



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0N4

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

A Paradoxical Press:  
An Analysis of the American Military's  
European Stars and Stripes

Marla S. Lowenthal

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Media Studies

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Media Studies at  
Concordia University  
Montréal, Québec, Canada

October 1987

© Marla S. Lowenthal, 1987

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-44874-1

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank the people at the European Stars and Stripes, particularly Mert Proctor, for taking the time out of their busy schedules to be interviewed and for giving me the material without which this study could not be possible. Second, I would like to thank my director, Dr. Donat Taddeo, and my committee members, Dr. William O. Gilsdorf and Dr. Martin Allor, for their encouragement, friendship, and scholarly example. In addition I would like to thank Raymond Charron for his financial support; my mother, Mrs. Selaine Lowenthal, and my sister, Randy Lowenthal, for sending me some material I needed; my good friends Jocelyn Clarke, Judith Cezar, and Amelie Leibl-Scholl for giving me quiet havens in which to work; Kay Johnson for her assistance with the revised flow chart; my cat, Meri, for not being overly jealous of the computer; my computer; and the Department of Communication Studies at Concordia University for having put up with me for the past few years.



## ABSTRACT

### A Paradoxical Press: An Analysis of the American Military's European Stars and Stripes

María S. Lowenthal

The European Stars and Stripes, an "Authorized Unofficial Publication for the U.S. Armed Forces," is the daily newspaper published by the United States' Department of Defense for personnel and their dependents stationed overseas with the European Unified Command. Using Graham Murdock's definitions of allocative and operational control and Gaye Tuchman's descriptions of how organizational practices structure the news product, it was found that the Stars and Stripes is a paradoxical, hybrid press which both seems to reproduce and is fundamentally different from traditional paradigms of American print journalism.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Chapter	
I. Introduction .....	1
II. Sands of Time: A History of the <u>Stars and Stripes</u> .....	8
III. Allocative Oversight and Economic Control Structures .....	24
IV. Allocative Editorial Control Structures .....	47
V. Operational Control .....	80
VI. Production Practices .....	109
VII. Reading <u>Stripes</u> .....	149
VIII. Conclusion .....	181

## List of Appendices and Charts

Abbreviations .....	191
Appendix I. 1950's Distribution Maps .....	192
Appendix II. Present Distribution List .....	194
Appendix III. News Clippings on Kiessling .....	195
Appendix IV. Organization Flow Chart .....	196
Appendix V. Revised Flow Chart .....	197
Appendix VI. Financial Management Plan .....	198
Appendix VII. Appropriated Fund Support .....	199
Appendix VIII. Revenues and Operating Profits ...	200
Appendix IX. Net Product Sales .....	201
Appendix X. Distribution and Circulation .....	202
Appendix XI. Columnists and Cartoonists Values ..	203
Appendix XII. Editorial Balance Sheet .....	204
Appendix XIII. Letters to the Editor Summary.....	205
Appendix XIV. <u>Stripes'</u> Organizational Chart .....	206
Appendix XV. Editorial Organizational Chart .....	207
Appendix XVI. "Stars and Strikes" .....	208
Appendix XVII. Stylebook Page .....	209
Appendix XVIII. Stylebook reference to Death ....	210
Chart 1. Five Day News Breakdown.....	211
Chart 2. Comparative Breakdown of Local, International and National News .....	212
Chart 3. Comparison of Sources - Wire vs Staff ..	213
Chart 4. Five Day Average of Sources .....	214
Chart 5. Content Breakdown of Archive Listings ...	215
Chart 6. Five Day Average Content Breakdown .....	215
Chart 7. Comparison of Content Categories .....	216
Chart 8. Five Day Average General News Breakdown .	218

## Chapter I Introduction

Aside from its sister publication, the Pacific Stars and Stripes, the European Stars and Stripes is the only Congressionally mandated, tax funded newspaper in the United States. The Joint Committee on Printing of the United States Congress is responsible for reviewing operations and approving funding, and the President of the United States, as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces, is at the top of the Stripes' hierarchy. So the Stars and Stripes is the only American daily that can be said to be directly associated with the United States government. "The Stripes is a quasi governmental instrument in the eyes of a lot of people," noted the paper's Managing Editor. Consequently, because of its close connection with the U.S. government - the Congress, the President and the Department of Defense - the paper holds within the United States and American journalism a unique position which deserves critical attention. Yet until now the paper has been virtually ignored by media scholarship as an object of serious study.

The European Stars and Stripes, published in Darmstadt, West Germany is the "Authorized Unoffical Publication of the U.S. Armed Forces" in Europe. Its mission is:

1. "to bring DoD (Department of Defense) personnel and their dependents the same international, national, and regional news and opinion from commercial sources available to newspapers throughout the United States" making possible "the continued intelligent exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship by DoD personnel while they serve away from home", helping "morale and readiness by dispelling rumor", and "keeping them (personnel) in touch with many aspects of life in the United States while they live in unfamiliar surroundings."
2. "to provide applicabale U.S. Government, DoD, command and local news and information, which improves individual capability for mission accomplishment and brings a sense of joint mission purpose to the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine personnel operating together to carry out the U.S. defense mission overseas." (Instruction Number 5120.4 (Enclosure 5) p.1)

The European Stars and Stripes, like each element within the United States military, has a specific mission which ideally works towards fulfilling the much larger institutional mission of national security and defense. Simply, the Stripes' mission is to

be a source of national, international, local and institutional news for DoD personnel and their dependents overseas and to help with morale by waylating homesickness and fostering a sense of unity within the Command.

According to the paper's Managing Editor, "The Stars and Stripes is a daily newspaper published for the members of the American Armed Forces in the U.S. European Command. It is supposed to be as much like a paper they would read at home as is possible to produce." (June 16, 1986, Stuttgart, Tape 1) And it does resemble in many ways an American home-town daily newspaper. However, the Stripes is a paradoxical press in that it both seems to reproduce and is fundamentally different from traditional paradigms of American print journalism.

Given its distinct economic and institutional characteristics, the Stripes offers a valuable testing ground for communication theories that have been applied primarily to commercially competitive media organizations. Communication research on American journalistic practices has focused almost exclusively on competitive, commercial news organizations. Warren Breeds' important early work on social control in the newsroom; Harvey Mblotch and Marilyn Lester's fascinating exploration into the relationship between journalists' behavior, sources, and the production of news; Tod Gitlin's assessment of how news practices influence social movements; Gaye Tuchman's ethnomethodological analysis of how journalistic practices shape news judgements and assist in the construction of social reality; Herbert Gans' observations on how four American television and magazine news organizations operate and what they focus on; Michael Schudson's historical analysis of objectivity in American newspapers; Bernard Roshco's exploration into the impact routinized news practices have on the assessment of an occurrence's newsworthiness; John Hartley's guidelines to understanding how news is shaped; all concentrate their attention on news organizations that operate within the same competitive commercial economic structure. Indeed, perhaps the reason they all seem to sound alike after a while is because they have all chosen the same site for observation - the competitive commercial press.

One of the major purposes of this study is to explore whether or not communication theories concerning media/organization, journalistic practices, and news production would stand up when applied to a newspaper whose institutional and economic structures do not conform to those of traditional American daily news organizations. So the Stars and Stripes will add to communication scholarship and the sociology of news by taking established conceptions of news organization, practices and production and applying them to a newspaper that while similar to, is, nonetheless, different from other American dailies.

The two primary approaches that will be used in analyzing the Stripes are appropriated from Graham Murdock's "Large Corporations and the Control of the Communication Industries" and Gaye Tuchman's Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality. Murdock looks at how communication industries are organizationally structured to control the media product, whereas Tuchman looks specifically at the news and how organizationally and professionally determined work practices frame news products and structure social reality. However, both are concerned with control within communication organizations and with the structures, constraints, and values that influence the final media product.

To Murdock, control over the media product is primarily economic and so assessments of ownership structures and guidelines are extremely important, for who or whatever controls the purse strings controls the media product and its associated political, economic and cultural concerns. He proposes that the most basic questions to be asked in analyzing a communication industry are: 1. Whose interests are being served? and 2. How does the control structure shape the range and content of day-to-day production? These questions are addressed throughout this study in regards to the Stars and Stripes.

Murdock also notes that there are two types of control - allocative and operational - which determine the media product. Allocative control, enacted by those at the top of the hierarchy, determines policy and organizational strategies; decides on where or whether to expand or cut back; develops financial policy; and

controls distribution and profits. Operational control, enacted by those lower in the hierarchy, at the managerial level, decides on effective use of allocated resources; implements policy; and controls immediate production. (pp.122-123) Murdock's division of control into allocative and operational provides the framework for analyzing the Stripes interaction with the U.S. military as publisher, source and consumer.

Gaye Tuchman in Making News sees news as an "artful accomplishment attuned to specific understandings of social reality ...constituted in specific work processes and practices.(p.216) Particularly she explores how news organizations structure work practices to get the job done; how these organizational routines and demands impact on definitions of professionalism; and how social practices, definitions of professionalism and the values of journalists interact to select, frame and, therefore, define what is news and the final news product. Simply put, Tuchman proposes that "... news is enmeshed in the social organization of newswork."(p.191) Her notion of the "news net" - the institutional practices designed to capture occurrences that will later be assessed for their newsworthiness (pp.15-38) - refers to how information is gathered, the types of sources used, how staff is allocated, and the spacial and temporal constraints of the news organization. What is constituted as news is partially then a matter of the news net. In accordance with Tuchman, the Stars and Stripes' particular news net - its use of wire services, how it gathers information, its sources, use of staff, and constraints - will be explored to better assess how organizational and work practices structure the final news product.

Essentially this study explores the European Stars and Stripes' unique allocative and operational control structures to see how work practices and organizational guidelines established by the U.S. military structure the final news product and put it in a category all by itself. What we shall discover is that the European Stars and Stripes is a hybrid press - a mixture of controlled and free press modalities which together create the

"Authorized Unofficial Publication of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe."

## Methodology

A variety of qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in this study: on site observation, interview, in-house data collection, and content analysis. In the summer of 1986, I spent four days interviewing people and observing activities at the Stars and Stripes' main facilities in Darmstadt, West Germany. I also met with the Managing Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief and visited USEUCOM Public Affairs Offices (the "publisher's" offices) and the Stripes' Stuttgart Bureau in Vaihingen, West Germany, around 200km south of Darmstadt.

Both USEUCOM Public Affairs and the Stripes' facilities are housed in walled off, guarded security areas that require permission to enter. And so to begin researching the Stars and Stripes I first had to get permission to enter the institution. This proved to be no problem, and the people at both USEUCOM Public Affairs and the Stripes proved to be incredibly open and giving.

Over thirty present and past Stripes personnel in various departments and positions were interviewed. (see appendix 1 for list of interviewees) Interviews, almost all of which were taped and later transcribed, lasted anywhere from fifteen minutes to over two hours, and everyone interviewed was asked about what they did; how they did it; how they thought the paper compared with papers in the States and about their backgrounds (training; whether they were civilian or military; how long they worked for the Stripes; career paths; etc.). Questions were also geared towards the specific position of the individual being interviewed, so interviews were both uniform and distinct.

Apart from interviews, I collected as much data as I could find on the Stars and Stripes, but because so little has been written on the subject, pertinent written material was not easy to come by. I could find almost nothing on the ES&S at both university and military libraries, and a library computer search



harvested only three articles. So I collected as much Stripes' in-house literature as I could. I was given free access to the archives and a wide variety of in-house documents including: financial reports, a readership survey, a recent GAO report, DoD directives, internal and external evaluations of the paper, letters to the editor reports, flow charts, circulation charts, and a copy of the Stars and Stripes' Style Book. Internal documents, therefore, comprise the basis for much of the following exploration of the ES&S.

The paper's content was analyzed by three means which are explored in detail in the last chapter "Reading Stripes" and so will not be addressed here except to say that content was assessed at two levels - one quantitatively descriptive and the other qualitatively analytical. In sum, this study does not rely simply on one methodology, but incorporates a number of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

#### **Organizational Overview**

First a history of the Stars and Stripes is presented followed by a two part analysis of the allocative control structure divided into economic and editorial oversight. Next comes a rather long exploration of the Stripes' editorial operational control structure, which looks at what goes into the actual making of the Stripes, and afterwards the paper itself is analyzed to see how the allocative and operational control structures influence the media product. A conclusion ends the study.

## Notes for Chapter I

1. Merv Proctor, Managing Editor of the Stars and Stripes, interview in Viahingen, West Germany, June 6, 1986.
2. United States Department of Defense Instruction Number 5120.4, November 14, 1984, Enclosure 5, C. Mission, p.5-1.
3. Proctor interview.
4. Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," Social Forces Vol.33 (May 1955): pp.326-335.
5. Harvey Molotch and Marilyn Lester, "News as Purposive Behavior: On the Strategic Use of Routine Events, Accidents and Scandals," American Sociological Review 39 (February 1974).
6. Tod Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).
7. Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality, (New York: The Free Press, 1978).
8. Herbert Ganz, Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time, (New York: Vintage Press, 1980).
9. Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers, (New York: Basic Books, 1962).
10. Bernard Roscho, Newsmaking, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
11. John Hartley, Understanding News, (London: Methuen and Company, 1982).
12. Graham Murdock, "Large Corporations and the Control of the Communication Industries," Culture, Society and the Media, ed. Micheal Gurevitch et. al., (London: Methuen and Company, 1982) pp. 118-151.
13. Ibid., pp.122-123.
14. Tuchman, p.216.
15. Ibid., p.191.
16. Ibid., pp.15-38.

## Chapter II

### The Sands of Time: A History of the Stars and Stripes

Stars and Stripes was born amid the battle fields of the American Civil War. Though there were numerous newspapers put out on both sides, North and South, and there were even other editions of Stars and Stripes printed in places like Tobacco Factory, Va., Thibodaux, La. Jacksonport, Ark., Boston and New Orleans, four Union soldiers are credited with publishing the first Stars and Stripes.<sup>1,2</sup> On "a press of a newspaper plant captured by Union troops who ran the Johnny Rebels out of Bloomfield (Missouri)", the first Stars and Stripes was born - November 9, 1861. Yet because the Union troops were "...in such hot pursuit of the Confederates ...they only printed one edition...."<sup>3</sup>

So the Stripes began, and with it part of the lore surrounding the paper, that it is a front line warrior, as much a part of the battle as weapons and wagons, or the soldiers themselves. According to Cornebise, "An unnamed high official in the War Department" during World War I called the paper "one of the three outstanding contributions of America to the art of war."<sup>4</sup> And indeed, the paper is an information and morale technology as important to the American war effort as properly trained and motivated troops.

The paper sprang into action in the Civil War, but it was not, as a 1957 anniversary article on the Stripes implies, the same newspaper that it was to become. In discussing the Stripes the article states, "And as it has been since the Civil War, it will be the hometown paper for all the soldiers, sailors and airmen in Europe."<sup>5</sup> Yet the statement itself indicates significant change. There were no American troops abroad during the Civil War. Now The Stars and Stripes is designed exclusively to serve the American military overseas. So there was a shift in the basis of Stripes' operations from the States to overseas - a shift that took place during the First World War.

Ten months after the American doughboys crossed the Atlantic to do battle in "the war that would end all wars" The Stars and Stripes was born again. General John J. Pershing commissioned Second Lt. Guy T. Viskniski, an assistant press officer at the Headquarters of American Expeditionary Forces (A.E.F.) in Chaumont, France, to study the feasibility of setting up The Stars and Stripes. According to Alfred J. Cornebise, in January, 1918, "Pershing approved the publication of a weekly newspaper under the direction of the Press Section of the Censorship and Press Division -- G-2-D -- of the Intelligence Branch of the General Staff with the title The Stars and Stripes." \* The paper was to be the "only official paper of the A.E.F.;" its mission -- morale and information.

Cornebise notes, "The aims of the paper were fairly clear, '...to stimulate a healthy morale among troops of the AEF by giving them news of the war and of America attractively and interestingly presented'" and to "help consolidate the AEF," at the time "a scattered force made up of inexperienced and free thinking troops." \* Simply put, the paper was designed to "give the army a voice and stimulate morale." \* And these primary missions persist to this day, as do the paper's links with United States European Unified Command (USEUCOM) Headquarters and the Stripes distinction as the only official newspaper of the U.S. Armed Forces in Europe. So even though the Stripes was conceived during the Civil War, its formative years were under the guidance of the American Expeditionary Forces' Headquarters in Europe during WWI.

Indeed, the Stripes of WWI essentially parented the European Stars and Stripes of today. The two share not only similar institutional ties and functions, but similar problems as well, the foremost of which is juggling between censorial military control and adhering to the tenets of a free press. General Pershing stated emphatically, "No official control was ever exercised over the matter which went into The Stars and Stripes. It always was entirely for and by the soldiers." \* Cornebise explains, "It became an article of faith -- and something of a myth -- assiduously cultivated, that The Stars and Stripes was

strictly its own master under the complete control of the enlisted staff."<sup>11</sup> The final issue of the WWI Stripes only furthered contributed to this myth when it expressed the warmest appreciation for "the generous policy of non-interference, of non-dictation, which the General Staff, A.E.F., has held to from the start...."<sup>12</sup>

Yet many arguments arose between the editors of the Stripes and the institutional hierarchy over what and how material was to be presented in the paper. Cornebise writes:

... The Stars and Stripes recognized that they could always expect that GHQ (General Headquarters) would insist upon having certain items printed, i.e. 'must go stuff.' To be sure, in this area lay a battleground between the management of the paper and higher authority, and it saw some skirmishes if not major engagements.<sup>13</sup>

Skirmishes continue to this day between the military hierarchy and the editors of the Stripes. Indeed just as the officer-in-charge of the Stripes during WWI had to learn to juggle in the buffer zone between institutional demands and the demands of freedom of the press, so too must today's commanding editor-in-chief.

Trying to adhere to contradictory allegiances, to the institution on one hand and freedom of expression on the other, was not and still is not easy, particularly given the hierarchical power structure in which the paper operated and continues to operate. The editorial staff during WWI, says Cornebise:

enraged many a divisional publicity officer, and in general thumbed their collective noses at the martial universe. In so doing, they naturally worked always with one foot in the hoosegow, for practically every one of their callers and advisers ranked hell out of them.<sup>14</sup>

Yet at the same time the paper couldn't run too far afield from what its allocative control structure, the publisher, the U.S. military, demanded. According to Cornebise, although Captain Mark Watson, the second and last officer-in-charge of the A.E.F. Stripes, "allowed his enlisted staff to run on a loose leash, the leash was there nonetheless."<sup>15</sup> And it still is, as are the

problems associated with it in the overall framework of freedom of the press.

In addition, profits were a problem for the A.E.F. Stripes and likewise continue to bother today's Stripes. The A.E.F. Stripes' editorial staff took a proposal to give the paper's profits to orphans all the way to the American Congress, where it died in committee.<sup>16</sup> And, according to Capt. Dale Patterson, recently retired Commander/Editor-in-Chief of the European Stripes, profits are still a problem. "If I could only work on a zero based budget, a lot of my problems would be solved."<sup>17</sup> So it would appear that the Stripes' basic superstructure, guidelines, and hereditary problems stem from its formative AEF years.

Yet in many other ways there is only a slight family resemblance between the A.E.F.'s and today's European Stripes. The "Official Newspaper of the A.E.F." was an eight page weekly which rolled off the presses in Paris on February 8, 1918.<sup>18</sup> Its beat was "...a Europe in conflict, and its main clientele a body of American military men eventually 2,000,000 strong."<sup>19</sup>

Unlike today's inexpensive daily Stripes, the WWI weekly, which came out every Friday, was "rather expensive" - costing 50 centimes as compared to the 15 centimes for other American newspapers sold in Paris at the time.<sup>20</sup> Yet circulation "eventually reached more than 526,000 produced by a staff of 300 men."<sup>21</sup> The A.E.F. Stripes was sold by subscription (4 francs for three months) and, as an incentive to sales, offered that a proportional part of the cost ("up to a franc") would go back to the company's funds<sup>22</sup> - a forerunner of the practice now whereby the Stripes puts a share of its profits back into the military community.

Moreover, the WWI Stripes differed from today's in that it had commercial advertising, Stateside and foreign subscribers, and staff editorials. The WWI Stripes, then, more closely resembled the commercial papers of its day than does the Stripes today which has no open commercial advertising, is generally only sold to Department of Defense (DoD) members overseas, and has no staff editorials. In addition, like other papers at the time, the A.E.F. Stripes regularly included short works of fiction and

poetry, both of which are lacking in today's military daily newspaper.<sup>23</sup>

The most radical difference, however, between the AEF Stripes and today's Stripes regards sports coverage. "The elimination of the sports page took place five months after the (A.E.F.) paper began publishing."<sup>24</sup> Grantland Rice, the Stripes' WWI sports editor who went on after the war to become a major figure in sports reporting and film production,<sup>25</sup> explained that there was no place left in the paper for those "participating in the ease and safety of home" when so many were fighting "charging machine guns" and "plugging along through shrapnel."<sup>26</sup> So the sports section, a major part of today's Stripes, was dropped by the A.E.F. Stripes until after the armistice, when it was again reinstated.

In addition, distribution was more of a problem then than now not only because of the differences in transportation media, but because of the mobility of the population being served. Today the population, while more widely dispersed, is more stable than it was during WWI when the paper "... had to send out copies to a constantly moving public."<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, while most of the Stripes' editorial staff today are civilians who tend to come from small papers in the States, the WWI A.E.F. Stripes was produced by soldiers who before and after the war were active journalists for some of the best publications in the U.S. The first treasurer was Lieut. Adolph Ochs, Jr., later publisher of the Chattanooga Times, whose father published The New York Times and adopted the slogan "All the news that's fit to print". The first editions of the AEF Stripes were put together by Pvt. Hudson Hawley, formerly of The Hartford Times, The New York Sun, and The Yale Record; Pvt. John Tracy Winterich, of The Springfield Republican; Pvt. Harold Wallace Ross formerly of The San Francisco Call who after the war founded and directed The New Yorker; and Sgt. Alexander Woolcott, drama critic before and after the war for The New York Times. Other notables were Abian A. "Wally" Wallgren, cartoonist; Stephan T. Early, later Secretary to President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Franklin Pierce Adams, columnist and humorist with The

New York Tribune; and Mark Watson later editor for The Ladies Home Journal.<sup>28</sup> So on the WWI Stripes' editorial staff for various times during its seventy one weeks of operation were a number of individuals who were destined to become prominent figures in American journalism.

Continuing for a short time after the armistice of November 11, 1918, The Stars and Stripes, the Official Publication for the A.E.F., finally ceased publication on June 13, 1919, 15 days before the Treaty of Versailles was signed. Only once between the World Wars, in 1927, was the Stripes resurrected by ex-AEF staff for a week long American Legion convention held in Paris April 17-25.<sup>29</sup>

According to the "Fact Sheet" put out by the European Stars and Stripes today, "The newspaper folded after the war (WWI) ended, but some 24 years later, on April 18, 1942, it was reborn."<sup>30</sup> American forces on the European front at the beginning of the U.S.' involvement in World War II were first sent to England to await the "big day", and so it was in London that The Stars and Stripes, now the "Weekly Newspaper of the U.S. Armed Forces in the British Isles", first rolled off the presses.<sup>31</sup> Initially a weekly, like the AEF Stripes, the paper became an eight-page daily November 2, 1942 "on orders from General Eisenhower."<sup>32</sup>

The WWII Stripes operated under the Special Services Section of the Army<sup>33</sup> but little else about its chain of command has been chronicled. The fact, however, that General Eisenhower's telephone number was given out as the complaint line indicates that the paper enjoyed the same links with headquarters as its A.E.F. forerunner. Bob Moora, first managing editor of WWII's The Stars and Stripes, according to Shapiro, "carried knotty problems to Eisenhower.... Sometimes when the brass had a complaint, Moora would calmly suggest that they 'talk to my boss.' The callers were jolted to find that the telephone number provided put them into contact with Eisenhower's office."<sup>34</sup> So like the Stripes of the past and the European Stripes of the future, the Stripes of WWII was closely linked to the high command.



The paper's mission was also once again morale and information, and the battles between freedom of the press and institutional demand continued. Shapiro notes, "... keeping The Stars and Stripes as free as possible, consistent with military security" during WWII wasn't easy.<sup>33</sup> The Stripes "Fact Sheet" notes, "Bob Moora, wartime managing editor, recalled that 'throughout wartime operations the staff had to fight to withstand the pressures of well-meaning but ill-advised officers to use the paper for propaganda, for personal publicity, or as headquarters directive.'<sup>34</sup>

For example, according to another Stripes' article, "Probably Stripes' biggest military battle was with Gen. George Patton. He didn't think 'Willie and Joe', Bill Mauldin's familiar dogfaces, were sufficiently military to serve as good examples to the men and threatened to bar Stripes from his command."<sup>37</sup> But the Stripes won out and the cartoon stayed. An interesting aside to this tale is that in 1960, "... an editor of the European Stripes was denied permission to reprint some of Bill Mauldin war cartoons on the ground that, 'they show officers in a bad light'.<sup>38</sup> So the juggling in the buffer zone that took place between the demands of the institution and those of freedom of the press during WWI continued throughout WWII and is ever present today.

The WWII tabloid itself resembled its WWI predecessor in that it carried institutional and national news and had staff written editorials, yet it was different in other respects. It carried neither poetry nor fiction, adding instead pin-up girls, and it began using wire services to gather news, an option not available to its older sister publication. Moreover, unlike the A.E.F. Stripes, it had no advertising and continued to carry sports news. In many ways, then, the WWII Stripes can be viewed as the half-way stage in the paper's evolution to what it is today. Some of the characteristics, like the lack of commercial advertisements, the use of wire services and the inclusion of sports news remain; others, like the pin-up girls and the staff editorials, have gone the way of the dinosaur.

The WWII Stripes' funding and circulation were also different from its forerunner's and predecessor's. The paper sold for around five cents in England but was free of charge everywhere else, so the paper was not generally self-supporting like either the A.E.F. or today's Stripes.<sup>37</sup> Primary funding came, therefore, from appropriated funds indicating that the paper was seen as vital to the war effort. Circulation reached at its peak, according to Shapiro, "1.2 million daily - a figure kept secret even from its own staff because of its indication of U.S. strength in the war zone."<sup>38</sup> So circulation during WWII was the largest the European Stripes has ever known, and funding was almost exclusively institutional.

Perhaps one of the most interesting characteristics of the WWII Stripes is the number of places where the paper was published. Though the "Fact Sheet" credits 25 locations,<sup>39</sup> Shapiro writes, "By V-E Day (May 8, 1945), The Stars and Stripes had published more than thirty different editions." He continues:

From England after the North Africa landings, a small cadre of reporters and editors went to Algiers to start the Mediterranean chain of papers, published subsequently in at least a dozen towns in Africa, Sicily, Italy and France. Also from Britain, after the Normandy invasion, a small detachment went to France to open a Continental edition.... As American troops stormed across France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, Stripes men were on the heels of the infantry to open papers in Rennes, Paris, Strasbourg and Nancy in France; Liege, Belgium, and Pfungstadt and Altdorf in Germany.<sup>40</sup>

The paper's facilities were also as varied as the places in which it published, according to Shirley Katzander, "...ranging all the way from a truck and trailer putting out a front-line newspaper in Italy to the plant and facilities of the New York Herald Tribune's European Edition in Paris."<sup>41</sup> And given that the Stripes' staff closely followed the action, "Correspondents got killed and captured or wounded just like the fighting soldiers."<sup>42</sup> So as American troops moved through Europe and Africa dealing with the fortunes of war, so too did The Stars and Stripes.

In addition, just as the A.E.F. paper had a talented staff of soldier reporters who went on to acclaim in American media, so too did The Stars and Stripes of WWII. Stan Swinton, a vice

president and director of world services for the Associated Press, "served as a combat correspondent for the Mediterranean edition...."^^ Joe Fleming, UPI bureau chief in Bonn; Merle Miller, biographer and historian; Ernie Leiser, vice-president of special events for CBS News; Victor Lasky writer of It didn't Start with Watergate; and Andy Rooney, humorist and television commentator for CBS who appears on the program "60 Minutes", to name a few, all worked for the WWII Stripes. A number of cartoonists also got their starts with the WWII Stars and Stripes, including Dick Wingert, creator of "Herbert" which appeared first in the Stripes, and perhaps most acclaimed, Bill Mauldin, who in 1944 while on the Stripes' staff of the Mediterranean edition won a Pulitzer prize for his "Willie and Joe" cartoons.^^

World War II ended, but this time the Stripes didn't fold at the close of the war, as it had done after the Civil War and WWI. In fact, according to the Stripes' "Fact Sheet", "The Hawaii edition was launched a week after VE day (Victory in Europe, May 8, 1945) and became the forerunner of the Pacific Stars and Stripes which continues to be published in Tokyo."^^ Now there were two Stars and Stripes, one European, the other Pacific. While the Pacific Stripes and the European Stripes are totally separate entities, both have continued to operate since WWII just as the U.S. military has continued its presence in Europe and Asia ever since WWII. Indeed, the "Fact Sheet" notes, "World War II ended, but it was decided that The Stars and Stripes continue to be published as long as U.S. troops remained abroad."^^ So the history of the Stripes somewhat parallels the history of American military expansionism since WWII. The focus of this thesis is on the European Stars and Stripes and so it is not in its scope to delve into the history or operations of the Pacific Stars and Stripes which serves troops stationed in the Far East. Therefore the Pacific Stripes which was sold to American combat troops during the Korean and Vietnam Wars and continues to publish for service members stationed in Korea, Japan and other areas in the East today, will not be discussed.

The post-WWII years, however, saw major changes in the European Stars and Stripes as it adapted to the Cold War, a war that continues to rage. First of all the paper's funding structure changed significantly, indicating a shift in the institution's view of the paper as a vital to the war effort and worthy of appropriated funds. Instead, after the war, the paper was seen as a drain on finances, and so a means of making the paper self-sufficient, as it was in WWI, had to be found. The European Stripes began charging for editions in 1946 but revenue from paper sales was insufficient to cover costs. Circulation plummeted to a low of 70,000<sup>20</sup> so to solve financial problems, "On June 1, 1947, Stripes obtained the concession to sell magazines and books in EUCOM (American Armed Forces' Unified European Command)."<sup>21</sup> Since the paper was not allowed to sell advertising space, it made up for the advertising revenue most commercial newspapers rely on to keep afloat through Stars and Stripes bookstores - the total number of which went from 30 in 1950<sup>22</sup> to over 200 today and the total sales from \$8,640,000 in 1957<sup>23</sup> to in excess today of \$30 million annually.<sup>24</sup>

Circulation has fluctuated greatly since the first years after WWII going from a low of 60,000 right after the war to a high of 175,000 in the mid-1950's<sup>25</sup> stabilizing now at around 130,000 and the economic structure of the European Stars and Stripes, likewise, changed a little since 1947. To once again waylay financial problems, the paper was given permission in 1976 by the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing (JCP) (Public Act. No. 314) to include special inserts advertising nonappropriated-fund activities, recruiting/retention, DoD supervised banks, U.S. Federal credit unions and educational institutions, and "treaty organization and host-government instrumentalities that offer goods and services to DoD personnel and their dependents".<sup>26</sup> Advertising provides only a small part of the paper's budget, but has caused a lion's share of problems, particularly from commercial publications serving the overseas military community who have complained that the Stripes in taking away revenue from them.<sup>27</sup> The European Stripes' circulation and financial operations have, therefore, changed since WWII.

The Stripes' facilities also changed after WWII. Whereas during the frantic war years the paper published in a variety of places, after the war, the paper's publishing facilities were consolidated in Germany, first printing in April, 1945 in Pfungstadt and one year later in Altdorf. In September, 1949 the European Stars and Stripes finally moved into the facilities which house it to this day in Griesheim, West Germany, located near Darmstadt directly at the Darmstadt Airstrip, "Griesheimer Flugplatz to the local population".<sup>37</sup> So the European Stripes' economic and physical base of operations essentially solidified before 1950.

The paper's size, however, continued to increase from 8 pages during the war, to 12 pages in 1950, 16 in 1953, 24 in 1954 and to its current 28 pages in 1969.<sup>38</sup> The paper presently also includes a sixteen page weekly magazine on Thursdays. Likewise, the price continued to increase from nothing during the war, to \$.05 after the war, to \$.10 in 1971, and to the current \$.15 in 1973, though there is talk of raising the price soon to 25 cents.<sup>39</sup>

The paper's content also shifted. Today it is apparently less controversial than it had been in the past; the pin-up girls were "chased out by disapproving chaplains";<sup>40</sup> wire service reports are used more often than staff written material; staff editorials are no longer written, and political news is now according to a Times's reporter, "...calibered inch for inch so that neither party can claim bias."<sup>41</sup> The Stripes has, indeed, changed over the years.

However, skirmishes between the Stripes and its military publisher continue to rage. A major battle, for example, took place in 1967 when a former Navy officer, consultant on psychological warfare and then Director of Armed Forces Information and Education, John C. Broger, attempted to reroute through the Armed Forces News Bureau located near the Pentagon all wire service news copy destined to the Stripes. Fears of direct censorship ran rampant, and in protest "...<sup>41</sup> European Stars and Stripes staffers signed a letter to Rep. John E. Moss, chairman of a special government information subcommittee."<sup>42</sup>

Moss promised an investigation, and soon afterwards the Pentagon gave up on the idea. Yet this attempted takeover by the brass and the intervention of the Congress indicates another change.

Whereas during WWII, the paper could supposedly count on the military's top brass, specifically Gen. Eisenhower, to come to its rescue in censorship battles, after the war, the paper had to rely more on Congress to defend the paper's limited freedom.

This was indeed the case in the last major censorship battle anyone working at the Stripes nowadays recalls. In 1984, General Richard Lawson, Deputy Commander of the U.S. European Command, attempted to kill a story on West German Gen. Guenter Kiessling, NATO Deputy Commander, who was accused and later acquitted of being a homosexual. Only Senator William Proxmire's intervention saved the day. The Stripes now relies more on the American Congress to keep the top brass at bay than it did in the past.

Moreover, even though average daily circulation today at 131,156<sup>43</sup> is only a fraction of what it was during WWII, the European Stripes is distributed in more countries now than ever before. A comparison of maps on distribution services in 1950 and 1958 superimposed over maps of the United States begins to show the European Stars and Stripes territorial expansion (see Appendix I) Today the European Stripes covers a territory larger than the United States and is delivered to more than 42 different countries in the Atlantic, Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. (see Appendix II) As the U.S. military after WWII infiltrated into more and more regions of the world, the territory served by the European Stripes likewise expanded.

Not only did the territory change, but so too did the military population. Today during peace time the population is less mobile than it was during the paper's war years, and the make-up of the American military is different. First of all, there is no more draft. The American military is strictly composed of volunteers who now look upon the military as a career and not a forced obligation. The military is also no longer "This Man's Army", for women make up a sizeable proportion of the American Armed Forces. And the military is more ethnically and racially mixed than ever before. Moreover, the American military

is no longer the exclusive domain of single men or women, but has become increasingly composed of families - married couples, kids, single parents - so their needs and the special problems associated with them - family health care, education, spouse and child abuse - must be taken into consideration. In addition, more civilians than ever before are working with the U.S. military overseas in numerous capacities: computer operators, intelligence analysts, social workers, teachers, etc. So the population the European Stripes serves today is quite different from in the past.

In conclusion, the history of the European Stars and Stripes parallels in many ways the changing history of the United States military from the Civil War to today. Though the paper's circulation, facilities, readership, funding structures, content, and source of protection may change, as long as American troops are stationed in Europe and surrounding areas, the European Stars and Stripes will continue to exist.

## Notes for Chapter II

1. "Forerunners of Modern-Day Stars and Stripes," in "Souvenir of Your Visit to the Stripes," Stars and Stripes, no date, p.1.
2. Alfred E. Cornebise, Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984) p.2.
3. Forerunners, p.1.
4. Cornebise, p.167.
5. "The Stars and Stripes: On the Job Since 1942," in Stripes 15 Years Old, Feature Section, Stars and Stripes, 18 April 1957, p.14.
6. Cornebise, p.5
7. Ibid.
8. Cornebise, p.6.
9. Cornebise, p.7.
10. "General Marshall Sets a Goal for Stars and Stripes," in Stripes 15 Years Old, Stars and Stripes, Feature Section, 18 April 1957, p.11.
11. Cornebise, p.7.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 9.
14. Ibid., p.16-17.
15. Ibid., p.8.
16. Ibid., p.172.
17. Capt. Dale Patterson (USN), interviewed at Stars and Stripes' Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, August 6, 1986.
18. "Paris Presses Produced the WWI Edition," in "Souvenir of Your Visit to the Stripes," Stars and Stripes, no date p.1.
19. Cornebise, p.1.
20. Ibid., p.25.
21. Ibid., p.1.
22. Ibid., p.25.
23. Ibid., p.4.
24. "Paris Presses...", p.1.
25. Cornebise, p.178
26. "Paris Presses...", p.1.
27. Cornebise, p.26.
28. Ibid., pp.12,16.
29. Ibid., p.174.



30. "Fact Sheet", a promotional publication put out by the Stars and Stripes, p.3.
31. Shirley Katzander, "Volume 8 for S & S," The Stars and Stripes, Features Section, 16 April 1950, p.VIII.
32. Sid Shapiro, "News by and for GI Joe: Early Days of The Stars and Stripes and Yank Magazine," Stars and Stripes, (S&S New York Bureau), 9 January 1982, p.8.
33. "A.E.F. Paper Reborn for U.S. Forces", front page of the first edition of the WWII weekly reprinted in "Stripes 15 Years Old," Stars and Stripes, p. 11.
34. Shapiro, p.8.
35. Ibid.
36. "Fact Sheet," p.3.
37. "Born in London in 1942, Stripes Followed Troops Into Combat," in "Souvenir of Your Visit to the Stripes," Stars and Stripes, no date, p.4.
38. "Dimmed Stars and Stripes," Time, 18 March 1960, p.91.
39. "S&S Followed Troops into WWII Battles," in "Souvenir of Your Visit to the Stripes," Stars and Stripes, no date, p.1.
40. Shapiro, p.8.
41. "Fact Sheet," p.3.
42. Shapiro, p.8.
43. Katzander, p.VIII.
44. "S&S Troops Followed Troops into WWII Battles," p.1.
45. "Former Army Newsmen Relive World War II Stories," New York Times, Section I, 17 January 1982, p.34.
46. Shapiro, p.8.
47. "Fact Sheet," p.3.
48. "Fact Sheet," p.4.
49. "The Stars and Stripes: On the Job Since 1942," p.13.
50. "The New Stripes is Five Today," Stars and Stripes, 24 June 1958, p.16.
51. "ECA Progress Report," Stars and Stripes, Feature Section, 16 April 1950, p.7.
52. "On the Job Since 1942," p.13.
53. "Fact Sheet," p.2
54. United States Government Accounting Office (GAO), National Security and International Affairs Division, Report on the Stars and Stripes, at the request of the Chair, Readiness Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, GAO NSIAD-86:104 Stars and Stripes, 7 May 1986, p.10.
55. GAO, pp.30-32.
56. GAO/ Patterson interview
57. "Stars and Stripes Find a Home in September 1949," Souvenir of Your Visit to the Stripes," Stars and Stripes, no date, p.1.

58. GAO, p.10.
59. Ibid., Mert Proctor interview
60. "Dimmed Stars and Stripes," p.91.
61. Ibid.
62. "News by the Numbers," Newsweek, 6 February 1967, p.66.
63. "Proxmire Criticizes General Over Stars and Stripes Curb," Washington Post, Section 4, 17 February 1984, p.4.
64. "Senator Asserts Army Censored a Newspaper," The New York Times, Section A, 16 February 1984, p.8.
65. Richard Halloran, "Women, Blacks, Spouses Transforming the Military," New York Times, Section A, 25 August 1986, p. 1 and 14.

### Chapter III

#### Allocative Oversight and Economic Control Structures

According to Graham Murdock, "Allocative control consists of the power to define the overall goals and scope of the corporation and determine the general way it deploys its productive resources." Embedded in allocative control is the power to formulate overall guiding policies; develop financial strategies, control the use of profits and make decisions on expansion or cutbacks in equipment or labor. Simply put, allocative control, whether instilled in a document, a person, a board or any other governing structure, refers to the power to define organizational goals and the interests they serve. The allocative control structure refers, then, to that part of a corporate or institutional hierarchy which articulates its concerns through the structuring of organizational operations and plans. In regards to newspapers, therefore, the publisher/owner, upper management and organizational policies are all part of the allocative control structure.

In assessing the European Stripes' allocative control structure, it is necessary, therefore, to look at the paper's guiding policies, organizational structure and chain of command in order to:

1. determine the relationship between the military as publisher and the Stripes as a news organization;
2. determine the institutional concerns around which the ES&S is structured.

To this end, the guidelines under which the Stripes operates; the hierarchy and patterns of accountability they establish; the concerns that they articulate; the constraints that they set down; and the processes they articulate to meet primary objectives will be explored.

This chapter will first discuss the institutional frames of reference upon which the Stripes' allocative control is based and then describe the overall institutional framework governing ES&S operations. Afterwards, attention will concentrate on the

business affairs strain of the allocative control structure as enacted by the Pentagon and United States Armed Forces European Unified Command (USEUCOM). A close analysis of economic control as represented by the Fund Council and its concerns is presented at the end. Editorial allocative control will be discussed in the following chapter.

### **Institutional Frames**

The European Stripes' allocative control structure is determined by its institutional association with the United States Department of Defense (DOD), an institution integrally associated with the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress. The President, as Commander in Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces, is at the top of the chain of command for all DoD organizations including the ES&S. The U.S. Congress approves military budgets so it is likewise involved in the allocative control structure of all military operations. Specifically in regards to the ES&S, the Joint Committee on Printing of the U.S. Congress oversees ES&S affairs. No major expenditures can be taken by the ES&S without the approval of Congress, the Pentagon and the U.S. Unified Command in Europe.<sup>2</sup> Editorial disputes can be taken to the Congress for redress, as was the case in the Kiessling affair. (see Appendix III)

No other American newspaper, therefore, is as structurally linked to the U.S. government as the ES&S. In no other newspaper's organizational structure does the U.S. government play such a large role or have as much control over editorial and administrative management and policy. It is this association economically and operationally with the U.S. government and military which frames the Stripes' unique allocative control structure and makes the newspaper a hybrid press - a mixture of military and civilian journalistic codes and practices.

Later we shall see how this government association affects editorial policy and operations. Here the focus is on business affairs, and we shall see that the ES&S has been structured in such a way as to function in both private and public economic

spheres. As a Department of Defense instrumentality, it receives public funds supplied through tax dollars. Yet, the ES&S is also a commercial, revenue producing enterprise, operating within the competitive commercial sphere. In fact the ES&S is generally self sufficient and receives only a small portion of its operating expenses from public funds. The ES&S is, therefore, economically a hybrid - a unique mixture of public and private funds. And it is just this hybridization and the ES&S connection with the U.S. government and military which we must keep in mind in order to comprehend the economic frame of the newspaper's allocative control structure.

### **The Overriding Form: An Integrated Circuit**

Before an analysis of the economic control structure can be undertaken it is important to get a handle on the overall organizational form of the allocative control structure of which economic control is just a part. Within the military, the ES&S' allocative control structure resembles an integrated circuit. Rather than a strict linear structure of accountability, influence and responsibility are in many ways shared among separate and yet parallel organizational lines. Even at the furthest removed administrative level, two separate agencies of government, the executive and legislative branches, are involved in overseeing ES&S general operations. This interconnected responsibility and influence is, likewise, apparent at the two Command levels and within and between the command structures.

The Command level refers to the institutional entities endowed with the greatest ability to exercise significant authority and control over not just the ES&S but also broader ranged military mission activities. The Pentagon, headquarters for the American military world wide, and the United States Armed Forces European Unified Command (USEUCOM), the combined services organization in charge of American Forces in the European Theater, are the two military commands with the greatest degree of direct allocative control over the ES&S. While the Pentagon ranks higher than USEUCOM in the overall chain of command and has

the power to establish policy by which USEUCOM must operate, they are almost parallel in regards to the ES&S's allocative control structure for both have the power to formulate the messages that are channeled through public affairs offices to the ES&S and both monitor and establish ES&S policies and operations. The Commands, the Pentagon and USEUCOM, therefore, occupy the top overriding positions of the ES&S' organizational chart. As a "mission activity of the Department of Defence",<sup>3</sup> the ES&S functions to serve the needs of the Commands.

In a recent Government Accounting Office (GAO) report requested by the Chair of the Readiness Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee<sup>4</sup> which looked into the feasibility of consolidating Pacific and European Stripes' operations, the DoD Organizational Flowchart of S&S entities delineates these two commands. (see Appendix IV) The GAO report's "Administrative Chain" is what I call the "Pentagon" chain, and its "Operational Chain", I call the "USEUCOM" chain, but they are essentially the same. I have chosen to relabel these oversight structures for the following reasons.

