

PACIFICA FOUNDATION  
2217 Shattuck Avenue  
Berkeley, Ca 94704

January 8, 1972

To: Carolyn Goodman, President  
Chairmen of Local Advisory Boards  
Pacifica Station Managers

From: Vera Hopkins

MINUTES, December 4, 1971 National Board

Enclosed are the Minutes of the meeting:

3 copies to the stations (for the Manager, the files, and posting)

Directors: Individual copies will be mailed to each National Director

Also copies will be mailed to each member of the Local Advisory Board in accordance with the August 1971 Roster with such corrections as I have received.

If there are added or resigned members of the Local Board that I do not know about, I would appreciate it if the Manager and Chairman would decide between them who will send me the up-dated information.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS ON PACIFICA ORGANIZATION

Gene R. Stebbins, Chapter VI of his Doctoral Thesis "Listener-Sponsored Radio: The Pacifica Stations"

Dr. Stebbins now teaches at Kent State University in Ohio. He received his degree in 1969 from Ohio State University. During the research period Dr. Stebbins taught Communications at Sacramento State College in California. He was very thorough in his research, including many interviews with the participants of the early Pacifica when there was only KPFA.

Chapter VI is entitled ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS.

While staff and Board and Managers are seeking ways to provide more direct participation by staff in administration of the stations, it might be possible to avoid future trouble by looking at the previous attempt at staff control. The difficulties encountered nearly wrecked Pacifica during its first years. Since then the problem has become more difficult organizationally by reason of the addition of stations across the country and by reason of the very size of the operation making it more difficult to finance.

BACKGROUND for Directors of Pacifica Foundation

Prepared for the meeting of the National Board March 5, 6, 7, 1965

The sections on Structure and on Board/Staff Relations are relevant to the 1972 discussions of the reorganization of Pacifica.

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Chart on Structure	follows 16
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Note: at Jan. 8, 1972 I have 12 sets of the above materials, with a minimum of retyping. I can assemble about 5 more partial sets, including the most pertinent sections on Structure and Board/Staff Relations, but without Finance or Programming sections.

Further reproduction would require re-typing or extensive Xerox work. I would like to see the stations preserve the copies now coming to them in a historical documents file at the stations. I think it would be appropriate if the copies to the Chairmen could be handed on to future Chairmen as background material.

Vera Hopkins

PACIFICA FOUNDATION  
2217 Shattuck Avenue  
Berkeley, Ca 94704

M I N U T E S

NATIONAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
Annual and Special Meeting  
Saturday December 4, 1971,  
Continuing on Sunday December 5

Dymo Industries offices  
67th at Bay, Emeryville, Ca

MINUTES of the National Board of Directors of Pacifica Foundation, Annual and Special meeting, held in the offices of Dymo Industries, Emeryville, Alameda County, California, beginning at 9:45 a.m. Saturday December 4, 1971, pursuant to call and notice as provided in the by-laws of this corporation.

PRESENT: Agnew, Hon. Chair. (Sat. only); Bonner; C. Goodman (elected Pres); Hoffman, Chairman; Honig, retiring Treasurer; Hurwich, elected Chairman; Levin; Marks, Ass't Sec'y; Nagle; Ruben, Ass't Sec'y; Wyle.

ABSENT: Burnstein, Ass't Sec'y; Loeb, elected Vice President; Palevsky

On Leave: Elson

Managers: Silbowitz (KPFA, KPFB); Lewis (KPFK); Crossley (KPFT); E. Goodman (WBAI); Stein, PPS (Pacifica Program Service)

Staff: Roman, Hopkins

Visitors: David Lopez (KPFT Advisory Board); Len Schlosser (KPFA Advisory Board); Legnitto, Johnston (KPFA employees); others during the lunch hour only

MINUTES APPROVED: Minutes of the meeting of September 11, 1971 were approved as circulated.

AGENDA: The Chairman called for additions to the agenda and received the following additions:

Possible Change in By-laws re times of meetings  
Check Signing--further consideration from September 11 meeting  
Policy statement re protection of news sources  
Policy regarding suspension of any staff charged with or indicted for a criminal act.

CHANGE IN PROGRAM POLICY STATEMENT: Al Silbowitz

Mr. Silbowitz reported on a simplification of the Pacifica Program Policy adopted April 10, 1965 as recommended after discussion at the Administrative Council meeting December 3, 1971. Basic policy is unchanged. The April 10, 1965 Policy Statement would be retained without change through section five. The section entitled "Procedure" would be replaced by a revision to be numbered section six, to read:

"6. All programs to be broadcast over Pacifica stations shall originate through a Pacifica staff member or authorized program producer. Any program which presents a special problem for broadcast within the terms described in sections 3 and 4 above, shall be brought to the attention of the station manager or his designee for written approval prior to broadcast.

"Any restrictions concerning the broadcast of such a program shall be noted on the tape label or record jacket."

After discussion, and hearing no objection, the Chairman stated that it is the consensus of the Board to accept in principle the report of the Administrative Council meeting of December 3, 1971, including the new section six.

The suggestion from Houston of a Board resolution requiring every producer to sign a statement that he had read the program policy was referred to the individual stations as a possible operational procedure.

PROTECTION OF NEWS SOURCES: Ed Goodman

Ed Goodman stated briefly a legal situation that has arisen at WBAI: WBAI was served a subpoena by the Albany County Grand Jury to furnish a document warning of a bombing which had been read on the air as part of a WBAI news broadcast. The bombing did take place a half hour later. Mr. Goodman, supported by Directors living in the WBAI area, asked for a discussion of the proper response to the subpoena and a policy statement from the national Board.

Several legal aspects of this particular case were discussed.

Mr. Goodman said WBAI's position is analogous to the Caldwell case, essentially that we should not be required to turn over any documents which pertain to our news collection activities. Submission of these documents to the authorities would lead to a drying up of news sources. The dissident political community and other sources of news have come to trust WBAI and its individual reporters to address themselves to the news contents of stories, frequently submitted in confidence, rather than to the identity of the source, or other circumstances surrounding the transmission of news.

Mr. Hoffman said that the general intent of Pacifica stations is to spread news. He recalled the 1963 response of Pacifica Foundation to the inquiry by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee that we were happy to have people know what is on our air, but not to supply under duress. In the subsequent FCC inquiry the Board took the position that we cannot tell a person to violate a law, but we reserve the right to decide to defend a person who did violate a law.

Dr. Levin stated she believes a general policy is needed since it is not possible to decide in advance of each case whether the most important danger is erosion of free speech, a basic freedom.

Mr. Lewis told of two recent times when investigating agents had asked to audition tapes broadcast over KPFK. Others commented that broadcast tapes are in the public domain and have been sold to various government agencies.

Mr. Hoffman said that in 1963 Lloyd Smith on becoming Secretary of the Foundation stated that though he did not intend to violate the law, it was his intention to protect the documents in his custody.

The Board then adopted the following Resolution upon motion by Wyle, seconded by Hoffman:

RESOLVED: that after consideration of Pacifica past policy and of recent

events at our stations, this Board declares that our adherence to the letter and spirit of the first amendment and applicable state statutes leads the Pacifica Foundation to reassert its determination to protect the identity and confidentiality of our news sources when necessary to preserve the free flow of information.

In clarification it was stated that the phrase "when necessary to protect the free flow of information" does not imply that there will be occasions when Pacifica chooses to breach confidentiality, but rather that there are occasions when the identification of news sources (such as wire service correspondents) is not only permissible, but called for in conformance with professional journalistic practice.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL REPORT: Rudy Hurwich  
Pacifica Correspondents.

Mr. Hurwich reported on uniform procedure adopted by the Administrative Council whereby all applications for appointment as Pacifica Correspondents will be processed by the Pacifica office. Applications will come through the Managers, accompanied by a formal statement regarding the proposal, estimate of amount of broadcastable material to be produced, commitment as to approximate amount of material Pacifica will receive, duration of assignment, and qualifications of the applicant. Tapes may be processed through the stations, but in general will be sent to the Pacifica Program Service for distribution.

Tape Purchase. A system of tape purchase through 3-M has been instituted whereby stations order individually at a Pacifica low price.

Equal Opportunity. Pacifica will comply as recommended through counsel.

Policy Manual. Basic papers will be collected and maintained for each station Manager, the Chairman of each station area Advisory Board, and the Pacifica Executive officer. The papers will be processed through the Pacifica office.

Houston Grant. The grant of \$10,000 to Houston adopted December 5, 1970, was reviewed. An estimated \$7,000 of the grant has been fulfilled (through cash, forgiveness of interstation debts, levy not collected, insurance paid and other items).

BANK SIGNATURE AUTHORIZATIONS: Policy adopted September 11, 1971 was reviewed and after discussion the policy was restated to eliminate the requirement that a Board member must sign checks over a specified amount. (Item 2 of the Minutes of 9/11/71).

The policy was restated that there shall be two signatures on any check over \$50 (fifty), all signators to be authorized by the Local Board and to include the President and the Manager plus others chosen from staff and Local Advisory Board. Bookkeepers or others responsible for recording transactions may not sign checks. The Pacifica office is to process the bank signature cards or be notified at the time any change is made.

PACIFICA PROGRAM SERVICE: Bill Stein

Mr. Stein supplemented his written report. Mr. Honig protested that the information on finances was inadequate and that a budget showing both income and expendi-

tures should have been presented. In response to a request by Mr. Hurwich, Mr. Stein stated some accomplishments since he took over August first: within 45 days instead of the projected 6 months, PPS/PTL took over the interstation tape exchange, costly to PPS in time and money, interrupting revision of the affiliate program. Programs can now be offered to affiliates within a maximum of 30 days of production. After extensive research, the revision of the affiliate program starts with a fee based on the operating budget of the affiliated station with a wider choice of contracted program hours at a constant price per program. The idea of a loose-leaf catalog for the Tape Library (sales to schools) has been discarded in favor of a 10½" tape box receptacle for collection of periodic brochures and catalog.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS OF PACIFICA FOUNDATION: Hallock Hoffman

Upon presentation of the nominating committee, seconded by Wyle, the following officers were unanimously elected, effective at the end of the meeting:

Chairman	Rudy Hurwich, with election to a new 3-year term
President	Carolyn Goodman
Vice President	Ronald M. Loeb
Secretary	Vera S. Hopkins
Treasurer	George Fox (subject to his acceptance--name later withdrawn. <u>Henry M. Elson</u> elected)

Assistant Secretaries are to be elected by unanimous written consent at a later date. Dr. Goodman accepted the office upon the understanding that Edwin A. Goodman will act as her assistant (while retaining his position as Manager of WBAI).

