precisely because he ends in "horrible pain", entangled in the shirt drenched with the poisonous blood of Nessos, which nobody could strip from his flesh, precisely because he is susceptible to the incredible suffering, Heracles becomes the image of the saviour. Not by chance Peter Weiss parallels this description with the description of the last months of Lenin, dying with the horrible pain of shingles.

But the analysis goes one step further than that: even the myth of Heracles, the symbol of the rebellious oppressed, is questioned by Coppi shortly before his own horrible death in the slaughterhouse of Plötzensee prison, when he returns once more to the topic of the Pergamon altar: "he is within us, he, who fell out of the frieze of the gods, we need no guiding star, we do not need the myths, which only attempt to belittle us, we are sufficient for ourselves" (III, 169). Certainly there is some truth in Heilmann's statement, "that we could not live without creating an image of ourselves" (III, 169), but these images must constantly be revised and overthrown. The letter which Heilmann sends to the narrator in Spain, then attempts such a reinterpretation: what if the deeds of Heracles sprang from "fear and horror", from "weakness and isolation" (I, 314), what if they were nothing but "dreams": "Such creatures, as he met, and were slain by him, only visit us in our sleep" (I, 315). Commenting from his own isolation in the underground in Nazi Germany, Heilmann attempts a new evaluation fo the figure:



> I do not want to accept him, as the rulers have portrayed him, demanding demagogically his insertion into their own class and art, but I also can no longer see in him the victorious helper of the slaves, but only as one, who at times lifted himself far above himself, at other times was hopelessly entangled in his phantasies. (I, 317)

Because he hides a "far-reaching distortion of his psyche" underneath "all his bravado" (I, 318), because he is not the faultless hero of aristocratic, bourgeois or socialist art, he can again become a figure, which can sustain the hope of the oppressed.

But then the novel overcomes even this hope: only relying on its own power, such is the last reinterpretation of the Heracles motif, can the proletariat bring about its liberation. This reinterpretation has to be applied to the hero figures of the revolution, the "cult of the person" (as the euphemism describes it) has to be overcome. If the parallel between Heracles and Lenin is intended, then the end of the novel has to be read as a rejection of even this "hero": no hero can replace the effort of the proletariat, they themselves "must learn that single grip", which can free them (III, 267), no recognizable one will come to fill the empty place. They will have to throw off the horrible pressure exerted on them all by themselves.

THE TUTELAGE OF THE INTERPRETERS

The resistance of art can not remain a formal resistance, if it wants to overcome its own 'cruelty', neither can it remain a recursive game, which always only points to itself as its praxis. "The pure uninterested pleasure", which Kant[6] postulated as the sphere of art, could exist only in a utopia transcending the bloody games of power and repression: it is the never-never-land of that salvation from all antagonistic conflicts, which liberal apologists anticipate as the space of academia and bohemia. Art for arts' sake and trivial literature nicely balance the account of pure imagination: addition and subtraction of the opposing forces produce a zero as the sign of ever renewed harmony, which academic criticism can point to as the signified of the oeuvre of every artist.

No doubt that there is a need for another interpretation, one in which the resultant of antagonistic forces does not conveniently balance. Unfortunately such interpretation seems to call for alternative interpreters, who make it, if not their 'business', then their 'power', to know the equations of antagonisms contained in the gesture of painting and sentences. The same power which suppresses the masses creates the niche, in which these masters of criticism can employ the leverage of their superior knowledge. Since no knowledge arises out of a vacuum, the establishment and transmission of the knowledge necessary to overthrow the repression, which kept the masses outside the charmed circle of the stock exchange for ideological currencies, these mediators are necessary. But as soon as they attempt to supercede the struggle of the masses to acquire the indispensible knowledge themselves, as soon as they place themselves in that centre which directs the struggle, instead of opening the gates of knowledge to the masses themselves, they become 'leaders', who submit the masses to a new kind of tutelage, even if for their own best.

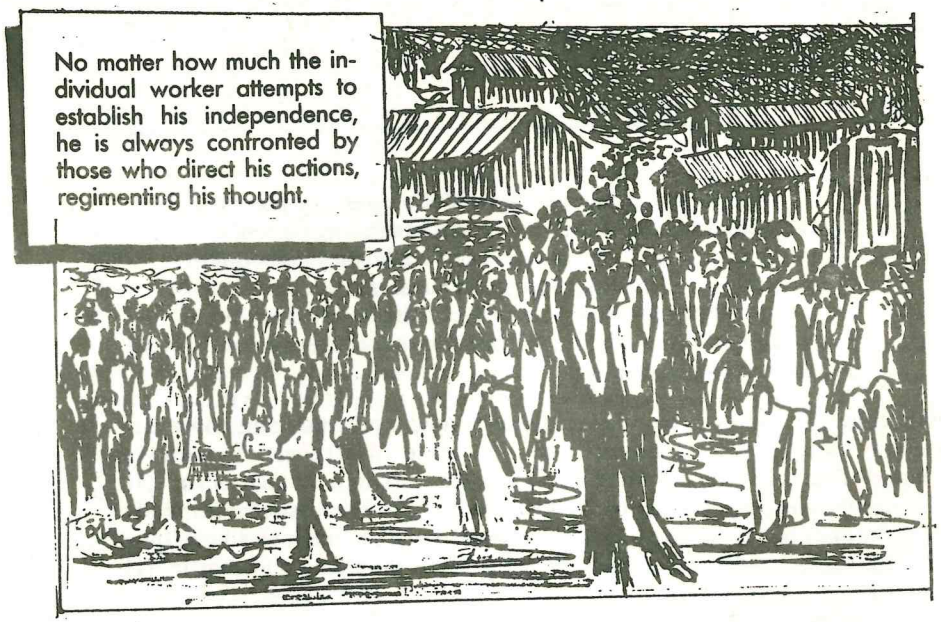
Stöbe, one of the members of the underground "Rote Kapelle", (the most successful espionage and resistance group in the Nazi era), reflects on the tension that the fight forced on the workers by capital and the fascist state in its gruesomeness does not allow the slightest failure without deadly consequences, and thus demands a strict and central direction of the struggle. But those involved in the struggle become mere executive organs of a rationality set over them, while the revolutionary struggle is supposed to lead them to that kind of self-directed action, which shall enable the worker to take over the leadership in state and economy — during and after the revolution. For Münzenberg, who becomes involved in a deadly conflict with the leaders of the party because of such ideas, the dialectical relationship between both extremes is self-evident:

> It was true, he said, that two apparently contrary powers were at work in us constantly, the one, demanding patience, discipline, the other challenging our radicality, the one constructive, the other raging against paralysis, and it could be shown that this were only two sides of the same thing, and that both had to be taken up, if we wanted to exercise our influence fully (II, 55).

Münzenberg becomes unbearable to the party, because he takes his concept of freedom from power (anarchy) into the phase of struggle, because he demands that the study of "Herzen, Kropotkin, Bakunin, of anarchism" (II, 54) is part of the preparation for the revolutionary war, because he demands, "that the coming revolution would have to be total, that man as a whole, from the impulses in his dreams to the practical actions should be seized by it" (II, 55).

The civil war against fascism in Spain becomes for Weiss and his narrator the parable of a revolutionary struggle which fails, not only because of the superior technology and weapons of the enemy, not only because the Western democracies support fascism by the restrictions they place on the transport of weapons to the encircled Spanish republic, while proclaiming publicly their horror of the fascist regime, not only because of the deep divisions in the ranks of the army of the Spanish republic and the International Brigades — but also because of the inability of the leaders to transform the masses into self-directed participants of the struggle. Wherever, within the fierce struggle, pockets of such revolutionary transformations begin to form, they are frowned upon and finally eliminated by the 'leaders'. While the narrator works in a hospital for the wounded of the war, Hodann, the doctor and director of that hospital, arranges a number of discussions, as an attempt to initiate the process of consciousness raising amongst the combatants. The argument, that they find themselves in a state of war, where one can now allow any free play for doubts and diversions, and where everything which the higher party organs commanded, was absolutely binding and allowed no contradiction, makes Hodann's undertaking dangerous in the eyes of the party and gives it the colour of anarchism and liberalism (I, 226). In a situation, where the slightest mistake could lead to an advantage of the enemy, the party attempts to suppress discussion: Münzer, one of the wounded soldiers, however, demands the right to think and speak about the effort, in which he lost an eye and an ear. He argues:

> Liberation can not be given to us, we have to win it ourselves. If we do not win it ourselves, it remains without consequences for us. We can not liberate ourselves, unless



> we demolish the system, which oppresses us, and the conditions, out of which this system grows. But how can this liberation start from us, how can the reversal be brought about, if we have only learned to submit and to wait for orders. Even Lenin believed us capable only of trade union thinking and allowed the avantgarde of the party to take decisions for us (I, 226f).

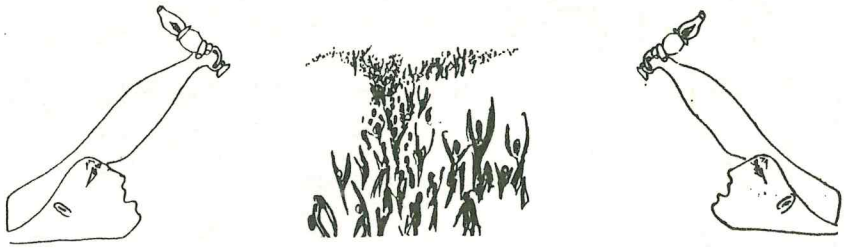
The humility of the workers in the capitalist system, where they were proud to be diligent, capable and submissive, becomes the discipline and the loyalty of the workers in the workers' movements. There are still those above who tell the workers that they do not know what is right for themselves, and that the leadership must act for them. However much the individual worker attempts to establish his independence, he always is confronted by those who direct his actions, regimenting his thought. While everybody maintains that the party is the masses, those who say so, appropriate the party for their own ends.

To reject the leadership of the party and in the party completely, would of course lead to an anarcho-syndicalist position, while the struggle demands the unity of the fighters directed towards a single goal. None of those taking part in the discussion puts this into question for a moment: nobody can lead this war on his own, and without the central direction the struggle would disintegrate into a series of spontaneous rebellions, squashed all too easily by the concentrated power of Franco. Anyschmann, another of the wounded soldiers taking part in the debate, admits all this, but then continues:

> When I declare that the conflict, in which we find ourselves, produces divided people, . . . I refer to the pattern, which has tried to force us into a subordinate position all the time. Since we have started to think independently, we were searching for that which was our own and belonged to our class, and to criticize and reject that, which was forced on us. I have understood Marx thus, that he wanted to teach us to understand our relation to our work differently, instead of submitting to conformity we should smash the mechanisms, which made us dependent. But instead of bringing the means of production into our hands, they demanded from us to be satisfied with half truths (I, 245f).

If one accepts that the techniques of power, production and knowledge have the same matrix, then the denial of full participation in the power politics of the party, the continued control over the production, not by the workers, but by officials of the party, and the attempt to kill the debate of the workers participating in the struggle against fascism in Spain, in the underground in Germany and in exile in Russia and the Western democratic countries means a denial of the ultimate aim of the movement. Thus the narrator, while accepting that the struggle can only be led in its harshness in complete unity, insists, "that we too are capable of expression, that we all have the ability to speak" (I, 249), and Münzer can not be convined that the "confrontation with the rule of terror releases me from the demand, to explain the means which I use in this struggle" (I, 249). What is paralyzing to those who participate in the struggle, not as leaders, but as commoners, as part of the masses directed here and there by the leaders, is the feeling of the insufficiency of their own knowledge, which makes them dependent on the existence of the leadership — and which in turn makes the leadership very vulnerable to any plots and attacks against their persons, and thus suspicious of any deviation among their followers. The consciousness of this division between the 'intelligentsia' and the 'masses' limits the self-activity of the masses even there, where they can make and are expected to make a contribution to the struggle. The struggle continually tends to revert to the action of an elite, which 'uses' the masses for their own political future, rather than being the action of a collective subject, capable of directing itself towards its own ends.

As long as "communism has not reached its objectivity", as long as it is held back in "emotionality, irrationality" (I, 294), as long as belief has to replace action, knowledge and experience, the masses in turn have to be held in tutelage: criticism, which is the expression of the collective subject facing its task, deteriorates to the infamous "self-critique" of Stalinist judicial rituals. And even that part of the ritual is reserved for the "interpreters", who get a last chance to interpret their "faults", while the unknown, lowly member of the party is shot without even that ceremony.



AESTHETIC IMAGINATION AND THE PRODUCTION OF HISTORY

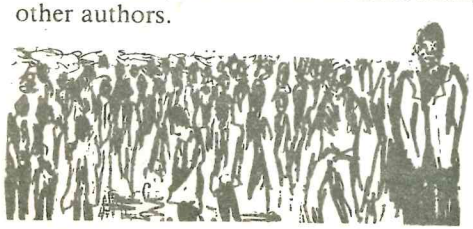
While in Sweden in exile, the narrator meets Rosner, one of the leaders of the party, whose concept of history emphasizes the lack of decision, the non-direction of the historical movement: history in his view does not progress in any direction, and the movement of the masses must but parry the constant assaults of the forces of capitalism, must twist and turn, not to be overpowered by its antagonist. When the narrator asks him whether past mistakes should not be examined to prevent future mistakes, he shakes his head: "the postulates and their revocations are dependent on the variations of the relations of power" (III, 138). Theoretical explanations are mere epiphenomena, existing parasitically on this turmoil of the war of antagonistic forces, unable to predict the next necessary move; action and reaction are immediate to each other, and their verbalization serves no useful purpose, except to vindicate the actors in their own eyes and in the eyes of the onlookers.

All thinking about history thus remains a thinking after the event, which can merely 'explain' the ruins of the past, but can not prevent the ruination of the future. Yet thinking about the events remains the precondition of interfering in this circuitous movement of subjugation and mindless resistance, if this thinking process spreads out from the solitary mind of the thinker to the history (in contrast to living in it, which really means that it is made behind history (in contrast to living in it, which really means, that it is made, behind our backs) is certainly much more complex than 'producing' anything else, and while the product does not always look like the blueprint, it remains the only activity which is an alternative to the acceptance of oppression. It does, however, presuppose that the 'producer' allows himself to be criticized by his product, or in other words, that he faces up to the reality, which he brings into being by his actions. The 'rejection' and 'suppression' of such a reality in the name of party loyalty, does not only isolate the leaders from the very reality they attempt to change and thus forcing them to react 'pragmatically' to the action of their opponents, but destroys in its roots any chances there may be in the revolutionary struggle itself for the masses to further their understanding of the situation in which they find themselves. The very masses, who are supposed to be the instrument of change, are blunted by a carefully pruned version of reality, in which the complex contradictions of reality have been reduced to ritualized antagonisms.

Aesthetics, in Weiss's view, is the exertion of the imagination, starting from the facts, be they pleasant or unpleasant, to situate the collective subject in such a way, that it can act meaningfully and with a chance of success. Instead of the cruel aesthetics of past, Weiss proposes an aesthetic, which makes the subject the author of his own life, instead of the object of impersonal historical forces. This was the prerogative of tiny elites in the past, who owed the leisure and the material support for this project to the masses of slaves, serfs and workers. This is what makes 'resistance' 'aesthetic' and which supplies the justification for this most unlikely title for a novel: resisting the history made against our wishes or at least unconsciously behind our backs, is a first step in the direction of the formation of a subject for such a project. Obviously this process can not begin after the revolution, because the revolution already presupposes a subject involved in this process: he who wants to really change not this or that detail of history, but the way in which history is produced, can not but be involved in the project of creating a new kind of subject for this process. Any attempt to hinder the new subject in this process of becoming the author of its own history, endangers the very process.

In describing his own school days in Bremen, as a son of a worker in a school for workers in a workers suburb, the narrator of the novel analyses the fact that while children learn how to read and to write they also "learn" that they can not read and write, that is, that they can copy and consume, but not be "authors" and "readers" (which is very nearly the same thing). The reader is always potentially the author of his own reading of a text, in that he is able to understand and criticize not only the content, but also the formal devices to achieve certain effects in the reader. The consumer, because he lacks the necessary knowledge, is condemned to 'copy' the work of art as it is (paradoxically even if he 'rejects' it). Productive assimilation of the past entails criticism. Criticism does not leave the criticized as it is, it changes it and produces something new. The tyranny of every kind of classicism is to suggest successfully that one can not change it (without making it inferior). It is therefore rather dangerous to call Marx and Engels 'classics'.

The danger of such a consumptive instead of a productive taking over of the past, is that it tends to declare existing forms of behaviour and actions to be 'natural', 'eternal', 'human'. The culture of the past begins to reinforce the behaviour of the present, blocking all alternatives. Instead of the author of one's own life, one becomes the actor acting out the roles written in the past by other authors.



While children learn to read and to write they also learn that they "learn" that they can not read and write —

THE TEXT AND THE IMAGES OF THE SUBJECT OF HISTORY

To make texts and images was always the prerequisite of the subject of history: to say "I" in a non-trivial way, and to project the wishes of that "I" into reality, presupposes a knowledge of reality, which can only be gained in the production of reality from a situation of power over reality. The poverty of the texts and images of the oppressed are related to their impoverished 'experience' and 'activity' in conditions where they control neither the power nor the production. The texts which a society (or its dominant class) produces, be they written or oral, are the scenarios of social action within that society, and the images are the images of social desire. While the oppressed may not always be able to express the difference between their own intended texts and the received texts, they occasionally note the difference: "for us there was always something else, which was not named, which had nothing to do with the apparent lucidity, which spread across the pages of the newspapers in big headlines" (I, 308). The very action in which they are involved, the Spanish Civil War, becomes 'alien' in the official texts, because the participants do not take place in the kind of decision-making, from which the language of the newspapers begins to make sense, nor do the reporters and leaders participate in the experience of the common soldier of the war. While the 'facts' of the two texts coincide, the structure, in which they appear, is divergent:

> The press services named everything, which was of importance to us, too, the villages, which were in the fire zone, the dates of the attacks and retreats, the number of the dead and wounded, the names of the army leaders, and yet, printed or as radio news, it was alien, it was said in a way, as if nobody needed to be perturbed by it, in a flash we could see it lie between coffee and rolls on the breakfast tables, or to be heard as accompanying sound while drinking the evening's beer, those who reported it and those who received the report remained uninvolved, even if they were surrounded by mountains of corpses, as it were, even if they talked about the seriousness of the situation (I, 309).

Because the "main force of the upper classes is turned against our desire to know" (I, 53), to create that darkness and slavery in which the working class is not a conscious subject but an object of the actions of others, Coppi, Heilmann and the narrator understand their undertaking to "reinterpret" the texts and the images of the past and the present as "revolt" against the overpowering knowledge, which is inseparable from economic privilege. Their reception of art confronts them continually with the fact of their "being excluded"; it is impossible for them to talk about art, "without hearing the shuffling sound, with which we shifted one foot in front of the other" (I, 59).

Nevertheless this very exclusion from consciousness must be overcome, specifically, if a communist leadership excludes the workers in Spain once again from the role of the author and relegates them to the role of "instruments". This attempt to "write their own texts" must therefore start from the consciousness of the fact that somebody/something has "suppressed" their power of speech, their image-making capabilities. They had lost their individual faces in a violent process, "which in the name of one class disposed over another" (III, 15). The aesthetic capability is precisely the ability to see the existing as changeable, the imagination, which thinks about it and all its details in such a way, that possibilities of change become visible. The violent process of subjugation has blocked the view of the oppressed to such possibilities of action, and replaced them by an unfounded optimism, the illusion of the miracle, the optimism of Hollywood films, TV advertisements, Sun City spectaculars.

No ruling class can survive for long without facing the obstacles to the realization of their goals. The oppressed classes live in the windowless room of unachievable desires, and amongst the mirages of happiness projected on the screens of their consciousness. Because the total defeat is difficult to face, they greedily accept the ersatz-images of religion, pop-culture and the advertising dream. What is needed, is not the alternative optimism of socialist realism, but that kind of pessimism, which is able to face its own defeat and destruction, while imaginatively searching for strategies to avoid this defeat. Looking back on his experience in the Spanish Civil War the narrator reflects:

> Thinking about the endless patience, the courage, the exertion of all forces, of every one of us, the destruction of the Republic became unexplainable. The possibility of a defeat had been unimaginable, there had been nothing but tenacity, enthusiasm; that the sacrifices had been useless, such a charge was unbearable. But when we now had to find reasons for the collapse, one had to attempt to relate these to the insufficiency of our imagination. We had not been adequately briefed in the overall conspiracies, we had endured in our hiding-places, had started from our good intentions, our ideal of justice, our understanding was not sharpened sufficiently for the manipulations, which had gone on around us, no, that is not true, the bickerings, the misleading, the explosions of party, enmity, the mirages, the propaganda, the double-dealing, the diplomacy, the testimony of our own weaknesses and disorganization had afflicted us, and we had denied the uncanny, in order to be able to survive (II, 151).

The workers find themselves, especially after the defeats in Germany, Italy and Spain, in a situation where they are no longer able to exert this kind of imagination: the workers' class is an "international body, which, mutilated as it was, finds itself unable to lead its own life in any country, and condemned to destruction, even if it behaved passively and silently" (III, 141). This same kind of mutilation — particularly of the imagination — the narrator finds in Kafka's *Castle:* the "painful reminders of the dirt, the misery, the baseness of all that which was dear to us" (I, 180). He asks himself, whether such a frank descriptin of defeat would not take from the reader the strength to revolt against the apparently unavoidable. But he has to admit that Kafka's description is true to the reality he himself experiences. The question is, how the workers' class can muster the imagination to free itself from this mutilating situation.

