OU probably saw it on your way through the supermarket checkout counters last month. One could hardly have missed it, poking up like a miniature billboard and screaming for attention. JOIN OUR NA-TIONWIDE TAX CUT DRIVE, it read, yawning across the page just about seven inches above Merv Griffin's forehead. From there your eyes roved leftward to fix on: How Man Handles Money Reveals His Romantic Attitude.
The National Enquirer these days—hadn't

you noticed?—is trying to get serious again.
Its editors periodically engage in this selftherapy. They desperately want to be respectable. They want everyone in Washington to realize that down there in Florida at the home of the French Foreign Legion of American Journalism there's a stethoscope fixed on the pulse throb of lower and middle America.
 Tabloids are always searching out, as good

surfers do, an opportunistic ride on the promising waves of public opinion, and the Enquirer is an old hand at the surfing game. Its cover trumpeted "The Amazing Appeal of Jaws" and "The Amazing Appeal of Roots" a month after those topics suddenly became fashionable. This does not necessarily mean, however, that one should greet with a horselaugh the Enquirer's appointment of itself to "champion America's growing tax revolt" or its threat to run out of office all "fatcats and bloodsucking politicians." The Enquirer really believes that with a circulation approaching 6 million a week (71,910 in the Washington metropolitan area) and a reputation as tattletale for the American proletariat, it finally has accumulated enough political clout to hire and fire the pols at will. It may even be right.

"So get scared, Mr. Politician," warned an accompanying editorial in that July 11 issue, "CUT... CUT... CUT or we'll give your job to somebody else."

How ironical it is that many of these same politicians the Enquirer now threatens to fire are at least partly responsible for the success

the tabloid today enjoys.

n the beginning, the National Enquirer under publisher Gene Pope was a grave-yard of foul things. From 1952 until 1967, in a steadily increasing crescendo, the paper concentrated on hallucinatory doses of gore, aleaze and rabidly sensational fabrications.
The I CUT OUT HER HEART AND

STOMPED ON IT era saw readership spurt in one three-year period from 350,000 to nearly a million sales a week.

Gore had a large and enthusiastic following, but there are only a finite number of paychotics, vampires, collectors of accident photos and deranged people in the world. Since Gene Pope has always yearned to see his tab-loid sell 20 million a week worldwide (including Chinese language editions, in one version of his long-range dreams), a new approach had to be attempted. The Enquirer's destiny lay in the grocery cart of the American housewives.

The transformation of the paper into a squeaky-clean casserole of psychic predictions, romance, health and psychiatric advice did not noticeably alter its reputation. Ultimately Pope turned over \$600,000 yearly to a flamboyant publicist named Henry Dormann, who was best known at that time as founder of an organization he called the Library of Presidential Papers. Despite its name, however, and Dormann's successes in raising money for it, the New York-based library had no presi-

dential papers.

Although Dormann was viewed with scorn by some Johnson administration figures, he appeared to have a ready entree to other prominent Washington politicos. "He has a sense of theater about everything," said a onetime Enquirer board member, describing the way Dormann operates. "There aren't many guys that go around in white Panamas in the summer and homburgs in the winter, wear chesterfield coats and ride in papal limousines. He trades on people and professes to know everybody."

In 1969, Dormann phoned up his friend Hubert Humphrey, who was at that time out of office. Humphrey agreed to act as interme-diary between the Enquirer and the National Association of Food and Supermarket Chains. Through the association the tabloid hired food brokers and consultants. Working with the Nixon administration, Dormann arranged White House tours for visiting supermarket executives. At cocktail parties, administration officials and Washington movers-and-shakers put in appearances; the executives were duly impressed with Enquirer political connec-

"For the 1971 Supermarket Institute convention in Florida," recalls William Hall, then Enquirer marketing director, "Dormann got Hubert Humphrey, Sen. Bob Dole, Sen. Fritz Hollings and Sen. Charles Percy. How Dor-

mann did it, I don't know. There was an he rarium. He squired these guys around and the Enquirer hosted a luncheon for the four senators and invited all the supermarket retailers. many of whom were loath to go to anything the Enquirer sponsored. It was a big turning point. There was Jim Wille of Red Owl Stores (a major Upper Midwest supermarket chain). Being from Minneapolis, he knew Humphrey. Wille regarded the Enquirer as loathsome. But that day we made sure he got to ride in the limousine with Sen. Humphrey. We got into Red Owl stores shortly thereafter."