Mr. Hoffman expressed gratitude to the retiring officers. Dr. Agnew in concurring stated that from his long perspective on the Foundation we have never been so far along as now. And Mr. Wyle added, this is a Foundation.

Mr. Hurwich, retiring President, handed out copies of his report which he had read at the September 11, 1971 meeting, stating that he does not consider it conclusive or concluded. In September he rejected the Administrative Council as ineffective, but after the discussion with the Council on the preceding day, he believes it can be made to work under the direction of Carolyn Goodman.

Dr. Goodman in accepting the office of President, with the assistance of Ed Goodman, said that the new arrangement came out of joint thinking and out of the realization that the efforts several years ago to decentralize was healthy in some ways and not in others. The plan to have the Administrative Council meet 5 or 6 times a year developed out of the need to have many people assisting in developing policy decisions and for more flow by the people actually involved in station operation. The Administrative Council will be attended not only by the Managers and the President, but by key people on staff, one or more chairmen of Local Boards and other interested Pacifica people who can get to the meetings. Mr. Silbowitz and Mr. Lewis invited Dr. Goodman to meet with their staffs in the following week.

INSURANCE: Mr. Hurwich reported that insurance is now consolidated throughout Pacifica, and that this fact points up the growing interdependence of the stations since insurance can be defaulted for all if one station doesn't pay its bill.

FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS--By-laws Discussion:

The Board considered the proposal that the National Board meet once a year instead of four times as designated in the by-laws and that urgent matters be handled by the Executive Committee between meetings. In effect under such an arrangement policy matters would be handled by the Local Boards in consultation with the Executive Committee. After discussion it was concluded that any change in the by-laws is premature. The learning experience of National Board meetings, the overall responsibilities, and the need to be more fluid to change were cited as reasons to have at least three meetings a year.

FINANCIAL REPORTS: Victor Honig, Mary Roman and Managers

Consolidated reports of the stations, Pacifica and the Pacifica Program Service were studied, with comments by Managers and the Treasurer, Mr. Honig. The Board took note of the impressive performance at WBAI, of the presentation of "budgets" which were in fact expenditure projections without a counterbalancing income projection, of the fact that Local Boards are charged with close supervision of the station budgets and for bringing an approved budget to the annual meeting, of the improper dependence on the Pacifica controller as a travelling bookkeeper to do the work at the stations left undone by station bookkeepers. Mary Roman, controller, was commended for her devotion in completing the financial reports under adverse conditions.

Listener-support: The managers reaffirmed the goal of listener-support for their stations.

Regular Reporting: Miss Roman said the Managers and Board can now expect frequent reports on subscriptions and a monthly financial report by the 15th of the month following, provided the procedures now established are followed.

NOTE: During the financial reporting, the meeting recessed from 5:45 p.m. December 4 to 9:40 a.m. December 5.

At the close of the Saturday session Mr. Wyle expressed appreciation for the long service of Hallock Hoffman as President and Chairman of Pacifica Foundation, saying he looks upon Mr. Hoffman as the heart and conscience of Pacifica.

STATION CREDIBILITY: Mr. Lewis brought up a problem existing at all the stations in some degree, that each station tends to discount the programs produced at the other Pacifica stations. A recent example occurred with a KPFFK program reporting on revelations of former police undercover agent Louis Tackwood; the program has since won the Golden Mike Award for KPFFK, but the story was refused for broadcast at WBAI on each of several levels of the developing story. Managers were urged to write up any such incidents for the record so they can be brought more clearly to the attention of staff at the other stations. Mr. Goodman noted that PBL had the same kind of credibility problem with an FBI story similar to the Tackwood story, and that another factor was the question of whether Pacifica should allow a non-Pacifica group to use our facilities to air their press conference. Mr. Silbowitz said that KPFFK wanted advice from the other Pacifica stations on a decision which was difficult from the standpoint of reporting and legal aspects, and should have been able to get it.

WBAI-FM, INC.: Ed Goodman

Mr. Goodman reported that after receiving a recommendation from Ron Loeb he has designated an attorney in New York to move to dissolve WBAI-FM, INC. into Pacifica Foundation.

The Board designated Carolyn Goodman, President of Pacifica Foundation, to vote the stock of WBAI-FM, INC. and recommended the following officers and Directors for WBAI-FM, INC.:

Vice President                      Robert Zicklin  
President, Secretary and Treasurer --same as for Pacifica Fdn.

HOUSTON REPRESENTATION: Mrs. Marks read a telegram she had received after her arrival in the Bay Area whereby six members of the Local Advisory Board requested that David Lopez (present at the meeting as an observer) be elected to the National Board.

Procedure for nomination to the National Board was reviewed. Mr. Lopez was invited to address the Board. He stated that the telegram was an outcome of the recent strike situation in Houston and the growing awareness by the Local Board of the importance of the National Board. They seek an additional Director in order to be satisfied that all members of the Local Board have an opportunity to make recommendations and contributions to the National Board. Mr. Nagel spoke of the division within the Local Board over selection of a new manager. Mrs. Bonner said after the frank discussions of the preceding night she expects Mr. Crossley and his staff will work in a new spirit of cooperation with the Local Board members. Mrs. Marks said she believes KPFT suffered from sincere efforts to help on the part of the National Board and the Pacifica stations, but it is unfortunate the Local Board issue could not have been settled in Houston. Mr. Crossley said despite his enormous respect for Mr. Lopez, he believes this would be a chaotic time to make any important change in the Local Board. He pledged his efforts to work with the present National Board members and Local Board in Houston.

Mr. Lopez absented himself during part of this lengthy discussion; he was asked to return before the following motion was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED: that further consideration of the telegram from Houston be tabled to the next National Board meeting which is now set for the third Saturday in February.

The sense of the discussion was stated to Mr. Lopez, that he and any other members of the Houston Board are welcome at the next meeting; the Board feels it will be more supportive both for Houston and for Pacifica generally if recommendations come from the full Houston Advisory Board. Mr. Lopez responded with assurances of cooperation with this Board and with the other members of the Houston Advisory Board and with appreciation for consideration of the issue.

STAFF INDICTED FOR A CRIME: Mrs. Marks presented in behalf of a member of the Houston Advisory Board who was not present the question of dismissal of a staff member indicted for a crime. There was no discussion since the matter was not presented from the whole Board or by the Manager.



CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE ON ADVISORY BOARDS: On motion from Mr. Hurwich the following motion was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED: that the President shall set up a committee for reconsideration of the relationship between the National and Local Boards.

Some of the matters brought up in the discussion included the duties and role of the Local Board, relation of station staff to the Local Board, manner of selecting the Local Board, terms, voting, quorum, the original intention of establishing Local Boards to advise the Manager, and the ultimate authority of the National Board in license and National matters.

There were requests for an agenda or paper prior to the next meeting in time to allow Local Boards and staffs to consider them.

LONG TERM FINANCIAL PLAN: On motion from Mr. Hurwich the following motion was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED: that the President be directed to prepare a three-year financial plan with maximum input from staff and from any interested members of the Board, for presentation at the first Board meeting possible.

Mr. Hurwich stated he would expect the plan to be all-inclusive, with estimates of receipts and expenditures, source of subscriptions, equipment, and to include the Pacifica Program Service and Mary Roman's projected report on integrated accounting--a framework within which decisions can be made. The goal is to help us give our people more assurance that they will be paid, and that we will pay our bills on time, and improve our air sound.

Thanks and Appreciation: The Board directed that good wishes be sent to Malcolm Burnstein who is recovering from surgery.

Mr. and Mrs. Honig were extended thanks for their hospitality to the Board and to KPFA staff in the Honig home Saturday evening.

The Board set February 19, 1972 as the tentative date and Los Angeles as the next area in turn for a National Board meeting.\*

The meeting was adjourned at 1:25 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Vera S. Hopkins, Secretary

\*At the Administrative Council meeting following the Board meeting the President agreed that it would be logical to meet in Houston in February.

## ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

Chapter VI of "Listener-Sponsored Radio: The Pacifica Stations" a dissertation by Gene R. Stebbins for The Ohio State University, 1969. Copyright by Mr. Stebbins.

As was noted in the previous chapter, during 1953 and 1954, Pacifica encountered serious problems within its structure. Much of the problem was based on personality conflicts between individuals. But to describe this as the only cause, or even the major cause, would be, in the opinion of the writer, to simplify a complex issue, and to do grave injustice to the persons involved.

To found and operate a station such as Pacifica, to weather the innumerable crises that occurred, and to devote one's time to a cause that promised so little tangible or intangible return--this task required individuals of great dedication to principles and ideals. These are the kind of people that were attracted to Pacifica, and carried the idea to concrete reality.

### Early History

The basic organization of the Pacifica Foundation was examined in Chapter 3. It will be reviewed here briefly.

Memberships. There were two types of memberships in the Foundation, Executive and Advisory. Only Executive Members had voting power, and this membership was restricted to "any person who is in continuous active participation in the Foundation."<sup>1</sup> Persons were elected an Executive Member by a two-thirds vote of the existing Executive Membership. Advisory Members were to be elected by a majority vote of the Executive Membership. The By-Laws provided that "The ultimate control of this corporation shall be vested in the Executive Member,"<sup>2</sup> although as shall be seen, this was restricted by powers granted to other controlling groups. The Executive Membership was to meet twice a year, and could also meet for special meetings, provided two weeks notice was given.