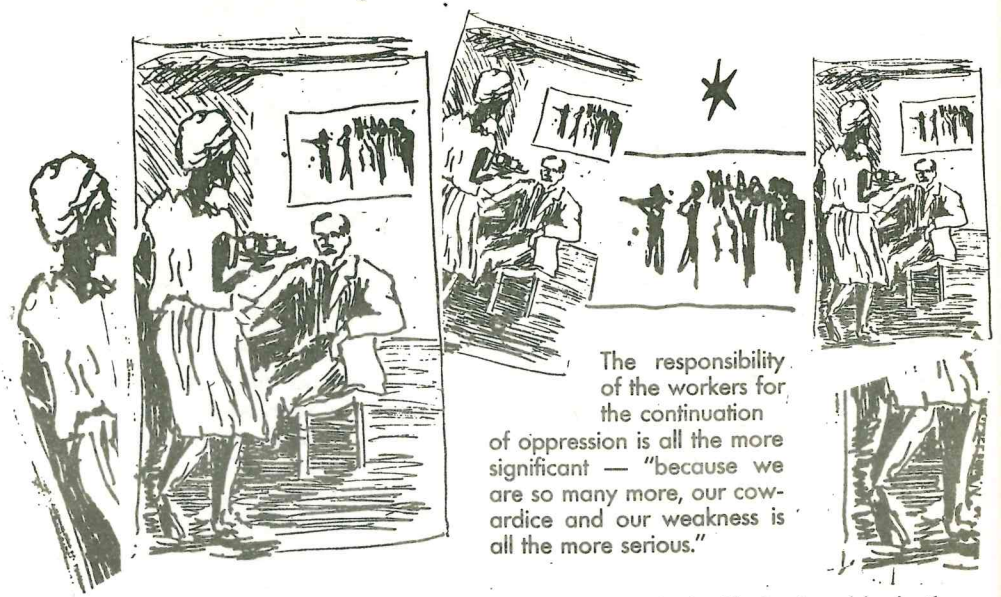
An exemplary attempt in this direction is described in the figure of the father of the narrator, shortly before the death of the narrator's mother. Feeling utterly helpless while watching his wife die in a psychosis inflicted on her by the cruelties of the Nazi regime, which she witnessed, he attempts to penetrate to the meaning of this death, and in doing so overcomes the "allpervasive obstacles to thinking" (I, 184). He, too, is merely a "wage slave", instead of "directing the processes of production" (I, 129), "nothing belonged to my father in the factory" (III, 124). Ownership facilitates thinking: that kind of thinking which produces objects and situations. In his attempt, the father tries to do more than merely recount the suffering, he attempts to understand it by naming the originators of that suffering. Neither Kafka in his novels nor the Swedish engineer Nyman, who recounts the horrors of the genocide of the Jews, reach this level of consciousness: in recounting their terrifying visions, they "forget" to name the "cause" of the violence. Weiss emphasizes strongly that the words of the father enter a zone of the taboo and silence: the father talks "about something, which transcended everything. What was touched on here, appeared alien" (III, 125). His speech is "disturbing, improper" and "irreconcilable with everything which surrounded us".

THE IMPROPRIETY OF THE SPEECH OF THE OPPRESSED

"SHOWING THE NAKED FACE OF VIOLENCE"

The exertion which is portrayed by Weiss, may at first sight be out of all proportion to the result. But that reaction would overlook both the situation, in which the father speaks, and the repression and violence, which impedes his speaking. The result of the violence, the mental disturbance of his wife and her death, are physically and sensually present, while he speaks: the violence of the oppressors thus is for him no abstract concept; the repression itself is engraved in his utterance as the resistance which has to be overcome. Yet, against these impediments, his discourse attempts to grasp this violence not as a series of unconnected and individual incidences, but "in its entire system". That is why Weiss, echoing Hegel, says: "It seemed to me, as if he wanted to lift the small room, which slowly sank, up to that point, where reality unfolds its highest power" (III, 125). What he has to say has the appearance of the ultimate pessimism: The world in which we live has been transformed by the possessors into "an enormous, metallic system, confronted with which the organic substance became porous, could easily be crushed and blown away" (III, 125). And since this system shows itself as a machine, which follows its own laws, it is necessary to name those, who use this machine to their profit, to unmask them by speaking their names. By speaking these names, the mere recounting of facts becomes poetry, which is nothing else than the Mnemosyne of the Greeks: the collective memory of a nation or a class. We must remember the names of those who profited from war and genocide, those who understood even the concentration camps as places of profit to be extracted, who enriched themselves by acquiring the properties of the victims of the Nazis. One must name those, who are the last cause of the suffering: Krupp, Thyssen, Kirdorf, Stinnes, Vögler, Mannesmann, Duisberg, Haniel, Wolff, Borsig, Klöckner, Hoesch, Bosch, Blohm, Siemens, "only a few of the mightiest he could name" (III, 126).

When looking at a phenomenon like Fascism, Natinal-Socialism, Apartheid, "one sees the masses marching to the great mass meetings, one does not see those who profit from it" (III, 127). Therefore they must be made visible as the real culprits. They started the biggest coup in business in 1933. Eight years before the Spanish Civil War they had assured themselves of concessions to the mines and steel works of Northern Spain, which they saw to be endangered by the Popular Front, and after they had "brought Fascism to Spain and led it to victory with their weapons, their delegated troops, Krupp and Thyssen could enter the coal mines of Leska and Olarean, the arms factories of San Sebastian and Bilbao" (III, 127).



Those are the same, who made their cut in Austria, in Chekoslovakia, in the occupied countries in Western and Eastern Europe. The Bank of Dresden, the Deutsche Bank, the I G Farben. "And," the father asks, "how could they have become so powerful, unless they were carried up by all of us. They were swimming on top, we were the stream" (III, 128). That is a part, which may not be left out, when all these names are recounted: "that we, even if we acted out of necessity, are equally guilty as those who know nothing but their own system, which has formed the history and created its laws, and it is our guilt that we were unable to stop them" (III, 128). Protest against the inhumanity of the oppressors is insufficient; action is possible only, if one understands the extent of and the reasons for one's defeat: "Only because we are so faceless, so without any importance, because we can not boast of (make a state with) that which once was our pride, I have not spoken first about us, but about those who have a name, and who can therefore be more easily got hold of." (III, 128). The responsibility of the workers for the continuation of the oppression is all the more significant, and that despite the terror of the ruling classes, because they are the majority: "because we are so many more, our cowardice and our weakness is all the more serious" (III, 129). As long as the wave or the stream is not conscious of its own power, the "powerful" do not only swim on top, they also determine the direction of the wave and use the movement of the masses for their purpose. Thus he concludes: "that one can only cope with reality, if one no longer hopes for anything" (III, 131); only in this condition of "hopelessness" can the understanding grow, that the oppressed have nothing to lose but their chains. Or, to formulate it differently: "In this very inability of man, to imagine his own destruction, fascism found its precondition" (I, 118). As long as man "hopes", he lies to himself about the necessity of action.

THE ABILITY TO IMAGINE ONE'S OWN DESTRUCTION

Looking away from the violence and the terror, which the state exercises on behalf of privileged groups to ensure the docility of the oppressed, the repression of one's knowledge of this violence will not strengthen the determination of the oppressed to revolt against it: it will create pockets of unconsciousness, reserves of weaknesses, taboos, which merely serve the perpetrators of this violence.

To develop a language, in which these taboos can be broken, without sliding into a pornography of violence, into a voyeurism, which pretends to be shocked, but is in reality the satisfaction of a secret lust demands an artistic precision and an incredible exertion of the imagination. This violence appears in Weiss' novel in the symbol of the destroyed face, the annihilation of the individuality of the victims of violence, and in the exertion to overcome this by means of "mnemosyne", the active, imaginative memory. The "trace" of violence is the negative of the perpetrator of violence. Collecting the traces leads to him who profits from that violence. On the very first page of his novel Weiss presents such 'traces' of violence in the materiality of human beings: "Exploded into fragments, with a torso, an arm, propped up, a ruptured hip, a scurfy fragment, indicating her figure" (I, 7). The image shows human beings and their artistic creations exposed to this kind of violence, which robs them of their humanity in the sense of classical kalokagathia (the coincidence of beauty and truth in the subject), which drowns the good and the useful in their actions in the nausea of blood and torn limbs of the body.

Art, "remembering his perfection, and falling back into formlessness" (I, 7) re-enacts the revolt and its crushing: art crumbles into formless sand and stone. The classical perfection of the Pergamon altar, in this process of fragmentation, reveals the truth about man and about art. Out of the chaos there rises a "flayed face, with gaping lacerations, widely open mouth, empty staring eyes . . . everything near to its decayed end and near to its origin" (I, 7).

The truth of art is both in Weiss' description of the end of the resistance group "Rote Kapelle" in Plötzensee and in the description of the symbolic fight on the Pergamon altar. In both cases it is a truth, from which we have turned our attention:

> There they were hanging, all of them, underneath the rail, their neck stretched out, their head bend sideways, they were no longer recognizable, only because of their sequence Schwarz would have been able to given them names, but even these began to get lost in an emptiness. The last one, Schumacher, was still swaying slightly, and there was a trembling in his legs, and quickly, because the stench was more than he could take, Schwarz started to pull of the soggy trousers from the bodies; after he had signed the death certificates, then he put the trousers into a wheel-barrow and carted them over to the washing room (III, 220).

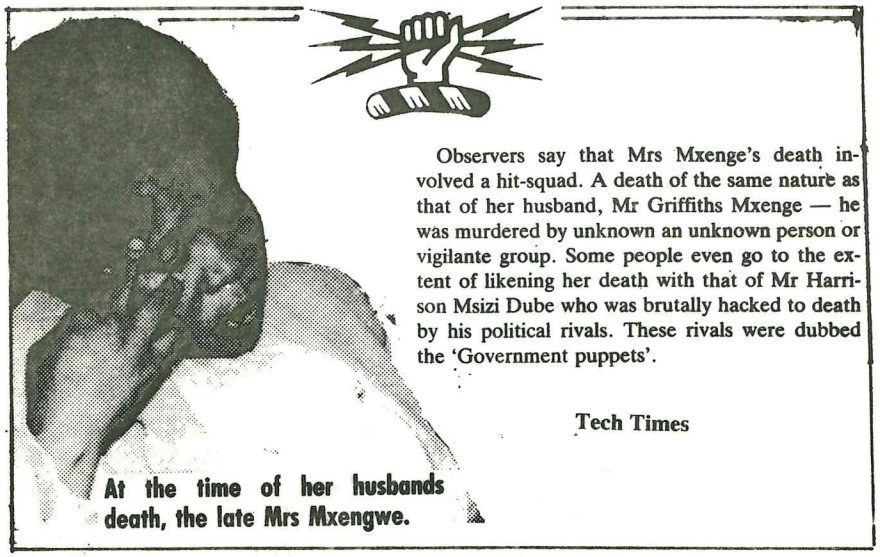
The fragility of the organic substance of life, when confronted with the power of "machines", is the truth of the Pergamon altar, too: "how frail the shimmer of the skin, waiting for caresses, but exposed to the inexorable competition, the laceration and destruction." (I, 7). And it is not by chance that the face of the goddess of the earth has been hacked away underneath the holes of the eyes.

Constantly exposed to such violence, which creates its "legal order" by means of murder, and which perpetuates its kind of order as the natural order, the only order capable of speech, constantly utering a stream of words which claim rationality for themselves and deny it to any other voice, the oppressed experience themselves as the speechless, the non-I, then and now: "The silencing, the paralysis of those, whose fate it was to be crushed into the earth, was noticeable wide and far" (I, 13). For language knows itself only as the discourse of the rulers and of their order, it has excluded the desire of the oppressed and connotated it with the sign of death. Only those, who are already "dead", may speak this revolt against the order of the language: only those who have nothing further to fear. The masters over language and the Lords of art, whose autonomy is wishful thinking, have made the fragmentation of the body the repressed but real praxis, which thus remains outside the concepts of understanding: brutality calls itself barbarous, so that one may not speak about it, but also, so that one may not speak about its abolition by the most authoritarian thing there is, by revolution:

> With weapons the victorious will have to force their will on the defeated, and with weapons, which inspire with fear, they will have to maintain their power, and before one could speak about the withering away of the state, one had to erect a new state, with the rules of a new way of living together, and then the daily toil would start, in which every theory will have to prove its use value (I, 18).

The barbarism of the revolution is unavoidable: because of the terror of the rulers, because they are prepared to defend their rule to the last drop of blood (not necessarily their own: they use the oppressed to fight the oppressed), because they defend the inequality with the most unashamed brutality, with jails and concentration camps, with gallows, wheels, guillotines, axes, electroshocks and whips, the bloody phase of the revolution can not be eliminated; its face is still determined by the time in which it is born, although it is supposed to use its power for the abolition of violence and terror. Slimy with the blood and tears and dirt of the past, the utopia hopes to end murder by keeping a murderous watch on all those who hope to regain their lost privileges and powers.

If we are shocked by the bloody face of revolution, we should also remember the loathsome grimace of the rule it supplants. One of the victims of the Nazi regime, Libertas, "who in fewer than four months gathered a whole life" (203), who progresses from a harmless liberal opponent of the regime into a determined underground fighter, is murdered in the most brutal way to instill terror in the heart of the opponents of the Third Reich (and this kind of terror is not limited to the Nazi regime):



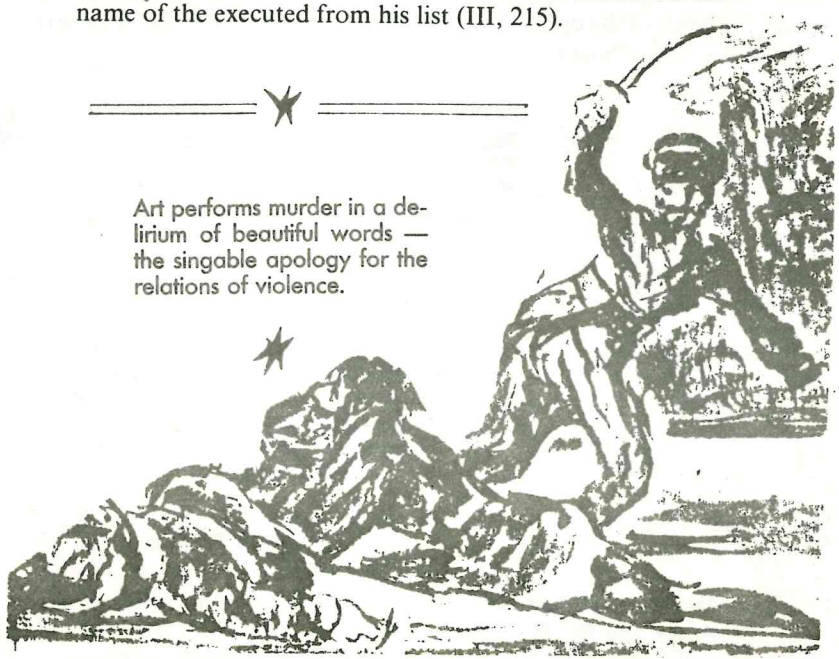
At the time of her husbands death, the late Mrs Mxengwe.

Observers say that Mrs Mxenge's death involved a hit-squad. A death of the same nature as that of her husband, Mr Griffiths Mxenge — he was murdered by unknown an unknown person or vigilante group. Some people even go to the extent of likening her death with that of Mr Harrison Msizi Dube who was brutally hacked to death by his political rivals. These rivals were dubbed the 'Government puppets'.

Tech Times

That is the 'truth' of a culture for the privileged: in order to maintain privilege, culture must use violence. Art, in the light of this horror, shows itself as a ritual, which performs murder in a delirium of beautiful words, the singabale apology for the relations of violence, the aesthetically embroidered terror.

> Libertas had started to scream, leave me, leave me my life, she screamed, and now everything progressed so fast, that he (the priest, who is reporting this) could not keep up with his praying, the executioner had torn the curtain apart in the middle with a tug at the line, and the two halves had opened with a rustle, three fellows with short shirt sleeves and baggy trousers tugged into their boots, had thrown themselves on the woman and pressed her against the board, standing upright, with an indentation at the end, had turned it over on its hinge, allowed the upper part of the wooden ruff to fall down in its frame, and at the same time the enormous axe with its skew knife edge raced down from above, and severed from the body the head, which fell into the wicker basket, with blood all over it. The blood was still jerking out of the throat, a man turned up in the white, blood bespattered coat and announced the time, which the public prosecutor entered in the death certificate, after he had ticked off the name of the executed from his list (III, 215).



Art performs murder in a delirium of beautiful words — the singable apology for the relations of violence.

A FEW BUILT UP AN ORGANIZATION

This confrontation with death by violence must neither be misunderstood as an extreme defeatism, nihilism or as decadence, nor as a mere revival of the concepts of Artaud's theatre of cruelty. What Weiss and his narrator are interested in, is the incredible resilience of the resistance movements, the popular revolts, the revolutions in the face of this carnage, which is the content of the history of the ruling classes:

> Nevertheless, the important thing was not, that there were powers busy to massacre people in enormous quantities, but that a few had started to act against these deeds, and what was memorable about that was not that they were inaudible, that they were so insignificant, but that they existed at all, that they had escaped the persecutions, that they had not fallen into the traps, that they communicated with each other and found secret paths to each other, to plan together. The decisive factor was not that in this moment hundreds fell into a pit, because then they were already useless, but that a few of them had an organization and little cells, which now had to be expanded. The important thing, which overshadowed everything else, was not the continuous splitting asunder and the break downs, but the effort, to endure in the midst of the roar, screams and rattle (III, 48f).

If we were to overlook the conditions under which the struggle of the oppressed is conducted, if we were not to see it as heroic endurance in the face of incredible odds, we might easily come to hasty conclusions about the role of the 'elites', which attempt to direct this struggle. To expect, under these circumstances, the flowering of a participatory culture, a socialist culture with no restrictions and exclusions, would be to negate the concept of the material preconditions of a culture, to expect the resistance movement to convert the harshness of the struggle by some magical means into the paradise of freedom.

If we understand by culture not a collection of books, paintings, scores, locked away in libraries and museums, but active modes of behaviour, ways of seeing and hearing, gestures and actions, carried by living people, (who merely use books, pictures, movies, scores etc as extensions of their memory), who create their living institutions (like theatres, music halls, poetry readings), then the fragmentary nature of the culture of the oppressed becomes obvious: it must be opportunistic in the sense, that it uses whatever opportunities arise in the struggle. If a relatively liberal government, like that of the Weimar Republic allows the establishment of evening schools for workers, workers' music associations, even the production and screening of films like Brecht's

Kuhle Wampe, such opportunities must not be missed; but there are opportunities even in the harshest environments, like the hospital in the Spanish Civil War, and the jails of Nazi Germany, the secret meeting places of the underground in Sweden.

Wolfgang Langhoff, himself an inmate of two concentration camps during the Nazi regime in Germany, describes in his novel, *Die Moorsoldaten,* the close relationship between the workers' organization, their cultural activities and the ability to survive the incredibly brutal methods of the SS. In the middle of the camps, "surrounded by barbed wire, terror, beatings and maltreatment", the communist workers arrange a kind of party meeting with elections and speeches[7]. "Later", says Langhoff, "I have grasped the meaning and power, which was contained in this tradition. For never in my whole life have I experienced such a degree of unity, faithfulness and comradeship"[8] He realizes that without the counterweight of comradeship and the attempt to build up their own secret life, many would not have survived the period in the concentration camps. Organizing programs of lectures and studies for the free Sundays, the cultural activity becomes at the same time an opportunity to strengthen the bond of a common political view, and enables the workers to organize a secret party secretariat right under the eyes of the SS. Under the guise of a discussion group all the barracks manage to hold a meeting to remember the 16th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and to organize a "No" vote in the referendum on Germany's continued membership of the League of Nations. The culture of the organized workers is shown to be an arsenal of spiritual weapons of survival.

The sharp criticism which Peter Weiss and his narrator direct against the party is not really contradicted by the insight that only the party can be the instrument of the struggle:

> The party has always been for me the immediately accessible instrument of the struggle. It was the party of my class. I considered myself a member, even without a membership card. I saw no renunciation of voluntariness and independence in the subordination under the decision of a majority, which was connected with the entrance in to the party. But the rational should never be silenced, never should metaphysical demands be made . . . The party was also the party of dialectics. While some exhausted, orthodox things had been taken up by it, there was nevertheless youth, the ability to change, there were forces directed into the future. The harshness, strictness, discipline belonged to it as much as the clear-headedness, the imagination (I, 298).

It was the precisely the interdict on open discussions, the prohibition of criticism which has led the party into a situation where it made grave mistakes, and which was responsible for the fact that apathy and resignation

were spreading amongst its adherents. It is to the credit of this novel that the reader learns to overcome this resignation while contemplating the "lowest point of the history of the workers' movement, as it were its descent into hell"[9]:

> Because the history of the workers' movement is revived here in a way which is truthful, taking up the contradictions, even the crimes on one's own side, but without the effect of many accusatory writings which intend to make one a renegade, that one ought to throw away the cause of socialism. On the contrary: the cause of socialism becomes dear to one's heart, much as it is destroyed in many propaganda writings[10].

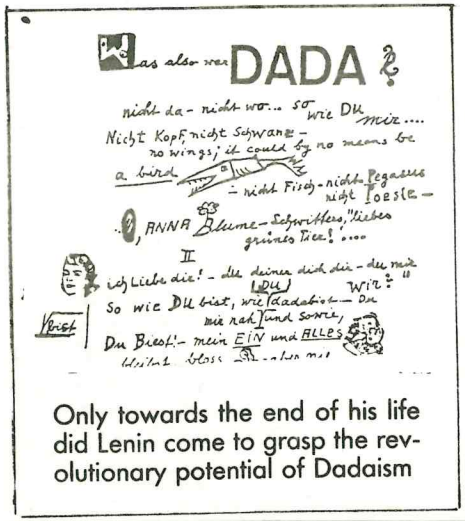
Added to the struggle against the usual obstacles to thinking, which bourgeois society puts into the way of the worker trying to understand his own history, there are the obstacles which are put into this way by an orthodox and hardened party hierarchy.