The most effective sales job was yet to come. "We were thinking of getting national advertising," Dormann related. "We needed something that would help the image of the Enquirer, So I was able to get Chet Huntley to narrate a film. We were able also to find a number of people to appear in the film who felt well about the Enquirer.

Here are some excerpts of the star-studded cast's remarks:

Sen. Mark Hatfield—"The growth in circu-lation of the National Enquirer as a national weekly newspaper points out the importance of maintaining free and accessible information over a wide range of subjects for the American citizen to be able to exercise his rights of citi-

zenship more adequately."

Rep. Shirley Chisholm—"The new National Enquirer's growth in circulation is a clear indication that the Enquirer has become very involved with the issues and problems of concern and interest to the American people today. It shows a clear attunement and sensitivity to many of the things that Americans are talking about and want to know more

Sen. Frank Church-"The emergence of the Enquirer as a provocative national publication is evidence of the changing tastes and attitudes in American life during the decade of

Sen. Barry Goldwater-"I like the new Enquirer. I read it regularly. It has established a reputation for fairness and it's read more and more here on the Hill because the people who read it know they're getting impartial reporting and very accurate reporting.

Jeane Dixon-"I feel that The National En-

Randy Fitzgerald, former Enquirer reporter. is co-author with Chris Torem of Give Me the Minds of Peasants, an as-yet-unpublished book about the National Enquirer.

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quirer is headed for even greater prominence than it now enjoys. I have a real good feeling about this paper. It has over 12 million readers . . . it appeals to readers who are alert and positive and who take a constructive approach to life."

Chet Huntley-"This day [the American housewife] spent more than \$100,000 on the National Enquirer. We don't know everything about this lady, but we can know this: What she did not spend at the supermarket today, she'll spend tomorrow, and we'll be there. We're hers and she's ours. The National Enquirer . . ." (a little jazz fade out).

ixon knew that the film was intended to promote the Enquirer, and she did occasionally receive fees from the tab-loid for services she rendered, although she stressed the money in every case was turned over to her Children-to-Children Foundation. But why would members of Congress lend their reputations to the promotion of a prod-uct then thought of as a scandalous aberration dredging the journalistic gutter? The answers are not clear. Dormann, who severed his ties with the Enquirer in 1976 and, most recently, began publishing Chief Executive magazine, a quarterly sent free to an exclusive clientele of world leaders, is purposefully vague: "I had known them for some years and from time to time, I would invite them to speak to various functions and they accepted and when I asked them to do this, I thought it was a good audi-

ence for them and I think they agreed."
Hatfield participated "because they were
shifting their image," said his press secretary.
"The Enquirer was becoming more investigative-oriented and with that understanding, and given his friendship with Henry Dormann, the senator was happy to help."

Church offered a similar explanation. "He

did not know precisely what the film was for, only that it was some kind of promotional," said Church's press secretary. "He did it as a

favor to Henry Dormann, an old friend." Said Chisholm: "They wanted a reaction to their new image. They were trying to appeal to consumers. I write many endorsements for authors of books and so forth, but I never go beyond that. I did not give my statement as a promotional for the Enquirer. I've known Henry Dormann for many years, even before I got into politics. He's a very outgoing man and makes the cocktail circuit."

