

Rogers

Box 1, Folder 11

DRAFT  
CTWhitehead:jm  
9/28/71

T7-8/1

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

We have identified several options for dealing with the public affairs programming of public broadcasting. In the short run, there does not appear to be any way to cut off Federal funds. Federal funds for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) for FY 1972 were apportioned by OMB in July and a check for \$30 million was transferred to the Corporation in August. These funds remain available to the Corporation until expended, outside the control of the Executive Branch by statute. The \$5 million remaining to be apportioned is to match non-Federal contributions and would not normally be apportioned until late in the fiscal year. Our efforts, therefore, must be directed to legislative action for FY 1973 and beyond.

The term "public broadcasting" includes educational and cultural programming as well as public affairs programming. Federal funds for all three purposes are provided by statute through the Corporation for Public Broadcasting which in turn gives grants to programming organizations such as NET and to all of the educational radio and television stations in the country. Our major cause of concern is the Corporation's activities in public affairs programming, but the three components are so linked in the current financing structure that to hit the public affairs programming by cutting back funds to CPB hits the

educational and cultural programming as well.

You must determine whether you wish to cut back all CPB activities or just the public affairs programming -- and whether you wish to cut back only CPB or all the local stations in addition. Assuming that our major concern is public affairs programming and principally the national public affairs programming funded by CPB, the current concept of Federal funding creates a dilemma -- striking at public broadcasting generally puts us in the posture of being against "Sesame Street," high school equivalency programs, drug abuse programs, television drama, and the like. It is these activities that created both public and Congressional support for public broadcasting. There has long been pressure for "permanent" financing for CPB and anything less at this time will incur a fair amount of opposition in the press and on the Hill.

We have four major options:

(1) We can avoid political controversy by negotiating a compromise financing bill for CPB that, while raising overall Federal funds for public broadcasting, would circumscribe the power and ultimate size of CPB. This option would include replacing Frank Pace and John Macy as Chairman and President of CPB and an agreement on the part of our friends on the Board to work vigorously for a reduction in the amount and the bias of public affairs programming funded by CPB.

Pro

By shifting much of the power directly to local stations, we would delimit the trend toward centralized control of public television by CPB.

Pro

Avoids a political controversy over Administration intimidation of the media and attacks on public television generally which would come to focus in the upcoming election year.

Con

Goes only part way to reducing centralized control of public television.

Con

The effectiveness of the Board in controlling the full-time staff of CPB is questionable at best so that no major change in the proportion of public affairs programming is likely.

(2) You can try to get the Congress to cut funds for CPB drastically and to forbid them from funding public affairs programming.

Pro

Makes very clear your resolve and would clearly intimidate much expansion or heavy bias on the part of CPB during the upcoming election year.

Con

Would almost certainly be interpreted by the media as an attack on all broadcasting.

(3) You can introduce legislation as early as November proposing a drastic restructuring of public broadcasting, cutting deeply into CPB funds and excluding them from public affairs programming, providing reasonable levels of support for cultural and educational programming directly to local stations.

(4) You or several appropriate officials within the Administration can publicly call CPB a failure in achieving the purposes of public broadcasting in this country, and you can direct us to work with local stations, Congressmen, and others to develop a new approach to the funding of educational and cultural television programming.

CPB

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Peter Flanigan

SUBJECT: Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Several weeks ago you expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and indicated that you wanted it "cut back." Because of the industry structure and political realities described below, we believe that the most effective and practicable means of reducing the influence of CPB is not a cut-back of all public broadcasting across the board, but rather a redirection of financial support so as to favor those elements more sympathetic with our philosophy.

#### A. INDUSTRY STRUCTURE

The foundation of the public broadcasting network is the local stations. Most of these were created and are supported by state funds, and almost all carry classroom programming during school hours. These stations generally reflect the philosophical outlook of the areas which they serve, and, as a group, are not dominated by the liberal establishment of the Northeast. The local stations are members of a national organization known as the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB).

The term "public broadcasting" was coined by the Carnegie Commission in \_\_\_\_\_. In their report which recommended some consolidation of the activities of all the educational and radio television stations, they recommended the establishment of a national corporation called CPB and this was passed by the Congress in 1967. The term public broadcasting is now understood to include all educational broadcasting and cultural programming, as well as public affairs broadcasting.

CPB has fostered the development of certain production centers for national programming. Some of these, such as Children's Television Workshop, are exclusively production entities; most, including WNET, are also large public TV stations. Some production centers (notably WNET) receive considerable financial support from the Ford Foundation.

The networking service for public broadcasting is the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). This entity receives (generally without charge) the programs whose production has been subsidized by CPB and others, and pipes them out to the local stations. PBS is the creature of CPB and is funded entirely by that organization. Although CPB claims that the local stations have a good deal of say in what PBS chooses to program, in fact this does not seem to be the case.

PBS makes no charge to the stations for its services and is thus not dependent on them. A station for funding may decide not to carry a program which PBS sends out, but when it does so its only alternatives are to go dark or present less attractive programming.

Finally there is the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), almost entirely funded by the Federal Government. It is prohibited from doing any programming itself, but it makes grants to other organizations for that purpose. The Act creating the Corporation specifically prohibits it from owning or operating any network system. It is permitted, however, to "arrange, by grant or contract with appropriate public or private agencies, . . . for interconnection facilities." By the creation of its own instrument, PBS, and the nature of its operational arrangements with that entity, it has achieved control over networking virtually as complete as it could have acquired by direct ownership and operation.

#### B. CURRENT FEDERAL SUPPORT

Federal funds are available from HEW for the construction of facilities for educational broadcasting stations. Since these stations do classroom programming as well as the more general public broadcasting, these funds may be considered directed toward education. During the current year the HEW facilities program is funded at \$15 million.

Virtually all Federal funding which is directed exclusively at non-classroom public broadcasting is distributed through CPB. During the current year this is \$35 million. Although some of this money is in fact given to the local stations for their own use, the level of this funding has been low and all such funding is done only at the discretion of CPB. All Federal support of programming, networking and local station operations is, therefore, funneled through that organization, giving it a position of complete dominance in the field.



### C. OBJECTIVES OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

We believe that the principal objective of our policy toward public broadcasting should be to modify the structure of the system so as to eliminate the dominant position of CPB. An attempt to cut back public broadcasting as a whole would be doomed to failure because of the strong support that medium receives, not only from education interests, minority groups and liberals, but also from Congressmen whose districts contain stations which contribute to local education. Moreover, a mere reduction of funding for all public broadcasting would be ineffective in the long run since the level could easily be raised by a later administration. We are confronted with a long range problem of significant social consequences -- that is, the development of a government-funded broadcast system similar to the BBC.

There are three ways of attempting to prevent such a development:

1. Attempt to reduce drastically the Federal support for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and thereby all public broadcasting, including educational broadcasting, as well as public affairs programming;
2. Attempt to selectively reduce the public affairs emphasis of CPB; or
3. Alter the basic structure of the public broadcasting and the funding arrangements.

In view of the widespread support for many aspects of public broadcasting outside of public affairs programming, such as Sesame Street, Forsythe Sage, high school equivalency programs, etc., we think it would be unwise to attempt an across-the-board cut in CPB funding; not only would the political repercussions be undesirable but it would be highly unlikely that we could achieve this result politically. Any significant effort to reduce CPB effort of public affairs programming would run into resistance from commercial broadcasters who would just as soon leave this to public television and would raise a hue and cry about government control, etc. While it would be more effective than the first course of action, we think that it can be done more effectively if combined with the third alternative. The most fruitful course of action in achieving your objectives therefore seems to be a restructuring of CPB in its relationship to the local stations and a careful structuring of long-term financing arrangements to limit centralized control of public broadcasting which is certain to be highly liberal in its stance, and in conjunction make appropriate changes in the management of CPB through our friends on the Board of Directors.

E. MEANS

We propose permanently to reduce the influence of CPB by the following means:

Alternative #1

- (1) Provision of outright operating fund grants to local stations, eliminating their dependence upon CPB for Federal funds.
- (2) Exclusion of CPB from programming designed primarily for classroom purposes. (The Corporation has recently stated an intent to move substantially into this field.)

We believe these two steps alone can be achieved without arousing intransigence on the part of CPB if we do not simultaneously cut CPB's budget but instead give it a healthy increase. Such generosity would also enable us to strike a bargain with the CPB directors in exchange -- namely, that they reduce CPB funding of NET and eventually secure a replacement for John Macy.

Alternative #2

The foregoing proposal increases the independence of the station but leaves CPB in control of both programming and networking. This would probably enable CPB to retain substantial control over the national programs which some stations produce and all stations carry. If we wish to achieve clear and certain elimination of the monopoly power of CPB, we must add to steps 1 and 2 above the following:

- (3) Elimination of CPB's authority to support a national network, and distribution to the stations of funds sufficient to enable them to purchase networking services.

This would insure that the network would follow the tastes of the local stations, and might result in the creation of a number of subnetworks with more emphasis on local and regional needs and desires.

If this alternative is adopted, the implacable opposition of CPB can surely be expected. It would serve no purpose, therefore to refrain from reducing CPB's budget allocation. To the contrary, it would make sense to reduce its current \$35 million allocation by the amounts which it now expends for (1) station support and (2) networking.

You should be aware that this second alternative would involve us in a major political controversy. We can expect the support of conservatives and of some minority groups, which are disaffected with CPB. I believe we can also expect the support of NAAB and its member stations. The latter is crucial and we would not even proceed with this alternative unless it can be assured.

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Under either alternative above, in order to project an image of favoring public broadcasting, we would join to the CPB bill legislation increasing the level of funding for HEW facilities grants empowering HEW to make grants to states for classroom programming, and enabling HEW itself to support certain specialized programming such as employment reference services and remote medical diagnosis.

**DESIRED ACTION:**

- Alternative #1 -- Attempt across-the-board reduction of CPB funding.
- Alternative #2 -- Attempt significant reduction of public affairs programming by the Corporation.
- Alternative #3 -- Restructure funding and management as stated in #1.
- Alternative #4 -- Even further restructure as described in Alternative #2 above.
- Alternative #5 -- Discuss further.

5/17/67

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SUBJECT: Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Several weeks ago you expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and indicated that you wanted it "cut back." The purpose of this memorandum is to describe and explain the alternatives available for that purpose.

#### A. STRUCTURE OF PUBLIC BROADCASTING

The term "public broadcasting" was coined by the Carnegie Commission in 1967. It is now understood to refer to those noncommercial stations (with the supporting industry) which carry educational, cultural and public affairs programming. It is primarily the character of the public affairs programming which we find objectionable; but "public broadcasting" as a whole extends much beyond this field and is indeed primarily directed to educational and cultural purposes.

The foundation of the public broadcasting network is the local stations. Most of these were created and are supported by State funds, and almost all carry classroom programming during school hours. These stations generally reflect the philosophical outlook of the areas which they serve, and, as a group, are not dominated by the liberal establishment of the Northeast. The local stations are members of a national organization known as the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB).

In 1967, Congress authorized the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), a private corporation which is almost entirely funded by the Federal Government. It is statutorily prohibited from doing any programming itself, and from owning or operating any network or interconnection system. As will appear below, however, the intended purpose of these prohibitions has not been achieved.

CPB has fostered the development of certain production centers for national programming. Some of these, such as Children's Television Workshop, are exclusively production entities; most, including WNET, are also large public TV stations. Some production centers (notably WNET) receive considerable financial support from the Ford Foundation.

The networking service for public broadcasting is the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). This entity receives (generally without charge) the programs whose production has been subsidized by CPB and others, and pipes them out to the local stations. PBS is the creature of CPB and is funded entirely by that organization. Although CPB claims that the local stations have a good deal of say in what PBS chooses to carry, in fact this does not seem to be the case. PBS makes no charge to the stations for its services and is thus not dependent on them for funding. A station may decide not to carry a program which PBS sends out, but when it does so its only realistic alternatives are to go dark or present less attractive programming. The combination of CPB's funding of programming, plus its economic control of PBS, give it a position barely distinguishable from that of a "fourth network," although the affirmative obligations and prohibitions of the 1967 Act were intended to avoid this.

#### B. CURRENT FEDERAL SUPPORT

Federal funds are available from HEW for the construction of facilities for educational broadcast stations. Since these stations do classroom programming as well as "public broadcasting," these funds may be considered directed towards school education. They are in fact administered by HEW's Office of Education. During the current year the HEW facilities program is funded at \$15 million.

Virtually all Federal funding which is directed exclusively towards nonclassroom, public broadcasting is distributed through CPB. During the current year this is \$35 million. Although some of this money is in fact given to the local stations for their own use, the level of such funding has been low and all of it comes only at the discretion of CPB. All Federal support of programming, networking and local station operations is, therefore, funneled through CPB. This arrangement has several undesirable effects. (1) It gives CPB a position of complete dominance in the field; (2) It makes it impossible to reduce Federal support for national public affairs programming without at the same time reducing support for the more desirable educational and cultural aspects of public broadcasting.

### C. OBJECTIVES OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

As the foregoing description suggests, we are confronted with a long-range problem of significant social consequence -- that is, the development of a government-funded broadcast system similar to the BBC. There are three ways of halting that development or significantly reducing its adverse effects.

1. Drastically reduce Federal support for CPB;
2. Induce CPB to redirect its emphasis away from public affairs;
3. Alter the basic structure of funding for public broadcasting.

We estimate the first of these options to be impractical because of the fact that all Federal public broadcasting funds are now distributed through CPB. There is widespread support for that portion of Federal assistance directed towards education and culture, as opposed to public affairs -- Sesame Street, Forsythe Saga, high school equivalency programs, etc. The political repercussions of a drastic cut into these areas would be severe, and it might in fact be impossible to press such a program through the Congress. Even if we should achieve our goal at

great political expense, it would be merely a short-term remedy to a policy problem which is long range. A future administration could raise the level of CPB funding, and would find the basic 'fourth network' structure intact.

The second option is also short-term, since it presupposes a CPB Board of Directors in basic agreement with our desires. It would be much less politically dangerous than the first option, if it could be achieved through the Board of Directors alone. Our experience indicates, however, that the part-time directors cannot be expected to keep very close rein upon the full-time CPB staff. Effective action to pursue this option realistically requires the replacement of John Macy -- which would arouse political controversy and charges of attempted media control. We therefore think that this option is worth pursuing only if it can be combined with the more long-term goals of the third option.

The third option envisions shifting the direction of Federal funding for public broadcasting, so that most of it is distributed through local stations, whose interests are primarily in the fields of education and culture, rather than national public affairs; whose concerns are generally local or regional, rather than national; and whose political and social outlook is as a whole much more conservative than CPB's. Depending upon how abruptly or gradually this option is pursued, it may be met with violent or moderate opposition from CPB. It has the advantage, however, of winning away from the opposition those public broadcasting supporters who are primarily interested in local educational stations. This group is especially strong in the Congress. Success in achieving this option would create a new structure for the future of public broadcasting which it would be politically difficult to readjust. We might attempt to pursue this option in conjunction with option number 2.

#### E. RECOMMENDATION

We propose to pursue the third option (and also, if possible, the

second) by one or the other of the following means:

Alternative #1

1. Provision of outright operating grants to local stations, eliminating their dependence upon CPB for Federal funds.
2. Exclusion of CPB from programming designed primarily for classroom purposes. (The Corporation has recently stated an intent to move substantially into this field.)

We believe these two steps alone can be achieved without arousing intransigence on the part of CPB if we do not simultaneously cut CPB's budget but instead give it a healthy increase. Such generosity would also enable us to strike a bargain with the CPB directors in exchange -- namely, that they reduce CPB funding of NET and eventually secure a replacement for John Macy.

Alternative #2

The foregoing proposal increases the independence of the stations, but leaves CPB in control of both programming and networking. This would probably enable CPB to retain substantial control over the national programs which some stations produce and all stations carry. If we wish to achieve clear and certain elimination of the monopoly power of CPB, we must add to steps 1 and 2 above the following:

3. Elimination of CPB's authority to support a national network, and distribution to the stations of funds sufficient to enable them to purchase networking services.

This would insure that the network would follow the tastes of the local stations, and might result in the creation of a number of subnetworks with more emphasis on local and regional needs and desires.

If this alternative is adopted, the implacable opposition of CPB can surely be expected. It would serve no purpose, therefore, to refrain from reducing CPB's budget allocation. To the contrary, it would make sense to reduce its current \$35 million allocation by the amounts which it now expends for (1) station support and (2) networking.



You should be aware that this second alternative would involve us in a major political controversy. We can expect the support of conservatives and of some minority groups, which are disaffected with CPB. I believe we can also expect the support of NABP and its member stations. The latter is crucial and we would not even proceed with this alternative unless it can be assured.

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Under either alternative above, in order to project an image of favoring public broadcasting, we would join to the CPB bill legislation increasing the level of funding for HEW facilities grants, empowering HEW to make grants to states for classroom programming, and enabling HEW itself to support certain specialized programming such as employment reference services and remote medical diagnosis.

DESIRED ACTION:

1. Attempt across-the-board reduction of CPB funding. \_\_\_\_\_
2. Attempt significant reduction of CPB public affairs programming. \_\_\_\_\_
3. Restructure funding and management as described in Alternative #1 above. \_\_\_\_\_
4. Even further restructure as described in Alternative #2 above. \_\_\_\_\_
5. Discuss further. \_\_\_\_\_

Flanigan/Whitehead/Scalia:hmy

8-17-71

cc: Mr. Whitehead - 2

Subj (Scalia)

Chron (Scalia)

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Peter Flanigan

SUBJECT: Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Several weeks ago you expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and indicated that you wanted it "cut back." The purpose of this memorandum is to describe and explain the alternatives available for that purpose.

#### A. STRUCTURE OF PUBLIC BROADCASTING

The term "public broadcasting" was coined by the Carnegie Commission in 1967. It is now understood to refer to those stations (with the supporting industry) which carry exclusively educational, cultural and public affairs programming. It is primarily the character of the public affairs programming which we find objectionable; but it is important to note that "public broadcasting" as a whole extends much beyond this field and is indeed primarily directed to educational and cultural purposes.

The foundation of the public broadcasting network is the local stations. Most of these were created and are supported by State funds, and almost all carry classroom programming during school hours. These stations generally reflect the philosophical outlook of the areas which they serve, and, as a group, are not dominated by the liberal establishment of the Northeast. The local stations are members of a national organization known as the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB).

*(a private corporation which is)*

In 1967, Congress authorized the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), ~~This organization is~~ almost entirely funded by the Federal Government. It is statutorily prohibited from doing any programming itself, and from owning or operating any network or interconnection system. As we will explain below, however, the intended purpose of these prohibitions, has not been achieved.

*appear*

CPB has fostered the development of certain production centers for national programming. Some of these, such as Children's Television Workshop, are exclusively production entities; most, including WNET, are also large public TV stations. Some production centers (notably WNET) receive considerable financial support from the Ford Foundation.

The networking service for public broadcasting is the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). This entity receives (generally without charge) the programs whose production has been subsidized by CPB and others, and pipes them out to the local stations. PBS is the creature of CPB and is funded entirely by that organization. Although CPB claims that the local stations have a good deal of say in what PBS chooses to program, in fact this does not seem to be the case. PBS makes no charge to the stations for its services and is thus not dependent on them for funding. A station may decide not to carry a program which PBS sends out, but when it does so its only alternatives are to go dark or present less attractive programming. The combination of CPB's funding of programming, plus its ~~creation and total~~ economic control of PBS, give it a position barely distinguishable from that of a "fourth network," although the prohibitions of the Act were intended to avoid this.

#### B. CURRENT FEDERAL SUPPORT

Federal funds are available from HEW for the construction of facilities for educational broadcasting stations. Since these stations do classroom programming as well as "public broadcasting," these funds may be considered directed towards education. They are in fact administered by HEW's Office of Education, during the current year the HEW facilities program is funded at \$15 million.

Virtually all Federal funding which is directed exclusively towards nonclassroom, public broadcasting is distributed through CPB. During the current year this is \$35 million. Although some of this money is in fact given to the local stations for their own use, the level of ~~this~~ funding has been low and all of it comes only at the discretion of CPB. All Federal support of programming, networking and local station operations is, therefore, funneled through ~~that organization~~. This arrangement has several undesirable effects: (1) It gives CPB a position of complete dominance in the field; (2) It makes it impossible to reduce Federal support for national public affairs programming without at the same time reducing support for the more ~~popular~~ educational and

cultural aspects of public broadcasting.

C. OBJECTIVES OF ADMINISTRATION  
POLICY

As the foregoing description suggests, we are confronted with a long-range problem of significant social consequences -- that is, the development of a government-funded broadcast system similar to the BBC. There are three ways of halting that development of significantly reducing its adverse effects.

1. Drastically reduce Federal support for CPB; thereby reducing support for national public affairs programming, but also cutting back the educational and cultural aspects of public broadcasting;
2. Induce CPB directors to redirect its emphasis away from public affairs;
3. Alter the basic structure of funding for public broadcasting, so as to eliminate the Dominance of CPB and enable support for national public affairs programming to be separated from support for other aspects of public broadcasting.

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We estimate the first of these options to be ~~unrealistic~~ in view of the wide spread support for the educational and cultural aspects of public broadcasting for example, Sesame Street, Forsythe Saga, high school equivalency programs. The political repercussions of a drastic cut into these areas would be intolerable, and it might in fact be impossible to press such a program through the Congress. Even if we should achieve our goal at great political expense, it would be merely a short-term remedy to a policy problem which is long range. A liberal administration could immediately reraise the level of funding, and would find the basic "fourth network" structure intact.

The second option is also short-term, since it requires for its continued effect a Board of Directors in basic agreement with our desires. While it is much more politically feasible than the first option, it would not go entirely without opposition. There would likely be some hue and cry about government control, and we might meet resistance from one -- unexpected source -- the broadcasters, who would like to see the "fourth network" take the burden of public affairs programming off of their back. We therefore think that this option is worth pursuing only if it can be combined with the more long-term goals of the third option.



The third option envisions shifting the direction of federal funding for public broadcasting, so that ~~most~~ most of it is distributed ~~to~~ through local stations, whose concerns are generally local or regional, rather than national; whose interests are ~~primarily~~ primarily in the fields of education and culture, rather than ~~national~~ public affairs; and whose political and social outlook is as a whole ~~more~~ more conservative than ~~the~~ CPB's.

~~The third option will involve~~ Depending upon how ~~rapidly or gradually~~ abruptly or gradually this option is pursued, it may be met with ~~a~~ violent or moderate opposition from CPB. It has the advantage, however, of ~~winning~~ winning away from the opposition those ~~public broadcasting~~ public broadcasting supporters ~~who~~ who are primarily interested in local educational stations. This group is especially strong in the Congress. ~~Structure~~

The third option has two principal advantages. First, it fragments the opposition, by separating those who are interested in national and public affairs programming from those (who are) primarily interested in local educational stations. The latter group, is especially strong in the Congress. ~~Success~~ Success in achieving this option will create a new structure for the future of public broadcasting which it would be politically difficult to readjust. We might attempt to pursue this option in conjunction with option number 2.

E. ~~MEANS~~ RECOMMENDATION

We propose ~~permanently to reduce the influence of CPB by~~ <sup>to pursue the third option by one or the other of</sup> the following means:

Alternative #1

- (1) Provision of outright operating grants to local stations, eliminating their dependence upon CPB for Federal funds.
- (2) Exclusion of CPB from programming designed primarily

(as also, if possible, the second)

would

E. MEANS

We propose permanently to reduce the influence of CPB by the following means:

Alternative #1

- (1) Provision of outright operating fund grants to local stations, eliminating their dependence upon CPB for Federal funds.
- (2) Exclusion of CPB from programming designed primarily for classroom purposes. (The Corporation has recently stated an intent to move substantially into this field.)

We believe these two steps alone can be achieved without arousing intransigence on the part of CPB if we do not simultaneously cut CPB's budget but instead give it a healthy increase. Such generosity would also enable us to strike a bargain with the CPB directors in exchange -- namely, that they reduce CPB funding of NET and eventually secure a replacement for John Macy.

Alternative #2

The foregoing proposal increases the independence of the station but leaves CPB in control of both programming and networking. This would probably enable CPB to retain substantial control over the national programs which some stations produce and all stations carry. If we wish to achieve clear and ~~certain~~ elimination of the monopoly power of CPB, we must add to steps 1 and 2 above the following:

- (3) Elimination of CPB's authority to support a national network, and distribution to the stations of funds sufficient to enable them to purchase networking services.

