

comix issue

THE EAST VILLAGE CENTER

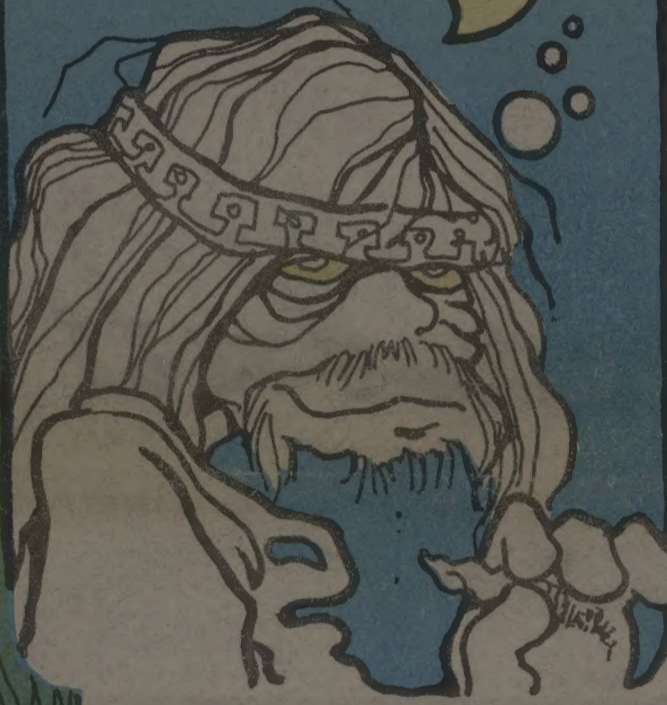
VOL. 6 NO. 5 DEC. 29, 1970 25¢ N.Y.C. 35¢ OUTSIDE

Beaumont Institute Library
Danvers, Mass.

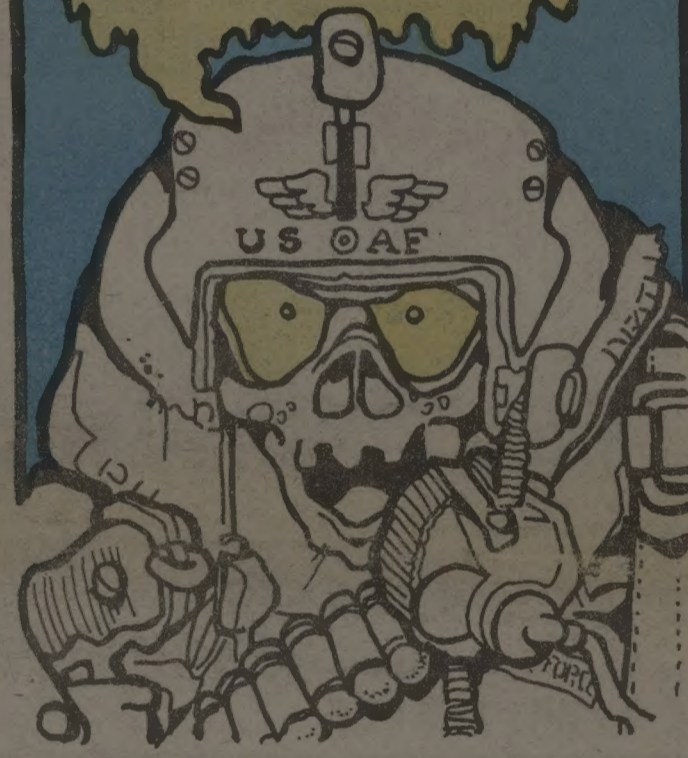
SUCKY
RESOLUTION



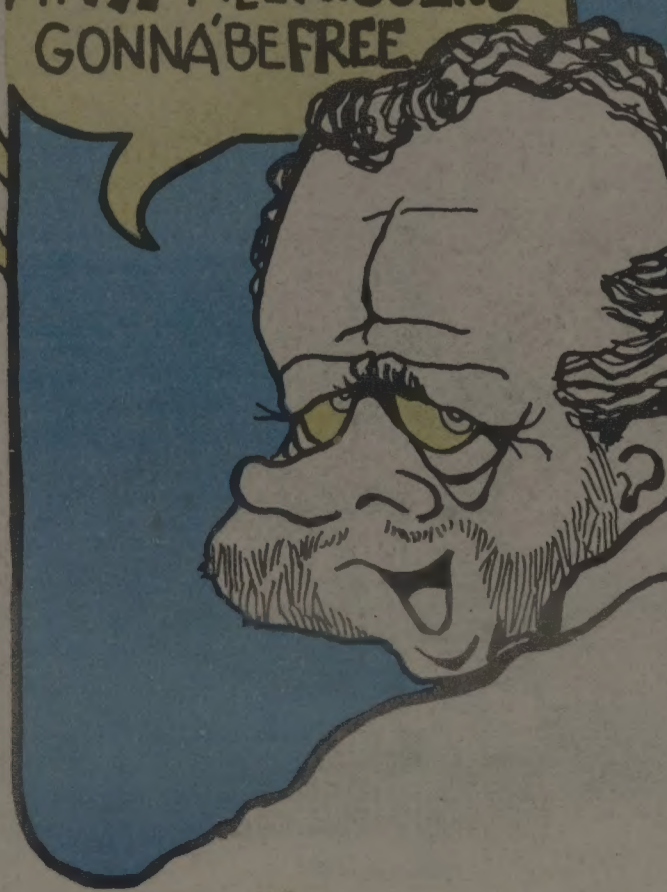
IN 71' I'M GONNA'
MAINLINE A HARD-
BOILED EGG...



IN 71' I'M GOING TO
NAPALM YER ASS!



IN 71' ALL NIGGERS
GONNA' BE FREE



IN 71' I GONNA' BALL
DA ENTIRE WOMANS
LIBERATION MOVEMENT.



VAUGHN
BODE

HAPPY NEW YEAR SUCKERS!

YOU screamed your lungs out "Free Angela" and in spite of the legal futility that ensued - they absconded with her like thieves at night.

YOU spent a better part of 1970 murder mouthing for Bobby's freedom just to have him accused of vandalizing his solitary cell.

YOU foam at the mouth about offing the pig- notice any less around ?

YOU hollered and whooped about Power to the People and Freedom for all Political Prisoners - Have you bothered to take the time out and try to define both concepts - POWER and PEOPLE?

As far as freeing any, let alone all political prisoners, You know damn well the only ones who made it were Eldridge and Tim - and they are both exceptions to the rule in the fullest sense of the word.

The professional feminist voice is ceaseless and all too often, redundantly boring. The shrill repetition of worn out slogans may, as yet, bring about their untimely demise. Perhaps in 1971, a definitive treatise on Clitoral Orgasm will replace Marighella on the revolutionary BEST SELLER LIST.

The fact that Kate Millett is bisexual is really of no concern to anyone - let alone the readership of the New York Times. The spiel is a bore to all of us who take the truly liberated woman as a fact of life.

The petty feuds and uptight personality clashes within the movement have begun to assume ridiculous proportions. The fact that A hates B because C is jealous of D is SHEER BULLSHIT.

The mini minds who have difficulty coming to terms with the fact that the exiles - no matter where they found refuge- are an integral part of our struggle must realize that their pattern of thinking is archaic.

The sloganeering, the empty phrases and wasted energies must not be perpetuated.

Let us not fall into the 1970 trap of mindless babble just to get our verbal rocks off.

While 1971 beckons us with some pretty challenging nuts to crack we cannot afford to sink further into the fatal trap of repetitious boredom.

IT MAY, AS YET, BE DEADLY.

Handwritten signature: H. Kohn

Handwritten signature: Jack Kohn

COVER: V. BODE

NEW YEARS RESOLUTIONS

THIS YEAR, WE PROMISE TO
TOTALLY WITHDRAW FROM ASIA
AND END THE DEPRESSION.
OF COURSE WE ARE GOING TO USE
THIS SPECIAL NIXONIAN CALENDER
TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS.

JANUARY 1971					
MON DAY	MY DAY	PAT DAY	JULIE DAY	IKE DAY	EICH DAY
1	1A	1B	1C	1D	1E
TUES DAY	WAR DAY	BORE DAY	GORE DAY	BUG DAY	FUQ DAY
2	2A	2B	2C	2D	2E
WED 3A 3B 3C 3D 3E 3F					



- Jaakov Kohn
- Allen Katzman
- Fred Mogubgub
- Ray Schultz
- D.A. Latimer
- Jackie Friedrich
- John da Swede
- Stephen Kohn
- Charlie Frick
- Coca Crystal
- Yossarian
- Roger Tomlinson
- Honest Bob Singer
- Roy Weiner
- Vincent Titus
- Rudi Stern
- John Reilly
- Renfreu Neff
- Gianfranco Mangegna
- Claudia Dreifus
- Lil Picard
- Alex Gross
- Jackie Acon
- Spain Rodriguez
- Kim Deitch
- Perfecto La Gogo
- Nellie Fernald
- Irving Shushnick
- S.R.K.
- Tuli Kupferberg
- Little Arthur Chaitkin
- Subscriptions: Heidi
- European Operations: Jenö
- London: Harvey Matusow
- Algeria: Timothy Leary
- Upthere: The ALLMIGHTY

Second Class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
East Village Other published weekly at
20 East 12th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003
Telephone: 255-2130-31-32

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Science Fiction Comics

WE HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR YOU

LET'S GET THIS GODDAMN INVASION OVER WITH!

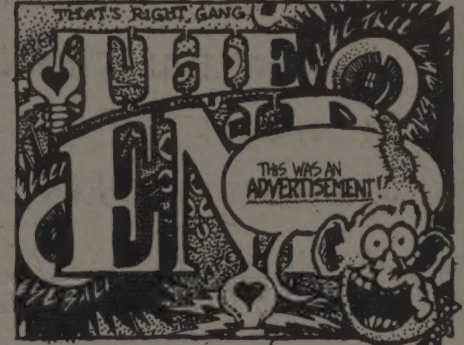
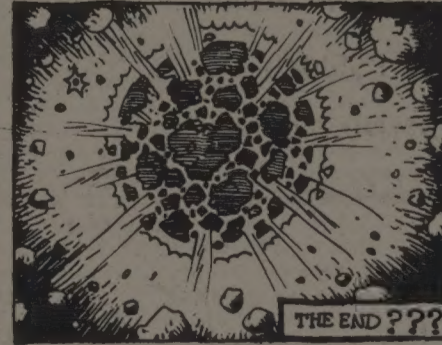
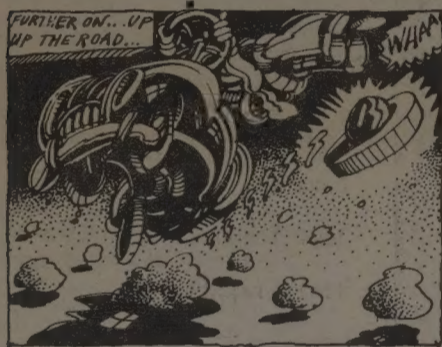
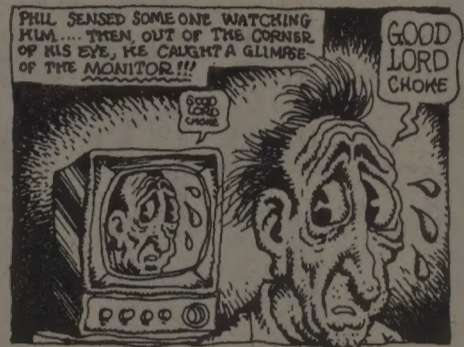
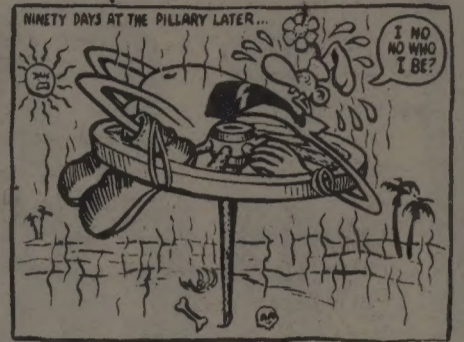
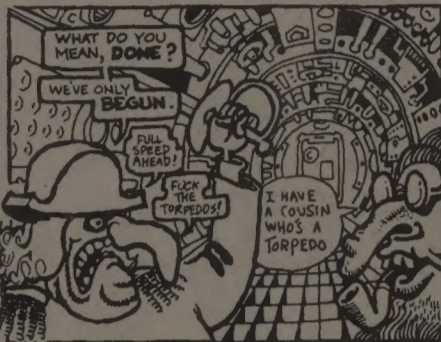
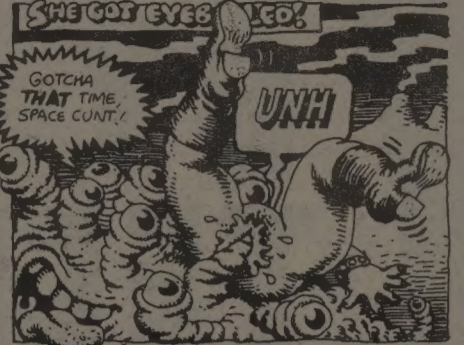
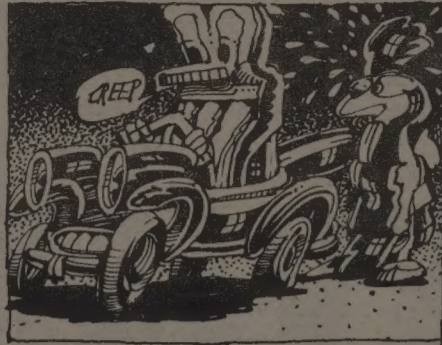
IT'S A MARVEL ADAPT!

SIGH!