Goldwater's longtime press secretary, Tony Smith, did not recall the senator's appearance Smith, du not recau the senator's appearance in the film. "It would be against our policy to do that for any publication." Several days later, after conferring with Goldwater, Smith elaborated: "He has absolutely no recollection of the film. I'm inclined to think he thought at the time he was doing it for the National Ob-server or National Review."

he Enquirer's romance with Washington is a love-hate relationship that dates back to 1952, the year Gene Pope resigned from the CIA's psychological warfare division and bought the paper for \$75,000. He left government, so he told an associate, "be-cause I got fed up with bureaucracy." There may also have been other reasons. "I don't know anybody who has a heartier contempt for politicians," said William Hall in explain-ing why Pope ridicules politicians even as he seeks to manipulate them. "Pope is an enigma. He is a contradiction."

Pope himself declined to be interviewed for his article, but the contradiction of which Hall spoke is mirrored each week in the En-quirer, which Pope likes to think is an extension of his personality. The tabloid more ads like a parody of itself. You're liable to find anything in there. They've either uncovered another new cure for cancer, solved the Kennedy and King assassinations once again, or communicated with the dead. They'll again, or communicated with the used. I ney is exploit both sides of any and everything. One week. VITAMIN A CAN PREVENT CANCER AND CURE IT. Then, a few months later, LARGE DOSES OF VITAMIN A CAUSE LIVER DAMAGE THAT COULD

Where else today can you find a mass-circulation publication carrying articles on why processed foods are better for you than nat-ural foods, how sugar is not bad for you, exercise is unnecessary, and ocean oil spills cause cise is unnecessary, and ocean on spins cause no harm? What other newspaper would fly into Washington five "amazing" psychics, as the Enquirer did, and station them across from the Russian embessy to intuit secrets? Where else would editors entertain the idea of dispatching five psychics to the Senate gallery to predict the fate of important legislation, or contemplate smuggling a psychological stress evaluator into White House press conferences so the press corps could yell "liar" in unison when the device detected forked-tongue answers? One enterprising reporter spent his caswers? One enterprising the Enquirer employees on assignment in Washington should wear flying-saucer beanies with whirlybird attachments on

top and National Enquirer embla zoned on the rim. At a starting salary of \$34,500 a year, the highest in all newspaper journalism, even the most serious-minded reporters for the En-

quirer are sufficiently bought to endure the frivolous and wildly absurd demands placed periodically on each of them. Three reporters work fulltime from a small office in the National Press Building. Others are sent up from Florida every week on special assignment. Rarely does one know what the other is doing; teams of reporters and editors compete for stories, resulting in confusion and duplication, but presumably a greater incentive to produce the scandal and titillating trivia on which the tabloid thrives. Dozens of free-lancers in the Washington area submit article ideas and stories to editors based in the home office. Since only one out of three completed stories is ever okayed by Gene Pope for publication (though pieces are usually paid for when accepted by an editor), and a freelancer can make \$300 to \$1,000 for just a few paragraphs, competition is stiff. So many requests from Enquirer re-porters and freelancers bombarded the Food and Drug Administration that FDA officials refused to cooperate until the tabloid began funneling queries through a channel of edi-

Gene Pope personally approves story ideas and without exception, every completed story before it gets into print. Usually four or five Washington stories appear in each issue. In that July 11 tax cut edition there were an unprecedented 15, five on the tax revolt and government spending, others attacking retired military "fatcata," a National Science Foundation study, government lawyers and one by Reston free-lancer Arline Brecher criticizing



Washington Post Magazine/August 6,



President Carter for appointing a lesbian to a national commission. That is the serious side of the tabloid. You're just as likely to see stories portraying public servants as the playmates of Enquirer reporters, together out for a stroll in a theater of the absurd.

nquirer Reporter Hoaxes Oil-Hungry Washington . . Phony Sheik Gets VIP Treatment From U.S. Senators," a recent headline gloated. An Australian free-lancer for the tabloid, former Toronto Star reporter Brian Hogan, wrote that he had posed as Sheik Ongha Biran, ruler of Halat Al-Bhudi, a fictitious oil-rich state on the Persian Guif, to gain entrance to four Senate offices where his interpreter told tall tales about the sheik's vast oil supply.

