

***The Advocates: a retrospective on an important—  
and still relevant—innovation in public affairs television***

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For the reader's convenience, in an appendix at the end of this article are provided the following lists of *Advocates* episodes, including links to those on the WGBH Open Vault:

- A. A list of topics from the first season of *The Advocates* (with key words in **bold** print).
- B. A list of *The Advocates* episodes on the WGBH Open Vault with links to specific shows.

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C. A list of all *The Advocates* episodes from 1969-1984.

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### **1. Introduction to *The Advocates* and its creator, Professor Roger Fisher.**

In 1969, a year after graduating from Harvard Law School, I was asked to appear on a new public television show to argue one side of an important public question. I undertook this responsibility for thirteen episodes during its first season, returning to the show one more time in 1979. The show, which earned both the Peabody Award and four Emmys, was called *The Advocates*. It grew out of the belief by Harvard Law School Professor Roger Fisher that television could help illuminate important issues in public affairs by using the adversary format of a trial, and its capacity for individual advocacy – including witness examination and cross-examination – in the court of public opinion of viewers at home.

I have been invited by the Mellon Project at WGBH, and also the Harvard Negotiation Law Review, to provide some background on the show. In that work, I have drawn on my own memories, as well as from some of the documentary history which is available from Roger Fisher's personal files in the Historical and Special Collections at the Harvard Law School Library, and materials provided by WGBH.

Thanks to technical assistance from WGBH and Allison Pikel, Coordinator for the Mellon Project, I have also been able to excerpt some short clips from several *Advocates* episodes from 1970, 1971, and 1979. These clips help illustrate some aspects of my own experience, as well as Roger Fisher's skill at advocacy and explanation, and some of the changes in the show that took place over the ten years it was broadcast throughout the country.

Complementing these clips is the Open Vault inventory of *Advocates* episodes, a full list of

which is provided in an appendix to this article, described in a footnote below.<sup>2</sup> The note includes a link to the Open Vault, as well as a list of other important resources for those interested in learning more about the show. The episodes on the Open Vault date primarily from the later years of the program, but a few were recorded during the first season when I was with the show. The Open Vault episodes have an unusual feature in that a viewer can read the transcript and click on a link which, after some time for loading, will take the viewer to that portion of the video from that show.

In the article itself, as noted above, you will find excerpts from episodes of the show which are available on the Open Vault, and these clips will help illustrate points that are made in the article. In the box below are instructions on how to view the clips and return to the article.

**How to view clips found in this article and then come back to it**

When you click on a link in the article, which is underlined, you will go to the web page for the episode involved. Depending on your computer, you may need to move down the page to

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<sup>2</sup> A table of *Advocates* episodes on the Open Vault is provided separately in the Appendix, but here is a link to *The Advocates* portion of the Open Vault itself:

[http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog?f\[pbcore\\_pbcoreTitle\\_series\\_s\]\[\]=Advocates](http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog?f[pbcore_pbcoreTitle_series_s][]=Advocates).

Also, in addition to those materials available in the Historical and Special Collections of the Harvard Law School Library from Roger Fisher's personal papers, the Vanderbilt University Special Collections and University Archives has an extensive collection of documents related to *The Advocates*, including transcripts of a number of its shows. (A list of the collection is available at:

<http://www.library.vanderbilt.edu/speccol/findingaids/advocates.pdf>.)

While out of print, John D. May compiled and edited a number of transcripts from *The Advocates* into a book, AMERICAN PROBLEMS: WHAT SHOULD BE DONE? DEBATES FROM "THE ADVOCATES" (1973). In the book are transcripts edited by Mr. May for clarity on such topics as congressional seniority, public financing of political campaigns, preventative detention, and nuclear power, among others. Here is a link to the book on the Vanderbilt library:

[http://discoverlibrary.vanderbilt.edu/primo\\_library/libweb/action/dIDisplay.do?docId=vanunicorn417580&institution=VAN&bulkSize=1&dym=true&highlight=true&lang=eng](http://discoverlibrary.vanderbilt.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/dIDisplay.do?docId=vanunicorn417580&institution=VAN&bulkSize=1&dym=true&highlight=true&lang=eng).