This would insure that the network would follow the tastes of the local stations, and might result in the creation of a number of subnetworks with more emphasis on local and regional needs and desires.



If this alternative is adopted, the implacable opposition of CPB can surely be expected. It would serve no purpose, therefore, to refrain from reducing CPB's budget allocation. To the contrary, it would make sense to reduce its current \$35 million allocation by the amounts which it now expends for (1) station support and (2) networking.

You should be aware that this second alternative would involve us in a major political controversy. We can expect the support of conservatives and of some minority groups, which are disaffected with CPB. I believe we can also expect the support of NAEB and its member stations. The latter is crucial and we would not even proceed with this alternative unless it can be assured.

Under either alternative above, in order to project an image of favoring public broadcasting, we would join to the CPB bill legislation increasing the level of funding for HEW facilities grants empowering HEW to make grants to states for classroom programming, and enabling HEW itself to support certain specialized programming such as employment reference services and remote medical diagnosis.

DESIRED ACTION:

- ~~Alternative~~ 1 -- Attempt ~~across-the-board~~ reduction of CPB funding. \_\_\_\_\_
- ~~Alternative~~ 2 -- Attempt significant reduction of <sup>CPB</sup> public affairs programming by the Corporation. \_\_\_\_\_
- ~~Alternative~~ 3 -- Restructure funding and management as <sup>described in Atlantic #1 above.</sup> ~~outlined in #1 above.~~ \_\_\_\_\_
- ~~Alternative~~ 4 -- Even further restructure as described in Alternative #2 above. \_\_\_\_\_
- ~~Alternative~~ 5 -- Discuss further. \_\_\_\_\_

WRATHIER



COMMUNICATIONS

270 N. Canon Drive, Beverly Hills, California • CRestview 4-8521

JACK WRATHIER  
President

9/7/71

Tom - the attached for  
your confidential  
information

Jack

*N miss  
FYI & return  
T*



# CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

888 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Phone: 202/293-6160

1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019. Phone: 212/582-2020

Reply to Washington

JOHN W. MACY, JR.,  
President

*Confidential*

August 31, 1971 RECEIVED BY JACK WRATHER	
SEP - 3 1971	
ANS. D.	NO ANS. REQ.
DATE	

Mr. Jack Wrather  
Wrather Corporation  
270 N. Canon Drive  
Beverly Hills, California 90210

Dear Jack:

As I explained to you on the telephone in response to your question, Bill Moyers and Martin Agronsky are currently or prospectively involved in public affairs programming in quite different circumstances.

Bill Moyers has been employed by NET in New York to serve as the on-air anchor man in a new weekly public affairs series entitled "This Week." The concept of the program is that of a video "cover story" dealing with the principal news story of the week. The effort by NET will be to go beyond the usual broadcast news coverage with in-depth information and balanced commentary. Moyers had been employed as guest commentator and interviewer by Channel 13 and NET in the past. His most recent employment was as publisher of "Newsday" on Long Island since 1966. "This Week" will be produced out of New York under an executive producer named David Prowitt, an NET veteran, and will first appear as a part of the new fall schedule on Wednesdays at 9:00 p.m. starting October 6.

Martin Agronsky has been employed by the Eastern Educational Network (EEN), a longstanding alliance of northeastern stations, to provide a nightly half-hour news commentary and interview program originating from the studio of WETA in Washington. This program is entirely financed by contributions from the 35 station members of EEN who desired a replacement for the "News Front" program which for many years served the same purpose out of Channel 13 in New York. According to my information about 18 stations carry this program, entitled "Evening Edition" each evening. It is carried on a delayed basis by WETA in Washington at 11:30 p.m.; WNET does not carry it at all. To date, Agronsky has devoted most of the time to in-studio and tape insert interviews with figures in the news on major topical issues.



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I hope this information will be helpful to you. If further explanation or background would be helpful, please do not hesitate to call or write me.

Thank you for your gracious invitation to hold the November Board meeting at Disneyland. We will all be looking forward to this. Frank and I have asked Bill Faville to move forward with the arrangements in order to give you as much advance planning information as possible.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

John W. Macy, Jr.  
President

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

September 23, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PETER FLANIGAN

FROM:

JON M. HUNTSMAN *JMH*

SUBJECT:

Public Broadcasting

The following report appeared in the September 23, 1971 News Summary:

"Robert MacNeil and Sander Vanocur will anchor a weekly political program on Public Broadcasting in '72. It will "try to reverse the usual focus of political reporting from the politician down to the people." Said Vanocur: "we have taken an institutional view of politics in the past...in a sense will be doing psychological reporting." (We can hardly wait.)...Senator Ervin's Constitutional Rights Subcommittee will begin next week exploring the growing deterioration in relations between the press and the government."

The above report greatly disturbed the President who considered this the last straw. It was requested that all funds for Public Broadcasting be cut immediately. You should work this out so that the House Appropriations Committee gets the word.

Please submit your report to the Office of the Staff Secretary.

Thank you.

cc: H. R. Haldeman  
Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

Date: September 23, 1971

Time: 6:30 pm

*What time  
where's the  
conference*

FOR ACTION: Peter Flanigan

cc (for information):

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: September 29, 1971

Time: 2:00 PM

SUBJECT:

HIGH PRIORITY

Public Broadcasting

ACTION REQUESTED:

For Necessary Action

For Your Recommendations

Prepare Agenda and Brief

Draft Reply

For Your Comments

Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

JON M. HUNTSMAN  
For the President

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Alexander P. Butterfield

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

DRAFT  
DRAFT

DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Peter Flanigan  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern regarding the Vanocur/MacNeil public broadcasting TV "news" program which is produced by the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT) and funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and Ford Foundation. (The Liz Drew program is also funded by CPB through NPACT, the Moyers and Agronsky shows are not funded directly by CPB, but are funded by organizations which receive CPB support.) This concern will obviously effect the decisions which must be made now on the Administration posture toward the financing and structure of public broadcasting.

Short-run: The Public Broadcasting Act was designed to keep CPB free of the control of any Administration. OMB advises that funds appropriated for CPB are mandatory spending over which we can exercise no discretion -- we cannot cut off funds this fiscal year. Jack Wrather advises that the CPB contribution to NPACT was approved by the CPB Board prior to the Vanocur and MacNeil appointments. An attempt to reverse this decision is not likely to succeed and would invite charges of improper political interference.

Our only recourse in this immediate situation is to encourage public criticism and to get our friends on the CPB Board to do whatever they can (1) to keep NPACT programs unbiased and apolitical, and (2) to get commentators to offset Vanocur, MacNeil, and Drew.

Long-run: We should now direct our attention toward cutting Federal support for NPACT at the end of this fiscal year, and cutting Federal and foundation support for all national public affairs commentary on public broadcasting in the future. Unfortunately, there is no easy way to do this.



The Problem: Public broadcasting includes educational and cultural programming as well as public affairs programming. Federal funds for all three purposes are provided in lump sum by statute through CPB, which in turn gives grants to programming organizations, such as NET and NFACT, to the public television network that distributes them, and to all of the local educational radio and television stations, most of which are affiliated with educational institutions. There is very strong public support for the educational and cultural programs (such as "Sesame Street," quality drama, and high school equivalency and drug abuse programs).

Since our concern is with public affairs commentary (principally national programming funded by CPB and Ford), this structure for Federal funding causes us a dilemma: A reduction in CPB funds to strike at their public affairs programming would also strike at educational and cultural efforts; and it would also cause a reduction of funds for all the local educational stations. Moreover, a major reduction in Federal funds would invite resumption of Ford/NET dominance of public television.

There has been considerable pressure for greatly increased funding for CPB under "permanent" financing; and your last budget promised a plan for "improved" financing arrangements. In addition to public support, there is considerable Congressional and media support for public television generally. There are educational television stations in 223 Congressional districts. However, many of the local stations are unhappy with their domination by CPB; many minority groups feel CPB is "Eastern establishment," insensitive to their needs; and there is feeling that CPB is trying too hard for audience as a "fourth network" rather than emphasizing real education and quality programming.

Options: We have four major options:

Option 1: Negotiate a compromise financing bill that would increase Federal funds for public broadcasting, but would circumscribe the power of CPB by increasing the autonomy of the local stations.

Pro

- By increasing the power of the local stations, retards the trend toward centralized control of public television by CPB.
- Gives us leverage with the CPB Board to replace Frank Pace and John Macy, and to play down public affairs programming.
- Avoids election year controversy over Administration attack on public television and intimidation of the media.

- Our friends on the Board favor this option.

Con

- Does little to get at the problem that concerns us, since the ability of the Board to control the full-time staff of CPB is doubtful.
- Increases Federal funds for CPB, and reduces only in part its centralized control of public broadcasting.

Option 2: Seek legislation to cut CPB funds drastically and to exclude it from public affairs programming.

Pro

- If successful, would eliminate Federal support for public affairs programs on public television.
- Makes very clear your resolve, and therefore even if not successful would significantly retard the growth of CPB support for public affairs programs during your Administration.

Con

- Invites Ford/NET to increase their public affairs programming.
- Limits funds for many good and popular educational and cultural activities, at the local level as well as nationally.
- Would probably fail, and would arouse considerable Congressional hostility.
- Would provoke charges of a politically motivated attack on all public broadcasting and on the news media.

Option 3: Seek legislation to provide a new structure for Federal funding of only educational and cultural programming at the national level and for increased direct grants to local educational stations. To succeed, this would require total Federal expenditures for public television to increase, but most of the money would go directly to local stations.

Pro

- Takes the initiative on a positive approach to improve public television by eliminating the much-resented CPB domination.

- Eliminates all Federal funds for public affairs programming at the national level.
- Properly done, would have the support of the local stations and would thereby stand a fairly good chance of passing the Congress.
- Philosophically consonant with Revenue Sharing by giving the local stations financial assistance but letting them decide on how to spend it.

Con

- Still invites increased Ford/NET public affairs programming.
- Requires increased Federal funding for local stations in order to get their support.
- Would provoke charges of a politically motivated attack on all public broadcasting and on the news media.
- Would upset those in Congress and elsewhere who worked to create CPB in its current form.

Option 4: Same as (3), but also seek revision of tax laws to prohibit foundations from supporting news and political commentaries programming, in the same way they are now prohibited from lobbying

Pro

- Same as (3).
- This option will stop Ford and other foundation support of slanted programming by NET and others.

Con

- Same as the last three objections to (3), but would run into more significant opposition, including possibly the local stations, and might not pass.
- Would raise further charges of an Administration effort to manage the news.

Recommendation: The first option does little but avoid controversy and the second is likely to accomplish little but controversy. Options (3) and (4) would have lasting and constructive effect, though both would raise a loud Liberal howl. Only Option (4) stands a chance of achieving all of our goals.

I recommend you approve Option (4) if you are willing to face the controversy.

Approve Option (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (3) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (4) \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

Clay T. Whitehead

September 30, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Peter Flanigan  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern regarding Vanocur/MacNeil and the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NFACT) funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and Ford Foundation. This comes at a time when we need some firm decisions on our posture toward the financing and structure of public broadcasting.

Short-run: The CPB Act was designed to keep it free of our control -- and in the short-run, it seems successful. OMB advises that funds appropriated for CPB are mandatory spending over which we can exercise no discretion -- we cannot cut off funds to CPB for this fiscal year. Jack Wrather has advised that the CPB contribution to NFACT has already been approved by the CPB Board. A reversal attempt probably would not succeed and would invite charges of political interference.

Our only recourse on this immediate situation is to encourage public statements of concern and to get our friends on the CPB Board to do all they can to (1) keep NFACT programs unbiased and apolitical, and (2) get commentators to offset Vanocur and MacNeil.

Next Year: Our main attention should be on cutting support for this activity at the end of this fiscal year and drastically cutting all public affairs programming on public broadcasting in the future. Unfortunately, there is no easy way to do this.

The Problem: The term "public broadcasting" includes educational and cultural programming as well as public affairs programming. Federal funds for all three purposes are provided by statute through CPB, which in turn gives grants to programming organizations, such as NET, and to all of the local educational radio and television stations, most of which are affiliated with educational institutions.

Since our major concern is public affairs programming -- principally national programming funded by CPB and Ford -- this structure for Federal funding causes us a dilemma: A reduction in CPB funds to strike at their public affairs programming would also strike at educational and cultural efforts (such as "Sesame Street" and high school equivalency and drug abuse programs) and at all the local educational stations. Moreover, a major reduction in Federal funds would invite resumption of Ford/NET dominance of public affairs programming on public television.

You should be aware that there has been considerable pressure for greatly increased funding for CPB under "permanent" financing, and your last budget promised a plan for "improved" financing arrangements. There is considerable public, Congressional, and media support for public television generally. There are educational television stations in 223 Congressional districts. However, many of the local stations are unhappy with their domination by CPB; many minority groups feel CPB is "Eastern establishment," insensitive to their needs; and there is some feeling that CPB is trying too hard for audience as a "fourth network" rather than emphasizing real education and quality programming.

Options: We have four major options:

Option 1: We can avoid political controversy by negotiating a compromise financing bill for CPB that would increase Federal funds for public broadcasting, but would circumscribe the power and ultimate size of CPB by increasing the autonomy of the local stations.

Pro

- By increasing the power of the local stations, retards the trend toward centralized control of public television by CPB.
- Gives us leverage with the CPB Board to get Frank Pace and John Macy replaced.
- Avoids election year controversy over Administration attacks on public television and intimidation of the media.

Con

- Does little to get at the problem that concerns us, since the effectiveness of the Board in controlling the full-time staff of CPB is questionable at best.
- Reduces only in part the centralized control of CPB, and increases their funding.

Option 2: Ask Congress to cut CPE funds drastically and to exclude it from funding public affairs programming.

Pro

- If successful, would eliminate Federal support for public affairs programs on public television.
- Makes very clear your resolve, and therefore even if not successful would significantly retard the growth of Federally supported public affairs programs during your Administration.

Con

- Invites increased Ford/NET public affairs programming activities.
- Is a negative approach that limits funds for many useful educational and cultural activities, at the local level as well as nationally.
- Would incur considerable Congressional opposition and some hostility, and may or may not succeed unless made a major issue.
- Invites charges of a politically motivated attack on all public broadcasting.

Option 3: Call CPB a failure in achieving the country's objectives for public broadcasting and introduce legislation quickly to provide a new structure for Federal funding of only educational and cultural programming and of local educational stations.

Pro

- Takes the initiative on a positive approach.
- Properly done, would have the support of the local stations and would thereby stand a fairly good chance of passing the Congress. There is plenty of ammunition.

- Eliminates all Federal funds for public affairs programming at the national level.

Con

- Still invites increased Ford/NET public affairs programming.
- Requires substantial funds for local stations to get their support.
- Would upset those in Congress and elsewhere who worked to create CPB.

Option 4: Same as (3), but also introduce legislation to prohibit foundation support of politically controversial public affairs programming.

Pro

- Same as (3), and this is the only option that will stop Ford Foundation support of slanted programming by NET and others.

Con

- Same as the last two objectives to (3), but would run into more significant opposition, including possibly the local stations.

Recommendation: The first option does little but avoid controversy and the second is likely to accomplish little but controversy. Options (3) and (4) will have lasting and constructive effect, though both would raise a strong Liberal howl which you presumably are willing to accept. Only Option (4) is likely to achieve all of our goals.

I recommend you approve Option (4) and that we open the attack in my address to the annual convention of the local stations October 20.

Approve Option (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (3) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (4) \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

Clay T. Whitehead



Rogers

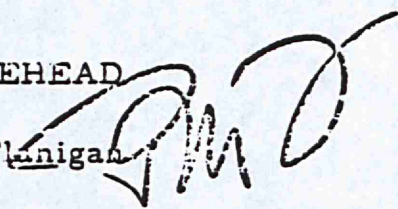
Box 1, Folder 9

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM WHITEHEAD

FROM:

Peter M. Flanigan 

Regarding the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, we discussed having a meeting of our directors to determine where we go from here with the Corporation. Nothing having happened on this, I believe we should undertake that activity immediately. If you agree, I propose to ask Al Cole, Jack Rather, and our other friends that we have put on that Board to come to the White House and sit down to discuss the future of the control of the Board and the management with us. After that, we can determine the validity of the desirability of meeting with the President.

*Do you agree?  
Who should be asked?*

April 13, 1971

To: Nino

From: Tom

Would you draft a letter from me to Frank Pace that raises some of the points we think should be discussed at the first meeting.

Those who possibly would attend the first meeting:

Cole  
Wrather  
Pace  
Moore  
Whitney  
Whitehead

C

Chron  
President  
CPB Financin  
✓ CPB  
Meeting 4/29/

80 MAY 1971

Mr. Frank Pace  
Chairman of the Board  
Corporation for Public Broadcasting  
1345 Avenue of the Americas  
29th Floor  
New York, New York 10019

Dear Frank:

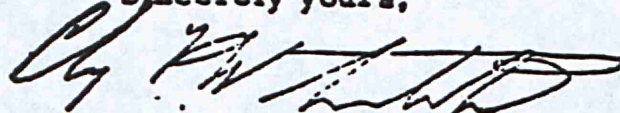
Peter Flanigan and I have discussed your suggestion that the President meet with the Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. Jack Wrather has had some correspondence with John Ehrlichman concerning the same subject. We think it is an excellent idea, and perhaps long overdue. A natural occasion may arise in the near future, when we expect to announce the President's appointment to fill the vacancy on the Board, and may at the same time introduce the Administration's bill for long-term financing.

Before then, however, Peter and I think it would be useful for me to get together with a few selected members of the Board, to discuss the details of the meeting with the President, the range of subjects which should be covered, and other matters of mutual concern. I would like to hold the meeting in the first week of June, if that is possible--or as soon after that as the appropriate individuals can be conveniently assembled. I will be happy to come up to New York if that would help.

In the initial press of organizing and staffing my office, I have not given as much attention to the Board of CPB as I would have liked. It is very important that the President keep constantly in touch, and I recognize that as an important responsibility of CTP. I would hope that the meeting I am proposing will be the first of a regular series.

I shall await word from you.

Sincerely yours,



Clay T. Whithead

cc: Mr. Jack Wrather  
Mr. Peter Flanigan

AScalia:hmy 5-19-71

cc: Mr. Whitehead - 2 ✓

Thursday 5/27/71

6:40 Jack Wrather's secretary is holding.

Frank Pace had called Mr. Wrather and they are extremely anxious to meet with you and would make himself available on June 3rd if you could go to New York that day.

He would make himself available anywhere from 9 a. m. to -----

Cole and Pace are available.

Thursday 5/27/71

MEETING  
6/3/71  
3 p. m.

6:50 We have scheduled the meeting with  
Jack Wrather, Al Cole and Frank Pace for  
3 p. m. on Thursday (6/3).

The meeting will be in the Wrather Corporation (212) Plaza2-1  
offices -- 23rd floor, 375 Park Avenue, Seagram Bldg.  
Secy. in New York: Marie Carver

Mr. Wrather's secy. in California: Vivian Moriarity (213) 274-8521

Will you want to see anyone else while you're there?

**CONFIDENTIAL**

DRAFT

AScaglia:hmy - 6-4-71

*— A Memo to Mr. White*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Reasons for Long-Term Financing of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB)

1. Some scheme of long-term financing for CPB was envisioned from the time of its creation. This is clear from President Johnson's message to Congress recommending the legislation, and the Congressional Committee Reports--especially in the House. Some initial experience was thought desirable, however, before a specific plan was proposed.
2. At strong urging from various quarters, including the Congress, this Administration has publicly committed itself to produce a new scheme of financing. The 1972 Budget says that "legislation will be proposed to provide an improved financing arrangement for the Corporation." That legislation has been promised to be imminent, and has been expected, for several months now.
3. An apparent change of heart at this point would be alleged to be politically motivated, and an attempt at "control" of the media. It would also be extremely unpopular with the education lobby.
4. Any scheme of financing submitted by this Administration would be less extreme than one proposed by a Democratic Administration, and could therefore forestall a more drastic elimination of Congressional control in the future--e.g., though a dedicated tax, which has been suggested.
5. Submitting a revised financing arrangement gives us the occasion to make desired modifications and clarifications in the Corporation's scope

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- 2 -

of activity--most notably, publication of classroom programming, a field which it is now proposing to enter.

6. By combining the CPB Bill with a bill giving HEW some additional capability in the educational radio and television field, the Administration can significantly strengthen its image as a friend of education.
7. There is, in any event, a substantial possibility that the Administration's generous initiative of long-term financing would be rejected by the Congress, giving us all of the credit but none of the undesirable results.
8. The best possibility for White House influence over the Corporation is through the Presidential appointees to the Board of Directors. These tend to be independent people, however, and failure to submit the previously announced legislation might antagonize them.

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EYES ONLY  
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1. The purpose of the Federal funding, and of the Corporation itself, is to serve local educational stations. The development of a centralized "fourth network" must be avoided and local autonomy and control fostered.
2. There should not be a heavy schedule of fixed-schedule networked programming. The present amount of fixed-schedule, prime-time programming should be reviewed as the local programming and videotaping capability of local stations increases.
3. A substantial portion of the CPB budget should be devoted to unrestricted grants to local stations, pursuant to fixed formula, in order to enable them to improve their local programming services. This portion should increase as the total amount of CPB funds increases.
4. Maximum diversity should be achieved in the sources of national programming, and extensive use should be made of local programming that merits regional or national distribution.
- \* 5. Public broadcasting is not intended to be a journalistic enterprise. Federal funds should be devoted to educational, instructional, and cultural endeavors, and not to programming that deals with controversial public affairs, and political issues at the national level.

06/18/71

THE WHITE HOUSE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Peter M. Flaherty

SUBJECT: Corporation for Public Broadcasting

BACKGROUND

Nature and Activity of the Corporation

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting is a private corporation established by Act of Congress in 1967. It has a Board of Directors of 15 members, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for staggered 6-year terms. No more than 8 members may be from the same political party. The legislation specifically provides that the Corporation will maintain "strict adherence to objectivity and balance in all programs or series of programs of a controversial nature," and that it may not "contribute to or otherwise support any political party or candidate for elective public office." The Act also provides that none of its provisions shall be deemed to authorize "any department, agency, officer or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision or control over educational television or radio broadcasting, or over the Corporation or any of its grantees or contractors."

The Corporation differs substantially from such private organizations as NET (National Educational Television) in that it is specifically prohibited from owning or operating any station or network, and from producing programs itself. Its major authorized activities are to make grants for the following purposes:

- (1) The establishment of an educational broadcasting network. This has been achieved through the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), an organization funded primarily by CPB, whose Board includes the President of CPB and representatives of local educational broadcasters. Its chief executive officer is Hartford Gunn, former General Manager of WGBH-TV, Boston.

(2) The production of educational radio and television programs. These funds are dispersed among various organizations, chief among which have been large local educational institutions, NET, and the CPB's own Television Workshop (producer of "Head Start"). A number of other organizations also receive funds from other sources. The American Liberal Club of NET, for example, has a large production staff. The fact that the bulk of its support comes from the Ford Foundation and CPB-supported programs such as "Newsday Street" and "The City Line" have been very constructive; others have had a more restricted interest in public affairs issues.

#### Part Funding of the Corporation.

At the time CPB was established, permanent funding of the Board was envisioned by its sponsors in order to insure its insulation from political influence. Initially, however, only an annual authorization of \$2 million was established; and to date annual appropriations have always been required. This Administration requested \$25 million for FY 71 and \$35 million in FY 72. Pressure has been mounting on the Hill--especially in the House, but among both Democratic and Republican members--for establishment of the long-awaited "permanent" financing.

#### Administration's Action to Date.

We appointed Jack Wrather, Tom Moore, and Jack Whitney to the CPB Board last year and reappointed Saul Haas and Frank Schooley due to Congressional pressure. We have just announced the appointment of Zelma George to the Board to fill a term which expires next Spring. Four more vacancies will also be filled at that time, giving us clear control of the Board. The Administration's 1972 Budget stated that "legislation will be proposed to provide improved financing for CPB," and an Administration Bill for that purpose has been expected for some time now. There is now in the clearance process at OMB a bill prepared by OTP which would provide for a 5-year authorization and appropriation. (CPB is aware that this is in clearance.)

Frank Pace and Al Cole met with you in 1969 and agreed to reduce CPB funding of NET substantially. While some alteration has taken place, there is room for substantially more. We have discussed with Jack Wrather the possibility of substituting him for Frank Pace as Chairman of the CPB Board. Wrather has replied that he does not have the time and knows of no person more suitable than Pace--who, although

a Democrat, is generally conservative and aware of the need to keep the Corporation out of political controversy.