Sen. Henry Bellmon (R-Okla.), after bow-See. Heary Delimon (R. Okla.), after bow-ing, shaking hands and back-elapping with the shelk, asked about the location of Halat Al-Bhudi: "Is this one of the Trucial States?" "No," said the interpreter, Enquirer re-porter Patrick Wilkins, "it's independent. And

I'm sure that you'll want to stress that the U.S. has a very firm relationship with the Arab countries.

" Right," Bellmon snapped.

"I Reported for the National Enquirer"

he National Enquirer knocked on my door about six years ago when an edi-tor called from the Lantana, Fla., headquarters to ask if I'd write a 10-paragraph story for \$250. Plus \$75 for a photo.

The editor sounded breathless. Ron Caylor was his name, and he explained he was trying out for his job and would I please get the story in one day before he was fired for nonperformance?

So I interviewed a Washington lawyer who thought most mental hospital patients were institutionalized against their will. (One nice thing about writing for the Enquirer—you don't search out other points of view; each story makes a simple point with no debate.) A couple of weeks later I interviewed and photographed an FDA nutritionist who said the average American's diet obvisted the need for vitamin supplements. Then it was off to Harrisburg to learn the skinny on a toll-free complaint phone line Pennsylvania began for its residents.

Two of the three stories appeared, which is a good batting average in the scrappy world of Enquirer writers. Of course they were severely rewritten in the terse, certain style of the tabloid, and phony bylines were attached, since I had requested that my name not be used. The checks arrived, and my stock rose considerably in the eyes of my apartment building desk clerk (the only person I knew who read the tabloid) when I told her of my new free-lance job; I no longer had to deposit \$5 to borrow the spare key at the

The reporting may be mundane, the result may be homogenized and the pace may be rushed, but helping the Enquirer in its sprint for stories is a matter of bucks. Caylor let me know a mere story tip would result in a check. And the paper is no less aggressive now that it was in the early '70s. Recently an employee for one of Ralph Nader's web of

organizations was offered \$200 per usable story idea. I once appeared on Panorama with the Enquirer's gossip columnist. Dapper in a suit with a boutonniere, he described his fleet of legmen, corps of secretaries (one just to arrange his hectic international travel schedule). I reflected on the average reporter's back-up staff: children who answer the phone when Mommy or Daddy is covering

the county sewer hearings.

The name of my first Enquirer contact, Ron Caylor, has risen steadily on the news-paper's masthead, though not everyone prospers. Drawn by the high salary, one ex-Washington Star editor went southward and spent his two-week tryout frantically calling friends asking for story ideas; the first 100 he had submitted were rejected. And to suc ceed, an editor had to get those assignments cooking in the field, back into the house for editing and onto the printed page. My old -whose plaintive voice each time he phoned from Lantana depressed me-happily works in another city now, his recollec-tion of his weeks at the Enquirer resembling less a professional sojourn than, say, a bout with influenza.

I'll always remember Caylor's words after I'd proved myself under fire six years ago. He asked when I was going to get smart and double my salary by joining the Enquirer. I recalled the stories I'd heard of the publish-er's mercurial editorial vision. I thought of the formula stories about the occult, health and government, the pressure to outbid someone else for information. And I thought of the desperation in Caylor's voice the first time he phoned me. I decided I was a hun-

gry, young reporter, but not that hungry.
"You sure?" Caylor asked, before adding seductively: "Listen, let me tell you something. The mudfishing sure is great down here."

-Rudy Maxa

Bellmon did not learn of the hoax until the nquirer story appeared. "He thought it was Enquirer story appeared. "He thought it was ridiculous," commented Andrew Tevington,

ridiculous," commenced Andrew Levington, Bellmon's press secretary,

"The first dignitary to fall over himself trying to befriend the phony sheik," the tabloid reported, was Sen. James Abourezk (D -S.D.).