The dogmas, ideologies and structures of thinking, which every class needs, in order to act, need to be corrected again and again by the "sensual observation of reality", and it is art, which has a major part to play in a process, in which the necessary deconstruction of hardened dogmas takes place. This is both its advantage and danger. Neither the one nor the other is in itself 'right' or 'wrong'. The simplifications of dogma are as necessary in a situation of struggle as are the constant destructive actions of art. They serve to express the will of a class so as to allow no misunderstanding, they serve to give a certainty to him, who is not yet experienced to think in the categories of the class struggle, they transmit to him that his actions make sense. Therefore there is a necessary resistance against the 'instability' of art, which constantly doubts what had seemed to be certain, which constantly insists on the complexity of the situation, which the needs of daily politics demand simplicity. Therefore there is a deep distrust of the artist by the worker, even where he joins the workers' movement and the resistance. Stöbe, one of the members of the "Rote Kapelle" reflects about the artists in the illegal movement: "They may try as hard as they can to become at home in the illegality, suddenly they have to give in to the demands which art makes on them" (III, 194). While she does not doubt the sincerity fo the artist's commitment, she is disturbed by their presence in the underground, "because she can not rid herself of the impression, that they offered their intentions like proposals which have to be turned over and over, and which could be rejected at anytime, in contrast to that, which is determined by the party" (III, 194). Being less stable, more endangered than the other members, they can also become more dangerous for the others, because they carry their inner dissension into the situation of the illegal struggle, where there should not be the least doubt.

THE TENSION BETWEEN THE "INSTABILITY" OF ART AND THE NEEDS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The tension between anarchy and discipline, contradictory complements of the revolutionary struggle, can not be reduced to the simplicity of total subordination under the dictates of a party, which has become 'abstract': the party, in Lenin's words the "avantgarde" of the workers, has replaced the masses of the workers, the central committee of the party replaces the democratic participatory process of the party, and, finally, the chairman of the central committee appropriates all the power to his person. But this tension can, on the other hand, not be resolved by the total rejection of the party discipline: the anarchic revolution of the Dadaists, contemporaneous with Lenin's exile in Zürich, only seems to be more promising than the austere planning of the party functionaries a few houses away. The very attempt to resolve this tension deadens the party or exposes the artistic revolt to spectacular futility. Lenin, although at first rejecting the "artistic revolution" of the Dadaists (it is Trotzky who, as already in Weiss's drama of that name, grasps the revolutionary potential of Dadaism), comes to see towards the end of his life, "that the revolutionary needs to have the ability to dream", and he begins to understand the artist "as a counterweight against the bureaucratic and doctrinaire party apparatus" (II, 62). But then Lenin valued Trotzky because of his independence, because of his criticism, because he was the only one amongst the party hierarchy not afraid to oppose him.

Art, a counterweight against bureaucracy and doctrinaire apparati.



Only towards the end of his life did Lenin come to grasp the revolutionary potential of Dadaism

When the narrator decides, after the defeat in the Spanish Civil War, to join the party formally, he expresses this tension in the following way:

> The thought of my acceptance in the party combined with the desire to unlimited discoveries, already I saw myself standing in front of painted canvasses, saw myself coming to meet Géricault, Delacroix, Courbet, Millet, I wanted to enter the closed organization, wanted to enter the fight without compromise, and at the same time the absolute freedom of fantasy . . . I imagined the road into the party and the road to art as something unique, inseparable; the political decision, the intransigence in the face of the enemy, the action of the imagination, all this became a unity (II, 19).

When the narrator talks about art, fantasy, imagination, he never loses sight of the fact that what he is about to do, he is not only doing for himself: it is a force which is present in many othes, and in pursuing his ideas, he initiates a clarification for others as well: "Together we had this sharpened state of being awake" (I, 305). While art introduces an apparent lability into the social movement, it becomes the depository of experiences and as such also becomes a stabilizing feature in any revolutionary movement: if art is not the concern of isolated individuals, but the concern of a collective awareness, art is sharpened by this experience, but in turn prepares the tools for a sharpened state of awareness of the social reality.

Looking at the reproduction of the various stages of the *Guernica* picture by Picasso together with Ayschmann, while waiting to be repatriated to France, the narrator comes to the insight that there is no "separation between the social and political materializations and the essence of art" (I, 337): he realizes that Picasso's pictures demand that they take "the first impression only as an occasion to take apart what is given and to test it from various sides, to put it together anew, and thus to appropriate it" (I, 336). It is only this kind of appropriation, which makes the subordinates the real masters: in the world of art, of ideology, of production, of politics. And this is the challenge and the opportunity, which art provides: to learn the methods of this productive appropriation of reality, which is the necessary prerequisite of dealing with reality on a revolutionary basis. To be fobbed off with populist trash, adapted to the limitations of the workers' class, with concise paraphrases, condescendingly couched in simple language, is of no help really: "The ability to think has been given to all. We were always furious, when one did not trust us to have an intellectual activity after work" (I, 338).

Not accepting that he is an "exception" (one of the words of the ruling class to explain away the few of the oppressed who attain cultural autonomy against incredible odds), the narrator insists:

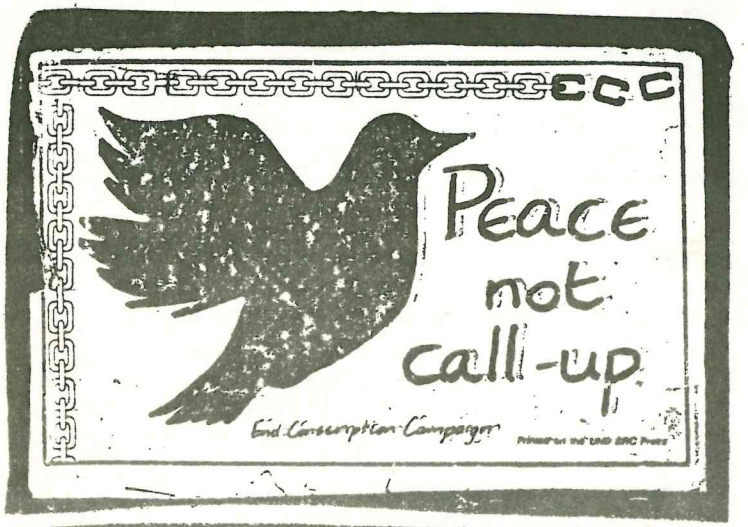
> We were workers, and we were on the way to create for ourselves a cultural basis. The mere hint, that this could only be achieved under exceptional circumstances, seemed to us to be condescending, discriminating. That we ourselves, not better or more intelligent than others, had been able to study, to do research, was proof, that others, too, would succeed. What was missing often, was merely the motivation, it started already in school, it continued in the trade unions, who did not further the impatience of thinking but petty bourgeois contentedness (I, 338).

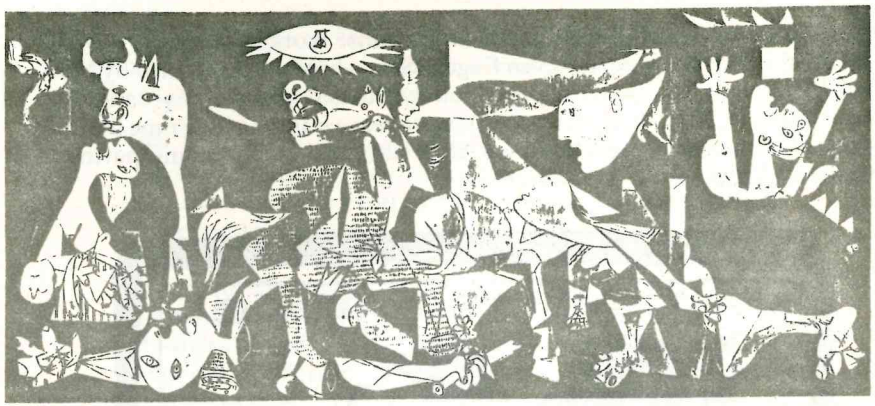
He admits that he had needed the assistance of others: but then the workers' culture is much more aware of the collective nature of culture than bourgeois culture. The worker, who can not rely on institutions to further his culture, becomes aware much more than the bourgeois intellectual of the institutional character of culture. And when he looks around, he realizes that these institutions are lacking or inadequate where he had most hoped to find them, in the various workers' organizations. The distrust of the party and trade union leaders, their rejection of "living" art, reflects their own uncertainty in the face of a reality which is much more complex than the abridged guidelines of the party admit. Münzenberg, the successful editor of the only illustrated journal for the working class in Weimar Germany, experienced this early in his biography, when he joined a workers' cultural organization of the Social Democrats. The party functionaries find the reading of realist, critical novels and dramas more threatening than the study of scientific socialism. In the description of the decay of the family and other bourgeois institutions, the older social democrats sensed a danger to their own organizational apparatus.

> The fear of the impatient analysis of human social life, which had to become a hostility against art and literature, this tendency, which remained unconscious all the time, which was denied immediately, when discussed, attached itself to the workers' movement in future, as a petty bourgeois reactionary ballast, which brought about the tendency to make compromises, to narrow-mindedness, to dogmatism (II, 55).

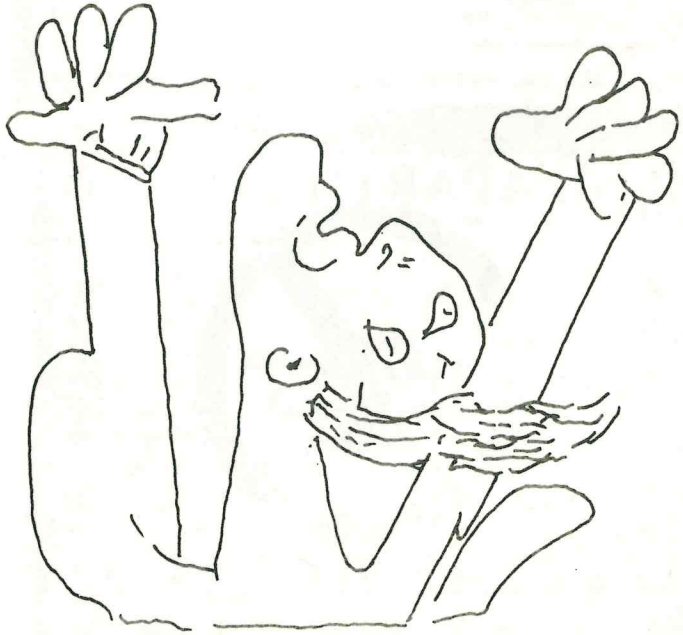
Apart from the 'safe', classical art (Schiller, Heine), which the German workers' movement had absorbed in the nineteenth century, the art of the past and present, which had these 'critical' tendencies, was ignored or labelled 'decadent': Georg Büchner, who even today does not get the attention in the German Democratic Republic which he deserves as the leading revolutionary

writer of the nineteenth century, Kafka, whose work was rejected totally during the Stalinist time, but even Eugéne Sue, who was condemned by Marx himself, Brecht, who, after his rejection by Lukács, was grudingly admitted back into the GDR, Picasso, whose Dove of Peace was for a long time the only work of Expressionism given some kind of status by the communist parties of Eastern Europe — the list is endless.





They, the Party, reject as 'grotesque' and 'childish' the very traits of the style of the picture, which make it the adequate vision of the brutality of the struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors.



In their discussion Ayschmann unravels both the reasons given by the party for its rejection of Picasso's *Guernica* and some of the unconscious prejudices lurking underneath this official criticism: admittedly, this work from which they expected agitation exhibits an opaqueness and an incomprehensibility, which contradicts their concept of reality: "The painful deformity of man under the impact of destruction contradicts the opinion of the party, that the fighter is supposed to maintain his strength and his unity in every position" (I, 334). They must reject as "grotesque" and "childish" the very traits of the style of the picture, which make it the adequate vision of the brutality of the struggle between the oppressed and their oppressors.

The narrator admits also that the violence of the aggressor remains invisible on this picture (just as the identity of the oppressor in Kafka's *Castle* remains shrouded in anonymity): visible is only the subjugation, visible are only the overwhelmed. Naked and defenceless "they are exposed to the invisible enemy, whose strength grew to infinity" (I, 339). This is one aspect of the "instability" of art: by intensely portraying the "truth" of the defeat, it can contribute to defeatism. Being partisan, but not to the point of lying, art might undermine the effort of the oppressed to free themselves. Art, furthermore, is bound to what is sensually present, without this presence it fails: it is revealed as an allegory of abstract concepts, which are unable to exert the power which art usually exerts. The danger of "recognizing" the deformations, which the class struggle imprints on us, is that we become discouraged; the danger of not recognizing these deformations, is that they become permanent sources of future deformed actions of the oppressed. The price of the "stability" imposed on the workers' movements by the party bureaucracies is the continuation of this deformation of the capitalist society within the organizations of the worker himself.

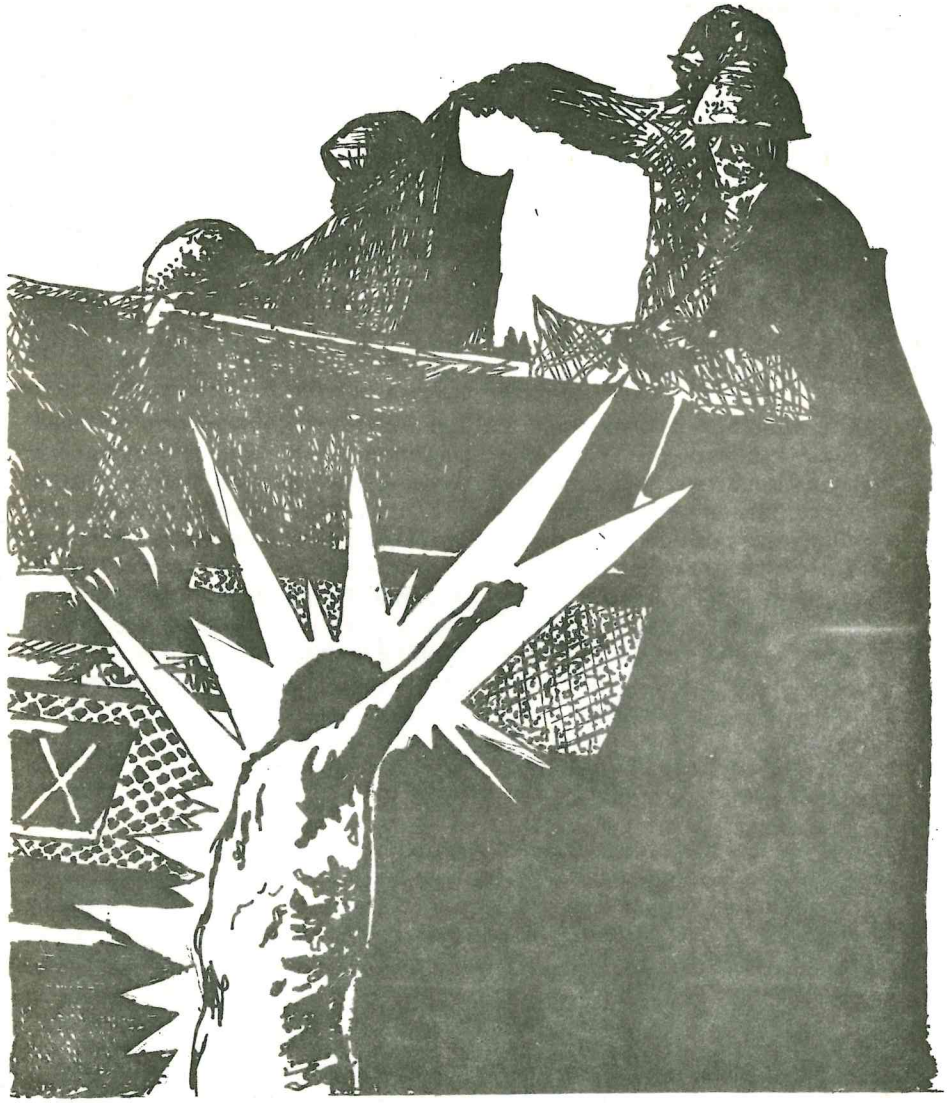
THE PAINFUL MEMORIES OF DIRT, MISERY, BASENESS

"What was to be read in Kafka's book did not make me hopeless, but it made me ashamed" (I, 177), reports the narrator, after reading Kafka's *Castle,* while waiting to be transported to Spain, to take part in the Civil War. Rejecting the description of Kafka as "decadent", he points out that this would bar us from the insights of Kafka's image of reality: "in which the absence of revolt, the busy circling around trivialities, the awful absence of insights confronts us with the question, why we have not intervened, to remedy the abuses once and for all" (I, 177). He recognizes in Kafka his own experience and the experience of those who stood next to him at the work-benches of the factories:

> Because they had at their disposal nothing but a few minor manipulations, they had to deny their qualifications all day long and sink ever deeper into torpor and unconsciousness. Kafka's book took as its point of departure this being overwhelmed and the delusion, widely accepted, that we earned our living by grace, and it disquieted, afflicted the reader, because he saw the totality of our problems actualized in it (I, 176).

This confrontation is necessary for two reasons: the image of the radiating worker hero is at best a half-truth, realized in isolated moments of resistance and revolution; it must be seen in the perspective of the reality of oppression as the utopian counter-image of not-yet; only the full confrontation with the baseness produced by the system of oppression clarifies the concept of the "aesthetics" of resistance. While the narrator ponders, whether the "painful memories of dirt, misery, baseness of all that which had been near to us, would not deprive us of the power to revolt against the apparently inevitable" (I, 180), he recognizes that this rejection of Kafka's vision grew out of his perplexity: because he recognized himself and his friends in these "twisted, damaged, worn out villagers", because he recognized, that even amongst us there is this "glumness, this stuntedness, this philistine despondence" (I, 180).

While Kafka's book retains its value, on its own it is insufficient: the narrator confronts it with a book by Neukrantz, *Die Barrikaden am Wedding,* one of the "Red Novels", which were sold for the very low price of one Mark in the Weimar Republic. While Kafka's book is "filled with infinitely ramifying trains of thought, with connections and crossings of moral, ethical, philosophical concepts, with a constant questioning of the meaning of phenomena," (I, 180) the little book by Neukrantz gives answers without asking, offers weapons against suffering, can be understood immediately by all those who live in workers' districts: "There was no time for detours, for reflections, what had to be done was complete and clear, what towered up



The image of the radiating worker hero is at best a half truth, realised in isolated moments of resistance and revolution.

ominously, fatefully over the inhabitants of Kafka's village, was, for the inhabitants of the Wedding, an intelligible, class determined process of oppression, which had to be opposed" (I, 181). Yet the one book can not simply replace the other: the material force, which Neukrantz shows to act on the workers, would have been impotent without the ideas behind it, and it is Kafka who follows the endless twisting and turning of the ideological process, which props up the power of the ruling class. The answers of Neukrantz, necessary as they are for the struggle, becomes meaningless instant solutions without the questions of Kafka: they are constantly overtaken by the refinements in the techniques of oppression, and if the workers want to keep up with this process, they have to see them as examples of solutions in the past, which are not necessarily effective in the present. Only he, who has derived these answers from their historical questions, may be able to derive new answers from the present questions.

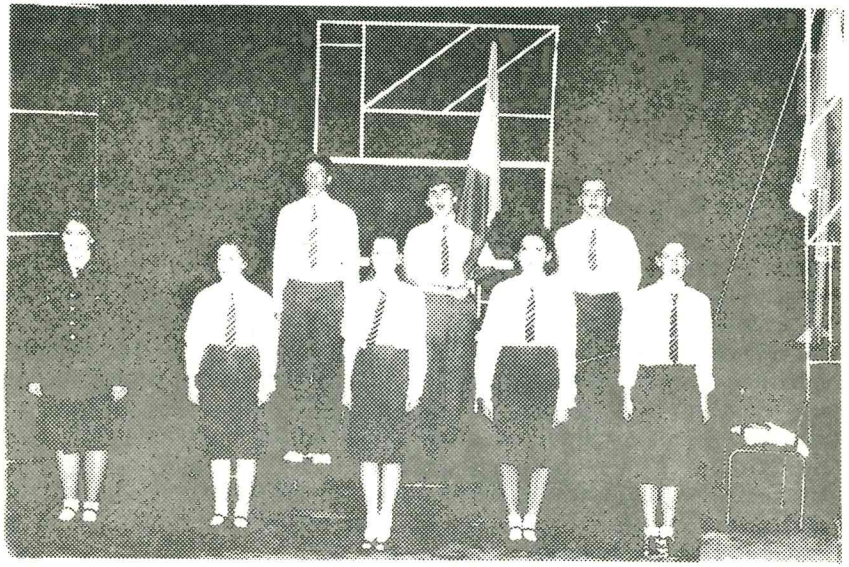
The worker as his own intellectual can not afford to rely on any 'abridged' guide to the capitalist system: the struggle demands a real understanding. But a real understanding presupposes insights into the vulnerability and the contradictions of one's own position, coupled with the belief, that this very vulnerable position is not only defensible, but can be the origin of victory. There is not one science to explain the world and to allow acting meaningfully within the world for the intellectual, and a cheaper, easier science for the worker, but there is also no way in which the workers' class can jump in one big stride from its own impoverished culture to this complete understanding, which is necessary to make it the subject of future history. In order to be able to fight, the answers must be anticipated, before the questions can be fully explored; but these answers may never block the further exploration of the questions, lest the worker becomes dependent on the "interpreters" who supply answers.

"No wishful thinking leads out of the social insecurity, the economic distress, the political assault" (I, 183): reality has to be faced in its complexity, in all its contradictory antagonisms; and if the worker refuses to do this, others will by necessity become "leaders". Thus the narrator understands his own quest as exemplary: "what we found, we acquired for others as well" (I, 183f):

> For no other purpose, no other truth can be contained in our exertions to conquer art, literature, than to strengthen the solidarity of those, who have thus far only experienced their exclusion from it. If we wanted to evade this by looking at the value of a work in isolation, we were running the danger of falling into a vacuum, only in reciprocal action with the conditions, the uniqueness and the habits of our sphere of life could our learning, our study become fruitful (I, 184).

Seen in the context of an education, in which the children of the proletarian suburbs are destined "to nothingness", where "a word which testified to reflection, was hit down with fists and canes" (I, 338), where workers are educated to be the future beasts of burden, it would be highly unrealistic to expect this process to be anything but "shuffling" and slow. To creep out of the dirt, misery, baseness, which the capitalist system imposes on the working class, can only mean to reverse the process of an education meant to stultify: but to reverse the results of a long process of education, is not going to be achieved by one flaming appeal, a single poem, the triumphant final scene of a revolutionary play. It can only take place in the context of the revolutionary process itself, where the worker starts to experience himself for the first time as the author of his own actions and statements. This is the one part of the revolutionary process, which he can not leave to the "leaders": to determine the direction and the meaning of his revolt.