### OPTIONS

There are two alternative courses which we may pursue in our future action with respect to CPB, either (1) attempt to limit it or (2) attempt to change its internal organization and structure.

#### (1) Limitation of CPB.

This alternative would be politically difficult in view of the strong educational support and the generally favorable public opinion CPB has developed.

#### (2) Shaping the Corporation.

Probably, no amount of restructuring will entirely eliminate the tendency of the Corporation to support liberal causes. On the other hand, this Administration does have an opportunity to establish, by legislation and otherwise, structures and counterbalances which will restrain this tendency in future years and which, as a political matter, it will be difficult for other administrations to alter. It is in this direction that we have thus far been proceeding.

### RECOMMENDATIONS (Colson concurs)

(1) Obtain an agreement from Pace to replace Macy with a professional, apolitical President of our choosing as soon as discretion permits.

(2) Make clear to Pace that CPB must further reduce its funding of NET, in order to accelerate the shrinking of that organization's influence in the public television field.

(3) Proceed with the legislative package prepared by OTP after Pace has agreed to these changes. This increases the amount of CPB funding but at the same time reduces its influence over social thought, by excluding it from classroom programming and by increasing the independence of local stations which are generally more conservative in outlook.

ACTION TO BE TAKEN

1. Proceed on record, add above \_\_\_\_\_
2. Dismiss further \_\_\_\_\_
3. Other \_\_\_\_\_

Rogers

Box 1, Folder 10

CPS

Friday 7/2/71

MEETING

10:00 MR. SCALIA

Mr. Whitehead would like to talk to you about this.

WRATHER



CORPORATION

Office of the President  
270 North Canon Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90210 • (213) 274-8521

CONFIDENTIAL

June 22, 1971

Mr. Peter M. Flanigan  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Peter:

I have given a lot of thought to the subject *(Corp for Pub Bd)* of our meeting in your office June 14. I told you I would let you hear in a week and I did try to get a call through to you yesterday and today. Understandably you were tied up.

I feel very strongly that this is not the time to try to make quick decisions and changes. I am very sensitive to the President's feelings in this matter and they are understandable; however, I believe that the first step should be to have a meeting with the President which is organized to put the picture as it actually exists before him. I think some of the areas of discontent on his part are actually being handled correctly now and will be in the future in regard to his desires. Anyway, such a meeting would allow him to firm up his opinion one way or the other. The propitious time to make a move, if such is desired, might be at a later date, coincident with new appointments in early '72. This may sound like a long delay but it would give ample time for the Administration's image to be seen prior to the end of '72.

The selection of any replacement is pretty critical and I feel should be given enough time to really scout the entire field of possibilities. This might take several months. While this is being done, if desired, we could have the meeting with the President and see what the results of that might be.

In my opinion, the above suggestions would result in a solid and considered way of handling the problem, if a problem is determined to exist, or if for any



Mr. Peter M. Flanigan

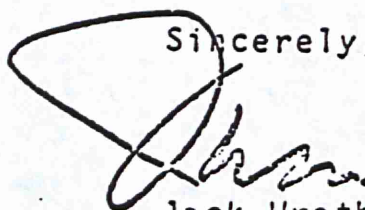
June 22, 1971

-2-

reason there is continued dissatisfaction. I am not trying to protect the position of anyone in this recommendation. I am only interested, as I know you are, in the best solution for the CPB and the Administration.

Best regards,

Sincerely,



Jack Wrather

CPB.

Wednesday 7/7/71

MEETING  
7/9/71  
12 noon

7:20 The meeting with Mr. Flanigan and Mr. Colson on CPB is scheduled for 12 noon on Friday 7/9.

We have notified Mr. Scalia that you won't need the talking paper until Friday.

*Also Mr. Scalia*

C

[July 10, 1971]

Action Memorandum re Corporation for Public Broadcasting

I. Propositions upon which proposed action is based:

1. Entire elimination of Federal support of public television is politically impossible.
2. A significant reduction in the level of Federal support for public television, even if politically possible, could easily be undone by a subsequent Administration.
3. Our most effective course of action is therefore to redirect Federal support so as to create a structure which will be dominated by those elements in the public television field which are generally most congenial--namely, the local stations.
4. CPB already feels that the Current Bill proposed by OTP (see attachment) seriously undermines its position, and is considering opposing it.

II. Proposed course of action:

1. Remain adamant on provisions of Current Bill so that CPB falls off of previous agreement. (In order to achieve this, it might be necessary to toughen provisions of the bill somewhat.)
2. Maintain close working relationship with NAEB; enlist support of JOET and education lobby through HEW portions of New Bill; solicit backing of minority group organizations disaffected with CPB (e.g., BEST) by pointing out that their influence will be greater at the local level in most metropolitan areas.
3. Have the President meet with Al Cole and Jack Wrather:
  - (a) in order to apprise him of their strong views that more drastic action is not feasible or necessary, and to convey to them his strong views;
  - (b) in order to obtain their agreement, in exchange for Administration support of the New Bill, that the Board of Directors will cause CPB funding of NET to be reduced to a near-zero level and will replace John Macy as soon as practicable with a non-political professional.
4. Introduce New Bill (see attachment), in which the total of grants for CPB, HEW and the local stations will not be seen as a decrease in Administration support for public broadcasting.
5. In all of the above, take pains to avoid the appearance of hostility to public broadcasting, both because it is a sacred cow in many quarters and because the President's opponents are already trying to tar him with antagonism towards "free and independent" media. The demise of the more generous Current Bill can be laid at CPB's doorstep.

## ATTACHMENT

### Current Bill

1. Five-year authorization and appropriation for CPB via "trust fund."
2. CPB receives \$35 M plus 1/6 level of total nonfederal support for public broadcasting (about \$17 M the first year).
3. Local stations receive 1/6 level of total nonfederal support for public broadcasting.
4. HEW given funds to be distributed to state agencies for classroom instructional programing and to private organizations for other instructional programing (e.g., CTW for "Sesame Street"); CPB excluded from classroom instructional programing.

### New Bill

1. Two-year authorization, annual appropriation.
2. CPB receives \$40 M in FY 1973 and \$45 M in FY 1974.
3. Local stations receive 1/3 level of total nonfederal support for public broadcasting (about \$34 M the first year).
4. Other provisions unchanged.

### Possible Alternative:

If we wish to be even tougher, in No. 2 above CPB might be cut significantly below current \$35 M level, on theory that it need no longer give extensive support to local stations and instructional programing, thanks to direct Federal assistance. The net result would still be an increase in overall Federal support for public broadcasting.

July 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MESSRS. COLSON AND FLAHIGAN

FROM: Antonin Scalia /S/

SUBJECT: Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Attached is a breakdown of CPB expenditures for FY 1970, FY 1971 and (estimated) FY 1972. It leads to the following conclusions:

A. As to new level of CPB funding:

- (1) If CPB is only to be cut out of the station support business, its appropriation could logically be reduced from the present \$35 M level to \$27 M, since approximately \$8 M is to go to stations in FY 1972.
- (2) If CPB is also to be cut out of the networking business, we could logically reduce its budget by an additional \$11 M (\$10 M for PBS and \$1 M estimated portion of grants to NPR attributable to networking function). This would mean a total cut from \$35 M to \$16 M.

B. As to new funding for local stations:

- (1) If we only take CPB out of station support, stations must receive at least \$8 M in direct Federal support. If a matching plan is used, this is less than \$1 for each \$10 of nonfederal support--not enough to induce donations. Moreover, stations are expecting at least 1/6 of total nonfederal (\$17 M).
- (2) If we take CPB out of networking as well and expect stations to pay for that function, we must give them an additional \$11 M, or a total of \$19 M. Again, however, they are expecting \$17 M plus networking.

PROPOSED BILL:

- (1) Cut CPB to \$20 M --that is, current level (\$35 M) less station support funds (\$8 M) less networking funds (\$11 M) plus \$4 M to demonstrate our generosity.

- (2) Provide grants to local stations in total amount of 1/3 non-federal contributions to public broadcasting, that is, approximately \$35 M. High minimum grant, low maximum.
- (3) Exclude CPB from classroom programming and provide HEW funds for distribution to the States for that purpose. HEW to continue facilities grants to stations at slightly increased level (up from \$15 M to \$17 M). HEW to be given small amount (\$5 M) for demonstration projects, State facilities planning grants, and innovative "community services" programming, such as remote medical diagnosis and employment reference service.

**NOTE:**

Above provisions subject to checking with reliable sources at NAEB to determine whether stations can agree on formula to pay for PBS services. Support of NAEB essential. It may be necessary to divert some of the station money to a fund which new and small stations can draw upon to pay for networking.

**Attachment**

AScalia:hmy  
7-10-71

cc: Mr. Whitehead ✓  
Subj File  
Chron File

CPB EXPENDITURES

	<u>FY 1970</u>	<u>FY 1971</u>	<u>FY 1972 (est.)</u>
<u>PBS</u> (Support of program distribution.)	\$3,652,000	\$3,106,000	\$9,931,000
<u>National Public Radio</u> (Support of radio program distribution and production.)	- - -	\$2,000,000 (part year)	\$3,000,000
<u>Station Support</u> (84.5% for TV 15.5% for radio.)	\$4,629,000	\$4,903,000	\$7,419,000
<u>Programs</u> (By local stations and by station production centers such as NET.)	\$3,027,000 (\$500,000 for local stations)	\$9,219,000 (\$165,000 for local stations)	\$12,400,000 (\$435,000 for local stations)
<u>National Entities</u> (Program production)	\$2,772,000 (For NET and CTW)	\$600,000 (For CTW, but actually gave \$400,000 more than budget. Beginning this year, NET is no longer "Nat'l Entity" but "station production center.")	\$2,000,000 (For CTW)

NOTE #1 -- This represents virtually all of CPB budget except for CPB's own administrative expenses.

NOTE #2 -- Ford Foundation makes some program grants to national production centers which dovetail with CPB's. In FY 1971 it was \$8,250,000 and \$8,330,000 estimated for FY 1972.

Rogers

Box 1, Folder 8



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

December 2, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR : MR. FLANIGAN  
MR. GARMENT  
MR. KLEIN

FROM : H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT : Televised Debates

Pat Moynihan has brought up some interesting questions regarding the televised debate on guaranteed minimum income described in the attached. Do we have any control over the choice of participants in something like this? If so, how did we allow an ex-Special Assistant to oppose one of our bills? Please look into this and give me a report so that when the situation arises again, we can make sure our side is strongly defended by one of our own people.

Thank you.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 30, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR

H. R. HALDEMAN

I enclose an exchange with John Macy which suggests where some of our problems come from. We have men on that Board. Why aren't they looking out for the President's perfectly legitimate interests? Why are Federal funds being spent (as I assume they are) to distort the facts of this situation. And what may I ask is a Special Assistant to the President doing opposing his most important piece of domestic legislation?



Daniel P. Moynihan

Attachment



CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

888 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Phone: 202/293-6150

1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019. Phone: 212/582-2120

JOHN W. MACY, JR.,  
President

Reply to Washington

November 25, 1970

Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Pat:

Because of your interest in welfare reform, I thought you would appreciate knowing that on Tuesday, December 1, public television's award winning debate series, The Advocates, will explore the question of guaranteed minimum income as a solution to the poverty problem in America.

Guest witnesses opposing the guaranteed minimum income plan will be Mr. Roger A. Freeman, economist and former Special Assistant to President Nixon, and Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of California. The Honorable Barbara Jordan, State Senator from Texas and member of President Johnson's Commission on Income Maintenance, and Professor Theodore Marmor, Associate Director of the School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota will defend the need for such a plan.

This program, which will be broadcast on public television stations nationwide, will be shown on WETA-TV, Channel 26 on Tuesday, December 1, at 9:00 pm. I hope you will have an opportunity to view this program and will find it of interest.

Sincerely yours,

John W. Macy, Jr.  
President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1970

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Dear John:

I am not only not pleased by your letter, I am genuinely troubled by it. It seems to me yet another example of a persistent pattern of biased treatment of the Administration by public television. I would not say this to many persons, but I will say it to you.

Consider the implications of the casting of the forthcoming debate on the question of a guaranteed minimum income which will appear on The Advocates.

One President and only one President has proposed such a scheme. His name is Richard Nixon. His bill has passed the House and is now before the Senate. Who do you choose to oppose the idea? Naturally, an economist who was Special Assistant to President Nixon when the Family Assistance Program was devised. (He was an associate of Dr. Burns who -- it is hardly a secret -- opposed the plan.) And now who do you get to support the idea? A member of President Johnson's Commission on Income Maintenance. My respect for President Johnson is surely as great as yours, but you know perfectly well the previous administration would not go near the subject. If you think otherwise, ask John Gardner.

Your audience will be liberal to left in its politics. They will be for the Guaranteed Income. They will see it opposed by an appointee of President Nixon's and defended by an appointee of President Johnson's. A Reagan Republican will side with the Nixon man, and a Minnesota liberal will side with the Johnson lady.

I leave the White House every bit as much a Democrat as when I entered. But, dear Sir, I also leave profoundly uncertain of the moral and intellectual capacity of institutional liberals to defend the standards of liberal enquiry.

Best,

Daniel P. Moynihan  
Counsellor to the President

Honorable John W. Macy, Jr.  
President  
Corporation for Public Broadcasting  
888 16th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

PS: I will watch the show and am prepared to take it all back on Wednesday morning. But I doubt I shall have to.

bcc: ✓ H. R. Haldeman  
Len Garment  
Peter Flanigan

Date: December 3, 1970

Time:

5:30 p.m.

FOR ACTION: P. Flanigan  
L. Garment  
H. Klein

cc (for information):

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DATE: Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Time:

2:00 p.m.

SUBJECT:

Televised Debates.

ACTION REQUESTED:

For Necessary Action

For Your Review and Approval

Prepare Agenda and Brief

Draft Reply

For Your Comments

Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

John R. Brown III  
Staff Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 4, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR TOM WHITEHEAD

FROM: PETER FLANIGAN

Regarding the attached, it is my understanding that The Advocates is an NEP program and therefore not run by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. If this is correct, would you please write a memo through me to Haldeman answering his memo.

Many thanks.

Attachment  
Action Memo #P1085H.  
dated 12/8/70

12/8/70

To: Mr. Flanigan

From: Tom Whitehead

I have discussed this matter with both the Corporation and Herb Klein. Enclosed memo per your request summarizes the situation.

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Whitehead  
Mr. Hinchman  
Dr. Owen



23

December 8, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HALDEMAN

Peter Flanigan has referred to me your memorandum regarding Pat Moynihan's correspondence on the public television debate regarding guaranteed minimum incomes. To answer directly the questions in your memorandum:

(1) We have no direct control over the choice of participants in programs funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; neither does the Corporation. (The Advocates is funded 50/50 by CPB and the Ford Foundation.) The Corporation frequently consults Herb Klein's office to get suggestions for administration participants, but that procedure was not followed in this case.

(2) We, of course, have no control over the activities of ex-Special Assistants, and I must confess that I strongly share Pat's suspicion as to why Roger Freeman, of all people, was selected. Our best bet in these activities is to encourage Herb Klein's office to maintain active liaison with the Corporation on upcoming programs so that we can make suggestions well in advance.

The Corporation was established to be the chosen instrument whereby Federal funds are channeled to public broadcasting and to insulate programming decisions from direct government control. Any attempt to control or change program content would subject us to considerable criticism. However, the Corporation does have a clear responsibility to see that balanced presentations of viewpoints are made, and it is here that Pat's real point comes into play. By and large, educational and public television producers and directors have a rather unsubtle liberal bias. The remedy to this should be provided by the Board of Directors, which can exert a strong influence to see that a sound mix of programming viewpoints is provided in spite of that bias.

I am meeting early next month with a selected group of these directors to discuss the plans and activities of the Corporation and to establish a firmer liaison between us. We have a number of topics to discuss, and this will be one of them. You will no doubt be interested to know that the current vacancy on the Board presents opportunity for us to tip the balance for the first time to a Republican majority and a majority of Nixon-appointed members. As soon as that vacancy is filled, I will have some suggestions regarding the Corporation.

Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Mr. Flanigan  
Mr. Whitehead ^  
Mr. Hinchman -- OTP  
Dr. Owen -- OTP

CTWhitehead:jm

*for info  
Public Broadcasting*

December 29, 1970

MEMORANDUM TO THE FILE

Subject: Telecon with Ken Goodwin, 12/29/70, re financing of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Ken has discussed the mechanics of FY72 funding and the required legislative package with both OMB and Chairman Burch. He states:

(1) It is estimated that approximately \$44 million would be required to implement his proposition and that OMB has tentatively approved \$35 million plus \$10 million contingency in FY72. Thus, planned FY72 funds are adequate.

(2) Apparently neither OMB nor Chairman Burch feel that it is appropriate for FCC to prepare and sponsor the legislative package and recommend that OTP take the lead in its formulation.

Recommendations:

(1) Hinchman and Scalia should prepare the legislative package.

(2) Steve Doyle should prepare a brief narrative for inclusion in the President's budget address.

George F. Mansur

cc: Mr. Whitehead ✓  
Dr. Mansur  
Mr. Doyle  
Mr. Hinchman

*OK*

GFMansur:jm

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

December 30, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: W. Hinchman  
A. Scalia  
S. Doyle

SUBJECT: Telecon with CTW re Financing for Corporation  
for Public Broadcasting

(Ref: My memo of 12/29/70, same subject)

I discussed with Tom the Goodwin proposition for Corporation for Public Broadcasting financing described in my memo of 29 December. Tom concurs that we should take the lead in preparing and sponsoring the legislative package.

Accordingly, we request that Hinchman and Scalia prepare a legislative package for early submission to Congress and that Doyle prepare a one or two-sentence statement suitable for inclusion in the President's Budget Message. It is expected that a separate message specifically for CPB financing would be prepared and submitted at a later date.

Since the FCC has taken the initiative in this matter to date, we should proceed with appropriate regard for their sensitivities. Specifically, we should coordinate closely with Goodwin and FCC and consider ways to jointly support the proposal.

George F. Mansur

cc: Mr. Whitehead ✓

Rogers  
Box 1, Folder 12

WRATHER



Office of the President  
270 North Canon Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90210 • (213) 274-8521

October 4, 1971

Mr. Clay T. Whitehead  
Executive Office of the President  
Office of Telecommunications Policy  
Washington, D.C. 20504

Dear Tom:

I am enclosing copies of letter from John Macy in answer to my question concerning the NPAC, and also some additional material that he sent to me on the Broadcast Center as I think them pertinent to the questions you have posed.

I will appreciate your keeping this material confidential. I am supplying it in the interests of clarifying the situation.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jack Wrather', written over the word 'Sincerely,'.

Jack Wrather



# CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

888 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Phone: 202/293-6160

1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019. Phone: 212/582-2020

JOHN W. MACY, JR.,  
President

Reply to Washington

September 30, 1971

Mr. Jack Wrather  
Wrather Corporation  
270 N. Canon Drive  
Beverly Hills, California 90210

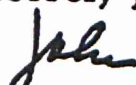
Dear Jack:

As I promised in our telephone conversation on Wednesday, I am enclosing descriptive material about the National Public Affairs Center for Television and the appointment of Robert MacNeil and Sander Vanocur as Senior Correspondents for the Center. The substance of the press release was presented in my report to the Board at the meeting on September 17. As I explained, the Center was created to give a single focus to public affairs programming originating in Washington and to eliminate NET from that particular function. The Center has taken over the production of programs previously produced by WETA ("Washington Week in Review" and Elizabeth Drew's "Thirty Minutes With . . . ") and special events coverage produced by NET Washington. In addition, the Center will have responsibility for the development of television reporting for the national election campaign in 1972.

For a number of months there has been no recognized senior correspondent for public broadcasting in the Washington area. Paul Niven, former commercial broadcaster, had served in this role for NET Washington until his death in 1969. Without such a correspondent it was necessary to make expedient arrangements, such as the one with Nancy Dickerson, in order to have public broadcasting represented in company with the commercial networks for major events such as the Presidential interview in January 1971. MacNeil and Vanocur will fill that void as experienced, professional broadcast journalists.

Please let me know if I can provide you with any additional information which may be helpful in answering questions you receive.

Sincerely yours,

  
John W. Macy, Jr.  
President

enclosures

NATIONAL  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
BROADCAST CENTER

1 FARRAGUT SQUARE SOUTH, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006  
(202) 638-1234

Contact: Jim  
Karayn (638-1234)

NPACT -- The National Public Affairs Center for Television -- announced today the signing of veteran newsmen Robert MacNeil and Sander Vanocur as Senior Correspondents for the newly-formed Washington-based organization.

NPACT Vice-President and General Manager Jim Karayn said the addition of such experienced and respected broadcast journalists as Vanocur and MacNeil to the center is "a major step forward in Public Broadcasting's ability to analyze and interpret the major events of our times. The teaming of such political specialists as Vanocur and MacNeil will be of particular significance to Public Broadcasting viewers during the critical election year."

At parallel news conferences in New York and Washington, Karayn pointed out that between them, MacNeil and Vanocur have personally covered virtually every major news story around the world in the past decade. He also noted that their experiences have been so varied that each man will complement the other in their examination of today's complex society.

Mr. Vanocur is one of the nation's best-known television correspondents. In 15 years with NBC News, Vanocur has covered every-



Nam.

He is especially well-known for his political reporting in every major campaign and at every major convention since 1960. NPACT's teaming of Vanocur and MacNeil will actually be a reunion for the two men. They worked together at NBC News for seven years.

Mr. MacNeil served as co-anchorman for NBC's "Scherer-MacNeil Report," a national news program. He is highly regarded for his well-received book "The People Machine." This was the first in-depth study of the place and importance of television in the contemporary American political system.

For the past 4 years, MacNeil has been a major correspondent for the British Broadcasting Corporation. During 1968, he was assigned by the BBC to cover the American political campaign for the British people. NPACT Vice-President Karayn says that the insights gained by MacNeil in this foreign experience will prove invaluable as the Center begins its detailed study of the upcoming 1972 election year. Before joining the BBC, MacNeil was given reporting assignments at the White House and Capitol Hill for NBC. He has covered the Wars in the Congo, Algeria and the Cuban Missile Crisis. MacNeil was with President John F. Kennedy at the time of his assassination in Dallas in 1963, and covered that tragedy for American television viewers. In 1964, his assignment was to cover Senator Barry Goldwater's campaign for the Presidency.

Karayn pointed out that the value of Vanocur and MacNeil to viewers of Public Broadcasting will be further enhanced by a team

of hand-picked experts on virtually every phase of national and world affairs. He said, "these experts, who come from the fields of government, broadcast journalism, and the printed press, have long been a staple of public broadcasting." "Their expertise," says Karayn, "combined with the experience of Vanocur and MacNeil, will enable NPACT to deliver a major public service in the coming political year, and the troubled years ahead."

Sidney L. James, board chairman of NPACT, expressed pleasure at the choice of Vanocur and MacNeil and said, "We believe that these two outstanding correspondents will lead the way for public broadcasting to supply an especially unique new service to its viewers. The strength and experience of Mr. Vanocur and Mr. MacNeil blended into this enterprise dedicated to a new approach to interpreting political affairs cannot help but advance our contribution to broadcast journalism and to the public."

###

# Corporation for Public Broadcasting NEWSLETTER

Volume 3 Number 6 September 1971



## PUBLIC AFFAIRS CENTER BEGINS OPERATIONS IN WASHINGTON

A news and public affairs production center for public television has been established in Washington. It will be known as the National Public Affairs Broadcast Center.

Sidney L. James, Chairman of the Board of the Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (licensee of WETA-TV, Washington's PTV station), is acting as chief executive of the Center during its organization. The new production agency will have institutional ties with WETA and will use its production facilities.



*Jim Karayn, Emmy-award winning news broadcaster, Vice President and General Manager of the new Center.*

Jim Karayn, a veteran television news producer who has been Chief of the NET Washington Bureau for the past five years, has been appointed Vice President and General Manager of the Center.

"The creation of the Center comes at a very significant time in television journalism history as we begin the '72 political year," Karayn said. "Our mandate will be to try to cover, in new ways, not just the events of the election year, but also their long-range implications for our society."

The first thing the Center will do is assume production responsibilities for "Washington Week in Review" and "Thirty Minutes With . . ." currently produced by WETA. "Washington Week in Review" is a round-table discussion of major Washington events by some of the top journalists in the country. "Thirty Minutes With . . ." features Elizabeth Drew, Washington Editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, interviewing major newsmakers. According to Karayn, adjustments will probably be made in the formats of both programs.