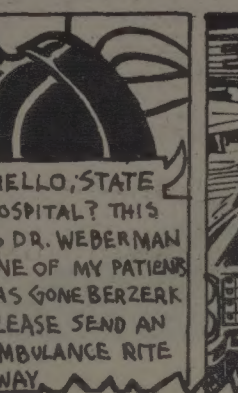
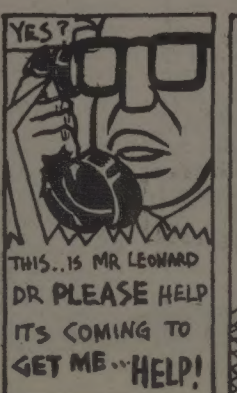
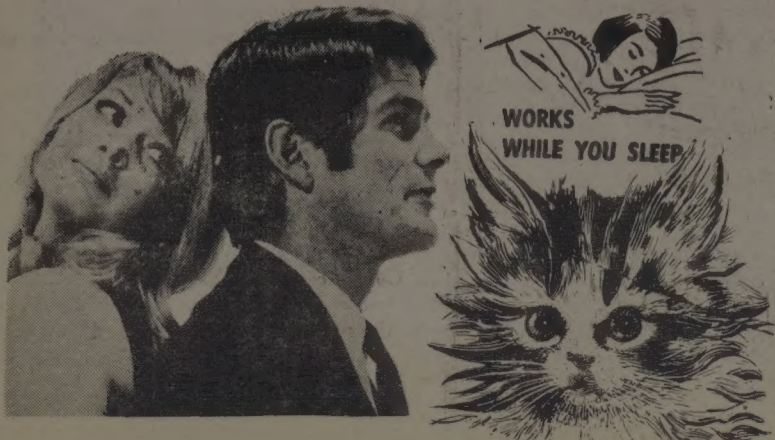
HOW DOES IT ALL FIGURE, ED?

I DON'T KNOW... HOW'S YOUR MOM, ED?

SOME SPACEY SPACE STUFF



© JUNE 1970 R. CRUMB ~ S. CLAY WILSON ~ H. KURTZ ~ ... ~ Gilbert Shelton ~ SPAIN ~ Robert Williams



GOVERNMENT BY TELEVISION: A CASE STUDY PERSPECTIVES AND PROPOSALS

by
**nicholas
johnson**

President Nixon has demonstrated perhaps the most extreme case of government by television we have seen since the little screen exploded in our midst as a political phenomenon. I would like to detail the reach of that use and discuss its implications for those of you in the political television profession.

Although television is probably the most powerful piece of technology man has turned loose upon himself in the Twentieth Century, much of the best comment about its impact on our lives is mere poetic philosophizing. Certainly some of the essays have been rich in insight and highly persuasive. But the hard evidence is sketchy at best. Our social scientists are still fashioning hand tools while our physical scientists are exploding hydrogen bombs and sending rockets to the moon.

Yet there are now an impressive number of intelligent people — in all countries of the world with television, not just the United States — who today believe that television has great potential for good (or evil) in our time: for enriching (or impoverishing) the human spirit, for improving (or degrading) life on this planet, for increasing (or repressing) the citizen's participation in government, for increasing (or reducing) the government's control of the citizen.

You gentlemen, who are in the business of electing the public officials of the world, are caught up in this rising wave of sophisticated understanding, criticism and hope for television. It is useful, I think, for all of us to maintain that perspective. The problem is both more serious, and less, than you may perceive it. It is more serious in that far more than politics is at stake; it is less serious in that you are not the only ones under attack.

Yet for all the current cynicism and credibility gap, most citizens still hold a kind of reverence for — or at least an awareness of the importance of — government. And it is television's role in making us informed citizens (or keeping us ignorant), shaping our national priorities, electing our officials, and then giving them the means to communicate with us, that sometimes attracts the greatest outrage from television's critics.

The United States is nowhere near as close to internal disintegration as may appear from outside. Whether or not we are now in the early stages of "the decline and fall of the American empire" the dissent and discord is really more a sign of life and strength and evolution than of their opposites. We have not as yet succumbed either to anarchy or to martial law.

Nevertheless, there is a growing

concern that traces of a repressive dictatorship are being substituted for a representative democracy that is increasingly less representative and democratic. The government is not working well in the eyes of many Americans. It tends to be more responsive to the demands of large corporations — especially those in the socialized defense sector — than to the demands of small citizens.

Some of this feeling, quite naturally, gets expressed as criticism of what appears to Big Broadcasting's involvement in the corporate capture of government — and your contribution of talents to that end.

Let me make my own position clear at the outset. I do not believe a conspiracy is involved. I do not believe any single man, or industry is involved. Officials, and politicians who aspire to be officials, broadcasters, advertisers, representatives of large corporations and other campaign contributors — and the demands and disinterest of the public — all play a role.

But that does not lessen the responsibility of you and me one bit. Each of us has a responsibility to understand more than we now do about the role of television in politics and government. Each of us has a responsibility to try to fashion patterns of conduct that will contribute to the wise and constructive use of television in the

democratic dialogue.

To set the stage for our discussion today — and your further deliberations throughout this conference — I want to present some material to you as a case study. It's current, it's interesting in its own right — but, more important, it's kind of essential to bring some facts to bear if we are ever to get beyond generalities.

The material involves the use of television in government by President Nixon's Administration during its first two years.

Certainly President Nixon is not the first American President to try to use the media to his advantage. President Roosevelt's use of radio is in many ways a preliminary parallel to President Nixon's relationship to television. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were certainly not idly interested in their treatment by the news media. And the Democratic Party today — the National Committee, Congressional leadership and Presidential aspirants — show increasing interest and sophistication about television. So this is in no sense a partisan matter.

But President Nixon is the most current example we have of government by television; he has used it more, more consciously and in a more wide ranging way, than any prior President. And an examination of the totality of his activities as a useful base on which to build some understanding of television's impact, and its need for a new responsibility (or regulation).

No man could be President in 1970 and not have a large measure of Nixon's awareness of television. But, in Mr. Nixon's case, the importance of television came to him forcefully early in his career. It's difficult to overemphasize the impact of these prior experiences. A successful televised "Checkers" speech in 1952 saved his career when he was under fire for campaign contributions; the televised "kitchen debate" with Khrushchev in 1959 advanced it; a lack of success with the televised "Great Debates" with President Kennedy in 1960 are widely credited with Nixon's loss of the Presidency that year; the 1962 "you-won't-have-Nixon-to-kick-around-anymore" response to the loss of the California governorship has remained as an embarrassment; his sophisticated use of television money and management in the 1968 campaign is a classic case study, as chronicled by Joe McGinnis in *The Selling of the President 1968*.

Thus, it is to be expected that such a man would bring to the Presidency a measure of awe for television fully commensurate with its powers and potential. What might not have been expected, however, is the full breadth and intensity of this Administration's efforts to turn television to its advantage.

What emerges is the overwhelming impression of an Administration whose fixed focus is on the little glass screen, beginning with the media of 1968. President Nixon surrounds himself with advisers whose principal experience is in advertising, public relations, and broadcasting; his appointments to the Federal Communications Commission and related agencies are designed to foster Administration control and industry orientation. The full panoply of governmental power — including the Vice President, the Justice Department, the Federal Trade Commission, the FCC, the Pentagon, and other agencies — is available to use on the broadcasting industry in an unprecedented attack on a government-licensed medium. An office of "Director of Communications" is established in the White House to survey the media and coordinate the attack. Broadcasters are kept off-balance by the one-two punch of barely-camouflaged intimidation and acts of censorship, together with the promise of an economic pay-off for those who cooperate. President Nixon goes to the airwaves with Administration propaganda and does not hesitate to seek to exploit commercial television as a channel for Administration ideology. The FCC is involved in restricting the access of non-governmental groups to TV, and legislation designed to place limitations on campaign financing is

vetoed for what appear to be partisan reasons. Finally, television, as a medium is abused and exploited as never before in the 1970 congressional election campaign.

The pattern began to emerge in President Nixon's 1968 election campaign. Richard Nixon "was preeminently the radio and television candidate in 1968, and spent twice as much on these media as the opposition. . . . He surrounded himself with men like Ray Price, Nixon's top speech-writer and long-time political adviser, who campaign philosophy epitomizes the popular concept of "imagemaker." For example, Price is the man who said:

We have to be very clear on this point: that the response is to the image, not the man. . . . It's not what's there that counts, it's what's projected. . . . It's not the man we have to change, but rather the received impression. And this impression often depends more on the medium and its use than it does on the candidate himself.

Nixon's campaign "television adviser," Frank Shakespeare, who is a former network executive, directed the carefully stage-managed, isolation-booth question-and-answer television programs, complete with hand-picked panels and carefully-screened cheering-sections, which played a central role in the 1968 campaign. It was Shakespeare who insisted that newspaper reporters be barred from these productions.

The pattern became even more distinct as Nixon began making presidential appointments. Two of his closest advisers, Press Secretary Ron Ziegler and Presidential Counselor H.R. Haldeman, are former advertising executives at J. Walter Thompson. His first appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission was a former TV newscaster. His "television adviser" during the campaign, Frank Shakespeare, was appointed head of the United States Information Agency, which has the job of projecting the U.S. "image" abroad. His campaign press relations man, Herbert Klein, was appointed to the newly-created position of "Director of Communications," a title which has a strongly authoritarian ring to it.

Even more revealing are President Nixon's two appointments to the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates the broadcasting industry primarily through the power inherent in its authority to license the use of a limited broadcast spectrum. His first appointment, Chairman Dean Burch, was a Republican Party official who ran Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign and who then became Goldwater's hand-picked Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Stephen Aug reported that "Burch's appointment was hailed by broadcasters who were seeking a chairman to protect their interest as businessmen."

Nixon's other appointment to the FCC, Robert Wells, was a life-time broadcast owner active in the National Association of Broadcasters — the largest lobby organization representing broadcasters. Wells, who is reported to have political ambitions in his home state of Kansas, makes no secret of his support for the industry he is charged with regulating. As he has said:

My views on broadcasting issues naturally are formed by the business I was in. I just don't know that you can separate the interests of the citizens and the interests of the broadcasters.

Without regard to the impact of such appointments on the image of Nixon's commitment to regulation in the public interest, there is even some question as to the risk of political backlash. (President Johnson was so skittish about the FCC — or committed to a hands-off stance because of a commitment to good government — that he appointed a career FCC civil servant, Republican Rosel Hyde, as "his" Chairman.)

In addition to the media-orientation of these key appointments, President Nixon's own

office was structured in a manner which emphasized the media. One of his earlier innovations was the establishment of a "Director of Communications" in the White House, with a full staff, for the purpose of coordinating and distributing "Fact Kits" to broadcasters and newspapers; these Fact Kits are in reality pro-Administration propaganda, and much of the material is paid for by the Republican National Committee. The White House staff also monitors all television news programs, keeping a record on video-tape and preparing a summary for the President's daily news digest. The Director of Communications (a title, I believe, formerly unknown outside fascist and communist countries) often contacts broadcasters to praise or criticize their performance. Those "high Administration officials" (often Henry Kissinger) give television reporters special briefings from which newspapermen are excluded. Nixon had the White House swimming pool filled in and put \$574,000 of public money into a plush new White House press facility. As one reporter wrote: "As an emporium for processing third-hand information in first-class surroundings, it's unbeatable."

In addition to the United States Information Agency, the Administration has at its disposal the Pentagon multi-million-dollar advertising apparatus. For example, Senator J. William Fulbright, in his recently published book, *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*, revealed that "staged" footage, purporting to be actual newsfilm of the war in Vietnam, is being distributed by the U.S. Defense Department to network and local television stations, and is used by them on a regular basis, sometimes at the rate of several stories a week. Fulbright cited examples of news clips based on South Vietnamese staging of mock battles which tended to show the progress of the Administration's much-touted "Vietnamization" program. This so-called "V-series" costs the U.S. taxpayers some \$400,000 per year. President Nixon has not hesitated to support these propaganda efforts by unleashing the full panoply of governmental power as a means of influencing the mass media. It is instructive to examine the Administration efforts to the President's Vietnam policy which centered on the Mobilization Against the War planned for Washington, D.C., in mid-November 1969.

The President responded by going directly into the homes of the people of America via free time on the three major television networks; when the President speaks on all three networks in prime time, he reaches 60 million TV homes. Vice President Agnew described the President's November 3, 1969 speech on Vietnam as follows: "President Nixon delivered the most important address of his administration. His hope was to rally the American people to see the conflict through. . . ."

The night of the President's speech, November 3, 1969, "Communications Director" Herbert Klein and Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler, made at least 20 telephone calls to TV stations around the country to learn if the stations were planning to make any editorial comment. One news director told *The New York Times*, in a classic understatement, that it was "disturbing" to receive such a call from the White House before the editorial was written.

Apparently displeased at the very moderate commentary which followed the President's speech, the Administration's inner circle met the next morning to begin work on Vice President Agnew's Des Moines speech. Contrary to Administration disclaimers, it is reported that Agnew's attack on commentary was planned at the highest levels of the Administration.

At the same time the Administration was preceding on another front — the Federal Communications Commission, which has a potential life or death power over broadcasters through the licensing process. Dean Burch, the

newly-appointed Chairman of the FCC, in an action described by Senator Pastore, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Communications, as "unprecedented" and "out of bounds," personally called the presidents of the three major networks to request transcripts of their commentaries on President Nixon's November 3 speech. *The New Republic* reported that the call from Chairman Burch

was even more blatantly threatening than the fact of it makes evident. The White House already had complete tape recordings of every word spoken on the networks about the President's address — including interviews with Herbert Klein on NBC, CBS and ABC. The Army Signal Corps detail assigned to the White House Communications Branch had it all, in separate reels for each network. Nor did the members of the President's staff have to telephone TV stations, as they did, to check on editorial comment (at least 20 such calls were made the night November 3, according to a CBS report).