To reverse the results of a long process of education meant to stultify, is not going to be achieved by one flaming appeal — the triumphant final scene of a revolutionary play.



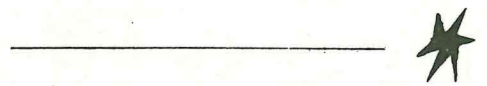
A scene from 'All's Well' — the winning piece of theatre of the Grahamstown Arts' Festival, 1985. The play was workshopped by students from the University of Witwatersrand.

THE MUSES IN THE TORTURE CHAMBER

In the final drafts of Picasso's *Guernica,* the winged Pegasus, the genius of the muses, which escaped from the torn side of the horse, is no longer physically present. "But that the Pegasus, invisibly, was part of the picture, was confirmed, when we found a quote from Picasso, which left no doubt about the way he worked, during which nothing, no preparatory sketch was considered lost, rejected" (I, 335). The arts are present in the torture chamber of the oppressors. But they have to be 'invisible' if they do not want to prop up the torturer's claim that he represents "law and order". Any art, which allows itself to be used as the affirmation of the present system, nullifies itself: its own "order" and "harmony" become the mendacious glorification of the squalor produced by oppression. Thus the final draft of Picasso's *Guernica* marks the absence of art in its presentation. Art is not that kind of bad consolation, the opium and marijuana, preventing insights into one's own situation, as which it is generally used in the culture consumption process of the late bourgeoisie. When the priest in the Plötzensee prison is asked to recite Goethe's poem *Orphische Urworte* by one of the condemned (Harnack), they sound to him — in this extreme situation — like the "chirping of a cricket" (III, 214): this poem which praises the eternal order of the Leibnitzean best of all possible universes, becomes hollow and meaningless in the torture chambers of Nazi Germany. Its humanistic meaning is retained only for him, who is condemned to die on the gallows within a few minutes. If it is used by the survivors to justify their existence, it evaporates. The only ones who can claim the inherent humanity of art are the ones who are fighting for a more human future. The barbarians are usurpers of this inner order of art: in their hands art becomes a grimace.

Pretoria Central, Barberton, and Robben Island, symbols of an 'order', which calls itself the Bastion of Western Civilization, and which calls its enemies barbarian, are ideologically supported by any kind of art which allows the muses to appear visibly as phantoms of order in a structure of violence. That such art is "barbarian", because it is indifferent to the suffering of those trying to resist the oppression, there can be little doubt. That it is barbaric to claim the inheritance of the past in a situation where one's actions contradict this inheritance, seems obvious. To assist in the swindle, in which barbarism dons the mask of civilisation, is a crime against the essence of aesthetics, mnemosyne, the remembrance of 'beautiful' actions and thoughts. To hand on a 'culture', which is the repository of attitudes, ideologies, visions, which sustain this violence, without questioning, without a critique, which tries to reverse this structure of oppression, is the occupation of hirelings of the system, and to be despised.

Culture as alibi for the torturers has to be transformed into a culture which first portrays the torture and the torturers, then shows ways to overcome such a cruel culture. Those who harmlessly transmit the culture of the colonial oppressor with the proud consciousness of being carriers of a superior culture, may not always know that they are thus apologists of the police brutality which is necessary to uphold that 'superior' culture, that their function is even more suspect than that of the priest in the Plötzensee prison; they may genuinely not see the record of violence contained in their own culture, the cruelty of an aesthetics living like a vampire off the blood of the oppressed. yet the artists themselves, whom they sell on the educational and cultural market, were aware of the torture chamber in which they were working, provided they did not completely close their ears, eyes and noses (and which artist can remain an artist, as long as he blocks his senses from reality).



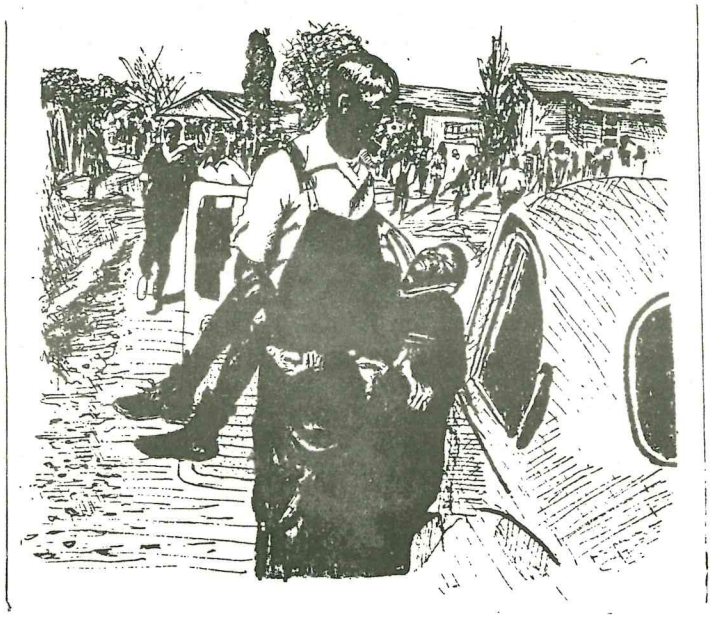
Those who harmlessly transmit the culture of the colonial oppressor with the proud consciousness of being carriers of a 'superior' culture, may not always know that they are thus apologists of police brutality.

The very violence which they have to use to oppress, shows their weakness.

Weiss's novel, among other things, is a rediscovery of seeing, a guide to the visual arts, to the images of past cultures, an archeology of the past class-struggles on canvasses and in statues. And thus he discovers in the very bastions of bourgeois art the testimony of past revolts, which in their defeat testify to the energy of the oppressed, which could only be overcome by the exertion of the wildest cruelty and brutality on the side of the rulers. So far the balance of power turned to the side of the rulers, but the very violence which they have to use, to oppress, shows their weakness. The hopes contained in the torture chamber are not only the isolated images of victory, like the figure of Freedom on the barricades in Delacroix's picture, but equally the images of defeat, which the narrator discovers for example in a small picture by Meissonier:

> Not larger than the span o the hand, without decorative additions and noticeable composition, sober like an eye-witness account, it transmitted, what the painter had seen in June Fortyeight, a street, whose windows and doors were barricaded, with shutters down, and where the corpses of the revolutionaries, inundated with blood, were lying between heaps of cobble stones. The picture contained the silence after the destruction. The murderers did not show themselves, they kept themselves away in this hour of a disgraceful

Hopes are not only the isolated images of victory but equally the images of defeat.



> victory, only their poor victims were lying there, their clothes torn, one in front lying on his back in red trousers, one of his feet lost the shoe, another, his hand pressed against the wound in his breast; and at the border of the street a boy lying on his stomach, next to him a lost cap, an old man, his pointed red beard lifted up, in front a bit of light on the fragmented stones, in the background of the street more and more darkness. (II, 40).

But this image of despondency is immediately confronted with the image of the escape of St. Ranier from prison: it remains the last picture the narrator is able to see, before the guards throw him out of the Louvre, a sign which he carries into his exile. The worker, who between his participation in the Spanish Civil War and his activities in the illegal underground in Sweden, manages to enter the temple of bourgeois culture for one short afternoon, and who is thrown out, before he can absorb more than a few of the many treasures collected here by the rulers of the past, is fascinated by the "simplicity of expression, the freshness and directness of the vision" (II, 41) of this little picture of Sassetta, a fifteenth century painter of Siena. The pictures will be locked away for the duration of the war: a significant action. The torture chamber safeguards its spiritual merchandise in the cellars for safe keeping.

CULTURE IS NOT A REPLACEMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IT FUNCTIONS ONLY WITHIN A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Again and again the narrator of the novel reflects whether art is not merely an escape from the overwhelming political defeat of the party in the Europe of triumphant Fascism and National-socialism and the period of the corruption of the Communist parties during the time of Stalin. Is art not an obscenity in view of the suffering of millions of living beings, in that it separates the artist and the recipient from the necessary struggle taking place to create a world in which this suffering is no longer necessary? Does art, every kind of art, not necessarily lift itself across the reality of brutal murders and oppression into a realm of fake serenity, while "on the floor of the jail there is only that, which I had taken to be dirty. I saw her, the childlike woman (Libertas), sullied, soiled, and my love turned to her in her destruction" (III, 205). Does art not make itself the accomplice of such an elimination, even while it speaks of such violence? Does it not, while talking, singing, painting, draw our attention away from the screams of the tortured, even while talking, singing and painting about torture?

These are not merely rhetorical questions: one has to face the insignificance of art, as well as its function to serve as a veil over the cruelty of the civilization, which makes art possible. some artists have drawn this very conclusion, that in a society like this, the only speech which the artist has, is silence, while revolutionaries and activists have maintained that art must cease while the struggle for a more human future is not yet completed. If it is true that art, "that the creative never asks for a meaning, that it must simply unfold, in the last instance without a goal" (III, 205), as Heilmann asserts in his last letter out of Plötzensee jail, if the "autonomy of art" is nothing else but this "unfolding", then art is indeed a very dubious activity in the context of the struggle for freedom. As in dreams, where everything invades us, "which does not have a visible purpose and which only nourishes the life in us" (III, 208), art, without the detours of "filtering, separating, partitioning, deferring", points to the desire of the living. In so far as art is the dream, which lives this desire in a fictional manner, art shows this same "absence of moral and ethical qualities, which determine our waking existence" (III, 208). Heilmann realizes that this gives art the same kind of immediate power which dreams have and which can never be achieved by more "rational" kinds of discourse:

> Only that which refers to ourselves is present in sleep, the instinctive fear, too, the impulse to flee; we always search deeper inside us to escape the danger, which has invaded us from outside, the persecutors are behind us, in that we sense that they will appear any moment now, they already lift themselves from behind the always insufficient veils of security, and everything is of such unique force, because it is directed only against us, because we are exposed to the attacks in an elementary sense (III, 208).

In that sense art necessarily denies the collective: unless it recreates this 'individual' experience of being threatened by death, it does not fulfil its primary function. And in that sense it is also always 'destabilizing' the individual: it relocates him in his singular cave of fear, separated from the purpose of the collective. Solidarity is alien to the dreaming ego: and yet its desire for love presupposes it. The total egocentricity of the infantile dream needs the other for the gratification of his wishes. Thus while we do not feel "the sufferings, whose witness we become", while dreaming, in our adult waking state we enter

> the total pain, in which we all live, and even if we can not even there feel the bodily pain of our neighbours, our consciousness of the total pain drives us to compassion, to the attempt to give help, and if he, who was nearest to us, is torn apart in front of our eyes, desperation can become so overwhelming, that we want to end our own life, because only the final act of extinction of our impotency gives us peace (III, 208).

Now art is never as blind, unfeeling and egocentric as the dream: and maybe that is what differentiates it as an alert dream from day-dreams and night-dreams. If the artist excuses his inhumanity by the fact that he is 'driven' by art, he exposes himself to the possibility that he, too, will be left alone by the others, and sink into apathy, paralysis, hopelessness; and his art turns into the look, petrified by Medusa, which sees everything under the shadow of nausea and of the absurd. Not to be responsible and yet to be guilty is the hamartia of such an artist's life. That which is terrifying, which is as yet outside language, which exists in the speechless brutality of the oppressors and the speechless horror of the oppressed, can at first only be confronted in the anaesthesia of the dream: the artist is the dreamer, condemned to see, to smell, to hear, where others use their psychological defense mechanisms to block their senses against the unspeakable. The artist as the outsider, abandoned by society, is the visionary of Kafkaesque horror: dreaming like the mother of the narrator of that child, "which could neither speak nor scream, and on which two rats were hanging, their teeth clamped into his throat" (III, 26). In that suffering and compassion transgress the human capabilities, it changes into a petrification, which is no longer able to assist and to help, it turns into a realm, which is no longer accessible by reason. This is really, what the term 'decadence', when applied to serious modern art, ought to mean: not a perjorative damnation, but a description of a pathological state.

THE ARTIST: Condemned to see, to smell, to hear, where others use their psychological defense mechanisms to block their senses against the unspeakable.

Dreams, visions, rituals, dispositions, emotions: since the enlightenment these regions have been labelled 'atavistic', 'regressive'; they were the hunting ground of the romantic artists. And yet they are the most persistent regions of human behaviour. Writers like Brecht knew that progressive artists would be involved in transforming the social 'gesture' of people; this complex totality of emotions and behaviour, closely associated with the social class and status of their wearers. He also knew that such transformations are ultimately possible only within a revolutionary movement, which is concerned not with replacing one elite by another. Art far from being a mere embellishment or ornament — without which we could easily live — was seen by him, and is seen by Weiss, as the necessary cooperative effort to bring about this transformation.

But without the ground-swell of a truly popular movement, these exercises turn into meaningless games, which at best keep alive a revolutionary tradition, at worst become a game for its own sake, not that different from art for art's sake. Playing at 'revolutionary aesthetics' is a self-gratifying activity outside the context of a revolutionary movement.

It is obvious that neither the return to classical, romantic, 'realist' models of bourgeois art in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century nor the prescription of socialist realism will cure this 'disease': the one will lead to a sterile epigonality, the other to an equally sterile optimism, and neither will be able to confront the political, social, economic, aesthetic or emotional problems, of which 'modernism' is merely a symptom. Weiss's concept of "mnemosyne", as a kind of 'seeing' and handing on to the collective memory of mankind, is the centre of an aesthetics, which, in reporting the horror truthfully, turns the attention of the reader to the deeds of those who were engulfed by this horror: thus, while nowhere belittling the terror of the powerful, menmosyne shows the potential in the actions of the powerless, which evokes the brutality of the oppressors. And that, according to Weiss, is the essence of the aesthetic: the opposite of paralysis, the imagination and the creativity, which accompanies and anticipates a more human praxis, and which remembers instances of such a praxis, even in the very moment of its destruction. Hopelessly staring into a barbaric future or regressing into an archaic past are un-aesthetic: both nihilism and romanticism, aspects of modernism, deny the vision, which does not silence the horror, but opposes the horror with a praxis of the fantasy, which neither denies the truths of the dreaming infantile ego nor the responsibility of the waking adult.

ART was seen by Weiss as the necessary cooperative effort to transform the social "gesture" of people.

ART IS LIKE BREATHING FREELY

Before Käthe Bischoff is sent to spy in Nazi Germany (she is the only one to escape the grip of the Nazis, when they arrest the "Rote Kapelle"), she talks to the narrator about a proletarian culture: the culture which existed in Germany before the Nazis, and the culture which might be possible after the defeat of the Nazis. "Perhaps culture escaped us, . . . because our politics went wrong", she says, and then she continues:

> The proletarian culture, we always talked about it, but when I now ask myself what did we understand by it, then it seems to me it was nearest, when we went on our bike into Spandau forest, to Lake Tegel, when we sat in our canoes, when we took part in the sport clubs, — how shall I say it, — we felt, as if we had wings, as one is relieved when one finds the solution in a work of art. Art is something which is similar to breathing freely (III, 85f).

We have forgotten it: art is not something removed from, something isolated from ordinary life. Because it is not, it can not flourish except in a setting in which life itself flourishes. And as revolution is not only aiming to create this "breathing freely", but in fact allows this experience in the very moment in which it starts to free the oppressed, in all those who participate in this movement, it does not only 'have' an aesthetics, it is "aesthetics": the very first free movement of the shackled limbs to free themselves participates in the beauty of freedom. And it is this beauty which pertains to those works of art which are merely an extension of this movement, however terrifying the 'contents', the 'realities', which such works may portray.

Shortly befgore their arrest the members of the "Rote Kapelle" talk about Ulenspegel, that hero of popular literature, who embodies the revolt and the resistance of the lower classes against their masters. Kuckhoff, the printer, says about him:

> Ulenspegel, the peasant, he had the knowledge of a Faust, but he did not yearn to escape from himself, he walked about in the existing world, through sufferings, misery and struggles of liberation, he knew there was some kind of a law in all phases of life, and as it was impossible to evade it, it was best to hand oneself over to it with joy, everything was directed towards death, and he wanted to change this finality according to his understanding, in that by cunning he made himself a helper of death, to let people die in gaiety (III, 199).

Such gaiety and serenity in the face of death, although not all are capable of it, is the answer to the terror of the rulers: it is saying that even the ultimate and

final weapon of the torture chamber, death, has no fright, it can be confronted, the primeval threat of every society can be faced. This serenity is part of the culture, the social gesture of revolt: it is the discipline, "which we imposed on ourselves, which is indivisible, and in it reality has its victory over the dream" (III, 210). Viewing images which show the "speed and intensity, with which life can be extinguished" (I, 345), Ayschmann addresses that question, which so often remains a blank space in socialist aesthetics — or which is painted over by the false glory of a hero's death. The machine of the oppressors, (in the words of the father of the narrator), confronting which all living matter becomes porous, can only be attacked if we obtain clarity on the question: why risk our lives for a liberty which we may not live to enjoy? Ayschmann answers:

> And yet . . . looking into the faces (of Goya's picture of the execution of the rebels), with the mouths pressed together in hate, with their wide open eyes, I sense no terror at the thought that that which seemed so near even now, will be lost forever in a few seconds; for the feeling of such nearness, which is so very important, is only present as long as we live, it disappears with our death. I believe that we clasp life only as long as we know about life, and that there is no pain about our extinguished life, because we ourselves disintegrate with our disintegration. Only as living beings can we fear death and yet we have no reasons for that, because we are still alive, this fear ceases with death, that is why the fear of death is absurd (I, 345f).

It is that "wisdom", a "gesture" in Brecht's sense rather than a theoretical insight, although the theoretical insight obviously does accompany it, which is at the centre of an "aesthetics of resistance": that fear of death can intimidate us to leave the living of our lives to others, to allow others to use us as the objects of their living. Aesthetics is "resistance" against the living death of oppression: aesthetics is revolution.

All the activities of the various characters in the novel with all their individual weaknesses, breakdowns, uncertainties, even their treason to the cause they have served so long, centers in this moment which is always present, and which asserts in the moment of death the necessity for the revolt. Käthe Bischoff, the one survivor of the group, asserts this after the killings, hiding in the underground, taking up her previous work, printing and distributing leaflets: "Carrying on the work was what gave the chain its undiminished strength" (III, 221). Had she been frightened into inactivity, the helpers of the underground would neither have been able to find her nor to protect her and arrange for a hiding place for her. Because the rulers of Nazi Germany were uanble to frighten her into inactivity, she survives and with her the network of resistance, the hope for a final victory. "Everything pathetic was foreign to them. They did what was necessary" (III, 223).

NOTES:

1 Peter Weiss, *Die Ästhetik des Widerstands,* Frankfurt/Main Bd.I 1975, Bd.II 1978, Bd.III 1981. The translations from the text are my own. I am not aware of any translation into English so far, but given the importance of the writer and the text, a translation is likely. During the time, he wrote the novel, Peter Weiss kept extensive notes, and his diary and notebook is also available: Notizbücher 1971—1980, Erster und Zweiter Band, Frankfurt/Main 1981. The notebooks show that much of the material used in the novel has been painstakingly collected from the survivors of the anti-Nazi resistance and their friends and relatives. The following books and articles on Weiss have a bearing on the novel:
Karl Heinz Götze und Klaus R Scherpe, Die 'Ästhetik des Widerstands' lesen. Über Peter Weiss. (= Argument Sonderband AS 75), Berlin 1981 191 pp.
Wes Blomster, "Peter Weiss 'Die Ästhetik des Widerstands' ", . in: *World Literature Today* (formerly Books Abroad) 53, 1979, p.281
Andraeas Huyssen, "Peter Weiss' 'Die Ästhetik des Widerstands' ", in: *Books Abroad* 50, 1976, p.869
Martin Mooij, "Weiss maakt indruk", in: *Het parool* 9, 111, 1979
Frank Schuitemaker, "Duitse dichters leveren kritiek op het gewone geschiedenisbeeld", in: *De Volkskrant,* 27.3.1976.
Georg Steiner, "Sermon in stones", in: *Times Literary Supplement,* 2.4.1976
N Verschoore, Peter Weiss' weerbarstige Pedanterie", in: *Het Laatste Nieuws,* 26.12.1975
J F Vogelaar, "Lewen mit terugwerkende kracht", in: *De Groene Amsterdammer,* 19.5.1976, S.19
J F Vogelaar, "Revisie van een autobiografie. Peter Weiss' "Die Ästhetik des Widerstands", in: *De Revisor,* August 1976, S.71-76
Heinrich Vormweg, *Peter Weiss,* München 1981
Karl Heinz Bohrer, *Die gefährdete Phantasie oder Surrealismus und Terror,* München 1970;
Thomas Hocke, *Artaud und Weiss.* Untersuchungen zur theoretischen Konzeption des 'Theaters der Grausamkeit' und ihrer praktischen Wirksamkeit in Peter Weiss 'Marat/Sade', Berlin 1977
Karl Heinz Bohrer, "Katastrophenphantasie oder Aufklärung? Zu Peter Weiss' 'Die Ästhetik des Widerstands' ", in: *Merkur* 332 (1976) S.85-90
Volker Canaris, *Über Peter Weiss,* Frankfurt/Main 1973
Peter Roos und Peter Weiss, "Gespräche mit Peter Weiss", in: *Die Horen,* Heft 125 (1982)
Wolfgang Fritz Haug, "Die 'Ästhetik des Widerstands' lesen", in: *Kürbiskern* 2 (1982)

2 Wolfgang Fritz Haug, "Vorschläge zur Aneignung der 'Ästhetik des Widerstands' ", in Götz/Scherpe, *op.cit.,* p.36 quite correctly takes as his point of departure Gramsci's concept of hegemony and discovers in Weiss' novel the description of the "developoment of a hegemonial field" (p.37).