*Continued on page 2*

## ADULT EDUCATION PROJECT MOVES FORWARD AT CPB

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting has completed the initial study of what could become a major adult learning project.

The study sought to pinpoint the needs in adult education as a first step toward determining how public broadcasting might assist in the field. It entailed the commissioning of 30 research papers and meetings with 100 representatives from 68 organizations, culminating with a conference August 1-3 at Airlie House, Warrenton, Va.

As a result, CPB staff received approval from the Corporation's Board of Directors to enter Phase II of the project, which will include an in-depth survey of the potential audience, curriculum research, planning for utilization, and information activities.

As now conceived, the project would place heavy emphasis on motivating the viewer, and widespread field utilization would be planned to achieve maximum, flexible use of the programming in local communities.

The project proposes to address itself to a primary audience of adults 25 to 44 years old who can read at a sixth-grade level, as a minimum. Among adults in the target group would be those who have never completed high school. At least 8.4 million men and women fall into this category. But the project could reach millions more, both those younger than 25 and those older than 44.

The concept would accent reading and math presented in a context familiar to the individual's job experience, home and life-style. The materials—elements for use in open- and closed-circuit broadcasting, cassette adaptations, films, and associated print information—would be generated with an adult in mind who probably left school behind

*Continued on page 2*

## LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

The nomination of Dr. Zelma George to the CPB Board of Directors was confirmed by the Senate on July 29. The Senate Commerce Committee held hearings on her nomination July 22 and in less than a week favorably reported her nomination to the Senate. Dr. George assumes the seat vacated by Carl Sanders, who resigned in 1970. Her term will expire March 26, 1972.

On the same day the Senate confirmed the nomination of Rep. Charlotte Reid (R-Ill.) to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission. Mrs. Reid will begin her seven-year term as FCC Commissioner October 1, replacing Commissioner Thomas Houser.

## NPABC--Continued from page 1

New programming from the Center will begin in November with regular coverage of special events, particularly those occurring in Washington, Karayn said. A regular weekly series on general political developments will begin in January.

He said the Center will stress topical coverage, rather than chronological happenings. There are no plans for a daily national news show that would compete with the commercial network news shows, he said.

The Center will submit its shows to PBS for possible use on the interconnection in the same manner as other production centers, according to Karayn, and its establishment will not effect public affairs programming plans of other production centers. He said he hopes very much that the Center can engage in cooperative programming with other production centers in the future.

### \$3 Million Budget

Karayn said the Center will be concerned with everything of significance, from analysis of Presidential addresses to coverage of major Congressional hearings, and will produce major specials.

The Center will have a budget of approximately \$3 million, with the funds being supplied by CPB and the Ford Foundation. A large portion of the funds will be paid to WETA for production facilities and studio service.

Karayn expects to have a staff of about 55 people operating in the near future. He said he has begun negotiating with nationally recognized correspondents, but none has been signed.

The Center will be governed by a 15-member Board. Nine directors will be public members, chosen from across the country for their knowledge of journalism. The other six will include Mr. James as Chairman; the newly elected president of WETA-TV, Donald Taverner; the President of the Center, as yet not selected; and three members of the WETA-TV Board.

### Karayn: Veteran Producer

Jim Karayn founded the Washington Bureau of NET and had been its Chief since 1965. He produced more than 150 major programs for public television during his eight years with NET.

In 1968, he received a national Emmy award for his coverage of the President's State of the Union Address, and he has won three other Emmy nominations. He received the Ted Yates Award for sustained excellence in broadcast journalism in 1969. His highly acclaimed documentary, "The Warren Years," won the Silver Gavel Award of the American Bar Association last year.

Before joining NET, Karayn was a producer and writer for NBC News, Washington. He was with KTLA-TV, Los Angeles, from 1954 to 1961, rising from reporter to news director. Under him, the KTLA news department won two Sylvania Awards, 18 local Emmys and one national Emmy.

Karayn attended Stanford University and received his journalism degree from the University of Southern California. He did graduate work at UCLA while working with UPI and the Los Angeles Examiner.

## EDUCATION--Continued from page 1

at least ten years earlier. Throughout, efforts would be made to motivate him toward life-long learning.

One payoff could be improving the adult's reading and math skills so that he or she might win a high school certificate through taking the General Educational Development (GED) tests.

However, many participants in the CPB-sponsored meetings felt that GED preparation should be only one of the options. Issuance of special certificates of completion should be considered. There might also be ties-ins to local scholarships for further education, or to job interviews and promotions.

Participants in the planning stages concurred that a prospective adult listener or viewer must be offered more than just broadcasts to his home. Supportive services, such as tutoring and counselling, should be made available through local organizations and institutions. And while basic materials would be planned for national use, they should be of such a modular design that highly flexible alternatives would be optional to the local broadcaster and his colleagues in education.

### Target Audience Surveys Planned

The need for more complete information on the potential target audiences was quickly identified. Accordingly, Phase II of the project, subject to concurrence by the CPB Board, would be dedicated in the main to widening the understanding of potential beneficiaries of the project. Research techniques used in preparing "Cancion de la Raza," a public television series for Spanish-speaking people, and "Sesame Street" would be applied. This second phase would end by next March 1.

In the ten-week first phase, 20 public broadcasters and educational communicators took part in the planning meetings. In particular, John Montgomery, Executive Director of the Iowa Educational Broadcasting Network and Executive Consultant to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, has actively participated in the planning and execution of Phase I.

Interest in the project has been indicated by over 300 major American corporations.

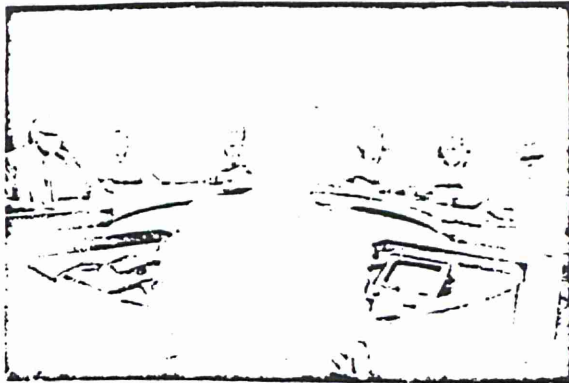
CPB's education staff anticipates making a further report on the proposed project at the NAEB Convention next month in Miami Beach.

### "WHAT PTV IS ALL ABOUT"

When the Houston school board fired the superintendent of schools two weeks ago, KUHT/Channel 8, the city's public TV station, mounted two instant specials reviewing the school board crisis.

"With very little lead time, and no advanced fanfare," Millie Budd, the Houston Post Television Editor wrote, "Channel 8 plunged into the subject with the reckless grace of an Olympic champion." Millie said the resulting six hours were "... some of the most exciting television upon which these blood-shot myopic orbs have ever focused."

Ann Hodges, TV Editor of the Houston Chronicle, seconded Millie's appraisal. Both concluded with praise for the station, with Ann summing it all up—"When you come right down to it, this is the type of community performance that public television is all about."



WTTW's Michael Horn tracks to camera in masterclass the wage-price freeze special.

#### WTTW, GEN PRODUCE SPECIAL ON "FREEZE"

To help clear up the widespread confusion over the implementation of the president's wage price freeze, WTTW, Chicago, produced a live, two-hour special with six federal officials answering questions about the freeze. The program was carried by the 12-state Central Educational Network.

Over 300 calls were received at WTTW during the program, "Wage-Price Freeze: Questions and Answers," and more than 100 questions were answered. Calls were aired from as far away as Bismarck, N. D. and Toledo, Ohio.

#### WOSU GETS \$123,698 GRANT FOR RADIO PRODUCTION UNIT

WOSU Radio, Columbus, Ohio has been chosen to establish the nation's first Public Radio Production Unit for news and public affairs.

The station has received \$123,698 under the Corporation's \$900,000 Public Radio Production Unit project, which was announced at the First Annual Public Radio Conference in May. The Ohio State University Telecommunications Center, licensee of WOSU, will provide matching funds and services totaling over \$90,000.

Under the project, all CPB-qualified stations are eligible to receive from \$50,000 to \$200,000 to establish special production units that will concentrate in either music, drama, instruction or news/public affairs programming. WOSU Radio is the first recipient.

According to Al Hulsen, CPB Director of Radio Activities, the primary purpose of this grant "is to strengthen the public affairs production capability of WOSU to better serve the central Ohio community. However, the new production unit will also serve as a training ground for public broadcasters and a programming source for the national network for public radio—NPR."

The news/public affairs production unit will be set up as a separate arm of WOSU. It will enable the station to increase and improve the quality of its daily five hours of news programming and expand the activities of its unique Ombudsman service.

The "News 71 Ombudsman" service was initially funded by CPB in 1969 as a pilot project for public radio. The first such radio service in the country, "Ombudsman" solicits listener questions and problems, attempts to solve them and demonstrates on-air how other listeners can solve

similar problems. In addition, it sometimes takes the initiative and investigates "in-depth" topics of concern to listeners.

The CPB grant covers the first year of a planned five-year project. It will pay the salaries of five new reporters, two Ombudsman research reporters, the Ombudsman himself and the Ombudsman executive producer, as well as providing talent fees for regional stringers. The Telecommunications Center matching funds will pay the salaries of three additional news reporters, all part-time employees included in the project and the overhead for the unit.

WOSU broadcasts more news weekdays than any radio station—commercial or noncommercial—in Ohio, including five hours of locally produced programming and NPR's 90-minute news and public affairs magazine, "All Things Considered." The station also operates the largest news department of any public radio station in the country.

#### NPR SPONSORS HEALTH CARE HEARINGS

National Public Radio, the nationwide network and program service for public radio, is not only reporting the news but making it as well.

Beginning September 7, NPR will sponsor and broadcast six two-hour hearings on one of the nation's most crucial domestic issues—health care.

The "NPR Health Care Hearings" will take place prior to the hearings on national health insurance scheduled by the House Ways and Means Committee this fall.

Because the House hearings will not be open to live media coverage, NPR producer-moderator Barbara Newman said, "it is essential for NPR to utilize the potential of the radio medium to present this vital subject for public discussion."

The NPR hearings will originate from San Francisco, Boston, New York City, Ann Arbor, Mich., Philadelphia and Atlanta.

In each city, the hearings will provide a public forum for debate on the various problems of health care and proposed solutions such as the Nixon Administration health insurance plan and another proposed by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.). They will enable the three groups most vitally concerned about this issue to exchange views and constructively examine their positions: the Congressmen who enact legislation, the providers of health care, and the general public—the consumers of health care.

The NPR hearings will be modeled after actual Congressional hearings. A panel of local Congressmen and Senators will question witnesses drawn from such advocacy groups as the American Medical Association, Blue Cross, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights, as well as representatives from local hospitals, labor unions, community clinics and insurance companies. Individual patients will also testify before the hearings.

Among those scheduled to participate in the hearings are Senator Edward Kennedy; Dr. Roberta Fenlon, president, California Medical Association; Dr. Oliver Fein, Health Planning Advisory Center, N. Y.; James Brindle, president, Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York; Rep. Martha Griffiths, chief sponsor of the Kennedy health insurance bill in the House; Dr. Herbert S. Denenberg, Pennsylvania State Commissioner of Insurance; Isadore Malamud, officer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and Lieutenant Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia.

## CPB ADVOCATES PUBLIC CABLECASTING

While the Congress and the Administration study the new set of proposed regulations for cable television announced by the Federal Communications Commission, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is working on a number of fronts to preserve the public service potential of cable and to further the interests of public television.

After months of deliberations, the FCC released its proposed regulations on August 5. CPB found several of the regulations to be beneficial to public broadcasting, and others to be helpful in developing the public, non-commercial uses of cable. However, the Corporation feels that the needs of public broadcasting have not been given their proper weight in other areas.

CPB's most recent position on the development of cable was given in a statement from the Corporation's president, John Macy, to the Sloan Commission on Cable Communications. The Sloan Commission was set up along the lines of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television but given the mandate from the Sloan Foundation to develop recommendations on cable for the Congress, the FCC, and the public at large.

Macy noted that the technical potential for a large number of channels offers a unique opening for public television.

"The public broadcasting station of today can be the Community Center for Education and Public Service in 1980. It is a resource that can become the neighborhood learning center and the circulator of knowledge and ideas to an informed community," he said.

Public broadcasting stations already fill this description, Macy said, but to a limited degree. They will never develop to their full potential in these areas as long as access to them is restricted, he observed, noting that a single or even double public television channel is simply not sufficient.

"We believe that the multiple channel capabilities in cable provide opportunities for vastly increased and improved public service in both urban communities and rural areas," he said. "Moreover, we are also convinced that public broadcasting can do much to assist and further that public interest."

### Summary of CPB Positions

Macy summarized for the Commission the recommendations that the Corporation has made to the FCC regarding the development of cable regulations. The Corporation has supported or urged:

- ownership of CATV systems by public broadcasters, or other non-profit community organizations;
- allocation of 50% of all cable channels for noncommercial purposes;
- the proposal by the FCC that 5% of the gross subscription revenues from CATV should be directed to the Corporation with the proviso that the money be dedicated to planning and supporting the noncommercial uses of cable;
- the structuring of CATV subscriber rates to insure that all citizens are able to enjoy the benefits of cable service; and
- federal licensing and regulation of CATV as most likely to achieve the best possible development of CATV (as an alternative, the Corporation would

support comprehensive federal regulations to be enforced by local regulatory bodies.)

The Corporation has also recommended that all CATV systems be constructed with twice the number of channels that the franchise believes are required for viable operation and with mandatory two-way capability. It has also recommended that no system be authorized which does not propose to carry the FM band of radio signals.

### FCC's Proposed Regulations

Although the Corporation's reaction to the FCC's proposed regulations were generally favorable, several critical issues related to the noncommercial, public service aspects of cable were not addressed by the Commission. For one, the FCC did not mention the five percent "public dividend" which it had earlier proposed. Nor did it propose any regulations regarding the structuring of CATV subscriber rates.

The FCC also did not rule on the proposed exemption for public broadcasting stations from the local cross ownership ban. However, the Commission stated that there was much unfinished business in the cable field, and singled out this issue.

"To cite just one instance," the Commission said, "strong arguments have been advanced that local ETV station operators should not be barred from any and all ownership participation in cable systems in their communities; and as a matter of equity, these arguments should be dealt with before franchises are awarded in markets that we are now proposing to open for cable penetration. We will therefore split out matters such as this for resolution before our new rules become effective."

An important proposal included in the FCC's list of regulations is that CATV systems would be permitted to carry any number of educational signals, local or distant, if there is no objection from local educational TV interests.

The proposed regulations would also require that CATV operators make available, at no cost, a public access channel to noncommercial users. A channel would also have to be available for five years at no cost for state and local government use and a similar channel provided for local education groups. These are among recommendations that the Corporation has made in the past.

### NAEB CONVENTION, OCTOBER 17-20

The 47th annual convention of the National Association of Broadcasters will be a convention with a difference in several respects this year.

For one thing, the convention will be held at Miami Beach's Fontainebleau Hotel rather than in Washington, as has been the practice in recent years. The dates are October 17-20, about one month earlier than usual.

More importantly, the number of formal sessions and functions will be limited to allow delegates more time for informal exchange of views.

One of the general sessions will be given over to a "conversation" among several leading journalists, who will discuss journalism in public broadcasting.

As in the past two years, CPB will announce the results of its most recent Harris poll on the viewers of public television at the convention.



Public television is a growing industry. It is being supported by PTV stations and class and programs are still set with a view to education and professional training programs broadcast by the stations. In the foreground are the studios of the National Endowment for the Arts. In the background, a television cameraman is shooting a sequence of a television program.

### RADIO, TV PERSONNEL SHIFTS

One new face and two familiar ones in new roles are the result of organizational changes within the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Donald M. Trapp, formerly Program Officer for the HEW Educational Broadcasting Facilities Program, joins the Corporation as Radio Projects Manager with the responsibility of administering the various CPB radio grant projects.

Although new to the Corporation, Trapp is no stranger to public broadcasting. In addition to his five years with the Facilities Program, he has worked for the Georgia ETV Network and WUNC-TV in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of North Carolina.

CPB's Director of Special Activities, David Stewart, has been promoted to Director of National Program Projects. In his new role, Stewart will be responsible for all CPB program projects intended for national network use, in addition to retaining responsibility for such activities as film projects and experimental programs.

Prior to joining the Corporation in 1969, Stewart was Director of Educational Programs for the National Endowment for the Arts. Previously, he was a Consultant on the Arts for the American Council on Education; Director of the Washington office of NET; Secretary of the Joint Council on Educational Broadcasting; Director of the Joint Committee on Educational Television, and television producer for the D. C. Public Schools and WETA-TV, Washington.

Ros Morrisseau, formerly Assistant Director of Station Development Support, has also been promoted to a newly-created position. As Assistant Director of Television Activities, he will be responsible for developing the master plan for the future of the public broadcasting system. He will also have responsibilities in the software development aspects of new technologies and will undertake other special assignments.

Morrisseau came to the Corporation in 1970 from WITF-TV, Hershey, where he held various positions, the last being Director of Programming. He was previously a producer-director at WGBH, Boston.

### A NEW ADDRESS IN WASHINGTON

After months of negotiations, the lease has been signed for a new home for much of public broadcasting in Washington. The new building, located at 2025 M St. N.W., will house several elements of public broadcasting located in the Washington area.

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters will remain in their present locations until 1976. At that time they are scheduled to move into the adjoining building at 2033 M St. N.W. This building will also serve to meet the expanding needs of the Washington entities of public broadcasting.

Under the current plan, the offices of the new building will be ready for occupancy by January 1. It will probably take another nine months or more to complete installation of the required technical operations.

### TV GUIDE AND LOOK VIEW PTV

When public television made the cover of the Aug. 21 TV Guide—with its 13 million circulation—it was a good sign that the medium has become a significant factor in the television spectrum.

And another good sign was Look magazine's story on public television in its recent special issue, "Television: Turn-On or Turn-Off?" Just two years ago public television was lucky to get a mention in such pieces let alone equal treatment. But that is now becoming the rule rather than the exception.

The TV Guide cover story, "Public Television: Is Anybody Watching?" by Richard K. Doan, described the difficulties public television faces in trying to increase its audience.

"Darling of TV's disenchanted. Pet of TV's critics. All but ignored by TV's masses," is how Doan sums up the dilemma.

He said that even though "everybody (or so it seems) talks about public TV," few seem to be watching. Or at least not enough so that "those nose counters of mass viewing habits, the A. C. Nielsen people can find out."

In fact, he said, "Most public-TV fare attracts something like a 'tenth' the size of audience picked up by the 'least' popular network evening show."

However, Doan goes on to say that "there are signs aplenty that public TV is catching on." He cites as examples viewer response to "The Advocates"; Buckley's move to public television; and President Nixon's congratulations to Mobil Oil Corporation for spending \$1 million to underwrite "Masterpiece Theatre" and to promote "Sesame Street."

However, he says that the basic problem of how to reach wider audiences remains unsolved.

The article in the September 7 issue of *Look Magazine*, "What's Different About Public TV?", answers the question right off.

"Commercial TV makes money, lots of it. Public TV needs money, lots of it," says Gerald Astor, *Look* Senior Editor.

After describing some of the successes and failures of public television, and some of the intra-industry squabbles, Astor concludes, "Until public TV no longer awaits on an annual congressional smile . . . the Fourth Network will sound a minor voice."

#### AROUND THE CIRCUIT

- "Pozzatti," an "Artists in America" segment which will be seen September 14 on PBS, was selected recently as top winner in the Atlanta International Film Festival. The film, produced by Richard Taylor, WTIU, Bloomington, Ind., is a profile of Rudy Pozzatti, professor of fine arts at Indiana University and nationally prominent printmaker.

- Mrs. Joseph Gershgol, Duluth, watching the KTCA, Minneapolis-St. Paul auction which was simulcast in Duluth and Appleton, was attracted by an Indonesian goddess puppet. Knowing her daughter would love it, she entered a \$17 bid. But she was outbid, and then outbid again, and again. Finally, she got the puppet for \$35. A few minutes after the auctioneer had announced the name of the winning bidder, Mrs. Gershgol's telephone rang—her daughter had been the one bidding against her.

- The Promotion-Programming Idea of the Week: A 24-hour marathon showing of "The Forsyte Saga." That's just one of the ways in which the new management of WNET, New York, under John Jay Iselin, is trying to build a wider audience and community awareness of the station. Another is "The Silent Years," a series of silent films which has gained the biggest audiences ever registered for the station, even topping the competition on the commercial networks.

- "Mister Rogers Meets an Astronaut," the Fred Rogers special that won critical praise from, among others, *Variety*, also earned high marks from children and their parents. Typical comments from the fan mail: "For big and little children, this is a great program!"; "It was a warm, beauti-

#### TAVERNER TO HEAD WETA

Donald V. Taverner, former General Manager of WQED and WQFX, the public broadcasting stations in Pittsburgh, has been named President and General Manager of WETA-TV, FM, Washington.

Most recently, Taverner has served as President of the National Cable Television Association. He succeeds William J. McCarter, who recently resigned to become the chief executive officer of WTTW and WITX, Chicago's public broadcasting stations.

Taverner built WQED, Pittsburgh into one of the strongest community-owned public television stations. Prior to Pittsburgh, he was Director of Development for the University of Maine at Orono. In this position, he directed the joint effort between the university and the state department of education which established the Maine public television network. He is a graduate of the university.



ful and informative show . . .": "After watching so many launches, it was delightful to see one geared to children."

- KBYU, Provo, Utah has joined the mounting number of stations offering two-way television to their viewers. Viewers are able to call in questions direct to their mayor and city council members on KBYU's "You and Your Mayor."

- There are now 210 public television stations on the air. WNPE, Channel 16, Watertown, N. Y. went on the air August 19. It will soon be followed by a sister station in Norwood, WNPI, Channel 18. Both stations are licensed to the St. Lawrence Valley ETV Council.

- Paul Dooley, a former member of the famed "Second City" improvisational acting troupe, has been named head writer for CTW's "The Electric Company."

- CPB President John Macy's first book, "Public Service, the Human Side of Government," was published August 25 by Harper & Row. Drawing upon his years of experience in government, Macy examines the quality of the public service system today and the steps that must be taken to make that system more workable.

- John Darsa, veteran CBS newscaster, has joined NPR as a producer-reporter. While with CBS, Darsa covered such far ranging assignments as the revolution in Santo Domingo, the Pueblo Inquiry, the election of Pope Paul VI, the Profumo crisis and the Sharon Tate murders.

- Also joining NPR is Rich Adams, a news correspondent for WTOP Radio-TV, Washington, D. C. Adams is currently a correspondent covering local news and also serves as a moderator and panelist on "Washington News Conference" and "Newsmakers." He will be a producer for "All Things Considered . . ."

Published by Office of Public Affairs, CPB:

888 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006, Phone: 202-293-6160

1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York 10019, Phone: 212-582-2020



CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

October 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN EHRLICHMAN

From: Tom Whitehead

The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

May Pete Flanigan and I have your comments on the attached memo as soon as possible.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Whitehead  
Mr. Scalia  
DO Records  
DO Chron

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

October 5, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

From: Tom Whitehead

Enclosed is a draft memo for the President on public broadcasting. Pete Flanigan asks if you would like to provide any input before we go final.

Attachment - Memo to Pres. from CTW, 10/5, re CPB

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

October 5, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR LEONARD GARMENT

FROM: Tom Whitehead

The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

May Pete Flanigan and I have your comments on the attached memo as soon as possible.

Attachment - Memo to Pres. From CTW 10/4/71 re CPB

cc: Mr. Whitehead  
Mr. Scalia  
DO Chron  
DO Records

CTWhitehead:jm

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

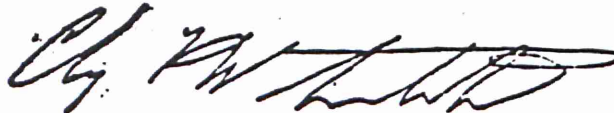
October 4, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR CHUCK COLSON

The President has again expressed concern. As you can see, I have gotten religion. Also, you may be pleased to know that I did take your advice and talked to some public broadcasting people in the hinterlands. I think you can see the result.

This is already late getting to the President. Could we have your comments as soon as possible.