When *The Advocates* was finishing its fourth, and what then appeared to be its final season, because of funding problems for public television that were unrelated to the show itself, WGBH published a retrospective about the show entitled THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES (1973), provided to me by WGBH. Finally, in a separate file are listed these and other resources about Professor Fisher and the author.

see the image which will now have some movement. Please remember that each clip may take a few seconds to load before it brings you to the correct spot in the video. Because the technology is advanced enough to take you to a specific point in an episode, but not yet advanced enough to take you back, at each point in the article you will find a note in a different type font telling you when to stop the clip (ex: “You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 1.23”). You are of course free to continue watching beyond the suggested ending of the clip, but you will be provided with these signposts throughout the article to help you decide what to watch and for how long. The way will find the time code is to put your cursor over the bottom of the video image and the timeline will appear showing the elapsed time. Then to return to the article, simply click-out of your web browser. (For a Windows machine (PC), click the ‘X’ box in the top right corner of your internet browser to exit the weblink containing the video, and click on the Adobe PDF reader on the bottom toolbar to return to the article. For an Apple/Mac, exit the internet browser in a similar way, clicking the red button in the top left corner, and then clicking on the Adobe PDF reader on the toolbar, which is typically found at the bottom of the screen.)

Also, in an appendix to this article there is a list of the first season’s shows, as well as a list of all the episodes of which current records exist. Many of these episodes are not yet available on the Open Vault, but may be in the future if funding proves available.

I hope that new viewers of these episodes might find that while *The Advocates* is no longer telecast, many of the shows will still provide food for thought, just as they did for viewers over forty years ago. While some of the issues debated on *The Advocates* are now decided, others are still very much with us today.

But first, before more of the story, here is how the Vanderbilt Library, which has a collection of hard copy materials about *The Advocates*, describes the show:

“*The Advocates* was a public television network presentation of KCET, Los Angeles and WGBH, Boston made possible by grants from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Ford Foundation. The purpose of the series was to stimulate public participation, and understanding, by focusing on realistic choices that must be made in the future, by having both sides of the question presented, and by demonstrating the interest which public officials have in both reasoned arguments and the views of their constituents. Having a one hour time slot, the program topics varied depending on current news and concerns of the public. The program ran from October 5, 1969 through May 23, 1974; then again bi-weekly from January 26, 1978, through September 9, 1979.”

What follows is an attempt to fill in more of the background and details of the show.

## **2. How did *The Advocates* get started?**

Roger had earlier been critical of television, particularly public television, as not doing an adequate job of helping inform the public. He was quoted as saying: “Most media are abysmal in that they talk about all aspects of a problem such as old age or drugs, but do not organize the choice for anybody. It’s important to say ‘Here is a choice.’ ”<sup>3</sup> More specifically, Roger was quoted as saying that:

“The general effect of TV discussion shows is boring, and even worse, depressing – for the format convinces people that they can have no influence on current affairs. Viewers hear all about something when it is too late to do anything about it. I suggested that

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<sup>3</sup>*Id.*

instead of looking back, we look forward – at something specific that offers an operational choice for an elected official.”<sup>4</sup>

Roger’s solution was to translate a trial format to television in order to provide that choice, framed around what he liked to call a “decidable question.” *The Advocates*, however, had a prequel in the spring of 1969, when Boston’s public television station, WGBH, aired six programs with arguments presented for both sides of local issues, entitled “*It’s Up to You...*” with the name of the specific decision-maker involved in each episode inserted into the title, usually a government official. For example, one show involved advocates and witnesses making a case before a key legislator who was deciding about the creation of a Housing Court for the City of Boston, while another involved a debate before a Massachusetts congressman who was considering a bill to provide elderly citizens with a minimum income.<sup>5</sup>

It is unclear how “*It’s Up to You...*” came to be, but it had the earmarks of Roger’s thinking. This was evident as WGBH built on that foundation to air a five-hour program involving various members of the Harvard University community which was moderated by Roger. Notably, this conversation appeared to have brought about a change in Harvard policies and an end to a Vietnam-era student strike at the University.<sup>6</sup>

“*It’s Up to You...*” apparently sparked the idea for a more ambitious program, ultimately named *The Advocates*. Who was the individual responsible for the idea of proposing a grant request to the Ford Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for *The Advocates*?