Notwithstanding Chairman Burch's subsequent disclaimer of sinister motive (he was only days into the job, and may in fact have been unaware of how his personal intercession would be viewed), the damage had been done: the broadcasting industry had received the message, whether or not Burch intended it, that the FCC was going to run as a branch office of the White House, and that its powers might very well be used to punish those who failed to provide the propaganda support the Administration desired.

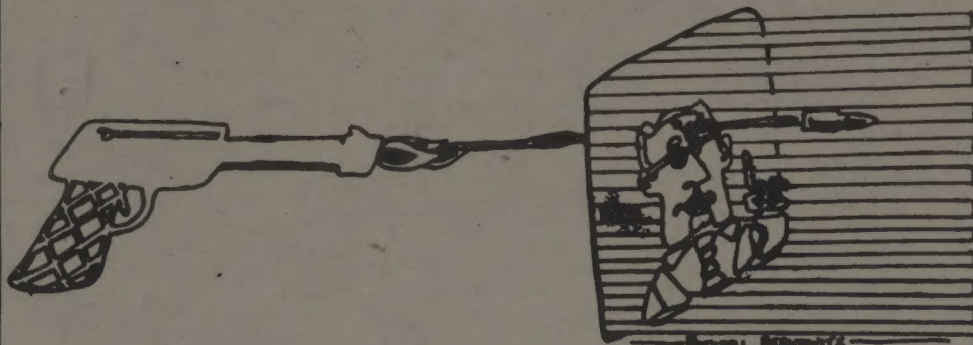
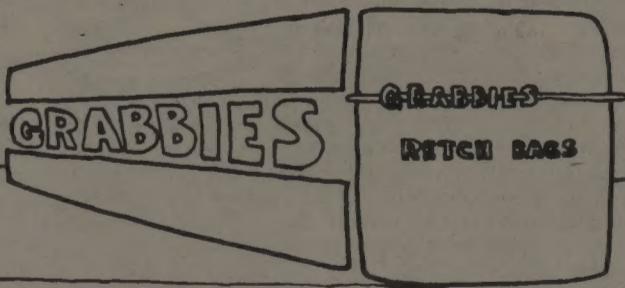
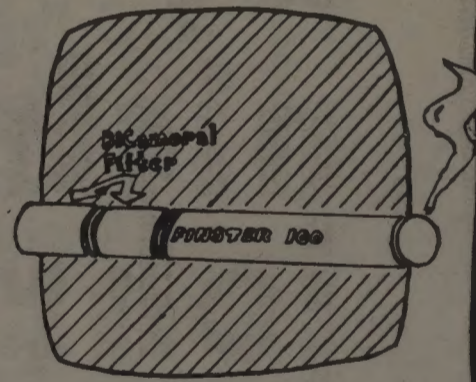
Moreover, Chairman Burch's subsequent actions have tended to reinforce that message. For example,

he recently warned the fledgling Public Broadcasting community that it must guard against being too liberal. He said he wanted to "put the lie to theory that all creative people are liberal," saying: "I don't believe that, but if that is so, you'd better go out and hire some non-creative conservatives." Chairman Burch's remarks echoed those of U.S. Information Agency Director Frank Shakespeare, uttered almost exactly one year before. Shakespeare, according to *The New York Times*, "warned the industry's news directors that there were too many young liberals loose before the microphones and called for stricter discipline by their superiors." Again, whatever the intention, the effect of such remarks is ideological censorship.

Ten days after Nixon's November 3rd speech, Vice President Agnew made his famous and unprecedented attack on television journalism, focusing on commentary after the President's speech. To be certain that his speech to the Midwestern Regional Republican Conference in Des Moines, Iowa, would receive thorough coverage, the networks were forewarned of the subject matter of the speech — including a line that read: "Whether what I've said tonight will be seen and heard at all by the nation is not my decision, it's their decision." As *Time* magazine reported, he "noted pointedly that television stations are subject to federal licensing." He complained that the President's "words and policies were subjected to instant analysis and querulous criticism." He singled out a correspondent who "twice contradicted the President's statement about the exchange of correspondence with Ho Chi Minh." And he compared Nixon to Winston Churchill, arguing that Churchill "didn't have to contend with a gaggle of commentators raising doubts

(Continued on Page 16)

TUBE





reprinted by popular demand

here seems to be a lot of cartoonists looking for work these days. So desperate are they for exposure that they bring their work to The East Village Other, and thus we have a slew of them this week, probably the most representative batch we have ever printed. Besides the traditional EVO regular cartoonists — Spain, Kim Deitch, Yossarian, and Crumb — we have also a good batch of outsiders — Joe Shenkman, Bob London, Gilbert Shelton, Robert Williams, Willy Murphy, Ron Cobb — and a mess of what you might call Second Generation artists, such as Mitchell Berkowitz, Tony LaMonte, and Jeff Cox. The field is sprawling with penniless radiograph pushers, and as you leaf through the pages of this issue you will be presented with the best of them. For this we have to thank the artist Yossarian, who just returned aghast from an intolerably prolonged visit to the West Coast, where most of the comic artists live today. 'It's a round of parties,' he marvels, 'one after the other, night after night. But they manage somehow to do a lot of work. God knows how.'

Spain Rodriguez, according to Yossarian, is getting into a regular book-publishing routine. INSECT FEAR has already found its second incarnation, and with him from the Coast Yossarian brought a first run copy — minus the front and back covers — of SUBVERT, which looks to be Spain's MAGNUM OPUS. It's the real inside confidential story of how TRASHMAN originated, from a callow garage mechanic named Harry Barnes to a relentless vigilante of Revolutionary Vengeance (Spain spells lots of words different from most people, and I for one am loath to change them back.) Also in SUBVERT is an entertainingly bloody little vignette about Trashman and his cohort Dr. Eugene Kranker (a doppelganger for R. Crumb) falling afoul of a Women's Liberation enclave in the California mountains, and being forced to perform cunnilingus until the cows come home. As usual, Spain's style manages to be simultaneously as dramatic as a Black Panther poster, but also as cartoony as an Archie comic. There is something unique in the way he slashes his black around like broken glass, but manages still to keep that round, sweeping comicbook LINE; people say he derives much from Jack Kirby of DC comics, but if you will look at NEW GODS, Kirby's late DC effort, you will see that the apprentice quite eclipses his master.

Kim Deitch's old lady Trina was in town last week, with their baby daughter Casey, but somehow nobody saw her long to rip off from her an original; and since Spain still has not sent us her Suzy Slumgoddess picture which we anxiously await, there will be no women cartoonists represented in this issue. Tough titty, ladies. Kim himself stayed out on the Coast whilst she was here, finishing up a strip called 'The Brindlesteen Apparition,' the nature of which is bound to be pretty necrotic. Kim is sort of the avatar of H.P. Lovecraft in cartooning, with his morbid fascination for hallucinatory flesh-changings and occult metamorphoses: humans are transformed into monsters in his strips, disembodied brains float sentient in vats of amniotic fluid, rod-and-piston humanoids lurch about in an amphetamine fashion, and big bloated birds covered with mystic emblems fly over through the sky, from which a smiling sun always beams down. Most of his stuff shows up these days in INSECT FEAR.

Oh, and it's good to see Vaughn Bode back in the troubled waters of EVO, from whence he had been driven, years ago, by a previous administration. It's been terribly frustrating these last couple years, to have to make do with one single strip from Vaughn each month, in CAVALIER magazine; those of us who know how incredibly prolific Bode is, and that he keeps at home a veritable Sistine

Chapel of unused illustrations, are deeply gratified to see him back where he belongs, in the Underground. It is doubtful if he is as penniless as most of the rest of these poor beggars — word has it that the National Cartoonist Association is still slaving to pick Bode up and syndicate him for mucho \$\$\$ — but the wierd-assedness of his talents is second to none. Bode seems always to be struggling, through his broad-waisted, skinny-legged reptiles, after some final expression of absolute truth. He could spend his whole life chasing after it, and wind up with nothing but money: 'But I got a harmonica.'

Everybody ought to remember the Roof Rabbits strip of Gilbert Shelton: you know, where Fat Freddie of the Freak Brothers gets himself a gun and swears to eat anything he shoots; although he winds up eating a rat, he remarks, 'hey, these roof rabbits aren't too bad.' As usual, Shelton's strip revealed something unique and almost homely about hippie existence — in this case, the hippie's marvellous aptitude for turning shit into hamburger. Every one of Shelton's Freak Brothers numbers explores one or another of the remarkable and endearing qualities of dropout existence so low-key and amusing that they provide an Underground alternative to Chic Young's BLONDIE. And Shelton's drawing — large-nosed big-footed, round-eyed hairy figures surrounded by speed-freak crosshatching — is just as homely as his themes. Today he provides one of the more salient attractions of the Los Angeles FREE PRESS, for which he does a weekly Freak Brothers strip, butted with the adventures of Fat Freddy's abominable cat and its mortal battles with the cockroach hordes. His Roof Rabbits strip is still in the possession of the EVO art directors, although he needed it desperately for his new book on the Freak Brothers: in this wise does EVO endear itself to the cartooning community.

Also from the FREEP we have some representative Ron Cobb drawings. Most people like Cobb for his clarity and his way of making pigs look like pigs and people look like people — and other people think he'd have done better to stay doing Science Fiction magazine illustrations. He certainly is liberal.

Finally from the coast we got Robert Williams and Willy Murphy. Murphy a couple years ago did the illustration that headlines this column, and has always been the most effective wielder of 'chicken fat' in the Underground: he likes to fuck with garbage a lot, Murphy, and dripping substances and wierd stray bits of shit here and there, much like Willy Elder used to with MAD magazine. He confesses to one problem, however: 'Richard Nixon,' he moans, 'is my best character.' Murphy's stip in the defunct GOTHIC BLIMP WORKS, depicting a long repulsive prick that changes by degrees into Nixon's nose, has been picked up all over the place in the intervening year. As for Williams, we have got to get more of his work out here on the East Coast: working in the solid old three-fingered-glove cartoon tradition Williams hauls up out of the collective American consciousness a parade of horrifying, iconistic little horrible devils guaranteed to populate your nightmares in the future, if they haven't been there all along. Incredibly brutal and dynamic in technique, Williams rarely bothers putting any real message content into his strips, but then, with style like that, who NEEDS content?

There is no S. Clay Wilson in this EVO. If there is a patron saint of iconoclasm and obscenity, that has to be Wilson, but, alas and wellaway, he rarely appears in these pages. 'What would you think,' the EVO editor has been heard to ask, 'the effect of this Wilson fellow's stuff would be on a young boy who hasn't lost his cherry yet?' So, out of consideration for the

children, there is no Wilson in this issue. Certain people here are applying a lot of blackmail to get him in here; though, so watch for him in the future.

Rory Hayes, however, is here, although there are many who claim to see little that is worthwhile in his work. Inside the cartooning community itself, though, Hayes is a much-respected contributor, and in fact has been termed the 'Grandma Moses' of the West Coast GESTALT. Briefly, he is the only real Primitive in underground cartooning: his howling figures bursting like supernovae out of the limitless interstellar black, his Leviathans screaming up through the clouds from the very bowels of the planet, his almost psychopathic morbidity in matters of sex and excretion, these are expressions of the Id asserting itself. Heavy shit.

Back in New York, we have Yossarian with us again for a spell, before he returns to California to get his ears fixed. 'WHAT??' he says. 'HUH??' He's always talking about how slowly he's developing. Yossarian, although it's hard to see how most of his work falls short of excellence. It depends on his mood, apparently: sometimes he'll concentrate on his figures, comic and realistic much like Spain's, and have them doing crazy shit and careening through intricate plots for weeks on end; and then other times his background detail his riveting, rises up



like a plague and drowns his characters in unvariegated detail, and this too is pretty wonderful when it happens. He has a great crazy New York kind of head, Yossarian, and if we can keep him away from California, EVO will have the best house artist of any underground newspaper.

Quick! It's fifteen minutes before deadline. What can you say about R. Crumb? What needs to be said about Crumb? He's too good, he's a genius, he needs his ass kissed like Howard Hughes needs money.

The outsiders? Well, the Joe Shenkman strip you see here has been kept in the back room for about six months now, and was discovered almost accidentally by Yossarian as he researched this issue.

BEAUTIFUL WENDY AT SCREW ISN'T PRECISELY AN UNDERGROUND ARTIST, BUT SHE SURE IS GOOD.

Not to mention beautiful... Sigh...

Look at it! Now, there's chicken-fat, and classical references, and incredible fucking slapstick, not to mention a poignant comment on the predicament of the contemporary underground cartoonist. CHARLETON COMICS, f'chrissake? The fucking idiot who kept that strip in mothballs for half a year ought to get his ass kicked. Apologies to Joe Shenkman, and can we get some more work from he who was formerly the best part of RAT?

Shenkman, see, was kicked off the RAT for being sexist. Shortly afterward, Bob London also vanished from that lady's pages: presumably Popeye has too much machismo, nicht wahr? Shit, Elsie Seegar couldn't draw as well as London.

Then there's all these kids who bring in

this brilliant stuff that seems to spring fully formed from the forehead of Zeus. Jeff Cox, for instance, first appeared in EVO as a writer, and then showed up with some STRIPS. Far out, Tony Lamonte, a good Italian boy from the Bronx, has never been printed anywhere but EVO, although his work, once it shakes loose of the Crumb influence to which it seems unreasonably bound, bids fair to be brilliantly original. And Mitchell Berkowitz, who looks just like his name sounds, came up here just last week: he claims to be influenced equally by R. Crumb and Peter Max, which is an unlikely combination indeed.