Clay T. Whitehead

Attachment - Memo to Pres. from CTW re CPB

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

October 4, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Peter Flanigan

SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern regarding Vanocur/MacNeil and the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT) funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and Ford Foundation. (Liz Drew will be funded by CPB through NPACT; the Moyers and Agronsky shows do not receive CPB funds, although the public television network which carries them to the local stations is funded entirely by CPB.) This comes at a time when we need some firm decisions on our posture toward the financing and structure of public broadcasting.

Short-run: The Public Broadcasting Act was designed to keep CPB free of our control. OMB advises that funds appropriated for CPB are mandatory spending over which we can exercise no discretion -- we cannot cut off funds this fiscal year. Jack Wrather advises that the CPB contribution to NPACT was approved by the CPB Board prior to the Vanocur and MacNeil appointments. An attempt to reverse this decision is not likely to succeed and would invite charges of improper political interference.

Our only recourse in this immediate situation is to encourage public criticism and to get our friends on the CPB Board to do whatever they can (1) to keep NPACT programs unbiased and apolitical, and (2) to get commentators to offset Vanocur, MacNeil, and Drew.

Next Year: We should now direct our attention toward cutting Federal support for NPACT at the end of this fiscal year, and cutting Federal and foundation support for all national public affairs commentary on public broadcasting in the future. Unfortunately, there is no easy way to do this.

The Problem: Public broadcasting includes educational and cultural programming as well as public affairs programming. Federal

funds for all three purposes are provided in lump sum by statute through CPB, which in turn gives grants to programming organizations, such as NET and NPACT, and to all of the local educational radio and television stations, most of which are affiliated with educational institutions.

Since our concern is with public affairs commentary (principally national programming funded by CPB and Ford), this structure for Federal funding causes us a dilemma: A reduction in CPB funds to strike at their public affairs programming would also strike at educational and cultural efforts (such as "Sesame Street," quality drama, and high school equivalency and drug abuse programs); and it would cause a reduction of funds for all the local educational stations. Moreover, a major reduction in Federal funds would invite resumption of Ford/NET dominance of public television.

There has been considerable pressure for greatly increased funding for CPB under "permanent" financing; and your last budget promised a plan for "improved" financing arrangements. There is considerable public, Congressional, and media support for public television generally. There are educational television stations in 223 Congressional districts. However, many of the local stations are unhappy with their domination by CPB; many minority groups feel CPB is "Eastern establishment," insensitive to their needs; and there is feeling that CPB is trying too hard for audience as a "fourth network" rather than emphasizing real education and quality programming.

Options: We have four major options:

Option 1: Negotiate a compromise financing bill that would increase Federal funds for public broadcasting, but would circumscribe the power of CPB by increasing the autonomy of the local stations.

Pro

- By increasing the power of the local stations, retards the trend toward centralized control of public television by CPB.
- Gives us leverage with the CPB Board to replace Frank Pace and John Macy, and to play down public affairs programming.
- Avoids election year controversy over Administration attacks on public television and intimidation of the media.
- Our friends on the Board favor this option.

Con

- Does little to get at the problem that concerns us, since the ability of the Board to control the full-time staff of CPB is doubtful.
- Increases Federal funds for CPB, and reduces only in part its centralized control of public broadcasting.

Option 2: Seek legislation to cut CPB funds drastically and to exclude it from public affairs programming.

Pro

- If successful, would eliminate Federal support for public affairs programs on public television.
- Makes very clear your resolve, and therefore even if not successful would significantly retard the growth of CPB support for public affairs programs during your Administration.

Con

- Invites Ford/NET to increase their public affairs programming.
- Takes a negative approach that limits funds for many good and popular educational and cultural activities, at the local level as well as nationally.
- Would probably fail, and would arouse considerable Congressional hostility.
- Would provoke charges of a politically motivated attack on all public broadcasting and on the news media.

Option 3: Seek legislation to provide a new structure for Federal funding of only educational and cultural programming at the national level and for direct grants to local educational stations.

Pro

- Takes the initiative on a positive approach to improve public television by eliminating the much-resented CPB domination.
- Eliminates all Federal funds for public affairs programming at the national level.
- Properly done, would have the support of the local stations and would thereby stand a fairly good chance of passing the Congress.

Con

- Still invites increased Ford/NET public affairs programming.
- Requires increased Federal funding for local stations in order to get their support.

- Would upset those in Congress and elsewhere who worked to create CPB in its current form.

Option 4: Same as (3), but also seek revision of tax laws to prohibit foundations from supporting news and political commentary programming, in the same way they are prohibited from lobbying.

Pro

- Same as (3), and this is the only option that will stop Ford Foundation support of slanted programming by NET and others.

Con

- Same as the last two objections to (3), but would run into more significant opposition, including possibly the local stations, and might not pass.
- Would raise further charges of an Administration effort to intimidate the news media.

Recommendation: The first option does little but avoid controversy and the second is likely to accomplish little but controversy. Options (3) and (4) would have lasting and constructive effect, though both would raise a loud Liberal howl. Only Option (4) stands a chance of achieving all of our goals.

I recommend you approve Option (4) if you are willing to face the controversy and that we open the attack in my address to the annual convention of the local stations October 20.

Approve Option (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Approve Option (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Approve Option (3) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Approve Option (4) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other \_\_\_\_\_



Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Mr. Flanigan  
 Mr. Whithead  
 Mr. Scalia

Scalia:Whitehead/ed:jm 10/4/71



T7-211

October 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT FINCH

From: Tom Whitehead /S/

The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

May Pete Flanigan and I have your comments on the attached memo by Friday.

cc: DO Records ✓ Mr. Whitehead - 2  
DO Chron Dr. Mansur  
GC Subj  
GC Chron

AScalia/ec/6Oct71

October 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE SHULTZ

From: Tom Whitehead

The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

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cc: DO Records ✓ Mr. Whitehead - 2  
DO Chron Dr. Mansur  
GC Subj  
GC Chron

AScalia/ec/6Oct71

October 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR RON ZIEGLER

From: Tom Whitehead

The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

May Pete Flanigan and I have your comments on the attached memo by Friday.

cc: DO Records ✓  
DO Chron Mr. Whitehead - 2  
EO Chron Dr. Mansur  
GC Subj

AScalia/ec/6Oct71

October 6, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR HERB KLEIN

From: Tom Whitehead *151*

The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

May Pete Flanigan and I have your comments on the attached memo by Friday.

cc: DO Records ✓  
DO Chron Mr. Whitehead - 2  
GC Subj Dr. Mansur  
GC Chron

AScalia/ec/6Oct71

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAY T. WHITEHEAD  
Director, Office of Telecommunications  
Policy

FROM: LEONARD GARMENT

SUBJECT: CPB - Comments on your Draft Memo-  
randum to the President

I would favor Option 3 -- but not Option 4 -- for the following reasons:

1. I believe it a mistake for U.S. funds to be used to support domestic news and public affairs programming by any mass medium. Permitting federal funds to flow (through CPB) into domestic public affairs programming and commentary seems, to me, to run up against many of the same sound reasons why USIA is prohibited from doing this. A strong case can therefore be made in behalf of the Option 3 elements.

*good*

2. To say that U.S. funds should not be used to support public affairs programming and commentary (i. e. to avoid censorship problems) is one thing; to deny that privilege to private foundations is almost the reverse; it sounds like, and in fact, would be attacked as, censorship. This would serve to marshal the opposition and in the end, make more likely the defeat of the entire effort. It seems to me an unnecessary incitement to criticism, even from friendly broadcasters, CATV operators, and therefore bad politics.

etc. -

If there is a genuine problem of fairness in the public affairs coverage of radio and television stations, the FCC has means to attack unbalanced programming. I would rather see these means used than seek legislation which would put on the Treasury the onus of policing radio and TV stations and foundations for their domestic information practices.

*Proposed - ?  
good policy - yes*

*and*

*2nd point -  
solid?*



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

EYES ONLY

OCTOBER 6, 1971

FOR PETER FLANIGAN

RE: CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

I have reviewed Tom Whitehead's paper and note that the four options which he advances all involve legislation.

*But you have to have a legal opinion*

I don't think you can get there from here via legislation. Even a lot of easy legislation is not going to get through this Congress after the first of the year and this hardly falls within that category.

*Let's see what's right!*

I suggest a rigorous examination of non-legislative methods to achieve your desired ends. These may involve withholding funds (I implicitly question the assumption that the Public Broadcasting Act imposes mandatory spending on the President and think we might just risk a law suit), but even that is not a very good remedy because CPB will cut Sesame Street and other highly popular and desirable activities and leave Agronsky and Vanocur in place.

*necessary but hardly sufficient*

The best alternative would be to take over the management and thereby determine what management decisions are going to be made. Obviously, this is an uphill fight but seems to me to be the only feasible path to accomplish your ends. If you tell me that you can't take over the management, then I think this is just a situation that can't be solved. If you have a 50-50 chance of making a fight and taking over the management, then I think it might be worth the try and some very bright guy like Malek ought to be put in charge of bringing it off.

*Let Whitehead do it.*

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
John D. Ehrlichman

EYES ONLY

*New option - 1 yr extension  
pro - no battle 1972  
con - papers in 1972  
- no opposition programs or activities  
- other aid of many richies*

*1 or 2 yr extension  
or 2 one yr extensions  
pro - takes over activities  
con - harder criticism for playing politics  
- opponents have more time to mobilize forces*

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20501

October 6, 1971

DIRECTOR

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY


MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT FINCH

From: Tom Whitehead



The President has again expressed concern about the news media activities on public broadcasting. It comes at a time when we have to propose new funding arrangements for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

May Pete Flanigan and I have your comments on the attached memo by Friday.

*Option 3 seems most realistic and doable*  


CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAYTON T. WHITEHEAD

FROM: HERBERT G. KLEIN *HK*

Regarding the options suggested on Public Broadcasting, I would suggest that the President adopt option number one. I think this is the only option which is doable.

I believe that the exercise of any of the other three options would fail and would enhance the viewership of Vanocur and MacNeil because it would make them more major public figures. This action, coupled with other serious problems we have regarding both networks and stations could turn into a major public issue which would be damaging to the President.

In summary, I think we have much to lose by adoption of any of the last three options, and that the chances of a gain are small.

I believe it is a mistake also to classify the Liz Drew show with that of Vanocur and MacNeil. While she is liberal personally, she has used a great number of Administration figures on her program and some of the best interviews our people have had have been with her.

cc: Peter Flanigan  
Ron Ziegler

CONFIDENTIAL  
EYES ONLY



Tuesday 10/12/71

3:30

Mr. Scalia advises Mr. Klein has changed his recommendation re the CPB memo for the President and agrees Option (3) is preferable.

In addition to deleting the paragraph indicated, he suggests adding the following sentence:

All of your advisers who have been consulted on the matter -- who include John Ehrlichman, Herb Klein, Bob Finch, Len Garment, Chuck Colson, and Peter Flanigan -- join me in recommending Option (3).

C 211

October 12, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: PETER FLANIGAN  
FROM: CHARLES COLSON  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

I do not think that the memo to the President is in shape to submit until you put into the explanation of Option 3 exactly how much we will be increasing by. If the total funds exceed \$40 million then I don't support Option 3. The point needs to be made as to exactly how much we propose to spend even under the restructured Option 3. Otherwise, I think reaction to the memo will be quite predictable.

Moreover, I don't believe that you need to put things quite so explicitly in the first paragraph. This is a serious mistake for whatever records this piece of paper might ultimately end up in or, perish the thought, should it get out.

cc: Tom Whitehead



T7-8/1

OCT 18 1967

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Peter Flanigan  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern regarding the Vanocur/MacNeil public broadcasting TV "news" program which is produced by the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT) and funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and Ford Foundation. (The Liz Drew program is also funded by CPB through NPACT; the Moyers and Agronsky shows are not funded directly by CPB, but are funded by organizations which receive CPB support.) This concern will obviously affect the decisions which must be made now on the Administration posture toward the financing and structure of public broadcasting.

Short-run: The Public Broadcasting Act was designed to keep CPB free of the control of any Administration. OMB advises that funds appropriated for CPB are mandatory spending over which we can exercise no discretion -- we cannot cut off funds this fiscal year. \$30 million of the \$35 million appropriation for this year has, in any event, already been distributed. Jack Wrather advises that the CPB contribution to NPACT was approved by the CPB Board prior to the Vanocur and MacNeil appointments. An attempt to reverse this decision is not likely to succeed and would invite charges of improper political interference.

Our only recourse in this immediate situation is to encourage public criticism and to get our friends on the CPB Board to do whatever they can (1) to keep NPACT programs unbiased and apolitical, and (2) to get commentators to offset Vanocur, MacNeil, and Drew.

Long-run: We should now direct our attention toward cutting Federal support for NPACT at the end of this fiscal year, and cutting Federal and foundation support for all national public affairs commentary on public broadcasting in the future. Unfortunately, there is no easy way to do this.

The Problem: Public broadcasting includes educational and cultural programming as well as public affairs programming. Federal funds for all three purposes are provided in lump sum by statute through CPB, which in turn makes grants to programming organizations, such as NET and NPACT, to the public television network that distributes them, and to all of the local educational radio and television stations, most of which are affiliated with educational institutions. There is very strong public support for the educational and cultural programs (such as "Sesame Street," quality drama, and high school equivalency and drug abuse programs).

Since our concern is with public affairs commentary (principally national programming funded by CPB and Ford), this structure for federal funding causes us a dilemma: A reduction in CPB funds to strike at its public affairs programming would simultaneously strike at its educational and cultural efforts; and would also cause a reduction of funds for all local educational stations.

There has been pressure for greatly increased funding for CPB under "permanent" financing; and your last budget promised a plan for "improved" financing arrangements. In addition to public support, there is considerable Congressional and media support for public television generally. There are educational television stations in 223 Congressional districts. However, many of the local stations are unhappy with their domination by CPB: many minority groups feel CPB is "Eastern establishment," insensitive to their needs; and there is feeling that CPB is trying too hard for audience as a "fourth network" rather than emphasizing real education and quality programming.

Options: We have three major options:

- (1) Negotiate with CPB a compromise financing bill that would increase its funds, but decrease its relative importance by providing direct grants to local stations which have hitherto been dependent on CPB for Federal funds.
- (2) Seek legislation to cut CPB funds drastically and to exclude it from public affairs programming.
- (3) Seek legislation to establish a basic new structure for public broadcasting -- (a) removing CPB from the business of networking and of providing funds for local stations, and

reducing CPB's budget accordingly; (b) initiating direct Federal operating support for local stations; and (c) excluding CPB from public affairs programming. This would require total Federal expenditures for public broadcasting to be increased, but most of the funds would go to local stations rather than CPB.

All options assume an accompanying strong effort by our Board members to replace John Macy as President and Frank Pace as Board Chairman of CPB, and to reduce greatly CPB support of NET programming.

You should recognize that to the extent CPB support of public affairs programming is reduced, the gap may be filled by the Ford Foundation, which already makes substantial contributions to NET. That can be avoided only by prohibiting foundation support of public affairs programming. But we feel that battle is best fought later, and probably on the broader question of foundation activities and size generally.

Whatever legislative proposal you decide on should be introduced as soon as possible. However, only a bill having the support of CPB (i.e., Option (1)) has a chance of passing this session. Any other proposal will probably be met by a CPB move to extend its current financing for one year.

Recommendation: All of your advisers who have been consulted on the matter -- who include Herb Klein, Bob Finch, Len Garment, Chuck Colson, and Peter Flanigan -- join me in recommending Option (3). We recognize that it will mean a battle, and that success in achieving the legislation is not certain. But we think it is the most feasible means of achieving your expressed desire.

Approve Option (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
Approve Option (3) \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

cc: Mr. Ehrlichman  
Finch  
Colson  
Flanigan  
Garment  
Klein

Clay T. Whitehead

Mr. Whitehead  
Dr. Mansur  
Mr. Scalia  
DO Chron  
DO Records

WRATHER



COMMUNICATIONS

270 N. Canon Drive, Beverly Hills, California • CRestview 4-8521

JACK WRATHER  
President

10/12/71

Tom:

Am sending the attached  
as I thought you might  
be interested.

JW

888 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Phone: 202/293-6160

1345 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019. Phone: 212/582-2020

JOHN W. MACY, JR.,  
President

Reply to Washington

October 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR BOARD OF DIRECTORS

FROM: John W. Macy, Jr. *JWM*  
SUBJECT: "The Great American Dream Machine"

The national press in recent days has carried the story of a dispute between PBS and NET on the matter of journalistic standards as reflected in a segment prepared for inclusion in this year's first "Great American Dream Machine." The segment consisted of a report by Paul Jacobs concerning allegations that the FBI and certain local police agencies had employed -- or attempted to employ -- young men as provocateurs, including in their assignments such acts as arson, bombing, and murder. It was deleted at the insistence of PBS. The reason was that, in the opinion of PBS and its consultants, the segment as originally offered did not present evidence that could support the conclusions reached. A revision was completed too late for proper review by PBS and the stations.

Since the subject was principally the FBI, and since there have been denials by that agency, there has been in some quarters a tendency to believe that the decision to delete was in response to government pressure. I want to assure you that neither CPB nor PBS was contacted by any federal entity about this program. Furthermore, the story has not been killed; PBS has made it clear that if NET can provide adequate documentation, the subject is worthy of much more than a short segment in a magazine program.

The procedure followed by PBS is made clear in the release which is attached.

In the meantime, WNET (Channel 13 in New York) has decided to transmit the revised version of the segment on Friday, October 8 at 8:00 p.m. followed by 45 minutes of discussion.

While this was handled as a matter that lies primarily within the PBS area of responsibility, Mr. Gunn and his staff kept Mr. Witherspoon and me fully informed, and they discussed the situation with us prior to their first meeting with NET.

TO: All Station Managers, Program Managers, and Promotion Managers  
FROM: Ed Morris, Director of Public Information 10/6/71  
Re: Great American Dream Machine

Press release given to the national press:

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) late yesterday temporarily ordered the replacement of a controversial segment of the NET produced "Great American Dream Machine."

The order was issued by PBS (upon NET's refusal to voluntarily withdraw) to replace an "investigative report on the FBI" produced by Paul Jacobs until PBS could have further time to review the new version and preview it for station members of the network.

Gerald Slater, General Manager of PBS, said that the original NET program had been received only two weeks before its broadcast date. Slater said that as soon as network officials had screened the original segment, which include interviews with three young men who accuse FBI agents and police officials of encouraging them to commit various felonies including arson, bombing and murder, PBS contacted NET regarding documentation for the segment.

According to Slater, on Friday, October 1, he and Hartford N. Gunn, Jr., President of PBS, had gone to New York from Washington, D.C. to outline to James Day, President of the Educational Broadcasting Corporation, parent of NET, and other NET officials, the problems which PBS and its consultants had found in screening the original version and asked NET to revise the program.

Mr. Slater said that he had advised William Kobin, Vice President for Programming at NET, that he felt it would be irresponsible to put the report on the air without appropriate documentation. The original program was lacking in sufficient documentation to be considered a full and fair presentation of the facts. Indeed, on Friday afternoon, Gunn offered NET the Monday Special of the Week slot for a program on the subject of the FBI report, if full and fair documentation could be provided.

Slater reported that NET's new script for "updating" the segment was submitted to him in two parts, the first dictated to his office at noon and the second portion at 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, October 5,

At 6:00 p.m., on Tuesday, Mr. Slater called Mr. Kobin and asked that the segment be replaced temporarily to enable PBS to have sufficient time to analyze the proposed changes in the "new version"; see the revised tape and preview it for the member stations of PBS.

Slater said that no final decision on the disposition of the segment had been made. He pointed out that the charges made were very serious and that thus far the documentation still seemed to be insufficient to overcome the critical flaws that appeared in the presentation. As of this time PBS has not received the new version of the segment.

END

End of Transmission  
Taped 6:00 p.m. 10/6/71



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

October 15, 1971

DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Peter Flanigan  
FROM: Clay T. Whitehead *CTW*  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern over our failure to reform the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and over CPB's continued sponsorship of slanted public affairs programming. We have conducted a thorough review of the situation, including a number of discussions with our friends on the CPB Board.

The Problem: To achieve your goals, with some lasting impact, we must first replace the current CPB management and assure its control by the Board, and second, find new arrangements for funding public television. Neither step will be easy, and both will require us to take some political heat.

First, controlling the management of CPB is difficult because the Public Broadcasting Act purposely structured it to minimize executive branch influence. CPB is theoretically governed by an independent Board, with members appointed to fixed terms with Senate confirmation. In fact, however, it is the full-time management, headed by John Macy, that really runs CPB and controls the money. The part-time Board is only marginally effective, in part because all the members are convinced CPB is a great thing.

Second, it is difficult to control CPB by cutting back their funds because they have all the discretion on how funds are disbursed. Public affairs programming is not a large part of their activity, and there is wide public and Congressional support for the popular "Sesame Street," drug abuse shows used in high schools, and the like. A cut in CPB funding cannot be targeted specifically at public affairs programs, and would force a cutback in these other areas. It would also cause a reduction in support for local educational TV stations (in 223 Congressional districts), since that also goes through CPB.

This Fiscal Year: OMB thinks CPB appropriations are mandatory spending over which we have no legal control. Even if we are willing to make a test of OMB's authority to withhold funds, there is no effective way to cut funds substantially for this fiscal year, since \$30 million of the \$35 million appropriation has already been disbursed. Furthermore, CPB has already made block grants to independent programming organizations which have in turn already funded the objectionable programs. Thus, there is no way to control CPB's disbursement of its funds this year either. The best we can do is to reduce these programs after June 30, by taking over the Board.

Controlling the Board: We have now appointed eight of the fifteen Board members, but because of various political pressures at the time, only four or five can be counted on to help us replace CPB management and redirect the programming emphasis. We can take over the Board next April when you have five appointments to make. All your advisers agree that Fred Malek should start now to find five tough-minded appointees who will vote with us to fire John Macy and his top staff and replace them with suitable people. Malek agreed to do this; we will then attempt to get these appointees by Senators Magnuson and Pastore, both of whom have a strong affection for CPB.

Funding Alternatives: There has been pressure since CPB was established for greatly increased funding under "permanent" financing; and your last budget promised a plan for "improved" financing arrangements. The Congress is calling for an Administration plan this session. We have to adopt some legislative posture on funding arrangements. There are three major options:

Option (1): Negotiate with CPB a compromise financing bill that would increase its funds, but decrease its relative importance within public television as a whole by providing direct grants to local stations which have hitherto been dependent on CPB for Federal funds. This is the option most likely to pass the Congress without a fight, and the increased funding could conceivably be used as a lever to induce the present CPB Board to replace Pace and Macy immediately. We understand, however, that you want no increase in CPB funds under any circumstances. This option therefore is not recommended by any of your advisers.

Option (2): Seek legislation to cut CPB funds drastically and to exclude CPB from public affairs programming. This is most consistent with your goal, but in our judgment it could not pass the Congress even with a major fight. It is, therefore, not favored by any of your advisers.

Option (3): Seek legislation to establish a basic new structure for public broadcasting -- (a) removing CPB from the business of networking and of providing funds for local stations; (b) making a drastic cut in CPB's budget and initiating direct Federal operating support for local stations; and (c) excluding CPB from public affairs programming. This is favored by most of your advisers as the approach closest to your objective that we could get through the Congress. John Ehrlichman, however, has no strong feelings on any legislative options, since he doubts any significant reform supported by us could pass in the election-year environment; he therefore emphasizes the necessity of gaining control of the Board. You should be aware that this option does nothing to avoid renewed Ford/NET domination of public affairs programming, but we feel that problem could better be dealt with in the context of the Internal Revenue Code rules governing foundation activities and size. Chuck Colson favors proceeding with this option only if the funding for public broadcasting as a whole is not substantially increased above its FY '72 level. Your other advisers feel that the legislation cannot be passed unless the drastic cut in CPB funds and the basic restructuring of the system are accompanied by some substantial increase in what the local stations receive, beyond what they now get from CPB.

Recommendations:

I. Take control of the CPB Board next April with five tough-minded new Directors, and have them vote a new Chairman and fire the present CPB senior staff. (Recommended by Ehrlichman, Flanigan, Whitehead, Klein, Colson, Finch and Garment):

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

II. Seek legislation to establish a new structure for CPB as proposed in option (3) above:

A. With no increase in funding for public broadcasting as a whole above the FY '72 level of \$35 million given to CPB, except up to an extra \$5 million if needed to confirm our new CPB appointees. (Recommended by Colson.)