3 Wolfgang Fritz Haug, in Kürbiskern, *op.cit.,* p.111

4 Alan Sheridan, *Michel Foucault. The will to truth,* London 1980, p.221

5 Ibid.

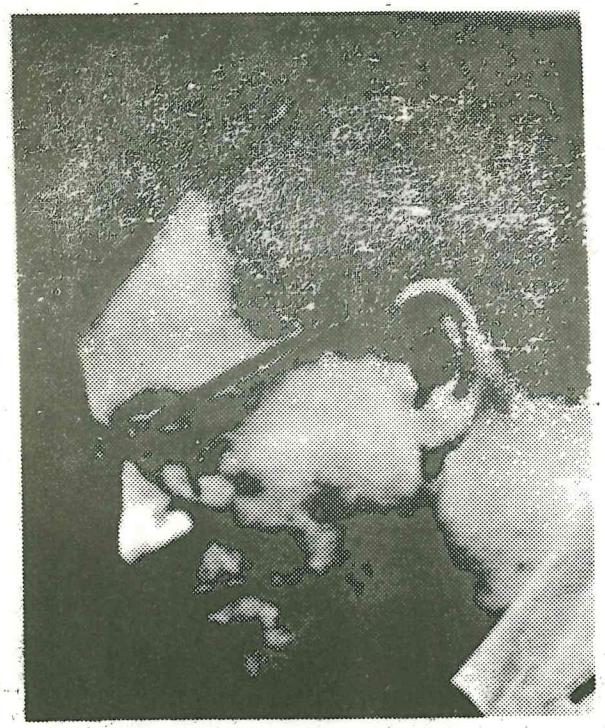
6 Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urteilskraft,* Frankfurt/Main 1974, p.117 (A 6)

7 Wolfgang Langhoff, "Die Moorsoldaten", München: *Desch* (1946), p.126

8 Ibid.

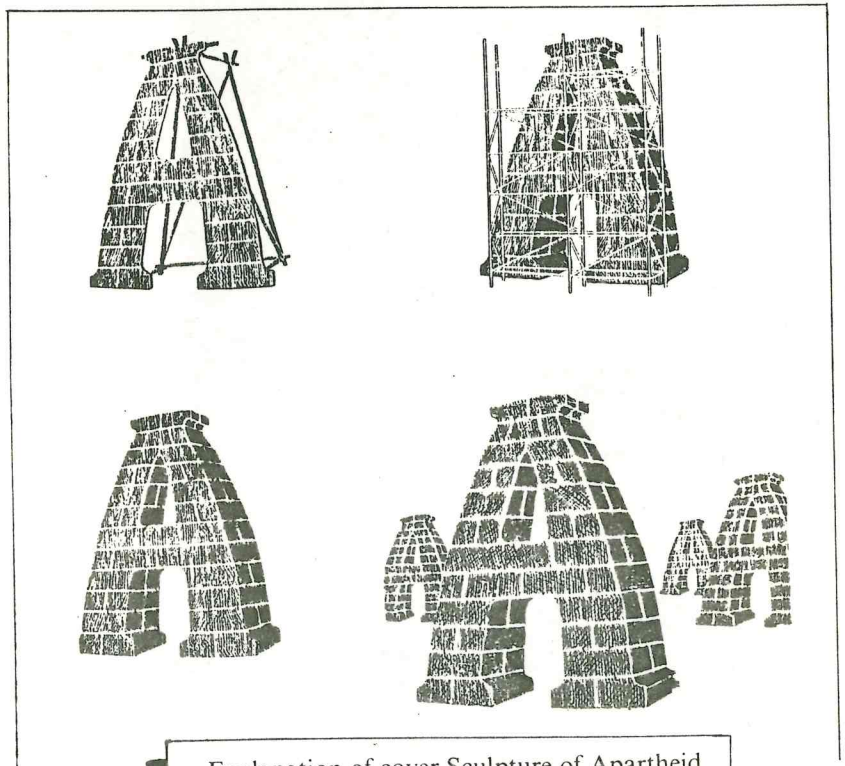
9 Wolfgang Fritz Haug, in Kürbiskern, *op.cit.,* p.106

10 Ibid.



A short bibliography of Peter Weiss' work in English:

Leavetaking. Vanishing Point. London 1967
Exile: Leavetaking. Vanishing Point. New York 1968
The Tower. In: *Postwar German Theatre,* London 1968
The Tower. In: *Modern German Theatre.* New York 1965
The persecution and Assassination of Marat as performed by the inmates of the Asylum of Charenton under the direction of the Marquis of Sade, London 1965, New York 1965.
Night with guests. In: *The best short plays,* 1968. Chilton Book company 1968.
The investigation. London 1966. New York 1966.
Two plays: Song of the Lusitanian Bogey AND Discourse on the progress of the prolonged war in Vietnam. Atheneum 1970.
Discourse on Vietnam. Playscripts 1971
Notes on the Cultural Life of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. London 1971
Conversation of three walkers AND Shadow of a coachman's body. London 1972
Trotsky in Exile. 1979



Explanation of cover Sculpture of Apartheid
Nicolaas Vergunst

"AS HISTORY TELLS US, ABSOLUTES ARE NOT FIXED, REALITIES NOT STATIC, NOR TRUTH INDIVISIBLE" Keyan Tomaselli

The struggle between dominant and opposing ideologies for political power is also the struggle to produce meaning and give value to relations and conditions in society. This process can be seen in the way words, images and other forms of semiotic sign are used to build up a picture of the world around us as if it were a true or real reflection of society — even though it may mask actual political, social or economic facts.

Individuals and groups alike are organised around such coded perceptions of reality assuming theirs to be entirely valid and beyond question, despite other radical or contesting views.

This sculpture depicts the concept of Apartheid: representing a welter of fluctuating meanings and transitary values which belong to shifting ideological positions, all of which are either consciously or unconsciously adopted in our society. For instance, what a word means to me may differ for you and be different again for others. So, what *apartheid* means to the oppressor or the oppressed differs no less than what the same word may mean before, during and after the revolution. Furthermore, these blocks reveal six sides to Apartheid (as determined by the six faces of a cube). Although six descriptions of an A (Apartheid) exist, only one can be perceived at a time. To perceive another the entire structure has to be broken/dismantled and then re-constructed in another way. It is only possible to comprehend all sides simultaneously if one constructs a holistic view that allows for the integration of all possible parts to be seen together.

MASS COMMUNICATION IN AFRICA
Author: G Mytton
Published by Edward Arnold, 1983
159pp
Price: $14.95

REVIEWED BY
LES SWITZER

This book is based mainly on Graham Mytton's experiences as a research student in Tanzania (1967-1968) and Zambia (1970-1973). It focuses on the role of radio as the most important medium of mass communication in Africa. These countries, together with Nigeria, comprise three case studies that are summarized in one chapter but form the core, as it were, of the book. Background chapters describe the relatively slow development of mass communication in colonial and post-colonial Africa.

Mytton tries but largely fails to anchor the media within Africa's prevailing social order. He does not offer an analysis of the economic, political and cultural or ideological structures — traditional or modern — that could provide a context for interpreting the role of communication in contemporary African societies.

The book also suffers because it tries to cover too many countries. Mytton should have restricted the title to mass communication in sub-Saharan or black Africa since this is the thrust of the book. North Africa and Southern Africa — Egypt and South Africa are among the most advanced countries on the continent in terms of mass media development — are virtually ignored.

Mytton should also have gone beyond published secondary source material. There are a number of unpublished M.A. and Ph.D. theses, an increasing number of which have been produced by Africans, on the media in black Africa. This would have strengthened the structural framework and added substantially to the empirical evidence.

For the most part, the case studies describe media conditions that were operative 15 to 20 years ago. There is no standardized methodology, moreover, in examining the media structures in Zambia, Tanzania and Nigeria. The role of English versus the ethnic African languages in the allocation of broadcasting time, for example, was a crucial variable in the Zambian and Tanzanian studies but it was ignored when discussing broadcasting in "English-speaking" Nigeria.

On the other hand, very little research has been done on the media in Africa. Mytton, who is in charge of audience research for the BBC's external services, has written an account of the development of mass media on the continent that is readable and, at times, thought provoking. His concern for and his insight into some of the problems faced by contemporary African journalists, moreover, is evident throughout the book.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Peter Horn is professor of German at the University of Cape Town. He has written extensively on German and South African literature.

Nicolaas Vergunst teaches art at the Carinus Art Centre in Grahamstown. His sculpture from which the cover is taken was exhibited at the 1985 Grahamstown Arts Festival.

Kelwyn Sole has written extensively on South African literature.

Michael Green lectures in the Department of English, Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit, Johannesburg.

Les Swizter, formerly Head of the Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Rhodes University, is now Research Professor, Department of Communications, University of Houston, Texas.

SOUTH AFRICAN THEATRE: THE ONGOING DEBATE

Editors: Temple Hauptfleisch and Ian Steadman
Publishers by HAUM, 1984
250pp Photographs
Price: R20.00

REVIEWED BY KELWYN SOLE

South African Theatre provides us with a collection of four plays, two previously unpublished and one previously only published in Afrikaans. The plays are, in order of appearance in the book, Bartho Smit's *Christine;* Fugard's *Hello and Goodbye;* Maishe Maponya's *The Hungry Earth* and The Company's *Cincinnati: Scenes From City Life.* These plays are contextualised as Afrikaans theatre, English theatre, Black theatre and Alternative theatre respectively. Each play is provided with a contextual introduction, and there is also a general introduction provided to South African theatre and its history.

The necessity for this book is, according to the editors, one of instilling an awareness "of the long theatrical heritage . . . of the diverse theatrical styles and forms that exist side by side and have shaped the work of . . . present-day South African theatre: a book which would help to expand the interested reader's awareness of this theatre and of its cultural background"[1]. The rationale, then, is a comparative one: to display some of the diversity of South African theatre, referring both to the historical, political and cultural reasons why this theatre is so diverse and how and to what extent works of theatre share a common 'South African' stamp at the same time.

Aspects of South African culture and literature have tended to be studied in isolation from each other for far too long at our universities, as if (for example) South African English literature was a product of a totally different set of political and social influences to Afrikaans literature, and as if apartheid had achieved what it originally set out to do — which was to isolate South Africans culturally and politically from each other. This, fortunately, has not entirely been the case: although considerable isolation, fragmentation and ignorance is indeed the result of racial separation. In this regard, present and previous calls by various groups for the forging of a 'national culture' in this country illuminate the fact that South Africans appear to have little sense of a national culture shared by all: although the extent to which people from different racial and ethnic groups in South Africa have come to share a common experience of some aspects of their everyday lives is debatable, given the inroads made by an overweening commercial culture on some areas of our identities.

A comparative approach to questions of literary and cultural importance is long overdue, as is an approach which seeks to explain and understand theatre in terms of its social and cultural determinants. The attempt made by this book to reach out for these goals is in itself a praiseworthy achievement: as is the amount of research into South African threatre which undoubtedly went into its making. The importance the editors attach to the context of performance of theatre pieces is also something that more theatre critics should learn to take into account: the transcription of Maponya's offering here shows, if anything, the amount of its effect it loses by being taken off the stage and placed on paper. With one previously published exception (the Fugard play) it is useful and more than useful to have these plays made available in their present form. The bibliography and chronology at the back of the book will also prove useful for the student of South African theatre —although it could be argued that there are gaps here and there.

Despite their intentions, though, it is a moot point whether Hauptfleisch and Steadman manage to extract the analytical and contextual sections of the book sufficiently from the conventional approaches to literature and culture they call into question. Although they exhibit unease with the classifications they put forward, the editors opt for a fairly straightforward racial categorisation of theatre, with an 'alternative' section added on. While it is true that different types of theatre based on linguistic and racial factors do exist in South Africa, with their own history and sense of uniqueness, racial definitions of culture in general and theatre in particular are simply impossible to keep watertight.

This is nowhere more obvious as when the editors attempt to deal with the individual playwrights and their works, Pieter-Dirk Uys gets a mention under English theatre, Afrikaans theatre and alternative theatre (his impersonations of Charles Sebe are not enough, seemingly, to get him into the section on Black theatre): we are told "Fugard . . . straddles the entire spectrum of the South African theatre: English theatre (e.g. *People are Living There*), Black theatre (*Blood Knot*) and Alternative theatre (*Sizwe Banzi is Dead*)" (p.88); and that English theatre is not like Afrikaans theatre in that it encompasses Black and Alternative theatre (p.80) — it would be interesting to know how dramatists like Adam Small and the young Peter Snyders would view such a statement. Within specific categories, too, the categories begin very quickly to look too general to be of much use — for instance, playwrights as diverse as Uys, Fugard, Zakes Mda and Geraldine Aron all get lumped together in a section on Alternative theatre.

The editors seem to be bedazzled with the idea of classification:

> There just has never been any *one* theatre tradition in the country. There have been at least five distinguishable traditions influenced by such opposing classifications as African/Western, Afrikaans/English, indigenous/imported, Black/White, literary/theatrical and popular/political theatre.
> The following scheme presents what are possibly the most important distinctions to be borne in mind when studying the history of theatre in South Africa . . .

"BLACK" ⟷ "WHITE"

Vernacular	English	English	Afrikaans
A African Performance (unscripted)		C Imported "Western" theatre (visiting companies	
B "Literary" drama in the vernacular			
	D Popular entertainment (indigenous works, translations)		
	E Serious theatre (committed theatre, indigenous works, translations)		

The problem is not only that these distinctions are too general and not explained fully enough (and it does not solve the problem to say, as the editors do, that there are 'hybrid' forms in between). The problem is that racial groups and their cultures begin to be assigned quintessential qualities during the course of the book, which seal them off from each other and typify them for all time. Thus, "Calvinism in all its positive and negative qualities are (sic) fundamental to the Afrikaner ethos" (p.16), and the goal of theatre in South Africa becomes one of 'communication' between cultures (p.3). Even more convolutedly, "As natural as Category A (ie, unscripted performance) is to Africa, so alien yet today typically African is the closet work being done under Category B (ie. literary vernacular drama)" (p.4).

There is a very real danger here, and the editors do not always manage to avoid it. There is little sense in this book that ideological processes and works of cultural expression (of which theatre is one) are the outcome of struggles over the meanings created by different classes and groups of people. Instead, each racially-conceived theatre is given one 'tradition', which is a sort of linear progression from important playwright to important playwright and notable work to notable work. Despite its couching in pseudo-Marxist terminology, the idea of historical process in the theatre put forward is a simple, by no means radical, one of continuity and tradition:

> Traditions evolve from dominant values and meanings. Alternatives to those values and meanings will undoubtedly arise. Alternative artists see tradition as having been constituted in the interests of certain dominant values. Their art is therefore oppositional, attempting to demystify accepted forms and themes and to posit new forms and themes in terms of new contexts. This is a healthy process. (p.169; see also p.166).

As an example as to what happens to this type of formulation in practice, consider the following discussion of Afrikaans theatre between 1925 and 1959:

> Among the very important figures of this period were Paul de Groot, the Hendrik and Mathilda Hanekom company, Andre Huguenet, Wena Naude, Anna Neethling Pohl, Anton Ackerman, Siegfried Mynhardt and numerous others. At the creative level this was the period of the social drama and beginnings of the literary drama. The playwrights were now expected to help build a dramatic literature and some important work was produced by writers such as Louis Leipoldt . . . JFW Grosskofp, Gerhard Beukes (possibly the most prolific and widely popular writer of his time). Uys Krige, WA de Klerk, PWS Schumann and a number of others. Poets, journalists, classicists — all were drawn into the vortex, with varying success. (p.11)

Just to give one example of the myopia of such a depoliticised, linear approach to cultural study, one can point to another type of Afrikaans theatre developed in the 1930s, which the editors fail to note — a theatre produced by working-class Afrikaans women and bearing a socialist message[2]. There are ideological reasons, of course, why present-day Afrikaans literary historians ignore this body of work: but why does this book ignore it too?

It must be stressed that categories of meaning and identity in social life are continually being fought for: there is, in this sense, no single theatrical tradition, no monolithic culture, and no simple ethnic identity available to South Africans even within their racial enclaves. The racial categories accepted by Hauptfleisch and Steadman are not problematised, and a sense of ideological and socio-political complexity is lacking in the book as a whole. Class and other differences within racial cultures need to be taken note of: as well as the complex interaction of racial, class and other identities (sexual, regional etc) within South Africans' everyday lives.

The editors have a habit of accepting the viewpoints put forward by cultural agents who act as spokespeople for 'their' cultures too readily. Individual playwrights and artists have a complicated, disjointed relationship with 'their' culture, whether one is using race or class as the prism through which to view them and their work. This is paid insufficient attention: therefore, after some prevarication, the editors come down with what is in essence a Black Consciousness interpretation of traditional oral literature and the constituency of 'Black' literature as a whole (pp.4, 140)[3]. This is most obvious in the discussion of Maishe Maponya's *The Hungry Earth,* which is described as "a view of life about working-class Black people, presented by working-class Black people" (pp.147-8). We are told that Maponya was an insurance clerk when he became involved in theatre in the mid-1970s: in what way is he working class? It can be argued as well that the emphasis in the play is not on black working class conditions so much as the desire to extol and conscientise the need for a solidarity based on *blackness,* as its determining principle. The play is clearly an exposition of what can be broadly identified as Black Consciousness imagery and symbols — shackles, symbolic fires, the return to the values of the "nation's ancestors", the songs of warriors, the typifying of whites as "foreigners" etc. To accept this play as working class theatre, I would argue, would be unthinkingly to agree with the conflation of 'black' and 'worker' endemic to Black Consciousness thought during the 1970s.

Many of the classifications and explanations offered appear not to have been thought through properly. Stephen Gray has already commented on the rather arbitrary use of 'alternative' and 'political' definition throughout the book, as well as the unproblematic separation made between indigenous and imported theatre[4]. I will not therefore stress these points, except to add that there seems to be a rather unusual definition of what constitutes the 'political' at work here. For example, Uys' work is said to have "a strong political undercurrent. All in all, however, the Afrikaans writers of this period have been more concerned with other problems, particularly the problems of the individual and society" (p.14). One could surely ask: is the problem of the individual and society not a political one? Will not precisely this problem come up again and again in literature in either an overt or covert form, given that a fair amount of literature concerns the exposition of human lives and relationships in a social context?

Misgivings with the definition of 'alternative' used are perhaps justified as well, as this definition seems to be entirely based on a view of alternative theatre as being 'multicultural' and making use of innovative theatrical techniques and contexts. An overvaluing of the political possibilities of *Cincinnati* is, as Gray has shown, one result of such an immediate definition. How much does *Cincinnati* actually challenge? And surely the fact that such plays as *Cincinnati* and *The Hungry Earth* have been given accolades by establishment newspaper critics is ideologically informative and needs to be subjected to further scrutiny, rather than seemingly be put forward for the reader's approval (pp.148; 170-1)?

I am unhappy also with an implicit belief that runs through the book that 'popular' theatre is by its nature different to 'political' theatre. Again, this might be a question of definition — the first seems to be regarded as light entertainment, while the second is 'serious' theatre. This misses a whole number of potential gradations and uses of theatre. One of the most noticeable characteristics of the 'political' literature and performance of Black Consciousness is that it consciously has sought to attract and conscientize lower class black people, ie. to become 'popular' (in their slanging of Gibson Kente and Sam Mhangwane, for instance, Black Consciousness ideologues of the early 1970s also show traces of envy at the audiences these playwrights manage to attract). The discussion of Stephen Black is similarly bedevilled by such a separation. While noting that Black "used his farcical form to express very pertinent social comment", the editors add that "its popularity still lay in the surface format" (p.81ff). Implied is: give the people farce, and they won't care about content. This misses a whole tradition of music hall and farce which had been used for social commentary in England in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which Black presumably knew about. This theatre was both escapist and jingoistic on the one hand and depictive of social realities on the other[5]. The popularity of Black's *Love and the Hyphen* cannot simply be ascribed to its humour and popular format either: the play seems to have trodden on a great deal more toes in the changed political context of its revised, 1928, version than in its early performances during the heady days of the National Convention[6]. Neither is Black the lone figure he is made out to be; even within South Africa there was some previous tradition of a critical vaudeville and scathing farce[7].

There is a questionable amount of vague, conflated or unicausal explanations to be found within the editors' introductions. A statement like "The (Afrikaans) audiences are large and enthusiastic as ever. But the writers have gone — to television mostly, or *who knows where*" (p.12 — my emphasis) does not elucidate very much; neither does the conflation of the formation of the National Theatre Organisation in 1947, the Performing Arts Councils in 1963 and the Soweto uprising of 1976 as three "important watersheds for theatre practitioners who could begin work within the parameters of organized companies" (p.166); or the assertion that playwrights like HIE Dlomo

"sensed the major contradictions of their time, and provided audiences with images of these contradictions" (p.142).

In addition, there is occasionally a rather lighthearted approach taken to historical study. Thus, "From the 1950s the existing metropolitan urban areas of the country were beginning to take shape . . . as rural Africans gravitated towards these centres, a different cultural ambience evolved" (ibid.) post-dates the emergence of distinctive urban cultural forms among black people on the Witwatersrand by up to half a century. Such statements as "over a fifty-year period it is possible to trace in Johannesburg the growth of black theatre as a gradual evolution towards political and social consciousness" (p.140) could have been avoided too, as such teleological assumptions easily obfuscate social and historical complexity, even if they are partly true[8].

It is naturally necessary to make generalisations in a book such as this. In such cases these generalisations would however sometimes benefit from more extensive footnoting and referencing than is the case. One example will suffice to explain what I mean: the musical *King Kong,* we are informed,

> was the logical culmination of a fusion between migrant working-class culture and indigenous entertainments on the Witwatersrand. African workers had developed popular forms of entertainment and jazz for years, adapting traditional modes of performance and expression to the new urban economic needs. (p.143).

Such a statement concerning the evolution of black cultural expression on the Witwatersrand would need to refer readers to (at least) the work of Koch, Coplan, Couzens and Erlmann for confirmation and elaboration. Only one of these critics appears in the bibliography[9].