Oh, and lest he pass unmentioned Bobby Ringenberger did the 'Sweetstuff' number. To this strip everyone at EVO is fast attached, being that its REAL-LIFE heroine is a well-loved figure about these precincts. In the future, Bobby will be handing in more strips involving her adventures and mis-adventures, leading the life of a Pennsylvania Truckstop Slut in the Big Apple. Bobby, who previously concerned himself with the making of movies like EROTIC SALAD, also has a bit of Crumb to shake loose of before his style matures.

And now if somebody'll lend Latimer a rapidograph overnight he'll get to work on his own strip. Happy New Year everybody.



THE FABULOUS FURRY FREAK BROTHERS

HEY, FELLAS, I GOT A JOB AS SANTA CLAUS AT THE WHITENAY DEPARTMENT STORE!

YOU GUYS GONNA COME UP AND SEE ME? YEAH, YEAH!

I'LL GET GOOD AND STONED SO I'LL BE PLENTY JOLLY!

...AND WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE SANTA TO BRING YOU FOR CHRISTMAS, LITTLE BOY? CANDY? A SHINY RED TRICYCLE?

NAW! THAT'S KID STUFF!

WELL, HOW ABOUT A MACHINE GUN? A ROCKETSHIP? A SET OF BOXING GLOVES?

NAW! THAT'S TOO VIOLENT!

WELL, WHAT DO YOU WANT?

I WANT TO SCORE A KEY!

OH NO! IF I TELL ANYONE WHAT I JUST HEARD, I'LL GET BUSTED FOR SURE! I'VE GOT TO GET RID OF THIS KID FAST!

TIME'S UP, KID! WHY DON'T YOU LET THE NEXT KID HAVE HIS TURN?

...WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE SANTA TO BRING YOU FOR CHRISTMAS, LITTLE GIRL? A DOLL? A TEA SET? A COLORING BOOK?

OH NO, JUST GET ME A COUPLE OF TABS OF ACID.

... AND A WATER PIPE, A ROACH CLIP, AND PLENTY OF PAPERS — LICORICE!

... A ROLLING MACHINE, SOME STRAWBERRY INCENSE, AND A LITTLE HASH PIPE!

WELL, SANTA, WHAT DO OUR KIDS WANT FOR CHRISTMAS?

ER, WELL, UH... A WHOLE BUNCHA SHIT.

HOW'S YOUR JOB? I GOT FIRED. I COULDN'T BRIDGE THE GENERATION GAP!

THANKS TO: SANDY & DEAN'S FURRY HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA

FAT FREDDY'S CAT

I'M THIRSTY. MY BOWL IS FULL OF DEAD BUGS!

I'LL HAVE TO DRINK OUT OF THIS THING.

SLAM!

READY? BATTALION...

JUMP!

WORK!

FAT FREDDY'S CAT

BROTHERS AND SISTERS, WE ARE GATHERED HERE TODAY BY THE SIDE OF THE MIGHTY WATERS...

...SO THAT WE MAY MAKE OUR SOULS STRONG AND POWERFUL TO GO FORTH AND MEET THE WICKED AND EVIL ENEMY.

...WE BAPTIZE OURSELVES IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE HOLY ROACHES!

WHA!

WHERE ALL THESE BROWN ROACHES DOING IN MY WATER BOWL?

MARIO A. PROCACCINO

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN!



ALA PASTA FA ZOOL EH MARIO?

YOU BET!

Kim Ditch



SHE'S COOL, SHE'S SWEET, AND REALLY REET! SHE'S...

THE SWEETSTUFF

HI YA FOLKS! THESE LITTLE LINES AROUND ME ARE REALLY SHIVVER MARKS CAUSE I AINT GOT MY WINTER DHDS YET!

SHE'S THE HIP KID THAT'S ON THE SCENE!

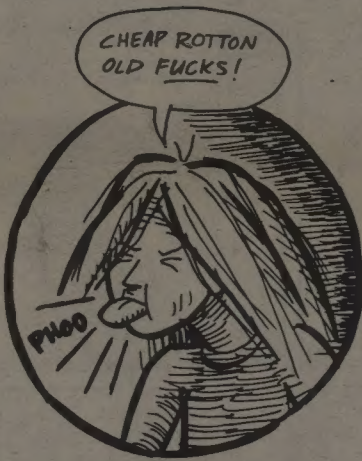


WINTER'S HERE AN SWEETSTUFF DOESN'T EVEN HAVE A COAT THIS YEAR..

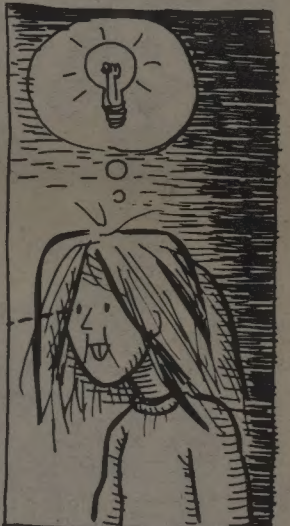
LOOK CLARENCE... IT'S ZOP OUT AND THAT FILTHY HIPPIY CHILD DOESN'T HAVE THE SENSE TO PUT ON A COAT. THEY JUST REFUSE TO HELP THEMSELVES!

SHUT UP MOTHER AND SLOW DOWN!

GOTINY... (CHATTER...) SP- SPARE... (CHATTER, CHATTER) CH-CHANGE?



CHEAP ROTTEN OLD FUCKS!



SWOOSH



'LTALYA, THEY SURE GOTTA LOTTA SWELL STUFF IN THIS STORE... GUESS I'LL JUST HELP MYSELF!

SPECIAL SALE Only \$125



SALE WINTER HATS



THERE! NOW IF I CAN JUST GET OUT OF HERE

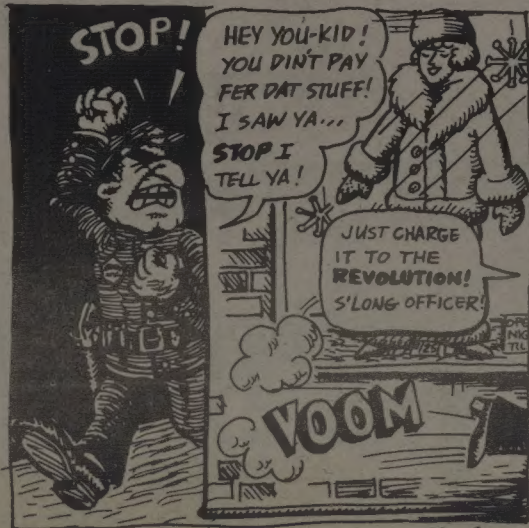


HEY YOU!

OOPS



HEY YOU! STOP! I SEEN YOU TAKE DAT STUFF KID!



STOP!

HEY YOU-KID! YOU DINT PAY FER DAT STUFF! I SAW YA... STOP I TELL YA!

JUST CHARGE IT TO THE REVOLUTION! S'LONG OFFICER!

VOOM



SWEETSTUFF SEZ:

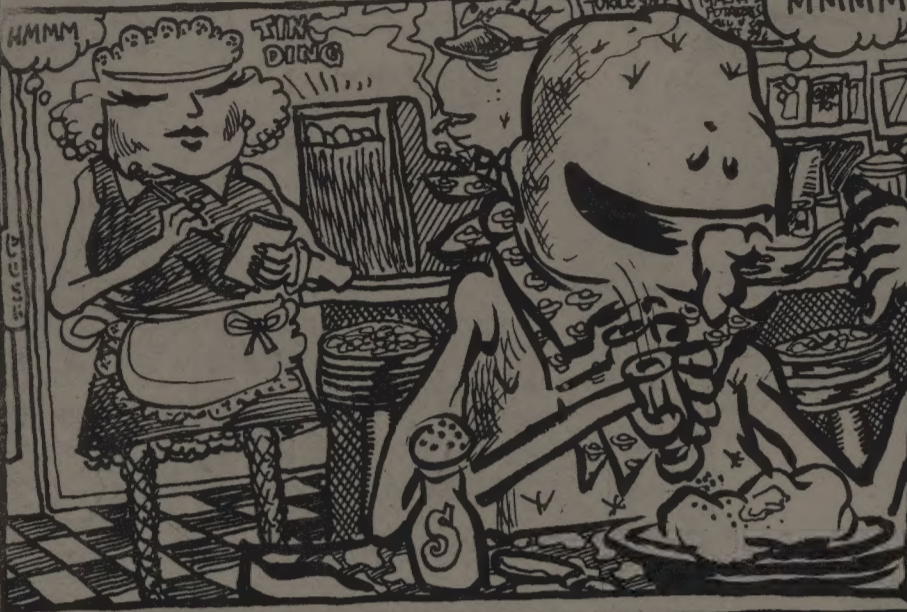
'LTALYA KIDS.. YA GOTTA WATCH OUT FER YERSELF IN THIS OL' TOWN!

Robert

The End

MASH POTATOES YES!

A SLEAZY DINER... THE IDAHO KID IS SHOVELING DOWN HIS FAVORITE DISH.



QUANTAS... SOME CLOWN GOT A NEW TRUCK.



UPTOWN. DEVIL DOG DUGAN'S "DOIN' HIS THING" ON A NATIVE. THIS NUMBER HE'S PULLED SO MANY TIMES HE CAN SWING IT ON THE NOD. WELL... SOMETIMES.



ANYWAY, IT HARDLY REALLY MATTERS. THESE DAYS, SPADES ARE **IN**... DEVIL DOG KNOWS THIS BECAUSE HE HAS THE PULSE OF THE NATION RIGHT IN HIS VEINS.



MEANWHILE... THE ARTIST HAS HIS OWN 'LIL DREAMS A' GLORY

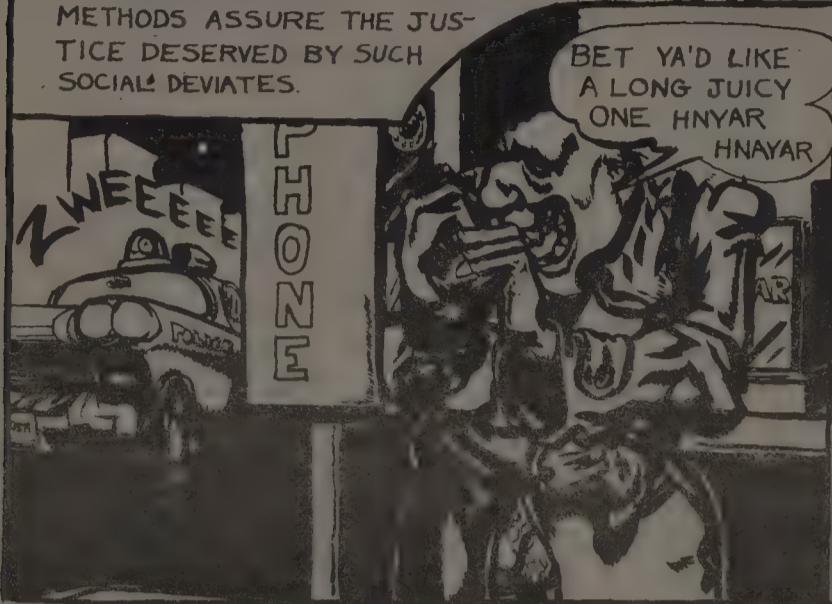


OBSCENE PHONE CALLS

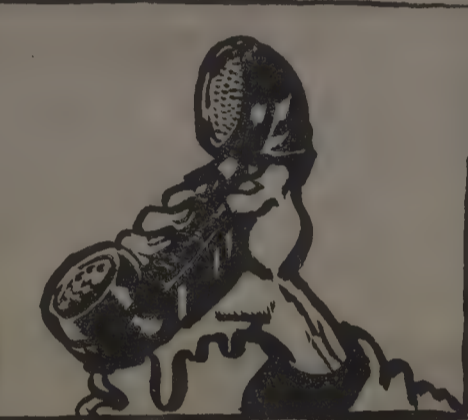
©1970 YOSSARIAN/ASYLUM PRESS

THE OBSCENE PHONE CALLER CAN NO LONGER REST EASY WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HE IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO TRACE. NEW PHONE COMPANY EQUIPMENT TOGETHER WITH BETTER POLICE METHODS ASSURE THE JUSTICE DESERVED BY SUCH SOCIAL DEVIATES.

THE MODERN TELEPHONE UNIT DEVELOPED AND MANUFACTURED BY FESTERN ELECTRIC (A WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARY OF AMERICAN TELEPHLEGM AND TELEFRAZ) IS NOW EQUIPPED WITH DEVICES DESIGNED TO RID THE EARTH OF SUCH VERMIN.



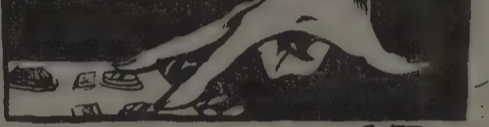
WHENEVER AN OBSCENE PHONE CALL IS MADE SENSORS IN THE HANDPIECE DETECT THE INCREASE IN PERSPIRATION IN THE PALM



THESE SENSORS RELAY THE INFORMATION TO A SPECIAL OPERATOR IN MORALS CENTRAL WHO...