I feel that the Government Accounting Office's terms do not adequately represent the ES&S' complete operational chart. GAO was only interested in the paper's financial operations and so left out the important public affairs/editorial side of the allocative control structure. I believe that the Pentagon and USEUCOM labels better situate the ES&S' oversight structures within the institutional framework and, unlike the GAO's terms, are broad enough to cover the specific strains of authority - public affairs and business affairs - which operate in each command to monitor the ES&S.<sup>5</sup>

These two interrelated strains of authority, public and business affairs, make up in the ES&S' allocative control structure within each of the Commands. (see Appendix V) The public affairs strain, the network through which institutional information is channeled, is concerned primarily with editorial review and represents the military's ideological/information apparatus of which the ES&S as a newspaper is a part. The business strain refers to the financial, logistical and

administrative apparatus outside of editorial, which unlike public affairs, is concerned primarily with ES&S' fiscal, logistical and personnel operations. It represents the institution's administrative as opposed to editorial apparatus and pays particular attention to the newspaper's business management.

Both strains of authority work in conjunction with each other both internally within the Commands and externally between the Commands to monitor ES&S affairs. For example, the public and business affairs strains connected to the Pentagon together determine general administrative policies and share, though not quite equally, responsibility for ES&S operations. The same structure is true for shared administrative responsibility between the two strains within USEUCOM. The strains of control also operate between the Commands. Pentagon public affairs is linked to USEUCOM public affairs and the Pentagon's business strain is structurally linked to USEUCOM's.

Public Affairs offices are essentially only transmitters of messages made at various points up and down the sinews of the military bureaucracy. They exist to serve the military organizations, the commands, to which they are attached. The Armed Forces Information Service (AFIS) serves DoD, so the information it offers to the European Stripes through its news services and other contacts carries with it the weight of the uppermost echelons of the American military - DoD - the Pentagon. USEUCOM Public Affairs information channeled through the ES&S carries with it the weight of the heavy brass from Headquarters for the American military's Unified Command in Europe. The Pentagon and USEUCOM always come first. So the European Stars and Stripes, while a PA presentation, is essentially a Command performance.

The business and public affairs strain are separate control entities within each command which operate in conjunction with one another to determine overall policies; to approve or disapprove budgets; to establish operating guidelines.

At the very top of the Pentagon chain can be seen the separation of authority into public affairs and business affairs. Responsibility for the ES&S at the Pentagon level is divided between the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs (ASD(PA)) who has delegated responsibility to the Armed Forces Information Service (AFIS) and the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Manpower, Installations & Logistics (ASD(MI&L)) who has recently divided responsibility for the ES&S between Force Management and Personnel (FM&P) and Acquisition and Logistics (A&L).<sup>6</sup>

Both AFIS (public affairs) and MI&L (business affairs) are involved in determining the principle DoD policies affecting the ES&S as set down in DoD Instruction Number 5120.4 - the document that defines the Stripes, sets up its operating procedures, determines its chain of responsibility, establishes its editorial and economic policies and structures its journalistic practices. Instruction 5120.4 is the bible of the ES&S, the Pentagon's supreme directive and the basis of USEUCOM's ES&S policies.

AFIS establishes guidelines for ES&S editorial matters, while the two MI&L entities "...issue guidance on personnel matters, and for nonappropriated-fund instrumentalities.<sup>7</sup> Yet together they determine the structure through which the Pentagon's editorial and managerial control is exercised over the ES&S for they establish the policies in regards to the ES&S.

Even though MI&L is involved in determining policy, AFIS, public affairs, has primary oversight of the ES&S. AFIS acts under the auspices of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs) (ASD(PA)) who is tasked with the primary responsibility at the Pentagon level for all ES&S affairs - financial and editorial.<sup>8</sup> The person ultimately responsible for the ES&S as a military information medium at the Pentagon level is the same person who is in charge of all DoD public affairs and information media. The ES&S, as a military mass information medium, is a public affairs presentation.

The Director of AFIS, acting for the ASD(PA), is explicitly tasked with monitoring the policies, content, and management of all DoD publications, including the ES&S.<sup>9</sup> AFIS, the Washington



based organization in charge of all DoD public affairs services and mass communication operations, both broadcast and print, in-house and out, is to "exercise overall cognizance in the Department of Defense over S&S matters on behalf of the ASD(PA)."<sup>10</sup> AFIS is the point of contact between the ES&S and the Joint Committee on Printing (the Congressional oversight board responsible for all government publications), and AFIS is the DoD point of contact in the United States for all ES&S matters. So AFIS is the major liaison between the ES&S and both the Congress and the Pentagon, two entities with the most control over all financial and policy matters pertaining to DoD and the ES&S.

In terms of Stripes' administrative and financial management, its business affairs, AFIS and MI&L share responsibility for setting policy and monitoring financial practices. But they don't share it alone nor equally. Within the Pentagon, various elements in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (MI&L) and the Secretary of the Army work with them and so are also actively involved in the newspapers' financial management. ES&S' fiscal policies and allocation of resources at the Pentagon level are negotiated. But AFIS once again has the lion's share of responsibility and possibly the greatest voice for AFIS alone pays for the commercial audit done on the ES&S every two years,<sup>11</sup> and it is in charge of the S&S Management Action Group.<sup>12</sup>

The S&S Management Group is the Pentagon level business review board with the greatest allocative economic control over the ES&S for it can allow or disallow major capital expenditures and the like. The Management Group is designed to help the Director of AFIS monitor the ES&S' financial situation; waylay and help to resolve impending financial problems; and assist the UC Commander and S&S with problems when necessary.<sup>13</sup> The Group is composed of:

senior level personnel highly qualified in business and management disciplines from AFIS (Chairperson), Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower, Installations, and Logistics), and other OSD (Office of Secretary of Defense) offices with the authority and expertise to assist in solutions to S&S problems. A steering committee, chaired by the Director, AFIS, and composed of members at the Deputy

Assistant Secretary level or above shall guide and assist the work of the S&S Management Action Group when appropriate.<sup>14</sup>

Pentagon representatives from outside AFIS and public affairs are, then, also responsible for helping ES&S with its financial management indicating that while the ES&S is primarily a PA presentation, it is not strictly a PA responsibility, and illustrating that various Pentagon departments other than AFIS and MI&L are involved in the financial oversight (business strain) of the ES&S' allocative control structure.

Indeed specific services at the Pentagon level are mandated to have a hand in running ES&S' non-editorial or business affairs. Instruction 5120.4 (Enclosure 1) tasks the Secretary of the Army with providing administrative and logistical support to overseas Unified Command (UC) newspapers such as the European Stripes.<sup>15</sup> Enclosure 5 specifies that the Secretary of the Army, via the Office of the Adjutant General or another appropriate office, be responsible for the Stripes' financial policies and procedures and for any administrative and logistical support the ES&S needs. Indeed, the Army is listed as second in the chain of those responsible for Stripes operations, after AFIS and before the paper's Commander/Editor in Chief.<sup>16</sup> So within the business strain of the Pentagon structure, the Army more than the other services monitors and assists in ES&S' administration.

Within the Pentagon, the pinnacle of the military hierarchy, AFIS (public affairs) and MI&L (business affairs) structure the ES&S' editorial and financial operations and determine general DoD operating guidelines for all ES&S' policies, including USEUCOM's. Though MI&L, the Secretary of the Army, and the S&S Management Board, all part of the business strain at the Pentagon level, assist in monitoring and determining fiscal and administrative affairs for the ES&S, AFIS (public affairs) has primary control over the paper as a military information apparatus. AFIS, Pentagon public affairs, is in charge of overseeing ES&S' business matters; it is the liaison between the Pentagon, the Congress, and ES&S, and a key determining element in the ES&S' allocative control structure.

## A USEUCOM Publication

Though the Pentagon chain of the ES&S' allocative control structure sets the guidelines upon which USEUCOM, a subordinate echelon, must base its ES&S policies, USEUCOM still plays a major role in determining and overseeing ES&S operations. While the USEUCOM line of the ES&S allocative control structure begins at the Pentagon with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it is really the Commander in Chief of the European Unified Command (USCINCEUR) who is mandated in DoD Instruction 5120.4 with primary and direct responsibility along with AFIS for managing all European Stripes' operations.<sup>17</sup> The Stripes' "Purpose" clearly notes, "The European and Pacific S&S are the JC newspapers of the U.S. European and Pacific Commands.... (and) are mission activities of the Department of Defense."<sup>18</sup> Specifically the ES&S is designed to facilitate the command information needs of USEUCOM headquarters. The Stripes belongs, then, to the Commander in Chief of the United States' European Unified Command, the USCINCEUR.

For this reason, the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM, at the time of the study, General Bernard Rodgers (who for eight years was also Supreme Allied Commander in Chief of NATO) was considered the titular publisher and quasi-owner of the European Stars and Stripes. "The Stripes is General Rodgers' paper," noted numerous Stripes personnel.<sup>19</sup> As publisher, he is responsible for all ES&S operations and personnel. The Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs; the Editor in Chief of the ES&S, and all of the members on the European based ES&S review boards work for him.<sup>20</sup> He is, as one ES&S employee remarked, "The Big Daddy Rabbit", and, therefore, his and USEUCOM's influence over the administration and editorial content of the ES&S is as great as, if not greater than, the Pentagon's.

One way the USCINCEUR, the Commander in Chief of U.S. Forces in Europe, may influence the ES&S is through USEUCOM directives, such as ED 15-8, which are based on Pentagon Instructions yet have the most immediate impact on ES&S' policies and operations. Another way is by channeling European Unified Command editorial concerns and messages to the ES&S through the Director of Public

Affairs, USEUCOM. So like the Pentagon, USEUCOM headquarters may exercise control over the ES&S through mandating policy or managing the communication to be passed along by PA offices.

Still another way the USCINCEUR can exert influence is through the authority to select those who run and review the ES&S. Instruction 5120.4 (Enclosure 1) gives the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM the power to choose the military officers assigned to be the Editor in Chief and Deputy/Assistant Editors in Chief of the European Stripes. So he has the power to hire the two top most executive officers directly in charge of European Stripes' operations. Enclosure 1 also puts him in charge of the S&S Advisory Board and Fund Council, the two boards that most closely monitor Stripes' editorial and financial operations.<sup>21</sup> The USCINCEUR, then, is responsible for hiring ES&S' top management personnel and overseeing Stripes' editorial and fiscal review operations.

The Commander in Chief (CINC) of USEUCOM, because of his many other commitments, delegates responsibility for USEUCOM matters, including the Stripes, to the Deputy Commander in Chief USEUCOM (USDCINCEUR) who at the time of the study was four star General Richard Lawson (USAF). General Lawson turned Stripes' matters over to the Director of PA, USEUCOM.<sup>22</sup> However, regardless of who is doing the actual oversight, the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM is still the titular publisher and is ultimately responsible for the European Stripes' upper administration - the Commander/Editor in Chief of the European Stripes; the two Stripes' management boards - the S&S Advisory Board and the S&S Fund Council; and all of the military components under his command tasked with overseeing any ES&S operation.

Within USEUCOM, Headquarter's Directive ED 15-8 mandates that the Commanders in Chief (CINC) of the Component Commands (referring to all of the Armed Services- Army, Air Force, and Navy - participating in the Unified Command) communicate directly with the Editor in Chief about ES&S administrative or other matters, and operate efficient educational services that won't put ES&S' textbook service into financial difficulty. Most importantly, however, the Commanders in Chief of the Command Components are

responsible for administrative and logistical support of ES&S in "their respective geographic areas" and for nominating members to the two ES&S review boards.<sup>23</sup> They, therefore, function within the business strain of USEUCOM's allocative control over the ES&S.

The Commanders in Chief of the Command Components, the CINCUSAREUR (the Commander in Chief of the American Army in Europe), CINCUSNAVEUR (the Commander in Chief of the American Navy in Europe), CINCUSAFE (the Commander in Chief of the United States Air Force in Europe) keep track of ES&S' operations through their representatives on the review boards and through the administrative and logistical support they individually supply the newspaper.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, because the Secretary of the Army is mandated to look after ES&S administrative and logistical services through the Pentagon chain, the Army European Command (USAREUR), which is under the Unified Command USEUCOM, has been given immediate responsibility for overseeing Stripes' business affairs. All service branches within USEUCOM, therefore, participate in monitoring the ES&S' business affairs.

However, the Fund Council and the Advisory Board, both under the auspices of USEUCOM Headquarters and both composed of members from all of the Component Services, are the two review boards with the most direct responsibility for European Stripes' management and the most immediate influence over its operations. In addition, it is through an analysis of these two management committees that the business and public affairs strains within the ES&S' allocative control structure are best illustrated; the Fund Council more closely follows the business path, while the Advisory Board more closely traces the PA line. A discussion of the Fund Council and its concerns will immediately follow; however, a discussion of the Advisory Board and the editorial management and concerns of the Stripes as an aspect of public affairs will be reserved for the next chapter.

**The Fund Council - Fiscal Considerations**

The Fund Council represents the business strain within ES&S' USEUCOM chain and is concerned almost exclusively with the fiscal management of the ES&S as defined in both Pentagon and USEUCOM directives. The Fund Council is composed of the Commander/Editor in Chief of the ES&S (Chair, voting only in the event of a tie) and voting members to include: one representative from ECCM (the Comptroller, UC) and ECPAO (the Director of Public Affairs, USUECOM), and one each from the Commanders in Chief of the Army, Air Force, and Navy Commands in Europe. The Deputy Editor in Chief of the ES&S and the Custodian of the European Stars and Stripes Fund are non-voting members.<sup>25</sup> All members are assigned for a term of not less than three years and are mandated to meet at least quarterly to review ES&S affairs.

Even though public affairs personnel are represented on the Council, mandate limits the Fund Council to non-editorial, business concerns. In fact any action that the Fund Council takes which may have editorial implications must first be channeled through the Advisory Board, the body mandated with editorial review.<sup>26</sup>

The Fund Council's sole interest is in the business administration of the ES&S<sup>27</sup> specifically: "finance and accounting, product pricing, marketing, organization and management, manpower and personnel, circulation, and transportation."<sup>28</sup> The Fund Council monitors all business operations and continuously evaluates external factors which may impact on financial planning such as the exchange rate and troop strength.<sup>29</sup> It also approves or disapproves quarterly changes in capital expenditures and has the power to accept or reject the Editor in Chief's annual financial plan and capital expenditure budget.<sup>30</sup> In addition, it reviews the 2-year forecast for the ES&S provided annually by the Editor in Chief. (see Appendix VI) So the Fund Council is strictly concerned with the financial status and administrative health of the ES&S.

The Fund Council, however, can only recommend actions that will later be considered by the USCINCEUR who makes the final decisions.<sup>31</sup> But its recommendations negotiated at Council meetings help guide ES&S' financial and business management,

indicating the Council's tremendous involvement in the newspaper's economic affairs.

Yet the business and financial matters that concern this "hometown" newspaper's management board are quite different from those that concern the management of stateside commercial civilian papers. The ES&S' business management, first of all, operates within a different economic sphere than civilian newspapers. Whereas civilian newspapers are private commercial enterprises operating for profit within the free market, the Stripes is a hybrid of both public and commercial structures operating both within free market and closed institutional economic systems not for profit so much as for solvency.

First it is important to understand the institutional economic structure in which the ES&S' Fund Council manages the Stripes' finances. The U.S. military's economic structure is composed of two funding sources: appropriated-funds and nonappropriated-funds. Appropriated-funds come from Congressionally mandated, public monies, while nonappropriated-funds come from revenue producing enterprises which filter profits back into institutional activities. The ES&S is authorized appropriated funds primarily in the form of salaries for military staff, and logistical and circulation support. The Stripes will not cease to exist if it encounters bad financial times, for as in the case of the Pacific S&S, the institution will bail it out. Yet the Stripes is also a revenue producing nonappropriated-fund entity. Because of this dual funding structure, the GAO notes that the two Stripes "... operate as hybrid organizations...."<sup>32</sup> They are the only "resale activities" associated with the U.S. military that are authorized appropriated funds. The ES&S is, therefore, both revenue draining in its use of appropriated funds and revenue producing in its use of nonappropriated funds.

The Stripes was totally an appropriated-fund instrumentality during WWII, and in times of war it is authorized to be so again,<sup>33</sup> but after WWII, the ES&S entered into money making enterprises in order to cut back on appropriated funds. In order to save public monies or rather divert them to other more obvious defense

purposes, the ES&S became a nonappropriated-fund instrumentality composed presently of the newspaper, the Job Shop, and over 200 bookstores.

The ES&S is considered to be a Category II Resale and Revenue Sharing, Morale, Welfare, and Recreation (MWR) activity, and as such is administered as a Category II nonappropriated fund instrumentality (NAFI) by the Department of the Army.<sup>24</sup> The ES&S Fund, ECN-874, is a revenue-producing non-appropriated fund managed in accordance with the Commander in Chief of the Army in Europe (CINCUSAREUR).<sup>25</sup> In other words, the ES&S is managed as an Army nonappropriated-fund instrumentality designed to be supported as fully as possible by newspaper sales; sales of books, magazines and other like products from S&S outlet stores; job printing; authorized advertising; and other income.<sup>26</sup>

And indeed the ES&S' self-generated revenues far outweigh appropriated funding. Only 23 out of 641 employees, or less than 4%, are paid by appropriated funds, and all of these positions are staffed by active duty military personnel, to include the Editor in Chief and the Deputy Editor in Chief.<sup>27</sup> So more than 96% of staff salaries are covered by ES&S revenues. In addition, the 1986 GAO report notes appropriated-funds in 1984 amounted to only \$4,595,899, most of which went for personnel (\$1,016,426) and DoD mail/circulation (\$2,910,552). (see Appendix VII) Operating expenses in 1984, according to ES&S' Financial Management Plan, amounted to \$41.5 mil.<sup>28</sup> Given these figures, appropriated-funds for 1984 would have amounted to only 11% of the total operating budget, which means that 89% of ES&S' operations in 1984 was paid for by ES&S self-generated income. So most of the European Stripes' expenses are covered, as they should be, by revenues from profit making operations.

Yet of the four possible revenue producing enterprises that ES&S engages in, the print shop, resale publications, advertising, and the newspaper, all are profitable except the newspaper, which according to GAO lost \$5.1 million in 1984. (see Appendix VIII) The newspaper, then, is really a losing proposition and so it is doubtful that it would continue to exist very long within the profit motivated private sector. But the



ES&S, though concerned with profit, is not strictly profit motivated. Indeed, excessive profits are problematic.

Excessive profits indicate that consumers are not getting the best deal possible. The Fund Council is required not to declare funds in excess unless, "The price of the newspaper is at or below the most prevalent charge for similar U.S. newspaper..." and "Book, magazine, and like product prices and job printing are discounted to an appropriate level...."<sup>39</sup> As Capt. Patterson noted, "If our profits are too high, this means that the consumers are paying too much. Our purpose is to serve the community and those within it by offering them the best possible services at the lowest possible cost. We don't want excessive profits. We are operating optimally when at the end of the year we're as close as possible to a zero balanced budget."<sup>40</sup> Institutional and consumer interests, therefore, are more important than profit.

This does not mean that profits are unimportant for they are necessary to keep the ES&S solvent. But because the ES&S is a NAFI, a nonappropriated fund instrumentality, excessive profits do not belong to the organization but must be shared. The Fund Council, by unanimous vote, may filter profits back into the nonappropriated fund pool after it has been determined that: 1. "Working capital is at a safe level"; 2. "Funds required to complete all planned and foreseeable capital expenditure projects and ... business needs are available in a sinking fund"; 3. "Retirement and severance accounts are fully funded"; and 4. products are appropriately discounted.<sup>41</sup> The Editor in Chief in 1979, Col. Rose Stauber, told Newsweek that her most important job, "is to make money,"<sup>42</sup> and Mert Proctor, Managing Editor, noted, "We have to see the Stripes as a money making proposition or we're lost."<sup>43</sup> And making money is very much on the minds of those who oversee and run the Stripes, which is seen first and foremost as a business.

But here is an unusual instance where making money does not mean being excessively profitable, which is the goal of private commercial enterprises whose stockholders demand continually increasing returns. The goal here is to keep Stripes' enterprises

solvent in order to best serve organizational, institutional and consumer interests. Maximizing profits, the goal of commercial newspapers, is, therefore, not the economic goal of the Fund Council because, interestingly enough, excessive profits, which indicate the proper management of commercial newspapers, indicate the mismanagement of the ES&S.

There are still other economic factors which make the ES&S different from commercial newspaper operations. Even though the Fund Council is to run the ES&S as a commercial venture which must abide by the principles that govern U.S. commercial papers,^^ numerous Stripes' personnel pointed out that what makes the ES&S different from commercial papers is that while commercial papers rely on advertisement to keep afloat, the ES&S relies on the book stores. Net sales for book store publications at \$37,704,942 for fiscal year 1986 clearly exceeded newspaper sales at \$6,434,477 and job shop revenue at \$2,823,292 (see Appendix IX) Moreover, newspaper revenues in 1986 at \$6.4 million did not cover the \$13 million operating costs. So the newspaper in 1986 operated at a loss of \$6.6 million. This loss was made up by the combined profits of the Job Shop (\$1 million) and Purchased Publications (\$6.5 million). Given these figures, there is no question that book store revenues more than advertising, printing, or paper sales help keep the ES&S economically solvent.

In addition the ES&S does not profit from advertising the way commercial newspapers do because of restrictions placed on advertising. As the GAO report notes, "Until 1976, advertising in government publications was clearly prohibited by the Congressional Joint Committee on Printing (JCP), pursuant to Public Act. No. 314 (P.L. 314, March 1, 1919).^^ It was felt that advertising in government publications would be unfair:

- to those who did not advertise since the advertiser might appear to be especially sanctioned by the government.
- to the public because the advertiser would profit at the expense of the government, particularly as the government pays all or part of the circulation costs,
- to publishers of other periodicals because the latter generally cannot successfully compete with a government publication.^^

However, to off-set allocative funding and operational losses, on May 12, 1976 the JCP approved a request by ES&S to carry advertising by nonappropriated-fund activities such as clubs and exchanges and in June of that year approved military recruiting/retention advertising in both Stripes publications.

In 1979, the JCP expanded advertising authorization to include DoD supervised banks and U.S. Federal credit unions and "to publish general price information in insert advertising where appropriate and to publish limited brand names in instances where such information is essential to accurate and complete information."<sup>7</sup> In November 1984, Instruction 1520.4 dropped restrictions on the use of prices and brand names and expanded the list of possible advertisers to include "other authorized activities and their concessionaires providing goods, services and entertainment to DoD personnel and dependents"; colleges and universities affiliated with DoD; and NATO and host-government instrumentalities that offer goods and services to DoD personnel and their dependents.<sup>8</sup> Basically only those entities which are either a part of or serve the American military community overseas may advertise in the ES&S.

Yet advertising causes major problems for the ES&S, and even though it is somewhat revenue producing, many at the ES&S would rather see it dropped altogether because of the complaints it has engendered from other civilian publications which serve the military community in Europe.<sup>9</sup> This would no doubt delight those commercial publications, such as the Army Times (a privately owned commercial paper designed specifically for the Army market but without the authorization of DoD) which see ES&S advertising as having an unfair competitive advantage.<sup>10</sup> So advertising, which is a major source of revenue for commercial newspapers, is not only a minor source of revenue for the ES&S because of all of the restrictions placed upon it in order to avoid the appearance of government endorsement, but often embroils the Stripes in conflicts which it would rather not have to deal with.

The ES&S is different from commercial newspapers also because, since it operates overseas in numerous countries and pays for personnel and distribution services in a variety of

currencies, it must be constantly cognizant of exchange rates the fluctuation of which makes budgeting and fiscal management extremely difficult. As the Editor in Chief, Capt. Dale Patterson, noted

The exchange rate wreaks havoc on budget planning. When the dollar is high, we do well. But when it's low, we run into trouble. Since the beginning of the summer the dollar has dropped over 50 pfennings against the DM to its present rate of 2.02. How can you budget when in two months, the value of your currency drops by a third?<sup>21</sup>

So when the Fund Council assesses the financial situation of the Stripes, it must be ever watchful of international money trends, a financial consideration foreign to "hometown" newspapers in the United States.

Moreover, because the ES&S is sold in over forty countries, the Fund Council is concerned with distribution and logistics problems not faced by typical hometown papers in the U.S. (see Appendix X) In order to accommodate different regions and different time zones, the ES&S publishes three editions daily. The first edition printed at 9am goes to Italy, Greece, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and other distant locations. The second, printed at 9:45 pm is sent to Belgium, The Netherlands, and distant locations in West Germany, and the third, printed at 12:30am, is sent throughout most of West Germany.<sup>22</sup> As the "Fact Sheet" on The Stars and Stripes notes,

Getting the paper from the presses to readers in 42 different countries is a seven-day-a-week, 24-hour-a-day job.....drivers cover 19,000 miles every night to deliver the paper to regional offices in Germany, as well as airports and train stations. Every day issues of the newspaper are shipped on some 37 different trains within Europe and 21 airplanes that fly to places such as Madrid and Rome, as well as Keflavik, Iceland, and Khamis Mushayt, Saudi Arabia.<sup>23</sup>

The incredible size and complexity of ES&S' distribution gives rise to unique logistical and transportation problems which the Fund Council must likewise take into consideration when assessing the administration and cost demands of distribution services.<sup>24</sup> So the Fund Council must monitor distribution operations not to be found in other American home town dailies.

In summary, the ES&S' economic resources and business operations, all part of the command strain of its allocative control structure, are overseen by the Fund Council, under the direct auspices of USEUCOM. Yet the Fund Council's concerns are unique, for ES&S' financial and business operations function within both institutional and commercial frames and constraints. Hybrid fiscal resources divided into appropriated and nonappropriated funds; constraints on profit and advertising; unstable international exchange rates; and complex distribution services must all be taken into consideration by the Fund Council, and all separate the ES&S' fiscal operations from those typical in other American newspapers.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the ES&S' allocative control structure is unique in comparison to other American home town daily newspapers because it is associated with the U.S. government and the Department of Defense which frame administrative, economic, and editorial operations. Within DOD, the ES&S is controlled by two primary organizations, the Pentagon and USEUCOM, and within the Pentagon and USEUCOM, operations are further controlled through two monitoring systems: the public affairs, editorial strain and the business affairs administrative strain.

At the Pentagon, even though allocative control of the ES&S is divided between Manpower, Logistics and Installations (the business strain) and AFIS (the public affairs strain), primary responsibility for ES&S operations belongs to AFIS under the auspices of the ASD(PA). The Secretary of the Army mandated with supplying logistical and administrative support to the ES&S and the S&S Management Group mandated with overseeing ES&S fiscal policies, both part of the command strain, simply help AFIS with managing the ES&S' business operations. AFIS, Pentagon public affairs, exercises general allocative control over ES&S' business and editorial affairs and is therefore a key element in structuring ES&S operations.

Yet since the Pentagon has essentially given the ES&S to the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM to assist in the command information needs of the American Armed Forces in the European Theater, USEUCOM, likewise, plays an important role in structuring the affairs and operations of the ES&S. The USCINCEUR, the titular publisher of the paper, represented by the Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs, establishes and directs ES&S policies and oversees the two direct review boards, the Fund Council and Advisory Boards. The USCINCEUR has the first say on information to be channeled through the newspaper, and the final word on annual budgets, fiscal policies and the hiring of ES&S' top managerial staff.

As has been shown, the USCINCEUR is helped in monitoring ES&S' management by the Fund Council, representing the command strain of the allocative control structure, which is responsible strictly for the financial and business affairs of ES&S operations. Most importantly an analysis of the Fund Council's concerns clearly demonstrate some of the differences between the Stripes and stateside daily home town newspapers'. Unlike small circulation stateside dailies, the ES&S must contend with restrictions on advertising, ever fluctuating exchange rates which interfere with budget planning, and unique logistical and administrative problems that arise from a distribution area that covers almost half the globe.

The ES&S' hybrid economic structure, which juggles between public and self-producing revenues, between appropriated and non-appropriated funds, strikingly sets the ES&S apart from stateside publications. This hybridization structures fiscal policies and business goals which, unlike stateside papers, view excessive profit as an indication of mismanagement signifying that consumer interests are not being as closely safeguarded as possible. In addition, unlike most stateside dailies which must operate at a profit to survive, the ES&S newspaper, because of the way its economic resources are allocated, can continue to operate at a loss carried primarily by the revenues from Stripes' bookstores and by the understanding that since it plays such a major role in the Pentagon and USEUCOM's mass information

network, it will not cease to exist if it isn't profitable. DOD will simply incur the losses by increasing appropriated funds to the organization.

So the economic allocative control structure of the ES&S framed by the guidelines, policies and chain of command established by the Pentagon and USEUCOM and overseen most directly by the Fund Council helps define the ES&S as a hybrid press and a unique entity within the sphere of American journalism. Now that we have a better understanding of how the ES&S fits into the U.S. military and how the American defense institution structures the Stripes' fiscal policies, let's turn attention to the editorial allocative and managerial control structure of the ES&S.

### Notes for Chapter III

1. Graham Murdock, "Large Corporations and the Control of the Communication Industries", Culture, Society and the media. ed. Michael Gurevitch et. al. London: Methuen and Company, 1982, p. 122.
2. Interview with Capt. Dale Patterson (USN), Editor in Chief, Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, 6 August 1985.
3. United States Department of Defense Instruction Number 5140.2, Enclosure 5, A. Purpose, November 14, 1984, p.5-1.
4. United States General Accounting Office (GAO), National Security and International Affairs Division, Report on the Stars and Stripes, requested by the Chair, Readiness Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, GAO NSLAD-86-104 Stars and Stripes, 7 May 1986, p.1.
5. The exclusion of public affairs in the Flow Chart points to the inadequacy of the GAO report in general for it failed to take into consideration the special information function ES&S has within the institution.
6. GAO Report, p.25.
7. Ibid.
8. 5120.4, F. Responsibilities, 1., a.- c., p.6.
9. Ibid., 2., a. - g., p.7.
10. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, E. Responsibilities, 1., p.5-1.
11. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, I. Management Review and Evaluation, 1&2, p. 5-6.
12. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, J. S&S Management Action Group, 1., 5-6.
13. Ibid., 1 and 2, pp. 5-6, 5-7.
14. Ibid.
15. 5120.4, F. Responsibilities, 4., p.7.
16. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, E. Responsibilities, 2., a.-c., p.5-1, 5-2.
17. 5120.4, F. Responsibilities, 5., a.- d., p.7. and United States European Command (USEUCOM) Directive, ECPAO ED 15-8, 3 June 1985, 5. Responsibilities and Procedures, 5., a., 1-5, p.5
18. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, A. Purpose, p.5-1.
19. Interviews with Mert Proctor, Managing Editor, (Viahingen, June 18, 1986), Capt. Dale Patterson (USN), Editor in Chief (Darmstadt, August 6, 1986), Lt.Col. Suzanne Philips (USAF), Deputy Editor in Chief (Darmstadt, July 14, 1986), Capt. Douglas Strohl (USN), Director of EUCOM Public Affairs (Viahingen, June 2, 1986)
20. 1520.4, F. Responsibilities, 5., b., 1-3, p.8.
21. Ibid.
22. United States Department of Defense, "Headquarters United States European Command Fact Book", M2075, April 1986, p. 3.



23. ED 15-8, 5. Responsibilities/Procedures, b., 2., p. 5.
24. Ibid.
25. ED 15-8, 3. Policy, b. ES&S Fund Council, 3., p.2.
26. Ibid., 4., p.2.
27. 1520.4, Enclosure 5, G. Fund Council, 1. Organization and Management, b., p. 5-3.
28. Ibid., a., p.5-3.
29. Ibid., a and b., p.5-3.
30. Ibid., 2., c., p.5-3
31. Ibid., b., p. 5-3)
32. GAO Report, p.24.
33. 1520.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 6., p.5-4.
34. Ibid., 1., p.5-3.
35. ED 15-8, 3. Policy, b. ES&S Fund Council, 1., p.1.
36. 5210.4, Enclosure 5. K. Financial, 1. p.5-7.
37. GAO Report, p. 17
38. Stars and Stripes Fund ECN-874, Financial Management Plan, Fiscal Year 1986, p.6.
39. 1520.4, Enclosure 5, L. Nonappropriated Funds, p.5-8.
40. Patterson interview.
41. 1520.4, Enclosure 5, L., a.- f., p. 5-8.
42. Arlie Schardt and Frederick Kempe, "Changing the Stripes", Newsweek, Sept. 3, 1979, p.53.
43. Proctor interview, Viahingen, June 18, 1986.
44. 5120.4, E. Procedures, 1. General, c., p. 2.
45. GAO Report, p. 30.
46. Ibid., p. 31.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., p. 32.
49. Proctor interview, July 14, 1986, and Patterson interview, August 6, 1986, both in Darmstadt at Stars and Stripes' Headquarters.
50. GAO Report, p. 30.
51. Patterson interview.
52. GAO Report, p. 18.
53. Stars and Stripes' "Fact Sheet", p.2.
54. Patterson interview.

## Chapter IV

### Allocative Editorial Control Structures

The editorial policies and operations of any publication most directly influence the style and content of the media product produced. Within the Stripes' allocative control structure, both Pentagon and USEUCOM public affairs strains of authority control editorial policy and institutional input.

Pentagon and USEUCOM public affairs offices head the ES&S' editorial hierarchy, and the two top military personnel in direct charge of ES&S daily operations, the Commander/Editor in Chief and Deputy/Editor in Chief, are both public affairs officers, as are the military personnel assigned to the paper. The Stripes, then, is essentially a public affairs presentation.

As such it must abide by the editorial policies and mandates of Pentagon and USEUCOM public affairs. This section will look at how Pentagon public affairs operations and policies influence the ES&S' editorial makeup and then explore how USEUCOM influences and oversees ES&S editorial operations. Before we begin this discussion, however, the question of censorship must be addressed for it is the first thing people think of when hearing about the American military's newspaper.

#### Censorship and Definitive Frames:

While the ES&S is a government-controlled publication, a part of the U.S. military's in-house information network, according to some of its staff who also worked on civilian newspapers back in the States, the ES&S is freer of direct censorship than many private enterprise daily newspapers because it can take grievances up through the government's bureaucracy.<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> If a publisher in the civilian press wishes to censor or cut a story, the paper's editor and staff have no higher authority to appeal to. The publisher will win and the matter will remain internal.

If, on the other hand, the publisher of the ES&S tries to directly censor a story, the editors and staff of the ES&S can

make the debate quite public. For example, the last time the ES&S' publisher tried to kill a story, and the only time in twenty years that anyone can remember, the matter wound up in Congress. The attempt to directly censor a story concerning the alleged homosexuality of West German General Guenter Kiessling who was later exonerated of the charges became a minor national issue debated in Congress and written up in papers back home.<sup>2</sup> In the end, the story blew up rather than blew away because the European Stripes' staff could take its challenge of the military's censorship all the way to Congress. So even though the paper is published by a highly controlled, authoritarian institution, it is not an overtly censored press. Indeed, it enjoys a certain degree of freedom from overt and direct publisher censorship that civilian newspapers do not because of its association with the government's bureaucratic structure.

The European Stripes ability to use the institutional bureaucracy to combat direct censorship is due to the fact that the paper is a hybrid publication within the Department of Defense; it is not strictly a public affairs command information publication nor is it totally free from command interference. Unlike other DOD publications which are denied access to wire services and are strictly edited by public affairs personnel, the ES&S is written and edited primarily by civilian, not military journalists, and, as a Unified Command publication, it relies on a variety of American wire services and other entities as news sources as opposed to relying strictly on public affairs as do command information publications.

The small number of military personnel at the paper are all public affairs connected; PA is a major news source and the chief gate keeper; however, the paper is more closely linked with traditional conceptions of American journalism than other DOD publications which are seen as in-house or more-information-than-news publications. According to DOD Instruction Number 5120.4, all DOD publications are to be run along the lines of commercial publications; abide by the tenets of freedom of speech and press; and adhere to the policy of a free flow of information.<sup>4</sup> News is to be objective and factual;

1  
censorship is strictly forbidden.<sup>3</sup> In other words, all DOD publications are to abide by the ideal standards and practices of American journalism.

Yet only Stars and Stripes publications provide daily national, international, and local news; only they are edited by civilian journalists; only they are not under direct PA editorial supervision on a per edition basis; only they can rely on outside wire services and other commercial news sources; only they act as American newspapers; only they really have any modicum of the freedoms expressed above. The European Stripes is then a hybrid - a cross between command information, public affairs publication and a traditional commercial American daily newspaper, a mixture of a controlled and free press. So much more than any other DOD publication, the Stripes must juggle between institutional demands and the demands of commercial journalistic practices and alleged freedoms of press and speech.

It is because of this dynamic tension within the very definition of the Stars and Stripes as a Unified Command publication that when interviewed the Director of Public Affairs for the Armed Forces European Command (USEUCOM) had no difficulty defining the Stripes as a command information instrumentality. When interviewed on the same point, however, personnel at the European Stripes, including military public affairs personnel, only with great difficulty noted the paper's command information function, for they were jealously guarding the paper's autonomy, that which makes it a newspaper and different from other DOD publications. It was a matter of where those interviewed chose to focus attention when defining the Stripes. Both agreed that the paper had a command information function, but the degree of PA control over editing was called into question in the differences between the answers. And this institutional frame which places the ES&S halfway between a public affairs command information publication and a free press has very definite consequences on the paper's editorial policies and practices.

#### **Pentagon Editorial Policies and Practices**

AFIS, as the Pentagon agency in charge of all military mass media, can exercise a great deal of control over the ES&S' editorial operations. One way AFIS influences editorial activities is by serving as source and gatekeeper of institutional news. As the agency designed to communicate Pentagon or Command Component messages of service wide importance, AFIS is mandated to "provide a press service on joint-service news and information for use by military editors DoD-wide." AFIS press service is the main source of institutional news service wide, and as such can influence editorial content by controlling the information it chooses to pass along.

AFIS, even outside the press service, can make editorial suggestions that the ES&S highlight topics of institutional concern. Close contact is kept with AFIS which channels Pentagon editorial concerns and information to the ES&S and channels ES&S concerns to the Pentagon. So AFIS is editorially involved with the ES&S as a gatekeeper of DoD information and a source of community/institution news.

AFIS also helps set editorial policy. It, in conjunction with public affairs staff designated by the "Secretary of each Military Department", is part of the DoD Inter-service Newspaper Committee which assists in publication policy matters.<sup>7</sup> AFIS along with all of the military services' public affairs offices determines general ES&S editorial policies.

AFIS serves as a primary source of institutional news, through its Armed Forces Press Service, and it determines and oversees ES&S' editorial policies and journalistic practices through the Inter Service Newspaper Committee. AFIS, Pentagon public affairs, is, therefore, a key determining element in the ES&S' editorial allocative control structure, but even it must abide by the regulations set down in DoD Instruction 5120.4.

#### **Editorial Do's, Don'ts and Givens**

The European Stars and Stripes is constituted through DoD Instruction Number 5120.4, and so it is within this document that the primary editorial policies for the newspaper are to be found.

They are not set down in any one place within the document, but rather strewn throughout it. However, once they are pieced together, what begins to emerge is a picture of a hybrid press - an interesting paradoxical combination of the tenets of a free press based on traditional American journalistic conceptions of balance, objectivity and taste and the precepts of the U.S. military which views the newspaper as a mission activity designed to serve the command information needs of the institution. This mixture of free and controlled press within the editorial guidelines structure and frame the editorial practices which foster the media product.

In the following sections, the Pentagon's editorial mandates have been divided up according to whether or not they emphasize the free or controlled nature of the publication. Moreover an attempt has been made to illustrate how the editorial policies discussed here manifest themselves.

#### 1. The American Way: Mandates for a Free Press and Standard Principles of American Journalistic Practices

The U.S. military under the direction of the U.S. government is designed to defend America and the American way, which is often translated into defending the principles that America stands for, including freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Given the defense institution's close identification with America, many of the editorial guidelines in 5120.4 address matters traditionally associated with the constitutional freedoms of speech, press, and information.

First of all, in keeping with the spirit of a free press, censorship is strictly forbidden. Indeed, this is the only statement of "policy" presented in Instruction 5120.4:

Department of Defense policy is that a free flow of news and information shall be provided to all military personnel without censorship or news management. The calculated withholding of unfavorable news is prohibited.

The free flow of news and information is highlighted. Censorship and news management, concepts diametrically opposed to the

American way of news, are sternly prohibited. It is not clear what "unfavorable news" is (unfavorable to whom?), yet it is clear that holding back information, a form of censorship, is an infraction of military policy.

In fact, even though "information that may adversely affect the security of our country or endanger the safety of DoD personnel may not be disclosed", which was the only editorial restriction mentioned by all ES&S personnel interviewed, caution is added that this "may not be construed to permit the calculated withholding of unfavorable news." Indeed, "Any decision to withhold news or information under this provision shall be reported immediately to the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs."<sup>9</sup>

These guidelines as well as those giving the Stripes the freedom to "cover news of the command, good or bad"; "the right to gather and publish information, both positive and negative";<sup>10</sup> the freedom to access items of internal news;<sup>11</sup> or the right to certain unclassified information,<sup>12</sup> all structure ES&S' editorial policy and give the newspaper the same guarantee of freedom from interference that American newspapers are usually conceived of as having.

But, since all DoD personnel must abide by DoD policies, these guidelines may be intended equally to waylay attempts by institutional members, particularly officers, to withhold news or complain when the newspaper reports information that may be seen as critical or unfavorable. Military personnel tend to be suspicious of journalists and so reporters often have a difficult time getting even the most basic information on "bad news" stories such as accidents or crimes. Yet it would be even worse without the policy guidelines which make it problematic within the military code of conduct to knowingly withhold information. Though they are not always abided by, the editorial guidelines, which give the ES&S the right to information and give the institution the right to reprimand those who stand in the way of the ES&S, help the ES&S do its job and help to counterbalance officers' attempts to pull rank or threaten ES&S staff. In other words, these guidelines also let those within the defense

community know that they are expected to cooperate with the ES&S and that attempts to use rank to squelch stories, one of the paper's never ending battles, won't necessarily work for the Stripes has the right to publish "unfavorable" information.

Policies regarding the free flow of information as established by the Penatagon in 5120.4 are, then, unique in comparison to such policies found in stateside newspapers for they are not merely in-house editorial policies, but guidelines, given the nature of the institution, which all members of the military community must abide by and which empower the ES&S with the right to contravene even publisher decisions, as was illustrated in the Kiessling affair.

Instruction 5120.4 also mandates that the ES&S operate within the standard practices and definitions of professionalism established and sanctioned by the best of today's American free press. The newspaper must conform to American libel, copyright, printing and postal regulations;<sup>13</sup> headlines "shall be selected using the dictates of good taste"; and "morbidity, sensational, or alarming details not essential to factual reporting shall be avoided."<sup>14</sup> The paper, then, is to follow more along the editorial lines of the New York Times than the National Enquirer.

But most importantly, the ES&S must conform to American journalistic standards of objectivity, balance and impartiality for, "Accuracy and balance in coverage are paramount."<sup>15</sup> Accuracy, impartiality, and objectivity in American journalism have come to be equated with the presentation of facts, for facts are seen as objective, empirical realities that lie outside the realm of bias and perspective and so are beyond partisanship or opinion. Facts give the news its air of objective reality and distance the story from the story teller who then appears to have had nothing to do with the creative process. The producer appears merely to be the relayer of messages, an objective technology.<sup>16</sup>

And the distinction between fact and opinion, highly stressed in American journalism schools, is likewise stressed in the editorial mandates set down for the Stripes. Guidelines state that the ES&S "shall distinguish fact from opinion, both of which may be part of a news story. When an opinion is expressed, the



person or source shall be identified."<sup>17</sup> What constitutes an opinion or a fact is not discussed. Yet distinguishing fact from opinion is an important editorial policy which guides the production of ES&S news stories.

The history of American journalism since the 19th century indicates an ever increasing rise in the status of objective reporting until it has come to the point today where objectivity and the focus on facts are taken as a normative standards for good journalism (apart from the key to avoiding lawsuits).<sup>18</sup> So it is not unusual that the ES&S, which is patterned after the best of American journalism, values factual reporting.

Yet this emphasis on fact, objectivity, and balance in the ES&S' editorial policies has as much to do with the institutional association of the newspaper as it has to do with the American penchant for impartial reporting. Whereas the attention to facts and objectivity in commercial news coverage helps keep the papers out of legal trouble and helps them avoid accidentally disturbing reader or advertiser sensibilities which may be translated into lost income, the Stripes' attention to facts and objectivity is due to much more than just a concern for lost revenue or ideal standards of journalism.