South African Theatre demands, in what it sets out to do, a re-assessment and re-evaluation of cultural, performance and literary studies in this country. The extent to which the book accomplishes this is partial and contradictory. Not only does its pioneering work demand, in future, closer study and research of the historical and social bases and interstices from which theatre emerges; but also closer attention to elements of theatre which tend to be underplayed — director, audience, context and so on. The book illustrates strikingly that a proper re-evaluation of South African literary and performance studies has only just begun in this country. Often the editors lapse back into the language of our local literature departments: into a local variation of Leavisite criticism, arbitrary designating 'traditions' and citing works which are worthy bearers of this tradition. Local theatre is still seen as a regional

variation of the 'universals' of 'human nature' that literature is supposed to embody. Consequently, Fugard's work is supposed to be "illustrative of the best South African writing of the time. It is local in a very real sense, using the local to deal with the universal in human behaviour" (p.87). A quantifying of works of theatre in terms of their compliance with these 'universal' (actually, liberal capitalist) standards still occurs here: we are referred to "the inherent quality of . . . creative work" (ibid.) as our yardstick. Thus, PG du Plessis' *Die Nag van Legio* is "one of the most polished works in the entire Afrikaans canon" (p.16); Small's *Kanna hy kô Hystoe* is "a stupendous piece of theatre, possibly one of the best plays in the entire South African repertoire" (p.14); Smit's *Bacchus in die Boland* is a "somewhat, flawed comedy" (p.13) and his *Christine,* while better, is a bit too much of a "raw emotional piece of work" (p.16); between the 1930s and the 1950s there are only three 'good' English playwrights (p.85), and so on.

To extrapolate from this, what seems to me to be striking about recent South African literary studies in our universities is that South African literature is now becoming acceptable, but that the powers-that-be are selecting a hierarchy of 'acceptable' and 'valuable' works as worthy of teaching[10]. Furthermore, demands for the placement of cultural and literary expression within its social and historical context have been met, but in a way which depoliticises this demand. In some cases the sociological aspect of literature and performance is tacked onto what remains essentially a textual criticism. In other cases, the 'sociology of literature' is simply made a separate area of study. Though I am not suggesting that the editors of *South African Theatre* subscribe to such a view, they have occasionally, in this book and other articles, paid what is to my mind insufficient attention to the complexity of the social determinants which theatre and literature elaborate in partial and often contradicting ways. Hauptfleisch, for one, has shown a tendency to conceptualise 'society' unproblematically: as merely one of several elements to be taken into account when studying a piece of theatre[11].

I would argue, therefore, with the degree of Gray's back-patting assertion that *South African Theatre* "is a sign of a new awareness in criticism and scholarship in South Africa, and fairly makes its predecessors look amateurish"[12]. Its value is that it shows how much work on research and on theoretical approaches to literature and performances and their cultural underpinnings need to be done. The book is a brave beginning: if accepted as definitive, however, it will blunt further assessments and debates around the many issues in South African literature and culture it raises, and which all of us in the field at the moment are groping towards.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Hauptfleisch, T and Steadman, I (eds.) 1984: *South African Theatre,* HAUM, Pretoria, p.2. All further references will be in the text

2 See Brink, E. 1984: "Plays, Poetry and Production: The Literature of Garment Workers", *SA Labour Bulletin,* Vol 9 No 8

3 For various viewpoints on the characterisation of parts of black South African oral literature as 'theatre', see C Mutwa, 1976: "On the Theatre of Africa", *S'ketsh,* pp.38.9; Leshoai, B: "African Theatre has a Purpose", *The Voice,* May 20.6, 1980 and Sitas, A. 1984: "Culture and Production: The Contradictions of Working Class Theatre in South Africa". Paper presented at the History Workshop, Univ. of Witwatersrand, Feb., 1984

4 Gray, S. 1984: "South African Drama: Bedevilling Categories", *English Academy Review,* 2, pp.122-5

5 Stedman-Jones, G. 1974: "Working-Class Culture and Working-Class Politics in London, 1870-1900: Notes on the Remaking of a Working-Class", *Journal of Social History,* Vol 7 No 4, pp.477-9; 489-97

6 Gray, S. 1979: *South African Literature: An Introduction.* David Phillip, Cape Town, p.59 and "Stephen Black and *Love and the Hyphen* (1908-1928), *Critical Arts,* Vol 2 No 1, 1981, p.57-8

7 I Hofmeyer hints at this in "The Mad Poets: An Analysis of an Early Sub-Tradition of Johannesburg Literature and its Subsequent Developments" in Bozzoli, B. (ed.): *Labour, Townships and Protest,* Ravan, Johannesburg, 1979, pp117; 134-5

8 One must make allowance however for a certain amount of hyperbole in such statements, as it is a critical device often used by Steadman, eg. "On 16th June 1976 black nationalism in South Africa came of age". See "Black South African Theatre after Nationalism", *English Academy Review,* 2, 1984, p.1

9 Important articles missing in the bibliography are *inter alia,* Coplan, D: "The Emergence of an African Working-Class Culture", *Africa Perspective,* 16, 1980; Koch, E. 1983: " 'Without Visible Means of Sub-sistence': Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg 1918-1940" in Bozzoli, B. (ed.): *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal.* Ravan, Johannesburg; Couzens, T. 1976: "The Social Ethos of Black Writing in South Africa 1920-50" in Heywood (ed.): *Aspects of South African Literature.* Heinemann, London and " 'Moralising Leisure Time': the Transatlantic Connection and Black Johannesburg 1918-1936" in Marks, S and Rathbone, R. (eds.): *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa.* Longmans, London, 1982; Erlmann, V 1983: "Apartheid, African Nationalism and Culture: The Case of Traditional Black Music in Black Education in South Africa", *Perspectives in Education,* Vol 7 No 3

10 This point is made by I Hofmeyer: "The State of South African Literary Criticism", *English in Africa,* Vol 6 No 2, 1979 and N Visser: "The Critical Situation and the Situation of Criticism", *Critical Arts,* Vol 3 No 2, 1984

11 Hauptfleisch, T 1980: "Theatre Research in South Africa". *Critical Arts,* Vol 1 No 3, p.12

12 Gray 1984, *op cit.* p.120

TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY FOR THEATRE RESEARCH: A SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

Author: Temple Hauptfleisch
CESAT publication No 6
1984 Human Sciences Research Council
Price: R5,40

Reviewed by Michael Green

Dr K P Prinsloo, in his forward, stresses the ongoing nature of the NSRC programme of which this report is a part, noting that this particular publication "is intended to suggest certain basic points of departure for the future identification of priorities and approaches in theatre research in South Africa and to outline the role CESAT can play . . .". CESAT publication No 6 is, then, to be seen as a "first formal report in an envisaged series", a series to which workers in the field of theatre research should pay attention as it promises to have many useful and practical ramifications (not the least of which, perhaps, is the possibility of a basis for future HSRC fund allocations!)

The report summarizes issues that Hauptfleisch (Research Specialist for the Centre for South African Theatre Research) has foregrounded in various publications for some years now. As such it is short (43 pages, 19 of them given to diagrams, a table, and a useful bibliography), but his concerns are condensed in a remarkably clear and efficient manner. There are advantages to this crisp conciseness — especially the punch it gives to the issues presented — but it does prevent a fuller account of some theoretical difficulties accrued along the way.

Hauptfleisch's main theoretical points are:

(i) there exists no adequate theoretical base for theatre research (an international problem, he suggests), and
(ii) what theory does exist is drawn from other disciplines and not kept within a framework of theatre research.

A chief result of the above is the split of the proper domain of theatre research into literary (text-orientated) and drama (performance-orientated) studies, a split reflected in the division in teaching institutions between literature and drama departments. In neither discipline is there place for theatre research or researchers of the type envisaged by Hauptfleisch. He thus proposes a discipline of theatre research that would combine the literature and drama fields and extend them as disciplines.

Hauptfleisch defines theatre research in refreshing (and for many traditional drama and literature departments, even revolutionary) terms, taking as "the object of study . . . the entire scope of the *theatre* phenomenon" (p. 10). He is interested in finding a methodology which will for example enable us to interpret the specific theatre event in terms of its inputs and outputs and its short and long term impact on the entire socio-cultural world. (p.17)

The necessity of evolving a multi-disciplinary approach to deal with such a project is fully acknowledged, but Hauptfleisch also insists on a framework for the meeting of these disciplines and a "common and universal" (p.8) theatre research vocabulary[1] to ensure that the research area remains *theatre* orientated. The discipline he calls upon to provide these is that of communication studies. It is this discipline that gives the basis for the many diagrammatic models provided, adapted by Hauptfleisch to his needs. Communication theory is also used to describe the many different divisions of theatre research that serve as a structure for a taxonomy of the field, thus allowing for an accurate breakdown of specific research categories. A very useful table (p.43) based on this taxonomy giving a percentage breakdown of registered theatre research in South Africa (1969-1979) is included and goes a long way towards supporting Hauptfleisch's case for the tremendous limitations in theatre research of the period. These limitations may also be seen as stemming largely from the problem areas in theory he wants to redress.[2]

Drawing on communication studies is useful, then, to Hauptfleisch. Considering, however, his often repeated objection that "so much of what passes as theatre research todya is based on borrowed theories and methodologies" (p.7), the question could be asked as to why he is willing to allow communication studies (a distinct discipline, after all) so overwhelming a role in the construction of the discipline of theatre research.

In this CESAT publication Hauptfleisch simply notes that theatre research since the mid-fifties has tended to draw on communication models (p.3) and takes it from there. One has to turn to his doctoral thesis to see that his own theoretical justification for upgrading communication theory from a "service discipline" to a framework for theatre studies goes back to I A Richards' pronounciation that "The two pillars upon which a theory of criticism must rest are an account of value and an account of communication".[3] Hauptfleisch chooses to side-step the tricky value aspect other than accepting that it is useful to view literature as, again in Richards' words, "a *supreme* form of communicative activity"[4] (my emphasis) and by this manoeuvre squarely placing theatre research in a sub-section of communication studies.

Such a methodological leap allows him several advantages: chief amongst these is that it places theatre research under a respected branch of the social ('human' is perhaps here more apt) sciences. While one has no quarrel with this as such (indeed, it helps to free the concept of 'theatre') from restrictive aesthetic categories), a word in passing on Hauptfleisch's firm claim for the "scientific" nature of the discipline might be in order. He notes that the claim has been met with some resistance from traditional literature and drama scholars (p.6), but fails to take into account more contemporary objections to the claims of any scientific status for critical theory. Calls for the 'objectivity' and 'neutrality' normally associated with 'science' to form the basis of the critical process have, after all, been convincingly demonstrated as being in opposition to any real understanding of the historical and political relationships between literature, criticism, and society.[5]

In all fairness, when Hauptfleisch calls his methodology "scientific", it is apparent that he is referring primarily to his research methods (the use of statistics, surveys, models, charts etc[6]) and this discussion is in no way a rejection of such methods. Yet, at the risk of appearing nit-picking, it does seem necessary to take the distinction between method and the theoretical status of that method a little further, much as the semioticians have done in their relation to linguistics.[7] Comprehensive and challenging as the overall scheme proposed by Hauptfleisch is, there appears to be a lack at its very heart, that is, at the actual point of application to performance. He admits this himself, but the missing elements are not finally only those he proposes. With a peculiar note of despair, as if the real prey has escaped the elaborate net yet again, he writes:

> . . . it is clear that the ideal study of *theatre* is virtually unattainable, for the artefact itself, the *performance,* is entirely transitory and can never be brought to a dissecting table. (p.17)

While accepting that there are very real practical problems involved in evolving a method for "capturing" a performance for study[8], any success in this endeavour would not provide the substantial, concrete object of study suggested by the use of the word "artefact". It is perhaps a touch ironic that as Hauptfleisch betrays at this point a nostalgia for a solid object of enquiry, many scholars of the text (one of the "more permanent artefacts" of theatre that he lists) should now accept that a text is far from available as a completed, graspable thing-in-itself. As Tony Bennet puts it:

> If production is completed only with consumption, then, so far as literary texts are concerned, their production is never completed. They are endlessly *re-produced,* endlessly remade

> with different political consequences and effects and it is this, the position of the text within the full material social process that must be made the object of inquiry.[9]

The nature of the inquiry (criticism, or, for that matter, research), too, remains a part of the "full material social process" and as such can never be the neutral, scientific undertaking implied by the "dissecting table" metaphor for a methodology.

Hauptfleisch's stated interest is in "the interaction between theatre and society in South Africa"[10] and it is precisely the range in this respect that gives his models for theatre research their very real strength. They bring within the scope of theatre research areas, and relationships between areas, of the field rarely adequately considered. Yet, as is suggested above, there are points at which the manner in which these models are to be used is problematic; in particular, the relevence of the way in which theatre is to be understood in relation to society is worrying. The diagrammatic models, for example, continually represent the "socio-cultural" or "socio-political situation" etc as simply "general influences" (see Figure 3.10) or; worse still, as merely "background" (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). These representations do not do justice to Hauptfleisch's declared intentions.

Examples of actual applications of the research models in CESAT publication No 6 are few and very brief, but they do include "a traditional Zulu wedding ceremony" and "a performance of Hamlet by a performing arts council" (p.16), suggesting a potentially unlimited range. One wonders, however, when Hauptfleisch calls (as part of the practical results of the programme he proposes) for a better academic threatre journal (a mouthpiece for theatre researchers), better training and job opportunities for theatre researchers, theatre workshops, and above all, "an arts council for the RSA", what effect these coordinated and institutional manifestations would have on any truly alternative *performance* in South Africa within the present political situation. His suggestions, too, for more practical cooperation and interaction between training institutions, education, the media, and the theatre industry as a whole are vital, but come across in real terms as entrenched within 'mainstream' social orthodoxies. Figure 6.3, "a suggested research infra-structure for South Africa", seems finally all too neat and easy in its ideal representation of mutual interaaction between organized bodies and the whole range of theatre in South Africa.[13]

Nevertheless, in terms of the *research* field (especially considering its present state), Hauptfleisch's proposals towards a methodology for theatre research are pertinent and persuasive: their implications, in fact, point towards a total transformation of theatre studies in South Africa.

Notes and References

1 See Hauptfleisch, T 1978: The Play as Communication; A Study of the Language of Drama. D.Litt et Phil. thesis, UNISA

2 In particular, a lack of any studies in the areas of "socio-economic milieu", "socio-political milieu" and "political role" is made obvious

3 Richard, I A 1924: Principles of Literary Criticism. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p17

4 Ibid. Apart from dealing with the word "supreme" in this context, one must also consider the very act of defining what is to fall into the field of theatre research as an evaluative act — not of course, in essentialist terms, but rather as an aspect of understanding the historical process of "theatre" as such

5 Space does not allow for a full discussion of this point, but see, amongst others, Hindess, B and Hirst, P Q 1977: Mode of Production and Social Formation. MacMillan, London

6 Hauptfleisch has a background of training and work in the language aspect of the social sciences. See: Hauptfleisch, T 1975: Research into the position of the Official Languages in the Educational System of Whites in South Africa: A Literature Survey. HSRC, Pretoria; and Language Loyalty in South Africa. HSRC, Pretoria.

7 See Pavid P 1980: "The Semiotics of Theatre", Critical Arts, Vol 1 No 3, p1: "In spite of the terms sciences du spectacly or Theaterwissenschaft, it should be clear from the outset that 'theatre studies' could by no means claim a scientific status comparable to that of linguistics. The semiology of theatre, therefore, can neither use, by extension, the rigorous conceptual apparatus of linguistical studies, nor share their epistemological objective".

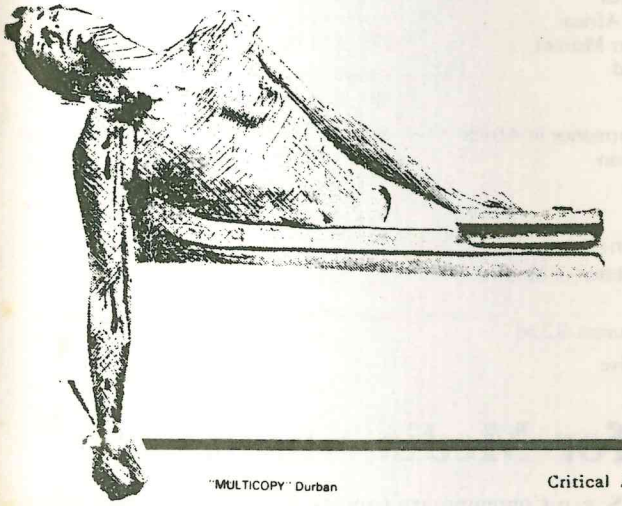
8 See the article in note 7 or Keir Elam's The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama. Methuen, London, 1980 for some useful ideas on a semiotic approach to the problem

9 Bennet, T 1979: Formalism and Marxism. Methuen, London, p136

10 Hauptfleisch, T and Steadman, I 1984: South African Theatre, HAUM, Pretoria, book cover

1 Hauptfleisch presents a somewhat more satisfying but far more simplistic model in this respect in "Theatre Research in South Africa", Critical Ats, Vol 1 No 3, 1980, p12

12 The block labelled "Theatre" in this model is meant to be defined by a "model" in Figure 2.9 and no such model or figure appears in the publication. A pity, as further information is needed here



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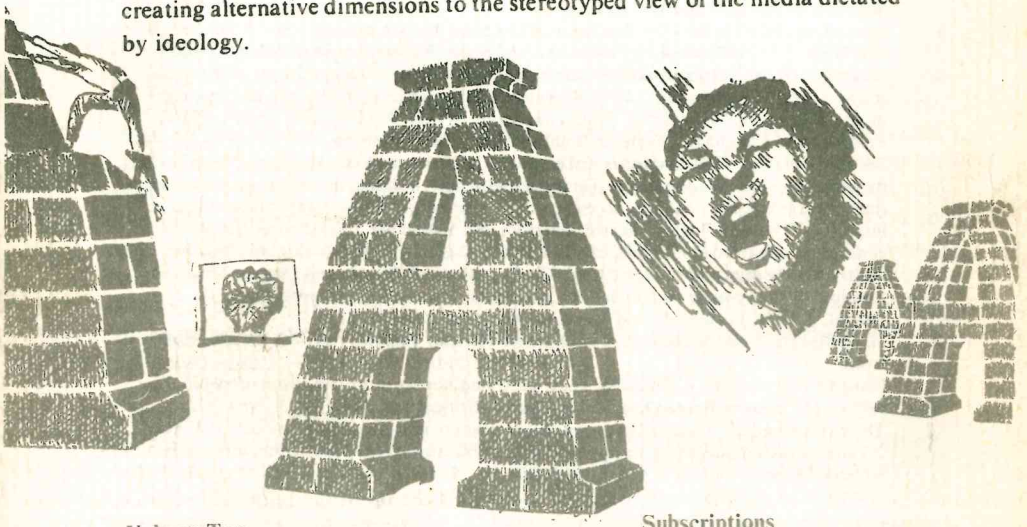

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Governor Brown Backs Budget Boost

Good news for public broadcasting! Governor Jerry Brown's recommended budget for the CPBC in FY 81-82 is a major departure from previous years. In terms of absolute dollar amounts, the Governor's recommendation of $2.3 million is a 192% increase over the current year budget of $800,000. In a time of fiscal constraint, this is an outstanding sign of the Governor's support for public broadcasting—very few other state programs or agencies have been recommended for increased funding. The second departure is that the Governor's budget recognizes an expansion in CPBC programs and policies to bring the full benefits of public telecommunications to the State's citizens through increased coverage of state policy and public affairs; through technological innovation, and through governmental applications.

One area of need which has not received funding in the Governor's recommended budget is direct aid to stations. The Commission supports an allocation of $12,500 per public radio station and $100,000 per public television station to strengthen the stations' abilities to provide local community services. The Commission's commitment to direct assistance is based on its recognition of the fundamental role that healthy local stations play in building a vital statewide network.

Statewide Programming for Public Broadcasting Audiences: $1,559,062

The Commission proposes to expand public radio and television coverage of state government and public policy issues.

Radio. The Association of California Public Radio Stations will be granted funds to continue and expand California Public Radio (CPR), the statewide programming service which provides daily, weekly and special reports in English and Spanish to 19 public radio stations in the state. California Public Radio will expand its operations, which includes the Sacramento News Bureau covering state news and public affairs, with a news bureau in San Francisco covering the arts, humanities and sciences. The San Francisco bureau opened February 5th with the first production of "Matrix", a weekly half-hour "radio magazine" on the arts and humanities.

El Gobernador Brown Favorece Aumento de Presupuesto

Buenas noticias para la difusión pública! El presupuesto de la CPBC, recomendado por el Gobernador Jerry Brown para el año fiscal del 81-82, representa un cambio significativo respecto a años anteriores. En términos de sumas exactas de dólares, la recomendación de $2.3 millones, significa un aumento del 192%, comparándolo con el presupuesto de $800,000 para el año corriente. Durante una época de austeridad fiscal, dicha recomendación constituye una indicación clara del apoyo del Gobernador en cuanto a la difusión pública se refiere, especialmente en vista de que muy pocos de los otros programas y departamentos estatales recibieron recomendaciones de aumento. El segundo cambio consiste en que el presupuesto de Gobernador reconoce la necesidad de diversificar y ampliar la programación de la CPBC y, a la vez, modificar las normas oficiales, ambos con el propósito de extender a los habitantes del Estado, los plenos beneficios de la telecomunicación. Lo último se effectuará por medio de programación más extensa sobre las normas oficiales del Gobierno Estatal y asuntos de interés al público; y también por medio de innovaciones tecnológicas y el uso de las mismas en las entidades gubernamentales.

Un asunto de mucha importancia para la difusión pública, y el que no ha sido reconocido en el presupuesto recomendado por el Gobernador es el de asistencia económica directa para las emisoras públicas. La Comisión favorece la concesión de $12,500 a cada una de las emisoras públicas de radio y unos $100,000 a cada emisora pública de televisión, con el propósito de reforzar su capacidad de proveer servicios para la comunidad. La posición de la Comisión en favor de asistencia directa, se basa en el reconocimiento del papel fundamental que ejercen las emisoras dinámicas al nivel local, en la construcción de una red vital de emisoras de difusión pública en el Estado.

Programación al Nivel Estatal de Difusión para el Público: $1,559, 062

La Comisión propone aumentar los programas acerca del Gobierno Estatal y de interés al público, en la radio y televisión pública.