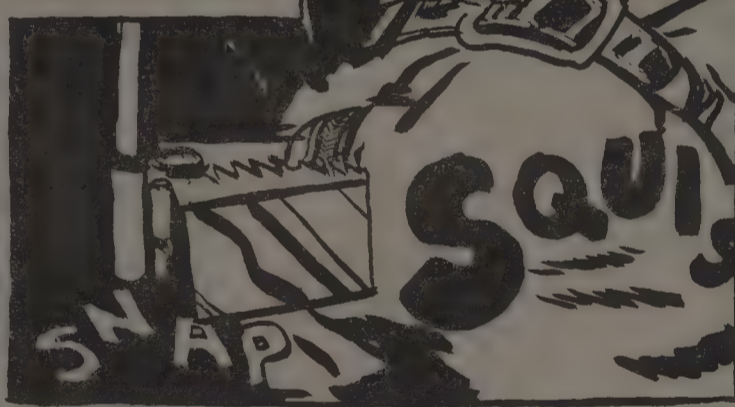
PRESSES TWO BUTTONS; ONE OF WHICH NOTIFIES THE POLICE



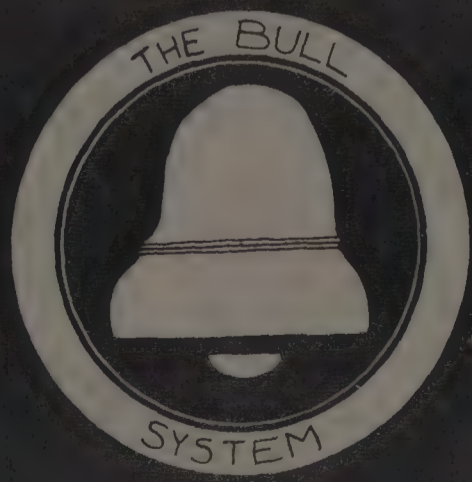
THE OTHER BUTTON CAUSES A DEVICE TO DROP DOWN FROM THE CALLERS PHONE AND...



CLAMP SECURELY ON HIS PENIS

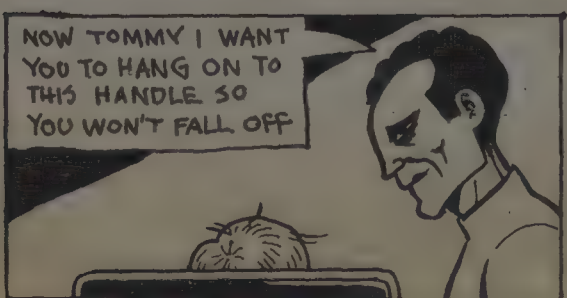


EVEN IF THE PERVERT ESCAPES HE WON'T FORGET HIS EXPERIENCE



OBSCENE PHONE CALLERS

WE GOT YOU BY THE BALLS



THE ORIGIN OF TRASHMAN

YOU SHALL HENCE-FORTH BE KNOWN AS **TRASHMAN**. TAKE WHAT WE HAVE GIVEN YOU AND GO FORTH INTO THE WORLD, THE HUMBLE AND OPPRESSED; THEIR FIGHT SHALL BE YOURS TAKE WHAT WE HAVE TAUGHT YOU AND GO FORTH.....

HARRY BARNES, KNOWN TO THE WORLD AS **TRASHMAN**, TRAINED BY THE ILLUSIVE SIXTH-INTERNATIONAL AS MASTER OF THE PARA-SCIENCES IS ABLE TO CHANGE HIS MOLECULAR STRUCTURE OR DECIPHER A CRACK IN THE SIDEWALK

HEY! YOU COME HERE!

GASP!

HI BABY WHATS FOR LUNCH?

ONE AFTERNOON HARRY BARNES, AUTO-MECHANIC COMES HOME TO EAT

WHAT HAVE YOU DONE!

DON'T GET WIZE!

APEX AUTO REPAIR

GRAB HIM! OOOOF

STOP HIM GNNNGH

YI

PROOF

APEX AUTO REPAIR

OH *!@?*

WHY DID THEY DO IT S@B

I'LL GET THEM FOR THIS I SWEAR

LATER BARNES VOWS VENGEANCE ON THE ASHES OF HIS BELOVED

ATTENTION ALL UNITS ATTENTION ALL UNITS BE ON THE LOOK OUT FOR HARRY BARNES WANTED FOR MURDER OF AN ENFORCER CAUCASIAN AND WEARING...

MUST ESCAPE

TO BE CONTINUED!!

WHAT! YOU LET HIM SLIP THROUGH YOUR HANDS AGAIN YOU IDIOT, IF YOU FAIL AGAIN YOU'LL FACE THE FIRING SQUAD!

Y-YES YOUR EXCELLENCE

SOME TIME LATER

TRASHMAN HATED BY THE FORCES OF REACTION, FEARED BY THE REPRESIVE "POWERS-THAT-BE" WHERE DID HE COME FROM?

OUR STORY BEGINS IN THE LATER HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT IS SPOTED BY VAST URBAN CONGLOMERATIONS SOCIAL FERMENT HAD DIVIDED THE LAND INTO A PATCH WORK OF VIRTUALLY SELF-GOVERNING AREAS

GROWCHING DOWN LIKE A SQUAT BLACK IMAGE OF DOOM **TRASHMAN** SPYEWES FORTH A VOLLEY OF DEATH

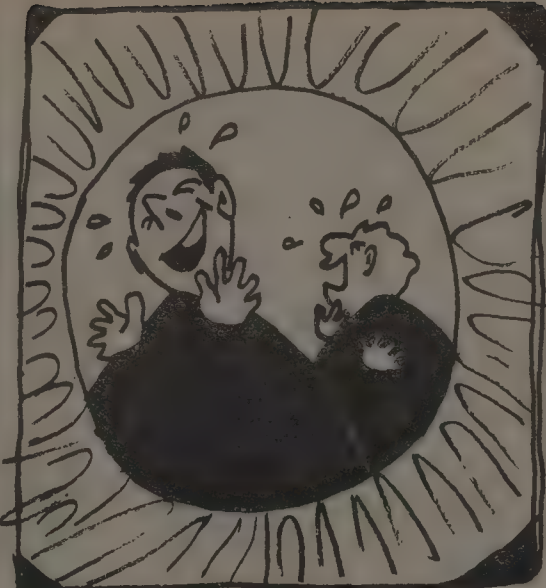
OH IM GETTING NAUSHUS!

DANGER

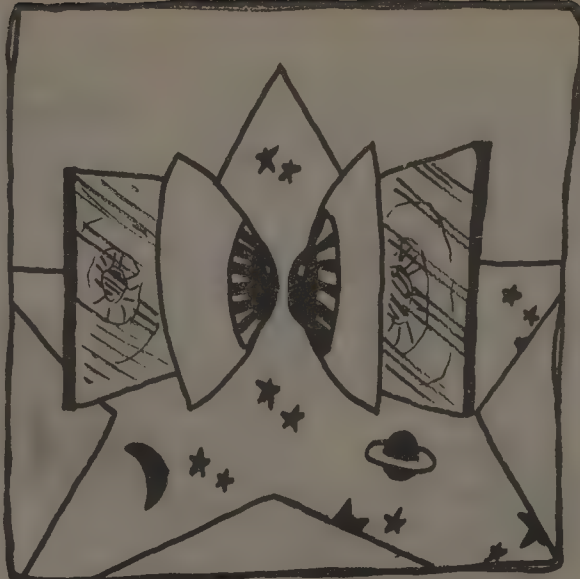
TAKATAKATAKATAK

BUY SPAIN RODRIGUEZ' **SUBVERT** COMICS FOR ADULT INTELLECTUALS

FIGHT THE OPPRESSOR



THE EYE IS VERY USEFUL — WE USE IT TO SEE OUT...



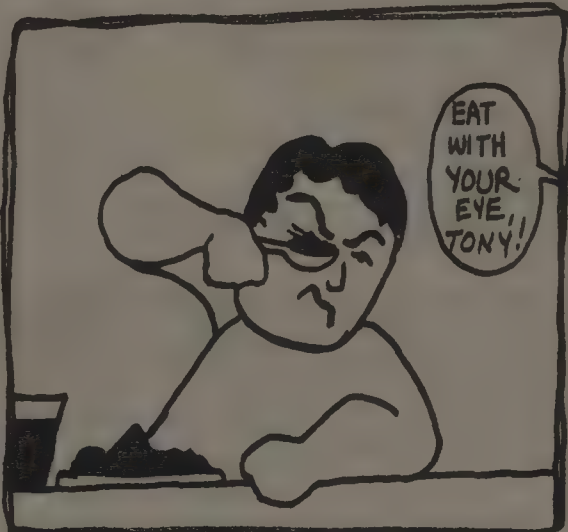
AND, WE USE IT TO SEE IN



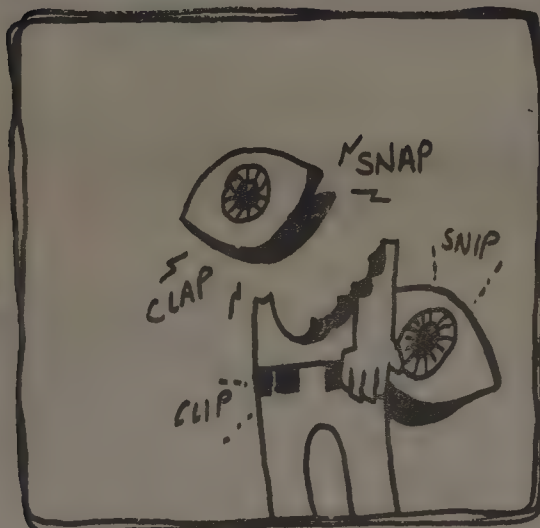
WE WASH OUR EYES



OUR EYES WASH US



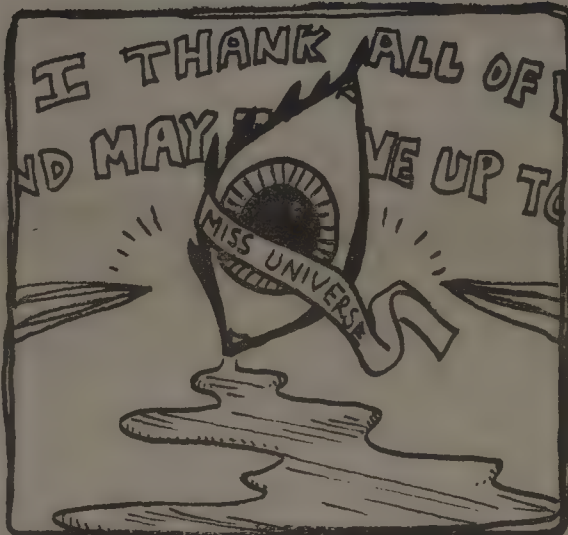
WE EAT WITH OUR EYES



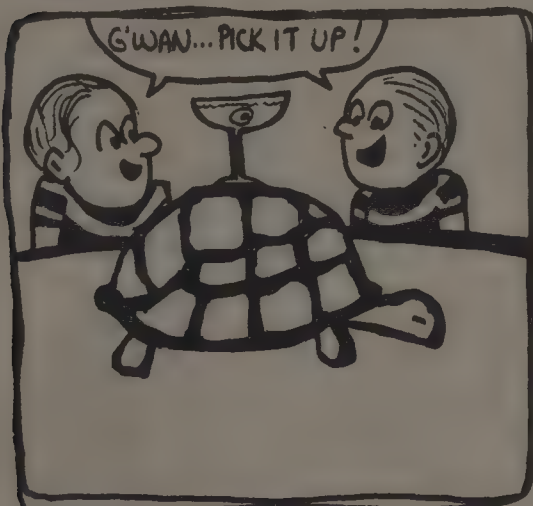
OUR EYES EAT US



EYES ARE VERY EXPENSIVE



AND VERY BEAUTIFUL



THE EYES WORKS ON THE SAME PRINCIPLE AS THE TURTLE...



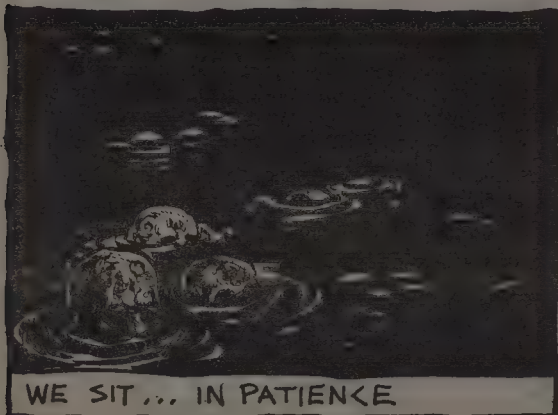
BUT TURTLES HARDLY WORK AT ALL



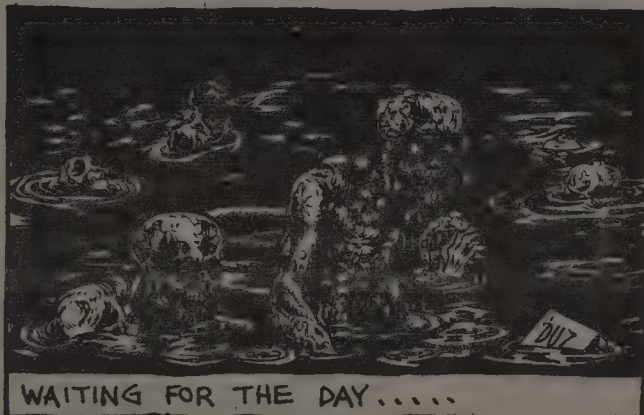
BUT TURTLES HARDLY WORK AT ALL

Since 1943
MULLER'S
 'We do our best'
 ★ Jeff Cox

"WHAT IS NOT DEATH WHICH CAN ETERNAL LIE; AND WITH STRANGE BEONS EVEN DEATH MAY DIE" FROM THE NECRONOMICON BY THE MAD ARAB ABDUL ALHAZRAD



WE SIT... IN PATIENCE



WAITING FOR THE DAY.....



WHEN WE SHALL REINHERIT THE EARTH

TELEVISION

(Continued from Page 5)

about ... whether Britain had the stamina to see the war through." Leaving aside the puffery in comparing Richard Nixon to Winston Churchill, and the demagoguery in comparing the Nazi threat to Britain with the North Vietnamese threat to the United States, the fact is that Churchill had many severe critical commentators throughout his career.