It is not clear from Roger’s papers, but Roger noted that the Ford Foundation was looking for a

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<sup>4</sup> Peggy Hudson, *So You Want to Be a TV Decision-Maker?* SENIOR SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINE, Jan. 5, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 14).

<sup>5</sup>Letter from Michael Rice, Director of Television Programming, WGBH TV, to Archibald L. Gillies (May 2, 1969) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 4). My memory is that there was also another show on British television which was shown at WGBH as a source of ideas.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

replacement for the *Public Broadcasting Laboratory*, and when the grant was made, he wrote that he had not been involved but was drafted for the show.<sup>7</sup> At the time, the Ford Foundation made a grant of \$3.35 million to WGBH and its Los Angeles counterpart, KCET, to provide funding for the new show,<sup>8</sup> which first aired on October 5, 1969 on National Educational Television's (the ancestor of the Public Broadcasting System, or PBS) 180 affiliated stations.<sup>9</sup>

The project was daunting: to produce an hour-long live show at ten o'clock on Sunday night EST, every week for a full season of television, including choosing a topic, and putting it into the particular trial type format of *The Advocates*. A particular challenge was that television required content that would take precisely sixty minutes to air, and at this time, before videotaping made it possible to edit a show to fit the broadcast time slot, one had to shape the show on-air in order to fill the allotted time and no more.

In a memorandum to those involved in leading WGBH and KCET, Roger described the objective of *The Advocates*:

“The original purpose of the series was to deal with public affairs in a way which would not only inform but would also make it somewhat more likely that each viewer would be willing and able to apply his talents to the solution of public problems – that he would consider public affairs as his affair. The objective was to use public television in a way which would tend to increase involvement and participation, and in particular, to instill a

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<sup>7</sup> Carole J. Uhlener, *Fisher to Edit T.V. Show On Public Policy Affairs*, HARVARD CRIMSON, Sep. 29, 1969 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 14).

<sup>8</sup> ‘*The Advocates*,’ NEWSWEEK, Oct. 20, 1969 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 4).

<sup>9</sup> Peggy Hudson, *So You Want to Be a TV Decision-Maker?*, SENIOR SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINE, Jan. 5, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 14).

way of looking at problems from the point of view of what can be done and what we can do about it.”<sup>10</sup>

How did Roger try to fulfill that objective? He chose a combination of the courtroom and the law school classroom.

### **3. Translating the courtroom and the classroom into television.**

The courtroom format is, at least in theory, designed to allow truth to emerge through a process of advocacy, where a proposition has to be proved to the satisfaction of an impartial jury to be true “beyond a reasonable doubt” in a criminal case, and at least “more probable than not” in a civil trial. A trained attorney presents evidence through witnesses, who are then subjected to cross-examination to reveal weak points in their memory, credibility, or evidence, or sometimes to rebuttal from witnesses who present an alternative point of view. The trial is supervised by a judge to keep order and rule on whether the evidence offered is admissible or not.

The challenge for the first year of the show was how to adapt that format to television. Trials can take days or weeks—never precisely an hour. The cases and witnesses take even longer to prepare, and worst of all, they’re often unexciting to hear or observe. The idea was to illuminate issues for the viewing citizen while not complicating them, which can sometimes occur in a trial with significant expert testimony, especially when scientific issues come into play. On the other hand, appellate argument is highly focused. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court usually allows only a half hour per side for oral argument. Roger brought his experience with these types of litigation to his work on *The Advocates*, as he had previously served as an

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<sup>10</sup>Memorandum from Roger Fisher, Exec. Editor, *The Advocates*, to James Loper and Hartford Gunn (Jan. 18, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 141, Folder 36).



assistant to the U.S. Solicitor General, a role where Roger argued and won a number of cases before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The other foundation for the Advocates was the law school classroom. Unlike a trial or appellate argument, where the issue was more about what happened rather than what should happen, the law school classroom allows time to shape and then answer the interesting questions that might not have been directly involved in the legal decisions that law students are asked to read. Roger brought his experience as a classroom teacher at Harvard Law School to bear as well.