Given the ES&S close connection to the U.S. government, there is the ever present concern that any opinion presented in the newspaper will be taken as the opinion of the U.S. government or that any endorsement of a product or a political candidate, given the paper's institutional association, will be construed as an endorsement by the U.S. military, an entity which is ideally in its own regard to be impartial and apolitical. Indeed 5120.4 explicitedly states, "Representatives of other governments who indicate an interest in the content of the S&S shall be informed that the newspaper does not represent the official position of the U.S. Government or DoD."<sup>19</sup> There would be no need for such an instruction if there were not a felt need to disassociate the paper's content from the government or military.

DoD's fear of being too closely associated with the contents of the ES&S is clearly addressed in the regulations regarding the use of disclaimers. Mandate requires that the ES&S' masthead

"shall carry the following disclaimer printed in type no smaller than 6-point."<sup>20</sup> The masthead reads, "Authorized Unofficial Publication of the U.S. Armed Forces. Taken from the op-ed page of the ES&S where the officers and offices of the ES&S are listed, is another disclaimer which reads:

This newspaper is an authorized unofficial publication for members of the military services overseas. Contents of The Stars and Stripes are not necessarily the official views of, or endorsed by, the U.S. government, the Department of Defense or the U.S. European Command.

The appearance of advertising in this publication, including inserts or supplements, does not constitute endorsement by the Department of Defense, or The Stars and Stripes of the products or services advertised.

These disclaimers and the one used directly under most advertisements reading "Advertising appearing above is not endorsed by the Department of Defense, the military departments, or Stars and Stripes" are designed to disassociate the newspaper's publisher from its contents. The fact that they can be found in various places throughout each edition of the newspaper attests to their importance.

The disclaimers are also designed to underscore the institution's belief in the principles of a free press, a press free from government interference. If the paper were to appear too obviously an in-house publication, it might be criticized for being censorial or propagandistic. It would then lose credibility with its constituents who value the American conception of free press and who fear being made pawns of anybody's propaganda, even their own group's which as Mert Proctor pointed out was the case during Vietnam when many troops distrusted the paper's association with the institution and circulation dropped drastically.<sup>21</sup> So the disclaimers are an attempt to mute the paper's institutional connection.

Yet the phrase "authorized unofficial publication" is difficult to understand. How could something that is authorized by officials be unofficial? The Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs, when asked if the phrase wasn't a contradiction in terms, said that he saw no contradiction. "The paper is

authorized but its contents are unofficial. I see no problem here."<sup>22</sup>

However, the disclaimer is a rhetorical contradiction that somehow fits, an oxymoron, used by the military to disassociate itself from a publication that it itself produces. Who controls a publication cannot be separated from the publication by a simple disclaimer for who controls a paper is integral to the paper's orientations and policies. It is not, nor is any press, free from its structural associations and values. Breed notes that policies, "the consistent orientation shown by a paper," are directly related to the publisher which, in this case, is the U.S. military.<sup>23</sup> A disclaimer does not absolve the military of its responsibility for the paper's production and orientation. Publishers cannot distance themselves from the responsibility for what they print. The disclaimers are an attempt to underscore the fact that the government and DoD have an arms length policy when it comes to the selection of news stories; they are an attempt to appease any fears service members have that their freedom of information is being violated, and they are an attempt to keep other governments from seeing the ES&S as the official newspaper of the U.S. government. If anything, however, the disclaimers, rather than underscoring the publication's commitment to a free press, draw attention to the paper's government and military connection.

In still a further attempt to distance itself from its structural association with the military, to safeguard the military and U.S. government from appearing to take sides on issues, and to underscore its commitment to objective and balanced coverage, the Stripes "may take no editorial positions."<sup>24</sup> And indeed, there are no staff written editorials in the Stars and Stripes. The typical editorial section is replaced by "commentaries" taken from a variety of American wire services so the military can not be accused of advocating a particular position. The ES&S is designed to have no discernible editorial slant.

This is a major difference between the ES&S and commercial civilian newspapers which are often known by their editorial

writers and slants. Yet even though the ES&S supplies no staff editorials, it does not follow that the paper is objective or neutral, or that it does not have an editorial slant.

Policy is most often manifested in what Breed calls 'slanting' - the omission, differential selection, and preferential placement of articles.<sup>23</sup> There can, then, be no such thing as an editorially free press because in the very process of a paper's production, editorial decisions must be made. The story selection is tantamount to editorializing, whether or not editorials are printed. The lack of editorials cuts the risk that the military will be directly associated with a given position, but it certainly does not prove that the ES&S is neutral.

The commentaries the ES&S chooses to print tend to express the paper's military focus. Though these commentaries come off wire services and are not written by ES&S staff, they still often indicate editorial selection designed with the interests of the military community in mind. A quick look at some of the commentaries' headlines taken from the Stripes bear witness to the institutional focus of articles chosen for inclusion: "Wineberger, General Dynamics meet 'the truck'";<sup>24</sup> "Tridents: Silent Marvels of U.S. Deterrent Force";<sup>27</sup> "Military Retirement System Doing What It Should";<sup>28</sup> "Why Punish Ourselves for Contractors' Wrongs?"<sup>29</sup>. The ES&S does not have to write editorials when there are so many commentators on the wire services who express ideas that speak directly to the military community and its concerns.

Yet while the paper may choose syndicated editorials which address military concerns, this does not mean that the editorials are consistently pro-military or are never critical of the executive branch or the Commander in Chief of the U.S. Armed Forces. The ES&S is mandated to offer balanced editorial perspectives.<sup>30</sup> This has come to mean equally representing conservative and liberal views as defined within the traditional American sphere of politics, which in and of itself is conservative and excludes radical or "leftist" perspectives.<sup>31</sup> Yet still a "liberal" continuum of syndicated columnists who are

critical of U.S. government and military policies does exist, and this balance policy mandates that their views be represented.

What other newspaper hierarchy would mandate within its editorial policies the presentation of views which run contrary to organizational interests? Indeed, balancing editorials is not an issue within most civilian papers for it is within the editorial section that the newspaper makes its views known and most freely tries to sway opinion. Yet maintaining a liberal/conservative editorial balance is extremely important to ES&S' editorial allocative power structure and is one more thing that sets the ES&S apart from other American newspapers.

Mert Proctor, the Managing Editor, pointed out, "We often will put two articles with totally different views on the same subject on the same page because we want to give our readers something to think about."<sup>32</sup> The commentaries, therefore, serve a didactic purpose, to spur critical thought, to educate the troops, to get them to think. So unlike civilian editorial sections which are designed to push the position of the newspaper, the editorial or rather commentary section of the ES&S is designed more to incite critical thought. The readers, not the editorial opinions of the paper, are the objects of consideration.

Yet, there is the argument that balance, a major principle of impartiality in journalism, tends to neutralize social criticism rather than augment its development as Tuchman pointed out was the case in the women's movement.<sup>33</sup> Balanced editorials, while appearing to incite critical thinking, may tend to defuse social criticism and lead instead to a rather relativistic morality. Given the military's special need to maintain internal social order and to have troops who are willing to act without thinking, balanced editorials may serve an added institutional function by waylaying social unrest brought about by strong social critiques. Regardless of the function of balanced editorials, ES&S editorial policy mandates that the paper exclude staff written editorials and that commentaries or opinion pieces be balanced, a basic tenet of American journalism and the mark of a "free" press.

The ES&S is further mandated to make sure that its coverage of political campaign news and its use of "editorials dealing with candidates or issues", which may come only from wire services, be "balanced, impartial, and nonpartisan."<sup>34</sup> Paid political advertisements may not be carried by the paper at all.<sup>35</sup> The ES&S must be very careful, therefore, in its coverage of political campaign news so that one party does not appear to be favored.

Yet while the ES&S can not tell its readers who to vote for, as can commercial papers in the states, the paper is mandated none the less to stress voting. Instruction 5120.4 notes:

During election years, DoD newspapers shall support the Federal Voting Assistance Program by carrying factual information about registration and voting laws, especially those on absentee voting requirements.... Such information is designed to encourage DoD personnel to register as voters and to exercise their right to vote.<sup>36</sup>

Voting is the responsibility of citizenship, an act of patriotism in a free democracy. Indeed, it has too often for America become the mark of democracy regardless of how absurd the choice or lack of it, as was seen in the framing of elections in Vietnam during the war and in the American news coverage of the elections in El Salvador in the early 1980's.<sup>37</sup> Given its association with the American way, it is no wonder that voting which is in and of itself neutral is to be stressed by the newspaper associated with the institution symbolic of American nationalism and patriotism. So even though political campaign coverage must be presented impartially and must be balanced so as to avoid partisanship, the American way of voting must be stressed.

In addition, even though the ES&S may include insert advertising, it must likewise be careful not to appear to "endorse or favor a specific commercial product, commodity, or service."<sup>38</sup> Commercial sponsors may be routinely mentioned "with other pertinent facts in news stories" and listed in announcements of entertainment programming, and reviews of books, movies, and other cultural programs "may be carried if written objectively", but only "if there is no implication of endorsement

by the Department of Defense or any of its Components or their subordinate echelons.<sup>37</sup> It is not usually assumed that advertisements or cultural reviews in commercial newspapers imply endorsement. Yet the inclusion of these guidelines in the editorial policies for the ES&S emphasizes the incredible fear that the allocative control structure has that the ES&S will be seen as a reflection of U.S. policy. Once again the editorial mandates for the ES&S stress that its media content must be factual and objective so as not to incriminate the institution to which the paper belongs.

What is interesting is that the ideal journalistic principles of objectivity and balance can serve as a cloak behind which any news editorial control structure may hide.<sup>40</sup>

Objectivity and the focus on fact, on description and detail as opposed to argument, as proof of objectivity, gives the illusion of disassociating the producer of the news from the news product. Balance gives the impression that the producer is impartial, a disinterested party, out of the fray. Balance, impartiality, and objectivity, the working tenets of the American conception of a free press, therefore, nicely suit the needs of the American military to distance itself from the Stars and Stripes.

As an American institution designed to defend American constitutional freedoms, the U.S. military would be expected to structure its newspaper along the principles of a free press. It is no wonder then that the military's editorial policies regarding its "home town" newspaper mandate that the ES&S adhere to the principles of a free press and to standard conceptions of American journalism. This is directly translated into practice: by not allowing direct censorship or the withholding of information; by emphasizing fact over opinion; by using disclaimers to disassociate institutional connections with media content and underscore the paper's freedom from government or institutional control; and by the omission of in-house editorials which may be taken for institutional positions.

## 2. The Military Way: A Controlled Press - Taming the Watch Dog

Even though, some editorial policies demand that the ES&S be protected as and generally act as a free press, others proclaim that the newspaper is an institutional publication, a controlled press. Control is clearly a factor in the following guideline:

Good journalistic practices are vital but not an end unto themselves. They are the primary means to enhance receptivity of command communication through the newspaper.<sup>\*1</sup>

Good journalistic practices are apparently to be followed unless they conflict with the good of the command for Pentagon guidelines make it clear that the newspaper exists:

to facilitate accomplishment of the command or installation mission. That is the only basis for the expediture of DoD resources to produce them.<sup>\*2</sup>

The ES&S is conceived of in these policy statements as an institutional organ and essentially warned not to get too oppositional to or critical of the command.

In fact the editorial policy guidelines make it very clear that the ES&S "is not an investigative function within the military community; it is a reporting function."<sup>\*3</sup> This distinction between investigative journalism and reporting not only frames the way ES&S reporters practice journalism but sets the reportorial boundaries in which the newspaper itself must operate. It is all right to report on community information gleaned through public affairs offices, but it is not all right to snoop around and investigate military affairs. Therefore, while the freedom of information mandates give the ES&S a rather long leash, this one tries to chain the watch dog - tame the pug. The watch dog role that is the pride of America's free press is to be tempered. ES&S reporters may report information, but not dig for it.

Yet since most American journalists have been trained in university journalism programs to be investigative reporters and adhere to the watch dog image of the profession, problems may arise when they first enter the ES&S system. Perhaps for this reason,



The Editor in Chief shall ensure that all editorial personnel are fully informed on the military mission and other key aspects of the UC and its subordinate command echelons. Also, editorial personnel shall be taught S&S editorial policy and fully understand the mission and status of S&S as a U.S. Government instrumentality as set forth in this Instruction. . . . Field reporters and news bureau members shall be the most mature and professional personnel assigned to S&S.\*\*\*

Editorial staff is to be trained in the ES&S way of journalism. They are to learn that the Command comes first and journalistic practices second. They are to redefine "professionalism".

Both Breed and Tuchman note that the way professionalism is defined within a newsroom: 1. socializes workers to conform to the editorial and administrative policies of the organization and 2. structures the journalistic practices which ultimately define and create what becomes known as news. Breed notes that news organizations socialize workers to the policies and practices of the newspaper through a system of rewards and punishments which come to define "professionalism" within a particular newspaper.\*\*\* Tuchman agrees and goes into even greater detail illustrating how definitions of professionalism are integrally connected to the selection of facts, sources, and style - what is constituted as news and what becomes constituted as social knowledge.\*\*\* Definitions of news, "professionalism", therefore, have significant editorial consequences!

When the guideline notes that the editorial staff must be aware of the paper's military mission and made up of "the most mature and professional personnel", its definitions of "mature" and "professional" must be taken within the context of the organization. Within the military, a mature individual is one who can take orders without questioning and do the job well with minimum supervision - someone you can count on. Journalists who are too attached to the investigative function of news, who continually make waves, who can't adjust to the military way of journalism which limits them to reporting command information or writing features, are considered immature and unprofessional for they have been unable to adapt to the Stripes' way of news.\*\*\* To survive within the system, ES&S reporters must understand the military mission and be mature enough to go along with the

organization even if that means putting personal opinion or past conceptions of professionalism aside. Those reporters who tend to get wild hairs must learn to tame the watch dog within by redefining their sense of professionalism. And so one way the institution controls ES&S editorial operations is through its power to define journalistic standards of professionalism.

In addition, policy statements which describe how the ES&S can benefit the commands present, at the same time, editorial hints. Editorial cues are particularly apparent in the guidelines concerning the ES&S' information and morale functions. One guideline notes,

The newspaper improves morale by quelling destructive rumors, and keeping members informed on personnel and other military information which will affect their futures. It provides information and assistance to dependents which improve their spirits and thereby the effectiveness of their member.

This underlines the ES&S' morale mission and demands that particular attention be paid to information that concerns military personnel, dependents and any other military matter that would affect the lives of those within the military community. As a military newspaper covering the military community overseas, the ES&S would be expected to include stories of interest to American service members and their dependents. And the paper does an excellent job of this, printing the latest information on new regulations, military sports, changes in promotion standards, pay, retirement, exchange services, commands etc. Yet as a free press, the ES&S has the right to print stories concerning the military community. As a controlled in-house publication under an information and morale mission, it is instructed to do so.

In keeping with its morale function, the ES&S is encouraged to include pictures, news and feature articles that positively highlight military community personnel and organizations. DoD Instruction 5120.4 notes that "The newspaper increases command cohesiveness and effectiveness by providing a visual

representation of the essence of the command itself." "A single picture may not be worth a thousand words, but it can serve as an instant reminder, an encapsulated metaphor of a part that may stand for the whole. Keeping images of the military - the community, the hardware, the technology, the people - before the eyes of service members helps to reinforce group identification and strengthen institutional mores. Pictures of service members, organizations, or the technology of war become tools of institutional socialization, subtle command information messages designed to reinforce the "essence", the authority, the image of the U. S. military, in order to "increase command cohesiveness and effectiveness".

Pentagon guidelines also note:

News and feature stories on individuals and organizational elements of the command provide a crossfeed of military information which improves internal cooperation and mission performance. Recognition of excellence in individuals or organizational performance motivates and sets forth the expected norms for mission accomplishment.<sup>20</sup>

News and features on institutional members and activities likewise present images of and reinforce identification with the group. This is particularly true of features, and much of the ES&S is made up of feature writing. All of the city desk reporters interviewed noted that feature writing takes up most of their time. The features staff of the newspaper is itself fairly large, and feature stories take up at least five pages out of every edition. Page three virtually always runs features of military interest with a lot of pictures and a little text; The Daily Magazine, a four page daily insert, is composed almost exclusively of feature stories; and the sports section abounds with features on military athletes and sports activities. In fact, features may creep up really anywhere in the paper, even on page one. The emphasis on features as a morale function as suggested in Instruction 5120.4 can be seen coming to fruition in the ES&S itself.

So the pictures, news and features of military personnel and activities that abound in the ES&S mean more within the allocative structure of the ES&S than just covering "community"

news. They, like the ES&S itself, serve a socialization and morale function, and so their mandated inclusion in the newspaper is one more way in which the newspaper is structured to promote Command interests and one more indication that the ES&S is as much a controlled in-house publication as it is a free press.

Perhaps the most interesting editorial suggestions are those deliniating specific social behaviors the ES&S is to encourage. Note the following:

The newspaper encourages participation in various positive leisure-time activities to improve members' morale and steer them away from alcohol abuse and other pursuits which impair their ability to perform. ... The newspaper discourages command members from using drugs and other activities which detract from mission performance. (5120.4, E. c and d, p.5)

While these guidelines are written as statements of fact, it is obvious, that they are telling the Stripes to encourage "positive leisure-time activities" and to discourage the use of alcohol, drugs, and participation in "other activities that detract from mission performance". While not apparently editorial mandates, they operate like them nonetheless by helping to structure the editorial stance that the newspaper is to take towards alcohol and drugs and towards "positive leisure-time activities" which one can assume means community work, sports, family or church activities.

These guidelines can, again, be seen manifested in the paper itself which often highlights stories on the war against drugs and alcohol, Nancy Reagan's "Just say No" campaign, service members who have been caught with drugs and gone to jail, the social evils of alcohol, DWI convictions, alcohol related child and spouse abuse. The newspaper, likewise, highlights "positive leisure-time activities" by including coverage of military sports, community activities, travel, awards, family and youth activities. The newspaper is mandated to gear service members to activities the military institution considers appropriate, and it does so.

That mass media often serve as socializing agents is well known, but socialization is not usually considered the job of a free press which sees itself as providing an information service to the community and looking out for community interests as a

watchdog over social ills. Yet the fact that socialization to institutional mores is a stated role for the ES&S places the newspaper more within the boundaries of a controlled than a free press.

In conclusion, some of the editorial policies established by DoD and USEUCOM for the ES&S demand that the newspaper be free from censorship, have all of the rights normally associated with a free press, and follow traditional journalistic practices of objective, balanced, impartial reporting. Yet at the same time, other policies are more indicative of a controlled press. Therefore, the ES&S' editorial guidelines are in many ways a study in contradiction - a balancing act between freedom and control. Out of this the ES&S evolves as a hybrid press, a strange mixture of both free press idealism and standard journalistic practices combined with tenets more reminiscent of a controlled press and mandates which are designed to promote the values of the newspaper's allocative control structure and socialize service members to conform to institutional mores.

#### **Editorial Oversight: The Advisory Board and USEUCOM Public Affairs**

This section will explore the editorial review exercised by the USEUCOM component of the ES&S' allocative control structure focusing particular attention on the Advisory Board and the role of the Director, USEUCOM Public Affairs (PA).

The Advisory Board is to the editorial strain of the allocative control structure what the Fund Council is to the business strain. The Advisory Board is the USEUCOM body designated with primary editorial oversight of the ES&S. It is mandated to review editorial operations twice a year, and, like the Fund Council, is composed of "one voting representative each from the Military Services component commands" - the Army, Air Force and Navy. The USEUCOM Director of Public Affairs, only a voting member on the Fund Council, is Chair of the Advisory Board, and the ES&S' Editor in Chief, Chair of the Fund Council, is just a member of the Advisory Board. The Managing Editor, not

seated on the Fund Council, is also, however, a member of the Advisory Board.<sup>22</sup> In sum the Advisory Board is composed of military public affairs officers and the editorial directors of the newspaper.

The Advisory Board, like the Fund Council keeps track of ES&S' financial situation, but unlike the Fund Council, it is primarily responsible for making sure that the ES&S complies with the editorial policies laid down in DoD Instructions and USEUCOM Directives. Both the Fund Council and Advisory Board, however, must have any policy recommendations approved by the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM who must then communicate them in writing to the Commander/Editor in Chief of ES&S before they are considered operational.

Specifically the Advisory Board has five functions:

- a. To recommend editorial guidelines to the UC Commander
- b. To evaluate...compliance with DoD and UC editorial policies to include those concerning free flow of information to DoD personnel. Status and recommendations will be reported to the UC Commander.
- c. To serve as a forum for expression and mediation for the interests of S&S and the commands involved.
- d. To evaluate at each meeting the balance of presentation of news articles, opinion columns, and editorial cartoons. To recommend changes, if needed.
- e. To maintain an awareness of the newspaper's financial posture.<sup>23</sup>

Additionally, in relation to special reporting teams, "Topics and their planned treatment shall be reviewed by the S&S Advisory Board which will provide counsel and arrange command assistance."<sup>24</sup>

One of the most important editorial policy statements mandates that the ES&S be balanced and impartial, and so the newspaper's balance of opinions is scrutinized at every meeting. To ascertain what a balance of opinion is, the ES&S has devised a very special mechanism.

How balance is determined in the ES&S is extremely interesting and probably an editorial mechanism unique in all of American journalism. It is a system devised by the present Managing Editor. Columnists and political cartoonists, after the Managing Editor reviews selections of their works, are rated on a scale from 1 to 5 with 1 representing an extremely liberal

perspective while 5 represents an extremely conservative perspective. For example on this scale, Conrad, Anthony Lewis, and Rowan are given numerical values of 1 indicating a far liberal slant, while Kilpatrick, Buckley, and Deore all with ratings of 5 are conceived of as representative of an extreme conservative slant. (see Appendix XI)

The number of columnists and cartoons and their numerical values are calculated on a daily basis and then added together to determine a score for the day's editorial balance. For example, say there are three articles in a given edition. The scores of each may be as follows: 4, 2 and 1. The total score, then, for the day would be 7. Each day's scores are added up at the end of the month and then divided by the number of days in the month to arrive at an average total monthly score. This score is then taken as an indication of the newspaper's balance. An average monthly score of 5 or 1.5 supposedly indicates some sort of imbalance - 5 being too conservative a score and 1.5 too liberal. Given the five point scale, for a month to be completely balanced it should have a score of 2.5. The score on the only example of the balance sheet made available shows an average total for June 1986 of 2.99, indicating a slight slant to the right but nothing major. (See Appendix XII)

In order to comply with the allocative control structure's demand for proof that the presentation of opinion in the ES&S is balanced and in an attempt to objectively and empirically measure the editorial balance of opinion in the ES&S, this unique system was devised. Without some way of measuring balance, it would be difficult for the Advisory Board, as it is mandated, to review whether or not the ES&S is indeed balanced and fair. Whether this system indeed measures balance is not an issue. That it is reviewed by the Advisory Board at each meeting as a means of assessing the editorial balance of the ES&S is what is important.

While the Advisory Board reviews ES&S editorial operations only twice a year, the Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs (in the summer of 1986, Capt. Douglas Strohl (USN)) does so on a regular basis. He is the key public affairs officer charged with direct oversight of the Stripes' business and editorial affairs. He is

the chair of the Advisory Board and his representative serves on the Fund Council. In addition, he is the person in the chain of command immediately above the ES&S' Editor in Chief and the one who writes the Editor in Chief's evaluations (OERs) which are used to determine promotion. In terms of his relation to the ES&S he states, "I'm between the publisher and the Editor in Chief."<sup>33</sup> But he agreed that he is definitely in a publisher's role, and in reality he is the person who keeps the closest watch over the ES&S for both the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM and DoD.

Though he has a great deal of power within the ES&S allocative control structure, he stays out of the way of daily editorial decisions. When asked if he ever told the ES&S what to print, Capt Strohl replied:

No. If everything works right, there should never be a need to do that. We have an Editor in Chief to make those kinds of judgement calls. They have their daily meetings just like every newspaper. The only way I would get involved with anything like that is by providing a head's up lead to the Stripes.<sup>34</sup>

So while he may be involved in content in terms of supplying the occasional lead for a story, he lets those in charge of the daily editorial decisions do their job without direct daily interference.

While he may not interfere with daily operations, he could if he wanted to suggest content or stop a story altogether. When asked if he had the power to kill a story Capt. Strohl did not deny it, but noted:

To do that I'd have to have a pretty clear justification. General Rodgers would have to advise the Secretary of Defense of such an action. ... Killing a story is of such magnitude that it would border on censorship. We'd have to have a darn good reason.<sup>37</sup>

Capt. Strohl further noted that in all of his time as Director of USEUCCOM Public Affairs, he never told the ES&S what to print and never killed a story.

He does, however, get involved in other ways. The Director of USEUCOM PA, acting for the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM who "shall provide the leadership required to maintain professional



working relationships and keep problems resolved between S&S and subordinate echelons of the UC<sup>30</sup> mediates disputes that arise between ES&S and other elements in the command. He noted, "As Director of Public Affairs one of the jobs I have is as go-between when our headquarters staff and the Editors or others run into conflict."<sup>39</sup> As Capt. Strohl further explained:

I may get involved at any time if there is a problem with someone who is upset with a story or feels that the ES&S isn't covering his area properly or won't do a story he wants done. I first refer the person to the Editor in Chief of the ES&S, but there have been times when I've had to run interference.<sup>40</sup>

So mediation between the commands and the ES&S sometimes falls on the shoulders of the Director of USECOM PA.

He is also responsible for all USECOM public affairs. To keep tabs on the large USECOM mass media operations under his charge, he holds meetings every six weeks with the Stripes' Editor in Chief and Managing Editor and the commanders of AFRTS and the three broadcast, radio/television services attached to USECOM. Capt. Strohl noted:

These are informal sessions that serve to update me on where we are on items of interest, or how we are going to pay for ES&S because of the sinking dollar. We meet from one half to one hour and discuss mostly administrative problems.<sup>41</sup>

Mert Proctor, the ES&S' Managing Editor, who claims never to have met the publisher, General Rodgers, recalled :

AFN sits on one side, The Stars and Stripes on the other side, General Lawson (Deputy Commander in Chief of USECOM) and Capt. Strohl on another side and we discuss mostly financial administrative matters such as whether or not to raise the price of the paper and things like that.<sup>42</sup>

But administrative and financial operations are not the only things reviewed at these meetings.

Also at these meetings the ES&S presents the Director of PA with a summary of the Letters to the Editor received by the ES&S over a given period, usually quarterly. DoD Instruction 5120.4 under the discussion of the Establishment of DoD Newspapers notes:

Command or installation newspapers provide the commander a primary means of communicating mission-essential information to members of the command. They provide feedback through such forums as letters to the editor columns. This alerts the commander to the emotional status and state of military knowledge of the command. The newspaper is used as a return conduit for command information to improve attitudes and correct knowledge shortcomings. <sup>43</sup>

Though Capt. Strohl warned, "Don't blow it (the letter summaries) out of proportion," every individual who was part of ES&S' management structure noted when interviewed how important the letters to the editor were. Even Capt. Strohl noted, "It's good feedback and helps us monitor how people feel. It's a very neat and important vehicle of information." <sup>44</sup> In fact, almost everyone interviewed whether they were part of the ES&S or not noted that letters to the editor were extremely important and most noted that they read them first and definitely more often than they read the op-ed page.

And just as people read the letters to the editor, they are writing them as well. The Quarterly Survey of Letters to the Editor from October 1, 1984 to December 31, 1984 noted that there was a "trend toward increasing numbers of letters each year". <sup>45</sup> This is born out by the following figures taken from three ES&S letter reports:

Year	Letters
1985	5,431
1984	4,864
1983	4,721
1981	3,757

The 1986 Letters Survey notes, "The 1,990 received in 1986 has already passed the 1,887 of the same period last year." <sup>46</sup>

In addition, letters serve various institutional functions within the military community that letters addressed to the civilian press do not. First, they let the command know what is going on: what the issues are, where problem areas lie, how individuals in the command are responding to new regulations, etc. They help the command check the pulse of the community by providing invaluable information the command would not otherwise have access to. Second, they provide DoD personnel and their dependents with the opportunity to express their opinions and concerns and let the brass know what they think. As the ES&S

Letters Editor noted, "The letters act as an escape valve. It gives people the chance to let the command know what they think. It gives them a little sense of power. It gives them a sense of hope that at least now someone will listen to them."<sup>47</sup>

Unlike Letters to the Editor sections in civilian American newspapers which offer simply a one way flow of information from the writer to the public and are essentially channels for monologues, the Letters to the Editor section in the ES&S provides a two channel flow of communication and often fosters running dialogues. They give the command the opportunity to answer questions or waylay rumors for unlike Letters to the Editor columns in newspapers in the United States, quite often the ES&S provides answers either from elements in the command or from other readers to questions posed in the letters.

Letters are channelled to those elements in the command who are best equipped to answer the questions posed or do something about the problem. As Capt. Strohl noted, "We try to get a commander's attention to really answer the letters."<sup>48</sup> And quite often their responses are printed along with the letter. For example in the July 31, 1986 edition of the ES&S a reader who was worried about American layoffs at military bases wrote in and the deputy chief of staff of personnel at USAREUR/Army headquarters replied. In fact, whether or not a letter is printed, the Letters Editor passes along the question or complaint to the DoD organization best capable to responding and makes sure that responses are forthcoming. In addition, often whole dialogues erupt as was the case reported in the Oct. 1, 1985 to April 30, 1986 Survey when four readers complained about the problems they encountered coming overseas without a sponsor (someone to show them around) and four other readers responded by saying that they should turn around the experience by becoming sponsors themselves.

Letters to the Editor, therefore, serve various institutional functions: as two-way channels of communication, as indications of command morale, as measurements of training, and as means by which personnel can relieve stress and get answers or results. They are an important multi-faceted conduit of and for.

institutional information. They serve as running dialogues between servicemembers and the command. They provide an important means by which the command can discern what is working and what isn't, where there are problems and where things are going well. So as feedback mechanisms to the Advisory Board and through it to the command, the letters surveys assist in editorial decision making.

Each survey of letters given to the Advisory Board "...is a breakdown, by category, of the letters received" with the number for each category in parentheses following the title. In addition, each survey states, "The comments in each section do not discuss every letter. Only those subjects which received a number of letters and those of special interest are mentioned." (see Appendix XIII) It is not clear what is meant by "special interest" (special to whom?), but what is clear is that the categories delineated are indicative of the issues that the command wants feedback on and the issues that military community members choose to address. The survey categories in the three reports reviewed indicate that concerns between 1984 and 1986 remained fairly constant. They are as follows: 49

- |  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| Commissary System                              | Living Conditions            |
| Exchange System                                | The Stars and Stripes        |
| Cars   | AFN Radio                    |
| AFN Television                                 | Requests for Coverage        |
| Poetry   | Religion                     |
| General Political Comments                     | Banks                        |
| Gun Control/Hunting                            | Recreation: Civilian         |
| Recreation: Military                           | Supports Military Life       |
| Hates Military Life                            | Civilian Employment Policies |
| USAREUR/Army Policies                          | USAFE/Air Force Policies     |
| Schools  | Law Enforcement              |
| Women's Issues                                 | Medical Services             |
| Mail System                                    | General Comments             |
| Youth Activities                               | Drug and Alcohol Abuse       |
| Smoking Issue                                  | College-Level Programs       |
| Insurance                                      | Taxes                        |
| Social Comments                                | Audio Clubs                  |
| Racial Issues/Discrimination                   | Pen Pals                     |
| Male vs. Female Servicemembers                 |                              |
| Energy, Conservation, and Environment          |                              |
| Requests for Clips, Back Issues or Information |                              |

Each category title is followed by a paragraph summarizing the specific issues addressed and the opinions presented by readers in reference to the topic. The paragraphs detail not only the opinions expressed relating to the category at hand but tend to

include as well the number of writers who agreed with that opinion. So by reading the summaries one can quickly and easily get a pretty good picture of community concerns - what the troops are thinking.

Most significantly the letters form a communication channel between the command and all those under it. As Capt Strohl explained, "Often those at the top are too far removed and lose touch with the average servicemember. The letters keep us in touch."<sup>70</sup> The summary of letter compiled by the ES&S, therefore, supplies information necessary for the Command to lead properly and information necessary for Public Affairs to advise the Command(s) and communicate with the military community.

The letter summaries don't just say what the letters are about but also break down writers by rank. They also indicate where letters "Aside from pen pal letters and APO addressed letters" come from. And apparently the Stripes gets letters from non-military people all over the world: Canada, Belgium, France, Austria, Turkey, Italy, Pakistan, New Zealand, Sweden, Yugoslavia, England and Saudi Arabia. So the command learns through the letter summaries who is writing in and where in the world the paper is being read.

While the letter summaries serve most obviously as feedback to the command on a variety of issues, they may also serve as editorial clues. If the command learns from the letters that particular regulation is not clear or is causing a problem, information may spur new articles to clarify the problem or it may spur the command to readjust its thinking and decide that whatever was attempted to be implemented did not work. So the letters may act as leads to possible future stories requested by the command to be included in the ES&S or they may act to encourage changes within the command which if they are broad based enough will eventually lead to their inclusion in the ES&S in the course of its covering the military community.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, editorial overview of the ES&S at the allocative control level is shared by both the Pentagon through

AFIS and USEUCOM through its Director of Public Affairs which oversees the ES&S Advisory Board. At the Pentagon, AFIS acts as gatekeeper of service wide institutional news through the Armed Forces Press Service and helps set editorial policy through the Inter Service Newspaper Committee.

Within EUCOM, the Advisory Board, chaired by the Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs, is mandated to oversee editorial policies, make recommendations for editorial changes, and channel command information needs to the ES&S. The summaries of letters to the editor help it gather feedback from the community and determine future information needs. The Advisory Board, carrying out its mandate to oversee the paper's neutrality, also assess the balance of opinions presented in the ES&S using an editorial balance check system designed strictly to satisfy the need for proof that the ES&S and, therefore, the military and the American government are neutral.

The individual within USEUCOM directly responsible for allocative oversight of ES&S' editorial as well as financial operations, is the Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs. As representative of the Commander in Chief of USEUCOM, the publisher, the Director of USEUCOM PA is on the Fund Council, chairs the Advisory Board, and holds meeting every six weeks or so with all USEUCOM mass media services including the ES&S to discuss business and editorial concerns. He keeps in close contact with the Editor in Chief of the ES&S on an on-going basis and will act as intermediary between the ES&S and other elements within the command should problems arise. While primarily concerned with the administration of the ES&S, he also may supply leads to stories brought to his attention by other elements within the command and he has the right to recommend to the publisher that stories be killed, though the exercise of this power is rare due to all of the constraints placed on such an action. The Director of USEUCOM Public Affairs is an integral part of the European Stars and Stripes' editorial allocative control structure.

In sum, editorial activities are based on Pentagon and USEUCOM guidelines and overseen most directly at the allocative

control level by the Stripes Advisory Board and the Director of USEUOM Public Affairs. Editorial policies are established and monitored at the Pentagon in Washington D.C. and at USEUCOM Headquarters in Viahingen, West Germany. They are enacted, however, at the newspaper itself. Attention, then, now turns to Darmstadt - to the European Stars and Stripes.

## Notes for Chapter IV

1. Pete Schinn, interview held at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, June 28, 1986
2. Proctor interview, July 14, 1986.
3. "Proxmire Criticizes General Over Stars & Stripes Curb," Washington Post, Section A, 17 February 1984, p.4  
"Senator Asserts Army Censored a Newspaper," New York Times, Section A, 16 February 1984, p.8.
4. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, D. Operations, p. 5-1.
5. 5120.4, D. Policy, p.1
6. 5120.4, F. Responsibilities, 2., g., p.7.
7. Ibid., f., p.7.
8. 5120.4, D. Policy, p.1.
9. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 8., p.5-4.
10. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 10, pp.5-4&5-5.
11. 5120.4, E. Procedures, 1. General, b., p.2.
12. Ibid., a., p.2 and Enclosure 5, H., 8., p.5-4.
13. 5120.4, E. Procedures, 1. General, e., p.2.
14. 5120.4, E. Procedures, 2. News Coverage and Content, a., p.2.
15. Ibid., b., p.2.
16. Tuchman, Chapters 5 and 6, pp.82-133.
17. 5120.4, E., 2., b., p.2.
18. Micheal Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers, (New York: Basic Books, 1962).
19. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 15, p.5-5.
20. 5120.4, 2. News Coverage and Content, f., 1., 2., and 3., p.3.
21. Proctor interview, Darmstadt, July 14, 1986.
22. Capt. Douglas Strohl (USN), Director Public Affairs USEUCOM, interviewed at USEUCOM Headquarters, Patch Barracks, Vaihingen, West Germany, July 2, 1986.
23. Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis", Social Forces, Vol. 33, May, 1955, p.327.
24. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 7., p.5-4.
25. Breed, p.328.
26. Mary McGrory, UPS, "Wineberger, General Dynamics meet 'the truck'," Stars and Stripes, June 13, 1985.
27. George Will, Washington Post Writers Group, "Tridents: Silent Marvels of U.S. Deterrent Force," Stars and Stripes, June 24, 1985.
28. James Kilpatrick, Universal Press, "Military Retirement System Doing What it Should," Stars and Stripes, June 11, 1985.



29. William F. Buckley, Jr., UPS, "Why Punish Ourselves for Contractors' Wrongs?" Stars and Stripes, June 6, 1985.
30. 5120.4, 2. News Coverage and Content, d., p.2 and Enclosure 5, H., 7., p.5-4.
31. Proctor interview, Darmstadt, August 5, 1986.
32. Proctor interview, Darmstadt, June 28, 1986.
33. Tuchman, Chapter 7, pp.133-156
34. 5120.4, 2. News Coverage and Content, g., p.3.
35. Ibid., h., p.3.
36. Ibid., i., pp.3-4.
37. Edward S. Herman, "The New York Times on the 1984 Salvadoran and Nicaraguan Elections", Covert Action, Number 21, Spring 1984, pp.7-13.
38. 5120.4, 3. Advertising, a., 1., p.4.
39. Ibid., b. and c., p.4.
40. Tuchman, Chapters 5 & 6, pp.82-133.
41. 5120.4, 4. Establishment of DoD Newspapers, g., p.5.
42. Ibid., h., p.5
43. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 10., p.5-4.
44. Ibid., 12., p.5-5.
45. Breed, pp.326-335.
46. Tuchman, Chapter 4, pp.64-81.
47. Proctor interview, July 14, 1986.
48. 5120.4, 4. The Establishment of DoD Newspapers, c., p.5.
49. Ibid., f., p.5
50. Ibid., b., p.5.
51. Ibid., c. and d., p.5.
52. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, F. S&S Advisory Board, 1. Organization and Management, b. and c., p.5-2.
53. Ibid., 2. Functions, a. to e., p.5-2.
54. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 13., p.5-5.
55. Strohl interview, July 2, 1986.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H., 12, p.5-5.
59. Strohl interview, July 2, 1986..
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Proctor interview, June 28, 1986.

63. 5120.4, 4., a., (1), (a), p.4.
64. Strohl interview, July 2, 1986.
65. Quarterly Survey of Letters to the Editor from October 1, 1984 to December 31, 1984, internal document, Stars and Stripes, Darmstadt, West Germany.
66. Ibid.
67. Cathy Chipman-Wicker, Letters Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, August 5, 1986.
68. Strohl interview, July 2, 1986.
69. Quarterly Letters to the Editor Survey's - October 1, 1984 to December 31, 1984; April 1, 1985 to June 30, 1985; October 1, 1985 to April 30, 1986, internal documents, Stars and Stripes, Darmstadt, West Germany.
70. Strohl interview, July 2, 1986.

Chapter V  
Operational Control

6

The fiscal and editorial policies mandated by the allocative control apparatus of the European Stars and Stripes have been shown to structure the media product in some very direct ways, giving the newspaper its own particular form and character and creating a hybrid press, a blend of civilian and military journalistic codes and practices. This hybridization of business organization and journalistic practices is no less apparent in the Stripes' operational control structure.

Murdock defines "operational control" as the power exercised by those mid-range in the hierarchy, at the managerial level, who: implement policy; control immediate production, and decide on the effective use of allocated resources. Operational control refers essentially to the power exercised over the organization's daily operations by management which while seemingly autonomous, it is still limited by organizational goals and allocated resources.<sup>1</sup>

Though a newspaper is made up of more than its editorial department and people from other departments, at the European Stripes' Headquarters kindly submitted to interviews, only the editorial division is highlighted here because of its direct involvement in the creation of the newspaper. It is the editorial department that chooses every day what individuals in the European American military community and many outside of its gates will read. It is the editorial department, as in any newspaper, that through its selection process and work practices sets the agenda of public discourse within the community thereby helping to structure the symbolic and practical frames of reference in which community members live. So it is that the editorial structure and operations of the European Stars and Stripes is chosen for closer review.

First we will look at how Stripes' operations are organized and how personnel are distinguished, for an understanding of personnel categories, particularly the distinction between military and civilian, is critical to understanding how Stripes'

editorial operations express the hybrid nature of its allocative guidelines. This will be followed by a discussion of the Editor and Assistant Editor in Chief; an overview of the editorial department's organization, and an analysis of the Managing Editor's position. For each job category, who the position is slotted for, what the job entails, how it differs from similar positions in the civilian press, and how it influences the media product will be explored.

### **An Overview of Operations and Staff**

The Government Accounting Office's (GAO) Organization and Staffing Chart of the ES&S for 1984 indicates that the paper is divided into ten sections with the Office of the Editor in Chief at the head of nine operational divisions. (see Appendix XIV) In actuality, there are essentially only four managerial areas. The Editor in Chief is responsible for all Stripes' operations but concentrates on personnel and finance sections; the Production Manager is in charge of printing services including the job shop; the Circulation Manager is in charge of distribution and the book stores; and the Managing Editor is in charge of producing the newspaper and, therefore, all editorial operations. So editorial is only one aspect of Stripes' operations

The GAO chart also shows a breakdown of staff according to numbers per department and according to whether or not the individual is categorized as military (mil), civilian American (civ) or local national (LN), a category reserved for non-Americans working for the newspaper. (For example, a German who works as a printer for the newspaper in Darmstadt or an Italian who delivers Stripes to outlets in Northern Italy would be considered a local national.) The staffing categories correspond not only to nationality and institutional affiliation or the lack of it (military or civilian), but they also correspond to whether or not salaries come from appropriated or non-appropriated funds. Nationality, funding, and military affiliation are clearly, then, important characteristics of personnel.

Local nationals are concentrated in the service areas - Circulation and Sales, Production, Transportation, Supply, etc. They are not involved in editorial operations and so will no longer be considered in this discussion, though it is interesting that their exclusion makes editorial operations decidedly American. American civilians are actively engaged in the creation of the newspaper, and are, therefore, important to this study. They are represented in all ten organizational sections with high concentrations in Editorial, Systems Automation, and Circulation and Sales. The New York Operation is totally staffed by civilian personnel and civilians make up the majority of the employees in Editorial, including the Managing Editor. Contrary to what might be expected, military members make up only a very small percentage of ES&S personnel. The GAO chart shows that there are no military members at all in seven out of the ten operating sections, and out of a total of 641 employees only 23 are military.

Yet military personnel are strategically located within the organization. The Editor in Chief and the Deputy Editor in Chief, the two top managing executives, are military officers; the City Editor is an E-9, the highest enlisted rank possible in the American Armed Forces, and military personnel are highly represented on the reportorial staff. Of the 23 military staff members, two are the paper's managing executives, three work in Personnel and Administration, and the majority - 18 - work in Editorial. Though the military makes up only a small part of the editorial staff - 18 out of a total of 88 - the largest concentration of military members is in Editorial, an important indication of where the military has chosen to make its presence most felt.

All of the military members who work at the Stripes are experienced public affairs personnel, for according to DoD policy, "The military shall provide their highest quality public affairs personnel for S&S assignment...." Their ranks alone show that they have all been in military public affairs for a number of years and have proven their competency to function within the military's social and operational structures. The

Editor in Chief during the summer of 1986 was a Navy Captain, the Deputy Editor in Chief an Air Force Lieutenant Colonel, and all of the other Stripes' military members were in the upper echelons of the enlisted ranks, E5's and above. So they know the military community and how military public affairs operates.

Within military public affairs circles, the Stars and Stripes is considered to be a super assignment. It is the opportunity to work at a real newspaper as opposed to the command information publications or broadcast outlets they are used to. For most the Stripes is the high point in their military PA careers, and it is sometimes also the end point either because it is the perfect assignment and the individual doesn't wish to leave, as was the case for the City Editor and numerous reporters, or the experience is disappointing as was noted by a few young military journalists who expected to leave the service when their times were up. Editors in Chief apparently have retired early not because they were disappointed in the Stripes, but rather because juggling in the buffer zone between the military and newspaper was too demanding. None of the last three Editors in Chief completed their tours of duty. Yet regardless of the individual's experience, duty at the ES&S is coveted because of the paper's prestige within military PA circles. Selection to its staff was considered a privilege and an honor by all military personnel who were interviewed.