"I am of Arab heritage myself and I am very happy to greet the sheik," said Abourezk. But when he been chatting in fluent Arabic, the when he began chatting in fluent Arabic, the sheik and his interpreter quickly had to excuse themselves. Abourezk later refused to comment on the incident, but he is known to have been furious. Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D -Wis.) and Sen. John Danforth (R -Mo.) were also suckered into the hoax, bowing and hand-shaking with the Enquirer reporters. Danforth even took time to explain how the U.S. government works.

Thirty-year-old Jay Gourley undertook the assignment that several other freelancers couldn't stomach—going through the Russian embasey's garbage in search of scandal

"I wasn't stupid enough to think there was anything important in there," says the reporter who made headlines three years ago rummaging through Henry Kissinger's trash. "The Russians take their garbage seriously. And even if I found plans for a sneak attack on the United States, who would belie

anyway?"

He tried convincing the Enquirer that the story was a waste of time. They wouldn't listen. Someone at the tabloid, probably the publisher himself, wanted an inventory of Russian garbage, no matter what the cost. At \$150 a day plus expenses, Gourley wasn't too particular about whose eccentric curiosity he

as satisfying.

For seven days, eight to ten hours at a for seven days, eight to ten hours at a stretch, Gourley sat reading philosophy and formal logic in a borrowed white pickup parked illegally across from the embassy on 16th Street. Executive Protective Service guards periodically asked for his press creden-tials or told him to move backward or forward

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE ENQUIRER AS A PROVOCATIVE MATIONAL PUBLICATION IS EVIDENCE OF THE CHANGING TASTES AND ATTITUDES IN AMERICAN LIFE DURING THE DECADE OF THE SEVENTIES.



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State Department.

"You want to pay me for that tresh?" the sanitation worker stammered, when Gourley offered \$40 for the entire load. They transferred about a half-ton of muck to the pickup. "He was the happiest garbageman I'd ever seen," Gourley recalled.

With his girlfriend helping, Gourley sepa-

rated and catalogued the garbage on the RFK stadium parking lot. They found lots of empty vodka bottles, ashes and melted metal, cheap Russian consumer goods and about what you'd expect to find. Saving a few items so trivial he doesn't remember what they were, Gourley mailed the inventory to Enquirer headquarters. The story never ran.

THE NEW NATIONAL ENQUIRER'S GROWTH IN CIRCULATION IS A CLEAR INDICATION THAT THE ENQUIRER HAS BECOME VERY INVOLVED WITH THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS OF CONCERN AND INTEREST TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TODAY.



Ren Shirley Chisholm

More recently, Gourley picked up four or five begs of garbage from the homes of presi-dential aides Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell. He pieced together several suspi-ciously shredded letters but found nothing of consequence. "They aren't very interesting people," he concluded.

When the Enquirer assigned me to test Bi-When the Enquirer assigned me to test En-centennial security precautions by planting imitation dynamite throughout the Capitol building, I can't remember being particularly concerned over the implications. One Senate photographer, paid by the tabloid to record this madness, did back out at the last moment, afraid his reputation would be ruined. I spent three days scurrying along Capitol corridors, hiding 10-inch sticks of peppermint in air ducts, cigarette cans, elevators and under the seats of Senate subway cars, trying all the THE GROWTH IN CIRCULATION OF THE NATIONAL ENQUIRER AS A NATIONAL WEEKLY NEWSPAPER POINTS OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING FREE AND ACCESSIBLE INFORMATION OVER A WIDE RANGE OF SUBJECTS FOR THE AMERICAN CITIZEN TO BE ABLE TO EXERCISE HIS RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP MORE ADEQUATELY.