*The Advocates* therefore needed good questions, as well as a good format and topics that would lend themselves to trial-like discussion, rather than a classical debate, and questions about what should happen, rather than what did happen. Instead of having debaters argue one side or another of a proposition alone, *The Advocates* involved using informed witnesses who could testify about an issue from their own perspectives (with some shaping of their arguments by the attorney advocate since testimony time was at a premium). The judge would not rule on issues of law or evidence, but instead would become a moderator, to provide background, keep order, and – important to television – keep time.

The first season of *The Advocates* hired east and west coast advocates who would present the case every two weeks, alternating between Boston and Los Angeles. Joseph Oteri (a Boston trial lawyer) and I were the Boston advocates. Howard Miller, a University of Southern California Law Professor, and Max Greenbaum, a Los Angeles trial lawyer, were the Los Angeles advocates. During the first season, each show had to be put together largely in the less than fourteen days between episodes on the respective coast, though the topics and witnesses might be chosen more in advance. The original idea was to have a four-segment format, giving

each advocate time to discuss each positive and negative side of a choice. That was soon replaced with a three-segment format, involving a presentation by the proponent and the opponent, followed by rebuttal.<sup>11</sup> As it turned out, the format that seemed to work best was to have two witnesses per side, or at most three, with a moderator who not only acted as a referee but also as a source of background information.

*The Advocates* also provided a preview of some of Roger's later career. Many who read this article may recall that Roger went on from his work on *The Advocates* to found the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, and to author or co-author many of the best-known and most highly regarded works in the canon of dispute resolution, beginning with *Getting To Yes*, with William Ury and Bruce Patton,<sup>12</sup> and concluding with *Beyond Reason*,<sup>13</sup> with Dr. Daniel Shapiro. Many of those ideas that Roger wrote and taught about, however, had early previews in some of his thinking while shaping *The Advocates*. For example, he argued that in a negotiation, it was important to provide the other side with something they did not have to work for in order to achieve, but could simply agree with. Roger called this idea a "yesable proposition." I remember his saying that trial lawyers did not expect a judge to frame a decree if they won, but often would frame it for the judge to consider – and hopefully, adopt – as his or her own. In negotiation, however, Roger used to say that the judge was on the other side of the table, instead of on the bench. Here, in *The Advocates*, the ultimate judge was not the moderator but the viewer at home.

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<sup>11</sup>Memorandum from Roger Fisher, Exec. Editor, *The Advocates*, to James Loper and Hartford Gunn (Jan. 18, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 141, Folder 36).

<sup>12</sup>ROGER FISHER, WILLIAM L. URY, & BRUCE PATTON, *GETTING TO YES: NEGOTIATING AGREEMENT WITHOUT GIVING IN* (1981).

<sup>13</sup>ROGER FISHER & DANIEL SHAPIRO, *BEYOND REASON* (2005).

#### **4. Working as an advocate on the show.**

The shape of the show was still being formed in the summer of 1969, when I was a first year associate at the Boston law firm of Hill & Barlow. I got a call from a former student of Roger's, inviting me to come and talk about television with Roger. That conversation ultimately led to me being asked to try out as an advocate for the first season. Roger agreed to serve as the show's first Executive Editor, taking a leave of absence from his teaching at Harvard Law School. Even though I graduated from Harvard Law School, I had not met Roger before.

Roger asked me to participate in a videotaped audition by arguing about whether building a supersonic transport was worth it. Because I was so nervous, I sat down and used a paper airplane to illustrate a point about aerodynamics. I was later told that my audition tape and those of a number of other prospective advocates were shown to guests at an Arizona ranch where the show's Executive Producer, Greg Harney, was on vacation. They decided that I would be a good counterpart for the able and colorful Joseph Oteri, and we did a pilot show on whether to ban the pesticide DDT. I recall one moment during the taping, when Joe swatted an imaginary fly on the set to make a point, I was then able to point out that he had "used a non-chemical pesticide."

Because I was a new lawyer without the years of experience of my three advocate counterparts, Roger asked me to work as both an advocate and a full-time member of *The Advocates* staff. This required me to take a leave of absence from my law firm, to which the firm agreed. I was therefore involved during much of the first season of the show when its foundation was being laid. We dealt with such issues as building the supersonic transport (this time for real), welfare reform, no-fault divorce, prepaid medical practice, and gambling on professional football, among others. Three of these shows from the first season – indeed, the only ones from 1969-70 – now appear on the Open Vault: one on our Cuba policy; another on expelling

disruptive college students; and my final show for that season, on whether to provide methadone maintenance to heroin addicts.<sup>14</sup>

It was a challenging but heady time. I was teamed with Peter McGhee, an experienced producer who ultimately succeeded Roger as Executive Editor, and Molly Teicholz, herself a young lawyer who later became an associate law school dean, though she tragically died in the prime of her career.