Unlike their military counterparts who, though they may request it, are assigned duty at the ES&S, civilian personnel choose to work for the newspaper. Of all those interviewed, some had military experience and knew about the newspaper from their military days. Others had no military experience at all and just heard about the Stripes through friends either in the U.S. or Europe. Many waited a long time, up to a couple years, to be chosen. Others walked in and were hired within a matter of weeks. For some the ES&S meant an upgrading from newspapers with lower circulations. For others it meant a down grading from newspapers with larger circulations. For many, working for the ES&S meant a cut in salary. So the attraction was not the money.

The attraction seemed to be Europe. Every civilian interviewed mentioned that they enjoyed living in Europe and that working at the ES&S gave them the opportunity to do so. The newspaper itself wasn't the drawing card as it was for military personnel. For civilians, Europe was the end; the ES&S was the means. As Mert Proctor noted, "We tend to attract a rather adventurous crowd, People who like to travel and who want to live in Europe." So while military personnel look upon the Stripes as a prestigious assignment, the civilian staff tend to look at it as just a good job.

And the ES&S hires quite a few civilians. Civilian personnel within the ES&S are designed to provide the organization with the kind of consistency and continuity that would be impossible to achieve using all military personnel who are assigned for limited terms, usually only three years. Realizing the problems which arise from such quick staff rotations, policy mandates that, "S&S shall endeavor to recruit civilian personnel....and ...maintain a balanced mix of long-term employees to provide stability...." Some civilian employees have been at the ES&S for over twenty years. Others are brought in on a short term basis, like Chris Wienandt, Editing Specialist, as is mandated by DoD in order "to bring in new ideas and techniques." But the majority of Stripes editorial staff is civilian in order to give the paper operational stability.

The distinction between civilian and military editorial personnel, however, is quite telling - a metaphor of the duplicitous nature of the newspaper which is itself a hybrid of civilian and military structures. In some ways, differences are profound for civilian and military employees operate within two distinct legal systems, career paths, funding structures and social communities. In other ways the marriage is so complete military employees are indistinguishable from their civilian colleagues and vice versa. Military reporters don't wear uniforms at work and can not be told apart from their civilian co-workers. And military association doesn't mean that the individual will be any more dedicated to the institution than a civilian. Quite often the opposite. What is important here is that where the

organization has chosen to slot military is an indication of where the primary institutional links with the military lie, and where the organization has chosen to slot civilian employees is where the primary links with traditional American journalistic standards and practices lie.

### **The Executive Editors: Juggling in the Buffer Zone**

The Editor in Chief and the Deputy Editor in Chief are the two top executive managers of the European Stars and Stripes. The Editor in Chief is in charge of all ES&S operations and is the one ultimately responsible for all financial and editorial activities. If, however, s/he is away for whatever reason, the Deputy Editor takes over. Both must be good administrators; both must understand the problems specific to newspapers and unique to the ES&S; and both must learn to juggle in the buffer zone between civilian and military news practices and demands. Since their jobs are similar, they will be discussed here together.

The Editor in Chief and Deputy Editor in Chief are positions slotted strictly for military public affairs officers. Candidates for both positions are to be nominated through proposals from each Military Department submitted to the Director of AFIS who reviews the choices and sends along recommendations to the UC Commander who then makes the final decision.<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the implication in Full-Metal Jacket that the Marine Corp is integrally involved in Stripes' operations, the Marine Corp has never submitted a nomination and is not represented at all on the paper's staff.<sup>7</sup> Nominations, however, from Army, Navy and Air Force Public Affairs offices are submitted and out of these, the executive directors of the ES&S are chosen.

Capt. Dale Patterson (USN), Editor in Chief of the ES&S during the summer of 1986, was nominated by the Navy. He has an undergraduate degree in journalism and public relations from Oklahoma; two M.A. degrees from the University of Wisconsin (one in politics and international relations, the other in journalism), and he had worked in Navy public affairs for over 25 years spending three of them as Director of the Navy's Hollywood



office making movies. Though he had a degree in journalism and extensive experience in military PA, he had no real experience in the commercial newspaper business.

Yet Capt. Patterson, who at the time of his nomination was a fellow at the National War College and who previously worked as the Deputy Chief of Information for the Navy - the second highest PA position in the whole U.S. Navy, said that when asked to be considered for the Editor in Chief's position, he jumped at the chance. He was nominated; the nomination went to USEUCOM; he was chosen for the job, and he was elated.

The Deputy Editor in Chief during the summer of 1986, Lt. Col. Suzanne Philips, USAF, who has a degree in journalism from Iowa State and has spent years working for Air Force PA putting out command information publications in the States, went through a similar process and was equally thrilled. One was Air Force and the other Navy, but both of the managing executives of the ES&S during the summer of 1986 were highly trained and experienced, professional military public affairs officers.

Neither, however, had ever worked for a civilian newspaper nor had experience in running a newspaper. They had studied journalism and worked on command publications, but they were essentially military public affairs officers not newspaper editors. Yet the selection of military personnel over experienced civilian newspeople is an indication of what the jobs are and how they are perceived. The Stripes' executive editors don't have to have experience in the newspaper business because they function within the newspaper not as authorities on news work, but rather as gaskets between the military's attempts to control the paper and the ES&S as a free press. The executive directors of the Stripes are military personnel because given their experience in service they are better capable of fulfilling both the administrative and political responsibilities of the job than a civilian unfamiliar with the institution or its politics would be.

First of all the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief are responsible to the allocative control structure for assuring that all Stripes' financial and editorial operations comply with

military policy. As the Director of EUCOM public affairs noted, "If there is a problem, the Editor in Chief is going to hear about it., after all he's the one responsible."<sup>11</sup> As liaisons between the Stripes' allocative control structure and operations, the Editor and Deputy Editors in Chief interact directly with the Pentagon and EUCOM's oversight structures and attend all review boards. The Editor in Chief chairs the paper's Advisory Board and participates as well in USEUCOM Public Affairs and Stripes' Fund Council meetings. At all of these meetings the Editor in Chief is responsible for supplying the appropriate information demanded of the committee, whether budget statements or editorial reviews, and he must also deal with any complaints or suggestions by the allocative structures. Since they interact so closely with the military hierarchy, it is easy to see why the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief are military officers.

Being responsible to the business strain of the allocative control structure, they oversee all financial, logistical and administrative operations. They are the top business managers and spend most of their time monitoring the economic and administrative health of the paper. They keep close track of the paper's financial status as well as working on business reports for the allocative control structure, plans for a new press, Congressional approval for spending on a new warehouse, and hiring staff for areas like the Communication Center which tend to have an extremely high turn around rate.<sup>12</sup> They can establish some internal administrative policies: time schedules, whether or not military personnel have to wear uniforms, expense accounts, etc., but basically they must administer the financial and logistical affairs of the Stripes to the satisfaction of the allocative control structure, which means operating within its policy regulations.

In doing so, the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief may run into difficulties. There are problems trying to establish budgets when the exchange rate keeps changing, and problems with managing earnings so that the operations are not excessively profitable but profitable enough to cover projected future capital needs.<sup>13</sup> They must also deal with problems caused by the ES&S' large

distribution area. Circulation, according to Capt. Patterson, causes big headaches because of problems getting the paper out to remote areas such as Spain, Turkey or Greece. Since ES&S uses space available on commercial airlines, there is no guarantee that the paper will arrive on time, which causes problems for bookstores, carriers and customers.

While most of their attention focuses on Stripes business matters, for according to Lt. Col Philips, "Editorial is really just a portion of what we do",<sup>14</sup> the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief, nonetheless, are responsible for all editorial operations and must assure that the paper complies with the allocative control structure's editorial guidelines.

In accordance with policy, the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief must assure that no classified information or information that may be potentially harmful to the safety of military members be allowed in the paper. Capt. Patterson explained,

During the terrorist scare a couple of months ago (right after the U.S. bombing of Libya when American military communities were put on the alert in fear of reprisal) we made a special effort not to run the whereabouts in advance of any large gathering of Americans or military conferences. We'd report on an event after it happened if it had any news value, but not before. We didn't want to give the terrorists any information that might lead to getting a bunch of Americans killed. This is just a common sense approach. We'll tell when the America arrived in port at Naples or when the Coral Sea embarked. But we'd never talk explicitly about ship movements. It might give the terrorists more information than we'd want them to have and might lead to the loss of American lives.<sup>15</sup>

Classified information and information that might be potentially hazardous to the safety of military community members are not the only editorial restrictions overseen by the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief.

They are also responsible for seeing that stories in the ES&S are objective, balanced, and fair. Capt. Patterson explained:

Coverage is to be balanced and fair. If we do something unfair the paper has a lot of clout. If you take someone and criticize or skew the person publically in a heavy handed way, I won't tolerate it. For example, sports writing tends to be very critical of people. We really hit one track star between the eyes with a sledge hammer. When I asked the Sports Editor whether the guy deserved it, he said, 'Yes.' I

trust his judgement but I just want to make sure we're being fair.<sup>16</sup>

Criticism, according to Capt. Patterson, must be well-earned and never heavy handed. So the Editor in Chief reviews the paper daily to make sure that it is, in his opinion, fair, balanced and free from opinion, as it is mandated to be.

In fact the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief are involved in editorial matters at various levels. They don't just oversee policy. For example, they pass along themes or subjects suggested by Army, Navy and Air Force public affairs representatives at either Advisory Board meetings or at other times throughout the year. Capt. Patterson noted:

At the Advisory meetings we sit down and talk about general subject areas that public affairs officers for the Army, Air Force, and Navy think would be useful, yet suggestions can be made at other time. Six or seven weeks ago we got a call from an Army PA officer about doing a campaign on water safety with swimming season here and all. So we pegged it for the fourth of July. Afterwards he wrote back and told us that we had obviously done something right because there wasn't one drowning that entire holiday weekend. As far as dictating a story, no, they can't do that. But themes, things that would be useful to the service member, I appreciate that kind of in-put. I want to know what the Army feels would be useful. We do have this Command information function. If there is a policy that they want to get advertised throughout the community, if we choose to do it, we'll take the policy, edit it, get a local angle on it or do some interviews with an appropriate authority concerning it, and we'll put it in the paper."<sup>17</sup>

The Editor in Chief or Deputy Editor, therefore, help influence the editorial make-up of the newspaper by passing along story suggestions from public affairs.

They may also get involved in news gathering. Sometimes when working on stories, reporters may run into problems with PA officials which then the Editor or Deputy Editor in Chief have to help straighten out. As Capt. Patterson explained,

If we get a request to do a story from a PA guy we usually fan that out to several bureaus as well as Washington and it might turn out not at all like the requester asked and sometimes better. Sometimes the PA officers get very antsy and don't want to answer questions. They think we are trying to be an investigative newspaper and we're not supposed to do that, but I keep trying to explain to them that news is by nature investigative in terms of fact finding not investigative as in legally investigating. We aren't an arm of investigation in any official sense, but we have every right in the world to investigate wrong doing."<sup>18</sup>

This conflict between PA officials and ES&S reporters is addressed by Lt.Col. Philips when she says,

The news person wants an answer right away. The PA person has to go through the chain; they have to coordinate information. The more complex the question the more people have to get in on the answer. Sometimes people aren't available. Reporters don't have to coordinate anyone. They have a totally different approach to getting an answer than the PA guy has to deal with.

This is another way to look at why problems arise between reporters and military public affairs. Yet the point is that they do and so there are times when the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief may have to step in to help straighten out hostilities or help reporters get answers from military public affairs officers who are being either too slow or uncooperative on a story. The two top executives of the ES&S, therefore, help unclog the channels of communication between PA as primary source and ES&S reporters.

By far, however, the biggest editorial problem the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief must face involves juggling in the buffer zone. Too often they are caught between a rock and a hard place, in an almost no win situation where they must buffer the newspaper from the attempts on the part of some senior commanders within the European theater to control the newspaper's contents. They must assure that the interests of the military and its community are being served while at the same time assuring that the ES&S is free from too much military interference. They are aware of their obligations to the Command but they are equally aware that they are the "only game in town" and they take seriously the responsibility of safeguarding the paper from institutional interference in the editorial process. They are continually being caught in the situation where they have to argue with some irate senior officer - putting themselves in the position where they may make some powerful enemies in high places and possibly hurt their own military careers in the process of protecting the ES&S. Therefore, the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chiefs' jobs are indeed complex.

As Lt. Col. Philips after one short month at the Stripes put it, "I guess my biggest job is running interference for Mert (the Managing Editor)." As Capt. Patterson explained,

There's a philosophical difference between the way the senior military commanders in this theater view the Stripes and the way we view it. They see it almost totally as a command newspaper. It is not a command information paper, and it is not intended to be one. So I have had to fend off those kinds of pressures for the past year I've been here - trying to reeducate them, trying to get them to see we're an honest to God newspaper.<sup>22</sup>

Getting senior officers to see that the ES&S is a newspaper and not a command information publication, though it serves a command information function, is not an easy task. As Lt. Col. Philips (USAFE) explained,

We do provide information that is beneficial to the reader and in that sense we're command information, but in actual working you shouldn't or wouldn't approach Stripes the same way you would a command information newspaper. Some commanders on bases I have worked at insist on reading all of the copy of a command newspaper before it went to print. That's their prerogative. It's their newspaper. If that were the case here, the paper would logicstically just never get printed - to send information through the chain of command every day, that would take forever. In a command publication this is not unusual. But the Stripes is a newspaper.<sup>23</sup>

It is because of its association with USEUCOM, its command information function, and the fact that it does indeed use PA suggestions for stories that many senior officers feel that the ES&S is strictly a command information medium. Yet, even though it is in some ways, it is not in the general way it gathers news. Look at the following example.

In the summer of 1986, the Army announced to the wire services that it was going to change its policy on smoking in the work-place. It was a policy that affected everyone service wide. This was the equivalent to the mayor, governor or president announcing to the civilian public a new tax program or traffic regulation. Any public announcement that would change the lives of everyone in a community is news. Since it is the ES&S' mission to cover the military community, any policy change that effects military members service wide is a big story. It's going to be covered.

Pentagon public affairs didn't have to go to the Stripes and say, "Report on this." They released an announcement to the commercial wire services, the Stripes Washington bureau picked it up, and the Stripes reported it. In a command information publication, the commander would say, "Report on this" and it would be reported. In other words, even though many of the stories in the ES&S serve a command information function in that they pass along information which the hierarchy wishes known, the process by which the information becomes news is usually no different at the ES&S than in the civilian press which likewise functions to pass along information to the public which governing bodies wish known. The Stripes' news gathering process is, then, more allied with standard civilian journalistic practices than with command publications, which don't so much look for news as report information.

Yet information culled through the standard journalistic practice of covering a beat, may look no different at times from that which is strictly command information and so many individuals then assume that the paper is basically a command information publication. The big difference, however, is that in military command information publications, when the commander requests that a topic be covered, it is covered. News is not gathered, it is dictated. There is little or no editorial freedom and little concern about the community's reaction to policy changes because the major focus of concern is on getting the commander's message out.

On the other hand, as we shall see even more clearly later, at the ES&S, editorial decisions, according to policy, are to be based on the "newsworthiness" of an event judged, as in the civilian press, by the status of the source and the number of people who might be interested in it. This does not mean that the ES&S is never asked by PA officers to cover a story. Public affairs and the ES&S interact constantly for PA is the primary source of ES&S local news. But that's just the point. The military is the primary source of military community news, so PA does not have to dictate or demand that a story be done. Standard professional journalistic practices employed to gather news while

covering any institutional beat almost assures that major pieces of information which institutions and high placed individuals wish to make known will be reported. Major stories such as the Army wide change in smoking regulations will be covered as this one was.

The way stories are covered also differs from command information publications. Lt. Col. Philips explains,

Smoking is a good example. It is our function to report on events of major interest to the community. When the hierarchy makes changes it's going to hit the newspaper. The initial thing that came out about the smoking policy was the policy itself. 'The Army says...' Next we asked people how it affected them. How things were going four days after the policy was effected. Does the policy cause problems? This isn't something included in command information publications. You wouldn't ask who thinks its a good idea and who doesn't, because you've said it and that's enough. This is policy. Here is a big difference between command information and the Stripes.<sup>24</sup>

The ES&S doesn't just report policy changes, but looks into what those changes mean in the lives of those they effect, a standard practice in any hometown newspaper - the local angle. Command publications are concerned more with getting the information out than in analyzing its impact. They are one channel systems of communication, from the command out.

The ES&S provides a two way channel of communication, from the command to the public and from the public back to the command. Yet both channels serve a command function. Coverage of the smoking policy keeps the story before the public eye, and the community's reaction to it provides information to the command as to the impact of the policy on the community. The same holds true for the relationship between the commercial press and the institutional power elite. When commercial newspapers report on policy changes say in government and then work a local angle on it, their reporting provides a public information service and feedback on the public climate.

Here again the ES&S functions like the civilian press more than the military one, serving the command better in the process than a command information publication might. Yet many senior officers and government officials see the ES&S as primarily a command information publication, where rank determines content



and no questions are asked. The Editor and Deputy Editor must constantly deal with the upshots of this understandable misconception. They must absorb the blows from the continual barrage of complaints from commanders and other government officials who are used to using public affairs publications, as they wish. Capt. Patterson (USN) explained,

Now we do have a command information function; we need to run stories about the threat of terrorism, the things that help the servicemembers, their dependents and DoD civilians get through the day where it is they live like TV offerings, products available, new policies. But that's only one aspect of the paper. That's command information, and we recognize that's a very vital part of our mission; but when it gets into the editorial side, I have to keep them away. It's not one thing but a constant nibbling away. I'll get a phone call or some irate message asking "Why did you run that story? Why did you use that headline?" Those editorial decisions are what the Managing Editor is paid to make. I mean, I have never passed those comments down to editorial because I think it's unprofessional on the part of the person who made the phone call to me. It shows that they lack any understanding of what the hell a newspaper is all about. So I would not compound that lack of professionalism by passing it down to Mert and asking why he did what he did. This is a newspaper. The news judgment by the news editor is the bottom line. He bounces the news appeal of the article against others. That's his judgement. I'm absolutely convinced that we have professional news editors that don't have an axe to grind. I've not seen any bias since I've been here. We've made mistakes; we're a newspaper. But I get calls all the time from Generals, Admirals, Colonels, even embassy press officers who are upset about something in the paper.<sup>25</sup>

The pressure perhaps got to be too much for Capt. Patterson who left his position with the Stripes before his time was up and retired from the Navy after 29 years in service. He knew that the job carried with it a lot of pressure for he had followed the Kiessling Affair carefully,<sup>26</sup> but perhaps he didn't realize just how constant it would be. He noted,

There's been a lot of pressure. That's a big part of it. I just felt like I didn't want to take that any more. I felt that there was way too much oversight - way too much meddling and while I say I'd never let that affect the newspaper, it does get to the point where you're at dinner with your wife and you get a call from some irate senior officer over a really piddly little story. I had hundreds of these calls over all sorts of matters.<sup>27</sup>

All the flack from above ends up on the shoulders of the Editor in Chief, and that burden can be just too much, which is perhaps why each of Patterson's two predecessors likewise left before

their times were up. Yet Patterson understood that the pressure is part of the job,

that's what the Editor in Chief is getting paid for. I'm not arguing about that. I'm just tired of it. I'm not saying the system is wrong. Who ever is put here has got take the pressure, he's got to balance things, he's got to educate these people and he has some help doing that though the quality of the help goes up and down depending upon who is in the particular job at a given time, their background, experience, professionalism.<sup>20</sup>

Clearly then, much of the executive editors' time is spent as Lt. Col. Philips said "running interference" for the Editorial section. The fact that they are military officers who know military public affairs and politics well, helps them to do so.

When asked if it were possible then for the ES&S to become a mouthpiece for the command if a weak Editor in Chief were to be in charge, Capt. Patterson pointed out that there would be a very unhappy newsroom and a very unhappy organization should this occur.<sup>21</sup> Eventually the matter would reach Congressional ears and things would change. Questions would be asked. The situation couldn't last very long, because the people in editorial wouldn't put up with it. There are, then, some checks and balances should individuals come into office who would continually buckle under to pressures from the brass.

As the two top managing executives of the ES&S, the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief play an important role. They not only make sure that the newspaper's editorial and financial operations are in keeping with allocative mandates, but help to buffer the paper from those within the military hierarchy who would want to directly intervene in the editorial process.

## EDITORIAL

The editorial section of the ES&S is charged with the actual creation of the newspaper. This is where all the daily decisions are made as to how reporters will be used, what stories will be selected, how headlines will read, and what the newspaper's layout will be. The editorial section's organizational chart (see Appendix XV) indicates that there are essentially five major

7

editorial areas. The Managing Editor apart from being in charge of all the editorial divisions, is in charge of Letters to the Editor, the computer technicians, the editorial specialist and the applications trainer. The City Editor is in charge of all of the reporters, photographers, news bureaus, special projects, and the editing clerk. The Features Editor is in charge of features, the art section, the magazine, and travel, entertainment and consumer writers. The Sports Editor is in charge of sports and automobile news, and the News Editor is in charge of the news desk, the copy desk and apparently archives. The chart is only generally hierarchical, for example the photographers are not under the reporters but rather parallel in status; however it still provides a pretty good indication of how the editorial section at the ES&S is structured.

Though individuals in all five general sections were interviewed, only the Managing Editor, the News Desk, and the City Desk will be examined because of their critical roles within the news gathering and editing processes. In the following, the Managing Editor's position will be explored. The news desk and the city desk will be discussed in the next chapter.

### The Managing Editor

While the top executives are military officers whose chief concerns focus primarily on the business administrative activities of the organization and juggling in the buffer zone, the Managing Editor is a civilian news professional, whose chief concern is putting out three editions daily of a newspaper for the American Armed Forces in the European Command that is "as much like a hometown paper as we can possibly make it."<sup>20</sup> Simply, while the military executives run interference, the Managing Editor primarily runs the newspaper.

Mert Proctor, the Managing Editor during the summer of 1986, had been with the ES&S for 27 years spending the last 16 in his current position.<sup>21</sup> Unlike his military bosses, the Editor in Chief and the Deputy Editor in Chief, who change almost as often as Italian governments, Mert Proctor has been around for a long

time. He knows the paper inside and out. He has seen titular military publishers and Editors in Chief come and go. He has seen the paper through class action suits and censorship battles. As a civilian employee of long standing, the Managing Editor gives the newspaper something that it could not get from its military Executive editors - consistency and continuity - two things a newspaper or any organization needs to keep from falling into chaos and confusion. In fact the Managing Editor, around which much coalesces, is the critical cohesive center coordinating the ES&S' daily editorial operations.

Because of his many years at the ES&S and his experience working in the newspaper business, the Managing Editor is in many ways more knowledgeable of the newspaper's historical and day-to-day operations than his military bosses would ever be given their short stints and their inexperience in the newspaper business. Unlike the Editor and Deputy Editor in Chief, the Managing Editor is a civilian news professional not a military public affairs officer. After finishing a degree in journalism from the University of Missouri, Mert Proctor worked at a number of newspaper jobs including news editor for the San Antonio Light, a Hearst publication. He knows the newspaper business, and after working for so many years at the ES&S, he knows the Stripes. So even though he works for the Editor/Deputy Editor in Chief, the Managing Editor is often relied upon to assist them for he is perhaps the most knowledgeable individual in the whole organization when it comes to Stripes' editorial affairs..

The Managing Editor is responsible for all editorial operations, and as Managing Editor, Mert Proctor was unquestionably in charge. He had a hand in hiring and promoting editorial staff, including military personnel. He could reward with good schedules and assignments or punish with bad. He was loved, hated, feared, admired, respected, criticised, and generous beyond the call of duty as he illustrated by opening up his apartment to summer interns from the University of Richmond. But regardless of what a staff member thought of him, it was his presence that was felt most strongly in the newsroom.

Mert was an old fashioned newspaper man from Texas who looked like he could have been in the cast of Howard Hawks' His Girl Friday (1940), and indeed the newsroom looked like it still would be more comfortable shot in black and white than color. Many editorial personnel commented upon the traditional "old fashioned" as opposed to modern air of Stripes' operations. And there was a small city feel about the newspaper, probably a city in Texas or New England - where many of the newsroom staff came from. People joked about all the Texas accents heard round the office and didn't appear hurried or frantic as they went about their work. The newsroom bore the Managing Editor's stamp.

The Managing Editor is the person in charge of the newspaper's production. He is a civilian, and he has little direct contact with military public affairs. Daily editorial operations are then framed primarily as a civilian affair. The military executive editors saw their jobs as protecting the Managing Editor, and the city desk functions as the first line of defense between him and public affairs. So the Managing Editor is somewhat shielded from having to juggle too often in the buffer zone. Mr. Proctor noted:

I have as little to do with public affairs as possible. The City Editor deals constantly with public affairs offices; public affairs is our source, sometimes grudgingly, but any time a general calls and tries to tell me to do a story, the phone goes dead.<sup>32</sup>

He's not going to let public affairs dictate to him what's going in the paper. The less he had to do with public affairs, the better.

But the Managing Editor can not boast that he is totally autonomous from military public affairs. Much of what he does is structured by the editorial policy guidelines established by military public affairs. And the Managing Editor is present at the Advisory Board and USEUCOM Public Affairs meetings, where he may play a critical role since he is responsible for compiling two of the pieces of information which the editorial allocative control structures require - the editorial balance sheet and the summary of letters to the editor.

The Managing Editor provides public affairs with the editorial balance sheet which he himself devised after a long involved process of rating columnists based on their claims (ie. the voice of conservatism), on their answers to questionnaires, and a survey of staff and public affairs officers.<sup>33</sup> New columnists are added through less extensive versions of the same process. The Managing Editor is responsible, like all managing editors, for the paper's editorials and editorial slant which in the Stripes means that he must make sure that the paper appears apolitical or neutral for editorial policy demands that the paper have no discernible editorial view point. He reads, rates and chooses editorials for the paper, but unlike his counterparts in other papers, he is forbidden by policy to write editorials. Instead he is limited to selecting editorials in order to offer a "balance of opinion" as is mandated within the charter and important to the editorial allocative control structure.

Before high speed wire, a recent development in the summer of 1986, all columns came through the mail, so the job of reading through and selecting editorials was slower and choices were limited. Mr. Proctor explained, "I plan for the balance of editorials to get even better now that we have this high speed service. Now we can do what we want which is on a timely basis put left wing, right wing views on the same topic on the same page."<sup>34</sup> Apart from satisfying allocative guidelines, working with wire service columns lets the Managing Editor know what is going on in the profession and gives him an idea of the major issues being addressed at the time which may help generate story ideas and offer direction in selecting news. The Managing Editor's editorial responsibilities, however, are constrained by the allocative control structure which requires the balanced selection rather than the writing of commentary, and that the Managing Editor prove that the paper is complying with editorial guidelines by supplying the editorial balance sheet.

The Managing Editor is also responsible to the allocative control structure for the letters to the editor and, while there is a Letters Editor, Mr. Proctor pays close attention to them himself:

I try to read all of the letters to the editor. It's a good point of contact with the reader. The person wants our attention and I try to give it to them. A good way for me at this desk job to keep contact.<sup>33</sup>

Besides the fact that they are addressed to him, letters generate story ideas; help keep the Managing Editor up on reader interests; indicate new problems or points of concern within the community; and assist in making decisions on story selection and staff assignments. So it is easy to see why the Managing Editor spends so much time with the letters. But most importantly, he is responsible to the editorial review boards for the summary of letters to the editor and so here again public affairs helps to structure his job and the role he plays within administration.

He in turn can help structure public affairs' decisions. At the editorial allocative review meetings the Managing Editor is the person in the best position to provide public affairs with information about the Stripes' editorial operations and feedback on the community based on the letters. So at the editorial review meetings, apart from listening to complaints about reporters and suggestions for long term projects, he is a source of information upon which the review boards can base future plans.<sup>34</sup> The Managing Editor, therefore, does interact with military public affairs and at least two of his activities, selecting editorials and reading the letters to the editor, are partially designed with military public affairs in mind.

The Managing Editor may also interact with public affairs when helping a reporter get information on a story. Like the Editor in Chief, he may assist in unclogging blocked channels of information, or he may get involved in sticky public affairs negotiations over information. Yet, when all is considered, the Managing Editor has little to do with military public affairs on a regular basis. He only gets involved with them when he has to, when it is an administrative obligation, or when there is trouble which comes to his attention. For the most part, his attention is focused on the newspaper's production, and he lets the Editor in Chief and the city desk deal with military public affairs.

The Managing Editor is a civilian and to him there is no real difference between the ES&S and other civilian newspaper operations. Mr. Proctor explained,

This paper is run like any other paper. There are reporters, copy desk, wire services. A lot of other newspapers have specialized audiences. In steeltown towns, papers cater to steel mill interests and have steeltown stories all over the place or labor stories. So we play the hell out of military stories because that's what will sell papers. And we're here to sell papers. We have to see ourselves as a business, though I don't think that we try to sell papers as much as we should. Still we see ourselves as a competitive press.<sup>37</sup>

When asked about the command information aspect of the newspaper he replied,

We definitely don't want to be thought of as a command information medium. A story on a guy who wins a competition on world wide tank maintenance is the same thing you'd see in the States. 'Local boy makes good in local competition'. Just like you'd see at home in Peoria. Some will see this as command information. But we're not going to print GI of the quarter or any thing like that.<sup>38</sup>

To the Managing Editor, command information is not, as it is to the allocative review structure or to the executive editors, a major function of the newspaper. To him the ES&S is a special interest newspaper, a business, that in the course of covering the community includes stories of special interest to that community. The community just happens to be the U.S. military. The Managing Editor is a civilian, doing his job just as he would anywhere else, and so he down plays the paper's military information mandate.

Yet because the paper is associated with the military, the ES&S has free access to demographic information about the readership that would be the envy of newspaper operations almost anywhere. Mr Proctor noted,

We have a better handle on our audience than any newspaper in the world. So many E3's, so many Spec. 4's. Count the figures. We know the troop strength. It's all there. We don't have to keep track. The information is easy to get.<sup>39</sup>

Keeping track of the market is no less important for the Stripes than for commercial papers, perhaps even more so given the ES&S' restrictions on advertising and command information mission. And



there have been changes in audience demographics over the years. Mr. Proctor noted that there were definite changes as a result of the shift from a draft to a volunteer army. Though troop strength decreased, he said that newspaper sales went up. As Mert Proctor quipped about this development,

• Maybe because we have better comics now. Never underestimate the value of comic strips for selling newspapers. People buy just for their favorite comic. •

Yet the Managing Editor is very serious about the role he sees the ES&S playing within the community. There were a number of occasions when the Managing Editor stressed the didactic and service aspects of the newspaper.

We address community concerns, like checking. There's a huge bad check problem here. They (service members) don't know how to use a check book. Many times bank tellers are told, "but I've still got checks left." So it's a problem and when we spot a problem we try to go out and get a fix on it through our own initiative. Just like we try to find ways of saving our readers money - as a community service. If you want an audience to identify with you, you need personal contact, like the letters to the editor. We try to put in as much "right where they live material" as possible. Bad checks is a problem a lot of them have, so we try to have articles on how to avoid writing bad checks. And there are certain problems our audience has like dealing with a foreign environment. Take a kid from Small Town, Ala. and plop them down in the middle of Europe and problems are bound to occur. We provide a service to the reader telling him about German wine and beer, or volksmarches. Yet after so many years in this community, you'd be surprised that it's really not that different from any other. People are interested in pay, the schools, family, odd stories. It's really not so different. People want to know about what's going on in their community and we provide that service, as any good local newspaper would. •

The Managing Editor emphasized the community service role of the ES&S which might be seen as another way of framing what the allocative editorial control structure would see as the command information mission of the paper. Yet he still came off more as a newspaper man than as a philanthropist or a public affairs person in the end by noting, "We're in business. Local stuff is what sells papers; anything affecting the people sells." • And as Managing Editor of the newspaper it is his business to know what sells - what works and what doesn't.

The Managing Editor is not, however, involved in the nitty-gritty of writing or selling the paper. He is first and foremost an administrator. As he pointed out,

The less I do, the better I'm doing it. My biggest job is selecting the right people to put in as department heads. And I've done well. And I have to do now is answer the letters to the editor, walk around, joke, listen to people. I spend most of my time shuffling papers, keeping some records, reconsidering things I considered the day before. And I do a lot of petty problem solving.^^

He also heads the editorial budget meeting every day, but again he understates the role he plays within it.

We have an editorial budget meeting every day, but very few decisions are made there because everything has usually already been worked out between the City Desk and the News Editor in advance. Oh every six months or so questions may arise, but really the decisions take place out there (in the newsroom).^^

Though we may very well doubt that the Managing Editor is as uninvolved as his statements may indicate, what is clear is that the Managing Editor is first and foremost a manager. As he said, "My job is to get those who work for me to do their jobs well."^^

He explained that one of his jobs was finding out what people were good at and then putting them to work doing it. Military reporters, who often come to the ES&S with little or no experience in real journalism as opposed to command information, and civilian journalists, who have to adjust to the military, have different training needs. The Managing Editor has to consider the individual needs of his staff and figure out where people belong. He also has to be aware of the special problems staff encounter; know what he can and can't expect; and understand what his people are up against. He explained,

Our reporters are required to turn in only two stories a week. A piece of cake compared to reporters in the States. But here they have to do a lot of traveling and they aren't situated in a community as such where they can increase their knowledge of the community day after day. Here the community changes under your feet like quicksand.^^

As the chief administrator of Stripes' editorial section, the Managing Editor manages and, apart from putting out personnel

fires, actively participates in selecting, training, and helping to set work standards for editorial staff.

Along with administrative responsibilities, the Managing Editor is also responsible for the content and quality of each edition. He monitors the newspaper daily for editorial errors and works with the editorial specialist on an in-house publication called the "Stars and Strikes" which illustrates the paper's most glaring editorial errors in the hopes that they won't be seen again. (See Appendix XVI.) On a daily basis, if there are problems in spelling, grammar, organization, headlines, layout, approach, selection, rest assured that the Managing Editor will bring them to the attention of those responsible.

He also monitors the paper for balanced reporting to assure that the paper complies with guidelines on objectivity and fairness. He noted, "I spend a lot of time trying to train my staff to write in a balanced and objective manner."<sup>47</sup> Though he recognized that complete objectivity was impossible to achieve, he reiterated that this of course was the ultimate goal.

He noted only two editorial restrictions: no classified information and no opinion pieces that would be embarrassing or offensive to the host country. The first prohibition is mentioned in the Stripes' charter. The second is not. Yet Mr. Proctor explained,

We don't want an opinion story saying Kohl (Prime Minister of West Germany) is a jerk. We can quote someone saying this in a news column, but we don't want an opinion editorial saying this.<sup>48</sup>

This second restriction is an editorial policy enacted at the managerial level and not at the allocative level. When Capt. Patterson was asked about it he seemed to be a bit surprised but did not challenge it noting that the policy was a good one.<sup>49</sup> When Capt. Strohl, Director of USEUCOM public affairs was asked about this he noted that it was logical.<sup>50</sup> It is clear that such a policy is designed to help waylay international complaints. Yet it is not clear what is meant by host country. Does this mean any country in the European Theater in which American troops are based? And why is it all right to quote someone calling Kohl a

jerk but not all right to include an editorial written outside the ES&S that calls Kohl a jerk? Regardless, no commentary embarrassing to a host country is one of the Managing Editor's rules and that is enough to make it a guiding principle for editorial selection.

Other informal editorial guidelines were rumoured to emanate from the Managing Editor's Office. A couple of individuals mentioned that articles on abortion, gun control and religion were highly discouraged, but the Managing Editor never mentioned these topics. Perhaps the individuals who relayed this information had been for what ever reason put off from doing stories on these topics and so began to see them as taboo. Whether or not these subjects are in reality restricted is not all that important. What is important is that the Managing Editor has enough editorial clout to make his news judgements felt and followed. Indeed when questions arise as to whether or not a story should run, the Managing Editor has for all practical purposes the final say. So the Managing Editor has a great deal of influence over the Stripes' editorial content, and in this regard his job is little different from what it would be at a civilian commercial paper in the States.

Interestingly, however, when asked what he would consider the biggest difference between the ES&S and stateside papers, Mert Proctor said,

Editorial freedom is what makes this paper unique. In papers in the States you don't see stories of malpractice on the same page as the medical convention that's in town. Lots of papers like to preach about how much freedom they have, but we actually have that type of freedom here. Certainly more freedom here than when I worked for Hearst. When I worked as news editor in San Antonio on an average of twice a day we'd get a telex from Chicago saying you will not print any news on aid to Yugoslavia or you will delete these two paragraphs from Lewellen Parsons. We're talking daily we'd have to tear up a page because someone was ticked over something. You don't get that kind of stuff around here.

The Managing Editor probably does have more editorial freedom than many stateside editors. He is the only person in the organization's upper management who is actually a civilian news professional and knows how to manage the paper. So he is relied upon by the ES&S' military public affairs hierarchy to do what

they cannot, which is run a newspaper the way commercial newspapers in the States are run. Since he is the most knowledgeable news professional in the ES&S management structure, the Stripes' Managing Editor, unlike managing editors at most newspaper, is pretty much left alone to run the paper without daily or even very direct publisher interference. Moreover, because there are very definite guidelines about censorship and because of the Stripes' chain of command, the Managing Editor can take complaints about publisher censorship all the way to the Congress. To what higher authority can most managing editors appeal when their publishers decide to kill a story? Ironically, then, a managing editor working for the military has on the surface more editorial freedom than managing editors in the commercial press. This does not mean that the military press is freer than the civilian press, for we shall see in the discussion of the city desk that there are other factors involved. The point is that the Managing Editor in the process of carrying out his job gets less hassle from publishers.

In sum, the Managing Editor is in a critical position as the chief administrator of editorial operations. As a civilian news professional with years of experience, he brings to the newspaper knowledge of how professional newspapers operate and gives the newspaper managerial consistency. He is, likewise, a major asset to the Stripes' editorial allocative control structure which relies upon him to make sure that the newspaper is produced; that all operations run smoothly; that regulations are followed; that editorials are balanced; and that feedback from the community in the form of letters to the editor is compiled. He oversees the quality of the editing and reporting; the administration of editorial operations and staff; and he has enough editorial freedom so he can impress upon the newsroom his personal style and channel editorial operations to reflect his assessment of news worthiness as defined within the limited boundaries of the allocative structure. In the actual production of the newspaper, while he may not have much to say about each edition, when the Managing Editor speaks, his voice is the voice of authority.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, personnel categories which distinguish staff by military and civilian designations are an indication of the hybrid nature of the Stripes itself. Within the operational control structure, the fact that the Editor in Chief and Assistant Editor in Chief, the two top managers of the whole organization, are military and the fact that the Managing Editor, the news professional in charge of all editorial operations, is a civilian is a manifestation that the paper operates under two modalities - military control and traditional civilian news practices. The executive editors in charge of the paper are military, indicating that the newspaper is essentially a military operation overseen by military personnel who spend a lot of their time juggling in the buffer zone between the military and the newspaper. The Managing Editor is a civilian, who runs the editorial section of the paper as if it were a civilian operation, though he is nonetheless constrained by the military allocative control structure and overseen by military bosses. So within the operational control structure of the Stripes the contradictions between free and controlled press modalities manifest in the editorial allocative control structure come to fruition.

## Notes for Chapter V

1. Murdock, pp. 122-123.
2. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 4., p.5-4.
3. Proctor interview, Viahingen, June 18, 1986.
4. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H., 4., p.5-4.
5. Ibid.
6. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H., 2., p.5-4.
7. Patterson interview, Darmstadt, West Germany, August 6, 1986.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Lt.Col. Suzanne Philips (USAF), interview at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, July 14, 1986.
11. Strohl interview, July 2, 1986.
12. Philips interview, July 14, 1986.
13. Patterson interview.
14. Philips interview, July 14, 1986.
15. Patterson interview.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Philips interview, July 14, 1986.
20. Patterson interview, August 6, 1986; Philips interview, July 14, 1986.
21. Philips interview, Viahingen, West Germany, June 6, 1986.
22. Patterson interview, August 6, 1986.
23. Philips interview, July 14, 1986.
24. Ibid.
25. Patterson interview, August 6, 1986.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Proctor interview, Viahingen, June 6, 1986.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Proctor interview, Darmstadt, July 14, 1986.

34. Ibid., August 5, 1986.
35. Ibid., July 14, 1986.
36. Proctor interview, Viahingen, June 6, 1986.
37. Proctor interview, Darmstadt, June 28, 1986.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., July 14, 1986.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., August 5, 1986.
43. Ibid., June 28, 1986.
44. Ibid., Viahingen, June 6, 1986.
45. Ibid., Darmstadt, June 28, 1986.
46. Ibid., Viahingen, June 6, 1986.
47. Ibid., Darmstadt, July 14, 1986.
48. Ibid., Viahingen, June 6, 1986.
49. Ibid., Darmstadt, August 6, 1986.
50. Strohl interview.
51. Proctor interview, August 5, 1986.



## Chapter VI

### Production Practices

Control over the media product in news organizations is not, as Murdock suggests, only exercised by management at the operational control level. Individuals involved at various editorial production levels in the newspaper and those who are used as sources outside of the news organization also exercise immediate control over the media product.<sup>123</sup> This chapter, therefore, focuses on the control exercised over the media product by the daily editorial operations of the ES&S, from the news editor to bureau reporters, with particular attention paid to work practices and constraints. Specifically this chapter looks at the Stripes' news desk and city desk operations. The news desk, among other things, is responsible for gathering and selecting wire stories, which will later be shown to comprise the majority of the news found in the ES&S. The city desk is involved in local news gathering and editing. What we shall see is that just as the allocative control structure and the operational control structure are a hybrid of military and civilian modalities, so too are the day to day editorial production operations of the Stripes.

#### The News Desk

The news desk, composed of the news editor, the cable editor, and the copy desk (made up of the slot and the rim), is responsible for selecting and reworking stories from the wire services; editing copy; writing headlines; and doing the paper's final layout. The news desk oversees the paper's daily physical and editorial style, and because it is responsible for gathering information from outside of the military community, it sets the non-local news agenda just as it would in a civilian commercial operation, by being ever conscious of the demands of the news organization and the audience.

The news desk is strictly a civilian enterprise. All news desk personnel are civilians; all have had extensive newspaper

experience; and all have been at the ES&S anywhere from five to 23 years. There are no military personnel in this section probably because the news desk has no direct contact with military public affairs. Civilian news professionals are, then, totally in control of writing headlines, proofing copy including articles from the city desk and sometimes from features, and deciding on story placement. But most importantly, civilians select wire service stories - the majority of news found in the ES&S.

News desk staff, however, are not limited to doing just one job. The news desk is headed by three rotating News Editors, each in charge of one of a day's three shifts, but sometimes the slot, the primary copy editor, works on cable and sometimes the cable editor works the rim with the other copy editors. Perhaps this is, as one individual complained, because the area is understaffed. Regardless of the reason, some news desk staff rotate their jobs frequently, depending upon the work schedule. On any one shift, however, there will be one News Editor who is in charge of the news desk, a cable editor, and four people at the copy desk - the slot and usually three copy editors on the rim.

The copy desk works with the most basic tools of the newspaper - words. It writes headlines, and edits and proofs any copy that comes its way, which is almost all except features. All 28 pages of the ES&S are, however, never worked on at the same time, so the copy desk does not put together one whole edition of the Stripes during a shift. As Bill Walker, working slot, explained:

The slot in the morning puts together pages but not the whole edition. This is the one star which goes outside of Germany. I do the front page, 2, sometimes 3, 5, 7, the letters to the editor and op-ed pages, 3 other pages and sports. The features pages in the middle are put out several days in advance.

The copy desk may not work on one complete edition of the ES&S at a time, but almost all articles will pass its way before being sent to the News Editor for final layout.

The copy desk is headed by the slot, the master proof reader, who is in charge of doing the final editing of most of the Stripes' text. As one copy editor, Libby Grimmen, explained;

We edit stories. The slot checks them before they go out. He looks at the style, the content, for anything libelous, for indentifying vessels. He makes sure that no one is convicted of whatever before trial."

Bill Walker reiterated, "We process the copy, give it a read, see if it's stylebook style, send it back, and take the blame if there's anything wrong with it."