Committee of Directors. To run the day-to-day affairs of the Foundation, the By-Laws established the Committee of Directors. This group was charged with managing "the business and property of the corporation," and was to consist of five Executive Members, elected by the Executive Membership at the annual meeting of the Executive Membership, for a two-year term. Meetings of this group were to be at least once a month, and any action taken by a majority of the Directors present, provided the total present was a quorum (in this case, three), was valid as a corporate act.<sup>3</sup>

Officers. The By-Laws provided for four officers for the Foundation. These were Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. All were to be elected from among the Executive Membership, with the Chairman and Vice-chairman required to be members of the Committee of Directors. These officers were elected by the Committee of Directors.

Theory of the Organizational Structure. The basic rationale of this type of organization was the belief of members of the group that the only way a radio station could broadcast news and public affairs programming free from the influence

<sup>1</sup>By-Laws of Pacifica Foundation, Article II, section 2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Article III, section 1.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Article IV, sections 1-6

and pressure of advertisers or boards of control was for the broadcasters to be in total control of the station and/or the organization controlling the station.

"The original Pacifica notion was a very radical notion--equal pay, control of the station by those doing the operating and creating.<sup>4</sup>

There was no split between a Board of Directors and the people who did the work. There was a basic kind of honesty, with nothing between the idea and the program. We were responsible for the programming, not (a) sales (department).<sup>5</sup>

But from the very beginning there were questions about just who had the authority to make decisions at the station. And there were disputes--endless disputes--about who should have the power to make decisions for the station. For instance, at an early meeting of the Executive Membership in February, 1947, the minutes report:

An extended discussion was held of the relationship between the staff of the proposed radio station and the Executive Membership of the Foundation on questions of policy and control. The possible functions of a staff council to shape programming was discussed. It was felt that the Foundation had not thought out this problem and further discussion was tabled until the members individually had had an opportunity to consider the problems.<sup>6</sup>

After a week of consideration, the Executive Membership took action, passing a motion:

That a temporary committee be designated to study the organizational structure of the Foundation, the functions of its officers and employees, the responsibilities of the Executive Membership and the Committee of Directors, and any related matters...<sup>7</sup>

Although the motion instructed that a report on this matter be made before April 17, the minutes do not contain further reference to this matter for two years.

At the time the operation of KPFA-Interim was authorized, the Executive Membership passed a motion directing:

"...the Committee of Directors be empowered to hire such personnel, purchase such equipment and do such other things as may be necessary to carry on the interim operation."<sup>8</sup>

This action further concentrated control of the real activity of the Foundation, that is, operation of the station, in the Committee of Directors.

In the operation of the station, Lewis Hill, as Chairman, assumed most of the duties normally given to a General Manager of a radio station. He also represented the Foundation to prospective donors, including the foundations. In the early days

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<sup>4</sup>Richard Moore, personal interview, San Francisco, August 15, 1968.

<sup>5</sup>William Triest, personal interview, San Francisco, August 15, 1968.

<sup>6</sup>Executive Membership, February 26, 1947.

<sup>7</sup>Executive Membership, April 7, 1947.

<sup>8</sup>Executive Membership, January 10, 1949

the station operated very much as Lewis Hill wanted it to operate, because most of those associated with him were dedicated to the same basic philosophy and ideals, and because Hill could persuade the group to adopt his ideas. If there was resentment or disagreement, it was submerged. After all, the course Hill took was often obviously the only course to be followed, at least, if the goals of the group were to be met.

### Precipitating Factors

By 1952, several factors changed the basic situation. First, the FAE grant had lent an air of stability to the station. In comparison to the past three years, there was almost prosperity. At least there were enough funds available to the operation that, for the first time, options were available as to how the funds were to be used. Before, there were no options; the meager funds were applied to the most pressing needs, and all else waited. But with the FAE grant, this had changed, and now decisions were made on the basis of desirable options rather than emergency operation.

Second, by this time, of the original Executive Membership of Pacifica, other than Lewis Hill, only Bill and Rose Triest remained. The other eight had either moved, or turned to other interests. But of the five full-time members of the KPFA-Interim staff, however, four remained with the station three years later in 1952. There were Hill; Eleanor McKinney (formerly Eleanor Moore), Program Director; America Chiarito, Music Director; and Ed Meece, Chief Engineer. In addition, Bill Triest and Richard Moore, part-time announcers in the beginning, remained with the staff in 1952, and Bob Schutz, one of the early commentators, was increasingly active in station operations.

Third, Hill had always solved his problems by moving forward. When the drive for funds floundered, he put a small station on the air. When forced to suspend operations, he returned with a more powerful station. When that station got into deep financial trouble, he persuaded the Fund for Adult Education to give him a grant to further increase the coverage of the station. To boost the operational income of the station, he contracted to produce programs for the National Association of Educational Broadcasters tape network. He was currently investigating a television station, not wanting to be left out at some later date, as had happened in AM radio. He had plans for a state network of stations, to include a repeater between San Francisco and Los Angeles which could relay programs to a sister station for KPFA in Los Angeles. He was negotiating for use of an existing station in Los Angeles, to be supplied programming from KPFA. He was planning a literary magazine, to be published by the Foundation. He was active in setting up a program supply center for educational stations in this country and abroad. In short, he looked ahead and made plans.

Yet many in the Foundation held back, taking the position that it was time to consolidate the growth and make KPFA a self-supporting institution, rather than concentrating on new ventures. They pointed out that KPFA had never supported itself from listener-subscriptions. The FAE grant made the immediate financial picture reasonably secure, but it was on a schedule of a three-year terminal grant. What then, they asked?

This basic conflict was not primarily one of personalities, as some have maintained. It was one of decision and policy. It was one of differing viewpoints as to the wisdom of a course of action. It was all these, long before it became a conflict of personalities.

As the station progressed, inevitable additions to the staff occurred. The original station was to be an interim operation, with only a minimal staff. As the list of subscribers grew, and the FAE grant made more funds available, others were added to the staff. These included Richard Moore, Al Partridge, Wallace Hamilton, Bob Schutz, Gertrude Chiarito, and Charles Levy.

In the early days, the group made its decisions after discussion, and mostly by unanimous consent. There are very few formal votes recorded in the minutes of either the Executive Membership or the Committee of Directors before the fall of 1951. It was quite often noted that "it was agreed." or other words to that effect.

Probably the precipitating factor in the major difficulty at the station was the declining participation of Lewis Hill during 1951 and 1952 in the immediate supervision of the operation of the station. His health had never been of great vigor, and he had a siege of illnesses during the fall and winter of 1951-52. In addition he was combing the country for foundation support for the station, having fairly well concluded that individual donations of sizeable amounts were not likely to materialize. Finally, he had become interested in several other related projects, and these took time away from the station.

### The Struggle for Control

The minutes of the Committee of Directors show that initial discussion of the possibility of a grant from the Ford Foundation (sponsor of the FAE) took place June 25, 1951.<sup>9</sup> Just two weeks later, the minutes show:

"It was suggested that Lewis Hill go on part-time for a temporary period, handling legal, administrative, and overall aspects of the project as well as additional programs for KPFA; that Dick Moore assume the general station directorship; and Al Partridge program directorship."<sup>10</sup>

In September, these and other changes in staff re-organization were adopted:

...discussed the administrative and programming readjustments in terms of personnel. The addition of staff members, the reorganization of duties both in administrative activities and station operations require a clarification of responsibilities. The directors appointed the following:

Executive Director: Lewis Hill  
 Station Director: Richard Moore  
 Production Director: Bill Triest  
 Program Director: Al Partridge  
 Technical Director: Ed Meece 11

By the move, Hill remained Chairman of the Foundation, but his direct administrative control over the station was somewhat lessened. Never before had KPFA had a Station Director. Eleanor McKinney (who had been divorced from Dick Moore) now served as Secretary to the Pacifica Foundation. Later charges were made by dissidents that a "triumvirate" ruled the station during this period--that of Hill, McKinney, and Moore.

<sup>9</sup> Committee of Directors, June 25, 1951.

<sup>10</sup> Committee of Directors, July 11, 1951.

<sup>11</sup> Committee of Directors, September 13, 1951.

Interviews with several persons who were at the station during this period reveal that the conflicts continued during the fall and winter although this is not reflected in the minutes of either official group. In January, the Committee of Directors recorded that further discussion of duties and responsibilities of the staff occurred.<sup>12</sup>

That further conflict was occurring at the station is evidenced by a letter of resignation from the Committee of Directors by Rick Chiarito on April 16, 1952, which said in part: "Since the Committee of Directors seems to be essentially non-functioning and functionless..."<sup>13</sup> There was strong feeling among the staff at this point that decisions about the operation of the station were being made by Hill, Moore, and McKinney without consulting the other members of the group. In particular, the question of expenditures seemed to be difficult. Bill Triest, on two occasions in Executive Membership meeting requested that back salaries be paid, at least partially, but the request was essentially denied. But at the time, equipment was being bought and the FAE had given funds to the station for "operating subsidies". Current salaries were being paid, but salary obligations pre-dating the FAE grant were largely left unpaid.

During the summer of 1952, as a part of the FAE project, a public relations consultant was engaged to evaluate the promotional program. As a part of his report, an evaluation was made of "Organization and Management" of KPFA.

Although financial and other limitations necessitated a very modest beginning, the breadth of the Foundation's challenging objectives makes clear the importance of laying sound structural foundations, capable of gradual expansion...It is understandable that a small group starting a new kind of project, and with creative rather than administrative interests and aptitudes, should allow the pressure of their main objective to obscure the organizational looseness and confusion relationships which apparently developed as the work grew... On the basis of limited contact with office operations, it appears that your most urgent staff need is for a qualified Business Manager. It is unfortunate to saddle administrative details on people who are essentially creative rather than executive in interest and aptitude...This executive should be someone who has no responsibility for planning or participating in your program on the air...

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There is one characteristic of the Foundation's corporate set-up which involved a difficulty which is not now acute but which might some day become so: The fact that the Committee of Directors consists wholly of staff members, with frequent shifts of officers and directors, involves some strange circumstances...an associate in one department is an officer and director while the head of the same department is not...