In working on an upcoming show, our team had to learn, prepare, and clarify the arguments about an important public issue and find witnesses who could expound them on a two-week show cycle, all before email or the internet. This process often involved initial telephone calls where we first tried to find knowledgeable people, used their introductions to meet others they knew, and then – once we had an idea of the facts, issues, and arguments – trying to persuade witnesses to come and appear, even if only for a few minutes.

We then had to decide how to present the case for or against the question involved, all in about twenty-two minutes a side, including an opening argument, direct witness examination, cross-examination, and a closing argument. This advocacy involved no rehearsal or script, though I often found it helpful to write out what I wanted to say. (This practice was helpful for clarity but not so much for spontaneity.) Typically, this framework meant four minutes for direct examination, five minutes for cross-examination, one to two minutes for an opening, and a minute or even less for closing argument.

## **5. Choosing topics to debate as decidable questions.**

In the early days, choosing the topics was key, and some idea of the ambitious range of issues can be seen in the list of topics from the first year alone in an appendix to this article.

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<sup>14</sup> <http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/6c668d-should-your-city-provide-methadone-to-heroin-addicts>

Roger insisted that it was not enough to debate public policy. While some choices depended primarily on questions of technical fact or administrative expertise, Roger as Executive Editor sought decisions in which the public also ought to play a role in the decision process. Roger believed the show could promote citizen involvement in public affairs by encouraging them to be participants and not just spectators.

Echoing the prior show, “*It’s Up to You...*”, Roger wanted the debate to be framed around what he called a “decidable question,” an operational choice where someone with a real decision to make might be informed and even affected by the argument while the citizen audience played the same role in their own minds. “The most difficult thing about solving a problem is to formulate the issue,” Roger is quoted as saying.<sup>15</sup> The question he always asked was: “What shall we do? That question engages the viewer. It gives him something to do besides wringing his hands in guilt and frustration.”<sup>16</sup>

Roger also believed that the topics to be debated should include what he called “an important trouble.” He wanted the show to address major concerns faced by the United States such as poverty, crime, ineffective state and local government, war, racial conflict, etc., rather than topical issues – presumably less critical to the function of democracy – such as nudity in the theater, the use of four letter words, and sex education or prayer in public schools. (He relented on that when we did one show, now unavailable, on whether or not we should stop giving Christmas presents.)

But, like any TV show, *The Advocates* sought to gain viewers and present issues of interest to them. Roger felt that some important topics, like the allocation of jurisdiction among

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<sup>15</sup>Joyce Gabriel, *Meet Roger Fisher: Out of the Ivory Tower, Into the Living Room*, TV SCOUT, Jun. 16, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 4).

<sup>16</sup> Clarence Petersen, *The Advocates: Perry Mason with ‘Decidable Issues,’* CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Oct. 4, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

committees, or the size of a state legislature, have little emotional excitement. Others, like busing students to integrate public schools or taxation of all church property, spark immediate emotional reaction. The challenge was to find the right topics for the show and the right way to frame the questions. While brainstorming subjects, Roger wanted to create “a barrel full of excellent topics so that we skim only the few best ideas off the top of the barrel.”<sup>17</sup> Roger and the producers would start off with a larger topic such as “allocation of resources to the military” before narrowing in on a more specific question like “should the United States Defense budget be cut to \$50 billion?”

Roger also believed that topics should have a sense of immediacy and reality. In 1970, he wrote that: “issues to be decided [years later] ... are less desirable for our purposes than issues to be decided next month.”<sup>18</sup> Questions that would in fact be decided consciously by real political leaders were preferable to those that appeared hypothetical. “The key to solving problems,” Fisher said, “is to look out the front of the bus, not the back. In other words, one shouldn’t dwell on what caused the trouble, but on trying to find a solution to the existing problem.”<sup>19</sup>

When thinking about what topics to cover, he offered the following summary: “Each topic we pick must have four qualifications ... Is it a major problem? Is there somebody who can make a difference—who can listen to both sides and make a decision? Is it a decidable issue? Is it good TV?”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Roger Fisher, “The Advocates: Reports and Papers for New York Meeting” (Jan. 20, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 141, Folder 36).