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

B. With such increased funding of public broadcasting as a whole as may be necessary to gain passage by Congress -- up to total funding of \$50 million, no more than \$20 million of which will go to CPB. (Recommended by Flanigan, Whitehead, Klein, Finch, and Garment.)

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

October 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLANIGAN

I have attached still one more revision in my effort to accommodate all concerns and points of view on the memorandum for the President on CPB. I think it is a better memo. I have tried to be objective about Springer's "do-nothing" option and the old Option we were recommending, but now with the public affairs prohibition deleted.

Since Springer's option never has appealed to me and since it seems to me worse than a fall back from an attempt to implement our reforms, I see no reason to change where we all (except Chuck) come out on the recommendation.

Again, while I feel this is a better memo for the President, I really wonder if either you or I benefit from pulling back the one that is now in the President's office. I will trust your judgment.

If, upon reflection, you seriously feel that Springer's option is appropriate, I think it would be best for you to have Jon draft for your signature a revision of my memo to reflect that. I feel, however, that I have to go on record as strongly favoring what was Option (3) in the old memo and is now Option (4) in the new memo, with or without the public affairs prohibition variation. I fully recognize the importance of the short run, Peter, and I share the President's concerns. But we will get further with a slightly progressive image in this field than with a regressive image. And, both personally and institutionally, I have to point out that there is a secondary objective for the longer run: Public broadcasting is always going to be heavily weighted with those of liberal and far left persuasions—they will make it a BBC unless we build in some reforms before it gets too big.

Clay T. Whitehead

Attachment

CTW/dgm

FILE CC: Mr. Scalia Mr. Whitehead (2) DO Chron  
Dr. Mansur DO Records

11-011

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

October 20, 1971

DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Peter Flanigan  
FROM: Clay T. Whitehead *CTW*  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern over our failure to reform the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), and over CPB's continued sponsorship of slanted public affairs programming. (See Tab A for details of the current situation.) We have conducted a thorough review of the situation, including a number of discussions with our friends on the CPB Board. This memorandum sets out the problem and our recommendations.

The Problem:

We all share your intense displeasure with the slanted public affairs commentary on public television and especially the use of Government funds through CPB to support such programming. But you should be aware of some unpleasant facts that severely limit our freedom to take corrective action. Attached at Tab B is a list of the most important limitations we face and pertinent background.

The upshot of this situation for the short run is that there is no way to deprive any of the offensive commentators of Federal funding this fiscal year. Even if we could do so, they would continue to receive heavy support from NET or other sources. Short of carefully prepared public embarrassment (which might be arranged for Vanocur), we will have to rely on careful scrutiny of commentators' objectivity by our friends among the public and on the CPB Board. Beginning with the next fiscal year, two steps are necessary to achieve your objectives: (1) taking control of the CPB Board and replacing CPB top management; and (2) adopting a position on future CPB funding.

Controlling the Board:

We have now appointed eight of the fifteen Board members, but because of political pressures at the time of appointment, only four or five can be counted on to help us replace CPB management and redirect the programming emphasis. We can take over the Board next April when you have five appointments to make. All your advisers agree that Fred Malek should start now to find five tough-minded appointees who will support your objectives. We will then attempt to get these appointees by Senators Magnuson and Pastore for confirmation. Replacement of the CPB management and control of the Board may enable us to eliminate, or at least drastically reduce, support for the offensive commentators at the end of this fiscal year (next summer).

Our friends on the current CPB Board must be made to see the importance of their diligent oversight of public affairs programs funded directly or indirectly by CPB and the necessity of calling CPB management to task when those programs are slanted. You should meet with them soon to emphasize your concern.

Future Funding:

CPB must have an authorization for FY 73 in order to meet the appropriations process next spring. Congress has been expecting and is calling for an Administration financing "plan" for the future. If we do nothing, CPB will ask for and get a one-year authorization. We must now adopt some posture on these future funding arrangements. There are four major options:

Option (1): Seek legislation to cut CPB funds drastically and to exclude CPB from public affairs programming. This is most consistent with your goal, but in our judgment it could not pass the Congress even with a major fight. It is, therefore, not favored by any of your advisers.

Option (2): Negotiate with CPB a compromise financing bill that would increase its funds, but decrease its relative importance within public television as a whole by providing direct grants to local stations which have hitherto been dependent on CPB for Federal funds. This is the option most likely to pass the Congress without a fight, and the promise of increased funding might be used as a lever to induce Pace and Macy to resign immediately. It would also facilitate confirmation of our Board appointments in April. We understand, however, that you want no increase in CPB funds under any circumstances. This option therefore is not recommended by any of your advisers.

Option (3): Make no legislative proposals at all. Congressman Springer suggests this strategy, forcing CPB into a one-year extension where their funds could be kept at or near the current \$35 million.

However, we would face the problem again -- at this time next year -- and would have to seek another one-year extension to get us through the election. The Administration would look mildly anti-public broadcasting, and the Democrats might try to make a campaign issue of it, raising the CPB funds appreciably. With all the local stations supporting them, they might get significant increases through in spite of our opposition.

Option (4): Seek legislation now to establish a basic new structure for public broadcasting -- (a) removing CPB from the business of networking and of providing funds for local stations; (b) making a drastic cut in CPB's budget; and (c) initiating direct Federal operating support for local stations. This option is designed to take the initiative (recognizing the local stations' resentment of CPB's central role) and to divert, by law, most of the funds and power to the local stations so that CPB will not become an American BBC.

The majority of your advisers favor Option (4) because it gives us a positive initiative rather than a negative posture and provides a useful control on CPB expansion for the longer run. It could also help us convince Pace and Macy to resign soon and facilitate Board confirmations in April. John Ehrlichman doubts any significant reform can pass in the election year environment, and therefore has no strong feelings on any legislative options. Chuck Colson favors Option (4) only if total funding for CPB and local stations is held close to the current CPB level. Your other advisers (Whitehead, Flanigan, Finch, Klein, and Garment) feel that without \$10-15 million more for the local stations there would be no chance of station support for this reform, and therefore no chance of passing Congress. Even with local station support, passage of this option is not certain, but failure would leave us no worse than Option (3), and we would be in a better position to resist large funding increases proposed by the Democrats during the election year and to push for larger reforms after the election.

You should realize that none of these options will completely preclude the use of Federal money for public affairs programming. Options (3) and (4) will minimize it over the short run while we control the Board and the management, and Option (4) makes it more difficult later for a Democratic administration to revitalize CPB. A statutory prohibition of the use of Federal funds for public affairs programming is the only true solution and might be introduced, but we feel it stands no chance of passing the Congress.

You should also be aware that none of these options will affect Ford/NET and other non-Government support of the offensive public affairs commentaries. Indeed, a drastic cutback of Federal support for such activities just invites increased Ford support. However, we feel that this problem of foundation support is best handled later, through revision of the Internal Revenue Code to limit foundation activities and size.

Recommendations:

- I. Take control of the Board in April with five new tough-minded Directors. Replace Macy, Face, and other top management as soon as possible. (Unanimously recommended.)

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

- II. A. Adopt Option (4) for funding with extra funds for local stations -- up to total funding of \$50 million, no more than \$20 million of which will go to CPB. Use this as leverage to get Pacc and Macy to resign immediately. (Recommended by Whitehead, Flanigan, Klein, Finch, and Garment.)

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

- or B. Adopt Option (4) with no increase in public broadcasting beyond what the Democrats may succeed in forcing for CPB. (Recommended by Colson.)

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

- or C. Other \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments



Current Public Broadcasting Activities  
in Public Affairs and "Commentary" Programming

According to the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) -- the network arm of CPB -- 40 percent of its current network schedule is devoted to public affairs and "commentary-type" programming. These programs include the Bill Moyers news series "This Week," "Black Journal," a half-hour commentary and analysis series, and six special documentaries, which are all produced by NET in New York. PBS will also be distributing the Vanocur and MacNeil "news" programs produced by the new National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT), which is funded by CPB and Ford Foundation and is headed by Jim Karayn, the ex-chief of NET's Washington Bureau. NPACT will also produce the Liz Drew interview show. Agronsky's "commentary" program is not done by NPACT, but is produced by the Washington ETV station, which receives \$500,000 of CPB support.

PBS also feeds two other public affairs programs to its network of stations -- Bill Buckley's "Firing Line," produced by South Carolina ETV, and "The Advocates," produced by the Boston and Los Angeles stations. These two programs always present juxtaposed viewpoints on public issues and thereby achieve some balance and objectivity. But the PBS schedule includes no program in which the moderate to conservative viewpoints are featured to balance the Moyers/Vanocur/MacNeil/Drew/NET type of programming.

NET continues to dominate the national affairs programming of PBS despite the fact that it has been "merged" with the New York City ETV station. Its current operating budget of \$10 million is far and away the largest of all the public broadcast production centers. While only \$4 million of its budget comes from CPB, it also receives substantial funding from Ford Foundation and other foundations. As a result of this large program budget, roughly half of all programs distributed nationally by PBS are funded and produced by NET. Other national program production is spread among seven ETV station centers -- which all compete for CPB program funds and some Ford grants. The \$4 million to NET is the largest single programming grant CPB makes, indeed twice the next largest, and it represents 25 percent of CPB's total budget for programming.

CPB claims to be encouraging the growth of national program production centers other than NET in order to decrease NET's dominance. But it seems clear by now that they have no intention of reducing the NET support in the near future. Jack Wrather has established a committee of the CPB Board to set program standards including objectivity in public affairs, but there is no evidence that this is very effective.

1. OMB believes it has no legal authority to withhold money from CPB this fiscal year. Even if it did, it has already delivered \$30 million of the \$35 million appropriation. CPB has in turn already funded or committed itself to fund the organizations supporting the offensive commentators. The Public Broadcasting Act is now structured to minimize Executive Branch control over CPB and its activities. We cannot target cuts in funds to hit selectively at public affairs.
2. "Public television" has become something of a sacred cow because most people associate it with educational programs like "Sesame Street" for children, quality TV drama and the like, rather than with the public affairs commentary we find so offensive.
3. There is considerable Congressional support for public television, since there are local stations in 223 Congressional districts. Senators Magnuson and Pastore regard themselves as the fathers of CPB and chair the appropriations and authorizations subcommittees, respectively. CPB and the Hill are thinking of ultimate federal funding levels over \$100 million annually. There continues to be support for "permanent" financing, and your last budget promised "improved" financing arrangements would be introduced this year.
4. This Administration has consistently increased the CPB budget (\$5 million in FY 69 to \$35 million in FY 72), emphasizing the educational side. CPB, however, has emphasized popular programming and public affairs. They have increased NET funding from \$1 million in FY 69 to \$4 million in FY 72 in spite of your explicit wishes to the contrary. Our friends on the Board are supportive of most CPB activities and growth, and want only to try to bring more balance to CPB programming.
5. While the local stations are unhappy with the domination of public television programming by CPB and NET, they are hard pressed for funds and will support CPB against any efforts to reduce federal funds for public television. CPB emphasizes public affairs programming on national issues and is advertising extensively to build an audience for its prime time programming. The local stations, on the other hand, are more attuned to local needs and are heavily oriented towards non-controversial educational and instructional programming. A national public television programming organization such as CPB will always attract management and talent of a liberal and far-left persuasion. Unless some reforms are made in the Public Broadcasting Act, CPB will always have the potential to be and will slowly (or not so slowly) grow into a U.S. version of the BBC under the constant nurturing of the Democrats.

Rogers

Box 1, Folder 13

OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON

12/23

Tan -

Merry Christmas!

The enclosed matter is, to my mind, urgent. I had intended to hand this memo to you today, but was postponed concerning your departure time. I hope you will want to call PTF as soon as possible.

I'll call you Monday. Have a good vacation. Yours

"FOR EYES ONLY"  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 23, 1971

To: Mr. Whitehead  
From: Antonin Scalia *AS*  
Subject: Corporation for Public Broadcasting

I have attached an analysis of the current plan being considered for the CPB Board of Directors. After giving it a good deal of thought, I have concluded that the most likely eventuality is that the plan will fail and the Administration's role will become public knowledge. Naturally, this is the worst possible development, but its likelihood argues for exceptional discretion and caution on our part.

Since my initial recommendation to abandon this plan has been rejected, at the very least I urge you to point out to the White House staff all of the risks and difficulties outlined in the attached analysis. If, in the end, you have to go along with this approach, your acquiescence should be given reluctantly. I do not think it is an overstatement to say that OTP's future depends on how you handle this matter. The more you can do to dissociate yourself from this particular "initiative," the more likely it becomes that OTP will survive.

Attachment

"FOR EYES ONLY"

Analysis of Current Plan for CPB  
Board of Directors

- I. If the Board approves and the link to the Administration does not become public knowledge:
- The description of forbidden programming is unavoidably imprecise and susceptible of varying interpretations in implementation.
  - Because of this imprecision and the infrequent attention Directors can give to CPB matters, it will be extremely difficult to enforce the prohibition.
  - In light of the above, it will take a virtually complete overhaul of both the CPB and PES staffs to get people who are sympathetic with the Board's prohibition, in order to make it work.
  - Even assuming the highly uncertain success of this approach, it will be a very short-term and ephemeral victory. The plan depends upon people for its success and the people will change with a change in Administrations. This Administration would thus have no lasting impact on the future direction for public broadcasting.
- II. If the Board approves and the link to Administration becomes public knowledge:
- All of the difficulties noted above will pertain. Moreover, there will be a considerable number of additional problems.
  - Administration critics in the press and in the Congress will have a field day embarrassing the President at a time when he is most vulnerable, i.e., at the opening of his campaign for reelection. The Administration "heavy-handed hostility to the media" will become a campaign issue, giving early momentum to the President's opponents.
  - If the Administration's role becomes known, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to dissociate OTP. This would in all likelihood have serious, adverse consequences for future policy development by the Office, not only in the public broadcasting area, but in most fields in which OTP is involved. OTP's efforts would thenceforth have a political "taint" and its motives would be suspect. Congressional funding support would diminish, and many of OTP's responsibilities might be transferred to Commerce.

- III. If the plan fails and the link to the Administration becomes public knowledge:
- All of the problems outlined above would be exacerbated, since criticism for high-handedness would be supplemented by contempt for failure.
- IV. If the plan fails and the link to the Administration does not become public knowledge:
- The Administration will have lost valuable time in achieving its immediate objective, and its subsequent efforts would probably have to be undertaken in a climate less hostile to CPB than that which happens to exist at present.
  - The Administration will, however, at least remain "whole," so as to be able to make a long-term, profound impact on the direction to be taken by public broadcasting; the President will have been spared embarrassment at a critical time; and OTP will retain the credibility and Congressional support necessary to enable constructive policy-making for the electronic media.

NATIONAL  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
CENTER FOR TELEVISION

1 FARRAGUT SQUARE SOUTH, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006  
(202) 638-1234

November 4, 1971

Mr. Clay T. Whitehead, Director  
Office of Telecommunications  
Policy  
Executive Office of the President  
Washington, D. C. 20504

Dear Mr. Whitehead:

I am writing you in the hope of eliminating some apparent misconceptions about NPACT's role within public television and its programming plans that were indicated by your references to us in your October 20 NAEB Convention speech.

First, NPACT was not formed to "centralize" all national public affairs programming for public television. National public affairs programming will be provided this year from many diverse production sources, including NET ("This Week," "Black Journal," "Great American Dream Machine"), SECA ("Firing Line"), WGBH and KCET ("The Advocates"), and KQED ("World Press"). The "autonomy" of these centers will not be threatened by NPACT, nor will local station public affairs programming be preempted or diminished because of its creation.

To the contrary, one of the primary aims of NPACT's formation was to provide even more diversity in the sources and formats for public affairs presentations on public television. As you know, prior to the Carnegie Commission Report, NET had for fifteen years dominated public television's public affairs programming. Even with the strengthening of other national production center offerings in this field during the past few years, NET still controlled much of public television's political public affairs coverage and most of its special events coverage through its Washington Bureau, which I formerly headed. Now NPACT has taken over this responsibility, creating another public affairs source to compete with NET and to complement the efforts of other national production centers around the country to provide diversity in public affairs programming. This development is precisely what was envisaged and encouraged by the Carnegie Commission Report in its national program production proposals.



Secondly, the Center was not formed to create a "network news program" patterned on the commercial network nightly newscast model. As you well know, there are just not sufficient resources, in either personnel, facilities, or funds, presently available to public television to allow it to consider beginning this type of programming. Nor is it likely that public television would develop such resources, or wish to commit them in this manner, in the foreseeable future. In addition, I am personally opposed to public television attempting to imitate the commercial networks in duplicating this type of nightly news programming.

Finally, I would like to make clear that neither Mr. Vanocur nor Mr. Friendly have or will set any of the programming policies of NPACT. Sander Vanocur and Robert MacNeil were hired as NPACT correspondents because of their knowledge of the American political process and their extensive backgrounds and expertise in broadcast journalism, not to dictate NPACT's programming. NPACT programming is not dictated by one person or a small group of individuals with a particular philosophical viewpoint or journalistic background. We have attempted to put together a production staff composed of experienced professionals in television journalism from all parts of the country, with widely varying backgrounds in both commercial and noncommercial broadcasting.

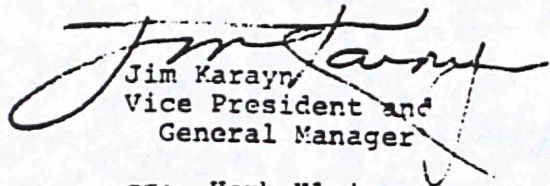
Nor has Fred Friendly been involved in NPACT's programming decisions. During my years with NET, since 1964, and during the past five months that I have spent organizing NPACT, I have been consistently impressed with the unwavering restraint exercised by the Ford Foundation in general, and Mr. Friendly in particular, in not getting involved in public television's programming decisions. As one of the pioneers and most distinguished practitioners of television journalism, Mr. Friendly's suggestions are always welcome, but they are neither offered nor taken as mandates from a "sponsor." Further, to clarify the record, NPACT's funding comes jointly, and in approximately equal proportion, from the Ford Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

I would like to speak at greater length with you personally about any or all of these subjects, and to acquaint you with the type of programming NPACT is planning for the coming year. I hope you will speak with Ambassador Bush about his reactions to our four-day coverage of the U. N. China debate and vote. As you may know, we provided an hour and forty-five minutes of live coverage of the critical vote while the commercial networks were still tuned to their normal weeknight schedule. We hope in the coming months to provide much more of this type of extended special events coverage, which public television can and should provide to fill the gaps in commercial network coverage of such events. We intend to cooperate with and to make active use of the resources of other production centers and local public television stations in providing this and other forms of public affairs coverage.

In summary, we hope that NPACT programming will provide a new capability for public television -- not by replacing the public affairs capability and autonomy of either the other production centers or the local stations, but by working with them to increase the diversity and vitality of public television journalism.

I look forward to meeting with you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

  
Jim Karay  
Vice President and  
General Manager

cc: Herb Klein

## THE NATIONAL PUBLIC AFFAIRS BROADCAST CENTER

The National Public Affairs Broadcast Center offers the first opportunity to explore in a careful and planned way new aspects of public affairs programming for public television.

The Center offers the chance to study and plan departures from standard programming, to innovate, and to build on the best of the past.

A modest beginning and a steady and logical growth are in order for the Center. It must be able to develop a sense of style and self-confidence -- qualities which do not come easily. It must be courageous, intelligent, witty and shrewd. But it must also operate with self-restraint and common sense and with an understanding of where it fits in the scheme of things in public television.

The Center will be a production organization in its own right, but it must be more than that. It will suggest ideas and develop proposals, and it will work with other production centers and stations on programming.

The Center needs a small but excellent staff. Primarily, it must recruit an experienced correspondent of national reputation. In addition, it must recruit a talented staff of professionals of the highest caliber.

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The Center's program commitment must begin almost immediately. It will take on responsibility for production in three areas of existing programming: (1) "Washington Week in Review"; (2) "Thirty Minutes With..." and (3) the Washington special events coverage previously produced by NET.

But the Center also should take on a major programming challenge of its own making and design. First, that challenge should involve a weekly political series during the 1972 election year. Second, it should evolve into a nightly public affairs series beginning in early 1973, 18 months after the creation of the Center.

Creditable work on these two projects will establish and solidify the Center. It will define the role and purpose of the Center. And it will give a sense of direction to an area of public television programming now murky and confused.

These projects will test the mettle of the Center, of its anchorman and of its staff. Meeting these weekly deadlines will meld the team together in a way that occasional specials could never do. The experience gained from producing these series also will serve as a major testing ground for evaluating the feasibility of taking the even larger step into the production of a national nightly news broadcast.

\*\*\*\*\*

The 1972 election year, critical in America politics, is also critical for public television. It is imperative that public television provide strong political coverage -- stronger, more continuous and more comprehensive than commercial networks -- or risk sliding back down into oblivion on political reporting.

The Center's coverage will begin with a major special in November, one year before election night '72. A second special in December will close out the year and set the stage for the first weekly program in January.

The series will cover issues and personalities, voter attitudes and profiles (especially those of the new 18-year-old voter), party affairs and machinery, regional and special interest views, candidate selection and the conventions, significant Congressional and mayoral races, the primaries and the Presidential election itself. The series will cover the What, to be sure. But it will concentrate on the How and the Why. It will seek to bring meaning and perspective to the viewer's understanding of the political process, and hopefully encourage him to get out and vote.

\*\*\*\*\*

After the elections, the Center should be able to move logically into its next major project.

Early in 1973, the Center will inaugurate a weekly series, five nights a week, presenting the best in original public affairs programming from the entire network. It will be live from Washington and across the country.

The Center's correspondent will anchor the series and the Center will coordinate, but not necessarily undertake, all production.

The programs will not be nightly news broadcasts, although they will contain news items. They will be more flexible, less costly and more unpredictable than the standard news programs.

A typical show will open with the Center's anchorman presenting a brief summary of news items of the day.

Each night, the body of the program will contain a different element. One night, it may be a documentary; the next, a national speakout with audiences in studios around the country firing questions at a leading personality in the news; the next, a panel of distinguished journalists might analyze the news in the format of "Washington Week in Review"; the next, an intensive interview might be conducted in a format similar to "Thirty Minutes With . . ." or "The President's Men."

The program will close each night with an incisive commentary by one of a select team of leading editors from around the nation.

\*\*\*\*\*

The Center must always be alert and ready to move forward, boldly but prudently, into new areas of public affairs programming not yet explored. That exploration can extend to the farthest reaches of the nation and to all facets of its social machinery and political processes.

The Center must try to put the events of our time in better perspective. It must do regular investigative reporting whenever events occur that are insufficiently illuminated by the media or public officials.

Many observers believe that within the next few years, television will gain access to hitherto forbidden areas in our government:

- More committees of the Senate and House will be open to television coverage as a matter of course.
- Floor debate in the Senate and House eventually will follow.
- Hearings before key regulatory agencies will be televised.
- Supreme Court arguments and decisions will be televised, although this may be the last stronghold of resistance.

It is both logical and desirable that public television be in the forefront of these developments.

The National Public Affairs Broadcast Center can and should share in providing that leadership.



Friday 11/5/71

MEETING

11/9/71

5:00 p.m.

12:30

Mr. Whitehead scheduled a meeting with Frank Pace at <sup>5:30</sup> 5:00  
on Tuesday, Nov. 9.

5:30

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

DIRECTOR

November 15, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Clay T. Whitehead *Clay Whitehead*  
SUBJECT: Public Broadcasting

You have expressed serious concern over our failure to reform the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and over CPB's continued sponsorship of slanted public affairs programming. (See Tab A for details of the current situation.) I have conducted a thorough review of the problem, including discussions with key senators and congressmen, various segments of the public broadcasting industry, and our friends on the CPB Board. This memorandum sets forth my analysis of the problem and recommendations for its solution.

The immediate goal is to eliminate slanted public affairs programming on public television as thoroughly and quickly as possible. The longer range and more fundamental goal is to reverse the current trend of CPB toward becoming a BBC-like fourth network supported by public funds, which inevitably would reflect the taste, politics, and morality of the national artistic and intellectual elite. Unfortunately, neither of these goals can be achieved easily. (See Tab B for background.)

Elimination of Slanted Programming

There are two approaches to achieving the immediate goal insofar as the use of Federal funds is involved: (a) a drastic cutback of funds for CPB, and (b) a redirection of CPB's expenditures. It is an unpleasant fact that neither of these approaches can succeed this fiscal year. OMB advises that we have no authority to withhold any funds appropriated to CPB; in any event, almost all of the \$35 million appropriated for FY72 has been disbursed to CPB and has been irreversibly committed by CPB to programming organizations. There are, however, several steps we can take to correct this situation over the next year:

1. Induce the programmers themselves to keep some balance, under pressure of criticism from our friends on the CPB Board and among the general public. Peter Flanigan and I will meet soon with our loyal Board members to emphasize the serious concern.