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The system of having all policies, plans, and procedures determined almost wholly by the inside operating group tends virtually to insulate your organization against the disinterested counsel and influence of other good friends...This implies two rather bold assumptions: (a) that the concept of the Foundation and its operations is so impeccable that it is virtually undebatable, and (b) that the interpretation and pursuit of the objectives can be safely and wisely left to those directly engaged...It is truly an exceptional group that is consistently able, without bias, to pass judgment

<sup>12</sup>Committee of Directors, September 13, 1951

<sup>13</sup>Americo Chiarito, letter to Committee of Directors, April 16, 1952

on its own performance.<sup>14</sup>

Further pressure from the staff as to more exact definitions of duties and responsibilities resulted in a deadlock on the Committee of Directors in September of 1952. Moore, the Station Manager, recommended a plan of staff reorganization. Al Partridge recommended another.<sup>15</sup> The vote was a tie, with one abstention. Therefore, a meeting of the Executive Membership was called.

This dispute apparently arose from a desire to trim the operational expenses of the station by reducing the staff. Hill had sought increased support from FAE, on several bases: the scarcity of FM receivers, delays in initiating the FAE project, and the inflationary trend. The appeal was not successful. He also proposed acquiring AM facilities, but the FAE held to the terms of the original grant, which included a declining terminal operations subsidy. Hence, the station was forced to reduce its operating costs.

Moore's plan (which had Hill's approval), proposed to eliminate Wallace Hamilton, whose newscasts had not been of the quality Moore and Hill desired. Partridge's plan kept Hamilton, and eliminated some part-time employees.

However, the center of the discussion quickly became the issue of the "authority of the Executive Director Hill in the organization of the operating staff of . . . KPFA."<sup>16</sup>

This meeting crystallized the polarization that had been taking place among the staff members. The discussion apparently centered on the question of whether the station was to be run as a democracy, with equal participation by all in decisions, including decisions to add staff or dismiss staff--or whether this was an administrative type function to be delegated to the Committee of Directors or Executive Director along with the responsibility of maintaining the quality of the station and good working relationships.

Early in the meeting, Hill discussed his reluctance to take on the total administrative duties in several instances, and the lack of clear-cut definition of the duties imposed by the office of Chairman and the office of Executive Director. He also agreed that there needed to be a better flow of communication between administration and staff.

Staff members discussed the feeling that all station decisions were made by a "triumvirate" of Hill, McKinney, and Moore, controlling the station. The discussion obviously was a thorough exchange of views, but with the result that from this point on, the group was hopelessly polarized.

However, in the discussion, Bill Triest and Al Partridge identified the key issue underlying the whole dispute: how can one person be both a staff member and a voting member of a policy board? They both expressed frustration in trying to decide where their duties as staff member left off and their responsibilities as a member of the Committee of Directors began. There was an obvious conflict of interest in many cases.

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<sup>14</sup>Harold Strong, "A Report on the Organization and Operations of Pacifica Foundation's KPFA project with Special Reference to Promotion and Public Relations," San Francisco, August 28, 1952, pp.4-7. (in KPFA files)

<sup>15</sup>Committee of Directors, September 19 and 30, 1952.

<sup>16</sup>Agenda for meeting of Executive Membership, October 9, 1952, (included in the minutes for this meeting).

A motion was made that in effect placed the responsibility for hiring and assigning personnel with the Executive Director, but requiring confirmation of the Committee of Directors when such changes resulted in increases in the budget or in dismissal of a staff member. This motion failed. Another motion, similar in nature, but requiring the Executive Director to obtain prior confirmation of the Committee of Directors for all hiring and assigning to jobs expected to be permanent, was then passed.<sup>17</sup>

This was obviously interpreted as a vote of "no confidence" by Hill, Moore, and McKinney. They resigned within the following week, followed by the resignations of five other Executive Members.

On October 19, ten days after the previous meeting, another special meeting of the Executive Membership was held, and it was decided to return station and Foundation affairs to the status quo of September 19, a month earlier. This restored Hill, Moore, McKinney and the five others to membership and office. There was to be an interim period of study of the situation, including development of a plan to enlarge the Executive Membership to include others not actively engaged in the activities of the Foundation.<sup>18</sup>

Late in November, Bob Schutz wrote a memo to the staff that was both bitter and conciliatory toward Hill. After contending that Lew was not indispensable to KPFA, and arguing that even if the station should fail, that would not necessarily prove that listener-sponsorship was unworkable, he appealed to Hill to stay with KPFA. He stated that it was obvious that KPFA needed Hill, and only a little less obvious that Hill needed the project. If this premise could be mutually accepted, he argued, then the real problem was to define the relationship in the most beneficial way:

...Hill is not and cannot be a successful chief executive. And I dwell upon this because it is of the very nature of genius to accept no limitations ...I would suggest that Hill's relationship to the project be expressed in some kind of staff job (as the word "staff" is used in business management circles). Whether you call it research or promotion or any one of the other 99 jobs he can do best is of little consequence. The important idea is that the staff man is free to make any investigations, recommendations ...both at his initiative, with the knowledge and approval of the executive, and by request. He does not give orders.<sup>19</sup>

From this point on, although the battle had lulled, the lines were clearly drawn. The issue defined itself as a power struggle for control of the station through the Foundation and the Executive Membership. A solution following the general lines of the agreement to expand the Membership was passed in a somewhat restricted form, early in December then rescinded a week later on the rationale that "conflicts within the Foundation (should be) solved on the level of personal relationships where they occurred rather than by changing By-Laws".<sup>20</sup>

It is the opinion of the writer that just the opposite was needed. The personality conflicts had developed because of the unworkable arrangements imposed by the organizational structure of the Foundation, dictated by the By-Laws, and a thorough

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<sup>17</sup>Executive Membership, October 9, 1952.

<sup>18</sup>Executive Membership, October 19, 1952.

<sup>19</sup>Robert Schutz, "To Pacifica Foundation Members and the KPFA Staff," November 20, 1952.

<sup>20</sup>Executive Membership, December 4 and 9, 1952.



revision was overdue. Yet the majority of the Executive Membership opposed such a revision, fearing it might give Hill a more firm power base from which to control the station.

At this time, probably in response to these feelings among the Executive Members (who were essentially identical with the staff of the station), Hill circulated a memo stating his intention to complete his activities with the Foundation within eight months, at the end of which he would submit his resignation.

In the meantime, several plans of reorganization were circulated and discussed. Early in January, 1953, a plan proposed by Moore was approved by the Committee of Directors. The key features were adoption of a committee method of program planning; definite scheduling of staff time in relation to programming, administrative and operating duties; and the regular scheduling of staff and intra-staff meetings.<sup>21</sup> This apparently settled the issue for a short period.

In June, the major explosion occurred, on the 27th; Lewis Hill submitted his resignation from the Foundation, effective July 31, 1953. His memo to the Executive Members states:

Our pattern of growth has drawn the project toward establishing other radio stations, toward TV, toward literacy, academic and other functions involving more and more people as well as several national organizations. These matters, and the general operation of KPFA, have been in my hands. But although I have affirmative support of the project's membership for most of these varied activities and relationships required to sustain it. We have a peculiar group of people; I wish I could say it had been created by choice, but our economic history has not afforded many choices in the selection of personnel. Our group contains some large ideological perspectives, but it is also ridden by some very narrow ones. In general, the staff and membership are inclined to be suspicious or fearful of any relationships, inside or out, which depend upon trust and confidence in other persons.

My own activities, first in founding and then in heading the project, have been subjected to more or less continual attack by little minorities of the group, while unfortunately the majority has never developed any strong belief in the external conditions affecting its existence, or rather in my own probity or competence in meeting those conditions. I have thus more than once found myself negotiating a grant or arranging activities for the station which, under attack by a minority of the group, the passive or suspicious majority might fail to support altogether. This situation has worsened, and I can no longer in conscience accept the responsibility for grants of money and the like that require a fulfilling action by the group...

A problem of leadership, and undoubtedly many problems of a purely personal dimension inhere in this dilemma. It grieves me deeply that I have been unable to solve these problems. Yet I would rather leave the project than take the only alternative before me, which is to create the kind of dictatorship inimical to growth....<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Committee of Directors, January 2, 1953.

<sup>22</sup>Hill, letter to Executive Membership of Pacifica Foundation, July 3, 1953.

The following week, Station Manager Moore, presented a plan of staff reduction and reorganization to the Committee of Directors, which would involve eliminating the positions of five full or part-time staff members, including Wallace Hamilton. The plan was approved.<sup>23</sup>

Three days later, on July 9, the Executive Membership held a meeting to discuss this action. A resolution supporting the action of the Committee of Directors in reorganizing the station and dismissing particular staff members was defeated, by one vote.<sup>24</sup> Moore then resigned as station director. Then followed a complex maize of resignations and withdrawals of resignations that is too complicated for discussion here. The net effect of these actions, however, was that Moore, Rick Chiarito, and Eleanor McKinney left the station. Wallace Hamilton was installed as Chairman of the Foundation.

Hill framed another memo to the group in an effort to resolve the situation, which said in part:

In the difficult years of this project I have held, perhaps, too stubbornly, to the idea of a working fellowship that shared equally in the large determinative decisions of its own activity...I have often been told that the conception was utopian in the worst sense, for the reason that persons wholly involved in operational tasks could not at the same time be efficient or responsible directors...I have always felt that the fellowship of ideal implicit in the Pacifica project should permit a stenographer, engineer, or whomever, to learn the implications of these ideas in matters of general policy, and in the end to make wise decisions.

The internal conflicts at KPFA have pressed hard against this ideal, but also from time to time focussed on my personal role as head of the project. Resigning from the project was to myself a last-ditch effort to permit this principle to prove its constructive potentials, encumbered by any controversy attached to my personal participation...

The rejection and choice of leadership by part of the group had, in my own mind, grievously demonstrated that the organizational theory of Pacifica Foundation is unsound...Knowing that most of the individuals involved are intensely sincere, I am forced to the conclusion others have reached before me: that an impossible task confronts these individuals; that the organizational theory is false which requires that engineer, announcer, stenographer, producer, must also be responsible for the decisions of leadership. I am certain it is the theory, not the people, that is false...

I am convinced that a complete reorganization of Pacifica Foundation and, as necessary, the staff of KPFA, is required for the future of the project. If the Fund for Adult Education will agree to continue its note (governing a lien on the KPFA property), I am going to undertake such a reorganization.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Committee of Directors, July 6, 1953.