Sen. Mark Hatfield

while to act and look suspicious. No one paid much attention. By the third day, only 11 of the 42 sticks of dangerous peppermint had been discovered by Capitol police

Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D-Calif.), favor to his friend and my editor E. G. Martin, accompanied me when I retrieved the peppermint. As I pulled 10 sticks of candy from behind a chair outside the Senate Foreign Rela-tions hearing room for the benefit of an Enquirer photographer, Van Deerlin played along according to script: "My God," he exclaimed, "this is incredible. I'm shocked and amazed." The completed story never ran be-cause Gene Pope feared someone in the Enquirer's "wonderful family of readers" might attempt to reenact the stunt with real explo-

Sen. Edward Kennedy, on the other hand, is one on Capitol Hill for whom the Enquirer is no laughing matter. "The Enquirer would call us with startling regularity," Dick Drayne, Kennedy's former press secretary. For several weeks Enquirer reporter Leon Wagener fol-lowed Kennedy around with a radar gun in an attempt to catch him speeding, apparently in-tending to make some remote connection to Chappaquiddick. A woman reporter assigned to help begged off because the radar gun "looked like a high-powered rifle and I wasn't about to stick that out of a car at a Kennedy."

key component of the Enquirer opera-A tion is the band of news "sources" that the tabloid's reporters and editors refer to affectionately as the "trained seals"—physicians, psychiatrists and politicians who will say whatever the Enquirer asks them to say whenever they are queried. "You described some report or project for them," said one Enquirer reporter Walter Gordon, "this report they have never read; they would spend 10 minutes criticizing it, saying whatever you wanted them to say."

Perhaps 20 or more members of Congress fall into this category. You can see their

names regularly in stories that sputter on about "fat-cat federal bureaucrats [who] are up to their old tricks." These politicians are portrayed as "fuming" and "outraged" and "disgusted." They call for investigations and romise reform. They praise the Enquirer for preaching fiscal sanity, for being the voice of the taxpayer-protest movement. They thank the Enquirer for telling 6 million readers every week, Here is a politician you can trust.

Five months as an Enquirer reporter afforded me the opportunity to learn all the tricks of

IF A PUBLICATION GENERATES MAIL IN MY OFFICE, THEY HAVE POWER.



Sen. Charles McC. Mathias

the trained seal trade. If someone proved the trained seal trade. If someone proved stubborn or uncooperative, we were told to pry answers from them by using the interro-gating technique of "Don't you believe . . ." or "Surely you won't deny . ." Then if the victim answers a simple yes or no, the reporter quotes them as having said, "Yes, I believe . ." and "I can't deny . ." always adding, of course, that the source was "shocked" or "outraged." I negotiated for quotes with staff assistants to Ren. John Murohv (D.-N.Y) and assistants to Rep. John Murphy (D-N.Y.) and Rep. Robert Bauman (R-Md.). They never complained when I attributed quotes to them that I or an Enquirer editor had concocted in a moment of feverish inspiration.
"We cooperated with The Enquirer nat-

urally because of its circulation," said Alan Bock, former press secretary to Bauman. "The Enquirer always came to us with predone quotes. They were seeking maximum indignation. But I always felt ambivalent about dealing with them. While they were the only national publication going after government waste, it was usually such piddly stuff. They sensationalized it and failed to put it in per-

spective." The consensus of Enquirer staffers is that the Enquirer's most dependable friends in Congress are Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) and Rep. Mario Biaggi (D-N.Y.).

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money to give it away," stormed an "outraged" Mc-Donald in a recent issue, criticizing a tour by Chinese technicians of a U.S. oil facility. McDonald's employees say they "deal with the En-quirer all the time," but beyond that they declined to discuss their relationship with the tabloid.

"Sen. Proxmire is practi-cally a staffer," Enquirer publisher Gene Pope told an interviewer in 1971. An aide to Proxmire confirmed that his office deals with the tabloid so frequently that En-quirer free-lancer William Barnhill has been designated their liaison.