La Radio. La Asociación de Emisoras de Radios Públicas en California, se concederán fondos para la continuación y expansión de la Radio Pública en California (CPR), un servicio de programación que suministra programas diarios, semanales y de carácter especial, en inglés y español, a las 19 emisoras de la radio pública en California.

Television. The Association of California Public Television Stations will establish a Sacramento Center for state news and public affairs coverage. Funding will support the continuation of "Sacramento Week in Review" and the initiation of live and special events coverage of the Legislature, the Executive Office and the agencies of State government. Programs will be distributed statewide to the twelve public television stations. In addition, three hour-long documentaries will be produced on critical public policy issues such as toxic waste.

Environmental Coverage. $100,000 is proposed from the Environmental License Plate Fund to produce statewide news coverage and programming on energy and environmental issues, split evenly between public radio and television.

Interconnection: $250,096

Interconnection is the technology and management structure which provides the links in a telecommunication system. Some interconnection currently exists among California public broadcast stations, but neither a complete system nor a comprehensive system design is available. Two projects are proposed for FY 81-82: the completion of a two-way terrestrial audio and video microwave link between the State Capitol and the Western Union satellite uplink in San Francisco to permit the transmittal of broadcast coverage of state government to all of California, and a statewide survey of existing and planned *electronic interconnection* systems to prepare a State master plan for systems integration.

Telecommunication Applications within State Government: $281,710

Of this amount, $175,384 would be used to establish pilot demonstrations with three State agencies on the benefits of public telecommunications technologies with emphasis on teleconferencing, and $50,000 is proposed to explore the use of computer-based and two-way interactive video technologies ("telematics"). In addition, $15,000 is proposed to train public information officers to use cable television in providing public information and to ascertain the availability of community service cable channels.

Administration: $253,748

The California Public Broadcasting Commission acts as the focus and forum for state policymaking in the public telecommunications field. In administering this responsibility, the Commission conducts grants programs, grants evaluations, and research; evaluates legislation impacting public telecommunications; carries out program planning; seeks non-state funding for statewide public telecommunications

La de Radio Pública de California ampliará el servicio que suministra. Además del Buró Informativo en Sacramento que provee noticias relacionadas con el Gobierno Estatal y asuntos de interés al público, un Buró Informativo en San Francisco ofrecerá información de las artes, humanidades y ciencias. El Buró Infomativo en San Francisco celebró su apertura el 5 de febrero con la primera producción de "Matrix", una "radio revista" semanal, de una media hora de duración, acerca de las artes y las humanidades.

La Televisión. La Asociación de Emisoras Públicas de Television en California, establecerá en Sacramento, un Centro dedicado a proveer noticias relacionadas con el Gobierno Estatal y asuntos de interés al público. La asignación de fondos permitirá continuar la producción del programa "Resumen de la Semana en Sacramento" (llamado en inglés, "Sacramento Week in Review"). Permitirá también un comienzo de transmisión en vivo y de eventos especiales relacionados con la Legislatura, la Oficina Ejectuiva y los departamentos del Gobierno Estatal. El Centro en Sacramento distribuirá los programas a las 12 emisoras de televisión pública en California. Producirá, además, tres documentales, de una hora cada una, sobre tópicos de suma importancia y concernientes a las normas oficiales públicas, tales como la disposición de residuos tóxicos.

Información Sobre el Ambiente. Se ha propuesto asignar unos $100,000 del Fondo de la Venta de Placas para la Protección del Ambiente, con el objetivo de presentar noticias y programación sobre tópicos relacionados con la crisis de la energía y la protección del ambiente. Los fondos serán repartidos, en cantidades iguales, a la radio y a la televisión pública.

Interconexión: $250,096

La interconexión consiste en unatecnología y una estructura administrativa que provee los puntos de enlace en un sistema de telecomunicación. Actualmente, la interconexión existe en forma limitada entre las emisoras públicas de difusión en California. Sin embargo, no forman un sistema completo, y no existe un diseño para un sistema comprensivo. Dos proyectos han sido propuestos para el año fiscal del 81-82: completar el enlace de dos maneras, el que consistirá en la transmisión de sonidos por cable terrestre y la transmisión de video por microondas, entre el Capitolio Estatal en Sacramento y una terminal, ubicado en San Francisco, de enlace con el satélite de la compañía Western Union. Aquel enlace permitirá la transmisión, a todas partes de California, de noticias concernientes al Gobierno Estatal. El segundo de los

activities; serves as the State's representative to local, state and federal entities in matters of public telecommunications policy; and provides routine administrative services. The Commission also provides information services through its newsletter and on request via mail and telephone. The Governor's budget includes funds to complete evaluation of the Commission's grant programs and adds staff to support new and expanded programs.

Budget Summary

A complete summary of the Governor's FY 81-82 budget follows:

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM REQUIREMENTS	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
10 Statewide Programming for Public Broadcasting Audiences	$371,062	$621,669	$1,559,062
20 Interconnection			250,096
30 Telecommunications Applications within State Government			281,710
40 Public Broadcast Facilities	151,242		
50 Administration	173,495	180,469	253,748
TOTAL PROGRAMS	$695,799	$802,138	$2,344,616
Reimbursements	*-4,113*		
NET TOTALS, PROGRAMS	$691,686	$802,138	$2,344,616
General Fund	*666,088*	*775,266*	*2,244,616*
California Environmental License Plate Fund			*100,000*
*California Public Broadcasting Fund**	25,598	26,872	-
Personnel Years	4.8	6	12.2

proyectos es él de efectuar un estudio de los sistemas de interconexión electrónica actualmente en funcionamiento y también los que han sido planeados, con el objetivo de preparar un plan maestro Estatal para la integración de los sistemas.

El Uso de Telecomunicaciones en el Gobierno Estatal: $281,710

Unos $175,384 serán dedicados a tres proyectos pilotos que se efectuarán en tres departamentos estatales. Estos proyectos permitirán una demostración de los beneficios que acudirán al público, si se usa la tecnología de telecomunicaciones y con especial énfasis en "tele-conferencias" (conferencias por televisión). Otros $50,000 serán dedicados para explorar el uso de tecnologías (llamadas en inglés, "telematics") que son basadas en computadoras y el video interactivo de dos sentidos. Unos computadoras y el video interactivo de dos sentidos. Unos $15,000 adicionales han sido propuestos para capicitar a los Oficiales de Información Pública, en el uso de la televisión por cable en suministrar información al público y en averiguar el alcance y número de canales de televisión por cable que están dedicados al servicio para la comunidad.

La Administración: $253,748

La Comisión Estatal de la Difusión Pública en California (CPBC), sirve como punto de enfoque y también como foro en el desarrollo de normas oficiales Estatles en el ramo de las telecommunicaciones públicas. Para cumplir con esta responsabilidad, la Comisión concede subvenciones y evalúa el uso de las mismas; efectúa investigaciones científicas; evalúa la legislación que afecta la telecomunicación pública; desarrolla planes para varios programas; busca recursos económicos no estatales para financiar ciertos aspectos de la telecomunicación pública en el estado; sirve como representante del Estado en sus relaciones con entidades locales, estatales y federales, en asuntos relacionados con normas oficiales concernientes a la telecomunicación pública; y proporciona servicios administrativos ordinarios. La Comisión también suministra información por medio de su periódico informativo y en caso de peticiones por correo y teléfono. El presupuesto recomendado por el Gobernador, incluye fondos para completar la evaluación de los programas que son financiados a raiz de subvenciones concedidas por la Comisión. Dicho presupuesto permitirá contratar a nuevos empleados que asistirán en la creacion y expansión de varios programas.

continua en la página 25

CPBC Proposes Statewide Planning Study

With the growing need for public telecommunications services in education, news and public affairs, cultural programming, and public information, the California Public Broadcasting Commission has submitted a federal grant application to fund a statewide planning process in California. The request for $158,000 in planning monies to the Public Telecommunications Facilities Program of the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (U.S. Department of Commerce) will support an 18-month planning effort with broad participation from all sectors of California's public telecommunications community and the public at large.

The goal of the application, prepared for the CPBC by communications consultant Michael Botkin of San Diego, is to bring together public broadcasters, educators, public officials, private industry and citizens to plan for an integrated multi-use system of public telecommunications facilities and services. The first phase of the plan will be a statewide ascertainment of existing and planned publicly-funded electronic interconnection systems in California. Funding for this phase will be provided by the state, pending legislative approval of Governor Brown's budget for FY 81-82.

Under the second phase, federal funding will provide for the creation of a task force to analyze the results of the interconnection survey, conduct input sessions with the numerous service providers throughout California (e.g., public stations, educators, cable companies, libraries, ITFS licensees) to determine their existing and planned services, and conduct workshops and hearings to gain citizens' input on their telecommunications needs.

At the conclusion of the planning effort, the Task Force will issue a report recommending steps to implement statewide electronic interconnection to meet the needs expressed during the process. Copies of the NTIA application are available from the CPBC office.

La CPBC Propone Estudio de Planificación Estatal

Viendo la necesidad creciente para servicios de telecomunicaciones públicas en los aspectos de la educación, noticias y asuntos de interés al público; programación cultural; información pública, la Comisión Estatal de la Difusión Pública en California, ha presentado una solicitud para una subvención federal. Esta se presentó con el propósito de financiar un proceso de planificación en California. La solicitud para fondos en la suma de $158,000, fue presentada a la Oficina del Programa para Instalaciones de Telecomunicaciones Públicas, de la Administración Nacional de Telecomunicaciones (NTIA) del Depto. Federal del Comercio. Con dichos fondos se efectuará un proyecto de planificación y el cual comprenderá la participación de todos los sectores enteresados en las telecomunicaciones públicas en California, y del público en general. El objetivo de la planificación, y el motivo por el cual el consultor en comunicaciones, Michael Botkin de San Diego preparó la solicitud, es el de reunir a los representantes de la difusión pública, educación, la industria privada, oficiales públicos y el público en general, con el propósito de planificar un sistema de usos múltiples e integrados, de instalaciones y servicios de telecomunicaciones públicas. La primera etapa del plan consistirá en recoger datos sobre los sistemas en California, de interconexión electrónica y financiados con fondos públicos, que están en existencia o en planificación. Los fondos para esta etapa serán proveídos por el Gobierno Estatal, pendiente la aprobación legislativa del presupuesto recomendado por el Gobernador para el año fiscal del 81-82. Durante la segunda etapa, los fondos federales permitirán la creación de un comité especial encargado de responsibilidades varias, tales como: conducir reuniones con las entidades que proveen servicios de telecomunicaciones en California (p. ej., emisoras públicas, personal educacional, compañías de televisión por cable, bibliotecas, entidades que tienen permiso de usar el Servicio Inmóvil de Televisión Instructiva—ITFS), con el objetivo de obtener información relacionada con los servicios que están en existencia o en planificación; conducir sesiones informativas e instructivas y, asimismo, audiencias públicas en las que se solicitará la opinión del público en general, respecto a las formas en que se puedan beneficiar de las telecomunicaciones.

Una vez terminadas las etapas de planificación, el Comité Especial emitirá un informe en el cual recomendará los pasos necesarios para efectuar una interconexión electrónica estatal que satisfacerá las necesidades de telecomunicaciones. Copias de la solicitud que fue presentada a la NTIA, podrán obtenerse con la Oficina de la CPBC.

AB 699 Cable Bill Opens New Channels for Commission

The Commission has been assigned responsibilities in cable television as a result of AB 699 which became effective January 1, 1980. This innovative state legislation involves a number of trade-offs among interested parties: cable operators, local government, and cable programmers. It provides rate deregulation for California cable systems which meet specified conditions, including: (1) 20-channel capacity; (2) access to satellite-delivered programs; (3) community service channels; and (4) contribution to the Foundation for Community Service Television (at 50¢ per subscriber per year).

The Commission has several new responsibilities under AB 699: to encourage governmental and educational use of community service channels; to prepare a statewide ascertainment of community service channels (due to the State Legislature by January, 1983); and to evaluate the impact of rate deregulation upon subscribers and state telecommunications policy (report due to the State Legislature by April, 1982).

The Commission has proposed a number of new programs to meet these legislative mandates: the Governor's FY 81-82 budget includes funds to survey California's community service channels, and to train public information officers in the use of cable television. The evaluation report will be prepared within the coming budget year.

For more information, please contact the Commission offices.

CPBC Budget: What Happens Next

Now that the Governor's Budget is out, the Legislature will begin its review. The budget is currently being scrutinized by the Office of the Legislative Analyst, which publishes its report in mid-February. The Assembly Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee will appoint subcommittees (to be announced) which will hold public hearings on the CPBC budget at the State Capitol. At the subcommittee hearings, staff members evaluate and compare both the Governor's Budget and the Legislative Analyst's report. At this point, CPBC representatives address the subcommittee; public testimony is sometimes included.

La Propuesta AB 699 Sobre Televisión Por Cable, Permite Nuevos Canales Para La Comisión

De acuerdo con la Ley AB 699 que entró en efecto el 1º de enero de 1981, la Comisión tiene responsabilidades relacionadas con la televisión por cable. Esta legislación estatal innovadora, incluye varios convenios entre las partes interesadas: compañías de televisión por cable, gobiernos locales, programadores de televisión por cable. Permite la deregulación de cuotas que se cobran para el uso de sistemas de la televisión por cable, siempre y cuando dichos sistemas reúnan ciertos requisitos específicos, incluyendo: 1) capacidad de 20 canales; 2) acceso a programas transmitidos por satélite; 3) canales de servicio para el público; y 4) contribuciones a la Fundación para Televisión de Servicio para la Comunidad (en la suma de 50 centavos anualmente por cada suscritor.)

Entre las nuevas responsabilidades asignadas a la Comisión bajo la Ley AB 699, son las de: fomentar el uso gubernamental y educacional de canales de servicio para la comunidad; efectuar un estudio para averiguar el número de canales de servicio para la comunidad; (el informe al respecto se presentará a la Legislatura en enero de 1983); y evaluar el efecto de la deregulación de cuotas en los suscritores y las normas oficiales estatales relacionadas con telecomunicaciones (informe que deberá presentarse a la Legislatura Estatal, a más tardar, en abril de 1982.)

La Comisión ha propuesto algunos nuevos programas al fin de cumplir con estos mandatos legislativos: el presupuesto recomendado por el Gobernador para el año fiscal del 81-82, incluye fondos para averiguar el número de canales de servicio para la communidad en California, y para capacitar a los Oficiales de Información Pública en el uso de televisión por cable. El informe sobre la evaluación, será preparado durante el próximo año fiscal.

Para mayor información al respecto, por favor comuníquese con la Oficina de la Comisión.

Presupuesto de la CPBC: Lo Que Va a Suceder

Ahora que el Gobernador dió a conocer el presupuesto, la Legislatura comenzará a revisarlo. Actualmente la Oficina del Analista Legislativo lo está estudiando detenidamente y publicará un informe a mediados de febrero.

CPBC Budget:

After the full finance committees make budget recommendations to each of their respective houses, the Assembly and Senate will act on their versions of the Budget. A six-legislator conference committee (3 Senators and 3 Assemblymen) is then appointed to work out any differences between the two budgets. Compromises reached by the conference committee must be approved by a two-thirds majority in both houses.

A final compromise Budget is then voted on by the Legislature. Finally, the Budget goes to the Governor where he can veto ("blue-pencil") any item in the Budget, he may reduce, but not add, any item to the budget. By law, the Governor must deliver a Budget Act by July 1.

CPBC Internships

Deciding on a topic for a master's thesis? Interested in public broadcasting and state telecommunications policy? The Commission is looking for interns to work with staff in a number of areas, such as the economic and legal issues involving the new technologies (e.g., direct broadcast satellite). The Commission is also seeking an intern to work on the newsletter and other public information materials.

These internships are unpaid, but academic credit can be arranged. If interested, send Commission staffperson Marcia Stewart a note by March 1, briefly describing your background and areas of interest.

El Comité de Medios y Arbitrios de la Asamblea, y el Comité de Finanzas del Senado, nombrarán los miembros de los subcomités (éstos no han sido anunciados todavía). Dichos subcomités conducirán audiencias públicas en el Capitolio Estatal, acerca del presupuesto de la CPBC. Durante dichas audiencias, los empleados del subcomité evaluarán y compararán ambos el presupuesto recomendado por el Gobernador y el informe del Analista Legislativo. Este es el momento en que los representantes de la CPBC se dirigen a los miembros del subcomité. A veces se admite testimonio público.

Después que los dos comités de finanzas de audiencia plena recomiendan el presupuesto a sus respectivas Cámaras, el Senado y la Asamblea deliberan por separado en su interpretación del presupuesto. Se nombra un comité de conferencia integrado por 6 miembros de la Legislatura (3 Senadores y 3 Miembros de la Asamblea) para subsanar cualquier aspecto en disputa en el presupuesto. Los acuerdos tienen que ser aprobados por una mayoría de las dos terceras partes en ambas Cámaras.

Las Cámaras Legislativas votan sobre el Presupuesto final convenido. Si lo aprueban, el presupuesto es remitido al Gobernador, quien podrá ejercer su derecho de veto (utilizando el lápiz conocido comunmente como "lápiz de color azul"), en cuanto a algún aspecto del presupuesto: tiene derecho a reducirlo solamente y no a aumentarlo. En conformidad con los reglamentos legales, el Governador tiene que entregar la Ley de Presupuesto, a más tardar, el 1º de julio.

Programa De Estudios Con La CPBC

¿Tiene que seleccionar un tópico para su tesis de estudios pos graduados?¿Le interesan las normas oficiales estatales concernientes a la difusión pública y telecomunicaciones? La Comisión está buscando estudiantes que desean trabajar como "internos" con el personal en varios ramos, tales como materias económicas y legales relacionadas con las nuevas tecnologías (p. ej., transmisión directa por medio de satélite). Asimismo, la Comisión busca a un estudiante para trabajar en la preparación del periódico informativo y otros materiales de información pública.

Estos puestos para estudiantes "internos" no ofrecen sueldos. Sin embargo, se puede arreglar que se reconozcan como estudios académicos. Si está interesado(a), por favor envíe una nota a nuestra empleada Marcia Stewart, a más tardar, el 1º de marzo. Decriba brevemente su preparación y las áreas que le interesan.

Proposed Legislation

Minority Participation

To assist minority participation in California public broadcasting services and operations, the California Public Broadcasting Commission is proposing new state legislation. A working proposal for the legislation has been drafted which calls for a three-year program to promote training opportunities for minority persons at upper-level management levels; provide financial aid to minority-operated and licensed public stations; create a programming fund for minority-oriented issues; and promote the services of public broadcasting within minority communities in the state. Following circulation of the draft proposal for comments, the Commission anticipates introduction of the legislation in early Spring of this year. Persons interested in commenting on the draft should contact the Commission offices immediately.

Mandate Expanded

Under a second piece of legislation in development, amendments to the CPBC's enabling legislation (AB 525) will be made to reflect the Commission's new involvement in public telecommunications. The proposed amendments would expand the pool of applicants for CPBC funds to include noncommercial, nonbroadcast entities and individuals as well as public radio and television stations. The Commission will also propose language to create new advisory committees in addition to its three existing committees—Radio, Television and Instructional Broadcasting—and to expand its research and demonstration activities. The changes are designed to bring the state Commission into conformance with changes at the national level where the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration already make funds available to non-station organizations and to reflect the CPBC's new mandates in cable television under AB 699.

Proposición Legislativia

Participación de Personas de Minoría

Para facilitar la participación de las personas de minoría en los servicios y operaciones en el ramo de la difusión pública en California, la Comisión Estatal de la Difusión Pública en California, está proponiendo nueva legislación estatal. Un documento de trabajo de esta legislación ha sido redactada. En el documento de trabajo se propone el establecimiento de un programa de tres años de duración, para fomentar oportunidades de entrenamiento para personas minoritarias, en particular en puestos administrativos superiores; proveer asistencia económica a las emisoras con licencias y que son operadas por personas de minoría; fomentar los servicios de difusión pública dentro de las comunidades de personas de minoría en el estado. Después de circular el documento de trabajo y obtener comentarios, la Comisión espera que la legislación se presente a la Legislatura a principios de la primavera del año en curso. Las personas que desean comentar respecto a la propuesta, deberán comunicarse con la Oficina de la Comisión.

Mandato Ampliado

Se está preparando una segunda propuesta, la que enmendará a la Ley AB 525. Las enmiendas a la Ley AB 525 (la ley que creó la Comisión) tomarán en cuenta la participación de la Comisión en telecomunicaciones públicas. Dichas enmiendas permitirán un aumento en el número de solicitudes para los fondos concedidos por la CPBC. Incluirán a individuos y entidades no comerciales y de entidades no relacionadas con la difusión pública, además de las emisoras públicas de radio y televisión. La Comisión propondrá la creación de nuevos comités de asesoría, además de los comités actuales de Radio, Televisión y Difusión Instructiva; y la expansión de sus actividades de investigación científica y actividades demostrativas. Estas propuestas tienen por objeto el hacer que la Comisión Estatal se adopte a los cambios al nivel nacional: la Corporación para la Difusión Pública y la Administración Nacional de Telecomunicaciones e Información, ya disponen de fondos para entidades no difusivas; y reflejar los nuevos mandatos de la Comisión debido a la Ley AB 699 relacionada con televisión por cable.

Who's Who at the Commission

Since the last edition of the newsletter, changes have occurred in the CPBC membership and staff.

-*Barbara O'Connor* was appointed to complete the term of *Robert Derry* who left the Commission in May 1980. Dr. O'Connor is a Professor of Communications at California State University at Sacramento and an educational consultant in the fields of organizational communications, cable television, and mass media and society.

-In June, 1980, *Gerry Pearlman* was elected Commission chairman, and *Frederick Nicholas* was elected Vice-Chairman.

-Also in June, the Commission hired *Joel Kugelmass* as its new Executive Director following the resignation of *Ed Stokes*. Mr. Kugelmass was formerly director of the Pacifica Foundation, a five-station non-commercial radio group with licensees in New York City, Washington, D.C., Houston, Berkeley and Los Angeles. Mr. Stokes is now the owner and manager of a commercial AM radio station in central Vermont.