<sup>24</sup>Executive Membership, July 9, 1953.

<sup>25</sup>Hill, letter to Executive Members of Pacifica Foundation and Staff Members of KPFA, July 15, 1953.

Hill's original resignation had been submitted effective July 31. This being so, as chief officer of the Foundation, he requested that the internal troubles of the station and Foundation not be discussed in public (press, Folio, or on the air). Contending that the group in control headed by Hamilton had not been legally elected, Hill stated they had no right to take actions in the name of the Foundation.

The new Committee of Directors responded that Hill's resignation had been accepted, and that he no longer was Chairman.

Obviously, the FAE was concerned with the effect of this change in management. Both sides communicated with officers of the FAE, especially G. H. Griffiths. In tactful ways, they communicated their versions of what had taken place. Both sides now were courting the support of the FAE--Hill's supporters to get the FAE to withdraw the financial support that sustained the station and Hamilton's group to assure the FAE that a legally proper change had been made so that the FAE agreement still stood.

Officials of the FAE undoubtedly were concerned that Hill, with whom almost the entire agreement had been negotiated, was no longer associated with the station. Their first act was to request a legal opinion as to the legality of the election of Hamilton and others to official positions in the Foundation. Attorney William W. Schwarzer, of a San Francisco law firm, after examining the Foundation's Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, and Minutes of both the Committee of Directors and Executive Membership meetings, concluded that the elections had been legally proper and were binding actions of the Corporation (Pacifica Foundation). The opinion concluded that the duly elected officers of the Foundation were: Wallace Hamilton, Chairman; Charles Levy, Vice-Chairman; Gertrude Chiarito, Secretary; and Robert Schutz, Treasurer. These four were also held to have been legally elected to the Committee of Directors.

It was further held that the resignations of Richard Moore, Americo Chiarito, and Karl Zapf as Directors and Executive Members were accepted and could not be withdrawn.<sup>26</sup>

Hill himself had withdrawn his resignation before its effective date, then later resigned again as Chairman and a Director, but not as an Executive member. This left his status in doubt. Therefore, the Executive Membership at a special meeting July 29, voted to remove Hill as an Executive Member of the Foundation.<sup>27</sup> Eleanor McKinney had been removed as Secretary of the Foundation by the Committee of Directors at a meeting held July 10, but continued as an Executive Member.<sup>28</sup>

These events left the affairs of Pacifica Foundation and KPFA completely in the hands of Wallace Hamilton and his group of supporters. These included Bob Schutz and Bill Triest who had been involved with station operation since the beginning of the Interim operation, and Gertrude Chiarito, whose husband had been Musical Director for the same period. It also included Hamilton, who had come to the

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<sup>26</sup>William W. Schwarzer, attorney, for the firm of McCutchen, Thomas, Matthew, Griffiths, and Greene, San Francisco, letter of legal opinion to F. Daniel Frost III, Los Angeles, attorney representing the Fund for Adult Education, August 6, 1953.

<sup>27</sup>Executive Membership, July 29, 1953.

<sup>28</sup>Committee of Directors, July 10, 1953.

station the previous year; Chuck Levy, who had been a part-time announcer off and on for two years; Bruce Harris, a part-time engineer; and Al Partridge, who arrived with Hamilton in the spring of 1952, but who returned to the East early in August.

Supporters of Hill, remaining as Executive Members included Eleanor McKinney; Ida Mae Zapf; Ed Meece, the engineer who had constructed the original station; and Lorraine Campbell, producer of musical programs for children. Bob Schutz apparently was not a strong supporter of Hamilton. He opposed many actions taken by Hill and Moore in running the station, and wanted to see Hill's role modified. Although, he voted against Hill in the July actions, and participated in the new Committee of Directors as Treasurer, he became disenchanted with the new management. In October, an annual report was submitted to the FAE, concerning the station's operation during the second year of the FAE grant and projections for the final year. Apparently the financial material contained in this report had been constructed without consultation with Schutz, who served as Treasurer of the Foundation.

Schutz's response was to write a "Treasurer's Report,"<sup>29</sup> with the co-operation of Eleanor McKinney, one of Hill's most loyal supporters. The report was duplicated and sent to all Executive Members, some members of the KPFA Advisory Board, officials of the FAE, and Lewis Hill. It is a rather thorough review of total situation that existed at KPFA at the time, with an analysis of why the situation developed as it did.

After disclaiming the previous Annual Report by stating it was prepared without his knowledge, and the administration of KPFA had been uncooperative in providing him, the Treasurer of Pacifica Foundation, access to financial records, he set out to do three things: (1) analyze the source of administrative difficulties in the Foundation, (2) analyze the financial data contained in the Annual Report submitted to the FAE, and (3) propose administrative and budgetary solutions to the problems confronting Pacifica.

In the analysis of the administrative difficulties of the Foundation, he concluded:

The difficulty of performing these dual functions--staff member of KPFA with its extraordinary demands in time and energy, as well as Executive Member in the Foundation with the consequent necessity to be thoroughly acquainted with the multiplicity of detail in the administrative and policy functions--proved insurmountable...Hill was faced with the impossible administrative task of making outside commitments for a staff which governed him without its being able to afford the time or to gain the perspective necessary to many administrative decisions, and consequently which ruled on the basis of differences in feelings or personality.

The experience in Foundation meetings of resistance and hostility to the chief administrator seems to me to spring out of the "felt" contradiction of leadership in the midst of organizational "equality"...Those members who were and are primarily engrossed in the internal operation of KPFA are now in control of the station; all members who until July administered the station and Foundation, and raised all the funds still available to it, are forcibly inactive.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Robert Schutz, "Treasurer's Report for Pacifica Foundation," Berkeley, October 30, 1952.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p.2

Discussing the difference in philosophy and goals between the two groups, he characterized the Hamilton administration as wanting to cut back and hold on to what exists, rather than to make the kind of long-range planning that had been a part of Pacifica from the beginning. Noting that the FAE funds would terminate within a year, that the number of FM sets was no longer increasing, and that both living costs and technical costs were rising, he questioned the wisdom of the sharply reduced budget proposed by Hamilton. In addition, he felt the projection of 3750 subscribers by October, 1954, was totally unrealistic in view of the fact that the total of October, 1953, (2852) was actually fewer than that of June, 1953. He felt a more realistic projection was a total of 3000, which would result in a \$35,000 deficit, even with the proposed reduced budget of the Hamilton group.

Schutz concluded that it was unlikely that the station would continue to thrive and develop without the long-range planning that had been done by Hill. He also concluded that salaries would have to be raised in order to keep a capable staff. Before recommending solutions, he commented:

Ideally, it would be hoped that the aims which the Foundation established, particularly "to gather and disseminate information on the cause of conflict between any and all of such groups.." should apply here "at home".<sup>31</sup>

He recommended major changes in the composition of the Executive Membership of the Foundation:

It is obvious...that the Foundation has outgrown...its original structure. At least it has not worked. With the Foundation and staff membership duplication, it is apparent that it is only a matter of time until there would be another crisis, an ousting of the present administration and all the unpleasant and emotional disruption that accompanies it. The principle of staff coincidence with Executive Membership must be changed and a new Membership elected.<sup>32</sup>

The nucleus of this idea had been contained in a letter written by Hill to Schutz in August:

Correction of the basic flaws in Pacifica in my opinion requires a reconstituted membership from persons having no interested relation with the operation as such.<sup>33</sup>

### The Structure Committee

In response to pressure from members of the KPFA Advisory Council as well as a number of subscribers, the Committee of Directors had voted in August to set up an investigating commission of "three impartial individuals," to research the history of the problems of the past summer, by review of documents and interviews. They were to present recommendations and distribute their report to all interested parties.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid, p. 9

<sup>32</sup>Ibid,

<sup>33</sup>Hill, letter to Bob (Robert) Schutz, August 12, 1951.

<sup>34</sup>Committee of Directors, August 3, 1953.

During August and September, much informal negotiation had taken place, aimed at reconciling the two factions. Much of this was by members of the KPFA staff, present and former; by members of the KPFA council; and by other persons who had been close to the operation. However, these attempts were fruitless.

A number of the members of the Council, disturbed at the lack of communication or attempts at reconciliation, met September 21 to explore what could be done to improve the situation. They agreed that the organizational structure of the Pacifica Foundation and KPFA needed revision. Roy Sorenson, Executive Director of the San Francisco YMCA, was authorized by the group to meet with Wallace Hamilton in an attempt to agree on procedures to be used in studying the structure of Pacifica. If a proposal could be drawn, it would be circulated among the members of the KPFA Council for comment, and then submitted to the Executive Membership of Pacifica for authorization to proceed with the study.

Sorenson and Hamilton agreed on a proposal for five persons to form a committee:

to study improvements in the organizational structure and operating procedure which will maintain free expression...enhance creative programming and obviate such organizational difficulties which may now be seen.<sup>35</sup>

The proposal was approved by the Executive Membership, November 3, 1953. Members appointed to the Structure Committee were: Chairman, Ernest Besig, American Civil Liberties Union; Harold Winkler, Professor of Political Science, University of California; Gregory Bateson, social anthropologist, Veterans Administration, Palo Alto; John May, Executive Director of the San Francisco Foundation; and Karl Olson, Minister, Pilgrim Congregational Church, San Francisco.

The FAE, while concerned about the situation, had not taken an overt part in the situation since their legal investigation to determine whether the Hamilton group could legally act in the affairs of the Foundation, described above. However, after the prolonged negotiations which ultimately led to the setting up of the Structure Committee, the FAE informed the officers of the Foundation that in view of the belief of officials of the FAE that reorganization of the Pacifica Foundation was essential to stability of the organization, the FAE urged that such reorganization take place as soon as possible. Accordingly, the FAE did not commit itself to the full grant for the final year, but instead pro-rated monthly support through February 1, 1954. By that time, it was anticipated that the report of the Structure Committee could be completed and acted upon, and the FAE would review the situation again following this action.<sup>36</sup>

The Structure Committee held weekly meetings from the middle of November through February. It became obvious that the committee was not going to be able to report before the end of January, particularly in view of the Hamilton group's refusal to consider any reorganization plan that would permit the control of the station to move out of their group. At this point, the FAE delivered a more strongly worded letter:

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<sup>35</sup>Resolution approving establishment of Structure Committee, contained in Minutes of meeting of Executive Membership, November 3, 1953.