Biaggi's connection with Pope and the tabloid goes even further back, by Biag-gi's recollection to 1949, when as a police officer in New York he dealt with the Generoso Pope Foundation over grants to the Police Be-nevolent Association.

tirring mail from its "ever-growing family of readers" is one technique the Enquirer uses to exercise whatever power circulation alone affords. In 1972, when the tabloid published an appeal for readers to write in surport of readers to write in support of a constitutional amendment expelling chronically absent members of Congress, more than 20,000 responded. Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) took to the Senate floor and praised the Enquirer as "a credit to the Fourth Estate."

"If a publication generates mail in my office," says Maryland Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, "they have power."

Enquirer readers don't seem to mind that their favorite tabloid contradicts it-self every week. You're never certain what to believe. For instance, the newspaper vehemently attacks and ridi-cules government freebies free cookbooks, flags, films, etc. distributed by members of Congress and the various federal agencies—yet publishes stories periodically encouraging readers to "take advantage of little-known freebies available from the government."

aving a copy of the Enquirer, Rep. Robert Badham (R-Calif.) one day last year directed the attention of his House Administration Committee colleagues to that

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Washington Post Mogazine/August 6, 1978 The



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week's front page headline: Exclusive New Evidence: Lee Harvey Oswald Did Not Kill JFK."

"Here's all the secret nonsense that we had yester-day," said Badham scorn-fully, referring to informa-tion in a House Assassina-tion Committee report, April 30, 1977, used to justify fur-ther funding of the JFK investigation.

Badham complained that the Enquirer article con-tained "the same type of unsubstantiated rumors" as the

in learning and personal growth that can last a lifetime.

Montessori-

For

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assassination report. He proposed that instead of money, members of the Assassinations Committee be given subscriptions to the Enquirer. The motion died for lack of a second.

Two weeks later, at checkout counters in every major grocery store chain, millions of readers learned how the "Enquirer's New JFK Assassination Evidence Is As Good As Anything The Govern-ment Has," Badham's sarcastic remarks had been cleverly twisted to make it appear he was praising rather than ridiculing the nation's most widely read spaper.

Self-promotion is an in-tegral function of editorial policy at the Enquirer. Manipulating the news appears to be the logical extension of Gene Pope's philosophy that any publicity, no matter how disparaging, will serve to benefit the tabloid's quest

When Enquirer free-lancer Jay Gourley confiscated Henry Kissinger's garbage one hot July night in 1975, the resulting firestorm of media attention was manipu-

lated to make Kissinger, rather than the Enquirer, the butt of a national joke. "Are there any senators you can talk to?" articles editor E. G. Martin, formerly of Copley News Service, asked two of his reporters one morning the week after Gourley's trash foray. Martin's face had the waxy pallor of a man who had spent the night locked in a closet with a horde of rats. His reporters rattled off the names of their favorite trained seals.

"Good. Now drop every-thing you're doing and call them up. See if they will say the Enquirer did a public service in exposing the secu-rity leak in Kissinger's gar-

bage!"
There was a moment of stunned silence. The "secu-rity leak" consisted of a few dozen routine Secret Service working papers wadded up amidst the empty cans of Ca-dillac dog food, two un-opened jars of Mott apple-sauce, Nancy Kissinger's mascara-ameared tissue, and assorted periahable goo. Nothing even remotely spec-tacular had been found.

With dubious enthusiasm, Chris Torem and I divided up the senators. We initially had pinned our hopes on colorful senators like Roman Hruaka of Nebraska (the defender of mediocrity on the Supreme Court) and William Scott of Virginia (who once called a press conference to deny published reports he the "dumbest senator"). But even these two refused to be associated with gar-bage. Finally, after surprisingly little coaxing, the late Sen. Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) and Sen. Jennings Randolph (D-W.Va.) volunteered statements to Torem condemning Kissinger for having left his trash on a public sidewalk.



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Said Randolph: "An unusual approach [like going through garbage] to something like this can lead to some wellreasoned thinking."