<sup>18</sup>*Id.*

<sup>19</sup>Fisher quoted in: Joyce Gabriel, *Meet Roger Fisher: Out of the Ivory Tower, Into the Living Room*, TV SCOUT, Jun. 16, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 4).

<sup>20</sup>Peggy Hudson, *So You Want to Be a TV Decision-Maker?*, SENIOR SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINE, Jan. 5, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 14).

Here is a [clip](#) of Roger describing that set of ideas while acting as moderator on the show concerning our Cuba Policy. (Please remember to allow a few seconds for the video to load to the proper spot. You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 1.18.)<sup>21</sup>

## **6. Involving a decision-maker.**

For the show to be truly effective, though, the issue at hand would not just be one for the citizen but, ideally, be presented to a real person “who can make a difference.” Roger believed that a bigger impact would be made if the show could identify one particular individual from among those in power who was most able to do something about the “important trouble.” He believed the show shouldn’t “spend time explaining how big the problem is or how difficult it is to solve ... Instead, identify who is in a good position to do something about it and set out a specific, detached proposal of what he ought to do next.”<sup>22</sup>

For example, one of the early shows available on the WGBH website, in which I was involved, invited Boston Mayor Kevin White to hear the arguments on whether or not, as Mayor, he should support a methadone maintenance program for heroin addicts.

In this [clip](#), you will see the advocates and moderator introduced. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 0.42.)

As the “man with a choice,” Mayor White was involved in the process, and was able to ask questions of the witnesses. Here is one [example](#). (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 40.12.)

Notwithstanding the importance of the decision-maker in the early versions of *The Advocates*, the idea of having a decision-maker was ultimately abandoned in the second season

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<sup>21</sup> Instructions for viewing clips are found in the box on page 3 of this article.

<sup>22</sup> Gary Rubin, *Fisher: A New Breed of TV Lawman*, HARVARD LAW RECORD, February 15, 1972 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

of the show, for reasons not clear from the record, except for references in some of Roger's papers that good "decision-makers" were hard to find.<sup>23</sup>

For comparison, here is a [similar opening](#) for *The Advocates* from the episode on trucking deregulation in 1979 without any decision-maker presiding, even though the issue was apparently pending before Congress. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 6.14.)

### **7. Arguing as advocates, not partisans.**

In the first year of the show and for a while thereafter, the individual advocates were not identified with a point of view. We did not know which side we would be asked to argue; it was almost a flip of the coin, in that we didn't know if we were going to be arguing in favor of this or against that. Roger saw individual advocates like British barristers who would make responsible arguments on either side, but not necessarily assert their own viewpoints. He said that he wanted the viewers to focus on the issues and not just cheer on their favorite advocate, who might be presenting a case they agreed with one week, and then another case they might not, the next. Here is a [clip](#) from the Methadone show emphasizing that impartiality, an explanation omitted from episodes in subsequent seasons as the advocates on the show became more identified with the arguments they presented. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 58.39.)

Roger did not want to formulate an issue for discussion which put all "right-thinking" people on one side, but rather one that offered an open choice; on which a reasonable, well-intentioned man might decide, either way. The intention was to recognize that there was often a

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<sup>23</sup>Cecil Smith, *Advocates Mull Princeton Plan*, LOS ANGELES TIMES, Oct. 6, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 2).



legitimate constituency on each side, and that there are pros and cons to public policy choices. He felt that “[t]he public should be made to know that law is a process and not all trial law and criminal law; that an adversary system doesn’t always pit good guys against bad guys.”<sup>24</sup>

For example, I remember that during the show on expelling student disrupters, I was asked to argue in favor of automatic expulsion. My producers and I then found one witness against student disruption, President James Hester of New York University, and one in favor of automatic penalties, Harvard Law School Professor Alan Dershowitz (who was my instructor in criminal law at Harvard). As it happened, neither of them would embrace the whole proposition; nonetheless, framing the issue this way left some daylight for an alternative point of view.<sup>25</sup> (This show is also available on the WGBH Open Vault.)<sup>26</sup> Here is a [clip](#) showing that neither witness was testifying to support the whole proposition which I was charged to advocate. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 1.53.)