<sup>36</sup>Pacifica Foundation, "Memorandum on Foundation Support for Pacifica Foundation, prepared for the Fund for Adult Education," Berkeley, July 24, 1953. Although the memorandum is unsigned and was sent in the name of the Pacifica Foundation, probably the major author was Wallace Hamilton.

You will recall that at the time when the Fund normally would have made its decision on the full third-year grant to the Pacifica Foundation (November 1, 1953) certain matters affecting the organization and operation of KPFA--and therefore bearing fundamentally on the Fund's decision--had not yet been resolved. There was, however, every expectation that the analysis and recommendations of the Study Committee could be formulated and acted upon some time before January 31, 1954. In recognition of this special situation, the Fund agreed to provide support on a prorated monthly basis until January 31--it being our understanding that this would allow ample time for the work of the Study Committee to be completed and acted upon and for the Fund, in turn, to decide on the balance of the third-year grant.

...it appears that it will not be possible for the recommendations of the Committee to be formulated and acted upon any earlier than late February or early March. While we are not unmindful of certain factors which make this delay understandable, to prolong the present arrangement would clearly nullify its entire intent. Accordingly, the Fund is prepared to extend the present basis of support through February, thereafter withholding decision on further support until such time as formal action has been taken on the recommendation of the Study Committee and the Fund is advised as to the nature of this action.<sup>37</sup>

The report of the Structure Committee was completed February 10, 1954. For the most part, it followed the ideas of Hill and Schutz, described earlier. Executive Members were to be elected for three years, and not more than one-third could be composed of paid staff members of KPFA. No more than one paid staff member would serve on the Committee of Directors. The Station Manager would be "selected and employed by, and be responsible to, the Committee of Directors." He would have full authority to hire and fire personnel, and prepare the budget for the station.<sup>38</sup>

The Structure Committee concluded from its study:

The existing structure which we have examined is not merely clumsy and awkward but so bad that sane persons participating in it could only exhibit bizarre behavior...the nightmarish character of these (past) events was a natural result of the bad structure and that, therefore, blame can not be ascribed to the participant individuals.<sup>39</sup>

The report concluded by proposing interim steps to be taken to achieve the transition to the proposed organizational structure.

The Committee of Directors considered the report on February 13. Not too surprisingly, they rejected most of the proposals.

...It seemed the first section does not adequately cover the issues involved, and the second part of the report, while its intent is appreciated, is beyond the instructions given to the structure committee. The first section of the report contains recommendations which do not assure the continuation

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<sup>37</sup>Martha S. Howard, Fund for Adult Education, letter to Wallace Hamilton, January 18, 1954.

<sup>38</sup>Ernest Besig (chairman), "Report of Structure Committee," San Francisco, February 10, 1954, submitted to the Executive Membership.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

of free expression and creative programming considered the purpose of KPFA...<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, according to the resolution establishing the Structure Committee, its report was required to be considered by the Executive Membership. Accordingly, at the March 3 meeting, it was introduced. A motion accepting the recommendations of the committee "in principle" was passed, but a motion to implement these recommendations did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority.<sup>41</sup>

Following this action, April 1, Mr. G. H. Griffiths of the FAE met with the Committee of Directors. At this meeting, Griffiths made the position of the FAE clear again: they regarded the present organization of the Pacifica Foundation and the station as unstable, and while not specifying details of reorganization that would be acceptable to the FAE, there would be no further financial support from the FAE <sup>42</sup> until organizational changes were made that would assure the FAE of future stability.

### Programming Crisis

As was described earlier, on April 22, 1954, KPFA broadcast a program about the use of marijuana, in which four people who claimed to use the narcotic set forth their views that the narcotic should be legalized, that they resented being treated as criminals, and that they found the use of marijuana non-addictive. The broadcast received wide coverage in the local newspapers, and representatives of the State Bureau of Narcotics and the Alameda County District Attorney seized the tape and began an investigation of the incident.

Hamilton defended the program to the press, saying that KPFA discussed many minority viewpoints on the air. However, five of the Executive Members, including Bob Schutz and Eleanor (McKinney) Moore, quickly issued a statement to the press denying any responsibility for the broadcast, contending the program was not in the public interest. They were critical of Hamilton's defense of the program which had implied that the station served only "minorities and the intelligentsia," contending instead that the station had been founded to provide a cultural service to all the people of the Bay Area. The statement concluded:

The present administration of the station acquired control only ten months ago. During this period, we a substantial part of the Foundation, have attempted to correct numerous departures from KPFA's original purposes, and we will continue to do so.

We do not intend to engage in any public controversy over the internal <sup>43</sup> conflicts in Pacifica, but find it necessary to make our position clear.

In a letter to the editor of the San Francisco Chronicle, published May 13, Eleanor (McKinney) Moore elaborated on her reasons for criticizing the broadcast:

It is perfectly obvious that marijuana and its uses are a subject that ought to be completely open to discussion...If it were the intention to explore it thoroughly, the different medical opinions should be set forth, with the views of law enforcement officers and most certainly the opinions of private citizens with personal knowledge of the subject. By placing

<sup>40</sup>Committee of Directors, February 13, 1954.

<sup>41</sup>Executive Membership, March 3, 1954.

<sup>42</sup> footnote omitted in original manuscript.

<sup>43</sup>San Francisco Chronicle, April 26, 1954, p. 11.



all these views and experiences in a single context or series...it would be possible to present a genuine helpful summary of the subject...

During its five years on the air, KPFA has broadcast a great many programs on subjects far more controversial than marijuana...But controversy has always been given a context...The problem in the recent incident was that ...the broadcast itself--given no context--was open to the charge of stimulating sensation-seeking...Real issues surround the problem of marijuana and these issues were not illuminated by the broadcast. I do not feel that actions of this kind deserve to be defended in the name of free speech.<sup>44</sup>

In the meantime, offended by the refusal of the Executive Membership to approve the organizational changes proposed by the Structure Committee, and viewing the marijuana program as symptomatic of the problems besetting the station, twenty-six members of the KPFA Council publicly resigned. These prominent civic leaders and educators stated:

We have permitted the public use of our names to assist the KPFA project, believing that it could make an important contribution to the cultural life of the Bay Area. The station's record has been excellent, and the principles on which it was founded have our warm approval. However, because of a recent change in the station's administration, and many circumstances surrounding that change, we no longer feel we can place confidence in the station's activities without reorganization of the control of the station...Our conclusion is reached after ten months of efforts to improve an internal situation which we believe to be unsound. (We) have clung to the hope of resolving conflict and remedying the organizational defects because of our faith in the idealism of KPFA's founding and early administration, and in the unique service which it is capable of rendering. We are now convinced beyond a doubt that faith must be abandoned unless there is a reorganization in the mode of control and a change in the administration of the station.<sup>45</sup>

Following this public statement, which was printed in most of the area newspapers, several staff members took occasion to comment on the matter in broadcasts over KPFA. Dean Frank Freeman, one of those who had resigned, requested time to answer these broadcasts. The Committee of Directors offered to allow him to participate in a program to explore the matter with another person "whose views may differ with Dean Freeman."<sup>46</sup> He refused this offer, stating it did not offer equal opportunity to reply to the earlier broadcasts.

Dean Freeman and three other representatives of the resigned Council and Advisory Members then filed a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission, charging that the KPFA management (1) did not have the financial resources to continue to serve the public, (2) had misrepresented many things, including the financial condition of the station, the circumstances of their achieving control of the station, and the motives of those who had resigned, and that they had done so in

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<sup>44</sup>Eleanor (McKinney) Moore, Letter to the Editor, San Francisco Chronicle, May 13, 1954, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup>"Memorandum to the Secretary of Pacifica Foundation," signed by twenty-six Council and Advisory Members of Pacifica Foundation, Berkeley, April 28, 1954.

<sup>46</sup>Statement by the Committee of Directors, Pacifica Foundation, May 7, 1954.

programs broadcast over the station to justify their personal conduct, (3) had demonstrated a fundamental ignorance of the responsibilities of a licensee, (4) had resisted attempts to introduce adequate representation of the public or the subscribers in its controlling body, and (5) had attacked the motives of Dean Freeman and others who had resigned in programs broadcast by the station, but refused adequate opportunity for the attacked persons to reply to these broadcasts, a violation of the principles of the "fairness doctrine."<sup>47</sup>

#### Crisis, Summer 1954

Faced with these public pressures on one hand, and a critical financial situation on the other, the Hamilton group was nearing desperate status. From October, 1953, to May, 1954, they had been able to increase the number of subscribers from 2,800 to 3,400, an increase of more than forty per cent. However, following the publicity generated by the marijuana broadcast and the public resignations of the Council and Advisory Members, subscriptions slumped, falling off 200 subscribers by July. Combined with the loss of support from the FAE, effective in March, this placed the station under great financial pressure.

A special request to the FAE to reconsider their decision to suspend further support under the grant was submitted July 24. Before the FAE could respond, changes took place in the management of the station. At a meeting of the Executive Membership on August 4, a series of motions were passed which had the effect of a clear victory for Lewis Hill. The actions taken were as follows:

- (1) the position of President of Pacifica Foundation and Radio Station KPFA was created with the following duties and responsibilities:
  - (a) to be responsible for establishing and maintaining such communication, structure, and authority within this membership as may be required...
  - (b) to administer KPFA and be responsible for personnel in KPFA and the Pacifica Foundation.
  - (c) to establish and maintain budgetary control.
  - (d) to be responsible for all relations of KPFA and Pacifica Foundation with all individuals, Foundations, and business organizations.
- (2) The Committee of Directors was directed to offer the position of President to Lewis Hill.
- (3) All present members of the Committee of Directors were removed from office.
- (4) Robert Schutz, Eleanor McKinney Moore were elected Directors, and Gertruda Chiarito, Chuck Levy, and Watson Alberts were re-elected as Directors.
- (5) At an immediate meeting of the Committee of Directors, Robert Schutz was elected Chairman of that group.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Dr. Frank N. Freeman and others, letter of complaint against radio station KPFA, sent to the FCC, June 11, 1954.