What Agnew was saying, in effect, was an expression of the authoritarian "need to know" principle: the public will get the information it "needs," and the Administration will determine what those needs are; therefore, analysis, criticism and contradiction are not tolerable. Lester Bernstein, managing editor of *Newsweek*, described

the ultimate arrangement implied in Agnew's speech — one wherein television would become an untrammelled conduit through which the Administration line could pour, without evaluation or analysis or adverse comment of any kind.

The American Civil Liberties Union said that Agnew's attack on television constitutes "a thread tantamount to blackmail," a "demand" that television "conform to the Administration's standard of what the news should be." There is wide agreement with Eric Sevareid's statement that Agnew's speech "not only constituted a threat of censorship but constituted an attempted act of censorship."

As columnist Carl Rowan observed:

... Agnew's blast comes in the midst of a mighty struggle for public opinion between those who support President Nixon's policies in Vietnam and those who oppose those policies.

So Agnew's tirade can hardly be viewed as more than his self-serving effort to silence television wherever it might be inclined to tip the balance of opinion in favor of the war critics.

Shortly after the Des Moines speech, Herb Klein, the communications director, extended Agnew's attack to all news media, warning: "If you

look back at the problems you have today and you fail to continue to examine them, you do invite the government to come in. I would not like to see that happen."

Of course, like all censors, Agnew and Klein publicly denounce censorship. This all calls to mind Les Brown's article, "How 'Opposers' of Censorship Can Make It Happen On TV." He wrote

Those who abhor censorship and speak out against it are blessed; invariably they are rewarded for their righteousness. Even as they speak the words something wonderful happens, their wishes come true.

... Now Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, as orator for the Nixon Administration, has come out four-square against censorship — "in any form," as he put it — and, lol, the magic is already working. Networks have taken to analyzing themselves, and the Moratorium demonstrations a week ago that so displeased the President were virtually blacked out in network live coverage, as if they never happened.

One of the largest crowds in the history of the United States, demonstrating against the War in Southeast Asia, was blacked out, TV has often made events of non-events; here as Jack Gould noted in the *New York Times*, "what was clearly an event was virtually converted by TV into a non-event."

And we have been living with the fallout of Agnew's magic ever since. Some examples.

(1) Five days after Agnew's attack on the media, New York's leading educational station had unusual difficulty in getting a panel to discuss the Agnew speech. Moderator Mitchel Krauss asked:

... is, indeed, the press not being intimidated by this kind of speech? For instance, in preparing this program, we found it extremely difficult to get spokesmen from the press to appear without either the sanction of the very top

management of their companies or, in some cases, even the top management felt it was time to wait and look back.

I received confidential, personal reports about the same time that network management began taking a much more detailed interest in the attitudes and copy of its newsmen.

(2) Shortly after Agnew's attack on TV commentators, the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. decided to cancel its sponsorship of a television special scheduled for November 30th, featuring the singing of Simon and Garfunkel. An AT&T spokesman complained that, instead of the concert AT&T wanted, the company got a program "very heavy in ideology," on the "state of society," including film clips showing Democrats John and Robert Kennedy, Adlai Stevenson, and others, as well as war and peace demonstration scenes. In an editorial entitled "An Agnew Aftermath?," the advertising trade journal *Advertising Age* said:

But, what was really disturbing was the strong implication in television circles that AT&T's decision was dictated, at least in part, by the keenly sensitive feeling that AT&T — and others in the business world — have toward being connected with anything that smacks of anti-establishment, in the wake of Vice-President Agnew's sharp criticism of TV and newspapers.

Other major advertisers began exercising similar caution — in and industry never known for its courage and forthrightness in the best of times.

(3) One month after Agnew's first attack, United Press International carried the following report:

Television networks, criticized for their 'instant analysis' of President Nixon's Vietnam speech in November, soft-peddled interpretation of his announcement of additional troop withdrawals.

For the most part, the network newsmen who immediately followed the President summarized Nixon's brief report on the

war situation.

Their comments were very short and much like the reports that followed Nixon's televised news conference December 8.

All of which led Agnew to conclude: "Sometimes when I look around at the tube from time to time, I think I have had a modicum of success."

(4) Walter Cronkite, the "anchorman" of *CBS Evening News*, revealed that because of Nixon Administration attacks on television, some CBS-TV affiliate stations have displayed a nervousness about network analysis and criticism and asked the network to keep them to a minimum.

(5) In its article discussing Agnew's Des Moines speech, *Newsweek* reported that "the President's aides had for some time been compiling a dossier of sorts on at least one TV commentator, ABC's Frank Reynolds, who is regarded at the White House with special venom because Nixon staffers feel he was biased and unfair during the campaign." ABC recently announced — one year later — the removal of Frank Reynolds from his post, over his protests.

(6) Ernest Fitzgerald, former Pentagon efficiency expert and now consultant to the Businessman's Educational Fund, charged last June that television was softpedaling news that would tend to be unfavorable to the Pentagon. He said: "... I know of several instances where networks have declined to run well-documented Pentagon horror stories that have been handed to them virtually on a silver platter." *Variety* decided to investigate these charges; it concluded:

The pattern that emerged was not one of any media-wide conspiracy to suppress news unfavorable to the Pentagon, but rather one in which possibly excessive caution on the part of ABC News and its legal department — and also CBS News and its Pentagon correspondent — led to potentially explosive stories going unreported.

There has always been a close "working relationship" between the military and the press — often, through no fault of the press, a necessary prerequisite to its getting

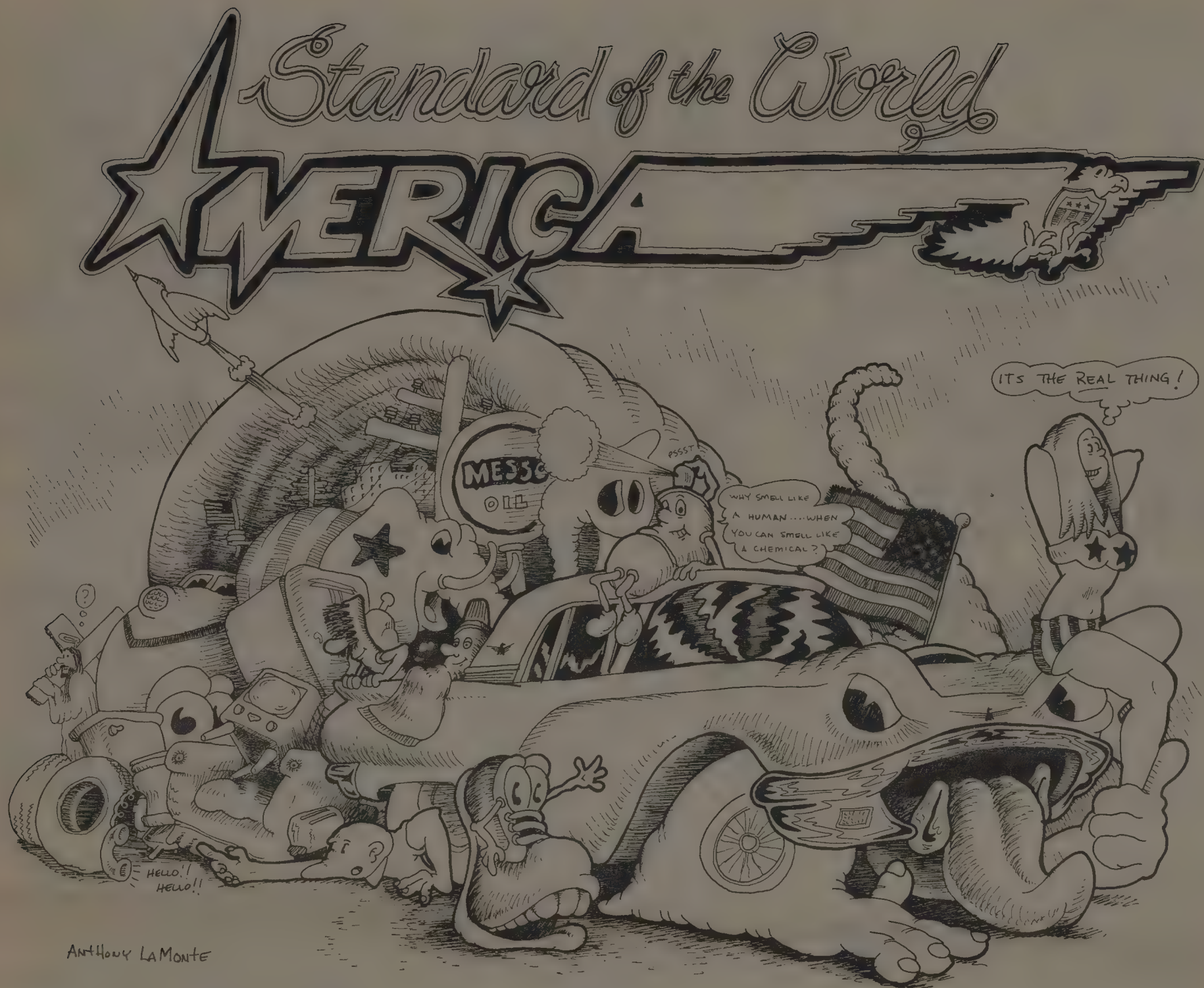
any information at all. In any event, the Pentagon's leverage was certainly not diminished by the Vice President's attack.

In spite of the obvious effect which these efforts were having, the Administration was apparently not satisfied, because it rolled out one of its biggest guns: Attorney General Mitchell and the awesome power of the Justice Department. Early this year U.S. District Attorneys across the country simultaneously issued broad and sweeping subpoenas to numerous national newspapers, magazines, and television networks. The media were asked to produce reporters' notes, correspondence, telephone call memoranda, and un-edited tapes and film — known in the television business as "outtakes." The materials subpoenaed was apparently to be used to prosecute persons who, among other things, have criticized or otherwise displeased the government.

Senator Harold E. Hughes, an Iowa Democrat, accused the President of "pistol whipping" the television networks and of showing "an astonishing disregard for one of a free country's most basic freedoms — the freedom of the press." Senator Hughes described as "frightening" Attorney General John Mitchell's subpoena of confidential notebooks and unedited television tapes.

The government's subpoena action had an immediate impact on news freedom. Shortly after the government announced its intentions, CBS' Walter Cronkite said: "There have been two cases already this week where officials have refused to talk off the record for fear that their remarks would show up in court." Robert Ferrante of WBBM-TV recommended that all film and recording tape outtakes be erased or destroyed 12 hours after the film was aired. *Broadcasting* magazine reported that one unidentified station "already is destroying unused tape recordings."

Within time, of course, Attorney General Mitchell announced his regrets at "any implication that the Department of Justice is interfering in the traditional freedom and independence of the press." However, he did promise that the Justice Department will henceforth "reach a compromise acceptable to both parties" when it wishes to



examine photos, films, or reporters' files for use in criminal prosecutions.

Like Vice President Agnew, the Attorney General has reassured us that his Department's actions are "not censorship"; but, like the Vice President's speech, the "censorship" comes from the mere threat. It is, alas, a tried and true technique of all those who would wish to "control" the content of the news media to announce loudly and clearly that their actions are "not censorship," while at the same time *acting* to bring the press under their influence. Whether or not the government's recent actions be called "censorship," they have clearly had that result. As CBS President Frank Stanton has said:

In this context of intimidation, self-serving disavowals of censorship, no matter how often repeated, are meaningless. Reprisals no less damaging to the media and no less dangerous to our fundamental freedoms than censorship are readily available to the government — economic, legal, and psychological.

I will mention briefly two examples of the kinds of "reprisals" which Dr. Stanton may have had in mind.

(1) Following President Nixon's November 3, 1969, address on Vietnam, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board called television stations to ask for the logs of coverage in support of and against the Administration's Vietnam policy. Mr. Paul O'Neill of the Subversive Activities Control Board telephoned two Washington television stations to ask them "in a casual way," if they had covered a patriotic rally on Veterans' Day. His wife addressed the same question to stations in Miami.

(2) Shortly after a speech in which Vice President Agnew attacked the Washington Post's extensive communications holdings, "a group of Republican businessmen including a business partner of Bebe Rebozo, the President's close friend,

challenged the license renewal of a Post Company television station in Miami, Florida."

In conjunction with these actions of intimidation, threats, reprisals and censorship, the Administration has outflanked the media's creative personnel by appealing to the basic profit-motive of the owners of the broadcasting industry in what amounts to no less than the promise of an economic pay-off. Thus, an industry *Bulletin* reports that:

[Herb] Klein maintained that the real way to determine the Nixon Administration's attitude toward broadcasters is from its appointments to the Federal Communications Commission, not through its speeches. And he posed the question — aren't the two Nixon appointees good men from the industry point of view?

Whether or not an impartial observer would conclude that their voting records sustain this claim (and some of their speeches and proposals would challenge it), the fact remains that this is the way in which they were being sold to the industry.

It is no secret that a television license in a significant market area is the closest thing yet to the alchemist's dream. Under the leadership of Chairman Burch (and over my dissent), the FCC early this year adopted a new policy which offers established broadcasters extraordinary protection against competition for their licenses. As Elizabeth Drew reported in *The Washington Monthly*:

The policy statement was pushed through by Burch in what for the FCC was exceptional speed...

The White House was in frequent contact with Burch about the FCC's policy statement. "Basically, it was his idea," says Clay Whitehead [the President's Special Assistant on FCC matters],

"but it was a policy we supported..."

The effect of the new policy statement is, of course, to discourage citizen participation in the license renewal process. The FCC's action has recently come under strong attack by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee staff as industry protectionism.