2. Replace Frank Pace and John Macy. We would try to do this immediately by telling them they have lost the confidence of the Administration and thereby have become obstacles to the progress of public television; our loyal friends on the CPB Board can help in this appeal. If this is not successful, we would have them voted out next year after getting firm control of the Board. Fred Malek will begin recruiting for their replacements as soon as your approval for this move is gained.
3. Take more effective control of the CPB Board. Although we have now appointed eight of the fifteen members, because of political pressures at the time of appointment, only four or five can be counted on to help us. We can take more effective control over the Board next April when you have five appointments to make. This will enable us to reduce drastically the CPB funding of the offensive commentators effective next summer.
4. Build more actively the public case against CPB programming bias through speeches by friends in the Congress, selected columns, and my speeches.

#### Redirection of Public Broadcasting

Even with a loyal Board and top management at CPB, there are limits to the change that is possible within the current structure of the Public Broadcasting Act. No matter how firm our control of CPB management, public television at the national level will always attract liberal and far-left producers, writers, and commentators. We cannot get the Congress to eliminate CPB, to reduce funds for public television, or to exclude CPB from public affairs programming. But we can reform the structure of public broadcasting to eliminate its worst features.

There is, and has always been, a deep division within public broadcasting over the extent of national control versus local station control. Many local stations resent the dominance of CPB and NET. This provides an opportunity to further our philosophical and political objectives for public broadcasting without appearing to be politically motivated.

We stand to gain substantially from an increase in the relative power of the local stations. They are generally less liberal, and more concerned with education than with controversial national affairs. Further, a decentralized system would have far less influence and be far less attractive to social activists.

Therefore, we should immediately seek legislation to: (a) remove CPB from the business of networking; (b) make a drastic cut in CPB budget; and (c) initiate direct Federal operating support for local stations on a matching basis.

Senators Magnuson and Pastore have introduced a bill to extend CPB's authorization for one year at the current level of \$35 million. We think it likely that this is intended to set the stage for a major effort next summer to increase CPB funding significantly on a permanent basis. Supporters of CPB are unhappy with our delay in proposing long-term financing and are certain to press for this long-sought goal during the election year. The Democrats are sure to seize any opportunity to cast you as the politically motivated opponent of public television. They will have the case they need if we combine a vigorous takeover of CPB management with a failure to deliver the improved financing we have promised.

We will be in a far better posture if we take the initiative away from the Democrats with legislative proposals based on the nonpolitical principle of localism--and do so as soon as possible before the election. The key to the success of this approach is to provide more Federal funding to the local stations than they can get from CPB. We estimate that CPB could be cut back to \$20 million and that local station support for our proposals could be bought for about \$30 million. Thus Federal funding would increase in total from \$35 million currently to about \$50 million.

This approach meets both our long and short-term objectives. It means a fight, but the fight will be conducted on solid grounds of principle, and there is a good chance of success. Even if our legislation does not pass next year, we will be in a better posture than if we had not introduced it.

#### Recommendations

- I. Take control of the CPB Board in April with five new tough-minded Directors. Replace Macy, Pace, and other top management with our people now.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

- II. Seek legislation now to establish a basic new structure for public broadcasting--(a) removing CPB from the business of networking; (b) making a drastic cut in CPB's budget; and (c) initiating direct Federal operating support for local stations.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

1111

Current Public Broadcasting Activities  
in Public Affairs and "Commentary" Programming

According to the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) -- the network arm of CPB -- 40 percent of its current network schedule is devoted to public affairs and "commentary-type" programming. These programs include the Bill Moyers news series -- "This Week;" "Black Journal," a half-hour commentary and analysis series; and six special documentaries, which are all produced by NET in New York. PBS will also be distributing the Vanocur and MacNeil "news" programs produced by the new National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT), which is funded by CPB and Ford Foundation and is headed by Jim Karayn, the ex-chief of NET's Washington Bureau. NPACT will also produce the Liz Drew interview show -- "30 Minutes With . . . ." Agronsky's "commentary" program is not done by NPACT, but is produced by the Washington ETV station, which receives \$500,000 of CPB support.

PBS also feeds two other public affairs programs to its network of stations -- Bill Buckley's "Firing Line," produced by South Carolina ETV, and "The Advocates," produced by the Boston and Los Angeles stations. These two programs always present juxtaposed viewpoints on public issues and thereby achieve some balance and objectivity. But the PBS schedule includes no program in which the moderate to conservative viewpoints are featured to balance the Moyers/Vanocur/MacNeil/Drew/NET type of programming.

NET continues to dominate the national affairs programming of PBS despite the fact that it has been "merged" with the New York City ETV stations. Its current operating budget of \$10 million is far and away the largest of all the public broadcast production centers. While only \$4 million of its budget comes from CPB, it also receives substantial funding from Ford Foundation and other foundations. As a result of this large program budget, roughly half of all programs distributed nationally by PBS are funded and produced by NET. Other national program production is spread among seven ETV station centers -- which all compete for CPB program funds and some Ford grants. The \$4 million to NET is the largest single programming grant CPB makes, indeed twice the next largest, and it represents 25 percent of CPB's total budget for programming. CPB claims to be encouraging the growth of national program production centers other than NET in order to decrease NET's dominance. But it seems clear by now that they have no intention of reducing the NET support in the near future. Jack Wrather has established a committee of the CPB to set program standards including objectivity in public affairs, but there is no evidence that this is very effective.

MEMORANDUM

*Vanocur  
MacNeil  
Cantley  
Mason* } # 3251C

File  
CPB 778e

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: PETER FLANIGAN

FROM: ALVIN SNYDER *AS*

There are several examples of bias to help document our case against Frank Pace and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The record is clear and illustrates mismanagement of CPB under Pace's leadership.

John Macy has divulged salaries of Sander Vanocur and Robert MacNeil, who will co-anchor news broadcasts produced by the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT) in Washington. Vanocur's annual salary is \$85,000; MacNeil's \$65,000. This comes at a time when several local public TV stations are drastically cutting back on programming because of financial difficulties, and it is a striking example of the abuse and misuse of government funds going to public television.

Vanocur and MacNeil are network rejects. Both were NBC network correspondents who were farmed out to the local NBC-TV station in New York and later dropped. (Vanocur was the host of NBC's "First Tuesday." He was replaced and made anchorman of WNBC-TV's 6:00 p.m. news in New York, where he lasted two months and "resigned to write a book." He was then hired by PTV. MacNeil's last job was with the BBC.)

Vanocur's bias is well documented. On the David Frost Show last July he said the President has "consistently lied" to the American people. Vanocur said he is a bit ashamed of his role as a transmission belt for those lies. The government, claimed Mr. Vanocur, has used classification to cover "every kind of sin, arrogance and obscenity--and there is none greater than Vietnam." Quizzed as to who has the right to decide what should be published of top secret material Vanocur spoke of the "higher law" that one must adhere to. He said the "higher law" means to accept the legal punishment for doing good--"Dr. King taught us that."

Last May Vanocur told the Chicago Tribune that extending the war into Laos and Cambodia was "stupidity." Said Vanocur: "Every time you put a President on the air about Vietnam... we have very little chance to say, 'it's hogwash,' or 'they're lying to you.' "

Vanocur and MacNeil will host a series of weekly news broadcasts starting in January, and will cover the political conventions and elections. Based on Vanocur's set of biases, it is clear we cannot expect an even break here. Nor can we expect much in the way of objectivity from Bill Moyers, who anchors the other weekly news broadcast carried by PBS and produced by NET.

Last week Moyers delivered a scathing attack on our efforts to end the Vietnam war:

"... Our role on the ground (in Vietnam) may be ending but the war is anything but over for the people of Indochina. From the privileged sanctuary of 30 thousand feet the United States intends to carry on the war by remote control. But there'll be few pictures of victims to stir our conscience, few American casualties to arouse the folks at home and little solid proof for this unremitting assault from the air will actually have much effect on the final outcome. Several things should be said about the way we've determined to keep the war going: It's massive, 70 thousand tons of explosive a month by one estimate. We've already dropped on Indochina more bombs than we dropped in all of World War II. And right now we are flying about as many bombing missions a day over Laos alone as we were flying over North Vietnam when the air war there was at its peak. It is indiscriminate, those bombs might as well be labeled 'occupant' falling as they do at anyone who happens to be down there. It's costly, perhaps as much as four billion dollars a year for the next few years just to carry on the action in the air and that doesn't begin to measure the cost to the people of Indochina in civilian dead and wounded, refugees, villagers, and crops; the tearing and scarring of their way of life. We don't see or hear as much about these costs because we certainly don't feel them as personally as we do American casualties but they are occurring however out of sight. Finally, it's questionable. Despite all the bombing in the past our political aims in Indochina seem hardly closer than they did a decade ago. A military victory is clearly not in sight and negotiations don't appear to be going anywhere. Air power hasn't broken the spirit or

the purpose, it seems, of the Communists and it's not likely too...."

Moyers did not feel it necessary to report the facts: that in each year of this Administration the U. S. air effort in Southeast Asia, whether measured in munitions tonnages or in attack sorties, has decreased significantly and has tended to move away from populated areas. By contrast, during the 1966-68 period bombing levels increased each year, reaching a peak for the war in 1968.

Another NET program is the "Great American Dream Machine," which did the FBI piece. The producer of this piece, Paul Jacobs, ran for public office in California in 1968 on a ticket with Eldridge Cleaver. Jacobs says his politics are "radical" and that he does not pretend to keep his politics out of his writing.

A recent Dream Machine program, November 3, included an anti-establishment song and dance number by Jane Fonda; a commentary by satirist Andy Rooney ridiculing the President's concept of an all-volunteer Army (Variety described the Andy Rooney piece as "sharp and mean enough to prompt Richard Nixon to veto the next Public TV appropriation. an interview with screenwriter Dalton Trumbo who pledged himself to work against the reelection of the President (said Trumbo, "Those (McCarthy) hearings produced a President of the United States.... A freshman member of the committee was Richard Milhous Nixon, serving his first term in Congress. That's where he got his start before the public eye.... I sometimes think that since Mr. Nixon was on the committee that successfully sought to throw me out of my job, I perhaps owe him the favor of--of return engagement, and I intend to join several committees in 1972 to throw him out of his."); interviews with expatriots in Canada who are "fed up" with life in America; and several songs spoofing super-patriotism by pop singer Don MacLean.

Abby Hoffman was featured as host of a recent WNET program, "Free Time," November 4, on which the President's "Checkers" speech was played. Hoffman called it the most important speech since the Gettysburg Address.

On October 28, "Free Time" had Bobby Seale discussing Black Panther involvement in Attica.

On October 5, 1970, PBS broadcast a program called "The Three R's...and Sex Education." The program was produced by NET, and was a very one-sided picture of a highly controversial subject. It should be noted that the TV critic for the Washington Post, Larry Laurent, also agrees that the program was clearly



weighted in favor of one side of the sex education controversy. In his review on October 5, Mr. Laurent said:

"Some question may be raised about the openness of producer McCutchen's mind. His point is that sex education is good and, just in case any viewer misses that viewpoint, McCutchen repeatedly uses flashes of Grant Wood's painting, American Gothic, to identify what he regards as the bad guys... Like McCutchen's other work, tonight's documentary is fast paced and makes use of contrasting points of view. Few viewers, however, will be left any doubts about filmmaker McCutchen's own strong convictions."

Both WNET, and the production center--NET--receive federal funds.

Another production center, WGBH-TV in Boston, produced one of the most striking examples of biased programming on PBS. The program was one of the "Advocates" series, broadcast prior to last year's May Day demonstrations in Washington. It featured seven guests, each of whom was opposed to our efforts to end the Vietnam war. The program invited persons to come to Washington to demonstrate. Participants were: William Kunstler, Rennie Davis, Howard Zinn and Roger Fisher (peace movement spokesmen), Allard Lowenstein, Senator Phil Hart, Representative Tom O'Neil.

Moderator Michael Dukakis opened the program with a statement underlining his bias:

"... A recent Gallup poll indicates that nearly three-quarters of the American people favor the withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam by the end of this year. And yet President Nixon, in recently announcing a slightly stepped-up increase in the rate of withdrawal from Indochina, made it quite clear that there would be a continued active military presence in Indochina for an unspecified time to come. This conflict between the policy of the government and the will or apparent will of the majority of citizens has become the prime fact of the American political life today."

Each "Advocate," despite their stand on civil disobedience, criticized American policy and called for large numbers of persons to come to Washington:

Fisher: "... Mr. Davis, I think, as you've pointed out, we're in wide agreement on the need for bringing the war to an end, and on many of the means appropriate to doing it."

Davis: "...Nixon regularly lies...about Vietnam."

Hart: "I would be delighted if you have a million people there (in Washington) at the end of the month. Or two million."

O'Neill: "If you come to Washington, and we'd appreciate your coming to Washington; but if you do, act responsible."

Fisher: "The war can be stopped, but it takes your action."

Zinn: "What we're trying to do in Washington is to tell people in the country that they need in their own way to disobey the government in every--GI's to disobey the call to war, young people to disobey the draft, induction notices; that's what we need."

Fisher: "We all here tonight believe that people should act, should act to end the war in Vietnam quickly. There is no disagreement about the horror, there is no disagreement that action's required by you out there."

Moderator Dukakis: "Thank you gentlemen. During tonight's argument, each Advocate has strongly suggested individual action. Either by writing your elected officials and specific organizations, or by participating in forthcoming events in Washington. As a program, we've always encouraged such direct individual action."

You are also aware that Martin Agronsky several weeks ago interviewed anti RN film producer DeAntonio, although at that time radio stations, commercial TV stations and newspapers refused to run ads for this movie. DeAntonio told Agronsky that the "ultimate end of my film, boldly put, is the political destruction of Richard Nixon." He went on for 20 minutes of personal attacks on the President.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: PETER FLANIGAN

*PF*

Our alternatives with regard to Public Broadcasting are all bad.

Option one is to attempt to cut the CPB budget below the current \$35 million. This would create a donnybrook in which we might well fatally cripple public broadcasting but in the process would alienate ~~all the~~ people who approve of the educational and cultural activities of CPB. More importantly, we would give credence to those who are claiming the Administration is attempting to impose censorship on the media. In any event, the considered judgment is that Congress would approve \$35 million for CPB in the '73 fiscal year.

Option two attempts to bypass the central organization and give funds directly to local independent public broadcasting stations. To hope for success in this approach would involve increasing CPB funds from the \$35 million to \$45 million level in fiscal '73. This money would be diffused among the many independent stations, but those stations, which are largely owned by educational institutions, are probably as liberal as the central board. In addition, this could only be accomplished at the price of a battle in which the Administration would be cast as anti-public broadcasting and anti-media.

The third option is suggested by Tom Moore, one of our few strong Board members. He points out that nothing can be done with regard to fiscal '72, as the funds are already committed. He further points out that no doubt private funds would be forthcoming for most of the programs in the news and public affairs area, which we find offensive. Nevertheless, he recommends the following:

EYES ONLY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

November 24, 1971

DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. H. R. Haldeman  
The White House

With the controversy between the Administration and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting becoming more visible, you might be interested in what we are doing behind the scenes on the Vanocur/MacNeil situation.

After Vanocur and MacNeil were announced in late September, we planted with the trade press the idea that their obvious liberal bias would reflect adversely on public television. We encouraged other trade journals and the general press to focus attention on the Vanocur appointment. Public television stations throughout the country were unhappy that once again they were being given programs from Washington and New York without participating in the decisions. My speech criticizing the increasing centralization of public television received wide coverage and has widened the credibility gap between the local stations and CPB. It also has brought more attention to the acknowledged liberal bias of CPB and NPACT.

We then began to encourage speculation about Vanocur's and MacNeil's salaries. As a result of the increasing public controversy, several reporters and Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin asked CPB to release the salaries. Macy refused, but after pressure increased, quietly made it known that Vanocur receives a salary of \$85,000 a year and Robert MacNeil \$65,000.

We plan to do two things in the next few weeks to continue to call attention to balance on public television, especially NPACT. We will quietly solicit critical articles regarding Vanocur's salary coming from public funds (larger than that of the Vice President, the Chief Justice, and the Cabinet) and his obvious bias. We will quietly encourage station managers throughout the country to put pressure on NPACT and CPB to balance in their programming or risk the possibility of local stations not carrying these programs. Our credibility on funding with the local stations is essential to this effort.



Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Peter Flanigan

EYES ONLY

Wednesday 12/1/71

2:35 Marge called. Mr. Flanigan has read the memo on CPB salaries and has agreed that Option 3 is OK, but that you shouldn't volunteer the information.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

-2-

- A. At the December 16th meeting of the Board he will undertake to have a Board resolution passed removing CPB from news and news analysis and commentary.
- B. At the end of December, he will be in a position to assure the Administration that, at its January meeting, the CPB Board will pass a resolution removing CPB from public affairs programming. Both of these resolutions will also remove PBS (Public Broadcasting Service which is the networking arm of CPB) from carrying any such programs even if produced privately.
- C. In mid-January (based on the above commitment and assurance, and the following commitment regarding Macy) the Administration will send to the Congress a two-year financing bill for CPB proposing \$45,000,000 in FY 73 and \$55,000,000 in '74.
- D. At the January meeting of CPB the Board will pass the resolution removing CPB and PBS from public affairs programming and networking.
- E. In February or March Macy will be removed as President of CPB.
- F. After the five new Presidential appointees to the Board in April, a new Chairman will be appointed.

This approach will put control of the Corporation in the hands of people who believe it should concentrate solely on educational and cultural broadcasting and avoid news, news analysis and commentary, and public affairs programming and networking pertaining thereto. It will insure a competent management. Control of the Board will remain in the hands of these people until 1976 in any event, and until 1980, on the assumption the President is reelected. If this action creates a tradition of limiting programming to educational and cultural affairs, that tradition should survive even a change in Board control.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

-3-

This approach, based on Moore's commitment to produce the above results, is supported by Messrs. Colson, Garment, Shakespeare, Whitehead and Flanigan.

To put this into effect I need approval by early in the week of Dec 6.

- 13

December 1, 1971

To: Peter Flanigan

From: Tom Whitehead

Thought you might be interested in the attached. You can see that the salary issue is beginning to get hot.

I will be answering questions this evening at the National Press Club, and I am sure this subject will come up. There are three options:

1. No comment.
2. No comment on individual salaries, but express concern as an indication of the direction CPB is taking.
3. Express concern that public funds are used to pay any individual salaries in excess of Cabinet officers, Chief Justice, or the Vice President, and perhaps allow as how, under the Act, responsibility for oversight rests with GAO and not the Executive Branch.

I would prefer Option 3, but unless you concur, I will take Option 2.

**Attachments**

cc: Mr. Whitehead ✓  
Mr. Lamb  
DO Chron  
DO Records

CTWhitehead:jm



OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 2, 1971

DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. FLANIGAN

I agree that we should pursue the third option outlined in your memorandum to Bob Haldeman of December 1. However, this is based on getting in fact the commitment of the CPB Board on the time scale Tom Moore laid out.

I continue to think that the long run benefits of option 2 are significant, since many of the local stations are less liberal, far less interested in public affairs, and, in any event, cannot afford the talent or attract the attention to do anywhere near the damage of CPB. Furthermore, it is not predicated on a battle, for the whole rationale of that approach is to give us a pro-public broadcasting, pro-localism, and, above all, non-political posture. The tide is running distinctly against CPB, and there is a good chance that option would succeed.

I am willing to postpone this approach to see whether we can obtain instead the news and public affairs commitments that Tom Moore says he can deliver. I will certainly work with him and other Board members to try to help bring that about. Frankly, however, I am not optimistic -- especially since the strategy requires achieving agreement of the independent PBS Board not to carry non-CPB (i. e., Ford) public affairs. If the effort fails, I hope we are agreed that we will not revert to option 1 or get ourselves prematurely locked into a generous financing bill for which we extract no quid pro quo.



Clay T. Whitehead

cc: H. R. Haldeman

## 'Constructive Hostility'?

The Nixon Administration has never been particularly fond of Sander Vanocur, and now that the former NBC newscaster is on a quasi-public payroll, it likes him even less. Last week, it was revealed that Vanocur was being paid the robust salary of \$85,000 a year by the National Public Affairs Broadcast Center (NPABC), a newly formed production arm of the nation's 210 non-commercial television stations. And since more than half of the center's \$3.2 million annual budget is provided by the taxpayers, the White House was said to be—well, troubled.

Some supporters of public television found it curious that no objections had been raised over the salary public TV pays conservative William F. Buckley—which is reportedly far larger than Vanocur's. More to the point, NPABC president Jim Karayn declared: "We feel that public TV must have correspondents of major reputation in order to function." Such talents are not cheap, but Karayn noted that Vanocur had taken a 35 percent pay cut when he joined the center and that the \$600 to \$700 he would get for each of his scheduled shows was a relatively low fee, even for public TV. Karayn also denied that Vanocur had been hired on the strength of his outspokenly liberal views but added that "there should be a constructive hostility between the press and the Administration."

It appeared that, in Vanocur's case, at least the second part of that formula had been achieved. And that could conceivably have ominous implications for public television. Clay T. Whitehead, director of the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy, has never approved of the centralized operation in which Vanocur is engaged. And some people in Washington theorized that the Administration might seize upon the salary dispute as an excuse to drag its feet on permanent funding for public TV. "This is a great test," said Karayn, "of whether or not we can withstand pressure from Congress or any agency of the Federal government, especially in news and public affairs."



Tony Rizzo—Pictorial Parade  
Vanocur: Talent is not cheap

## MOSTLY TAX DOLLARS

# Public TV pays high for Buckley, Moyers

By DAN THOMASSON  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Columnist William Buckley's National Review Corp. is receiving \$995,000 from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to put on 44 Buckley panel shows, Scripps-Howard Newspapers learned today.

And Bill Moyers, former press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, is being paid \$75,000 by National Educational Television for participation in 39 weekly, half-hour TV shows on the public broadcast network.

Disclosure of the Buckley and Moyers contracts is expected to add to congressional and White House dissatisfaction with the direction of public TV which is supposed to be an alternative to but not a competitor of commercial television.

### FAT SALARIES

The controversy over public broadcasting was stimulated recently by the hiring of ex-NBC newscasters Sander Vanocur at \$35,000 a year and Robert MacNeil at \$65,000.

Mr. Vanocur, often an outspoken critic of Nixon administration policies, and Mr. MacNeil were hired by the National Public Affairs Center for Television, which gets more than half its income from the CPB, which gets 7.5 per cent of its income from the government.

CPB's current annual budget is \$40 million. Congress supplies \$35 million of this and \$5 million is raised from private contributions.

CPB, thru the Southern Education Communications Association of Columbia, S.C., puts

up \$725,000 for "The Firing Line," an hourly, politically oriented TV panel show headed by Mr. Buckley.

Of the \$725,000, CPB officials said today, \$11,500 per show or a total of \$506,000, goes to Mr. Buckley's National Review Corp., for some production costs, staff, and Mr. Buckley's salary. The remaining \$219,000 is used by SECA for administration and other expenses, they said.

### SECRET SALARY

SECA official Wayne Seal of Columbia verified the figures but refused to disclose how much of the CPB grant is for Mr. Buckley's personal salary.

"That information is confidential," he said. "There are private individuals and corporations involved."

Reminded that most of CPB's money comes from the taxpayers, Mr. Seal said: "We've accounted to CPB and we're subject to audit."

CPB officials here said they did not have the breakdown on Mr. Buckley's salary. And Mr. Buckley himself did not return a telephone query to his National Review Publications office in New York City.

Mr. Moyers, reached at his home in Garden City, N.Y., said he had "not appetite" for discussing his contract with NET.

### MOYERS WOULD SWAP

"I'll tell you this," Mr. Moyers said. "I would trade Vanocur's (salary) for mine." Mr.

Vanocur, meanwhile, said he had to take a cut in pay to take the public TV job.

William Kobin, NET vice president in charge of programming, responded quickly that Mr. Moyers' one-year contract was for \$75,000. He said that in addition to the 39 "This Week" shows, Mr. Moyers might also participate in some NET specials.

The salaries give personalities in the public broadcast industry more than the Vice President, the chief justice, and the speaker of the House, each of whom earns \$62,500 a year.