<sup>48</sup>Executive Membership, August 4, 1954, and Committee of Directors, August 4, 1954.

Following the meeting, Wallace Hamilton, William Triest, Bruce Harris, and Roy Kepler resigned from their positions at the station, and Triest resigned as an Executive Member.

At subsequent meetings of the Executive Membership, held August 20 and September 8, the following actions were taken:

- (1) By-Laws were amended to provide that no more than one-third of the Executive Members could be employees of Pacifica Foundation.
- (2) The Committee of Directors was enlarged to seven members, no more than two (the President and one other) could be employees of the station or the Foundation.<sup>49</sup>

These actions were implemented at the October 29 annual Executive Membership meeting, when twenty-two new Executive Members were elected.<sup>50</sup> Dean Frank Freeman was elected as Chairman, and Hill retained the position of President of Pacifica Foundation. Bob Schutz was named Station Manager. Thus the organizational problems of the Foundation were solved for the moment.

The concept of having the station's staff as the controlling body of the station and the Foundation had been a fundamental part of the idea of the station. It had placed a great deal of responsibility on the station's staff, beyond the sphere of their individual jobs. It required total dedication to the aims and goals of the project as a whole, and a personal commitment to attain those goals. At the same time, it required subordination of personal feelings and goals to those of the project. McKinney observes: "Perhaps it never would have survived without this intense and personal dynamic."<sup>51</sup>

But as the station grew from this tightly knit group of idealists into a functioning institution, it was inevitable that clear-cut leadership would be required. Hill senses this, and attempted to provide this leadership, but the structure would not permit it. The staff of the station clung to the power that had been intended to provide a consensus and protect against the interference of sponsors and owners. Instead, the power of the staff was used to protect personal interests within the station, and to promote factionism among the members of the Foundation.

As the station moved from a bare existence with virtually no choices of action into a period where there were some, although limited, decisions to be made as to alternatives in the operation of the station, the defects in the structure became apparent, and nearly fatal.

#### Development of Pacifica Under the New Structure

During the next twelve months, the operation of the station was quite successful. The staff, reorganized under Schutz's direction, worked smoothly. Hill was working on plans to expand the station into AM operation. The renewed confidence in the station, brought by the reorganization and restoration of Hill's group to control, as well as renewed promotional activities resulted in an increase in current sub-

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<sup>49</sup>Executive Membership, August 20 and September 8, 1954.

<sup>50</sup>Executive Membership, October 29, 1954.

<sup>51</sup>McKinney, "KPFH History," p. 11.

scriptions to more than 4,000 by December of 1955.<sup>52</sup> In addition, the station secured local donations of \$41,419 during approximately the same period to meet the operating deficit.<sup>53</sup>

### Plans for Expansion

As was described earlier, the future of the FM medium was not bright in 1955, the time of the termination of the FAE grant. Although KPFA had demonstrated that it could secure two per cent of those who were able to listen, the number of homes having FM sets in 1955 was still less than twenty per cent. It was evident that the station could not be self-supporting from subscriptions in the near future, so long as it remained tied to FM.

During the fall of 1955, a mimeographed prospectus was prepared, discussing (1) the purchase of AM facilities for KPFA, (2) the establishment of a Los Angeles FM station, (3) the linking of KPFA to the proposed Los Angeles FM station by a mid-state relay, and (4) the establishment of a monthly Folio Journal.<sup>54</sup> These were resumptions of projects that Hill had under consideration before leaving the station in the summer of 1953.

The plans for establishing an AM operation were based on the purchase of some existing facility, since no additional AM channels were available.<sup>55</sup> The estimated cost of such acquisition was \$150,000, although it was obvious that this estimate was subject to the realities of actual negotiation.

The Los Angeles FM proposal would extend the KPFA program services to that city, supplemented by a limited amount of local programming. The immediate proposal was to lease the transmitter facilities of station KFMB, which had ceased operation, and transfer the license of the station to Pacifica. The KFMB transmitter was atop Mt. Wilson (as are most of the Los Angeles television stations and a number of FM stations), having a power of 58 KW, approximately the same as KPFA.

The construction of a satellite station, to be located at mid-state between Berkeley and Los Angeles would make it possible to relay programming of Berkeley to the Los Angeles station directly off the air. Thus, the Los Angeles station would start with a minimal staff, mostly engineering and promotion personnel, and rely heavily on KPFA for programming. It would be enabled to grow as rapidly toward a larger staff and independent programming as the development of Southern California subscriptions permitted.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup>Hill, Voluntary Listener-Sponsorship, p. 78.

<sup>53</sup>Hill, letter to G. H. Griffiths, November 25, 1955.

<sup>54</sup>Pacifica Foundation, "Outline of Budgets and Fund-Raising Procedures for the Development of a Permanent Operation (AM-FM) at KPFA, Berkeley, Based on Listener-Sponsorship; For Extension of Pacifica Broadcasting Activities to Southern California: and for Establishing a Monthly Journal Related to These Activities," Berkeley, undated.

<sup>55</sup>The reader will recall that this was the reason the original station was established on FM frequencies in 1949. However, the holder of a Construction Permit for an AM station in the area had not constructed the station, and Hill felt it could be transferred to Pacifica at a cost less than that usually involved in buying an existing station. This CP was for a station limited to day-time hours, a distinct disadvantage for the type of programming and audience of KPFA.

The plan was unsuccessful. After a year, it was obvious that the necessary funds would not be obtained for either the purchase of AM facilities or the activation of a Los Angeles station. The Committee of Directors, November 20, 1956, voted to abandon plans for AM expansion, but to retain the objective of the establishment of an FM station in Los Angeles as funds became available.<sup>57</sup>

#### Financial Crisis, Spring 1957

During the spring of 1957, the station once again began to accumulate a deficit, at a larger than normal rate. Although the number of subscribers had climbed to 4800, the operating costs had risen to \$8,000 per month, making a deficit of more than \$2,000 each month. The station had never supported itself by the income from subscriptions alone. The difference between the actual operating costs and the income from subscriptions had been made up by donations and grants of various kinds. In the spring of 1957, these additional donations became increasingly difficult to solicit, and the deficit of the station exceeded \$18,000 by the end of July.<sup>58</sup>

In February, Hill had addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Foundation, stating his desire to leave the Presidency "at some early date," because he no longer felt able to do the fund-raising work of the Foundation, and for personal reasons.<sup>59</sup>

In April, differences between Hill and Schutz, serving as station manager, over budgetary matters led to Hill's firing Schutz.<sup>60</sup> During June, Hill also fired two other staff members, Mrs. Barbara Campbell and Robert Schneider, both of whom were members of the California Federation of Teachers. The latter two staff members protested the firing to the CFT, which announced its intention to hold a hearing to determine whether it should issue a strike notice against the station. In view of this, the Committee of Directors proposed to investigate the details of the incident, but Hill protested that hiring and firing were the responsibility of the President. However, in view of the external strike threat, the Committee of Directors overruled Hill, unanimously.<sup>61</sup>

The following day Lewis Hill took his own life. He was thirty-eight.

Obviously, one would look to the causes of such a tragedy. No single factor emerges. Undoubtedly, it was a complicated, complex combination of factors that led Hill to his suicide. He left a note, but it is not very specific:

"Not for anger or despair  
but for peace and a kind of home."

To be sure, the action of the board undoubtedly was the precipitating factor. It was the first time the Committee of Directors had united against Hill.<sup>62</sup> But to conclude that this was the total motivation for Hill's action would be to be content with a very superficial explanation.

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<sup>57</sup>Committee of Directors, November 20, 1956.

<sup>58</sup>McKinney, "KPFA History," p. 15.

<sup>59</sup>Committee of Directors, February 18, 1957.

<sup>60</sup>Committee of Directors, April 15, 1957; and personal interview with Robert Schutz, Berkeley, California, June 20, 1968.

<sup>61</sup>Committee of Directors, July 29, 1957.

<sup>62</sup>Russell Jorgensen, personal interview, San Francisco, July 22, 1968. Jorgensen had been a member of the Committee of Directors since early 1956, and later served as President of Pacifica.

Hill regarded himself as a creative person rather than an administrator. As discussed in Chapter III, he was a poet and writer. He had been working on a novel during the spring, and rewriting his poems for publication. He grew so discouraged over the latter that he destroyed most of them, concluding that they were not of sufficient merit.<sup>63</sup> Several persons who knew him well have spoken of his discouragement over his writing.

As has also been noted earlier, Hill experienced persistent ill health. He suffered from arthritis of the spine, which caused him more or less continual pain. The previous summer, he had suffered what was described by his secretary as a "slight stroke" and was on leave from Pacifica most of the summer.<sup>64</sup>

There is also evidence that the various pressures on his life were creating strains on his marriage. For about five years, he had lived with his family at Duncans Mills, California, near Santa Rosa--nearly sixty miles northwest of San Francisco near the Pacific Coast. During the previous year, he had taken a small apartment in Oakland, to do writing and for convenience with the work at KPFA, while his wife and family remained in Duncans Mills.

Finally, there was the matter of the tremendous responsibility to keep KPFA alive. It should be obvious to the reader that the financial pressures of keeping the station operating were at best extremely frustrating, especially to a person that was essentially creative like Hill. He had no taste for fund-raising; he did it because it was necessary.

One of the staff members who had known Hill well over a long period of time, Denny Wilcher, was asked to write to Mr. Griffiths, of the FAE, concerning the tragedy. He wrote:

No simple statement will throw much light on Lew's decision to take his own life. No single explanation can be too relevant, though various persons might propose them. You are aware that Lew's health was never good. You are well aware of the tension created by unrealized goals in the Pacifica Foundation and the grinding financial problem. I would also try to describe a kind of intellectual frustration, something possibly native to a person whose mind could work as quickly and "enormously" as Lew's...I am submitting this, not to propose that one can add up the parts and make some kind of whole, but to suggest lines of thought...<sup>65</sup>

Robert Schutz, after twenty-one years, speculated:

None of us was big enough to show Hill that we cared for him--no one in that station--no one in his life really could convince him that he was cared for. He was an utterly lonely man. And he isolated himself by his sharp tongue, his wit, and his intelligence. It's hard to believe that if he'd felt loved, he could have committed suicide.<sup>66</sup>

Obviously, Hill's suicide was a tremendous shock to the staff of the station, and to all concerned with its operation. Of the many tributes paid to him, the writer

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<sup>63</sup>Mrs. Joy Hill, letter to author, May 28, 1969.