The White House has moved to ingratiate itself with broadcasters on a number of fronts. In selecting a panel to study violence on TV, for example, the Administration gave broadcasters a veto on panel members; anti-violence groups were not consulted. Some of the ablest and most academically distinguished panel members were axed. The Administration has also adopted anti-competitive positions on a number of issues of great importance to the owners of the broadcasting industry. For example, many of the broadcasters are also owners of newspapers, and they cannot have failed to observe that Herb Klein has spoken out against proposals to limit the number of newspaper and broadcast properties that can be owned by any one company and proposals to split newspaper and broadcast ownership. Another example: when the Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust indicated his opposition to the newspaper industry's monopoly authorization bill (the so-called "Failing Newspaper Act"), he was reversed by the White House, and the Administration took the unprecedented step of sending the Assistant Secretary of Commerce to testify on an antitrust measure — in support of the monopolistic bill.

The result of this one-two punch has been a clear knockout of TV's critical, creative individuals (à la Frank Reynolds) and the sweet surrender of the owners to the call of the profit. As Les Brown wrote in *Variety*: It has been made clear here, in a number of ways, that the ordinary broadcaster — the

publisher of the airwaves — is willing to surrender still more of his First Amendment freedom for the promise of a perpetual license to do business. At gunpoint, and given the choice of "your money or your life," the ordinary citizen promptly yields up his money. Not so the broadcaster.

The broadcasters' income has continued to climb at a rate exceeding the Gross National Product.

Onto this carefully designed stage moves the central character. In more than two dozen nationally televised broadcasts, President Nixon has drastically altered the balance of power toward the President and away from Congress. His communications advisers and speech writers unanimously agree that his November 3, 1969, Vietnam speech was an enormous political success. As Ray Price says:

Judging by the results, it was the most effective use of TV that's ever been done. You had the massively accelerating peace movement. But after the speech the balloon just fizzled.

As we have seen, Agnew's first attack on the media was launched 10 days later. The barrage has accelerated in the last seven months.

On April 20 of this year the President went before the cameras to announce the withdrawal of 150,000 additional troops from Vietnam.

On April 30 he informed the Nation that he was ordering an attack on North Vietnamese forces in Cambodia.

On May 8 he held a live, prime time press conferences aimed at defusing objections to his Cambodia strategy.

On June 3 he delivered what was termed an "interim report" on Cambodia, during which he showed films of captured war materials and food.

On June 17, in a midday nationally televised appearance, he sought to "jawbone" the stock market in light of Wall Street fears about the Administration's failure to curb inflation.

On July 1 he sat for an hour-long prime-time, live interview on foreign policy with newsmen from the three major networks.

Altogether, during his first year in office, President Nixon made 37 live television appearances, whereas President Eisenhower made a total of only 49 appearances in his entire eight years in the White House.

On the other hand, during his first 22 months in office, Mr. Nixon has had only 11 formal news conferences (plus 5 less formal sessions with reporters who cover the White House), whereas at the same point in their tenures in the White House, John Kennedy had held 44 press conferences, Dwight D. Eisenhower had held 53, Harry S. Truman had 84, Lyndon B. Johnson had 85, and Franklin D. Roosevelt had 158 news conferences.

When a reporter reminded Mr. Nixon a year ago that he had conducted only three press conferences in the last six months, the President replied: "...If I considered that the press and the public needs more information than I am giving through press conferences, I will have more."

What this says is that Mr. Nixon will release information in accordance with the "needs" of press and public as those needs are determined by Mr. Nixon himself. In place of the rights of press and public to know he has substituted the intelligence agency principle of "need to know," a principle designed to guarantee discipline and control. As Jules Witcover observed recently:

Their [live televised presidential press conferences] infrequency suggests the continuing Nixon dislike for the



spontaneous event, their careful staging by the White House staff demonstrates the same determination seen in the Nixon campaign in 1968 to inject as much control as possible. Ziegler maintains a seating arrangement, with reserved places for the White House 'regular' reporters in the area immediately in front of the President. Mr. Nixon has come to know which of the reporters are likely to throw him a curve, which are the softest touches.

But the use of television has not been limited to a tight rein on conventional Presidential appearances, the same kind of control exercised during the 1968 campaign.

Together with his more traditional use of television, the President has not hesitated to innovate. He is the first President to hold what amounts to a Presidential "special" in order to introduce his new Cabinet to the Nation. He went on nationwide television to explain his veto of an education and health bill, condemning the legislation as "inflationary" at the same time aides were urging support for a \$50 billion ABM system. He is the first President to use visual aids on TV as a means of defending his war policy.

Even more innovative has been the Administration's penetration of previously overlooked portions of the kingdom of commercial TV: the entertainment shows. While still a candidate, Mr. Nixon appeared in a brief comic role on one of the largest audience shows, *Laugh-In*. While President he has appeared on a Bob Hope Special (a fund raiser for an Eisenhower hospital), in the locker room of the victorious University of Texas football team following a nationally televised game, during one of the largest audience-drawers ever shown on television, the Moon landing, and, during the past campaign, at a locally-televised dinner honoring a professional football quarterback. Vice President Agnew opened up the Red Skelton Show in its new season, and he and other top officials, including the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Director of Communications, have appeared nationally and locally on talk and interview shows through schedule coordination by the Director of Communications.

The Administration has also made unprecedented efforts to influence and control the content of television. For example, on October 20, 1970, Vice President Agnew suggested that

television network commentators be publicly examined "by a group of people in government to explore the depth of [their] opinions, [their] prejudices..." The implication, of course, is that the government is capable of somehow being an arbiter of truth; this fallacy is at the heart of all totalitarian systems and is the basis for all justifications of censorship. Mr. Agnew's suggestion implies a philosophy antithetical to the great First Amendment of our Constitution, which prohibits governmental action which would abridge freedom of speech and assumes that there is no one who has a monopoly on truth.

These efforts to influence and control content have even included attempts to persuade entertainment shows to support the Administration's ideological positions on drugs and obscenity. Broadcasters and record industry executives have been called to the White House — with FCC Chairman Burch in attendance — and told to get the "drug lyrics" off the air. Director Klein proposed that Hollywood writers and producers insert anti-drug propaganda into regular entertainment shows. According to the *New York Times*: "Broadcasters said this was the first time in memory that a request for the use of mass entertainment for a governmental purpose has been proposed."

Dean Burch has embarked on his own campaign against what he considers obscenity. Because the definition of obscenity is so difficult, this concern has a tremendous "chilling effect" on any controversial speech; indeed, on live shows the only certain way of avoiding the possibility that an individual will utter some remark which the FCC might consider indecent is to avoid certain individuals and groups altogether. In what has been interpreted as a signal to other broadcasters, the FCC in an unprecedented move punished a small listener-supported station (KRAB-FM in Seattle) because some four letter words were used by a black minister during a program which played his "autobiographical novel for tape." As a punishment, the station's license was renewed for only one year instead of three, even though the FCC has no obscenity guidelines for stations to follow, and that renewal is in hearing now.

Subsequently, the FCC fined an educational FM station in Philadelphia because four letter words were used in an interview with rock group leader Jerry Garcia. As Elizabeth Drew reported:

This was the first time a broadcaster was fined for obscenity, and it was a deliberately constructed test case. In developing it, the FCC worked closely with Nixon officials at the Department of Justice. It is an issue that is consistent with the politics of the Nixon Administration.

Thus, in effect, the Administration has made it clear that, at least for certain purposes, it considers private television programming as an arm of the Government's public information efforts.

Not only have the television networks gotten the message, they are also apparently willing to bend over backwards to please the Administration. The most recent example involves televised football games. In the early part of November the American Broadcasting Company's television network broadcast the football game between Holy Cross and the University of Buffalo, but refused to broadcast the half-time show by the Buffalo band; the show was titled "America the Beautiful," contained critical comment about the Southeast Asian War, and included such songs as "We Shall Overcome," and others opposing corporate pollution. ABC declined to show it on the grounds that it constituted partisan political comment. But several weeks later ABC decided to broadcast — without commercial interruption — the half-time show at the Army-Navy college football game. That show honored the leading participants in the controversial U.S. raid on a prisoner of war camp near Hanoi, which had taken place the week before, and the chief speaker was Mr. Nixon's Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer. The President of ABC Sports, Roone Arledge, offered the explanation for the seeming double standard: unlike the pro-"peace" show at the Buffalo-Holy Cross game, there was no political content to the pro-war show at the Army-Navy Game.

As one might well expect, the Administration's domination of the airwaves has produced a number of legal challenges at the FCC, in the courts, and in Congress.

During the past summer the FCC issued a number of crucial opinions and rulings affecting the use of political television. The most significant series of opinions involved the so-called "Fairness Doctrine" and the central issue of citizens' "access" to the airwaves.

1. On June 4, the Commission held that peace groups in San Francisco, Baltimore, and Washington could not invoke the Fairness Doctrine to insist upon stations carrying messages to offset the point of view expressed in military recruiting spots.

2. On June 24, a Los Angeles Communist Party Leader, Mrs. Dorothy Healey, was denied the right to access to reply to a televised personal attack by a commentator on a Los Angeles television station:

3. Early in the Fall, widespread interest developed in the President's disproportionate power to control primetime television, especially when addressing the nation on the progress of the Vietnam War. In a spate of fairness and access decisions, the Commission:

—Allowed the Democratic National Committee limited access to the airwaves in order to purchase short spot advertisements to raise money, but denied the committee's more far-reaching appeal to buy spot announcements for policy statements attacking the Republican Administration;

—Refused the Business Executives' Move for Vietnam Peace the right to purchase time on a Washington, D.C., television station to express opposition to the war;

—Established — against the wishes of the Republican National Committee — an extremely limited (but important) right to rebut a President who has repeatedly invoked his prerogative of automatic access to primetime on all the major stations to address the nation on highly controversial issues, such as Vietnam

Several of us at the Federal Communications Commission expressed dismay at this open hostility toward viewers not in accord with those of the present Administration. Angered citizens are appealing many of the decisions to the higher Federal Courts. The final verdict is not yet in.

On the legislative front a popular backlash supported efforts to pass legislation which would have imposed limitations on television campaign spending. The Political Broadcasting Bill was overwhelmingly approved by Congress — 247 to 112 in the House and 60 to 19 in the Senate. In what was perhaps the most cynical act in

the history of the Nixon Administration's relationship with television, President Nixon vetoed the bill. As the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* declared:

Mr. Nixon's real motive in vetoing the TV spending bill is obvious. His Republican Party specifically and its candidates in general have more money than the Democrats, and the President wants the advertising advantage it gives them left as it is. The wholly independent, nonpartisan National Committee for an Effective Congress described Mr. Nixon's veto as "the most flagrant example of partisan interest we have witnessed in our 22-year history." We can only concur.

Joseph Califano, General Counsel for the Democratic National Committee, denounced the veto with these words: "By this act, Richard Nixon served notice that he intends to buy the Presidency from the American people, at whatever cost, in 1972." As the *Little Rock (Ark.) Gazette* observed: "... it may well be that in actuality the Democratic Party is in such critical financial condition that it may virtually forfeit the 1972 presidential elections before the campaign begins."

There is widespread agreement that perpetuation of government of the people, by the corporations and for the rich was one of the decisive factors in Mr. Nixon's decision to veto. The other decisive factor was the bill's repeal for presidential and vice-presidential races of the "equal-time" section of the Federal Communications Act. As an upstate New York newspaper observes: "This clause effectively prevents debates between candidates on free time, a protective exclusion Mr. Nixon no doubt is eager to preserve at least through 1972 — when he is likely to run again."

We have just come out of the 1970 congressional election campaign, and President Nixon's use of television was consistent with the pattern we have been describing. Much can be said generally about that campaign, and the lessons to be learned from the role which the Americans in your organization played in it. But it was also a major personal undertaking for the President. And, as such, there were a number of somewhat disturbing aspects which touch on the general topic we have been considering.

One of the most distressing aspects of the campaign was the exploitation



powers of his office as would a constitutional amendment formally abolishing the co-equality of the three branches of Government.

Self-evident as that statement appears to me, we are only beginning to grapple with its implications. We, all of us, FCC Commissioners, political consultants, citizens of the world, have a vital interest in collecting data, and simply informing ourselves, about this phenomenon.

The press bears a special opportunity and responsibility in this regard. It must investigate and expose the charades and facades. And it must develop its own traditions, including firm positions on pressure it will not tolerate — such as subpoenas and calls from Directors of Communications. The public must be educated about the uses of, and pressures upon, the media.

There is a precedent for this in the British tradition. Although the Prime Minister has the authority to ask that a certain program not be shown on the BBC, that power has not been exercised, for one simple reason: can you imagine the public reaction to the simple announcement that "the program originally scheduled for this time segment has been censored by the Prime Minister." Suppose ABC had said: "In deference to President Nixon's wishes, we have decided not to broadcast the Buffalo University Band's peace program."

We need ground rules as to when the opposition party is entitled to reply to the President. Perhaps we can benefit from the British concept of a "loyal opposition" which is entitled to regular access to television as a means of informing the electorate.

One response of the party out of power may be the selection of Presidential candidates much earlier than the present nominating conventions. There is no way a 535-man Congress (or even the Democratic "leadership") can effectively rebut the President in the personality-oriented medium of television. There simply has to be one opposition spokesman. We may see the day when the party out of power nominates its next presidential candidate two years before the President's term expires in order to permit him to play his role and build up a following before the election. Indeed, there are those who believe the supporters of Senator Muskie have already pulled off precisely that result when he was "nominated" to be the Democratic spokesman to answer President Nixon this last election eve.

We need ground rules on television advertising, particularly with respect to "spot" television ads. You gentlemen have a vital interest in this subject, because those spots have tarnished your own image and made a disparaging epithet of the word "image-maker."

Members of your fraternity have told me that they would often prefer to show longer portraits of their candidates but are unable to do so because the networks simply refuse to jeopardize their ratings. If this is so, it is in your interest, and the Nation's interest, for you to speak out and work to change this situation.