President Gerald Ford found himself suckered into promoting the Enquirer with alarming regularity. On one occasion a photographer caught him in an unguarded moment and thrust a copy of the Enquirer into his hands. As Ford cautiously opened it, the photographer snapped a shot that ran a few weeks later with the headline, "President and Mrs. Gerald Ford belong to the Enquir-er's wonderful, ever-growing family of readers."

Two months later, in August 1975, the Enquirer dumped at the White House gate 23 cartons of letters weighing more than 600 pounds from readers demanding that Ford take action to halt the breeding of pedigreed dogs for profit. Those that did not meet pedigree standards, so the tabloid alleged, were left to die. The Enquirer promised its readers that Ford would per-sonally receive their letters and 65,000 responded. "It was nothing but an Enquirer was nothing but an Enquirer publicity stunt," says Bill Cole, the reporter who deliv-ered the letters. "There was no way I could get all those letters through White House security So I put them out in security. So I put them out in my backyard and burned them."

The final break in rela-tions between Ford and the Enquirer occurred when presidential press secretary Ron Nessen refused to allow a dog named Lucky, the Enquirer's mascot, to play on the White House lawn with Ford's dogs. "We won't lend ourselves to this kind of gimmick," Nessen told reporter Phil Garlington. Six weeks later Lucky got revenge when the Enquirer pub-lished: "3 Leading Psychiarista Agree . . President Ford Is Accident Prone Be-cause He Feels Guilty About His Job." (Lucky regained his luck in the Carter administration. Through the assistance of the First Lady's press office, Lucky posed on the White House lawn with Amy Carter's spaniel Grits, a pose duly recorded in the National Enquirer.)

During the 1976 presidential campaign, based in part on the Georgian's professed belief in flying saucers, the Enquirer threw its support

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behind Jimmy Carter. It wasn't a direct editorial endorsement. Gene Pope pre-fers to disguise his opinions as the tabloid's usual exotic pablum.

"It was made clear to us." recalled Inette Miller-Conte, a former Time corresponda former Time correspond-ent then part of the Enquirer Washington bureau, "noth-ing unfavorable about Jimmy Carter was going to be published in the Enquirer."

On April 13, 1976, more than two entire pages were devoted to six stories about Carter, including an analysis of his handwriting, three "top psychiatrists" explain-ing "The Secret of His Astonishing Appeal," and a "truth detector" test that re-vealed Carter as "The Honest Man Who'll Never Lie to the American Public." One week later appeared: "Gov. Carter's Wife: Jimmy and I Lived In a Haunted House for Five Years."

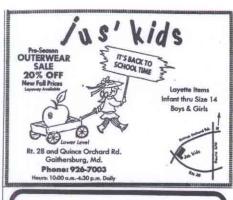
On June 8, 1976, the paper's cover announced in one-inch tall letters; JIMMY cons-men tail extern: JIMMY
CARTER: THE NIGHT I
SAW A UFO . . . If Elected
I'll Make All the Govt's UFO
Information Public." Says
the future president: "I am
convinced that UFO's exist

because I've seen one."
Once his nomination was secured, Enquirer editors began portraying Carter as the only human being capa-ble of putting the fear of God in the Russians. Aug. 3, for example: "Why Soviet Lead-ers Are Terrified of Jimmy Carter Becoming President." ers are Terrihed of Jimmy Carter Becoming President." Sept. 21: "Russians Keep Trying to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections—Now They Want Ford to Win." No mention of any consequence was ever made of Gerald Ford during the cam-psign except to imply that he had the support of the Kremlin.

Rremin.

But the Enquirer, as one might expect, has turned on the president it helped put in office. Apparently Jimmy Carter has reneged on his promise to make public all the information on UFOs the information on UFOs, contained in U.S. government files. "Carter Broke His Promise on UFOs," moaned a May 27 (1978) headline.

headline.
Fumed an indignant Rep. Fumed an indignant Rep. Biaggi: "The U.S. government is engaged in an outer-space Watergate of mind-boggling proportions."





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