The slot must assure that all copy corresponds to acceptable style. Warren Grinde noted that years of copy experience as a news professional both in the States and at the Stripes help in his editing activities, but when he is stuck he goes to the New World and Webster's Dictionaries and to the Stripes' Stylebook which corresponds to AP and UP's stylebooks. (see Appendix XVII) "A lot of abbreviations," he said. And there are a lot of abbreviations within the military which correspond to things that mean something only within the realm of the Department of Defense. The U.S. military has its own language. You have already experienced, as you have read this exploration, the need to familiarize yourself with a few standard acronyms such as "USEUCOM", "USAREUR", and "NAFI", and so you have learned a little militareze. Anyone proofing copy for the ES&S must not only be thoroughly familiar with standard English grammar, spelling and usage, as any copy editor must be, but ES&S copy editors must also be familiar with the special language used by the military. Learning the language and the acceptable style of the military community takes a while for anyone doing copy at the ES&S. Therefore, anyone working the slot needs years of experience at the Stripes in order to do the job well, and all of the gentlemen working the slot had spent years at the Stripes before attaining their present positions.

When asked if the writing style was geared to any particular reading level, Mr. Grinde said not particularly, but noted that they wouldn't choose a word like "corpulent" over fat. "We write in simple, plain grammatical English." And Bill Walker

reiterated, "We don't need fifty dollar words to get our points across." So while the paper is not geared to any reading level, it is edited by the slot to be easy to read.

Copy is also pursued by the slot for objectivity. Bill Walker provided an example when he explained how he edited a wire story on Julius Irving:

I thought the writer was unfair to Julius Irving in this story about Irving winning a multi million dollar contract. Here's what it says "Irving spent five hours Monday at the sprawling mansion of ..." Well I just changed that to the "home". I felt that the writer was reading more into it, the luxury and all that. Then he mentions that Irving left the Huntington Valley estate in 'his pink and blue Rolls Royce coupe'. We don't need to know that. The guy obviously has money. The writer was sticking something into the thing. I change little details like that. Or little words like saying a guy is "only" hitting 255 for the year. Take out the "only". Make it real simple and let people make up their own minds. Try to make it real straight. Give everyone a fair treatment.<sup>10</sup>

Pete Shinn put it simply when he said, "We don't really have any point of view."<sup>11</sup> The ES&S is mandated to provide objective coverage. So the slot checks copy, particularly the use of modifiers which tend to carry the value judgements, to make sure that the text is as free from undue bias as possible. It is not an issue at present as to whether or not the ES&S has a bias or ever slants stories. The point is that as the head proof reader, the slot is responsible for the slant or seeming lack of it found in the final text.

The copy editors work for the slot, on the rim. They primarily rework wire stories. Pete Shinn explained, "We don't rewrite wire stories, but rather edit them. We don't change the content, but we may take out a word, check for spelling, clarify sentences or move paragraphs around, put headlines on."<sup>12</sup> And writing headlines for the wire stories is exclusively the responsibility of the copy desk. "I try to distill the headline from the story." said Libby Grimmen.<sup>13</sup> But Norm Ziegler pretty much encapsulated the copy editor's job when he said, "We essentially just edit the news stories that the News Editor selects."<sup>14</sup>

There is no one from the military telling the copy desk how to edit stories or how to write headlines. Like every other news

desk component, the civilians at the city desk are left alone to do their jobs without direct military interference. The only difference that was noted between copy desks at commercial newspapers in the States and at the Stripes was that the pace at the ES&S was a bit more leisurely compared to the fast pace of stateside papers. But contrary to what many outside the ES&S might think, there is no direct military oversight of the copy editing process.

And there is no association between military public affairs and the wire editor. The cable editor is a civilian, so a civilian is responsible for selecting news from the wire services and, therefore, responsible for the initial culling of the majority of news that appears in the ES&S. The wire editor looks through all of the stories coming in over the wire services and then chooses a selection for the News Editor to see. Norm Ziegler explained, "The cable editor sees every story that comes in over the wires and has to decide which ones the news editor might like to see or might use in the paper."<sup>13</sup>

When asked how he decides on stories, Mr. Ziegler noted that he often follows the lead of the broadcast media, but continued to explain that he also takes into consideration the military audience:

Experience lends a hand in deciding. Our audience is interested in American news and major international items. Most are young servicemembers away from home for the first time, and the paper helps tie them to home. I first look for stories of major news interest and then I look for military news which will be interesting to our readers. It's not an overt policy as many people might think. I just look out for what would be interesting to our readers. For example if Secretary Weinberger makes some announcement about pay benefits, I'm going to include it.<sup>14</sup>

The cable editor first selects the wire stories, but the News Editor makes the final decisions as to which wire stories will be included in the text. The News Editor, who is responsible for all ES&S editorial operations when the Managing Editor is away, oversees all news desk activities, but focuses attention on selecting wire stories and laying out the final edition of the paper. Speaking of his job as news editor, Pete Shinn said, "I layout the pages, and pick out the stories and the pictures that

go with them."<sup>17</sup> Local news and feature articles are given to the news editor who negotiates placement with the city desk and features editors decide, but the news editor alone is responsible for selecting wire service stories.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the News Editor's news judgement is a critical factor in the production of the ES&S which is composed primarily of wire stories.

When asked about how they decide on what stories to include, news editors gave similar answers. Pete Schinn explained

It's all a feel; you just know. I look at all the stories and arrange them in a descending order of what I think is important. Most of the important news gets in there somewhere. The other stuff I scatter throughout the paper. I look for international and national stories that affect servicemen. I'm very conscious of our audience. I try to give a little to everybody. The military is the big thing, pay, benefits, personnel matters and of course stories from stateside.<sup>19</sup>

Bill Walker further explained:

We have a lot of indications as to what stories to run. We see how the news media in the States play a story, look at a dummy of the New York Times or L.A. Times, look at the wire and see what's happening. When 500 die in a plane crash that's news. Two hundred people dying on the streets of Bombay isn't like 200 American soldiers dying in a plane crash in Newfoundland. It depends on what's interesting to the readers because all newspapers are put out for the readership. We have half a million Americans and a sprinkling of Canadians, and we try to find stories that they are interested in. What the U.S. president says is going to be more interesting than what the leader of Tunisia says unless he's speaking about the U.S. The President of the United States is news. People don't buy a newspaper unless its got things in it that interest them. People aren't going to throw their money away, so the stories have to reflect the interest of the people. I look for the news of the world and what's interesting to the military. If the Congress is debating pay for the military, that damn well better be in our paper because that affects our people. If they are discussing troop withdrawal in Europe, than that better be there too because our people would be very interested in that.<sup>20</sup>

Selection is based on priorities established in the wire services and broadcast media; on a 'feel' for news, and on understandings and conceptions of the readership. As Pete Schinn stated, "The military angle is the only thing that makes the paper different from others."<sup>21</sup> The process of news selection is, then, no different than at other newspapers; readership is a primary consideration. In the case of the ES&S this means catering to the

interests of servicemembers, a distinct group which functions within a unique community. As Bill Walker further clarified,

Our audience is just a different audience. They come from all fifty states and from the entire country of Canada, so it's just going to be different. But choosing stories is really simple. It doesn't differ than at any other newspaper. I look for the things that affect people's lives, their work, free time activities, the economy, health. It's the same for every newspaper, just apply some different parameter. For one thing we have no unemployment. Everyone has a job. We have no real poverty. They are also not particularly interested in upscale pursuits, buying yachts or flying the Concord. They're interested in charter fares, trips to Paris. They don't have investment portfolios. If the stock market were a major concern, we're not stupid, we'd be running a page every day on it and when there is a ground swell of demand for business news there will be a page of business news. This is what every newspaper does. You take into consideration the audience. We just have a broader group; everyone from everywhere. You try to give them a smattering of what they want. We are super sensitive to the needs of our audience; perhaps more so than other papers. 22

The process of news selection may be the same as in the States, yet the details are necessarily different because of the special community being served.

Story selection is, then, partially based on the news editors' perceptions of the audience, but not totally. Selection also appears to be an interesting blend of individual and communal understandings of what is interesting. Bill Walker noted:

News judgement is really quite individual. Your personal prejudices enter in, if you're interested in technology you may choose features on technology. But when choosing world news there's not really much difference between news editors. Say there are 20 stories you're going to follow. We'd all probably agree on the top three or four. We may differ on where we'd put the other 16 or 17, one may put one on the back the other inside, but basically the stories are going to be about the same. You get UPI, AP and NYT news summaries, a budget cycle message and a photo message and when you come in you look at all those and they tell you what the main stories are. You'll have a good 25 to 30 stories you're going to follow right away. Then you decide which one two or three you're going to use on the front page and which you want to keep or get rid of. 23

There are no guiding policies, no rigid rules about selecting which stories will be covered. As Bill Walker noted, "There are no quotas on stories from the States or any thing like that." 24 It all apparently boils down to the News Editors' news judgements and the conceptions of the audience.

Yet the ES&S' audience, while seemingly homogeneous, is extremely diverse. Not only is the community composed of individuals from varying ethnic, racial, religious and geographical backgrounds, but the community itself is so spread out, spanning from Iceland to Saudi Arabia, that regional differences must be taken into consideration when selecting and laying out each edition. The two and three star editions stay within Germany and so will not differ drastically from one another. The differences in stories will be a matter of the difference in the stories available by deadline. The one star goes to countries outside of Germany, and stories have to be selected that will be of interest to individuals in these remote and diverse areas. Again Bill Walker explained:

The first star paper is a bit different from two and three. We put things about, say Canada, in the one star because Canadian troops are going to want to read about that in Cyprus. We also put in news about Spain, Turkey, Greece or Greenland that may not run in the other editions. These stories will mean something to the people based in these countries but not to those in Germany and vice versa. How can any paper get all the news to all these people in so many diverse areas? You have to give them a smattering, so if you give them the world news, you're OK. Community news has to be limited because the community is so large.<sup>25</sup>

Stories are, therefore, also selected with the geographical interests of the readers in mind.

When asked if it were ever difficult to make choices or if they ever got in trouble over the choices they made Pete Shinn only noted one time where he had any real trouble over a story that he let run. "I only got in trouble once - over Kiessling. Mert told me, his bosses at Patch told him. We couldn't write about the incident."<sup>26</sup> When asked if there were any other times in his 23 years at the ES&S when the military tried to censor the ES&S, he said no and explained, "In terms of censorship, it would cause the hierarchy a lot more trouble than it would cause us. So they leave us alone."<sup>27</sup>

In fact when asked about how working at the ES&S compared to working for commercial papers in the states, both new editors interviewed immediately noted the freedom they had at the ES&S. "What I like best about my job here is that we put out a good



newspaper without interference. I have a lot of editorial freedom," explained Pete Schinn.<sup>20</sup> According to Bill Walker:

People here are fairer in their news judgements than in most places I've worked. There are no regional problems here or any problems with race or ethnic background. Here the people are very professional, maybe more than the people I worked with in the States. When I come to work at 4am and there are a thousand stories to choose from, no one who has the authority to tell me to run or not to run a story shows up until 8am, and when they come in all they say is 'good morning'. The stories run and if the Managing Editor doesn't like a story he may mention it. But I can't imagine another newspaper where you'd have more leeway to run whatever story on earth you wanted to run. If you choose the wrong story then you blew it, but you have no one looking over your shoulder saying you should run this or that. You get plenty of people afterwards yelling, 'Why the hell did you run that?' But I have a lot of freedom here to do what I'm paid to do.<sup>21</sup>

The news editors, civilian news professionals, are given the freedom at the ES&S to select news stories and lay out the newspaper without any direct daily contact with the paper's hierarchy.

But with this freedom comes responsibility and the news editors were very aware of the part they played in setting the news agenda. Bill Walker best explained:

It's a gatekeeper function of anyone editing, and you're aware of it and try not to let any bias enter in. But obviously in selection there is prejudice. When you write your thesis, you're going to be the gatekeeper. You're going to decide who you're going to put in and the slant you're going to take. And you're going to determine what the ES&S is about for anyone who later sits in judgement on your thesis or reads it in the library after it's put there. You have to worry about your own fairness. It's a lot of responsibility. And I'm very aware of that responsibility.<sup>22</sup>

In conclusion, the news desk plays a critical role in the production of the newspaper. The News Editor and cable editor select from the wire services the majority of the news that is found in the ES&S, while the copy desk writes headlines, and proofs and edits copy. The News Editor, apart from being in charge of all news desk operations and in charge of all editorial operations when the Managing Editor is away, also works in conjunction with the city desk and features editors to determine each edition's final layout. Yet because the news desk is involved in the civilian news gathering apparatus of the

newspaper and works with the nitty gritty of the paper's copy and layout, the news desk is entirely a civilian enterprise. While it must conform to military's editorial guidelines which determine the paper's mission and editorial focus, on a daily basis the news desk is pretty much left alone to do its job without direct interference from military public affairs.

### The City Desk

The city desk interacts with public affairs constantly because it is responsible for gathering, writing, editing, selecting and laying out local military community news. Many of the city desk's general news practices and problems parallel those found in commercial papers in the states, yet others are unique because of institutional constraints and the peculiar nature of the military community itself.

First of all the very name "city desk" is a bit misleading because there is no actual "city" that the Stripes city desk covers. "'City desk' is a generic term," explains the assistant city editor, "It's just how we look at covering the local community. There is no real city."<sup>31</sup> "Continent editor sounds rather silly," noted the Managing Editor, "though that would be closer to the truth."<sup>32</sup> As the assistant editor continued to explain,

Our city stretches to wherever there is an American military community from Iceland to England, Spain, Greece, Turkey. It's just huge, bigger than any city. It's just the way we think about covering it. Our community is not all of Spain just the American military communities in it.<sup>33</sup>

The community is linked by institutional association not geography. "Local", then, takes on new significance for space is no longer a defining characteristic. Unlike city desks in the states which cover a relatively limited geographical area populated by individuals with no other similarity than that they share the same general space, the Stripes' city desk covers a vast area populated by individuals with shared institutional links. As the city editor noted, "There is a common core of experience among our readership that is lacking say in an Ohio.

paper. So we can assume a certain core level of knowledge among our readers which you can't in other papers."<sup>34</sup> Local is redefined to mean institutional, and space becomes a major consideration and obstacle when attempting to cover a community which is spread out over more than a continent. The Stripes' city desk must, then, structure news gathering operations with the unique spatial and institutional characteristics of the military community in mind.

To facilitate local news gathering, the city desk, like city desks everywhere, divides the community into beats which anchor the news net and determine what becomes known about the community and, therefore, what will be offered to the community as news."<sup>35</sup> At the Stripes there are three conceptual beats (education, medical, and legal) and ten geographic beats, seven in West Germany and one each in England, Naples and Washington. The conceptual beats indicate general interest areas concentrated upon, and the geographic beats indicate where news gathering energies are concentrated. Many of the bureaus are located near key information centers such as in Washington near the Pentagon and Congress, in Naples where the American Navy in Europe is headquartered, and in West Germany at Army, Air Force and EUCOM headquarters. In addition, most of the bureaus, seven out of ten, are located, along with city desk headquarters, in West Germany which has the greatest concentration of American troops in Europe and gets the greatest share of city desk attention.

Military communities in other more distant lands, such as Turkey, Greece, and Spain, are not, however, totally neglected. Staff reporters are occasionally sent to these countries on temporary duty assignment. Yet the city editor admitted that there was a problem covering areas outside of Germany. Grace Blancett, explained,

We don't do a very good job of covering the areas outside of Germany and it's one of my goals to improve that. Readers in Turkey, Greece, and Spain depend on us even more than our readers in Germany because they are so much more isolated. I would, if I had my druthers, have a bureau in each one of those countries."<sup>36</sup>

But as it stands, news gathering operations are concentrated in West Germany.

About a third of the city desk's staff is located at the Stripes' main offices in Darmstadt which houses the city desk's administration and a cadre of reporters and photographers. The rest are spread out at the various bureau offices.<sup>37</sup>

The city desk is composed of the city editor, an assistant city editor, an assistant city editor in charge of bureaus, staff reporters and photographers. However, unlike the news desk which is composed exclusively of civilians, the city desk is staffed by a mixture of military and civilian personnel. Military personnel, all public affairs people as is required,<sup>38</sup> occupy two of the city desk's top administrative positions, city editor and the assistant editor in charge of bureaus, and military personnel serve as reporters and photographers. All military staff were trained at DINFOS, the Defense Information School, all were on three to four year assignments, and all noted that they considered this assignment to be the best in their careers.

In many ways, the ES&S is unusual military duty. Military personnel who work at the city desk don't have to put up with the types of military duty, such as charge of quarters, that they encountered at other duty stations. As allowed in the charter at the discretion of the Editor in Chief,<sup>39</sup> servicemembers are allowed to wear civilian clothes on the job so they cannot be told apart from civilian personnel. Military journalists were authorized to wear civilian clothes so that no one would know their ranks and try to pull rank on them. And as the city editor noted, "Some military personnel will even try to pull rank on civilians."<sup>40</sup> The civilian veneer helps to protect military reporters from harassment, particularly when attempting to get information from higher ranking public affairs officers. Rank, then, according to one military reporter, ceases to have the same meaning it does at other traditional duty stations because no one knows what your rank is. So in many ways, though still service members, military reporters at the ES&S' city desk function within decidedly civilian frames.

Civilian reporters, on the other hand, must learn to function within military frames. Civilians, who usually work for the ES&S on three year contracts, make up the majority of city desk personnel. All had previous journalism experience before coming to the Stripes (one reporter had even worked for the Stripes when he was in the military), and all indicated that they sought the job in order to live in Europe. Those with no previous experience with the military also said that it took a while to get used to the added paper work involved with being employees of the Department of Defense and that it took a while to get to know the military community and militarize. Indeed, military reporters claimed that civilian reporters didn't know the audience and the community because they didn't know the military and didn't live within its frameworks. "So every little training exercise is a big deal to them," noted one military reporter.<sup>41</sup> Civilians claimed that military reporters didn't know journalism.

These issues were addressed by the city editor when she talked about the different training needs of military and civilian reporters.

There is an adjustment period for all reporters, military and civilian. Their adjustments are different. First both have to adjust to Europe. With the civilian reporters it's getting them to adjust to the obstacles of reporting here, of working with public affairs, and getting them up to speed on military language. Some come with a pretty high opinion of themselves and have a difficult time learning new ways. With the military it's different. It's trying to turn them into reporters after being public affairs people. And some never make that mental switch. They will still approach a story the way a public affairs person does as opposed to the way a reporter does. They are inclined to accept the military side as the only view point and in that case it would be an incomplete story, like doing a story on a new program and never asking the people what they thought about it. That's the way a public affairs person would do it because of their training. It's not a critique, but a fact. So we try to teach them to be a little more critical and analytical.<sup>42</sup>

Whether reporters are civilian or not, they are all conceived of as civilians within the guidelines addressing their access to military community information. Instruction 5120.4 clearly states,

S&S reporters shall be accorded the same treatment, access to restricted areas, or gatherings provided reporters from

the commercial media. S&S reporters may not use their military status or credentials to gain special treatment, access to restricted areas or gatherings or advantages not accorded civilian media.<sup>43</sup>

All ES&S reporters have ID cards and so they can go on to military bases whenever they want. Military reporters have military IDs, civilians civilian IDs, but both allow them access to military facilities, including post exchanges, commissaries and recreation facilities. In fact, all ES&S European offices are located on American military bases. The reporters at the Stuttgart bureau work on Patch Barracks not far from the offices of EUCOM public affairs. Yet neither military or civilian reporters can use their special situations to gather information for "commanders and public affairs officers shall respond to S&S news inquiries on the same basis they respond to commercial media inquires."<sup>44</sup> ES&S reporters, like New York Times reporters, must query military public affairs officers for information. They are a part of the institutional community and system, and yet when it comes to doing their jobs they are to be treated as if they were separate from it. As the assistant city editor explained, "We have offices on bases because we are part of the structure. But covering an event, we can't use anything that we have to unfair advantage."<sup>45</sup> ES&S reporters are, then, caught in a rather interesting situation where they work on military installations, but they can not use any information they find out about just in the course of hanging around. They are restricted to going through military public affairs the same way any other commercial news media would. Indeed, though they have military IDs they still must ask permission to get on base when they are in the process of covering a story. As the city editor noted,

Reporting for the Stripes is more difficult than in the states. Say you try to cover a small town. City hall isn't surrounded by a fence with armed guards. You don't have to ask permission to get on the grounds of city hall, so it really requires a much more skillful reporter over here to get information, because the military is very good at stonewalling whenever they want to. Our charter says they have to treat us like any other news operation, but some just treat us all like muck. Yet where they like to lord it over on us is that we have military ID cards and it states in our charter that we are not to use the cards to get access to information not available to any other media. So we sometimes have problems over that.<sup>46</sup>

In the process of covering a story all Stripes reporters have to show their press cards and ignore the fact that they have IDs.

Military and civilian reporters are all treated like civilians by public affairs and all must contend with the same problems involved in trying to cover the American military community. Yet they are not the same. Military and civilian reporters have different training needs and understandings of the military community, and they have very different relationships with the institution. Yet only in the city desk is there such a mixture of both military and civilian personnel.

In fact the majority of military personnel at the ES&S work for the city desk. Perhaps, aside from financial considerations, military personnel are more highly represented at the city desk than anywhere else in the ES&S' editorial operations because the city desk must deal on a daily basis with the military community and with public affairs, whether in the process of gathering information, in the process of negotiating stories, or in the process of dealing with military complaints and requests. Military personnel, as servicemembers, bring to the job a special understanding of the readership, and, as public affairs people, they bring to the job a working knowledge of the military's information system that is helpful to local news gathering. Military staff are, therefore, useful to city desk operations and so they are more highly represented there.

The city editor is in charge of all city desk operations and staff. During the summer of 1986, Air Force Chief Master Sergeant Grace Blancett was the city editor. She attained the highest enlisted rank it is possible to achieve in the U.S. military, E9, and is only one of 12 female E9s in the whole American Air Force, a group she jokingly referred to as "the dirty dozen." She has a degree in journalism, but her only real newspaper experience was gained at the Stripes. In an unusual stroke of administrative luck and probably finagling, she had somehow been assigned to the Stripes for over ten years: three as a journalist, three at the Washington bureau, a couple as assistant city editor, and then in 1984 she was chosen by the Managing Editor, Mert Proctor, as city editor.

The current city editor is a military public affairs person, yet the position of city editor is not strictly slotted for military personnel, as is the Editor and Assistant Editor in Chief. In fact when Grace Blancett took office, not too long after the Kiessling censorship affair, there was concern that this was an indication of the militarization of the Stripes. But as she explained,

I think that I discounted that theory. In a sense I'm invulnerable to those (military) pressures. I'm as high as I can go in the Air Force, I'm committed to twenty years in service and that's it. I've been on the other side of the fence; I know all the tricks of public affairs. I've been there. I know what their concerns are yet I've been with the Stripes for a long time and I have a real affection for this newspaper and a real sense of commitment to the readership. No one is going to accuse me of knuckling into the military just because I'm in the military. <sup>47</sup>

Indeed, she has proven that she is willing to take on the military if need be. For example, while covering the Chernobyl accident, the city desk ran into major obstacles.

It almost took an act of God for the military to comment on the safety of the water, air, vegetables, and milk. We asked immediately and the problem there was a political one. The 7th Medical Command wanted to respond immediately but they got their hands slapped by higher authorities who felt the necessity of getting everything signed off by the Deputy Commander of EUCOM and by the ambassador because they didn't want to say anything that might run contrary to what the Germans were saying. The German's were almost hysterical and our guys were saying just wash everything carefully and it will be all right. Yet getting the information took days and we pushed and pushed and pushed. Finally I went to Mert and said that if they don't get it to us by press time today I want to go with a story that says that we asked these people for the information and as of press time tonight they hadn't given it to us. They came through, but Mert seemed to be almost unwilling to go with that. You see if anything he had to hold me back because I'm going for it. He's much more conservative than I am. <sup>48</sup>

This is not to imply that the city editor is oppositional to military concerns or that she never gives into public affairs pressures, but rather to show that just because she is in the military doesn't mean that she looks out for military concerns above those of the city desk. If anything her military connection is a plus because her knowledge of military public affairs benefits news gathering operations and her knowledge of the audience and its concerns, being a service member herself, helps



in selecting and editing stories. Her public affairs background and membership in the institution as an enlisted member give her a sensitivity to the concerns of both sources and readership that any competent Stripes' city editor would have to have to get the job done.

The city editor is responsible for all local news operations. She is in charge of the bureaus and the city desk staff at headquarters; she is responsible for all city desk administrative, logistic and personnel concerns; and she is responsible for the reportorial staff and the quality of the final local news product produced. Though the Managing Editor and the Editor and Assistant Editor in Chief make the final editorial decisions whenever the need arises, she still has a major say in what local stories will be covered and is integrally involved in negotiating stories with and dealing with the problems of public affairs. The city editor makes decisions as to which events will be covered; has the final say on reporters' assignments; determines which local stories run and which don't; oversees the quality of the final edited text; negotiates the layout of local news with the news editor; passes along local stories to the sports and features editors, works closely with the features editor to coordinate news efforts, and participates in daily editorial budget meetings. As Grace Blancett said, "I have some decision making power."<sup>47</sup>

And some influence. Apart from assuring that the city desk complies with organizational policy, the city editor can initiate policy and influence general organizational concerns.

I've been at the Stripes long enough that now I'm finally in the position to help effect policy, and I'm putting to use that responsibility. I think that reporters are freer to do their jobs now. Fewer administrative type duties. There was a "reporter of the week". It was duty, essentially a lacky type job for the city editor. Everybody hated it. Finally we just did away with it and got a clerk. And I added an assistant city editor in charge of bureaus who does nothing but see to the bureaus' needs. Productivity is up; people are happier. ... I think I've also had an impact on the Stripes as an organization in its view point on women and our approach to stories about women. The Stripes is more balanced now in its reporting of women's issues. It's much less sexist in its language. I'll take credit for that.<sup>50</sup>

The city editor does not take complete credit for the city desk, however, for she is closely aided in her duties by the assistant city editor. The assistant city editor is second in command of the city desk. Betty Luman, the assistant city editor in the summer of 1986, is an experienced civilian journalist who has degrees in journalism and political science and worked for the UPI out of Texas before taking a cut in salary to come to Europe and the Stripes. When asked what she did at the city desk she explained,

My job as assistant city editor is to edit copy, advise reporters and help make assignments. I advise reporters if they want to know if they should cover something. I say yeah or nay. They go out and cover it, I edit it and then I decide whether it is going to the news pages or to features or sports even sometimes.<sup>21</sup>

She also interacts with public affairs people: trying to get information out of them; taking complaints and requests; and getting involved in negotiations over local news coverage.

Public affairs can never call and say run this story. They've asked to kill stories but that will depend on what it is before we decide to do something like that. There was a crime story on gambling that they asked me to hold up on because they said it was still under investigation and didn't want to tip anyone off. But they had already arrested and released 12 people and if anyone else were involved they surely knew what was going on from those 12. So I said, "Sorry, too bad, we're going to run with this."<sup>22</sup>

So the assistant city editor, like the city editor, is involved in negotiations with public affairs over local news coverage and has a say over which stories run and which don't.

Her primary responsibility, however, is editing. The assistant editor for bureaus explained, "Grace takes care of administrative stuff, makes the general editorial decisions and when there is the need for a judgement call on a story she is the final word on it. But Betty is the one who works copy."<sup>23</sup> As one reporter put it, "Her's are the final set of eyes to look at a city desk story before it goes out." Grace Blancett, in addressing the quality of writing at the ES&S, referred to the assistant editor's role,

Quality of writing is always a constant battle. We have different levels of expertise here. Some of our writing is excellent. Some of it is dog meat. We try and send it back to them and say approach it from this angle or try this. I've seen major improvement. Betty is an excellent teacher. She can take a reporter's story and show them how they should have approached it, change a word here or there, reorganize, and get a better piece of writing.<sup>34</sup>

In some ways, then, the assistant city editor can be viewed as the city desk's master copy editor and proof reader, doing for the city desk what the slot does for the news desk.

In addition to quality; the assistant city editor edits news stories to make them free from opinion. She noted;

Every newspaper is concerned wit facts. This paper is particularly apolitical, with no inhouse editorial and balanced editorials. Yet I would never let opinion get into any hard news story. No one at this paper is ever going to write how it's a crying sin that we spend \$700 on a toilet. They might write a factual news story on it. I can report that the Air Force spent \$700 on a toilet ant let the audience say for themselves, that's a crying shame, but I make sure that our stories are free from opinion.<sup>35</sup>

As one reporter quipped, "It's like Jack Webb. 'Just the facts, ma'm.'" Yet as the primary editor, aside from assuring that stories are well written and error free, the assistant city editor must assure that stories comply with organizational and professional conceptions of balance and objectivity.

The asistant city editor also helps to determine whether or not bylines will be given with a story. "A byline is not automatic on every story. It depends on the worth of the piece and the effort that went in to it. I almost never put a byline on a story of less than five inches."<sup>36</sup> But she does help to decide which stories warrant bylines, which work warrants recognition.

In all, the assistant city editor and the city editor are the two people who have the most say over and the most responsibility for city desk affairs. And both believe that the Stripes' city desk is the same as city desks anywhere. "I don't approach this job from any wierd way just because the community we're covering happens to be the military," explained Betty Luman.<sup>37</sup> And Grace Blancett was apparently a bit surprised to discover the similarities between Stripes' and other city desk operations,

I went away to a city editors conference at the Press Institute and was all prepared to defend Stripes. And I came back thinking that Stripes was more like than different from other papers. Our problems are similar. The internal politics are the same here as elsewhere. The city desk is always saying that the news desk doesn't appreciate them and writes terrible headlines and the news desk always thinks at the city desk is goofing off or doesn't know what's going on. And they all told stories about publishers trying to hold back stories they may not have wanted in because it may have ticked off their best friends for social reasons or there were economic considerations that the circulation and advertising people were trying to get them to knuckle into. And I came back and told the staff then that the demons are the same; it's just that ours wear uniforms.<sup>28</sup>

But it is exactly because their demons wear uniforms that city desk operates the way it does and has to contend with many of the problems unique to its own peculiar operations.

And the city editor and assistant city editor must contend with pressures from all sides so that both jobs are extremely demanding. As Grace Blacett noted,

Betty and I get pressures from individual reporters who might not be very happy about the way their stories were edited or played, or the headlines on it. That's from the bottom up. We get pressures from the top down, like the news desk could have thought that the story was too long or not done properly. We get pressure from Mert who might want us to approach a subject from a given perspective. We get pressures from the sides from public affairs who might want us to back off on a story or go ahead with something that we have no intention of running. We get pressures from all sides. In any newspaper the city desk is the hub of the operation and the lightning rod.<sup>29</sup>

And if lightning is going to strike the city desk, it is going to hit the city editor and assistant city editor first.

Another key administrative figure within city desk operations is the assistant city editor for bureaus who at the time of this study was Air Force E6, Sgt. Ed Metzler. Like the city editor and assistant city editor, the assistant city editor for bureaus also selects and edits stories, but he is mainly responsible for looking after the needs of bureau reporters and so does not get as directly involved in disputes with public affairs as the two executive city editors.

The assistant city editor in charge of bureaus is the liaison person between the head offices and those out in the field. He explained,

There are 12 reporters out there and what I do is coordinate their activities and act as a point of contact on the city desk. I assign stories, I handle any kind of complaints and problems. I spend a lot of time bullshitting with them keeping them up on office gossip, and letting them know that there's someone on the city desk that cares. Before this position, people would call the office and people here would be busy and no one would want to talk with them which would get them pissed off. So they decided to take one person and say here just deal with the bureaus.<sup>40</sup>

He is the first point of contact, the first person bureau reporters go to about stories, and the first to see a story when it comes in.

I'm the first person the bureau reporters contact. They check in by phone or computer every morning and ask if anything happened during the night that they ought to be concerned with or ask if I've got anything for them and then they go about their business. I'm also the first one to read the copy. I give the copy the initial editing and may send it back for rewriting and then send it to Betty.<sup>41</sup>

Apart from editing copy, the assistant city editor for bureaus, like the city and assistant city editors, is involved in selecting local news. Local news, then, is based primarily on the news judgements of the city editor and the assistant city editors all of whom tend to use the same criteria. Each first said that they chose stories by the quality of the copy, the cleverness or freshness of the approach, and the engaging nature of the subject matter. As Grace Blancett explained, "I kill a lot of stories because they aren't worth a damn; they'er either boring or poorly written."<sup>42</sup> The quality of the copy is, then, one of the deciding factors in selection.

City desk editors, as well as reporters, also look for stories that they feel would be of concern or interest to the general American military community in Europe which is made up of all four branches of service. So the city desk looks for military news of broad general appeal. Grace Blancett noted,

We look for stories that are of interest to those outside of the community in which they are happening. If we think that other communities can benefit from that information then that's a story for us. Or when the services find out that they have to teach kids how to use checkbooks, then there's a market for that story.<sup>43</sup>

Ed Metzler confirmed, "The big thing is does it really matter to our whole audience. Is it something other bases might want to pick up on? Will it effect readiness? Will it effect our readers' lives?" All of the reporters interviewed reiterated these same points. Conceptions of audience information needs and interests are important when deciding upon local news just as it was in the selection of wire service stories.

More specifically in regards to local news, as Betty Luman explained,

We'll do stories on changes of command ceremonies, like USAF's or 5th Corps', but we're not going to do some command ceremonies, even involving a general, if it's a deputy, deputy so and so. It has to be pretty high up. We also report on crimes within the community when we find out about them. In addition, fluctuation of the dollar, terrorism, aren't things you worry about in the states but you do here. And changes in laws both in the host nations and in the military. Anything that would affect the readership. We don't have a business community, so we don't have a business section, but we offer consumer information because we're a consumer community. And our audience is not just military. There are civilian teachers, DOD civilians, and a lot of family members. We'll have stories on stairwell living while the Houston paper will have stories on condominium living.

Audience was also very much on her mind when Grace Blancett explained,

We have more international and travel news because our people are more sophisticated in those areas. They've been to a lot of places. My family in Ohio doesn't have any conception of Europe or Taiwan, but most of our people have been there, or are going there and like to keep up on current events. Military people travel a lot. Our readers are interested in finding out what they can do over here as individuals and families. The image of the barrack's rat is true to some extent but we try to encourage people to get out. We try to give them stories that will make a difference to them in their careers and families. Our Washington bureau does a lot of stuff on benefits and pay, promotion policies. We also do a lot of family oriented things and address community social issues such as Asian wives or alcoholism in the military. We're trying now to do some coping stories. We try to balance out our coverage so we have something for everybody daily.

A concern for audience interests, therefore, enters into the city desk's selection of news, just as it entered into the news desk's.

Audience is not, however, the only consideration in story selection. There are other factors. Betty Luman, in keeping with regulations, has cut stories that sounded too much like

advertisements. "We run weekly movie schedules. I'm not going to run a story that Rambo 4 is coming to theaters."<sup>47</sup> Stories have also been selected or rejected because of how often or how little the subject matter comes up. The anti-nuclear demonstrations that took place at Wackersdorf in West Germany during the summer of 1986 were ignored by the Stripes not only because there were no military personnel or bases involved but because there had been a glut of protest stories in the paper right before that and so a decision was made that another protest piece just wasn't necessary. Sometimes too decisions are made to include a story because the area from which it is coming is not often represented in the paper. Ed Metzler explained, "There's also political consideration. If you've got a unit you haven't covered for a while and they have a sort of borderline story, well they're our readers too, and sometimes that may enter into the consideration."<sup>48</sup>

And there are also political considerations that arise because of the newspaper's association with the United States government. As the city editor explained,

We can put disclaimers up all over the place saying that we are not an official voice of the American government, but we distribute in Greece, Turkey, and Spain, and they think that the ES&S is the official voice of the government. We can not get into a lot of independent political reporting for that reason.<sup>49</sup>

While virtually everyone at the city desk interpreted USEUCOM's policy restriction on independent political reporting<sup>70</sup> to mean that reporters were not to write editorials or exposes, the fact that the newspaper must be concerned about what it writes because its institutional association with the U.S. military could embroil the government in diplomatic hassles is important. Stories are chosen, then, also with diplomatic sensitivities in mind. Ed Metzler explained

Say if there is a story that I think is just going to get into a huge political can of worms, where it's going to cause a lot of flack or the reporter a lot of grief and it's going to be one of those god awful fights to get it in, then I'll warn the reporter. For example, the Washington bureau came across a Washington Post story on chemical weapons. Well, Jesus, chemical weapons over here is like mass

burials. It's a political sensitivity and they always get wrapped around the axel with the reasoning that this is the paper of the U.S. military over here so what we say has the blessing of the government and if we're talking about chemical weapons in our newspaper, well then, what is the meaning behind this? Then the Greens grab on to it and it gets to be a political headache for everybody. It's not my problem or the reporter's problem, but I know what the fight's going to be. So when the person suggested that we ought to do something on chemical weapons in Europe I simply said I didn't think the climate was right for it and I'm 100% confident that I made the right decision and the reporter agreed. Pravda quotes us. We've caused flack that's caused embassies to get involved because people think that we have a connection with the military.<sup>71</sup>

Since Wackersdorf was really a story about Germans protesting German nuclear policy, as one Stripes reporter noted, the story might have been rejected on political grounds as well as any others for it could have been seen as embarrassing to the host country, an editorial taboo. So the political ramifications of a story are also to be taken into consideration by city desk editorial staff when choosing the news.

In selecting local news stories the city desk must be ever vigilant that it doesn't continually follow the same worn paths. Grace Blancett explained,

Betty and I have to guard against the trap of doing a story a certain way just because we've always done it that way before. We're always looking for fresh approaches so as not to fall into a rut. Like always covering Reforger and the big manoeuvres. We really have to sit down and figure out what is important to our readers. Just because we've always gone before and covered these stories to the hilt, do we really have to do that? Is this what our readership needs? We need to continually reassess our role here or it becomes routine and you stop thinking and do things routinely. This is something all organizations have to guard against.<sup>72</sup>

Reporters too noted that one of their greatest challenges was coming up with fresh approaches or new angles on old themes.

Yet stories don't arise out of a vacuum. As Ed Metzler explained,

Stories come from a variety of places. We either assign them from the city desk because we got a news release from some base or a letter to the editor complaining about or praising something. Or another reporter from the city desk is working on a story or a series say on child care so I'll assign the bureaus to do a part of that project. It helps us to get input from England, if I'm going to do a shot-gun approach, or Naples. Or the reporters can generate their own stories either from contacts or news releases.<sup>73</sup>



Though city desk reporters are often given assignments, it is still their job to canvass the community for news and write the copy. Reporters usually start off at the city desk before being sent out to the field, and while they are administratively a part of the city desk, they may also work on stories for sports and features. Yet no matter where they are, all reporters are responsible for news gathering and writing.

While the city editor and assistant editor liked to see ten a month, reporters are all responsible for turning in at least two stories a week, a production level unheard of in most daily newspapers which would be faced with a lot of blank space if two stories a week were the average for reporters. And everyone in editorial remarked on this apparently easy workload. Yet as Grace Blancett explained,

Two a week may not sound like a lot, but if you have to deal with all of these public affairs people who don't want to tell you, a lot of times you can spend all day tracking down a story about some GI that got killed because they don't want to tell you about it. And all you end up getting is grief. Or you have to drive four or five hours to do a story. We take all that into consideration. "74

Reporter productivity and also the timeliness of news is slowed down due to logistical problems and the reliance on public affairs as virtually the only credible source of information about the community. Gathering information about the local military community is a slow and hassle-ridden process. Trying to cover an area the size of Europe necessarily causes delays in news gathering and writing. ES&S reporters occasionally go on long distance assignments to more remote areas such as Turkey and Spain. But even within Germany, reporters spend a lot more time traveling than they would covering any city. Bureau districts are quite large, and sometimes reporters have to follow the commands they are responsible for outside of the bureau area as was the case when Stuttgart bureau reporters had to travel four hours to Nuremberg to cover an event involving Canadian Forces from Lar which usually fall under the Stuttgart bureau's jurisdiction. The incredibly long distances that reporters often must travel,

therefore, cut into writing time and slows down the speed of news gathering.

Logistics also slowed down the delivery of stories to the city desk. The city editor noted,

Our biggest problem is logistics. Driving times are really bad. Electronics have helped make up for that through the little portable radio checks we have, and this year we got all of the computers in the bureaus on track. This helps. Washington bureau used to have to dictate the story over the phone to the New York office, which had the telex operator type it up and send it out. It would take hours. Now we can get a story in a matter of seconds.<sup>73</sup>

The introduction of high speed wire services and the computerization of the bureaus have helped overcome some of the spatial barriers and have helped the speed with which reporters can get their stories to the city desk. However, the speed of gathering local news will be a continual problem at the ES&S because the community it is covering is the U.S. military and because the source that it most strongly relies on is military public affairs.

One purely technical element within the military community overseas that interferes with and slows down the news gathering process is the military phones which are jokingly referred to within the community as "Hitler's revenge" for it is rumored that the majority of the telephone system has not been upgraded since before the allies won WWII. Reporters can spend hours getting through to a military base or be cut off in the middle of a conversation and have to start dialing and dialing and dialing all over again. Just making a simple phone call can literally take days.

It might take weeks, however, to find the right person to speak with because of the kinetic nature of the military. People are constantly being sent on temporary duty, or are involved in exercises, or are on vacation. All reporters indicated that there were problems getting answers to queries because often the person responsible for the answer was unavailable.

Also because people in the military are constantly being moved around it is difficult to develop contacts, as would be normal for city desk reporters within the states. Military

personnel usually move every three or four years. Just as a ES&S reporter begins to establish a good rapport with a public affairs officer, the officer might be transferred and the reporter will have to start all over again getting to know the new source. Because of this the traditional relationships with sources common in the commercial press are impossible to establish for Stripes' reporters. As a result, the news gathering process slows down for the trust that needs to be there between reporter and source is never allowed to develop.

Indeed, the military community's lack of trust was indicated by all city desk personnel as a major obstacle to news gathering. As one person quipped, "Within the military, reporters rank right up there with used car salesmen." There were a number of explanations given for the military's hostility and subsequent closed lip. One was that the military population was by and large more conservative and tended to "have the general impression that reporters are insensitive." A more popular conception was that the officers now in command cut their teeth on Vietnam and subsequently, as Grace Blancett noted, "remember how the media treated them in Vietnam."<sup>74</sup> As one reporter said, "I really see Stripes paying for the hostilities fostered towards the press during Vietnam."

Still another explanation pointed to the fact that as an instrument of the U.S. government, the executive branch's attitude towards the media filtered down through the military structure and had a great deal to do with the military's present attitude towards the press and releasing information. A number of city desk personnel noted that there had been a change over the past few years. "People are a lot more closed mouthed," was the general comment. One reporter explained,

I think that part of it has to do with Reagan's new patriotism and everything. During the Carter administration the military was at a morale low. They were talking about pulling out of Korea, hurting for money; there were no new weapon systems. The military felt shafted. It was a morale low, so consequently a lot more people were willing to talk with you. Now Reagan's got these guys at the border going 'Gah, I hope those Russians try to come over. I'm going to kick me some ass.' And also the Reagan administration's views towards the media do filter down to the lowest levels. When it's death in Washington to leak information and when

people are getting burned for talking to the press and when the administration is a little conservative when it comes to the media, then it's going to come down to the public affairs officers over here eventually too, because of their bosses. It leaks down in a funny sort of way; they know what's going on in Washington.

In addition, the shift from a draft to a volunteer army may have something to do with the increased reluctance of military personnel to reveal information. One long time city desk reporter noted,

There's been a gradual downward slide since the end of the draft. Where before you'd get a guy saying, 'Well, I'm a draftee; the military is screwing these people. I'm going to get the story out because two years from now I'm out of here.' Now there are a lot more people in the military who are making it their careers. They're protecting their jobs, the guy who pays them.

Regardless of the reason, the military's hostility towards the press and "leaking information" makes the job of news gathering extremely difficult, and it is the reporters, whose job it is to gather information from the community, who get the brunt of that hostility.

Apart from the military's hostility towards the press, the controlled nature of the military also makes it difficult to glean information from the community and so slows the news process down. The military is a tightly knit, hierarchical structure which has the power to hurt those who talk with the press. Grace Blancett noted, "They (the military hierarchy) just have more control over those who live on the Kaserns and tell them 'don't talk to the press'. People have a very heavy hammer over their heads. They can ruin their careers." This was illustrated in the summer of 1986. A black female soldier made a racial discrimination complaint against a German restaurant owner. Though she thought that she had given the chain of command long enough before she went to the Stripes with her problem, the top brass on the base where she was stationed did not agree and wrote a scathing article against the woman in the local command information paper.

Though she was not mentioned by name, everyone at the small base where she was stationed knew who she was and knew that she

was taken to task for speaking to the press. Eventually the Stripes was informed that the racial discrimination charge had been resolved, but they couldn't reach the woman for comment. She wouldn't talk with them, and the people at the Stripes knew why - she had been badgered into a hasty retreat. The chain of command made her life miserable and her career was probably over. But there wasn't anything the Stripes could do for her because the military power structure had successfully sealed her lips. So the fact that the institution has such tight control over community members also makes news gathering more difficult than it would be in a civilian community where individuals can generally speak to the press without fear of retribution or intimidation.