<sup>64</sup>See letters to G. H. Griffiths, June 15, July 2, and August 27, 1956.

<sup>65</sup>Denny Wilcher, letter to G. H. Griffiths, September 26, 1957.

<sup>66</sup>Robert Schutz, interview, Berkeley, California, July 20, 1968.

has selected two:

...Lew was an uncommonly gifted and dedicated man and his loss is truly a loss to the entire American scene which needs so desperately the integrity and commitment which he embodied.

--G. H. Griffiths, Fund for Adult Education.<sup>67</sup>

I regard Lewis Hill as one of the truly creative personalities of this generation. His contribution to the intellectual and cultural enrichment of our society is one of such dimensions as to defy adequate evaluation. In an era in which the functions of communications have assumed vast proportions--bewildering potentials for man's growth and frightening potentials for man's exploitation--we have been fortunate to have a man of such vision and insight...Idealism, especially in the young, is far from being an unknown quality in modern society. But what is startlingly rare today is to find a man in early middle life so committed to his ideals that he is able to resist the deadening temptations of our time toward conformity, personal comfort and security.

--Dr. Gordon Agnew, Chairman of Pacifica Foundation.<sup>68</sup>

October 28, 1957, Dr. Harold Winkler was elected President of the Pacifica Foundation, and appointed manager of KPFA. Dr. Agnew continued to serve as Chairman of the Committee of Directors.

Between the time of Hill's death and the time Dr. Winkler was elected, \$30,000 was contributed to erase the station's deficit and to provide operating funds for the remainder of the year.<sup>69</sup>

The following April, KPFA was selected to receive the George Foster Peabody award for Public Service, one of broadcasting's highest awards for

"...courageous venture into the lightly-trafficked field of thoughtful broadcasting, and for its demonstration that mature entertainment plus ideas constitute public service broadcasting at its best."<sup>70</sup>

#### Later Changes in Organization

With the change in the composition of both the Executive Membership and the Committee of Directors, which gradually became referred to as "the Board of Directors," although this was not its proper name. Where before, the Executive Membership, had, on occasion, instructed the Committee of Directors to take certain actions, or overruled actions taken by that group, this had not occurred since the revisions in organization in the fall of 1954. While it is accurate to say that prior to 1954, the Committee of Directors transacted the vast majority of the business of the Foundation, the ultimate control rested with the Executive Membership. Although this ultimate decision-making role was rarely exercised, it was used by the Hamilton group to take control of the station by overruling actions of the Committee of Directors.

<sup>67</sup>G. H. Griffiths, letter to Denny Wilcher, Pacifica Foundation, October 7, 1957.

<sup>68</sup>From a broadcast of radio station KPFA, August 3, 1957, also reprinted in Folio, VIII (August 18, 1957), p. 1

<sup>69</sup>McKinney, "KPFA History," p. 15.

<sup>70</sup>Folio, IX (April 13, 1958), p. 1

Although technically this possibility still existed after the changes made in 1954, by increasing the size of the Committee of Directors to seven, and restricting the employees to one member in addition to the President, this body became much more analogous to a corporate Board of Directors, and the Executive Membership, somewhat similar to the stockholders, having little power beyond that of electing Directors. But there the analogy must end, for the members of the Executive Membership did not own Pacifica, nor could they join this body at will, as can stockholders. They must be elected to membership by the present members.

In actual practice between 1954 and 1961, persons were more commonly selected for membership on the Committee of Directors by the members of that group, who then recommended to the Executive Membership that these persons be made Executive Members, a requisite for being a Director, and simultaneously elected to the Committee of Directors. The process was obviously cumbersome.

With the establishment of KPFK in Los Angeles in 1959 and the acquisition of WBAI in New York in 1960, it became desirable to elect Directors from those areas. There had been five Directors prior to 1954, increased to seven at that time. The number was increased to eleven, then to fifteen, and to twenty-one in the fall of 1960. The Executive Membership, which had numbered twenty-two in 1954, had been gradually increased to thirty-three in 1959, then to forty-two in 1960. The latter group, meeting twice a year to hear reports and confirm nominations for membership in the Committee of Directors, became more and more difficult to call together, especially with the addition of members from the New York area.

For these reasons, on September 30, 1961, new By-Laws were adopted providing for a Board of Directors. Although twenty-one directors were authorized prior to the adoption of the new By-Laws, only sixteen persons were actually members of the Committee of Directors. These sixteen were elected to membership in the newly created Board of Directors, effecting a minimal transition.<sup>71</sup> The new By-Laws eliminated completely the Executive Membership.

Executive Committee. The By-Laws adopted in 1961 provide for an Executive Committee of five persons, including the President and Chairman of the Foundation. It is a relatively weak body, limited to "only such powers as the Board shall delegate to it."<sup>72</sup> However, within six months, the Board delegated rather broad powers to the Executive Committee:

...for the purpose of providing means for transacting urgent business where the effectiveness of this Corporation would be impaired by waiting till a regularly scheduled meeting of the Board, the Executive Committee of this Board is hereby authorized to act for this Board in all respects except that the Executive Committee shall have no authority to amend the By-Laws of the Corporation.<sup>73</sup>

This power was used extensively in dealing with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Hearings and the FCC crisis of 1964, discussed in the following chapter.

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<sup>71</sup>Pacifica Foundation, "Reply to FCC Inquiry of February 7, 1963," filed with FCC April 26, 1963.

<sup>72</sup>Pacifica Foundation, By-Laws (adopted November 14, 1961), Article 6, Section 1.

<sup>73</sup>Board of Directors, April 10, 1962.



Revisions in the Method of Selecting Board Members, 1968. After a study of the organization in 1968, the Board adopted a statement which (among other things) specified that each station area was to be represented on the Board of Directors by at least three members.<sup>74</sup>

As a part of the same statement, the function of the Local Advisory Board was spelled out in much more detail. The three members of the National Board (as the Board of Directors became designated) elect three additional members to form the local Advisory Board, with the local station manager being an ex officio member of this body. Their specific functions include:

- (a) Interpret National Board policy.
- (b) Review and approve plans and budgets before presentation to the national board.
- (c) Monitor and guide implementation of the ratified plan and budget.
- (d) Review proposals involving their station.
- (e) Evaluate managerial performance and make recommendations to the President, Executive Committee, and/or National Board.
- (f) Represent the station before the community as requested or required.
- (g) Apply its professional acumen on behalf of the station.<sup>75</sup>

It was clearly specified that "The Functional Responsibility of this group is advisory, and no actions may be undertaken that preempt the authority or responsibility of the National Board of Directors."<sup>76</sup>

Administrative Council. The final change made in 1968 was to set up an "Administrative Council," composed of the station managers and the "executive officer of the Foundation." It was given a number of functions, mostly administrative, dealing with budgets and personnel. However, it also was to

...plan Foundation activities; prepare and submit funding proposals to individuals, institutions and agencies; and prepare and submit revisions in Foundation policies to the National Board of Directors.<sup>77</sup>

Although it was specified that this group would meet "twice quarterly," this has not been the practice. In the year following its establishment, it has met only three times, and the Executive Committee increasingly handles the business of the Foundation that is not brought before the full National Board of Directors.

### Summary

The organizational structure set up by the original members of Pacifica provided for equal participation by all persons involved in station operation, and an equal pay scale for all employees. It was idealistic, but most of the goals of the Foundation were idealistic. The reason for this organizational form was primarily to permit the greatest possible freedom for those producing programs--freedom from outside forces such as advertisers or agencies, as well as freedom from internal forces

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<sup>74</sup>Pacifica Foundation, "Organization and Procedure," adopted by Board of Directors, March 9 and amended June 1, 1968, Section 1.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Section 4.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., Section 3

such as owners, managers, and Boards of Directors.

However laudable these principles may have been, as the station grew from a dedicated, tightly-knit group into a functioning institution, the structure of the station and the organizational form of the controlling foundation served to intensify inevitable personal conflicts. For the survival of the station, it was necessary to modify the structure in order to give more power to the executives of the station and add the stability of disinterested persons to the controlling board.

Even with this change, difficulties within the structure persist, although not of the severity of those of the 1952-54 period. Undoubtedly, many of these problems are typical of those found in any radio station--commercial or non-commercial. These problems are intensified at KPFA by the personal identification most Pacifica employees feel for the station. They come to the station with a strong sympathy for the goals and ideals of Pacifica; they work long hours for low pay because of their devotion to these principles; and they come to feel a sense of responsibility for the overall success of the station. Therefore, any problem that arises is immediately of more than normal concern to each employee, whereas in the normal station, most employees would merely shrug their shoulders and hope the boss could somehow handle the situation.

Add to this the perennial financial difficulties under which all the stations exist, lending an underlying insecurity to the whole operation. In this atmosphere, each small problem is immediately more threatening than in a financially secure station.

Finally, because the personnel give of themselves so far beyond what would normally be required, and at such great personal sacrifice in terms of salaries and other benefits, those in management have often been reluctant to discipline or discharge those whose performance was not adequate. On those few occasions when persons were discharged, other staff members frequently launched substantial protests from the same motivations. Where in the normal radio station, firings are a matter of course in cases of poor performance or programming differences, this has not been the case at Pacifica.

As a result, the dissidents have usually stayed on the staff and attempted to persuade others to their point of view--resulting in an excess of time and energy being devoted to inside-the-station political fighting.

In conclusion, the Pacifica stations, particularly KPFA, being unique in goals and structure, experience many stresses not found in other more traditional organizations. One of the most serious of these involved personal conflicts among staff members, while a lesser, but still serious problem has been establishing sufficient management authority to insure adequate performance from all employees.