-*Marcia Stewart*, who has been with the Commission since March, 1980, as a graduate student assistant, was recently hired as a Program Manager. She will be working in the areas of public television, cable television, and program evaluation for the Commission. Marcia joins *Carolyn Perkins*, CPBC Program Manager, who has been with the Commission since February 1978 and served as its Acting Director in the summer of 1980. Carolyn will be working in the areas of public radio, teleconferencing, and new technologies.

-Another addition to the Commission staff is *Geri Lynne Kothe*, a graduate student in Communications Studies at California State University in Sacramento, she assists the Commission staff in program and administrative activities.

El Personal De La Comisión

Desde la última edición de nuestro periódico informativo han ocurrido cambios de personal, ambos en la Comisión y entre sus empleados.

-*Barbara O'Connor* fue nombrada para completer el término de *Robert Derry*, que se retiró de la Comisión en mayo de 1980. La Dra. O'Connor es Profesora de Comunicaciones en la Universidad Estatal de California en Sacramento, y, asimismo, presta servicios como consultora educacional en los ramos de comunicaciones de organizaciones; televisión por cable; y medios de comunicación y la sociedad.

-En junio de 1980 *Gerry Pearlman* fue elegido Presidente de la Comisión, y *Fred Nicholas* fue elegido Vicepresidente.

-También durante el mes de junio, la Comisión contrató los servicios de *Joel Kuglemass*, para desempeñar el puesto de Director Ejecutivo, debido al retiro de *Ed Stokes*. El Sr. Kugelmass sirvió anteriormente en la capacidad de Director de la Fundación Pacífica, una asociación de cinco emisoras no comerciales que tienen permiso de funcionar en las ciudades de Nueva York, Washington, D.C., Houston, Berkeley y Los Angeles. Actualmente, el Sr. Stokes es propietario y gerente de una emisora comercial de radio AM en la parte central de Vermont.

-*Marcia Stewart* ha trabajado con la Comisión desde marzo de 1980. Primeramente trabajó en la capacidad de asistente/estudiante univesitaria pos-graduada. Recientemente la contrataron para ocupar el puesto de Directora de Programas. Se encargará de la televisión pública, la televisión por cable, y la evaluación de programas. Marcia trabaja con *Carolyn Perkins*, la Directora de Programas para la CPBC. Carolyn ha estado con la Comisión desde febrero de 1978 y durante el verano de 1980, ejerció en la capacidad de Directora Interina. Carolyn está encargada de la radio pública, las conferencias por televisión y las tecnológías nuevas.

-Otra adición al personal de la Comisión es *Geri Lynne Kothe*, una estudiate pos-graduada en el estudio de Comunicaciones con la Universidad Estatal de California en Sacramento. Asiste al personal de la Comisión en lo relativo a los programas y administración.

Directory of California Public Radio and Television Stations and Managers

Lista de las Emisoras Públicas de Radio y Televisión en California

KUOP-FM 91.3 FM
University of the Pacific
Stockton, CA 95211
(209) 946-2582
Mr. Richard Terry

KPCC-FM 89.3 FM
1570 E. Colorado Blvd.
Pasadena, CA 91106
(213) 578-7231
Dr. John Gregory

KUSC-FM 91.5 FM
Univ. of Southern Calif.
University Park
Los Angeles, CA 90001
(213) 743-5872
Dr. Wallace Smith

KALW-FM 91.7 FM
2905-21st St.
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 648-1177
Mr. Leon Del Grande

KPBS-FM 89.5 FM
San Diego State University
San Diego, CA 92182
(714) 286-6431
Mr. Tom McManus

KLON-FM 88.1 FM
201 E. 8th St.
Long Beach, CA 90813
(213) 436-9931, Ext. 339
Dr. Frank George

KPFA-FM 94.1 FM
2207 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94704
(415) 848-6767
Mr. David Salniker

KPFK-FM 90.7 FM
P. O. Box 8639
Universal City, CA 91608
(213) 877-2711
Mr. Jim Berland

KCSN-FM 88.5 FM
Radio/TV/Film Department
California State University
Northridge, CA 91324
(213) 885-3090
Mr. Ray Tippo

KVCR-FM 91.9 FM
San Bernardino Valley College
701 S. Mt. Vernon Ave.
San Bernardino, CA 92410
(714) 885-0234
Mr. Lew Warren

KCRW-FM 89.9 FM
1815 Pearl St.
Santa Monica, CA 90405
(213) 450-5183
Ms. Ruth Hirschman

KQED-FM 88.5 FM
500 - 8th St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 553-2125
Mr. Ralph Peralez

KCSM-FM 91.1 FM
1700 West Hillsdale Blvd.
San Mateo, CA 9402
(415) 574-6427
Mr. Victor Wheatman

KBBF-FM 89.1 FM
P. O. Box 7189
Santa Rosa, CA 95401
(707) 545-8833
Mr. Josue Lopez

KVPR-FM 89 FM
1515 Van Ness
Fresno, CA 93721
(209) 486-7710
Ms. Augustine Dempsey

KPOO-FM 88.5 FM
532 Natoma St.
P. O. Box 11008
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 864-7474
Mr. Ira Campbell

KCBX-FM 90.1 FM
1026 Chorro St.
San Luis Obispo, CA 93401
(805) 541-1295
Mr. Frank Lanzone

KXPR-FM 89.5 FM
Calif. State University
6000 J St.
Sacramento, CA 95819
(916) 454-6222
Mr. Phil Corriveau

KSBR-FM 88.5 FM
P. O. Box 3420
Mission Viejo, CA 92690
(714) 831-5727
Mr. Warren Deacon

TELEVISION

KVIE-TV, Channel 6
P. O. Box 6
Sacramento, CA 95801
(916) 929-5843
Mr. John Hershberger

KCET-TV, Channel 28
4401 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90027
(213) 666-6500
Mr. David Crippens

KTEH-TV, Channel 54
100 Skyport Drive
San Jose, CA 95110
(408) 299-2754
Mr. Maynard Orme

KVCR-TV, Channel 24
701 S. Mt. Vernon Ave.
San Bernardino, CA 92410
(714) 885-0234
Mr. Thomas Little

KQED-TV, Channel 9
500 - 8th St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 864-2000
Mr. Anthony Tiano

KLCS-TV, Channel 58
Box 3307
Los Angeles, CA 90051
(213) 625-6958
Mr. Tom Mossman

KOCE-TV, Channel 50
15751 Gothard Street
P. O. Box 2476
Huntington Beach, CA 92647
(714) 895-5623
Mr. William Furniss

KIXE-TV, Channel 9
P. O. Box 9
Redding, CA 96001
(916) 241-7900
Mr. Hal Bouton

KEET-TV, Channel 13
P. O. Box 13
Eureka, CA 95501
(707) 445-0813
Mr. St. Claire B. Adams

KPBS-TV, Channel 15
San Diego State University
San Diego, CA 92182
(714) 265-6415
Mr. Paul Steen

KCSM-TV, Channel 60
1700 W. Hillsdale Blvd.
San Mateo, CA 94402
(415) 574-6586
Mr. Douglas Montgomery

KMTF-TV, Channel 18
P. O. Box 462
Fresno, CA 93709
(209) 488-3018
Mr. Colin Dougherty

Stations and Independents Gather, Review Joint Programs

More than 60 independent radio and television producers and public broadcasting station managers from California met recently to review the joint program between the California Public Broadcasting Commission and the California Council for the Humanities. Participants in the meetings, held February 3 in Los Angeles and February 4 in San Francisco, discussed guidelines and criteria for the joint funding program. Established in 1977, the joint program makes grants to public stations and independents working with stations to produce public radio and TV humanities programming. Since its inception, the joint fund has awarded over $250,000 to nine grantees for program development and production. Following the two input sessions, the joint CPBC/CCH committee will reconsider the program guidelines. Notification for future grant rounds will be made through the Commission newsletter.

Annual Report Out

The California Public Broadcasting Commission's Annual Report for 1979-80 is now available. It is a useful guide to those interested in learning more about the Commission and includes details on CPBC organization, membership and advisory committees; a profile of California's public broadcasting system; and overview of CPBC's 1979-80 activities in the areas of statewide news and public affairs programming, long-range planning, and joint programs; and future directions for the Commission in 1980-81 and the coming years.

A copy of the 1979-80 Annual Report is available by sending $1.50 (check or money order, payable to the California Public Broadcasting Commission, or stamps) to the Commission offices.

Personal De Emisoras Y Productores Independientes Se Reunieron, *Revisaron Programas De Colaboración*

Más de 60 productores independientes de la radio y televisión y gerentes de emisoras de difusión pública en California, se reunieron recientemente con el propósito de revisar el programa de colaboración de la Comisión Estatal de la Divusión Pública en California y el Concilio para las Humanidades en California (CCH). Durante las sesiones que se celebraron el recién pasado 3 de febrero en Los Angeles y el 4 de febrero en San Francisco, los participante conversaron de las reglas y criterios del programa financiados por estas dos entidades. Fundado en 1977, el programa de colaboración concede subvenciones a las emisoras públicas y a los productores que trabajan con dichas emisoras en la producción de programas para la radio y televisión sobre las humanidades. Desde su creación, en exceso de $250,000 han sido concedidos a nueve subvencionistas para el desarrollo y producción de tales programas. Estando terminadas las dos sesiones, en las que se hizo intercambio de ideas y conceptos, los miembros del comité integrado por representantes de la CPBC y la CCH, reconsiderarán las reglas del programa de colaboración. Notificación de futuros períodos de presentar solicitudes para subvenciones, se efectuará por medio del periódico informativo de la Comisión.

El Informe Anual Ha Sido Preparado

El Informe Anual de 1979-80, preparado por la Comisión Estatal de la Difusión Pública en California, está actualmente a la disposición. Es una guía informativa y útil para las personas que están interesadas en informarse acerca de la Comisión. También incluye detalles relacionados con la organización de la CPBC, sus miembros y los comités de asesoría; un bosquejo del sistema de difusión pública en California; una descripción general de las actividades de la CPBC en el año fiscal de 1979-80 en las áreas de noticias y asuntos de interés al público del Estado, planificación a largo plazo, y programas de colaboración; y, asimismo, oportunidades y objetivos para la Comisión durante el año de 1980-81 y los años venideros.

Una copia del Informe Anual de 1979-80 (escrito en inglés solamente), podrá obtenerse si envía $1.50 (cheque u orden de pago a nombre de la "California Public Broadcasting Commission"; o estampillas) a la Oficina de la Comisión en el 921 11th St., Suite 1200, Sacramento, Ca. 95814.

Low-Power Gains High Profile

With the potential to open up hundreds of new broadcast outlets, the Federal Communications Commission has instituted a rule-making procedure to authorize low-power television stations and is now accepting applications for low-power frequencies. Low-power stations differ from regular television channels in that they cover a smaller signal area, are simpler and less expensive to operate, and the FCC application process is easier. Low-power stations are "secondary" to regular TV stations because they are not allowed to interfere with the reception of regular stations and a low-power signal is not protected against interference from regular stations.

While low-power TV presents an exciting new opportunity for noncommercial and minority broadcasting, priorities for establishing low-power frequencies have not yet been established by the FCC; instead, priorities will be determined by the current rule-making procedure. There will be a "first come, first served" aspect to the award of frequencies, however, so noncommercial and minority applicants are encouraged to file as soon as possible. Applications received by February 17 will be considered as a group; a second cut-off date has been established for March 12, and future cut-off dates are anticipated.

To assist potential applicants in filing a low-power application, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting has prepared a handbook on low-power which is available from the Sacramento offices of the California Public Broadcasting Commission or from CPB offices (1111 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036). In addition, a nationwide "hotline" on low-power will soon be set up by the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers to provide planning and technical assistance to applicants for low-power stations.

From the Chairman:

I was naturally pleased to hear from the Governor on Christmas Eve that he was recommending to the Legislature that our budget be increased—not a bad Christmas present, considering it is the result of five years of struggle on the part of the public broadcasting community and the Commission. Oftentimes, pursuing such goals causes one to forget that money is but a means to an end, and the means becomes an end in itself. With this thought in mind, before losing ourselves in the development of the new year's budget, I think it is a good idea to re-examine our goals and re-establish some sense of priorities.

Baja Potencia Tiene Perfil Destacada

Con el potencial de establecer centenares de nuevas fuentes de difusión, la Comisión Federal de Comunicaciones (FCC) ha instituido un reglamento para la autorización de emisoras de baja potencia. Actualmente la FCC está aceptando solicitudes para la autorización de emisoras de baja potencia. Actualmente la FCC esta aceptando solicitudes para la autorizacion de emisoras de baja potencia. Las emisoras de baja potencia son diferentes a las regulares debido a que su señal alcanza llegar a un área más limitada; las emisoras de baja potencia son más fáciles y menos costosos de operar; y es menos complicado el procedimiento de la FCC para solicitar autorización. Las emisoras de baja potencia son de "segunda categoría" en comparación con las emisoras regulares de TV, debido a que no se permite que las emisoras de baja potencia son de "segunda categoria" en comparacion con las emisoras regulares de TV, debido a que no se permite que las emisoras de baja potencia interfieran con la señal de las regulares, aunque la señal de la emisora de baja potencia no está protegida de la interferencia de la emisora regular.

A pesar de que la llegada de la TV de baja potencia representa una oportunidad estimuladora para la emisión pública no comercial y para personas minoritarias, la FCC no ha determinado las prioridades para el establecimiento de las frecuencias en que se puede utilizar la baja potencia. Por consiguiente, las prioridades serán determinadas de acuerdo con los reglamentos corrientes. El otorgamiento de licencias se efectuará de acuerdo al "orden en que se reciban las solicitudes"; por lo tanto, se les urge a los solicitantes no comerciales y a las personas de minoría a presentar sus solicitudes lo más pronto posible. Las solicitudes que son recibidas, a más tardar, el 17 de febrero, serán consideradas como el primer grupo. Se ha establecido como fecha en que se vencerá el segundo período, el 12 de marzo; y se anticipa establecer futuras fechas similares.

Con el propósito de asistir a los solicitantes en presentar sus solicitudes para una emisora de baja potencia, la Corporación para la Difusión Pública preparó una libreta informativa acerca de emisoras de baja potencia. Esta libreta se obtiene con la Oficina en Sacramento de la Comisión Estatal de la Difusión Pública en California; o con la Oficina de la CPB (en el 1111 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.20036). Además, la Federación Nacional de Programadores Locales de Televisión por Cable, pronto establecerá una red telefónica nacional con el propósito de suministrar asistencia técnica y de planificación a los solicitantes de emisoras de baja potencia.

I regard this year as crucial for the Commission. If the Governor does not seek a third term, it could be the last year that we will be dealing with familiar faces in the Executive Branch. Although Governor Brown may not sign the next budget into law, he would still recommend a budget to the Legislature before leaving office. I interpret this favorable response to our budget request this year merely as a positive sign that he is both aware and interested in the role of telecommunications—but, he still needs convincing if we are to attain the full measure of government support necessary to make our programs truly significant for the people of California. So, I view this year form two perspectives: first, we must utilize existing resources and our present commitment to public affairs programming to demonstrate, as never before, what can be done to inform the public about state government. Second, at the same time that we are demonstrating what can be done with existing resources, we must develop a new budget proposal that is more compelling, innovative, and comprehensive than anything we have managed before.

The dollar amount of next year's budget should be less important than the quality of ideas that it represents. Our past efforts have been, for the most part, continuations without much evaluation of these efforts.

It is my belief that good program ideas sell themselves. Goals clearly defined and the means or costs to achieve these goals as well defined as possible would make everyone's work easier in establishing this year's budget proposal. I have tried to arrange Commission meetings so they would proceed in some orderly fashion toward the review and development of a budget proposal by the September deadline, but have not succeeded in doing so thusfar. I hope to be able to devote myself exclusively to our budget proposal during the next six months, so that the Commission will be better prepared and even more enthusiastic about what it is advocating. To accomplish this end will require a good deal of support and cooperation from all concerned, not only from the traditional sources of our advisory committees, but from as wide a variety of other sources as can serve the telecommunication needs of California. Certainly, if individual Commissioners and stations have ideas that serve the public interest in the area of telecommunications, this would be the time to develop them for inclusion in the new budget.

In short, this could easily be the year when the Commission begins to make its mark on state policy. Our present budget increase should not allow us to rest on our laurels, but instill more than ever the determination to expand our vision to match the potential of telecommunications in our state.

Gerry Pearlman

MENSAJE DEL PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISION:

Naturalmente, me complació cuando el Sr. Gobernador me dió a conocer, la Nochebuena, que iba a recomender a la Legislatura aumentar nuestro presupuesto — un regalo que no era tan malo, siendo que fue la culminación de cinco años de brega de parte de la Comisión y las entidades interesadas en la difusión pública. Frecuentemente, el seguir con empeño tales objetivos le hace a uno olvidar que el dinero es nada más que un medio que se usa para alcanzar el objetivo, y luego darse cuenta que el medio se convirtió en objetivo. Teniendo esto en mente, y antes de que se nos desvanece durante la preparación del presupuesto para el próximo año, lo considero un momento oportuno para examinar de nuevo nuestros objetivos y reestablecer algún sentido de las prioridades.

Pienso que este año será decisiva para la Comisión. Si el Sr. Gobernador no se propone ser candidato por tercera vez, este año puede ser el último en que nos tratamos con gente conocida en el Ramo Ejecutivo del Gobierno Estatal. Aunque es posible que el Sr. Gobernador Brown no sea él que firme la próxima Ley de Presupuesto, antes de la expiración de su término, siempre tendrá que recomendar un presupuesto para el año que viene. Su respuesta favorable al presupuesto que solicitamos para este año, lo interpreto a manera de una mera indicación positiva de que le interesa y está consciente del papel de las telecomunicaciones — sin embargo, todavía es necesario persuadirlo si vamos a obtener todo el apoyo gubernamental que necesitamos para hacer que nuestros programas sean verdaderamente significativos para la gente de California. Por consiguiente miro este año desde dos perspectivas: primero, tenemos que utilizar los recursos económicos a nuestra disposición, y valernos de los esfuerzos que estamos dedicando al desarrollo de programas relacionados con asuntos de interés al público, con el propósito de demostrar, como no ha sucedido anteriormente, lo que se podrá hacer para informar al público acerca del Gobierno Estatal. Segundo, al mismo tiempo que demostramos lo que se podrá efectuar usando los recursos económicos actualmente a nuestra disposición, tenemos que preparar la propuesta del próximo presupuesto, un presupuesto que sea más apremiante, innovadoro y comprensivo que cualquiera de los anteriores.

La cantidad de dólares en el presupuesto para el próximo año, deberá tener menos importancia que la calidad de las ideas que represente. Nuestros esfuerzos anteriores han sido, en la mayor parte, una continuación de dichos esfuerzos y con poca evaluación de ellos.

En mi concepto, si las ideas para los programas son buenas, "se venderán," como decimos comunmente. Definiendo los objetivos claramente y, asimismo, si nos concretamos tanto como sea posible, en los medios o costos necesarios para alcanzar estos objetivos, será más fácil la labor de todos en la preparación de la propuesta este año. He intentado arreglar que las reuniones de la Comisión procedan con un poco de orden en cuanto a la revisión y el desarrollo de una propuesta para el presupuesto antes de la fecha en septiembre cuando deberá estar terminada. Hasta el momento, no lo he podido lograr hacer. Espero dedicarme exclusivamente a la preparación de dicha propuesta durante los próximos seis meses, para que la Comisión pueda estar mejor preparada y aún más entusiasta referente a lo que propone. El obtener este objetivo, requerirá un apoyo y cooperación considerables de parte de todos, no solamente de las entidades regulares que asisten a los Comités de Asesoría, sino también de un número, tan grande y representativo como sea posible, de las entidades que tengan la capacidad de suministrar servicios de telecomunicaciones y satisfacer las necesidades de la gente de California para dichos servicios. Por supuesto, si los Comisionados y el personal de las emisoras tienen ideas que comprenden el interés público, éste es el momento de desarrollarlos para que se incluyan en el presupuesto.

En pocas palabras, este año podrá ser el en que la Comisión influya las normas oficiales estatales. El aumento de nuestro presupuesto actual no deberá de dejarnos contentos, durmiendo en los laurales, sino animarnos, ahora más que todo, en la determinación de hacer que nuestras perspectivas se extiendan hasta el punto en que igualen el potencial de las telecomunicaciones en nuestro Estado.

RESUMEN DE LOS REQUISITOS DE PROGRAMAS	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82
10 Programación al Nivel Estatal de Difusión para el Público	$371,062	$621,669	$1,559,062
20 Intercone xión			250,096
30 Usos de Telecomunicaciones dentro del Gobierno Estatal			281,710
40 Instalaciones de Difusión Pública	151,242		
50 Administración	173,495	180,469	253,748
TOTAL, PROGRAMAS	$695,799	$802,138	$2,344,616
Reembolsos	*-4,113*		
TOTAL NETO, PROGRAMAS	$691,686	$802,138	$2,344,616
Fondo General	*666,088*	*775,266*	*2,244,616*
Fondo Estatal de Ventas de Placas para la Protección del Ambiente			*100,000*
*Fondo para la Difusión Pública**	25,598	26,872	
Personal (Equivalente Anual)	4.8	6	12.2

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Fernando Del Rio — January 1, 1983
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Los Angeles

Stephen Frantz — January 1, 1982
Free-lance journalist/communications consultant
Berkeley

James C. Goodwin — January 1, 1984
Educator
Berkeley

Barbara O'Connor — January 1, 1981
Professor of Communications
Sacramento

Gerry Pearlman, Chairman — January 1, 1980
Philanthropist
Muir Beach

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Geraldine O. Farber — January 1, 1984
Civic Worker
Los Altos

Edward L. McClarty — January 1, 1982
Educator
Modesto

Appointed by the Speaker of the Assembly — *Nombrados por el Presidente de la Asamblea*

F. Keenan Behrle — January 1, 1981
Attorney
Los Angeles

Frederick M. Nicholas, Vice Chairman — January 1, 1983
Attorney
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- ☐ Women and Minorities
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