This last story is also illustrative of yet another problem that faces Stripes reporters - the military's conception of responsibility and leadership. If there are any problems on a base at all, it is considered the responsibility of those who are in charge. The woman's racial discrimination complaint could embroil her commander in a problem with German-American relations, and any such problem would be seen as the fault of the woman's Executive Officer. The concept of critical news or negative news, those stories concerning problems, is, therefore, very different in the military community than it is in the civilian world. If a drunk driver is killed in a car accident in the States, the police report is almost immediately made public. There is no attempt on the part of anyone to hide that information from reporters. Neither the mayor of the community from which the fatality comes, nor the person's boss, nor the company for which s/he works feels responsible for the death. The accident is not a blight on the community. The death is not a criticism that those in power within the community did not properly look after the citizenry and were therefore responsible for the death.

Yet within the military community, if a service member gets drunk and dies in a car crash, it is seen as a failure in leadership; those in charge of looking after this troop were not doing their jobs. If your people mess up it's your fault. Where was the leadership, the order, the responsibility? If you can't control your people, you're not fit to lead. In fact, if there is

a problem at all, it's your fault. As Grace Blancett noted, "They think that releasing the name of a guy who dies in an accident is detrimental to the morale of the command because it reflects poorly on them. It's very common."<sup>70</sup> This is why the Stripes' Stylebook's reference under "death" in bold print underscores the reporter's need to keep pushing public affairs for information. (see Appendix XVIII)

The woman's discrimination complaint was considered a failure in leadership because it pointed to a problem in the command. An ESL program started on a base in order to deal with the problem of non-English speaking recruits is considered something to be ashamed of. "Bad" news or problems are the responsibility of those who are in charge. Therefore, members within the institution are reluctant to report "bad" news. Promotions, new programs, rewards - no problem. But trying to get the name of a GI who dies in an accident could take days. As one reporter kindly put it, "The military is very sensitive about image." Information about the military community is, therefore, tightly controlled and hard to come by.

Since as one reporter noted, "We can't really go to Johnny on the Street", reporters have to rely almost exclusively on public affairs for local military news. And public affairs, given the military's attitude towards responsibility, the press, and the free flow of information, can play some incredible games. Indeed every single person interviewed from the city desk spoke of problems encountered when trying to get information out of public affairs.

One problem is that given the organizational structure of the military and public affairs, answers to questions can be days in coming. Betty Luman stated, "Relying on public affairs can be difficult. In the real world you can just go out and call the police or the attorney, but here PA expects you to call them and ask them and they'll ask the police or attorney."<sup>71</sup> This process can be extremely frustrating and aggravating, as was seen in the case of Chernobyl, when it took seemingly forever for everyone who needed to sign off on the information to do so. It is difficult, given the military's structure, to get to all the

people necessary in a timely manner. As Ed Metzler noted, "You consequently get a lot of staff stories that say, 'So and So said on Wednesday that last Friday....'"<sup>1</sup> Just dealing with the bureaucracy of the military slows down news gathering operations. Grace Blacett noted, "It's the same problem stateside reporters would have if they have to go to the military for answers. They'd be faced with the same kind of bureaucratic jumble. Unfortunately, that's most of our contacts."<sup>2</sup>

Another problem encountered in dealing with public affairs is that they can withhold information for so long that the story is no longer worth printing, or as one reporter said, "If it gets in at all it's going to be buried in the middle pages." Along these same lines, public affairs can also just refuse comment, which is often enough to kill a story since the Stripes is not usually going to go with a one sided view. This tactic, for example, has apparently contributed to the problems of covering the DoD school system, the community's educational system. The teachers' union has no trouble speaking to the press about problems, but often the military refuses comment. The story gets cut because to run it without comment from PA would make the article appear one sided; it would not comply with the criteria of balance, that both sides must be heard. Though it is probably true as one reporter noted that no one outside the Stripes has ever cut a story, it is equally true that public affairs taking advantage of journalistic standards of objectivity and balance has a great deal of power over what stories do actually make it into print. Utilizing the demand for balance, usually seen as a free press characteristic, Public affairs is able to slow down the news gathering process and manipulate local news coverage.

Public affairs' attitude is quite often, as one reporter noted, "if you want to know, then ask" or rather "if you don't ask, I'm not saying." Reporters either have to telephone for information or put questions into writing. Yet as Ed Metzler noted, "Even battalion sized units have their own public affairs people, and to get to those people every day to find out what is going on is impossible."<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that public affairs never volunteers information, but for the most part, as one

reporter noted, "They expect you to query them or they're not going to tell you." Or as another reporter commented, "They'll talk to you, but you've got to have the goods on them first. They don't volunteer information very often. You've got to know what you're looking for." Public affairs oppositional or over protective attitude makes news gathering extremely difficult if not impossible for it demands that reporters know what is going on before public affairs will comment. This demands that reporters know about events before they go to the sources to find out about them, a sticky state of affairs. Because of this, as one reporter explained,

They can hide stuff that you could never hide from a paper in the States. We got a call from a German reporter one day asking us what we knew about some guy on a nuclear missile site gunning down his boss. Nothing. It happened two days before that some guy dressed up like Rambo, one of these guys who works at the Pershing missile site, took his M16 and gunned down his platoon sergeant in front of 30 guys in formation. So we queried these people and they said, 'Yeah, we knew you'd call. We'll get back to you.' And then it took them a day to get back to us on something that happened two days before. You wouldn't get away with that in the States.

Even when asked, public affairs has been known to lie. Though this was not noted as a major problem, it did happen. As one reporter explained,

We got lied to once and they admitted it. After Chernobyl they snuck some military medical team to Moscow to test the thyroids of embassy personnel. Someone here found out and queried the medical people, asking if it were true and they said, "No." Then the New York Times found out about it and asked them and they spilled their guts.

Betty Luman noted, "It's the responsibility of the bureaus to find out what's going on if someone dies or something happens. We're a community paper and if someone dies in Kaiserslauten we better have it in the paper." But given the community's institutional bent, its attitude towards the press, and some of the games played by public affairs, this is probably easier said than done.

There are, however, ways around public affairs. One way is to threaten that if public affairs doesn't comment, than the Stripes will just say so and make the military appear to be slack or hiding things. This was the power play that helped to unclog



the channels of communication during the Chernobyl incident, a play that had been used in the past and would be used again in the future. In addition, the city desk, recognizing the problems that arise from using public affairs exclusively, is trying to get the reporters to rely on more than one source. Grace Blancett noted,

If we go to the military and ask specifics about an accident and they aren't willing to tell us, we should have other resources available. We should go to the German police or to German reporters and then go back to the military and say this is what the German police have to say and this is what we're going with, do you have anything to add?■▲

But here again this is easier said than done, for apart from public affairs, one of the problems that reporters noted in gathering information was language.

Reporters have to learn some militareze to do their jobs, but there are also plenty of times when reporters are asked to do feature stories that take them outside the guarded military gates and into the host country(ies). Since the majority of the reporters didn't speak German well, going into the German community to look for information was not simple. Most reporters had to rely on translators who existed, but as one reporter indicated, were not readily available and often times weren't worth the hassle it took to track one down. Reporters would have to have some language training if they are going to begin relying on sources within the host country in which they are stationed. But which language? Language can also be a problem when covering stories in the more distant countries hosting American and Canadian service members. One reporter who was sent on assignment to Spain recalled that in the process of doing a story on a bull fighter, he had to rely on a Spanish interpreter and felt frustrated that he couldn't fully participate in the conversation. The reporter's inability to speak the language of the countries they are in limits the chances that reporters are going to go to outside sources for information.

Yet all of the reporters noted that they could be doing more than they were in their news gathering efforts. "We don't get out enough into the community," was the most common self criticism.

One reporter noted, "I spend too much time in the office. I noticed that when I go out to do something simple, like pick up my dry cleaning, and hang out there for a couple of minutes, I get all sorts of leads." So reporters are aware that more needs to be done to facilitate news gathering operations and that it is indeed possible to get story ideas from the usually close-lipped populace.

Reporters are also aware of that they must consider the political ramifications of the information they discover and will occasionally let smoulder by the way side what might be considered a hot news item in the States. As a number of reporters indicated, they were not sure of the support they would get were they to pursue certain stories. One reporter who found out from a high ranking civilian that the Americans had lied to the Germans about the environmental impact of certain military activities did not even bother to bring it up with the city desk editors because he knew in advance the kinds of problems the story could cause and he could face. The issue was a political bomb, and so he shied away from it. Other reporters still felt confused about how the paper defined, "independent political reporting" and so tended to keep away all together from stories that even had the slightest hint of politics.

This might be yet another reason, apart from the charter's emphasis on features and the difficulties of getting information on hard news stories from public affairs, why all Stripes' reporters said they worked on more soft news than hard news. They will cover hard news when they find out about it, and they will cover hard news concerning the United States when events take place within their geographic locations. For example, city desk reporters covered the President's trip to Germany, the American bombing of Libya, Jenco's release, the American hostages release from Iran, and the Geneva conference, all of which took place within Stripes' jurisdiction. So reporters do work on hard news of not just local but international significance. However, generally reporters spend most of their time writing features, human interest stories and the like, which are safer than hard

news given the internal and external politics which must be considered.

Reporters complained that they often felt a little left out from administrative decisions, and bureau reporters particularly felt isolated being so far from the head offices. As one reporter said, "I miss the daily rap sessions that tend to generate good story ideas." Yet every single journalist reported that their biggest constraint in getting the job done was public affairs.

In all fairness to public affairs officers, Grace Blancett noted,

I don't want to paint all public affairs officers with the same brush; that's not fair. Some are proactive; they'll call us when there's a problem and say this is what happened and this is what we've got. They're the smart ones. The trade off they get is that the coverage is more likely to be in perspective. If you drag something out over three or four days it keeps the thing in the public eye. But if you come clean, then, boom! It's over. That's it and the smart ones will approach it from that perspective if their bosses will let them. There are public affairs people who are real pros and have ethics which will allow them to do their job for their boss and also stay true to the American tradition of free press.

But, she and the rest of the city desk staff might have added, "There aren't many public affairs officers like that."

Public affairs people continue to see the Stripes as a command information publication. As the city editor said, "It goes back to their view point of what our role is and what our view is. Some do see us as command information and we fight that all the time." One reporter further explained,

They have bad feelings about the press in general and they see the Stripes on one hand as if we should be their friends, their organ, whatever. And we come in there asking hard questions and they're taken aback. First they can't believe you're doing it, and then it's "Who the hell do you think you are?"

In discussing the command information function of the paper Grace Blancett explained,

It's hard to draw the line because if we do our job right and let our people know what's going on in the command I guess the by-product of that would be that we help the command get their information out, but it's not our prime goal at all. We would present information a totally

different way than they would like to see. We bump heads over this all the time.<sup>07</sup>

And it is just this head bumping brought about by the confusion as to whether or not the Stripes is a controlled or a free press which causes some of the biggest headaches to city desk reporters for they, like the Editor in Chief, must constantly deal with military public affairs. Reporters are the ones who must negotiate on a daily basis with public affairs; they are the ones who public affairs stalls; they are the ones who get the initial flack from irate public affairs officers; they are the ones who get lied to. Given that the city desk more than any other section in the Stripes must interact with public affairs, it is easy to see why the city desk houses most of the Stripes military personnel.

In sum, the city desk, a mixture of military and civilian personnel, is responsible for gathering and editing local news. While the basic superstructure that it employs to carry out these functions may parallel those found in city desks in the States, the very fact that the community is the U.S. military engenders problems, particularly in news gathering, unique only to the Stars and Stripes.

### Conclusion

The editorial production practices of the ES&S are constrained by the allocative control structures' guidelines and framed by the juxtaposition of civilian free press and military controlled press modalities and understandings. Where military personnel are used, as in the city desk, operations intersect with the military. Where civilians are in charge, such as in the news desk, editorial operations intersect with traditional American journalistic practices.

Within the actual production operations of the Stripes, which has the most immediate influence over the news product, can be seen the hybrid nature of the paper. Many of the ES&S' production practices (the use of wire services, the organization of editorial into the news desk and city desk, the organization

of reporters into beats, copy editing, layout, and the selection of news based on conceptions of newsworthiness, audience and editorial guidelines) structurally imitate traditional journalistic processes. Others (constraints on investigative reporting; logistical constraints; limited reportorial production expectations; the controlled nature of the community; and the reliance on essentially one source, public affairs) are uniquely American military.

## Notes for Chapter VI

1. Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality, (New York: The Free Press, 1978).
2. Herbert J. Ganz, Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time, (New York: Vintage Press, 1980).
3. Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," Social Forces Vol. 33, May 1955, pp.326-35.
4. Bill Walker, News Editor and Slot, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, August 6, 1986.
5. Libby Grimmen, Copy Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, June 28, 1986.
6. Walker interview.
7. Warren Grinde, Slot and Cable Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, June 28, 1986.
8. Ibid.
9. Walker interview.
10. Ibid.
11. Pete Shinn, News Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, June 28, 1986.
12. Ibid.
13. Grimmen interview.
14. Norm Ziegler, Cable Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, June 28, 1986.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Shinn interview.
18. Walker interview.
19. Shinn interview.
20. Walker interview.
21. Shinn interview.
22. Walker interview.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Shinn interview.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Walker interview.
30. Ibid.

31. Betty Luman, Assistant City Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, August 5, 1986.

32. Grace Blancett, E9 (USAF), City Editor, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, August 5, 1986.

33. Luman interview.

34. Blancett interview.

35. Tuchman, pp.15-64.

36. Blancett interview.

37. Ibid.

38. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 4., p.5-4.

39. Ibid., 10., p.5-5.

40. Blancett interview.

41. All Stripes reporters were interviewed between June and September, 1986. Reporters are referred to in the text itself yet specific references to names and places of the interviews are withheld in order to protect the reporters from possible incrimination.

42. Blancett interview.

43. 5120.4, Enclosure 5, H. Procedures, 11., p.5-5.

44. Ibid.

45. Luman interview.

46. Blancett interview.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Luman interview.

52. Ibid.

53. Ed Metzler, Assistant City Editor in Charge of Bureaus, interviewed at Stars and Stripes Headquarters, Darmstadt, West Germany, July 14, 1986.

54. Blancett interview.

55. Luman interview.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Blancett interview.

59. Ibid.

60. Metzler interview.

61. Ibid.

62. Blancett interview.

63. Ibid.
64. Metzler interview.
65. Luman interview.
66. Blancett interview.
67. Luman interview.
68. Metzler interview.
69. Blancett interview.
70. USEUCOM ED 15-8, 4.General, a.Editorial, 2., p.2.
71. Metzler interview.
72. Blancett interview.
73. Metzler interview.
74. Blancett interview.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Luman interview.
80. Metzler interview.
81. Blancett interview.
82. Metzler interview.
83. Luman interview.
84. Blancett interview.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.



## Chapter VII

### Reading Stripes

We have just explored what lies behind the making of the European Stars and Stripes. We have analyzed the economic and editorial allocative guidelines; reviewed the ES&S' administrative and operational organizational structures; and investigated the special problems and constraints the Stripes faces as a newspaper of and for the American military in Europe. We have looked at who is in charge of what operation and discussed how news is gathered, selected and edited. And we have seen that the ES&S is a hybrid of public and private, controlled, and free press practices and allegiances. Yet the focus has been on the process of creating the newspaper - or what takes place in Washington, EUCOM headquarters, the head offices in Darmstadt or out in the bureaus. Now it's time to get out of the offices and onto the newsstands. It's time to look at the paper itself to see how its allocative and operational control structures are expressed in the text.

If a media product is structured by the concerns and activities of those who produce it, then by analyzing The Stars and Stripes, we should be able to see how its underlying control and production practices are expressed in the text.

Three small content analyses were conducted to try to assess the Stripes. None are statistically sound, sample sizes alone were too small, yet it was not my intention to do an in depth statistical content analysis. I only wished to better ground my descriptions of the paper in something more than my say so. Each of the three descriptive studies uses some simple statistics - averages or mean scores and mode or the most common scores - but they are meant only to assist in description and nothing more.

In one study, a printout was obtained of all Stripes articles inputted over a three year period from 1983 to 1986, and the hundreds of listings were reclassified into larger content areas such as health, business, the military, etc. Each individual listing indicated how many articles could be found under it, so scores were then based on the number of articles

listed rather than the number of titles. This gives an idea of what content areas the Stripes has emphasized over time but tells us little else about the newspaper. The other two studies, which involve actual copies of newspapers, tell us more.

One study analyzes five consecutive days of the three star Stripes, from Monday to Friday, June 17 to 21, 1985. The focus is strictly on the text to determine what might be considered typical of the newspaper. How much space is usually devoted to sports or comics? How often are staff reporters usually used? What percentage of the information typically is from wire services? The purpose of this exercise, as the one previously noted, is definition, but here the attempt at definition is based on observations of what is commonly characteristic.

Yet comparison is also a necessary activity of definition. So the Stripes was compared to two other newspapers. The Monday, June 16, 1986, two star edition of the Stars and Stripes was compared with editions on the same date of the International Herald Tribune and the Chicago Sun-Times. There was nothing special about June 16th, other than the fact that I was able to get copies of all three newspapers for that date. I chose the International Herald Tribune (IHT) because it is one of the few newspapers besides the Stripes available to overseas DoD personnel, and because it is the only real competition the Stripes acknowledges apart from broadcast media and newspapers sent from the States.<sup>1</sup> USA Today was excluded because at the time of the study it had paid the Stripes to be included in the ES&S' home delivery service and so was not considered a competitive press, but rather something of a joke.<sup>2</sup>

I could say that I chose the Chicago Sun-Times because I grew up in Chicago, and it was my local newspaper, which it was, but in actuality, while I tried to get a copy of a smaller city newspaper, only my mother, a Chicagoan, came through in the end and sent me the edition I needed. (Thanks, Mom!) The Sun-Times, then, is used as a point of comparison between the Stripes and a "hometown" newspaper in the States, a traditional local newspaper, with a geographically linked and relatively stable audience.

The data gleaned from these quantitative studies can tell us a lot, but they cannot assess, for example, the kinds of entertainment or business news found in the newspapers, nor how news might be perceived by the readerships. Much of the following analysis, therefore, relies also on qualitative assessments and understandings in order to interpret findings.

Specifically, to see how the Stripes' underlying organizational policies and practices structure the final news product, general characteristics of the newspaper will be discussed followed by discussions of front pages, sources, and subject categories.

### General Characteristics

In looking at a newspaper, one of the first things one notices is size. The Stars and Stripes, like the Chicago Sun-Times, is a tabloid making it easier for the reader to handle than the IHT which is a broad-sheet. The Stripes' "Fact Sheet" notes that the paper is a 28-page tabloid with a weekly Thursday magazine and 16 pages of comics on Sunday.<sup>3</sup> The five day study of Stripes showed that the paper was 28 pages on a typical weekday and 44 pages on Thursday. In the comparative study of June 16, 1986 editions, the Stripes was 28 pages; the IHT, 22 pages; and the Sun-Times, 128 pages. The Stripes, then, resembles the Sun-Times because it is a tabloid, but it is a hundred pages smaller and so is closer in thickness to the rather slim IHT.

Since the ES&S is a tabloid, it folds and unfolds quickly and takes up less space than a broadsheet, and since it is thin, it easily fits in a soldier's pocket so it is a more mobile and flexible than the other two papers, making it convenient for soldiers to carry around while either walking leisurly on base or fighting on the battle field. So the size of the Stripes may be said to correspond to the needs of soldiers who would find it a burden to lug around or store the cumbersome Sun-Times and a hassle and possibly a danger to deal with the problems of unfolding a broadsheet.

The number of stories in a paper is another indication of size. The Stripes averaged around 75 stories per edition in the five day study. There were 88 stories on June 16, 1986 compared with 95 stories in the IHT and 108 in the Sun-Times. So the Stripes tends to be a little bit smaller than either of the other papers in terms of stories offered.

Another defining characteristic of the Stripes besides its size is its cost. The Stripes costs \$.15, the Sun-Times \$.25, and the IHT varies depending upon where it is bought. On American military bases in Europe it costs \$.85, a rather hefty price for a daily paper. Though there are plans to raise Stripes to \$.25, at the time of this study Stripes cost less than either of the other two papers and considerably less than the expensive IHT.

The low price of the newspaper is directly attributable to the economic control structure under which the Stripes operates. The price is cheap so, as the Managing Editor said, "There's no excuse not to buy it." The purpose of the Stripes is to serve the command. Remember the paper operates at a loss. Unlike the other two papers, profit is secondary to the paper's information and morale mission. In fact the Stripes' economic allocative control structure abhors excessive profitability and has set policy to keep prices low and pass savings along to the troops. Were the other two papers to run at a loss in order to keep the price of the product low, they would soon go out of business. They can not, like the Stripes, rely on tax dollars to bail them out. The Stripes' inexpensive price is directly attributable to its unique economic allocative control structure.

Furthermore, there are no colored pictures in either the ES&S, the Sun-Times or the Herald Tribune. The IHT was completely black and white - no color anywhere - giving it an image of sobriety and seriousness appealing to business circles. While internally the Sun-Times was strictly black and white, its cover pages were multi-colored, the back page composed of six different hues. So the multicolored fare of the Sun-Times' front and back pages catches the eye, gets you to buy, but once you turn the front page, the paper fades to black and white. The multiple use



of color on the cover pages gives the Sun-Times at least initially a kind of flashy tone, an air of hustle.

The Stripes is mostly black and white; however colored headlines and outlines can be found anywhere in the paper, and section headings are commonly delineated by color. There will only be, however, one color per edition. If, for example, red is the color of the day, then the only color in the Stripes will be red. If green is the color, it will be green. Though it may use fewer colors than the Sun-Times, the Stripes uses color far more frequently, interrupting the monotony and seriousness of the black and white and giving the paper a rather inviting and friendly tone - not too serious and not too flashy.

### The Front Page

After the price, size and the use of color, the next thing one usually begins to notice in a newspaper is its front page. Let's begin at the top. The Stripes, like the IHT, puts its title at the very top; the Sun-Times' title is near the top under a green thick line inside of which is a promo for a sports article to be found later in the paper. Yet in all three, titles essentially headline the newspaper, as would be expected. The IHT and the Sun-Times' titles, however, were different from the Stripes. They were centered, took up the whole width of the paper and were almost double the print size of the Stripes'. In comparison, the ES&S' title is quite small; it only takes up a little more than half the page and is set off center on the right. In the space to the left of it is a colored bordered box entitled "inside stripes", which lists inside offerings.

In addition, the Stripes' title, while thicker than any of the other print on the front page, was exactly the same size as its headline story. In contrast the IHT's title was the largest print on the whole front page, double the size of any of the front page headlines. The Sun-Times' title print was slightly smaller than the size of print used for its headline story, yet it was still quite large and prominent. In comparison, then, the Stripes' title is rather small, set off to the side, and

definitely less boisterous and conspicuous than the titles of the other two private commercial papers. While the other two papers highlight their titles, the Stripes' title is a bit understated.

The smaller size of the Stripes' title could be to conserve space, but the Stripes has much more empty space on its front page than do the other papers. If it wanted to enlarge the title or use the full width of the page it could. Possibly underplaying the title is done to downplay the institutional association of the newspaper. If the title were larger and more prominent, the size of the disclaimer, "Authorized Unofficial Publication for the U.S. Armed Forces", which lies directly under it, would necessarily increase, drawing attention to the paper's military connection. Perhaps the title is small because since the Stripes does not compete on the open market, it doesn't have to advertise itself in the same manner as the other two papers, and so can reserve front page space for something else. Whatever reason, the Stripes' title is modest in comparison to the other two titles.

In some ways the Stripes' title has more in common with the IHT's than with Sun-Times'. The Stripes and IHT's titles include logos which provide an indication of the newspapers' associations, whereas the Sun-Time's title does not. In the IHT, between "Herald" and "Tribune" lies a small drawing. In the middle of the drawing there is a clock with an American eagle on top. On the left side of the clock is depicted the past: Grecian columns, a person plowing a field with a single stick and ox; a caravan of camels crossing in front of the pyramids; and a person dressed in a toga, posed much like Rodin's Thinker, contemplating an hour glass. On the right side of the clock, symbols of America and industry are depicted: a wheel or gear; a factory spewing smoke; a train crossing a bridge likewise spewing smoke; a more modern plow, and "the Spirit of America" a young woman moving towards the right holding high before her the American flag. This is a complex image connecting history, culture, industry, work, technology, time, power and American patriotism - a fascinating symbolic compilation of the interests of the American power elite. The logo, then, allies the IHT with the concerns of the

American international business community and foreshadows the focus of the text.

The Stripes' logo also establishes a symbolic association between the newspaper, and the community, institution, and ideology it serves. The Stripes' logo of two crossed and slightly bowed poles with American flags draped like curtains around the bottom of them making a kind of banner is placed directly in the middle of the title which overlays the picture. The picture, slightly obscured by the print (another element of disassociation?), is easily recognizable as the good ol' Stars and Stripes, long may it wave. Unlike the complex multifaceted IHT logo, the Stripes' is seemingly simple and direct. Of course a newspaper named the Stars and Stripes would use the Stars and Stripes to represent it. Besides, this is a tax funded daily newspaper, directly connected to the U.S. government and considered often in diplomatic circles as the mouth piece of America, so if any newspaper in the States has the right to use the American flag to represent it, this paper does. Yet the logo is also a powerful symbol of elements that within the U.S. military underscore purpose and personal and institutional mission. The American flag is the symbol of country, of patriotism, that for which the military exists, that which the military is bound to defend, and for which institutional members are willing to risk their lives, fight and die. Like the IHT's logo, the Stripes' logo is then a pictorial representation of shared institutional and symbolic associations and values - a statement of purpose and intent.

Another aspect of the Stripes' title shared somewhat by the IHT but not by the Sun-Times is the inclusion of statements of organization. There is nothing on the front page of the Sun-Times that indicates the focus of the paper or who publishes it. Organizational association is missing. On the other hand, the IHT calls itself "The Global Newspaper" emphasizing the international focus and distribution of the newspaper. The title space also notes that the publishers are the New York Times and The Washington Post. Like the IHT, the publisher of the Stripes is also acknowledged on its front page. Under the Stripes' title is

the statement, "Authorized Unofficial Newspaper of the U.S. Armed Forces." It was clear from the interviews that those within the operational structure of the newspaper would like to do away with this line because they think that, apart from being a bit reminiscent of militaryze (authorized Unofficial?), it emphasizes the military connection which it is designed to disclaim. But as long as the disclaimer's inclusion in the title is mandated by Pentagon guidelines, it will continue to be there. So the Stripes' title area is directly and indirectly a product of the organizational structures which form it. ✓

In addition, the Stripes front page usually has three to four stories and one large or a couple of small black and white pictures. Headline size varies, but the one for the top news story of the day is typically in the same size font as the title though the headline tends to look larger because it uses a thinner line. Headline sizes for other stories on the page are usually smaller than the top story's, showing clearly the news agenda for the day.

Yet Stripes' headlines don't visually scream out the way the Sun-Times' oversized, thick and heavy front page headlines do. And even though Stripes' top headlines are larger and more spacious than the IHT's rather small, reserved headlines, and even though they may sometimes be in color, Stripes' headlines aren't usually very loud. They tend to be visually, as they are mandated to be - more within the boundaries of the best of journalism than within the realm of the National Enquirer.

Stripes' headlines also all tend to use the same type of lettering or font and so are more uniform than headlines in the IHT or Sun-Times. In the other two papers, headlines were done in at least two different fonts, but the Stripes used only one. While it is extremely doubtful that the uniform use of fonts was intentionally designed to do so, it is none the less interesting that the uniformity of the fonts parallels the uniformity so prevalent within the military community itself.

In addition because of the layout of the front page, the top news story in the ES&S, as in the Sun-Times, is obvious. Apart from being larger, the headline for the major news story of the



day in the ES&S almost always takes up the whole width of the paper and is located usually at the top of the page so the top story is easy to pick out. One would have to be blind to miss the top story in the Sun-Times. Not only is the print huge, but it takes up 3/4 of the page. In the IHT, however, discerning the top news story for the day is not quite so easy. While two stories on June 16, 1986 were prominent at the top of the page on either side of a picture, four stories out of eight on the front page used the same size font and were placed in eye-catching positions. In the IHT, more so than in the other two papers, one is given some choice as to which story is the most important. The reader is given a more active roll in agenda setting, just as the members of the corporate elite tend to take more of an active roll in the agenda setting of the nation in general.

The ES&S, like the Sun-Times, doesn't usually offer its readers any choice. It is easy to pick out the top story. The readers don't have to think; they don't have to choose. They are essentially told "this is the top news event today" which unintentionally reinforces a kind of passivity. No military wants soldiers who will think too much before carrying out an order. Politicians and advertisers count on the passive thinking of citizens to push their ideas or products. Unlike the IHT, which structures top stories so as to make its readers think and choose, the ES&S and Sun-Times, by making the top news story stick out, help reinforce more passive thought processes which in the long run assist in the maintenance of the larger institutional structures to which the newspapers belong.

Until now we have focused on the form of the Stripes' front page. What's really important on a front page, however, is the news, and when analyzing the Stripes' front page news a number of things were observed. When comparing it to the other two papers, the Stripes was found to have news stories in common with both the IHT and the Sun-Times, but the Sun-Times and the IHT had no stories in common with each other. Out of four stories on the front page of the June 16 1986 two star Stripes, two stories, one on the summit conference in Geneva and one on a hotel bombing in South Africa, were also on the IHT's front page and a third

story, about Gadhafi being sick, shared front page status with the Sun-Times. So three out of four front page stories in the Stripes could also be found in either the international or stateside American paper. The Stripes' news judgements on this day were, therefore, seemingly in line with other American newspapers and appear closer to the IHT's than the Sun-Times'.

The Stripes' front page was composed almost exclusively of international news. The article on Gadhafi that the Stripes shared with the Sun-Times was the only international news story presented on the Sun-Times' front page. The other two Sun-Times stories, including the top story of the day, were local city news. The stories the Stripes shared with the IHT were The Global Newspaper's top international front page stories. In fact the forth and final story on the Stripes' June 16, 1986 front page might also be seen as an international story since it featured a drug sniffing pig in West Germany. Numerous Stripes personnel said that they thought the readership was interested in international news and travel and felt that the abundance of international news in the Stripes set it apart from newspapers in the States. Since it is they who select the news, then the Stripes should, as we have seen on this front page, have a lot of international news.

Looking at the overall coverage of international news in the Stripes it was found that on a five day average 23.5% of the paper's stories were international. (see Chart 1) International news, then, tends to take up almost a quarter of the paper. When compared to the other two papers, the one day of the Stripes had more international news stories at 31%, than the Sun-Times, the stateside paper, at 23.7% but, as would be expected, less international news than the Global paper at 72.5%. (see Chart 2) Stripes' editors said they believe that the military community is more interested in international news than communities in the States, and this belief upon which stories are partially selected is most probably what is behind the fact that there was more international news in the edition of the Stripes than in the edition of the Sun-Times.

Discerning international from local news in the Stripes is, however, not easy due to the community's special institutional and logistical characteristics. For example, arguments can be made that the summit and Gadhafi articles could be framed as local news within the parameters of the ES&S' mission since any agreement arising out the summit would necessarily have a direct impact on the American military community in Europe, and Gadhafi has caused the local American military in Europe a lot of trouble. The front page story on a drug sniffing pig in West Germany could be seen as an international story in either the Sun-Times or the IHT, but because it is written by a staff reporter and takes place within Germany, where most American forces in Europe are stationed, it could just as easily be seen as a local story and indeed was within the comparative study because it was a city desk reporter who wrote it.

Local news is easy to determine in the Sun-Times because it can be defined within the traditional confines of space - shared geographic location. There is no question that the two main stories on the Sun-Times' front page (one on a gambling raid in Cicero and the other about a religious service that took place for a south side church that burned down) are local news because they take place in the Chicago area. But determining local news within the IHT one runs into similar problems as confronted with the Stripes. First of all, like the Stripes, the IHT caters to no one geographically specific population but rather to a special interest group spread out all over the world. The IHT is geared primarily towards the international business community, those in the jet set, in the corporate elite, and the Stripes is geared towards servicemembers, but the two groups are somewhat similar in that they share some of the same traveling and political concerns, and like those in the military community, those in the corporate elite tend to have a "shared" background of experience, the same schools, the same holiday spots, the same restaurants, the same brand names, the same hang-outs.<sup>3</sup> Local concerns may be similar in both papers because of the shared political and travel concerns, but they would manifest themselves differently because of the differences between the groups.

For example, take the front page story in the IHT, "U.S., Saudis Sign AWACS Agreement." This would be seen as a national news story in the Sun-Times, but it could easily be a local news story for the Stripes or IHT. Since the sale could have a direct impact on American military activities and servicemembers in Saudi Arabia, the Stripes could select the story for local news reasons - it impacts on the community. The IHT could select the story for the same reason - it's of interest to the community. The community is the corporate elite and arms sales is big business, a major activity in the international business scene. Moreover, English speaking people in Saudi Arabia buy and read the IHT. They make up part of the audience, and so would see the story as local news because it is taking place in their own back deserts, so to speak. So it is not easy to determine local news in the Stripes or IHT. Yet the Stripes' community is not as geographically amorphous as the IHT's, and so local news coverage could be somewhat assessed. Whereas it was impossible to determine local news in the IHT and in fact one can say that for all practical purposes there is none.

Local news in the Stripes was based on source and content. A story, for example, was considered local if it addressed an event in an American or Canadian military community in Europe or was written by a staff member. From sources, it was found that on a five day average 18% of the Stripes was local news. (see Chart 1) On June 16, only 4.6% of the Stripes was local while the Sun-Times was made up of 45% local news. (see Chart 2) On this day the Stripes was different from stateside paper in that it didn't offer a lot of local news, but unlike the IHT it did offer some.

The relatively small amount of local news in the military's "hometown" newspaper is no doubt due to a number of organizational reasons besides the difficulty in defining local news. As we have seen local news is not easy to come by given the special problems of gathering news within the community which necessarily cuts down the number of stories written and available for publication. Operational constraints influence the local news coverage found in the Stripes.

Moreover, the restraints on the investigative function of Stripes' reporters and the fact that they are barred from editorializing or reporting on political issues may also limit the number of local stories found in the Stripes in comparison to papers in the states. It is perhaps for this reason, apart from logistical and economic ones, that the Stripes relies so heavily on wire services. Indeed one can see from the use of sources that local news will necessarily be lower than either national or international news. (see Chart 3) In the IHT, 51% of the stories were from wire services, in the Sun-Times 33.3%, but in the Stripes 94.3% of the articles came from wire services. Almost the whole paper came off the wire. In the five day study, on average 77% of the stories come from the wire services, 5% from readers in forms of letters to the editor, and 18% from staff reporters. (see Chart 4) Only 5.7% of the stories came from Stripes' reporters on June 16, 1986 compared to the IHT's 49% and the Sun-Times' 66.6%. Stripes staff, then, as could be expected given the fact that they write only two articles a week, is incredibly underrepresented in comparison to the wire services and in comparison to the use of staff in the other papers. Just as the reporters' investigative role and level of productivity are diminished at the Stars and Stripes, so too is the reporters' representation in the text.

In addition, the morale mission of the Stripes to keep the troops informed about the States so as to ward off isolation and home sickness and the editorial staff's belief that the readership is concerned about events stateside may also direct the Stripes to focus attention on national news at the expense of local news. Perhaps for this reason the majority of the Stripes (64%) on June 16 was composed of national news compared to only 27% in the IHT and 31.5% in the Sun-Times. (see Chart 2) Excluding sports, comic, letters and commentary, the five day study found that on average 49% of the Stripes was composed of national news in comparison to 28% international and 22% military, which in this instance was viewed somewhat as local news though not necessarily taken from staff reporters. (see Chart 1) National news, then, takes up more space in the Stripes than either

international or local news as would be expected given the mandate of the paper and its editorial practices.

Once again, however, distinguishing between national and local news is not easy. When the Congress votes on defense spending is this national news, as it would be in the Sun-Times, or is this local news since it will have direct economic impact on the military community? The president, apart from being the nation's leader, is the Commander in Chief of the U.S. military. Are stories concerning Reagan national news or are they local news since they involve the Commander in Chief?

In fact in regards to coverage of the president it was discovered that Reagan made the front page in four out of the five days of Stripes studied and averaged around 3.6 stories per edition. In comparison to the other papers, the Sun-Times, a democratic paper, never mentioned Reagan once throughout the paper, the IHT had three stories concerning Reagan including the front page story on Reagan's proposed summit, and the Stripes had only the one story concerning Reagan, the summit story, but it was the top story of the day. The city editor mentioned that she often wondered why there were so many stories and pictures of Reagan on the Stripes' front pages. She explained that if someone were to do a content analysis they might discover this and use it as proof of the paper's government association or that the paper was Republican or conservative. But she pointed out that the abundance of stories on Reagan had nothing to do with Stripes' policy or the administration. No one is told to highlight the president. It's up to the news editor to decide what to use off the wire and had she queried the news editors she might have been told, as I was by Bill Walker, "The president is news. Anything he does, pretty much, is news worthy and belongs in the paper." So the many front page stories on Reagan which make the Stripes appear to be just what it claims it is not, a government mouthpiece, are due to the news judgements of those who work the news desk. Once again it appears as if this news judgement is not out of line with their overseas competitor's - the IHT.

Interesting too is the way the Stripes has chosen to frame its front page stories which can be seen through an exploration

of how headlines read. As mandated, Stripes' headlines are non-sensational and indeed fairer or less inflammatory in their presentation of information than the other two papers' headlines. Compare the Stripes' "Gadhafi reported ill, losing his grip" with the Sun-Times' "A shocker: Gadhafi's not his old, ornery self." Or notice the difference in tone between the IHT's "Reagan Urges Soviet to Talk About Summit" and the Stripes' "U.S. moves toward Summit (subtitle - "Reagan letter proposes aides' meeting"). The IHT's "Bombing Kills 3 As South Africa Braces for Protests" is much more inciteful of fear and more conflict oriented than the rather bland in comparison "Blast at hotel in South Africa kills 3, hurts 70" used by the Stripes. The Stripes' allocative and operational editorial guidelines and production practices concerning the nonsensational, objective presentation of information is apparent in these headlines.

Within this discussion of the Stripes' front page a number of elements have been discussed: layout; news judgement; sources; and local, national, and international news. Now it's time to open the paper and see what's inside.

### Page Two and Beyond

The first thing one notices thumbing through the Stripes is that there are no run of the paper advertisements. Instead typically in each paper, there is one folded sheet, four pages, of insert advertising with usually only one or two ads per page. The insert easily falls out of the paper and is indeed separate from the paper itself for pages are numbered 1 to 4 within the insert and so do not follow from the newspaper itself. In addition there are no classified ads, no personals, and no product advertising. If we were to include the insert in the newspaper itself, it would take up 12.5% of the space. But advertising is not really a part of the Stripes. So the lack of advertising immediately distinguishes the ES&S from other American commercial papers.

Like most commercial dailies in the states, both the IHT and the Sun-Times advertise products, have classified ads, and use

run of the paper advertising. In fact advertising takes up a large percentage of the space in both papers. Over half of the Sun-Times, 56% - 72 out of 128 pages - were taken up with advertising or classified ads. In the IHT, six out of 22 pages or 27% of the paper's space was advertising. In the commercial press, advertising is the way papers stay alive so there is a lot of it. Yet because of its economic allocative control structure, the Stripes does not have to rely on advertising to stay alive. It leans instead on the bookstores and knows that if need be it could rely on help from the military, though not without a struggle. In addition, as we have seen, advertising is problematic to the Stripes' allocative control structure which doesn't want it to appear as if the newspaper and therefore the military is endorsing any product or service. It is easy, then, to see why insert advertising which physically distances the ads from the paper was chosen over run of the paper advertising and why advertising in the Stripes is minor in comparison to advertising in the civilian commercial press.

Business news, which tends to take up the majority of space in commercial papers, is also lacking in the Stripes. As a content category, business, which included professional listings such as nurse or miner, ranked fifth at 8.6% in the number of stories covered by the Stripes over a three year period. (see Chart 5) It ranked sixth at 6.8% in the five day comparison of Stripes, so business news is obviously not ignored. (see Chart 6) However, only 4.4% of the June 16 edition was devoted to business news in comparison to 23.8% in the Sun-Times and 31.6% of the IHT. (see Chart 7) In fact business was the number one content category in the IHT and was only second place in the Sun-Times because the day under study was a Monday and so the paper carried a special Sports Monday section. As might be expected then in the commercial press, business news takes up a majority of the space.

In addition, four and a quarter pages or 19.3% of 164 the IHT was devoted to listing bonds while three complete pages or 2% of the Sun-Times listed city ordinances and certificates. It can be assumed that the Sun-Times stock listings are much larger during the week, but the paper comes out in the morning and on a Monday



morning there would be no stock listings because the market is closed over the weekend. Though the market was closed over the weekend, this still didn't keep the IHT from being true to form and offering lists of bond prices. The Stripes does occasionally list the top ten or so stocks, but it never has full pages of bond prices or stock reports.

Traditional business news, while highlighted in the other papers, is negligible in the Stripes. This can be directly attributed to news editors' belief that servicemembers do not function within the corporate world, a belief that is no doubt grounded in reality. Service members operate in a special military economy. There is full employment, everyone knows what everyone else makes because pay is a matter of rank, and there are special stores where food, electronic equipment, alcohol, cigarettes, clothes etc. can be bought at super discount prices for there are no federal or state taxes on items. There is no worry about medical or dental bills or paying for education. Service members are basically taken care of. But they don't make all that much money. They don't have stock portfolios or fancy yachts because they don't function for the most part in that economic league. They are basically simple people whose economic concerns are shaped by their association with the military, and those business concerns are different from those in the civilian economy.

For this reason not only is the quantity of business news in the Stripes different from other commercial papers but the content differs as well. Traditional business news is primarily producer oriented. The IHT has stories on international banking, corporate take overs and sales, international trade and pricing, and other such international corporate concerns. The Sun-Times focuses on local businesses and business people, small business management, national economic news, and some international banking and trade reports. But the Stripes' business news is more consumer oriented, focusing on labor disputes, oil prices, economic indicators, personal finance and consumer news, like how to buy a house or how to send a car back to the States. The Stripes' business news is also geared towards the special

economic concerns of servicemembers not shared by civilians, such as Congressional defense spending or changes in DoD educational, health, or veterans' benefits. Since Stripes' editorial personnel believe that the audience is consumer and military oriented, Stripes' business news is consumer and military oriented. Again content is determined by the producers' conception of audience.

Another thing one notices about the Stripes is its lack of editorials. As is mandated by policy, there are no staff written editorials in the Stripes. In contrast 62% of the IHT's commentaries and news analysis and 100% of the Sun-Times' were written by staff. There also aren't many commentaries or columns in the Stripes. Only 3.4% of the Stripes was commentary next to 7.4% of the Sun-Times and 13.7% of the IHT. When looking at the breakdown of Stripes' content over the five day period, commentaries or columns in the paper, including those by Ann Landers, Andy Rooney and the like, took up on average 2.68 pages, 8.6% of the paper, a little less space than the comics which averaged 2.7 pages per edition. (see Chart 8) If space is any indication of significance, than news analysis and commentary in the Stripes rank right below the comics.

Yet we have seen that the Stripes' editorial allocative control structure places a great deal of importance on the selection of commentaries and great care is taken to balance columns between liberal and conservative continuums. But editorials are politically problematic and take a long time to choose, so it is easy to see why there are fewer in the ES&S than in other papers.

Though there may not be many of them, editorials in the Stripes are generally balanced, just as policy and editorial practices dictate. The Managing Editor is obviously doing his job. The study of five days of Stripes indicated that American liberal and conservative views could typically be found on each op-ed page. James Kilpatrick's "White house hasn't changed Reagan much" was juxtaposed against Tom Wicker's "Why Should U.S. Adopt Bully Tactics of Soviets?"; William Buckley's "Minister Makes Strong Case for Religious Right" was juxtaposed against Anthony Lewis' "Reagan's Lost Control of Apartheid Controversy." You will

not find, as in the IHT, a concerted campaign on an issue as was the case in the IHT's June 16th editorial section which was devoted almost exclusively to criticism of South Africa. Nor will you find commentary on community problems as was the case in the Sun-Times. But, contrary to popular conceptions of the Stripes, you could find criticism of the president as in the Lewis editorial on Reagan's South African policy or in James Reston's "Reagan Smiles but his Actions Mask a Murky Future." So the Stripes does what few newspapers would dare to do. It runs editorials critical of its chairman of the board, so to speak. The ES&S' treatment of editorials is unique, then, in comparison with other papers because of the special allocative guidelines which structure it.