I would predict that there will be longer time periods used in the future, either because the Courts, Congress or FCC will require it, or the broadcasters will permit it under threat of such a ruling. I would also predict that there will be an increasing emphasis on "reality" — candidates who come across as their honest-as-possible selves. So many viewers are by now so hardened to the commercial slick sell that, as some of you observed this past election, the political commercials themselves are becoming issues in the campaigns. This is based upon nothing but feel. But, as the American musician/poet Mason Williams has said, "In the process of selling to America, business has created an America that will no longer buy its products. Their how blew their what." I think you gentlemen may find yourselves the victims of the same phenomenon. I suspect that a great deal of the cynicism on the part of many of the young and old alike about politics can be traced to the TV commercials backlash: if it's on TV it's probably not true, not good for you, overpriced, and of questionable moral and ethical value. (Polls reveal that 20% of those Americans who watched the moon landing — "Brought to you by the Gulf Oil Company" — refuse to believe that it wasn't just another phony commercial television program.) Television communicates a lot more about a candidate than his words — especially when the setting, his dress, or his expressions and gestures communicates that the words are untrue or hollow. I believe the increasing demand for real live human beings in politics is going to continue, whether in spite of or because of you. Indeed, the disappointment and disgust over the lack of responsiveness of both major political parties to other than military and corporate demands now raises the very real possibility of at least a "stand by" fourth party, ready to spring into action in all 50 states if the major parties do not adequately reform themselves by 1972. But you can be helpful in choosing your candidates, and their programs, and I hope you will be.

Finally, I want to present a series of proposals for your consideration; I would like to receive your comments and suggestions on these proposals, as well as on the subject I have discussed with you today.

(1) Television time should be made available free to all candidates for public office.

(2) This time should be equally apportioned among all major party candidates, and made available to others based upon the votes received in prior elections or the number of signatures on petitions.

(3) The purchase of any additional political time on television should be prohibited.

(4) Candidates should be forbidden to use time in less than five minute segments.

(5) When political propaganda films and advertising techniques are used, such presentations should be followed immediately by time during which the candidate is shown by the station in a setting over which he has no control, such as a debate, press conference or news interview.

I look forward to hearing from you.

of dissenters, using them before the TV cameras and exaggerating their importance. For example, the *New York Times* reported that in Miami Beach, where the President was scheduled to address a statewide television audience in support of the Republican candidate for the Senate, about 100 protesting youths were standing outside the convention hall when a man they assumed was from the White House presented them with white tickets and ushered them into an empty section at the rear of the hall. The youths performed as expected, stamping their feet and chanting, and both Mr. Nixon and Representative Cramer were able to make disparaging remarks about them before a statewide television audience.

The *Times* reported that similar incidents occurred that night on two other Nixon campaign stops in Florida.

The *Washington Post* condemned the campaign tactics of Nixon and Agnew as "rank exploitation of a national malaise for political gain."

Instead of talking about the virus in the bloodstream that causes the running sores, they are rubbing sandpaper in the sores, and then going to the people on the simple issue of whether one is for or against the sore.

Protesters, if we are to accept the reporting of Hugh Sidey of *Life Magazine*, are being consciously allowed into political rallies, in carefully measured strength, by the President's stage

managers as part of the act, to be played to, or upon, in a technique borrowed from the George Wallace campaign of two years ago . . .

The most brazen episode of this nature has come to be known as the "San Jose Incident," which took place after the President spoke at a political rally just five days before the election. The following is the *Washington Post* report of the "incident":

After the President left the building, he stood for a moment by his car, then climbed upon the hood to wave and raise his arms in the familiar "V" sign.

[Reuters reported that he was heard to say, "That's what they hate to see."]

The gesture seemed to inflame some of the demonstrators, and objects were thrown in the President's direction.

Although President Nixon had almost certainly been advised that protestors had been invited from all over the San Francisco Bay area — the heartland of the New Left movement — he mounted his limousine to flaunt a V-sign at anti-war demonstrators. Then, the following night, President Nixon went on nationwide prime-time television for one-half hour, paid for by the Republican National Committee, to denounce the demonstrators and urge support for Republican candidates across the nation, with the none-too-subtle suggestion that demonstrators and Democrats had more in common than the first four letters of the words. Before his speech, a staff

assistant in Herb Klein's White House office telephoned TV stations in some 30 major markets to advise them of the "importance" of the speech and to "ask" if they planned to carry it.

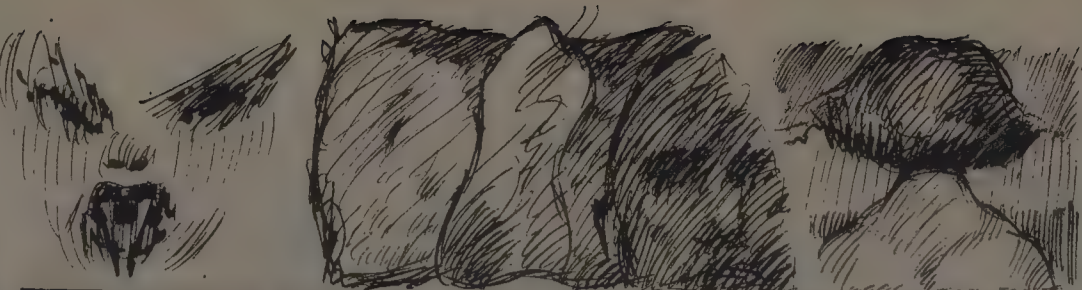
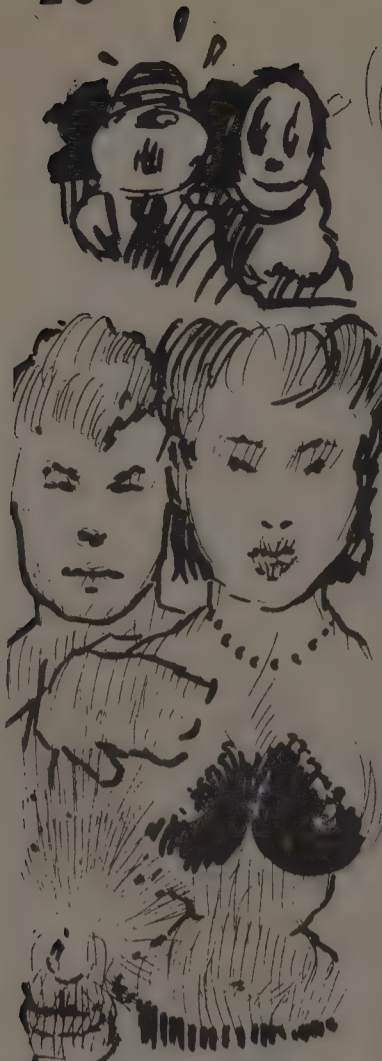
It is somewhat ironic that Senator-elect John V. Tunney (D-Calif.) credited Nixon's exploitation of the San Jose incident with helping him defeat the Republican incumbent, Senator George Murphy. Tunney said the President's actions "opened a credibility gap" based on "the impression . . . that the President was baiting the kids." Tunney said the President's V-sign "created a tremendous amount of suspicion" that the incident was being manufactured for political purposes.

Conclusion

Lest there be any misapprehension, I certainly do not represent that I have the "answers" to the problems I have been describing. In that sense there is no "conclusion" to these remarks. This is really only a superficial beginning to a project which I believe should occupy some of the best minds in the U.S. and elsewhere for some time: the examination and close study of television as a power phenomenon in American politics. As Senator J.W. Fulbright recently testified:

Communication is power and exclusive access to it is a dangerous, unchecked power . . . As matters now stand, the President's power to use television in the service of his policies and opinions has done as much to expand the

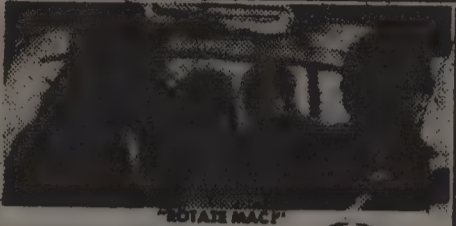
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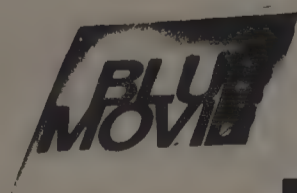
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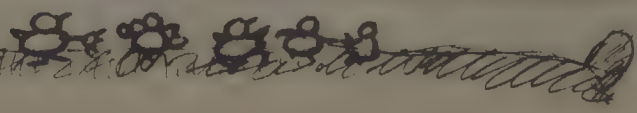
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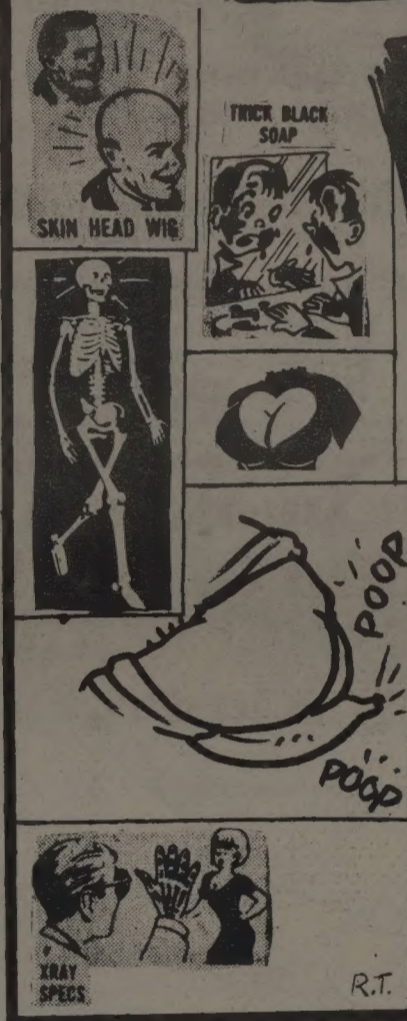
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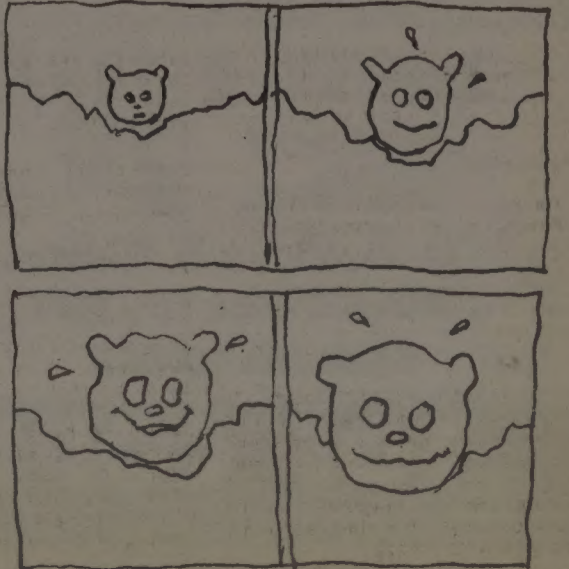
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Gay male books, magazines, movies, FREE CATALOGUES. Trojan Box 2121EV, Philadelphia, Penna. 19103.

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FEMALE FIGURE MODELS \$25 an hour. No experience necessary. I need many female models for legitimate photographic work for publication. This is my private studio, not an agency or amateur studio. I use up to ten models a week. None earn less than \$50 for a shooting; all day earns \$75. Some models are used many times. Strictly business. Call me at my Studio and ask questions. Bob Wolfe, 255-2711

100 GIRLS needed immediately for photographic figure modeling. No experience necessary. Minimum \$50-75 per shooting. Same girls used many times. Call Bob Wolfe Studio, 255-2711.

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S & M

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Beautiful BARE BUTTOCKS and muscled legs of male model Dave in 8 X 10 photo for \$3. David Alexander P.O. Box 1275, Manhattanville Station, New York City, N.Y. 10027.

Enjoy a 3-hour long erotic massage by Henri. Women only 929-3212 evenings.

Excellent hands. Enjoy a stimulating massage by Tony The Greek. Week days-Weekends. For appointment call 656-2853

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The LovESONG Of J.AL frEd PrOOfrock" By T.S.ELIOT; ""doN'T faLL off The MouNTAIN"" By SurELy MaCLaINE ("CaT oN a HOT TIN roof") May had a LITTLE LaMB, ITs fLEES WAS „ryanN'S DauGHtEr", "PANTA rhEi" (hErAKLEIToS, "rah, BEN-TAr!") & fLowruNs (NaME oN BldG, NEXt To BANKO. "& ELISE SAW The LIGHT ("LIGGETT" IN "BuTTErFIELD 8"), THAT IT WAS BEN ("TOV" (Viet Nam: VOT Name? (SayIGoAm & HaNol (anatta, "no self")))... & ON THE SEVENTH Day ELISE rACED IT." /The ThrEE MaGI BrOuGht "khrusOS, LEBaNoN & Murrh". Free book &/or supplement &/or escalator in a sarong: Benedict David Schwartzberg, Box 752, Peter Stuyvesant Station, NY 10009

Young male college student will accommodate females in any way. Good looking, uninhibited & WELL-TRAINED. Age and race unimportant. Call: Paul (New Jersey) 201-672-3829

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GRASS

SHAKE.

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A FEW YEARS AGO I CONTACTED A STRANGE DISEASE.

DO A TRICK FOR US TURN,

HERE COMES TURNER!

HI TURNER...

NOPE A EGG PLANT!

HE DID THAT LAST WEEK.

HEY HES DONE IT AGAIN HES TURNING INTO A...

TURNER

OH! OH! HE'S CHANGING... AGAIN.

I KNEW IT. I JUST KNEW IT!

DIDN'T I TELL YOU!

I KNEW IT ALL THE TIME.

HAPPY NEW YEAR

HAPPY NEW YEAR

FREE ANGELA