Mr. Kobin, Mr. Seal and other industry officials, including station managers, defended the high-priced talent as necessary to attract viewers.

'WHO SAYS WE CAN'T COMPETE WITH THE COMMERCIAL NETWORK GIVEAWAYS?'



## Public TV probe looms

By DAN THOMASSON  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Chairman Harley Staggers, D-W. Va., of the House Commerce Committee said today he is ordering an investigation of the high salaries being paid top personalities in public broadcasting, supported in part by tax collars.

Rep. Staggers, whose committee oversees federal participation in public television and radio, said staff investigators are being assigned to look into the entire direction of public TV as indicated by the salaries. He said he expected the inquiry might lead to full Commerce Committee hearings.

Rep. Staggers' decision was triggered by disclosure that several well-known public personalities had been hired for non-commercial TV at salaries competitive with commercial networks.

They include Sander Vanocur, former NBC newscaster, \$85,000; Bill Moyers, former press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, \$75,000; Robert MacNeil, former NBC correspondent, \$65,000.

It also has been revealed that the National Review Corp., headed by conservative columnist William Buckley Jr., is being paid \$506,000 by the largely tax supported Corporation for

Public Broadcasting to put on 44 weekly panel shows.

Rep. Staggers said when Congress put the federal government into public broadcasting to assure its continued development there was no intention that these kinds of salaries be paid or that non-commercial broadcasting ever become a fourth TV network competing with the three major commercial ones.

Meanwhile, two other House Commerce Committee members, Reps. Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif., and Lou Frey Jr., R-Fla., demanded their own explanations from CPB in letters to the agency's president, John Macy Jr., former head of the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

Rep. Van Deerlin, a former radio newscaster and long-time supporter of non-commercial broadcasting, warned that the high salaries and efforts to compete for viewer ratings with the commercial networks "could just about kill public television."

"I don't think taxpayers money should be used this way and a lot of my colleagues don't either," he said. He said committee members would not take kindly to salaries that are "twice as much as they're getting or any public official, outside the President, is getting."

-PUBLIC TV'S FUTURE CLOUDED-

# Vanocur's fat salary angers White House

By DAN THOMASSON  
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Long-range federal financing of public television and perhaps its very future have been endangered by the hiring of former network TV correspondent Sander Vanocur at \$85,000 a year by an agency which gets more than half its money from U.S. taxpayers, congressional sources said today.

The source said White House aides were enraged by the hiring of Mr. Vanocur, a close associate of the Kennedy family and an outspoken critic of the President's policies. They said as a result the President's Office of Telecommunications Policy has been ordered to sit on draft legislation to create a stable financing plan for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Mr. Vanocur, a former NBC newsmen, was hired by the National Public Affairs Center for Television, a newly created agency which received \$1.8 million from CPA and the remainder of its \$3.2 million budget from the Ford

## WEEKLY SHOW

Mr. Vanocur is to put on a weekly TV news show with another former NBC correspondent, Robert MacNeil, who was hired at \$65,000 a year.

The salaries of both men are higher than those paid the Vice President of the United States, the chief justice, and the speaker of the House of Representatives. Each makes \$62,500 annually.

When Rep. Lionel Van Dierlin, D-Calif., a member of the broadcast subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee found out about the salaries, he hit the ceiling. He said CPA apparently felt it had to compete with commercial TV networks in pay for employees.

CPA, set up during the Johnson administration to foster noncommercial broadcasting, has been seeking a permanent trust fund to insulate itself from the politics involved in winning yearly authorization from Congress and to assure continued development of noncommercial radio and television.

But because of the White House disenchantment, CPA, which now funnels 13 per cent of its money to individual stations and provides these outlets with valuable programming, may have to settle next year for the same amount of money it received this year from Congress, \$35 million.

Sen. John Pastore, D-R.I., has introduced a bill that would extend the present financing one year when it expires next June 30.

## WANT MORE MONEY

CPB officials say this will be about half the money needed to meet growing expenses. They note the cost of just the electronic links with 75 TV stations will go up \$1 million next year.

"The \$35 million plus \$5 million we can expect to raise from private sources will keep us in business, but not much more," a CPB official said.

The White House also suddenly awoke to the fact that Bill Moyers, former press secretary to President Johnson, and Martin Agronsky, another ex-network newsmen and often critical of Mr. Nixon, were appearing on public television.

Mr. Moyers does a once-a-week news show for National Educational television, which gets 30 per cent of its funds from CPB. Mr. Agronsky has a regular program on the Eastern Education Network. CPB officials said not a dime of federal money is involved in the Agronsky show, however.

All this, according to the congressional sources, has made the White House unhappy about the direction of public television.

"They don't see it as too balanced," one source said. "Despite claims that the once-a-week William F. Buckley show offsets any liberal programming."

## 'HIRED HAND'

Mr. Vanocur and Mr. MacNeil, CPB officials said, are planning to do some "unusual things" in covering next year's Presidential elections. And they said Jim Karayn, NPACT general manager, had assured both them and OTP Director Clay T. Whitehead, that Mr. Vanocur is "just a hired hand" who will not make the program's policy.

But administration officials still hark back to the day when a \$50,000-a-year newsmen on a Washington Educational TV channel was fired because his wife had taken a job as a secretary to Martha Mitchell, wife of U.S. Atty. Gen. John Mitchell.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR MESSRS. WHITEHEAD, GARMENT, COLSON,  
SHAKESPEARE, MALEN

FROM: PETER FLANIGAN



The President has approved Option III, that is the Tom Moore option, with regard to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

DIRECTOR

December 22, 1971

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL--SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM FOR

Mr. Richard Cook  
Deputy Assistant to the President

We have two objectives with respect to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting: (1) to halt the distribution of slanted public affairs commentary; and (2) to decentralize the structure of public broadcasting so that more initiative and responsibility rests with the local stations.

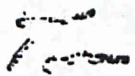
The first objective is more immediate, and we are willing to defer action towards the second in order to achieve it. We are withholding any action on CPB funding, pending an attempt by our friends on the Board of Directors of CPB to take the Corporation (and PBS) out of the public affairs field. If that attempt is successful, we will sponsor a bill giving CPB a modest short-term increase (\$45 million in FY 73 and \$55 million in FY 74) with a commitment that a specified portion of these funds be distributed among local stations. If the attempt is not successful (and we should know by early January), we would propose a thorough revision of the Public Broadcasting Act, taking CPB out of the networking field, limiting its growth significantly, and distributing substantial funds to the local stations by formula-matching grants.

The present situation on the Hill is as follows: After waiting for some time for the Administration's bill which had been promised, the champions of CPB have introduced their own legislation. Senators Pastore and Magnuson have sponsored a bill (S. 2765) which would continue CPB funding at its current level for another year. In the House, Congressman Macdonald has introduced a bill (H. R. 11807) which would make a significant change in current funding, both as to duration (5 years) and level (\$160 million by the end of FY 1977). This bill also provides that 30 per cent of the funds will be distributed by CPB among local stations in such manner as it sees fit.



On the whole, Congressional attitudes do not now seem favorable towards CPB. This can be attributed to several factors: (1) dissatisfaction with slanted and irresponsible public affairs programs, (2) CPB's extensive advertising in newspapers and on network prime-time to build audience and ratings, and (3) the high salaries being paid to Macy, Vanocur, MacNeil, Moyers, and others. I began to be publicly critical of CPB in my October speech to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters; since then, my Office has consistently been calling attention to these problems in the press and on the Hill.

There will almost certainly be hearings next year, and we can expect the whole matter to stay in the spotlight. We are working to keep the issue bi-partisan and to keep the initiative with the Administration. So far I see no troubles, but next January and February will be critical; we will have to be ready to introduce legislation promptly when the right time comes.

  
Clay T. Whitehead

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman  
Mr. Peter Flanigan

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date 12/22

To:

*P. Whitehead*

From:

Peter Flanigan

\_\_\_\_\_  
FYI

\_\_\_\_\_  
For appropriate action

\_\_\_\_\_  
Per your request

DRAFT  
CTWhitehead/lmc/12/23/71  
x5800

Honorable William L. Springer  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Springer:

We understand that the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting will vote at its January 21 meeting on the future involvement of the Corporation funding of public affairs programming.

In view of the broad range of subject matter that might fall under public affairs programming, the Corporation's decision will be a question of degree. It is our understanding that they are likely to remove themselves from news, news commentary, and news analysis by professional broadcasters. There is also consideration being given to removing CPB from interviews and panel discussions that deal with matters of national political concern.

It is further our understanding that Frank Schooley would be opposed to any limitation on the areas of CPB programming. I think it is important that you talk to him and try to convince him he should change his position and that the limitations described above are in the best interest of public television as a whole.

Sincerely,

CTWhitehead:lmc:12/23/71  
DO Records Mr. Whitehead -2  
D@ Chron

Peter M. Flanigan

December 27, 1971

Dear Bill:

As I mentioned to you at the White House, the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting will vote at its January 31 meeting on the future involvement of the Corporation funding of public affairs programming.

In view of the broad range of subject matter that might fall under public affairs programming, the Corporation's desire will be a question of degree. It is our understanding that they are likely to remove themselves from news, news commentary, and news analysis by professional broadcasters. There is also consideration being given to removing CPB from interviews and panel discussions that deal with matters of national political concern.

It is further our understanding that Frank Schooley would be opposed to any limitation on the areas of CPB programming. I think it is important that you talk to him and convince him he should change his position and that all the limitations described above are in the best interest of public television as a whole. Needless to say, our involvement in this should be kept confidential.

Sincerely,

Peter M. Flanigan  
Assistant to the President

Available William L. Springer  
Member of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

WLF:CTW:hc

TO The Board of Directors DATE

FROM R. W. Paville cc

SUBJECT Memorandum about the Executive Committee Meeting,  
December 15 and 16, 1971

The Executive Committee met on December 15. Present were Messrs. Benjamin, Cole, Haas, Killian, Pace and Wrathner, plus Board Members Gemmino and Schooley, and Messrs. Macy and Paville from management. Following a brief review of the situation facing the Corporation in relation to the prospects for obtaining long-range financing legislation, the Executive Committee was joined by the Public Television Managers Council (PTVMC). Included in the latter group were Messrs. Breitenfeld (Maryland), Kaiser (Pittsburgh), Kraetzer (Philadelphia), Loper (Los Angeles), McCarter (Chicago), Press (Kentucky), and Schenkman (San Antonio-Austin), plus Gunn (PBS) and Holmes (NAEB/LTS) of the Council's staff and Witherspoon (CPB).

During the next two and a half hours the participants had a wide-ranging conversation on the prospects for obtaining an adequate and insulated source of funding for the Corporation, as well as public broadcasting's decision-making processes and organizational inter-relationships. A remarkable level of agreement seemed to pertain on key issues, but of more importance the points of view of the two groups were frankly exposed, leading to greatly increased mutual understanding. It was particularly gratifying to Committee members to learn that the PTVMC believes 30% of CPB's funds should be distributed to the stations on the basis of joint CPB-station judgment grants when an adequate funding level has been reached. All station managers realized that this level of station support is not possible under present circumstances without crippling other essential public broadcasting services.

December 16

At 8:30 A.M. the Executive Committee room had (Messrs. Benjamin, Haas, Killian, Rice and Weather, plus Mr. Scherer). It was joined by Messrs. Macy, Farilla, Golden, Hulson, Nicholson and Witherspoon from management, and Mr. McHugh, Corporate Counsel. Presentations were made by Mr. McHugh on "The Statutory Mandate of CPB," Mr. Golden on "The Structure and Organizational Relationships of Public Broadcasting," Mr. Witherspoon on "Public Affairs Programs in Public Television," and Mr. Nicholson on "Financial Plans for 1977." (Copies of these presentations were distributed for study and reference purposes.)

Mr. Macy said it had become obvious to him at the November Board Meeting and in individual conversations with Board Members, as well as current discussions, that the Board feels the Corporation should exercise its authority, within the limitations imposed by legislation, to an extent more commensurate with its responsibility. This opinion is based on considerations of the Corporation's maturity, the stage of the industry's development, the present situation faced by public broadcasting, and a clear sense that ultimate accountability for success or failure will be placed on CPB.

With the foregoing background and Mr. Macy's elaboration, the Executive Committee requested management to prepare proposals as to recommended policies and feasible courses of action to achieve them in the following areas:

1. **Organizational relationships** - propose a definition of CPB's relationship to the stations, the production centers and the national distribution agencies, as well as other organizations and groupings in public broadcasting.
2. **Program decision-making process** - suggest policies and procedures which will provide a more active evaluation of programs at the beginning of the production cycle prior to financial commitment, again prior to distribution, and for a total series and season. A continuing assessment of program quality should be provided at the time of transmission. Additionally, given the financial stringencies of the moment, national program priorities should be indicated by categories and types.

- 3 -
3. Public Affairs - devise a plan which will assure, insofar as possible, the balanced and objective presentation of public affairs. In this regard, the Committee generally agreed that at this juncture, program involving news analysis and political commentary <sup>and</sup> should be placed on the basis of a round plan to be developed by management.

Mr. Macy explained that preliminary and tentative financial planning for FY 1973 has been based on the prudent assumption that funding would be at the same dollar level as in FY 1972. Stimulus checks will be made, however, to achieve an increase of five to ten million dollars. The Committee agreed that any additional funds so obtained should be devoted to sustaining the national program schedule at the present number of hours and the balance would be distributed to the stations to augment the quality and quantity of local program production.

Mr. Pace observed that the three vital areas of education, research and personnel development should not be eliminated from support in the budget. Despite the tendency to reduce this type of expense where the benefits from spending are not immediate, these three categories are keys to the future of public broadcasting. It was agreed that a breakdown of budgetary allotments for these purposes would be furnished.

Mr. Pace summed up the proceedings by saying that the Executive Committee had directed management to come forward with recommendations as to how the Corporation can systematically exercise its responsibilities in a number of areas within its legislative mandate. Knowing the Board as he does, he is certain that any decisions made will be predicated solely on its considered opinion as to what will best assure the ordered growth and development of public broadcasting.

Financing Assumption--1973  
(Under Continuing Resolutions)

Amounts  
(In thousands)

Federal appropriation--definite 30,000  
Non-Federal (assumed firm on 7/1/72)

	<u>Activity</u>	
	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>
Ford promotion grant, cy 1972	400	600
Ford promotion grant, cy 1973		300
Ford equipment grant	1,200	
IDM		100
NEC		100
Rockefeller Found. (NCET)		100
Sears (Mister Rogers)		350
	<u>1,600</u>	<u>1,550</u>

Total non-Federal income for 1973 activity 1,550

Federal matching of:

Non-Federal income for 1972 activity 1,600  
Non-Federal income for 1973 activity 1,550  
Carry-over from prior year 2,000

TOTAL AVAILABLE FOR YEAR 36,700

Possible later additions

Non-Federal (if 5,000 total is reached) 1,850  
Federal matching 1,850  
Estimated maximum under continuing resolutions 40,400

12/16/71



Application of Resources

(In thousands)				
	1971 Actual	1972 Orig.	1972 Rev.	1973 Plan
I. TV				
A. Programs	9,672	15,019	15,194	12,620
B. Distribution	<u>6,885</u>	<u>8,181</u>	<u>8,181</u>	<u>9,000</u>
	16,557	23,200	23,375	21,620
II. Radio	1,253	3,596	3,307	3,600
III. Plan, Res. & Eval.	374	750	750	600
IV. Development & Support Community Svc. Grants				
---TV	2,918	4,675	4,675	5,000
---Radio	1,082	1,320	1,320	1,300
All other	<u>3,386</u>	<u>4,110</u>	<u>1,950</u>	<u>2,180</u>
	7,386	10,105	7,945	8,480
V. Administration	2,237	2,505	2,176	2,200
Total Program	27,807	40,156	37,553	36,700

TV Analysis

	1971		1972		1972		1973	
	<u>Actual</u>		<u>Orig.</u>		<u>Rev.</u>		<u>Plan</u>	
	<u>Amt.</u>		<u>Amt.</u>		<u>Amt.</u>		<u>Amt.</u>	
	(Amounts in thousands)							
Programs (CPB Funds)								
--Unrestricted	8,091	29	14,119	35	13,016	34	12,470	34
--Restricted (underwriting)	1,531	6	900	2	2,170	6	370	1
<b>Total Programs</b>	<b>9,622</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>15,019</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>15,194</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>12,840</b>	<b>35</b>
Distribution	6,685	25	8,131	20	8,181	22	9,000	24
	16,557	60	23,200	57	23,375	62	61,820	59
Community Service Grants	2,978	10	4,675	12	4,675	12	5,000	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>19,475</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>27,825</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>28,050</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>26,820</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Total Program</b>	<b>27,807</b>		<b>40,156</b>		<b>37,553</b>		<b>36,700</b>	

Television Program Production . . . 1972

	CPB Funds			Total
	CPB Funds	Ford Funds	Other Funds	
CTW	4,111	11,354	10,750	23,050
FCI (including \$350 Sears)	1,114	-	-	1,114
<b>All Other Productions</b>	<b>2,858.4</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>10,050</b>	<b>13,928.4</b>
<b>All Other Stations</b>				
New York	4,828	6,000	-	10,228
Washington	1,615.7	1,400	-	3,015.7
Los Angeles	1,360	500	-	1,860
Boston	1,754	750	-	2,504
SECA	725	-	-	725
San Francisco	748	500	-	1,248
Pittsburgh	510 (1)	-	-	510
Chicago	500 (2)	-	-	500
	11,440.7	9,150	-	20,590.7
<b>All Others</b>				
Twelve Misc. Stations	207.5	-	-	207.5
AMSO	396	-	-	396
Total	603.5	-	-	603.5
<b>Grand Totals</b>	<b>14,922.6</b>	<b>9,150</b>	<b>10,050</b>	<b>35,122.6</b>
		1,000 (4)		

- Notes: (1) Included \$450 Drug Series  
 (2) Environmental Series (Earthlove and other)  
 (3) Funds for Pilots included in station amounts  
 (4) \$1,000 from Ford Education Office

Television Program Production . . . 1973

(In thousands)

	CPB Funds			Total
	CPB Funds	Ford Funds	Other Funds	
CTW	3,500	-	11,500	15,000
FCI (including \$350 Sears)	920	-	-	920
	<b>4,400</b>		<b>11,500</b>	<b>15,900</b>
<b>All OTHER PRODUCTION</b>				
New York	3,000	5,000	600	8,600
Washington	1,600	1,000	-	2,600
Los Angeles	1,000	500	-	1,500
Others:				
Boston	700	750	700	2,150
SECA	700	-	-	700
All Others	820	-	-	820
Special Education	200*	-	-	200*
Development, pilots	400	-	-	400
	<b>8,420</b>	<b>7,250</b>	<b>1,300</b>	<b>16,970</b>
<b>Total 1973 Television Production</b>				
	<b>12,820</b>	<b>7,250</b>	<b>12,800</b>	<b>32,870</b>

\* Plus production funds included in station amounts or provided by outside financing.

of (hours per week --- (Days Only\*))

	Daytime	Night Prime Time	Total
Monday	2	2	4
Tuesday	2	2	4
Wednesday	2	4	6
Thursday	2	4	6
Friday	2	**	2
Saturday	---	---	---
Sunday	---	4	4
	<u>10</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>26</u>

\*\* Starting January, 1972 -- 2 additional hours Fridays

ANNUAL ACTION HOURS

	Full Year	Added for Half Year	Total
Daytime (10 x 52)	520	---	520
Prime time (16 x 52) (2.5 x 26)	832	65	897
	<u>1352</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>1417</u>

Distribution Schedule --- (Programs Only\*)

	Daytime	Night Prime Time	Total
Monday	2	2	4
Tuesday	2	2	4
Wednesday	2	2	4
Thursday	2	2	4
Friday	2		2
Saturday	---	---	---
Sunday	---	3	3
	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>21</u>

ANNUAL PROGRAM HOURS

Daytime (10 x 52)	520
Prime Time (11 x 52)	572
	<u>1092</u>

\* Does not include second transmissions of programs, previews, specials or "regional split."

Production

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Repeat</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. <u>Daytime</u>			
CTW	195	195	390
FCI	32.5	32.5	130
	227.5	227.5	520

2. Prime Time Hours

New York	146.5		
Washington	103.		
Los Angeles	75.5		
Boston	92.		
SECA	40.		
San Francisco	75.5		
All other	51.		
	599.5	306.5	897

3. Cost Per Hour (New Production & Acquisition)

	<u>Total Hours</u>	<u>Total Cost</u> <u>(thousands)</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>Per Hour</u>
CTW	195	13,050.	66.9
FCI	32.5	879.4	27.0
New York	146.5	10,228.	69.8
Washington	103.	3,115.7	29.3
Los Angeles	75.5	1,860.	24.6
Boston	92.	2,504.	27.2
SECA	40.	725.	18.0
San Francisco	75.5	1,248.	16.3
All other	51.	1,613.5	31.6
	629.	35,122.6	42.9

Production

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Repeat</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. <u>Daytime</u>			
CTW	195	195	390
FCI	37.5	92.5	130
	232.5	287.5	520

2. Prime Time Hours

New York	130		
Washington	77		
Los Angeles	45		
Boston	75		
SECA	40		
San Francisco	52		
All other	81		
	500	72	572

3. Cost Per Hour (New Production & Acquisition)

	<u>Total Hours</u>	<u>Total Cost</u> <u>(thousands)</u>	<u>Cost</u> <u>Per Hour</u>
CTW	195	15,000	76.9
FCI	37.5	900	24.0
New York	130	8,600	66.2
Washington	77	2,600	33.8
Los Angeles	45	1,500	33.3
Boston	75	2,150	28.7
SECA	40	700	17.5
San Francisco	52		
All other	81	820	6.2
	732.5	32,270	44.1

1972 PROGRAMS BY TYPE (HOURS)

	Public Affairs	Cultural	Performance Music	Performance Non-Music	Children & Family	Total
New York	46.5	5.	20.5	42.5	32.	146.5
Washington	103.	---	---	---	---	103.
Los Angeles	20.	47.5	6.	2.	---	75.5
Boston	21.5	13.	12.	39.	6.5	92.
SECA	46.	---	---	---	---	46.
San Francisco	40.5	28.	7.	---	1.	76.5
All Other	20.	27.	1.5	2.5	---	51.
	297.5	120.5	47.	86.	39.5	590.5
CTW and FCI	297.5	120.5	47.	86.	227.5	227.5
					267.0	818.0
%	36.4	14.7	5.7	10.5	32.7	

1973 PROGRAMS BY TYPE (HOURS)

	Public Affairs	Cultural	Performance Music	Performance Non-Music	Children & Family	Total
New York	43.	20.	40.	20.	7.	130.
Washington	77.	---	---	---	---	77.
Los Angeles	20.	---	9.	16.	---	45.
Boston	23.	---	13.	39.	---	75.
SECA	40.	---	---	---	---	40.
San Francisco	38.5	13.5	---	---	---	52.
All Other	20.	41.	20.	---	---	81.
	261.5	74.5	82.	75.	7.	500.
CTW and FCI	261.5	74.5	82.	75.	232.5	232.5
					239.5	732.5
%	35.7	10.2	11.2	10.2	32.7	

1972 PUBLIC AFFAIRS BY TYPE  
(Hours)

	<u>News</u>	<u>Panel</u>	<u>Interview</u>	<u>Public Events</u>	<u>Debates</u>	<u>Documentary</u>	<u>Features</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
Washington: Washington Week in Review 30 Minutes With Political Series Other		26	17.5	27.5		15	14.5	
San Francisco: World Press Other		39					1.5	
Los Angeles: Advocates Other					19		1.	
Boston: Advocates Other					20	2.5		
New York: Black Week Black Journal Other			17.5				17.5 11.5	
SECA			46					
All other						15.5	3.	3.
	65	81	27.5	39	33	49.	3.	3.
								217.5

1973 PUBLIC AFFAIRS BY TYPE  
(Hours)

	<u>News</u>	<u>Panel</u>	<u>Interview</u>	<u>Public Events</u>	<u>Debates</u>	<u>Documentary</u>	<u>Features</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
Washington: Washington Week in Review 30 Minutes With Other		26	26	15				10
San Francisco: World Press		38.5						
Los Angeles: Advocates					19			
Boston: Safar Cities Advocates					20		4	
New York: Black Journal Other				10			17.5	15.5
SECA			40					
All other				10		5	5	
	64.5	66	35	39	39	5	26.5	25.5
								Total 261.5