The Stripes' treatment of advertising, commentary, and business news helps differentiate the paper. So too does its treatment of other specific news categories. To determine what content areas are emphasized in the Stripes which in turn indicates organizational and institutional priorities, stories were classified, counted and prioritized according to frequency or space. The research conducted on the list of Stripes' subject categories and frequencies excluding "animals" indicated that over a three year period, the military at 16% was by far the largest content category. Health and crime (to include "bad guys": spies, terrorists, war criminals, etc.) tied for second place at 12.25%. Next came in descending order: politics (both national and international) (10.4%); business (8.6%); travel (6.9%); sports (6.6%); entertainment (6.2%); accident/disaster (5.5%); technology (4.98%); social problems and lifestyle (4.88%); ceremonies/awards (3.4%) and education (2.4%). (see Chart 5)

The five day study of Stripes yielded a similar but slightly different order. Excluding sports, comics and commentary, all of which were considered separately, like advertising, as special news categories, military related stories were the most frequent, followed in descending order by: terrorism and communism (the enemies), crime, human interest, health, entertainment, business, disaster/accidents/death, U.S. politics, international politics,

technology, awards/ceremonies, education, religion, travel and a mish mash of other stories. (see Chart 6)

That military news, which included stories on any military or war, was the most frequent content category in the two internal content studies is exactly what we would expect since the Stripes is the American military's newspaper, and editorial staff said they purposely chose military related stories in consideration of the paper's military publisher and DoD audience. But in the comparative study of the three papers, military news in the Stripes was second to sports, which we shall see later may be on a daily basis a more significant content category than the military. Yet the military's second place rank is quite high and was quite a bit higher than the extremely low status (8th place) military news had in the Sun-Times. (see Chart 7) So in comparison to the Sun-Times whose scores seem to indicate that the military is not of major concern at least to this stateside civilian local paper, the Stripes does come off as a military focused publication. But when the Stripes was compared to the IHT, there appeared to be very little difference in the frequency of military related news. Though military news in the IHT rated third in frequency in comparison to second in the ES&S, military news in the IHT took up 12% of the paper as opposed to 11% in the Stripes. (see Chart 7) So the IHT appears to devote more space to military affairs than the Stripes does. But in actuality there were the exact same number (10) of military related stories in both papers.

That the newspaper of the American international corporate elite had as much military news as the U.S. military's newspaper was at first surprising, but after considering the interrelationship between military and business in what has been referred to as the military-industrial complex, the finding made complete sense. Though it is only a one day study, it nonetheless suggests the close association between corporate and military concerns. If editorial decisions are based on conceptions of readership interests and organizational concerns such as market, then the high status given to military news in both papers indicates that the business and politics of war is considered

interesting to both readership or target groups. We have already seen how the readership groups, the markets, of both papers are similar: that they share the same type of mobility and concern with travel and international politics, and that they share similar "local" characteristics. They obviously share too an interest in military affairs. But the type of military news offered in each paper is really very different illustrating that while the two markets may be similar in some ways, they are not alike.

The IHT's military news concerned itself primarily with weapons systems and arms sales (AWAC sales to Saudi Arabia, insertable war heads, "Star Wars"); the writing was exploratory, analytical and rhetorical. It made you think, even if you didn't like what you were thinking about. The Stripes' military coverage, in keeping with its editorial policy and practices concerning balance and objectivity, was more descriptive than analytical, making it easy to read for there is no argument to follow. And instead of arms sales and contracts, the ES&S focused on either arms testing (ie. of the minuteman and tomahawk systems), safety (safest year yet for military pilots), or internal military community news: hard news such as the Navy's new home posting plan or soft - "Military Copter helps Texas Goddess". So while both the Stripes and the IHT on June 16, 1986 had the same number of articles on the military and military content ranked high in both, the Stripes' coverage of military news addressed internal institutional events and was less weighty and serious than the IHT's. 7

The Stripes' approach to military news is no doubt due to the paper's editorial mandate on "factual" reporting, its fear of opinion, its fear of political repercussion, its interrelationship with military public affairs as both source and publisher, and its editors who take this all into consideration when making decisions on how stories run. The way the news is presented and the amount of coverage it receives is, then, a product of the paper's editorial policies and practices. The institution mandates that the Stripes focus on military news since it is a command newspaper serving the American military

community, so there is a lot of military related news. And though we may question whether or not there is more or less military news than in the IHT, there is no question that the Stripes has more military news than the stateside local paper and that military news is highlighted.

Next to the military as a subject category in the analysis of Stripes' archival listings came health. It was fifth in the 5 day study but would have done better if the event of the week were not the 1985 TWA hijacking, and health ranked fairly high in the comparative study tying with crime for third place. In the comparative study, health in the Stripes at 8.9% of the paper was emphasized more than it was in the other two papers. Health came in almost last in the IHT at a mere 1.3%, and tied with international politics for 6th place in the Sun-Times at 4.1% of the paper. (see Chart 7) So there was anywhere from 2 to 4 times the amount of health news in the ES&S as in the other two papers indicating that indeed the Stripes stresses health.

Health is a major concern of the Stripes' publisher. Good health is a prerequisite for entering the military, and a major factor in being allowed to stay in it. Servicemembers must be physically fit. Both officers and enlisted must pass almost yearly physical training tests (PT tests) to stay in service. If they are too fat or too thin or unfit physically or psychologically for whatever reason, they could be asked to leave the institution.

Health in the military, then, is an institutional concern and no longer a strictly personal one. A commander is responsible for the health of all of his/her troops. And each troop is responsible for maintaining his/her health, for within the institution your body belongs to the military and to purposely damage your body is to damage government property. Servicemembers' bodies literally belong to the military and so their health and well being are institutional concerns. They must be fit to fight, well oiled machines. Besides, absenteeism and accidents cost money, as they do in all business, so health is also an economic concern within the U.S. Armed Forces.

Health and safety are obviously important to the military. In fact health and safety are probably the content areas the Stripes is asked most often to address by public affairs officers, as Capt. Patterson illustrated in his example about water safety. Since the Stripes is mandated to help the American military in Europe with its information needs and keeping the troops aware of health and safety is important to the command, then it is easy to see why health and safety are stressed. Public Affairs goes to the Stripes and says "could you do a story on water safety?" and since health stories concern everyone, are usually noncontroversial, and help the command, the stories are done. So there are a lot of health and safety stories because these subjects are pushed by the command. Yet apart from having a command information function, the Stripes' emphasis on health and safety can also be seen as an attempt on the part of the paper to comply with the editorial guidelines mandating that the Stripes try to steer servicemembers away from drugs and alcohol by offering them alternatives such as health and healthy leisure time activities.

Sports, in this sense, might be included under "health". Sports keeps you physically fit and healthy. So it is possible to see the Stripes' abundant sports coverage as partially a result of institutional needs to keep the troops ever mindful of physical fitness. Much of the sports coverage focuses on military sports and holds up to praise and admiration military athletes. This type of coverage encourages military personnel to get involved in sports, and within the institution involvement in sports is highly rewarded with special time off for practice and better evaluations at promotion review time. Sports is healthy. It keeps people out of trouble. The military encourages it, and the Stripes covers it.

Sports not only encourages fitness and participation in healthy leisure time activities, but also promotes other behaviors beneficial to the institution. Sports competitions are little mini-battles where, as in war, the individual must challenge him/herself to "go that extra mile", "accept the challenge", "fight hard". Particularly team sports are good because they

foster cooperation and group loyalty while at the same time instilling a highly competitive spirit. They are the perfect leisure time activities for keeping servicemembers physically and mentally prepared for war. So it may be for this reason too that the American military's newspaper in Europe covers so much sports news.

The principle reason, however, for the abundance of sports news in the Stripes is audience interest, as Stephan Loundes' study of Stripes' readership and numerous Stripes' staff pointed out. The military community is primarily made up of young men between the ages of 18 and 45, a group noted for its interests in sports, and many women in the military share this interest. So apart from the fact that the institution promotes it or maybe partially because of this, military personnel tend to like and follow sports. Knowing this and knowing the institution, the Stripes carries a lot of sports.

Sports takes up on average 21% of the ES&S - 6.5 pages every day, more space on a daily basis than any other specific content category including military. (see Chart 8) Though sports ranked only mid-range in the catalogue listings, in the comparative study it accounted for 23% of the Stripes, the paper's number one news content category. (see Chart 7) The three content categories which tied for second place in the Stripes at 11%, including military news, came up where near to sports at 23%. Sports at 29.5% also ranked first in the Sun-Times, but this is because the edition under study included a section called "Sports Monday", a review of the weekend's sporting events. It is not clear how much space sports would normally take up in the Sun-Times, but it is clear that sports is also important in this stateside, general audience paper. In the IHT, sports at 11.4% tied with international politics for fourth place, way below the other two papers' scores, but while sports is not as well covered in the Global newspaper, it is not ignored. None the less, though sports is a major subject area in all of the papers under review, it is particularly emphasized in the Stripes, for the reasons discussed previously.



Crime tied for second place with health in the three year category listing of Stripes' articles and was only beaten out for second place by "terrorism" in the 5 day study because the main event taking place during the week under review was the 1985 TWA hijacking to Beirut, which might be considered by some as a criminal act and therefore fit into the category. (see Chart 6) Regardless crime is a major content category.

In the comparative study, crime also rated quite high, tying for third with health at 8.9% of the paper as opposed to ranking fifth in the Sun-Times (6.6%) and last in the IHT. (see Chart 7) In fact the IHT had no crime stories at all. (Is there no crime among the corporate elite?) The top news story on the front page of the Sun-Times dealt with a crime and one would expect in a city noted for its criminal activities that news about crime would abound, but the Stripes coverage of crime beat out even the Sun-Times'. Crime is a major content category in the Stripes.

The abundance of crime related news could be because crime stories are essentially non-controversial; they are usually non-political and fit right into the "just the facts, ma'm" approach to the news that the Stripes' editorial policies and practices dictate. Or maybe stories of crime are a bit overrepresented in the Stripes because they are viewed as stateside hometown news. News desk staff made it very clear that they selected news from all over the states because people wanted to know what was going on in their hometowns. But the news would also have to be of interest to the general audience as well. Since crime always makes for fairly interesting reading, perhaps crime stories are chosen frequently to achieve the paper's mandate to offer "hometown" news from all over the states but at the same time be of general interest to the whole public.

Yet it could be too that the Stripes' focus on crime and law is due to its institutional association with an organization noted for its authoritarian and legalistic practices and bent. The military is a highly authoritarian and legalistic organization. The military's Codes of Conduct and Justice are extremely rigid. One must obey without questioning. Law and order

are highly valued, as would be expected in an institution which sees itself as the police force of the world.

In addition, crime stories, particularly those concerning spying or servicemembers, reinforce the importance of law and order by reminding servicemembers that if they do something wrong they will be punished "so be good". American servicemembers in Europe have a horrible reputation both within the American military community and without. If a young woman is found raped and killed in Germany, it is not uncommon to hear from both Americans and Germans, "It was probably a GI." I cannot prove that there is more violent crime in the American military community than outside it. I would doubt that there is because it is such a controlled society. But it seems to me that it would be very difficult to constantly live in a society where fighting is encouraged, where fear is a necessity to give the impetus to compete, and not be affected by it. Soldiers have to be somewhat violent. They must also be in control of that violence, which among other reasons is why the military emphasizes responsibility, and leadership, yet as we have clearly seen from many of the GI's who came out of Vietnam, keeping in control is not always easy. Juggling between being totally out of control from the fear of survival in a life and death struggle and taming that animal within at the flip of a switch isn't easy. So perhaps there is a need within the military community for a heavy handed approach to morality. The crime stories remind people to stay in control or else.

Yet at the same time crime stories are reminders of the need for order and control, they may be said to instill that which might underly the getting out of control, the fear, the paranoia, the anger, the impetus that is necessary to fight. Crime news emphasizes the need for security, reinforcing the idea that military members must be security conscious at all times. Spy stories remind readers to be conscious of national security; other crime stories remind readers to be conscious of personal security, but all crime stories remind us that there are bad guys out there who might be out to get us. There is evil in the world. Be on guard. And being on guard at all times serves command mission

needs. So since crime stories serve institutional needs; since the institution which owns the Stripes is itself authoritarian, legalistic and security conscious; since the community the paper serves is itself law and order oriented, and perhaps in need of law and order as well; and since crime makes for interesting reading, it is no wonder that crime is a major content area in the Stripes.

Coverage of terrorism in the Stripes serves pretty much the same institutional needs as the coverage of crime, but it has the added institutional value of reminding military members of "the enemy" and all militaries need enemies. For military members guarding bases in Europe, terrorists far surpass communists as the number one enemy because of the numerous "terrorist" attacks on American military members and installations in Europe. American military personnel aren't as afraid of the Russians coming over the Czech border as they are of a car blowing up at the shopping center as was the case in Frankfurt (1985) or of a duty bus being shot at as was the case in Greece (1987). American military members are targets for "terrorists" and so they are afraid for their lives. And often their lives are disrupted by terrorist activities if not directly than indirectly. For example all trips to Greece by DoD personnel were suspended during the TWA hijacking, ruining a number of vacation plans, and all bases in Europe after the truck bombing of the marine barracks in Lebanon underwent often times drastic reconstruction in order to make an attack like that more difficult to succeed. People living and working on American military bases were reminded every time they passed the construction sites that there were people out to get them. Terrorism is not abstract but very real to American servicemembers. Terrorists are the new enemy.

Perhaps for these reasons terrorism ranked higher in the ES&S than in either the Sun-Times or IHT. (see Chart 7) Terrorism in the Sun-Times came in last as a content category at a mere .82%. Terrorism is not of major concern in this stateside paper nor is it probably much of a concern to most Chicagoans either. Data on the IHT, however, show that terrorism is of concern to the newspaper probably because American business people overseas,

like military personnel, travel a lot and are likewise targets of international terrorist activities. Yet terrorism was more highly represented in the Stripes than in the IHT. Terrorism in the IHT only accounted for 2.5% of the paper, tying for 6th place with "protest". In the Stripes, stories on terrorism made up 4.4% of the paper tying for 5th place with business news and accident/disaster/death reports.

The Stripes emphasizes terrorism more than the other two civilian papers, probably because terrorism is more of a real concern within the American military community than within the American civilian population as a whole, whether at home or abroad. Military members and installations overseas are more frequent targets of terrorist attacks. It was a group of American soldiers who died in the Berlin disco bombing in 1986 and the only person killed during the 1985 TWA hijacking was a young sailor. So even though terrorism as a content category may serve mission needs by underscoring law and order, by keeping the reality of enemy alive, and by reminding servicemembers to be security conscious, stories on terrorism are probably not chosen for these reasons, but rather because terrorism is of major concern within the American military in the European theater. Since editorial personnel stated that they choose stories of concern to the military and military community, it is easy to see why terrorism is a more important content category in the Stripes than in the other two papers.

Entertainment and culture as a content category, however, far exceeds terrorism. Though it ranked quite low in the study of Stripes' catalogue listings, entertainment news took up on average in the five day study close to 7% of the paper, placing it 6th out of 16. (see Charts 5 and 6) Compared to the other papers, Stripes' coverage of entertainment news, at 11%, was just a hair higher than the Sun-Times' coverage at 10.7%, but quite a bit lower than the IHT's coverage at 16.5%. (see Chart 7)

In calculating entertainment news, only articles on entertainment were used. Television, radio, and movie listings were excluded. The Sun-Times was the only paper to have pages of movie, TV and radio listings and if these had been included in

the calculations entertainment news in the Sun-times probably would have been higher than in the other two papers. But neither the IHT or the Stripes ever have movie listings because their audiences are geographically diverse, so there is no point in informing people about where movies are taking place. The IHT would have to offer listings from all over the world, and the Stripes would have to list the offerings on every little military base, and every base has a movie theater. Since it is just not practical for either paper to list movie schedules, they don't. This is the same reason why the IHT never includes television offerings.

But the Stripes does have television listings. It prints the day's Armed Forces Network (AFN) and West German television offerings, indicating that the Stripes' audience, unlike the IHT's, is concentrated enough to share certain microwave signals. The listing of tv schedules is not only a public service but, at least in regards to AFN, is due to EUCOM policy mandates that the Stripes help promote the strictly command information oriented military television network and, therefore, I suppose, an approved leisure time activity.

Yet looking only at articles on entertainment and culture, it was found that both the IHT and the Stripes placed entertainment news quite high in priority. While it was only fourth in the Sun-Times, entertainment was second in the IHT's ranking of news content and tied with the military and human/interest for second place in the Stripes. (see Chart 7) There is quite a bit of entertainment news in the Stripes probably not just because entertainment is of major interest to almost all newspaper audiences, as the comparative data indicates, but also because it serves the paper's morale mission by keeping servicemembers who are far from home up to date on the latest fads and gossip stateside. And besides, since entertainment news is usually noncontroversial and apolitical, it is an easier content category for Stripes' editorial staff to deal with than say international politics.

However, the frequency of entertainment and cultural news was not as interesting or telling as the type of entertainment

and cultural information selected for inclusion in each of the papers. Whereas the International Herald Tribune had stories on international "hoch-kultur", such as "Marmottan: Monet and friends in an Oasis of Light", and the Sun-Times focused on Chicago's cultural scene with stories such as "Lithuanian Opera hits a bull's-eye with Tell", the Stripes had stories like "Not Tough Enough" on how George Bush was rejected for a Miami Vice episode because he didn't look 'tough enough' or "Sammy Davis Jr.: Remembering the old days" or a story about Johnny Cash, "Country's 'Man in Black' pens 'Man in White'".

Though I hate to use the word, I am almost forced to say that there appears to be a marked difference in the "class", the tastes, being served by each of the newspapers. And in comparison, the Stripes seems to appeal to the pizza and beer crowd instead of the steak and wine or coq au vin and champagne crowds. The fact that entertainment news in the Stripes appeals primarily to popular tastes and pulp culture is clearly a result of the editorial staff's conception of audience. Though the City Editor felt that people tended to do a disservice to military members by seeing them as not very literate or sophisticated, "the dumb GI" - almost all other editorial personnel indicated that they felt that the audience, by and large, wasn't very sophisticated and would prefer "Hee-Haw" over Hamlet any day. With this understanding of audience, which may not be too far astray from what the audience indeed is, it is easy to see why the entertainment news in the Stripes aligns more with popular culture than with "hoch kulture".

Indeed, when reading the Stripes one gets the feeling that the whole paper is rather simple. The Stripes' editorial style using simple language and a nonanalytical, descriptive approach to news, makes articles easy to read and rather unsophisticated in terms of argumentation and rhetoric. There also seems to be a lot of what I call "AW" and "Uhm" news, stories which you might react to with a soft turn of the head and the simple exclamation, "AW, isn't that cute" or "AW isn't that sweet" or just plain "AW". Or stories that after you read them you say, "Uhm, wasn't

that interesting." or "Uhm, I didn't know that", like the front page story noted earlier about the drug sniffing pig.

Though not all features in the Stripes fall under this category, for some focus on very serious and pressing social issues such as alcoholism and spouse abuse, the majority of features do. In each 28 page edition of the Stripes, five to six page are devoted to the "Daily Magazine" which is almost exclusively features: articles on people, pets, travel, shopping, community programs, food, fashion, etc. And in the five day study, features accounted for on average 28% of the newspaper, only slightly less than the paper's news content at 33%. (see Chart 8) So, as could have been expected given the editorial allocative control structure's emphasis on features as a morale booster and the fact that Stripes' reporters spend much of their time writing features, there are a lot of features in the ES&S, and hence a lot of "AW" and "Uhm" news.

Though features per se were not calculated in the comparative study, human interest news, which in all newspapers tends to have some "AW" quality about it, was. This type of news tied with health for next to last in the IHT at 1.3%, so obviously in this serious newspaper of the American international business scene, human interest stories are not important. (What does this say?) They were important, however, in both the Stripes and the Sun-Times. (see Chart 7) Human interest took second place in the Stripes, tying with military and entertainment news. It placed third in the Sun-Times, though there was slightly more human interest news in the Sun-Times at 14% than in the Stripes at 11%. The differences, however, are really very insignificant. What is important is that both the Stripes and the Sun-Times emphasize the human interest angle. So in terms of this content category the Stripes seems to have more in common with the stateside paper than with the international paper.

That the Stripes emphasizes human interest stories is in keeping with not only editorial policy on features and the Stripes' morale mission, but also with editorial personnels' conception of the news mission. As the executive editors and the editorial staff at the paper explained, the difference between

command information publications and the Stripes is that the Stripes will look at how events and policies affect the individual servicemember or DoD employee, while command publications won't. Since the news mission is seen as presenting the human angle of a story, and since human interest stories tend to be either cutsey or didactic in nature rather than controversial so they are politically safe, human interest stories are healthily represented in the Stripes.

The last content category to be discussed is accident/disaster/death, which more so than many of the other categories, depends on fate and circumstance for unlike say, feature news, these stories can't be thought up or sought after though they still are selected. This category placed fairly low in the catalogue listings (9th out of 13); it placed mid-range in the five day study (8th out of 16) with an average score of 5.26% of the paper; and it placed 5th in the comparative study, tying with terrorism and business news at 4.4% each. In the comparative study, articles on accidents, disasters and deaths took up the most space in the IHT at 7.6% and the least space in the Sun-Times at 1.6%, where it was the next to the last category. Yet these scores don't really tell us much.

In the IHT on June 16, 1986, five out of six stories in this category were obituaries or rather long tributes, three of them going to Jay Lerner, Jorge Luis Borges, and Marlin Perkins. Only one story focused on an accident. In comparison, two Stripes' stories focused on accidental deaths (a bus accident in India and a roller coaster accident in Winnipeg) and two focused on death - the death of Marlin Perkins and the burial of a soldier who died in the La Belle Disco bombing in Berlin. The soldier's death could be seen a local obituary, since the individual was a member of the American military community in Europe. It is not clear if the people eulogized in the IHT were seen as local or not since it is impossible to really determine who would be considered local. But if the IHT sees itself as the paper of the internationally famous and successful, than all three individuals noted might be viewed as community members. In addition, neither Borges or Lerner's deaths were noted in the Stripes, as might be.



expected given their rather high culture association and the Stripes's emphasis on pop culture which allowed for the recognition of Perkin's death but not the others. Yet none of these deaths were noted in the Sun-Times. Instead the Sun-Times had something which neither of the other two papers had - an obituary section.

There were no obituary sections in either the Stripes or the IHT. Death is not an everyday occurrence in these papers, but rather something that happens every so often by chance, the way accidents do. Here again the American military and international business communities have something in common. There is little death. How ironic! Two of the institutions on earth in the latter 20th century with the greatest reputation for killing and the greatest symbolic association with death, and there is no death in their newspapers.

I can only postulate that the IHT has no obituaries because it serves no local community. Instead, it offers rather long tributes to the dead it chooses to honor. The Stripes can define who it would include as community members for its community is much more distinct than the IHT's, so it would be possible to have an obituary section. And it does include announcements of local military community deaths, when reporters find out about them. But it does not have an obituary column for probably a number of reasons. First of all the, the American military community, as a number of Stripes' staff pointed out, has some very unusual demographics, one of which is that there are no old people in the military. Most people retire between the ages of 45 and 50. So the age group most represented in obituary columns, the elderly, does not exist in the military. Secondly, as was previously shown, it is difficult for reporters to get information from the military on community deaths or accidents. Given the institutional barriers to local community news gathering, it would be difficult to try to compile a daily obituary section. But perhaps the greatest reason for the lack of obituaries is because rather than helping to boost morale as the Stripes is mandated to do, it would hurt morale. Just imagine what an obituary section in the American military's newspaper

would look like during times of war. What a blow to morale! No wonder there is no obituary column in the Stripes. It would run contrary to the paper's mission.

### Conclusion

As we have seen throughout this chapter, The Stars and Stripes is indeed a product of its allocative control structure and operational practices and judgements. In keeping with editorial mandates Stripes carries a disclaimer under its masthead; its headlines are modest and tend to be more objectively descriptive than emotionally sensational; editorials chosen off the wire tend to be balanced; and there are a lot of features, a lot of national news, and a lot of military news. Because of the organization's desire to remain neutral politically and commercially, Stripes relies heavily on information already in the public domain through the use of wire stories; it emphasizes news categories like crime, entertainment, health, sports, and "AW" news which would not as easily embroil the paper in political controversy; and advertising is separate from the body of the text so that the Stripes and, therefore, the military will not appear to endorse any product or service.

Production practices are also expressed in the text. Reagan is often featured because the News Editors think the President is newsworthy. The military, health, consumer news, sports, national and international news are featured because they are perceived of as important to community members; traditional business news is downplayed because the editorial staff does not feel it is important to community members. Moreover, the type of news, the focus on consumer as opposed to producer oriented business news and the focus on popular culture over "high" art, is also a result of the editorial staff's conceptions of the audience used in the process of selecting stories.

While in some ways the Stripes resembles the International Herald Tribune, an international American newspaper, and in others it resembles the Sun-Times, a local paper in the States, in all ways the Stripes is expressive of its unique institutional

association with the United States military which establishes policies, frames news judgements and determines journalistic practices.

## Notes for Chapter VII

1. Proctor interview, Viahingen, June 6, 1986.
2. Ibid.
3. "Fact Sheet", p.1.
4. Proctor, June 6, 1986.
5. Thomas R. Dye, Who's Running America? The Carter Years, (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986).
6. Blancett interview.
7. Walker interview.
8. Stephan Loundes, "European Stars and Stripes Audience Study," 1980, European Stars and Stripes, Darmstadt, p.136.

## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion

This study has shown that the European Stars and Stripes is constituted by the American military public affairs allocative and operational control structures which frame and oversee it, and by the work practices and conceptions of purpose and audience of those civilian and military personnel who actually produce it. Many underlying processes parallel commercial media practices. Yet the Stripes is unique because of the paper's institutional association with the United States military. The American military's daily newspaper in Europe is a hybrid press - a study in contradiction.

The history of the European Stars and Stripes shows that in its very genesis the paper was framed by traditional commercial press practices and later appropriated by the military to use as a means of maintaining morale and channeling behavior. After WWII its operation shifted economically to a blend of appropriated and nonappropriated earned income, and after WWII, the Stripes became a permanent fixture in the American European military community, just as the U.S. military had become a permanent fixture in Europe. Yet from the very beginning, contradiction framed practices, and the conflict between journalistic freedom and institutional control underscored organizational operations.

Contradiction is apparent in the Stripes financial structure which is a blend of private profit motivated and public non-profit motivated enterprise. Stripes' operations are to be profitable yet not that profitable. Concern with institutional information goals more than profits motivates some business practices while at the same time profit itself continues to motivate others. The paper itself can run at a loss, for it is bolstered by fringe commercial enterprises and allocated public funds through the military. Yet there are ever present pressures to make the paper as self-reliant as possible. The Stripes, then, is a hybrid press where contradictory public and commercial structures function together to frame economic policy and practices.

Contradiction is apparent too in the Stripes' editorial guidelines which on the one hand underscore a commitment to freedom of the press and on the other hand underscore institutional control. It is this dichotomy between freedom and control, civilian and military, which structures editorial operations and production practices. It is this contradiction which engenders the confusion that arises between the Stripes as a newspaper and as a command information publication - the confusion at the heart of the battles between the Stripes and public affairs personnel or other members of the military or government hierarchy.

On the one hand the military exercises a great deal of editorial control over the Stripes: through the power to allocate economic resources for editorial activities; through the selection of upper management; through the power to create editorial policies and forbid editorial writing; through the definition of style and the commitment to balance as a means of distancing the institution from appearing to be partisan; through story suggestions for local news; through the restriction of local news sources to public affairs; through limited disclosure or not commenting; through the authoritarian control of the flow of information from other community members which limits access to sources outside of public affairs; and through constraints on the investigative role of the reporter which cause redefinitions of professionalism and confusion as to the reporter's and the paper's role within the institution. The military as publisher controls editorial allocative guidelines and operational practices. As source, the military controls information about the institution - local community news.

Editorial constraints are clearly designed to protect the institution from security leaks and political entanglements both in house and out. And it is easy to see why the military would want to curb its press. The institution traditionally distrusts the press, even its own, seeing it at times as almost the enemy. Moreover the free flow of information is almost the antithesis of what is demanded in a controlled, authoritarian, security conscious institution such as the military. So it is

understandable that the military would constrain the freedom of its reporters, control the flow of institutional information and strictly control editorial policy. It is not going to fund an organization that might be oppositional to or harm it. So the Stripes is in many ways, particularly in regards to local news coverage, highly controlled by the military.

At the same time the Stripes is in many ways like what is traditionally thought of as the free press. Stripes' editorial freedom is safeguarded by institutional anti-censorship policy; the paper is given the right to freely report on institutional activities; copy editors never come into direct contact with military public affairs and so are free to frame stories and write headlines without anyone from the military looking over their shoulders; and the Managing Editor and news editors are free to choose from the wire services any story or editorial they wish without direct interference from the publisher. The Editor in Chief and Deputy Editor spend a lot of time and energy defending the paper's editorial freedom from undo military interference, and, since most of the news comes off the wires and the news editor is free to choose stories without any direct interference from the military, the majority of news in the Stripes is not directly controlled by the military. The military controls institutional news, yet gives the paper freedom to choose news already in the public domain.

Balance and objectivity, mandated by the allocative control structure, is also a free press modality which the Stripes as an American newspaper run by American journalists readily adheres to as a standard practice of the American journalism, and, in terms of the organization of the newsroom, the use of beats, the use of wire services, and the freedom to choose news, Stripes editorial operations parallel free press operations. Indeed, freedom of the press may be even greater at the Stripes than in commercial papers because it can take grievances against publisher censorship all the way to the Congress, an option no other newspaper in the U.S. has. So while the Stripes is controlled on the one hand it is free on the other.

The media product, like the operations that go into its production, is the culmination of the hybridization of these contradictory modalities. In many ways the Stripes resembles other American newspapers operating under the principles of a free press. It carries the same general types of news. It looks like other standard daily newspapers - rather in the middle of the road, neither a New York Times nor a National Enquirer, but a solid small tabloid, a little simplistic, a little too descriptive, a little too pop culture, but not bad - actually quite good in some areas: sports, comics, features, health, national, international and AW/UM news. In accordance with the principles of American journalism adhered to in the newsroom and as policy dictates, the paper is balanced; it is not overly sensational; it caters to the perceived interests of the audience and the publisher. In sum, the Stripes is an American newspaper.

Yet it is not quite a traditional American newspaper either. Because of its unique relationship to the American military and the United States government which structures economic and editorial practices, it carries disclaimers of publisher affiliation; has no in-house editorials; generally balances editorials between conservative and liberal American views; has no run-of the paper advertisement; not much advertising in general; uses a lot of wire service news already in the public domain; and responds to letters to the editor.

The Stripes is unique too because in the process of covering the United States European Unified Command and those individuals associated with it, in the process of catering news to the military community and fulfilling the command information needs of the USEUCOM and the Pentagon, the subject areas of emphasis are different. So there is more news about the military and less business news than in most commercial daily papers. And the types of military and business news is different. Military news focuses attention on local individuals or in-house institutional news more than arms sales, and business news found in the paper is more consumer than producer oriented - more concerned with Congressional defense spending than with the stock market. Entertainment news focuses almost exclusively on pulp culture.



There's a lot of news from "back home" in the States; there's a lot of health and sports news; and, given the legalistic bent of the institution and the community and the concern with security at personal and national levels, a bit more crime news and news about terrorism. The paper itself then can be seen as a culmination of the hybridization of its underlying structures and practices for it is a paradoxical press, reproducing traditional paradigms of American print journalism and yet at the same time being fundamentally different from them.

The Stripes is perhaps different from other newspaper also because it is can be said to be more expressive of community interests than other traditional American newspapers. Commercial American papers are profit motivated and advertiser controlled. Community is first and foremost the market place. Community needs are not necessarily in harmony with organizational needs. In fact some times the opposite. The Stripes' mission is not profit, but concerned with fulfilling community and institutional information needs. And while there are differences of opinion, for the most part institutional, community and organizational understanding are in relative harmony given the tightly knit structure of U.S. military. In fact in regards to the United States military, it is not easy to separate community from the institutional concerns, nor is it easy to separate the Stripes' concerns from the institutions' since the paper is a part of the institution. Community, institutional, and organizational interests are interrelated. The Stripes unique handling of the specific subject categories is then perhaps more indicative of military concerns then say the Sun-Times' handling of subject matters is indicative of Chicago's concerns, because of the close association between the military hierarchy, the military community and the Stripes. So it may be more possible to make inferences about the military community by doing a close reading of the Stripes than it would to make inference about other communities doing a close reading of their commercial community daily papers.

Yet here again structural contradiction arises for while the Stripes is a part of the institution, it is treated as if it were separate from it. Reporters are given no special access to

community/institutional information but are treated like other journalists from outside the institution. And the institution is no more willing to open up to Stripes reporters than to other journalists. So on the one hand the Stripes is integrally connected to the United States military, and on the other it is treated as if it were outside of it.

The various contradictory elements which comprise the Stripes and make it a hybrid press give rise to questions which need further exploration. For example, what is the difference between a free and a controlled press? If a paper has no direct censorship does that make it a free press? If publisher interests are represented in a newspaper, does that make it a controlled press? What then is a free press? If a paper appropriates traditional American journalistic practices does that mean that the paper is a free press? Can traditional free press practices actually assist in controlling the press? Can controlled practices actually assist in better expressing the needs of the community?

The dichotomy between free and controlled press practices was used in order to better express the contradictory hybrid nature observed in the allocative, operational and production practices of the Stripes which in turn structure the final media product. After this study, however, it is difficult to determine whether the Stripes is a free or a controlled press or what those terms actually mean. This is a question for future scholarship to further explore.

## Abbreviations

ASC	Armed Services Committee
ASD	Assistant Secretary of Defense
CINC	Commander in Chief
DCINC	Deputy Commander in Chief
DoD	Department of Defense
ES&S	European Stars and Stripes
EUCOM	European Command
GAO	General Accounting Office
<u>INT</u>	<u>International Herald Tribune</u>
JCP	Joint Committee on Printing
MI&L	Manpower, Installations and Logistics
MWR	Morale, Welfare and Recreation
NAFI	Nonappropriated Fund Instrumentality
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
PA	Public Affairs
USAFE	U.S. Air Force Europe
USAREUR	U.S. Army Europe
USCINCEUR	U.S. Commander in Chief, Europe
USEUCOM	U.S. European Command
USN	U.S. Navy

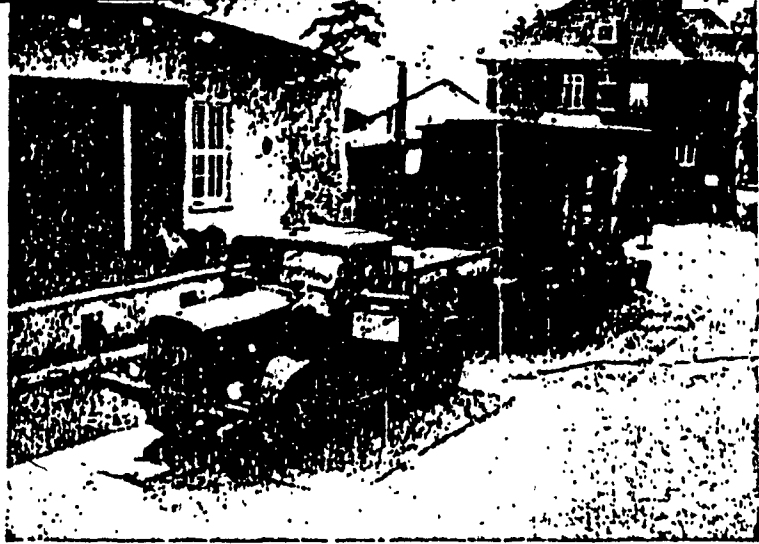
APPENDIX I-a



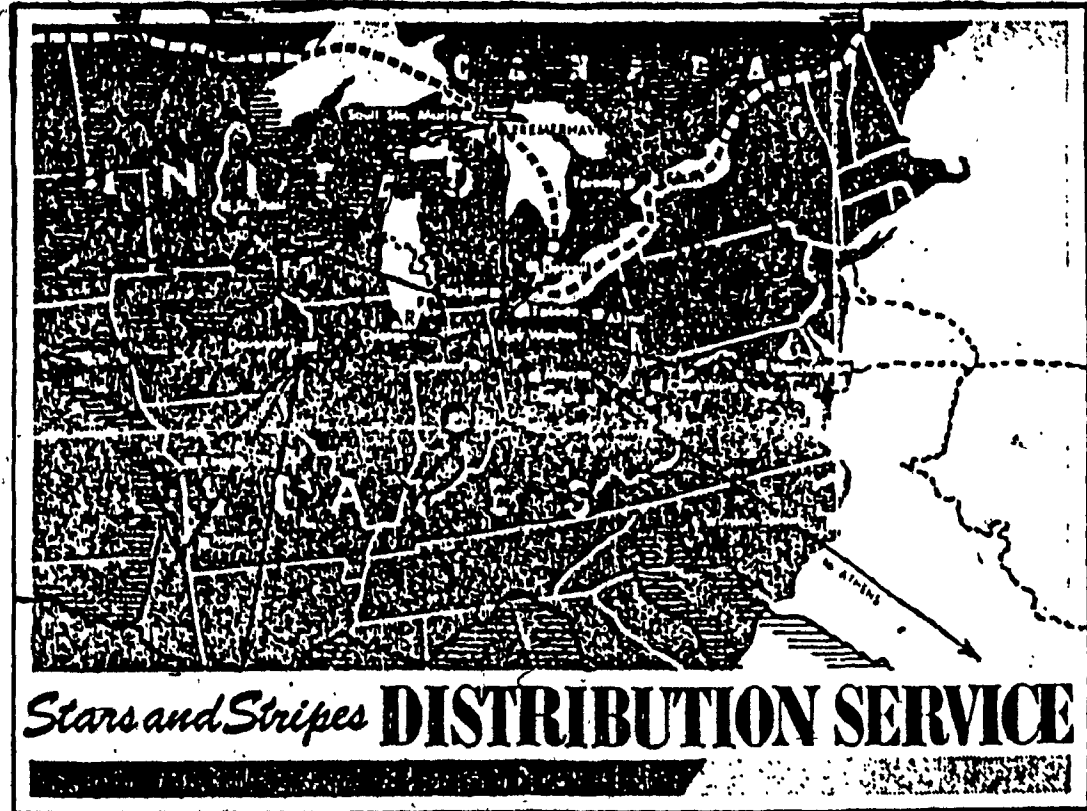
Circulation trucks drawn up to receive their load of newspapers, and magazines and books, much of the distribution is by German trains. Inset is a map contrasting the paper's circulation area with a comparable section of the U.S.



ed in the field by mobile stands like this, and rack installed by Stripper mechanics specially constructed at the paper's shops.



This heavy-duty German railroad truck tows a loaded box car of U.S. magazines up to the door of the Stripper distribution service in Darmstadt. The box cars, loaded in Bremerhaven, come by rail to Darmstadt and then cover the last few miles on these big trailers.



This map of the principal points covered by The Stars and Stripes distribution service graphically shows the distances involved on the map of Eastern U.S. over which it is superimposed. Few other newspapers attempt to distribute over such a large area.



★ ★ ★ OUR HOMETOWN DAILY NEWSPAPER ABOARD ★ ★ ★



Washington Post February 17, 1951 p. 1, Section 4

## Proxmire Criticizes General Over Stars & Stripes Curb

From News Services

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) has criticized an Army commander for barring the U.S. military newspaper Stars & Stripes from reporting on the forced retirement of a West German general after unproven allegations of homosexuality.

Proxmire said Gen. Richard Lawson's intervention represented the first censorship of Stars & Stripes in 20 years.

After reports in the European media that Gen. Guenter Kiessling, a NATO deputy commander, had been relieved because of improper allegations that he had frequented homosexual establishments, Stars & Stripes editors decided to publish a story, including Kiessling's denial.

Lawson, deputy commander of the U.S. European Command, intervened to kill the story, Proxmire

said. "Protests from the managing staff... were ignored."

After being effectively fired by West Germany's defense minister, Kiessling was exonerated.

Navy Capt. Jay Coupe, director of public affairs at the command headquarters, said yesterday that the censorship decision was correct because Kiessling was reinstated.

On Wednesday, Stars & Stripes published four letters from readers complaining about the censorship.

In a published reply, Lawson said in part: "I decided that highly speculative and sensational news reports containing inconclusive allegations against a senior host nation military leader, were they to appear in a newspaper widely read by U.S. personnel stationed in West Germany, could be inimical to good relations with our host nation."

New York Times, Thurs. Feb. 16, 1951

Section A, p. 8

### Senator Asserts Army Censored a Newspaper

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 (UPI) — Senator William Proxmire said today that the Army's European Command, for the first time in 20 years, censored Stars and Stripes, the newspaper written and read by G.I.'s overseas.

Mr. Proxmire, a Wisconsin Democrat, said Gen. Richard Lawson of the Air Force, deputy commander in chief of the United States European Command, ordered the Stars and Stripes staff not to use an article saying Gen. Guenter Kiessling of West Germany had been retired and had denied being a homosexual. He was eventually ex-

onerated and reinstated.

"It was not sensational and, in fact, played down — a 2-back item for an inside page with a balanced presentation," the Senator said. "But General Lawson intervened to kill the story. Protests from the managing staff of Stars and Stripes were ignored."

Mr. Proxmire said General Lawson, in defense of his action, had sent him a telegram saying, "Speculative reports will not be permitted to appear."

Urging the general to apologize to the newspaper and the American people, the Senator said: "In censoring Stars and Stripes for the first time in 20 years, General Lawson demeaned the intelligence of our military personnel and violated their rights to a free press."

APPENDIX IV

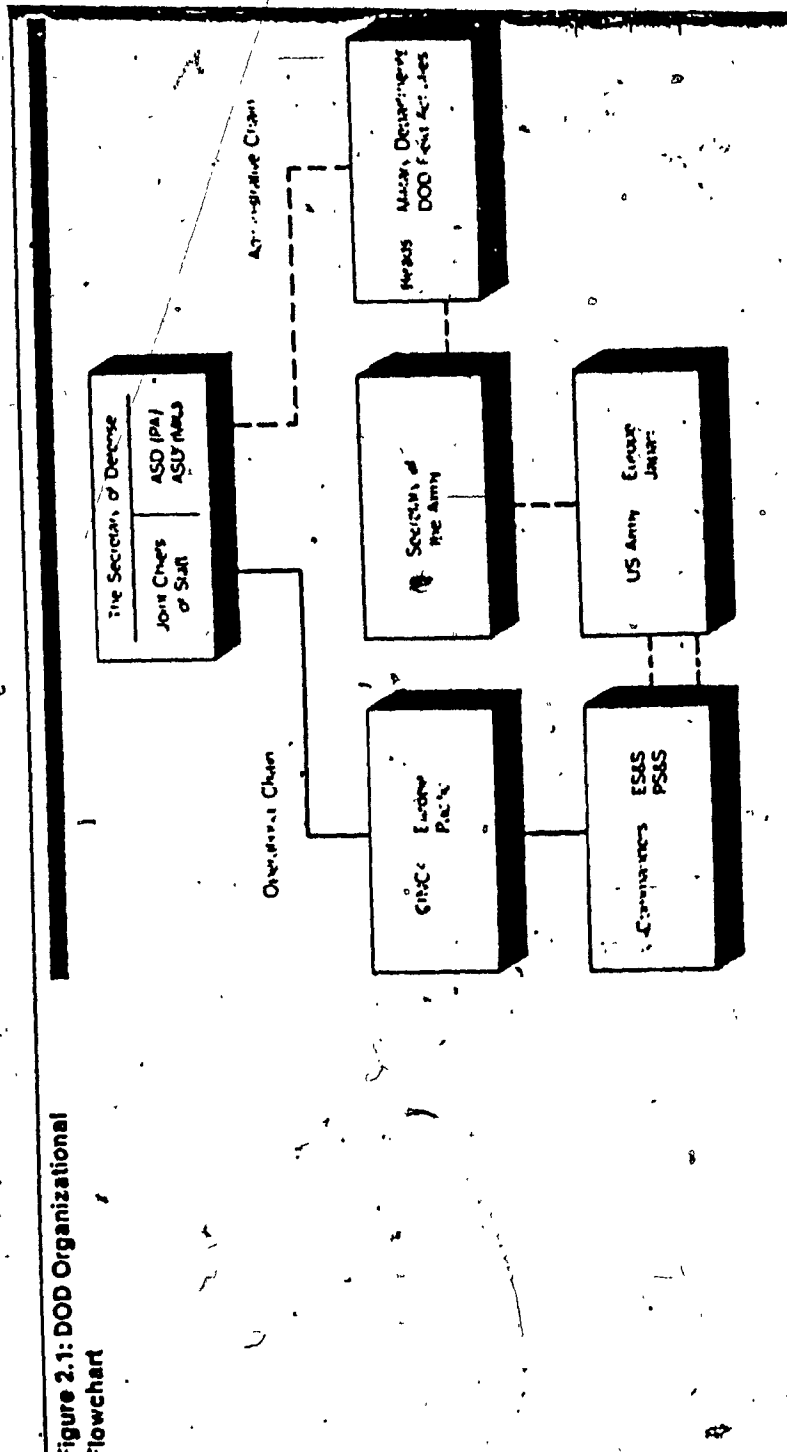
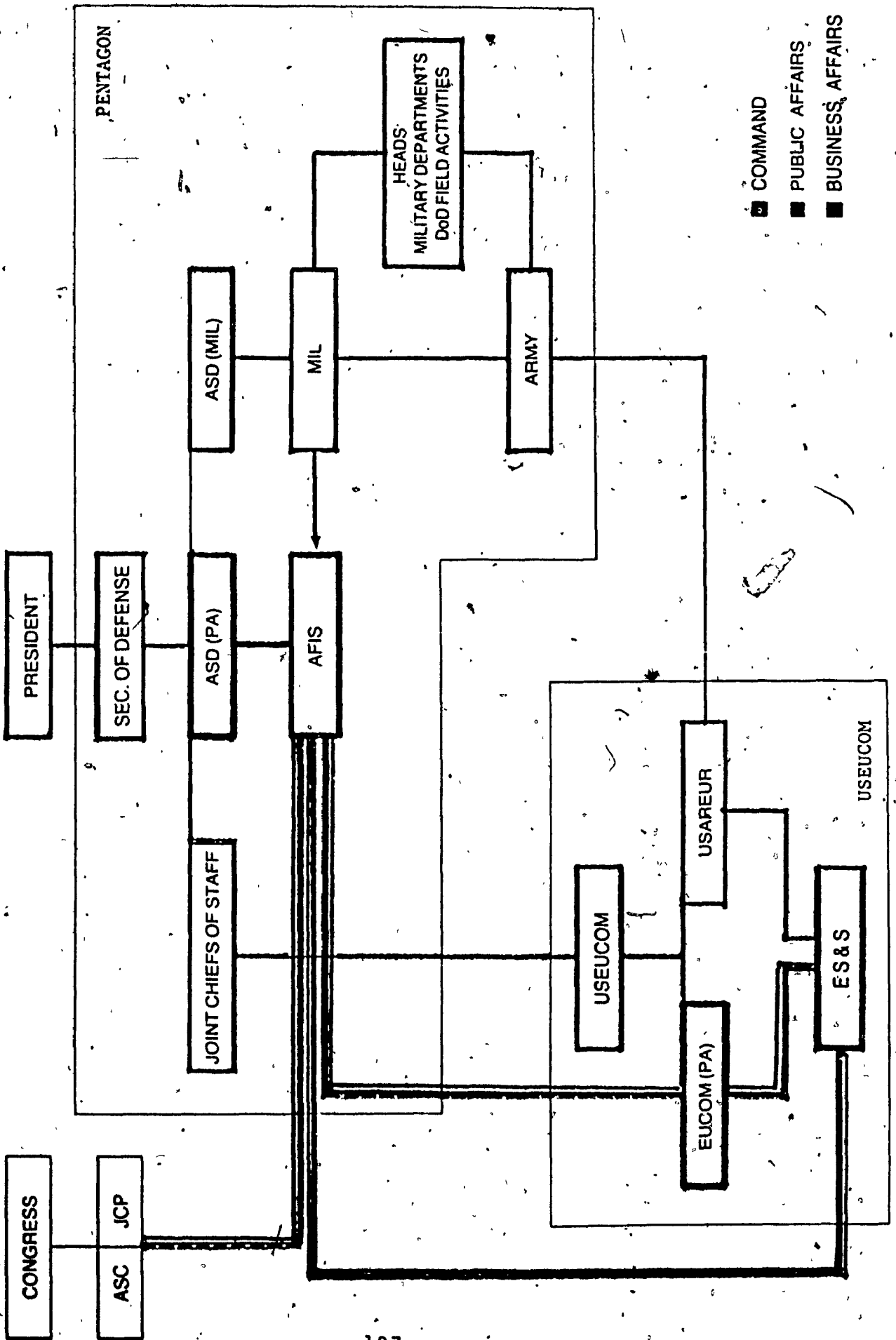


Figure 2.1: DOD Organizational Flowchart



REVISED ORGANIZATIONAL FLOW CHART



APPENDIX VI

EUROPEAN STAPS AND STRIPES  
FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT PLAN  
SEVEN YEAR FINANCIAL DATA  
(S Millions)

FISCAL YEAR	<u>86</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>80</u>
<b>ALL OPERATIONS</b>							
NET REVENUE	\$46.9	\$47.0	\$46.2	\$44.5	\$42.3	\$39.3	\$37.8
OPERATING COSTS	46.0	42.2	41.5	40.1	38.5	37.2	37.6
PROFIT (LOSS)	.9	4.8	4.7	4.4	3.8	2.1	.2
<b>NEWSPAPER<sup>a</sup></b>							
NET REVENUE	6.4	6.4	6.4	6.1	5.8	5.6	5.6
OPERATING COSTS	13.0	11.7	11.4	10.8	10.2	10.1	10.4
PROFIT (LOSS)	(6.6)	(5.3)	(5.0)	(4.7)	(4.4)	(4.5)	(4.8)
<b>JOB SHOP</b>							
NET REVENUE	2.8	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	1.9
OPERATING COSTS	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6
PROFIT (LOSS)	1.0	1.1	.9	.8	.6	.6	.3
<b>PURCHASED PUBLICATIONS</b>							
NET REVENUE	37.7	38.0	37.4	36.1	34.3	31.5	30.3
OPERATING COSTS	31.2	29.0	28.6	27.8	26.7	25.5	25.6
PROFIT (LOSS)	6.5	9.0	8.8	8.3	7.6	6.0	4.7

<sup>a</sup>FY-85 Estimate (8 months actual)

**Appropriated-Fund Support**

DOD authorizes some appropriated-fund support for the Stars and Stripes entities. In fiscal year 1984, \$68.2 million of their \$67.2 million operating costs and other expenses was paid with nonappropriated funds, and about \$9 million (13 percent) was paid with appropriated funds.

Table 2.2 shows by categories the appropriated-fund support received for fiscal year 1984, as reported in the annual MWR report.

**Table 2.2: Appropriated-Fund Support Received, Fiscal Year 1984**

Category	Europe	Pacific	Total Amount
Personnel			
Military	\$1,016,426	\$761,323	\$1,777,749
Civilian		1,173,501	1,173,501
Utilities	638,053	350,445	988,498
Communications	5,900		5,900
Maintenance and repair			
Equipment	1,249	15,929	17,178
Facilities	184,172	293,238	477,410
Transportation			
Things*	2,910,552	1,351,830	4,262,382
Persons	33,700	71,080	104,780
Other expenses	60,950	82,256	143,206
	\$4,595,899	\$4,354,705	\$8,950,604

\*Includes \$1.5 million for use of official DOD mail

Table 2.1: Revenues and Operating Profits, Fiscal Year 1984

Dollars in millions	Europe		Pacific		Total	
	Revenues	Profit/Loss	Revenues	Profit/Loss	Revenues	Profit/Loss
Newspaper	\$6.4	\$(5.1)	\$3.5	\$(.6)	\$9.9	\$(5.7)
Resale publications	37.4	.75	11.7	1.0	49.1	.8
Print shop	1.8	.05	.7	.3	2.5	.8
Advertising	6	.4	.4	.2	10	.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$46.2</b>	<b>\$3.3</b>	<b>\$16.3</b>	<b>\$ .9</b>	<b>\$62.5</b>	<b>\$4.2</b>

Note: Profits for fiscal year 1984 as shown by unaudited financial statements increased to \$5.2 million for Europe and \$1.7 million for the Pacific.

The European entity procures, distributes, and retails books, periodicals,

APPENDIX IX

EUROPEAN STARS AND STRIPES  
 FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT PLAN  
 CLASSES OF NET PRODUCT SALES  
 (00)

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>FY-86</u> \$	%	<u>FY-85</u> \$	%	<u>FY-84</u> \$	%
PURCHASED PUB	\$37,704.9	80.3%	\$38,059.0	81.0%	\$37,421.5	81.0%
NEWSPAPER	6,434.5	13.7%	6,353.9	13.5%	6,384.7	13.8%
JOB SHOP	2,823.3	6.0%	2,575.9	5.5%	2,374.4	5.2%
TOTAL	\$46,962.7		\$46,988.8		\$46,180.6	

\*FY-85 Estimate (8 months actual)

APPENDIX X

# Areas Served by the Stars and Stripes Entities

Figure 1.1: Area Served by the European Stars and Stripes

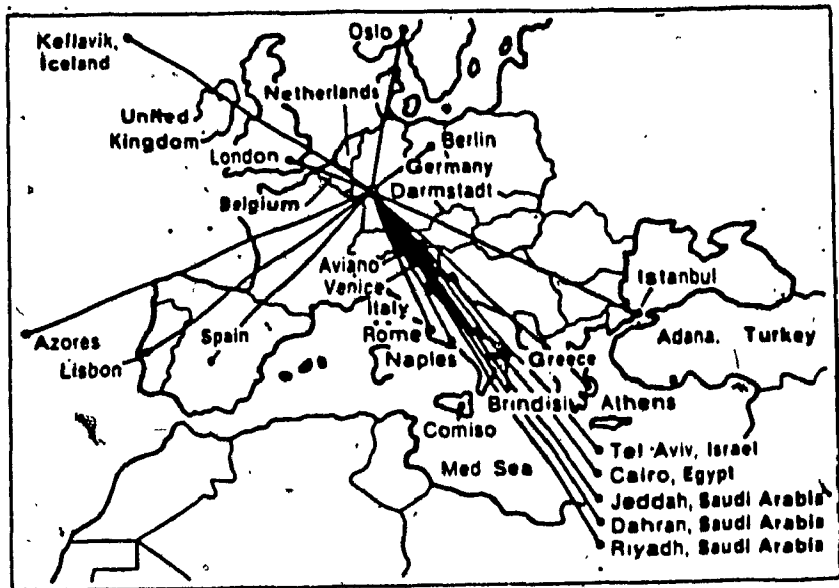


Table 1.1: Average Daily Newspaper Circulation

European Stars and Stripes	
Locations	No. distributed daily
Germany	98,974
Netherlands/Holland	1,157
United Kingdom	8,862
Iceland	90
Norway	203
Spain	4,218
Italy	6,075
Greece	1,963
Turkey	2,064
Saudi Arabia	1,857
Egypt	144
Other	5,265
<b>Total</b>	<b>131,156</b>

APPENDIX XI

Columnist's and Cartoonist's Value: 1 - 5

BAKER	3
BENSON	5
BRODER	2
BUCHWALD	2
BUCKLEY	5
CONRAD	1
DEORE	5
ENGELHARDT	3
FAIN	3
GLASS	3
GOODMAN	3
GOTTLEIB	3
GRANT	3
GWERTZMAN	3
HALLORAN	3
HERBLOCK	1
HOLBERT	3
INTERLAND	3
KILPATRICK	5
KLEINBERG	3
LEWIS, FLORA	3
LEWIS, ANTHONY	1
LOCHER	3
LORD	3
MARGULIES	3

MAC NELLY	2
MC GRORY	1
MAULDIN	2
NEAT	3
OHMAN	4
OLIPRANT	2
PETERS	3
POWELL	3
RESTON	2
ROONEY	3
ROWAN	1
SAFIRE	4
SACK	3
SCHANBERG	3
SALLY BEDELL SMITH	3
SANDLER	3
SARGENT	3
SHELTON	3
SOBRAN	3
WASSERMAN	3
WEST	3
WICKER	2
WILL	5
WRIGHT	3

APPENDIX XII

Date:	No. of Columnist' & Cartoons':	Scores of each:	Total:
June 01	3	4,2,1	7
June 02	5	3,1,4,3,5	16
June 03	3	2,3,2	7
June 04	5	1,5,5,3,2	15
June 05	3	2,5,5	12
June 06	2	5,4	9
June 07	3	1,2,5	8
June 08	<u>6</u>	<u>5,2,2,2,4,1</u>	<u>16</u>
June 09	7	3,2,4,3,1,3,2	18
June 10	3	5,3,4	12
June 11	5	1,2,4,3,2	12
June 12	5	4,5,5,3,3	20
June 13	2	3,2	5
June 14	4	5,1,2,1	9
June 15	3	1,3,5	9
June 16	5	1,3,5,3,5	17
June 17	4	3,5,3,1	12
June 18	5	5,5,5,3,3	21
June 19	4	1,1,1,5	8
June 20	No Column, Cartoon in paper for June 20		
June 21	3	5,5,1	11
June 22	3	1,2,5	8
June 23	4	2,4,4,4	14
June 24	3	1,1,2	4
June 25	5	2,2,5,3,2	14
June 26	5	5,3,5,3,2	18
June 27	2	3,3	6
June 28	3	2,2,3	7
June 29	3	2,5,1	8
June 30	5	1,2,5,3,2	13
	<u>113</u>		<u>338</u>

Added total

The Average total for June 1936: 2.99 - Total ÷ # of days =



## APPENDIX XIII

### Survey

#### Letters To The Editor

October 1, 1985 — April 30, 1986

The falling dollar and subsequent budget restraints placed on The Stars and Stripes meant we have been unable to offer the report on Letters to the Editor on a quarterly basis. We ended calendar year 1985 with a record number of letters, 5,431, compared to 4,864 for 1984. We received 3,442 letters during the seven-month reporting period being used for this survey. The 1,990 received in 1986 has already passed the 1,887 of the same period a year ago.

Following is a breakdown, by category, of the letters received. The number in parentheses following the subhead is the total number of letters received in that category. The comments in each section do not discuss every letter. Only those subjects which received a number of letters and those of special interest are mentioned.

#### COMMISSARY SYSTEM (32)

Customers continue to question why certain items are sold even though they have an expired date. Lack of certain items, especially baby formula, was the reason several people wrote. Two people insisted the best days to shop at commissaries are inspection days, since, they said, everything is well stocked on those days. One customer asked why the commissary couldn't just add 5 percent to the price of everything instead of a 5 percent surcharge on the total bill. Other customers were concerned about the procedures used if a product is found to be unhealthy and why products from South Africa were being sold.

#### LIVING CONDITIONS (223)

The political climate and the threat of terrorist activities has made many of our readers very security conscious. Twenty-four people were concerned in some way about security. Some felt there was not enough in certain areas, others felt it was too much. Many reminded readers the security was for their own safety so they shouldn't complain. Another subject near and dear to our readers' hearts was parking, or the lack of it. Eight people complained bitterly about parking situations in their communities. Ten people complained about filth, noise and inconsiderate neighbors in housing areas. Others complained about dog owners who let their animals relieve themselves anywhere. Four people complained about the helpless feeling they had when they arrived in a foreign country without a sponsor. Four others said they should turn it into a positive experience for people coming in by volunteering to be a sponsor themselves. Other concerns were missing household goods, the rising cost of day care centers, the expense of living on the economy with the falling dollar, the number of bedrooms allotted to families and troubles with Housing Referral Offices.

#### EXCHANGE SYSTEM (139)

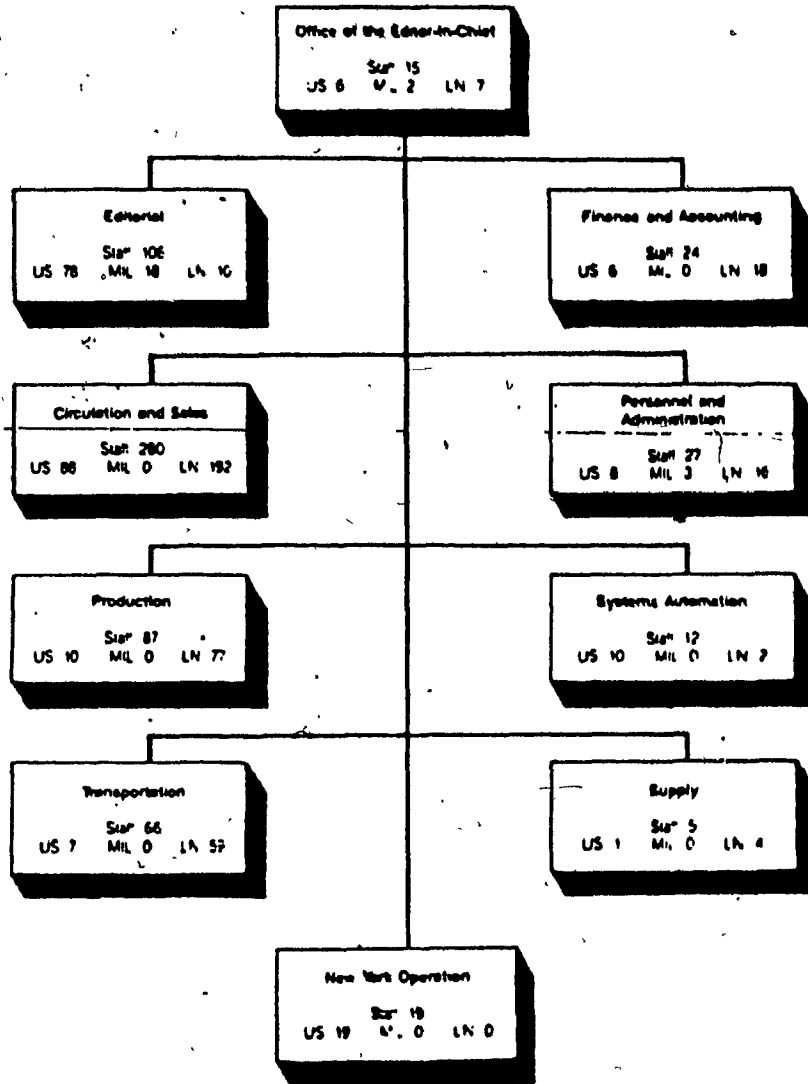
When stocks for a customer appreciation day did not meet the demand, AAFES heard about it from many customers and 12 of our readers. Why prices were raised was the question of nine people. Customers who prefer the old-style cafeteria to the Burger Bars wrote nine letters. Four writers took the time to commend employees for their service. Other concerns included the price of laundry and repair services at pick-up points, AAFES taking over sports shops, problems with special-order car parts, noise at theaters and the lack of inexpensive, quality material in sewing centers.

#### THE STARS AND STRIPES (301)

Our readers seem to have a love/hate relationship with our local columnists — there's not much feelings in between. MSgt. (Ret.) Clement Louder has tickled the fancy of 14 of our readers who like his "down-home" style. But seven readers dislike his column saying that his style is an insult and his grammar atrocious. Twelve readers said John Windrow makes their lives in Europe more liveable. But five very irate citizens of New Hampshire took a strong dislike to one of his columns calling it a cheap shot. Other columnists collecting favorable letters were Paul Bourgeois and Sharon Hudgins. Nine readers were disgusted with our placement on the front page of a story about a young soldier's encounter with Bruce Springsteen. Many of them didn't like the article at all and insisted we should have put it on another page. Although we carry 6½ pages of sports it was still not enough for 15 of our readers. They asked us to cover

# APPENDIX XIV

**Figure 1.3: European Stars and Stripes Organization and Staffing**



Total Staffing: 647

Appropriated Funds		Non-appropriated Funds	
US Military (MIL)	23	US Civilians (US)	233
		Local Nationals (LN)	385



# Stars and Strikes



The Stars and Stripes in review

No. 2

Spring 1986

## Using your head

Writing good headlines isn't easy. It's not just a matter of fitting a few words into the right space. The special art of the headline writer is creating the best possible headline for the story — a head that's lean, understandable, accurate and interesting.

What is a lean headline? It's one that is packed with information. It has no fat. It cuts straight to the heart of the story.

Writing a lean head takes work. It takes an understanding of the story, a knowledge of what's important. It takes concentration and consideration.

If you have an easy time writing a head, look at it again. It may not be the best one you can write.

Let's look at a few examples from The Stars and Stripes:

### 6 persons killed as car swerves out of control

This head is padded, and it doesn't give much idea what the story is about. It implies that six people in the car were killed. Not so. Here's a head with more information:

### 6 die as car hits catwalk, hurls them into bay

This head places the victims on the catwalk, then in the bay, but not in the car. And it eliminates the unnecessary "persons" (the AP stylebook prefers "people," by the way). This head is lean: It contains information, not flab.

### Navy company is sworn in during Redskins-Dallas game

Here's another flabby head. It doesn't contain as much information as it can: the "is" is unmistakably a fill word. The rewrite below adds the name of the secretary of the Navy and puts the head in the active voice.

### Lehman inducts Navy company during Redskins-Cowboys game

Writing an understandable head doesn't seem like such a tall order. But sometimes constraints of space, an overabundance of information, or a complicated subject cause problems. Consider this head:

### USAFE warns those acting as 1st sergeants

RAMSTEIN AB, Germany (S&S) — People performing first sergeants' duties in some USAFE detachments have been directed to take off the diamond insignia that only first sergeants are authorized to wear, a USAFE spokesman said.

The lead seems impossible to summarize, and the story ends up with a vague, stilted head. But take a second look, and a third if necessary. Step out of your role as copy editor and pretend that you're looking at the head for the first time in the mess hall over breakfast. Does this head tell what the story is about? No. It needs more work. Here's an option:

### USAFE limits wearing of 1st sergeants' insignia

Accuracy has many faces. It's obvious that spelling and grammar have to be right. Facts, too, have to be right. In the following heads they're not:

### Terrorist attacks in Germany up by 50%

WIESBADEN — Terrorist attacks in Germany have increased by almost 50 percent in the past year, a top terrorist expert said Tuesday.

Guenther Scheicher of the Hessen state security police said there have been 277 terrorist attacks so far in 1985.

"That means we've had a 44 percent jump in such attacks over last year," Scheicher said.

The lead says the attacks are up by "almost 50 percent," a slight stretch of the truth. The actual figure is 44 percent.

## APPENDIX XVII

# C

### **Cambrai-Fritsch Casern**

**Camp New Amsterdam** One of the names for American facilities at Soesterberg AB, Netherlands. Correct dateline is: Soesterberg AB, Netherlands.

**CAMPSA decal** Spanish decal obtained from USAREUR vehicle registry. Allows purchase of gasoline at stations in Spain. Use CAMPSA decal.

**Caserna Ederle** Headquarters casern in Vicenza, Italy, for SETAF.

**casern, caserns** Capitalize only with name of casern. Example: Kreuzberg Casern.

**casual pay** Out-of-cycle payments that servicemembers changing duty stations sometimes collect at their new finance offices. This pay is intended to tide persons over until financial records are in order. Do not use the term without explanation.

**cavalry** Abbreviate Cav in units.

**CCC** Army Community Counseling Centers. They replace Community Drug and Alcohol Assistance Centers. Use centers on second reference.

**CCC butter, cottage cheese, block cheese** Commodity Credit Corp. products sold at reduced prices in military commissaries in Europe. Abbreviate on second reference.

**CDU** Christian Democratic Union, usually referred to as the Christian Democrats. The CDU is the largest German political party. The party exists in 10 of 11 German states. Chancellor Helmut Kohl rules the country with CDU's sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU), and is in coalition with the Free Democratic Party (FDP).

**Central Comd** A unified command replacing the Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force at MacDill AFB, Fla. Central Comd's geographic area of responsibility runs from Egypt to Pakistan and as far south as Sudan, Kenya and Somalia and includes the Persian Gulf area. Components include 11 Air Force tactical fighter wings, three Navy aircraft carrier battle groups, a Marine Corps amphibious brigade and elements of Army's XVIIIth Airborne Corps.

### **central Europe**

**CES** Civil Engineering Squadron. Do not use CES. For example, the 435th Civil Engr Sq at Rhein-Main AB. Unless the formal name is needed, call the unit the base or post engineers.

**CEWI** Combat Electronic Warfare Intelligence

**CFBE** Canadian Forces Base Europe. Do not abbreviate. Canadian Forces are at Baden Soellingen, Germany, and their headquarters is at Lahr, Germany.

**CFC** Combined Federal Campaign. The main fund-raising effort in EUJCOM; similar to United Way in the United States.

**CHAMPUS** Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services.

**change of command** The Stars and Stripes runs only a few change of command stories. Those Army changes are: commanders of divisions or equivalent units for the Army. The divisions are: the 1st Inf Div (Fwd), 1st Armd Div, 2nd Armd Div (Fwd), 3rd Armd Div, 3rd Inf Div and 8th Inf Div. Other division-size units we run change of command stories on are: 21st Support Comd, 32nd AADCOM, 7th Medical Comd, AAFES-Europe and Berlin Brigade. Also, for the Army we run changes on: USAREUR, Southern European Task Force (SETAF), V Corps and VII Corps.

For NATO commands we run: SHAPE commander, EUJCOM deputy commander, AFCENT, AFNORTH and AFSOUTH commanders, 4th ATAF and 6th ATAF commanders. For Canadians we run: Canadian Forces Europe commander.

## APPENDIX XVIII

### Iceland

KEFLAVIK, Iceland (naval base)

### Italy

AVIANO AB, Italy  
LIVORNO, Italy (not Come Derby)  
NAPLES, Italy  
SAN VITO DEL NORMANNI, Italy - not San Vito AS  
VERONA, Italy (NATO's LANDSOUTH Hq)  
VICENZA, Italy (SETAF Hq)  
SIGONELLA, Sicily  
GAETA, Italy (6th Fleet Hq port)

### Netherlands

SOESTERBERG AB, Netherlands  
BRUNSSUM, Netherlands (This is AFCEM Hq)  
SCHINNEM, Netherlands (This is Army support base for AFCEM)  
THE HAGUE, Netherlands (This is site of U.S. Embassy)

### Scotland

For Navy installations in Scotland:

THURSO, Scotland  
EDZELL, Scotland  
MOLYKCOCH, Scotland

### Spain

TORREJON AB, Spain  
ZARAGOZA AB, Spain  
ROTA, Spain (naval station)  
MORON AB, Spain

### Turkey

At Ankara we use the dateline, **ANKARA, Turkey**, for the air station headquarters of TUSLOG (The United States Logistics Group). In Izmir, site of NATO's LANDSOUTHEAST Hq and NATO's 6th ATAF Hq, we use **IZMIR, Turkey**. At Incirlik, we use **INCIRLIK AB, Turkey**, because the base is several miles outside the city of Adana.

ANKARA, Turkey  
INCIRLIK AB, Turkey  
IZMIR, Turkey  
MALATYA, Turkey  
MURTED, Turkey  
ERZURUM, Turkey  
DIYARBAKIR, Turkey  
ERHAC, Turkey  
SINOP, Turkey  
BALIKESIR, Turkey  
ESKISEHIR, Turkey  
CAKMAKLI, Turkey

### General rules on datelines:

A story datelined with a little-known place should include a phrase giving a better geographic location, usually by putting it in proximity to a larger city or landmark, such as: Oberunteneber, about five miles north of Frankfurt.

In stories with civilian city or town datelines — WUERZBURG, Germany, for example — it is not necessary to localize the story further (such as by casern or facility) since the unit identification serves this purpose. Civilian dateline stories on Air Force or Navy personnel need the added phrase "at the air base" or "at the Navy base here."

Avoid **DARMSTADT** datelines. Avoid using a Darmstadt dateline for stories put together by an S&S staffer on general subjects where no other dateline is applicable or on survey stories to which S&S bureaus have contributed. These stories carry no datelines. Darmstadt should be used only for stories about that city or units there.

**Datelines, integrity of** The dateline on a bylined story indicates that a staff reporter was present in the place of origin or gathered the bulk of information by phone or mail from that location.

**Dates** Use Monday, Tuesday, etc., for days within seven days before or after the publication date. Use the month and a date for dates beyond that range. Avoid such redundancies as last Tuesday or next Thursday. When there might be confusion over which day you mean, alert the editors by putting the date in parentheses following the day of the week. (See time element.)

### Davis Agency

**DB** Deutsche Bundesbahn. Use the German railway or DB.

**Deaths** The death of any active duty U.S. servicemember in Europe is a story for The Stars and Stripes. The story is usually in two parts on different days. The first story announces the death, such as an automobile accident in which a soldier or airman is killed. Because of the delay in identifying next of kin, the story will usually not identify the person killed.

A clip of the first story is placed in the future file and a followup is pursued the next day if the name is not released before the first story appears. In a day or two a public affairs spokesman should release the name of the servicemember killed.

Problems occur frequently when a servicemember assigned to one air base or Army division dies away from his or her duty station. The local public affairs office will often refer you to the home duty station public affairs office and it will refer you to the local public affairs duty station. **Make the calls until you get full details.**

17

CHART 1

AVERAGE NEWS COVERAGE FOR ES&S

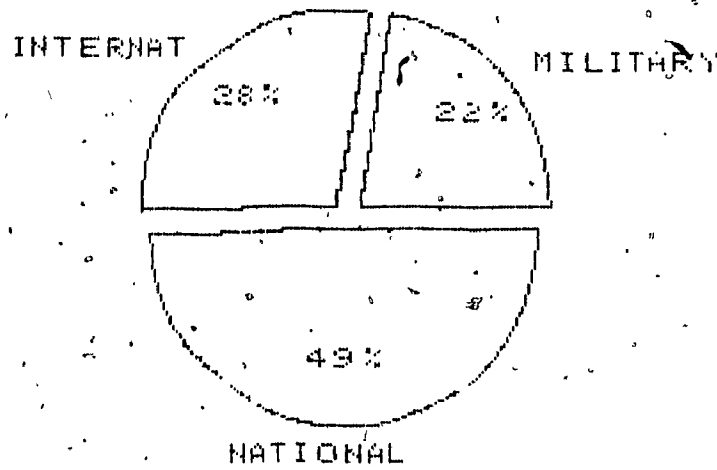
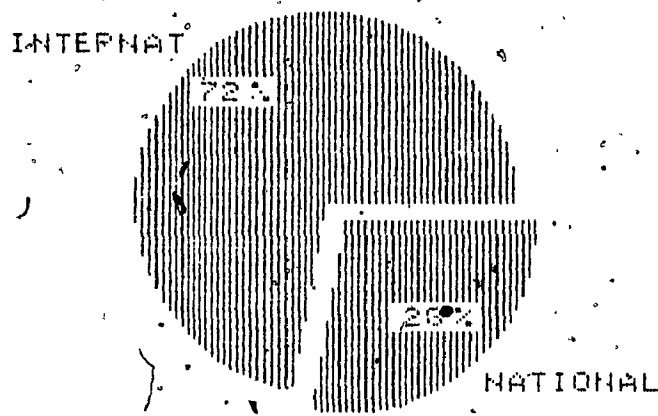
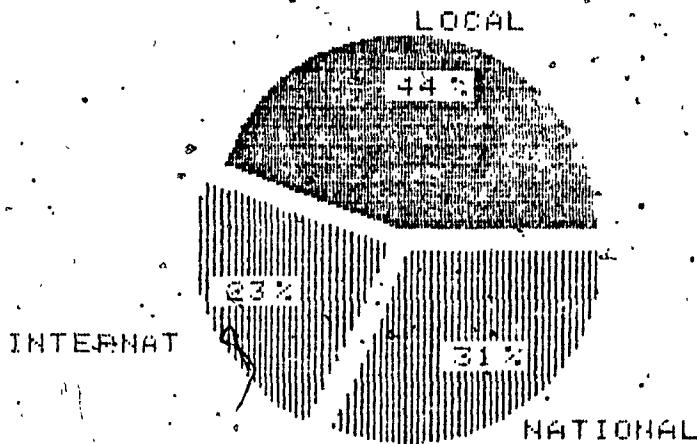


CHART 2

2:1 GENERAL NEWS BREAKDOWN FOR IHT



2:2 GENERAL NEWS BREAKDOWN FOR SUN-TIMES



2:3 GENERAL NEWS BREAKDOWN FOR THE ES&S

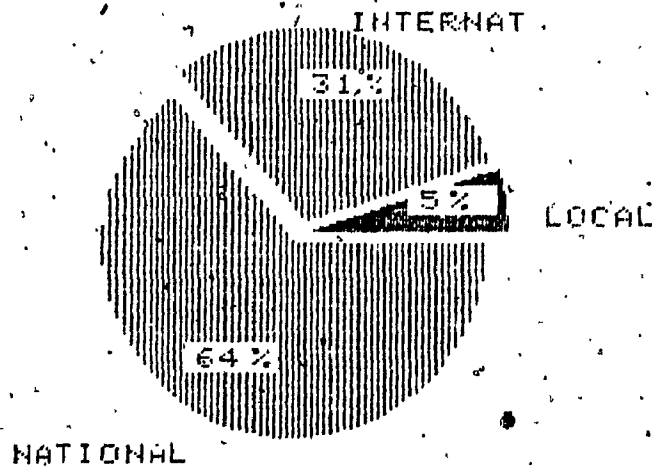
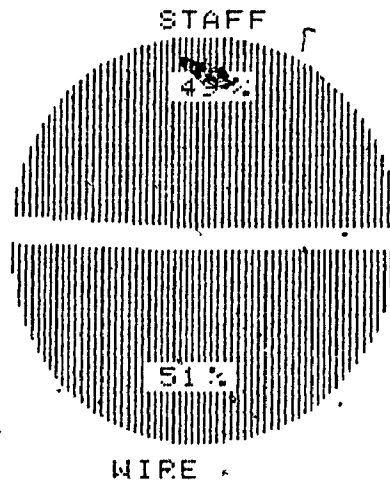


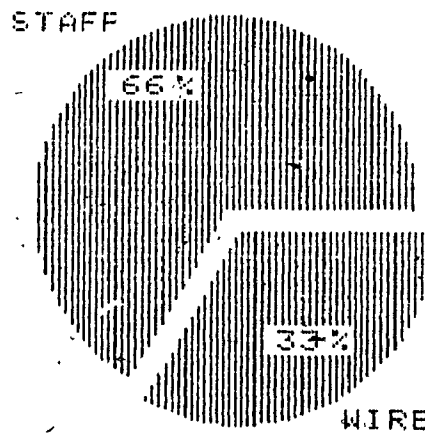


CHART 3

3:1 SOURCE BREAKDOWN FOR IHT



3:2 SOURCES BREAKDOWN FOR SUN-TIMES



3:3 SOURCES BREAKDOWN FOR ESSS

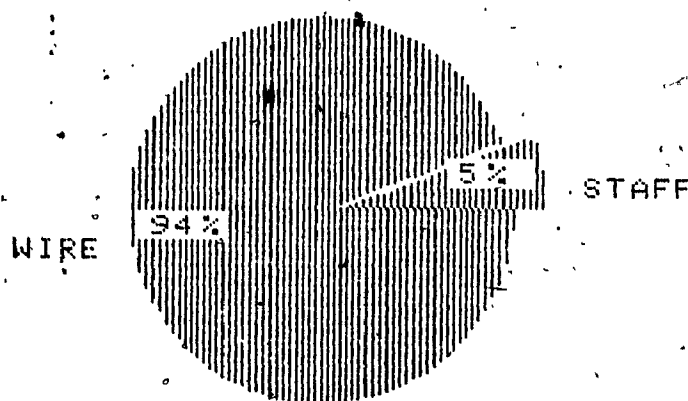


CHART 4

AVERAGE USE OF SOURCES IN THE ES&S

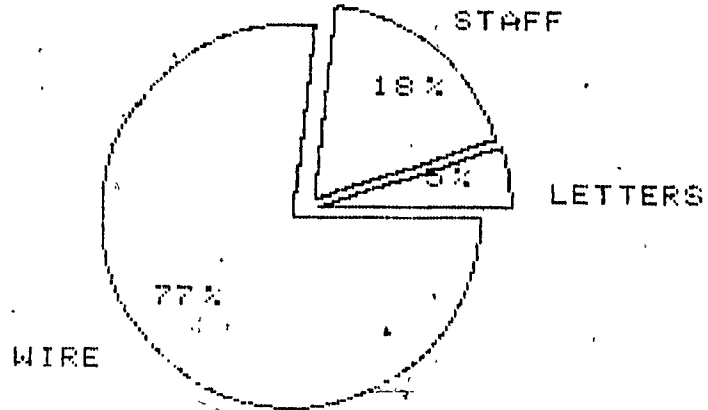


CHART 5

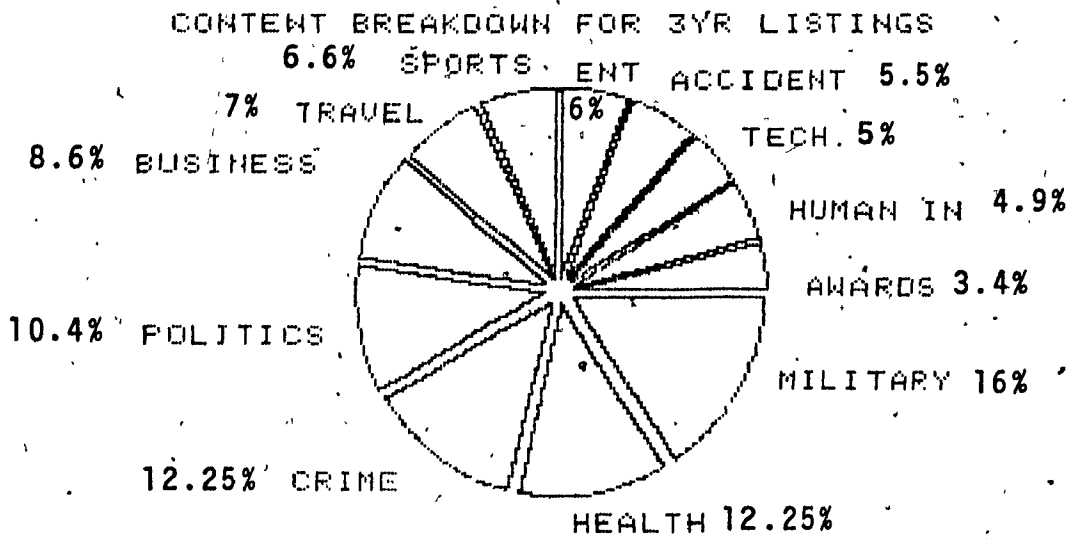


CHART 6

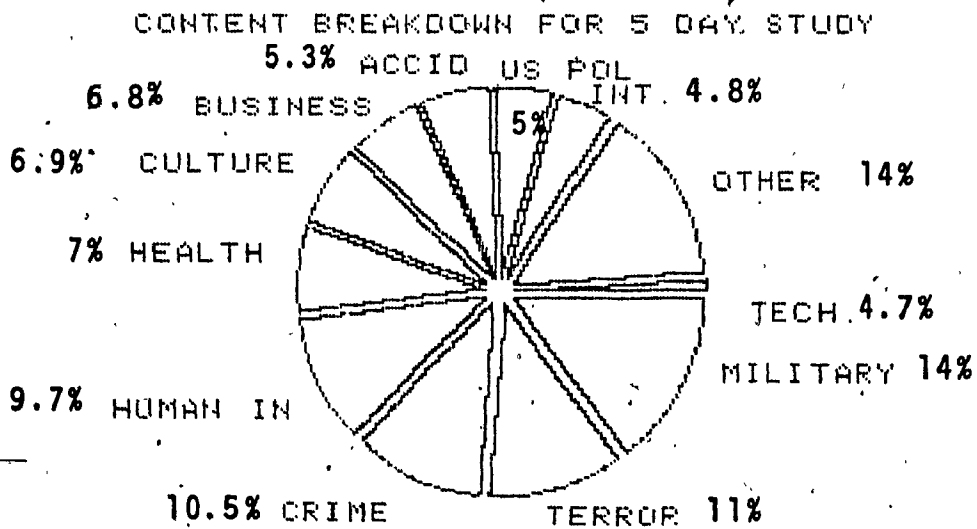
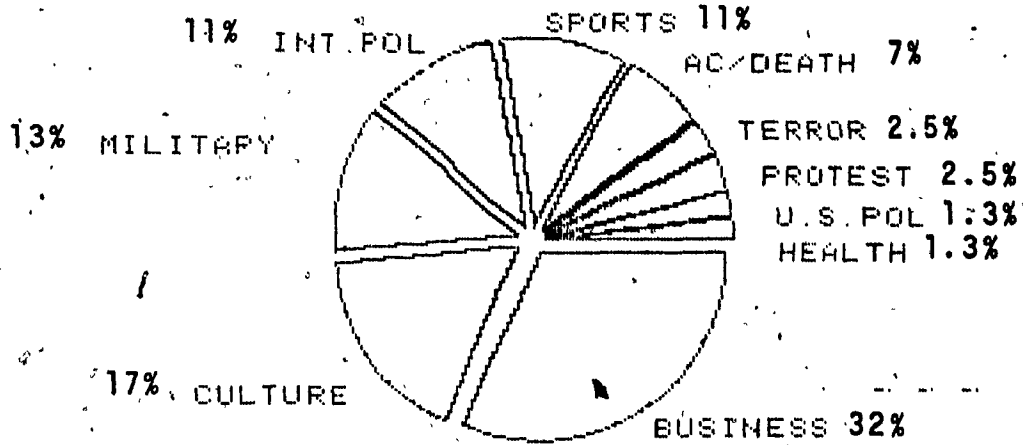
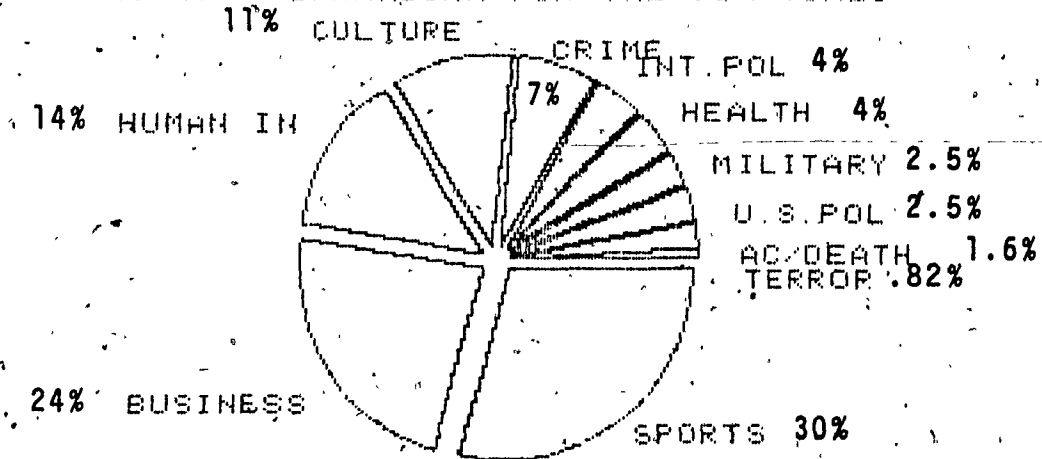


CHART 7

7:1 CONTENT BREAKDOWN FOR IHT



7:2 CONTENT BREAKDOWN FOR THE SUN-TIMES



7:3 CONTENT BREAKDOWN FOR ESSS

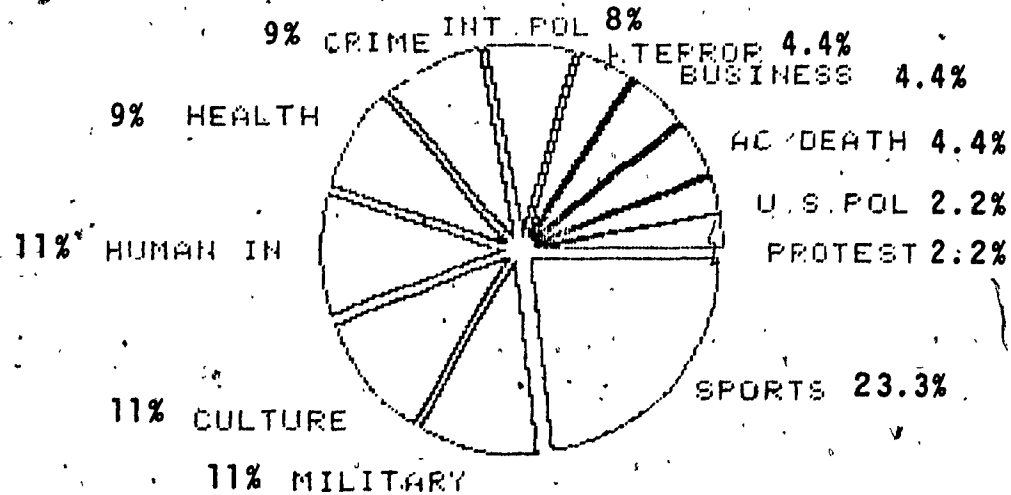


CHART 8

AVERAGE SUBJECT BREAKDOWN FOR THE ESCS