This format, at least in the first year of the show, involved each production team knowing something about their opponents’ cases in advance. As a result, we knew most of what the other advocate team was going to argue, at least in general, and could make the cases complement each other. One exception I recall was a show we did on our Cuba policy, where I was assigned to present the case for keeping Cuba isolated. After listening to the argument on the other side, Roger, who was the moderator, turned to me and said: “Well, we’ve listened to Mr. Oteri’s case for resuming trade with Cuba, and now let’s turn to the other side of the question. Mr. Baker, will you give us the case against resuming trade with Cuba.” While my producer and I had

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<sup>24</sup>Gary Rubin, *Fisher: A New Breed of TV Lawman*, HARVARD LAW RECORD, February 15, 1972 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

<sup>25</sup>*The Advocates*, Episode 30: Should Colleges Adopt A Fixed Rule Expelling Any Student Who Used Obstruction, Sit-ins Or Other Illegal Physical Force As A Means Of Persuasion? (Apr. 26, 1970).

<sup>26</sup>See: <http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/5967e4-should-colleges-adopt-a-fixed-rule-expelling-any-student-who-used-obstruction-sit-ins-or-other-illeg>

arguments prepared, I had not known how my opponent, Joe Oteri, would argue his case I found that I was persuaded by his argument, even though I still had to argue the opposite point of view. I did the best I could (and readers can judge how successful I was, since the show is now on the [Open Vault](#)).<sup>27</sup> (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 26.21.)

The Cuba show illustrated for me the personal challenge of being an advocate. I found that I was much more effective when my side of the issue was something that I could advocate for with a clear conscience. I was too new to my craft to be able to present an argument which I did not agree with, and spent much of my energy in discussing with my able producers what we should advocate, rather than reserving that energy for the show. (I was also too green to realize that the expectation of those involved was that those who appeared on camera were asked to execute a case. I had a different mental model of a lawyer in command of his case, rather than carrying out one that his producers had prepared.)<sup>28</sup>

The difficulty of making arguments, regardless of the side assigned, may have led the show's producers to move to a format where the topics were more two-sided and had a liberal or conservative position associated with them, as well as regular advocates who were personally comfortable in those roles. In the second season, the "barrister" format was abandoned for two regular advocates, law professor Howard Miller from Los Angeles, who continued from the first

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<sup>27</sup> See: <http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/8c5d4d-should-we-lift-our-embargo-on-trade-with-castro-s-cuba>

<sup>28</sup> The difference between being a lawyer in court and one on television became apparent to me when I visited the offices of the west coast *Advocates* at KCET in Los Angeles. In the east, those of us on camera were sometimes referred to as "the talent." In the west, when I was introduced to the staff, the phrase sounded more like "The Talent!" This bicoastal difference illustrated the often healthy but still real tension between education and entertainment that marked the show, whichever team – Boston or Los Angeles - produced an episode.

season, and William Rusher, Publisher of the National Review. They argued the liberal and conservative points of view, respectively.<sup>29</sup>

## **8. Offering the viewer neutral introductory information.**

To assist viewers at home in finding a stance on the issue at hand, *The Advocates* aimed to convey enough factual information so that the viewer would feel competent to hear and then decide the question presented. Roger wrote: “The opening two minutes should present enough hard, specific facts so that the viewer feels he has his ‘feet on the ground.’”<sup>30</sup> When the experts disagreed, Roger felt that the viewer should be armed with enough information to be persuadable, rather than just confused. Therefore, the shows often began with a statement of the issue and some background information, usually introduced by the moderator, rather than the advocates. Here is an [example](#) from a 1979 show on trucking deregulation with moderator Michael Dukakis. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 1.56.)

The moderator would also sometimes add further explanation at the start of the show to ensure that the audience was familiar with particular terms used when discussing the subject matter for debate, as again [occurred](#) with moderator Dukakis. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 7.00.)

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<sup>29</sup>Cecil Smith, *Advocates Mull Princeton Plan*, LOS ANGELES TIMES, Oct. 6, 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 2). “Each man has his own pronounced ideological bent. William Rusher, publisher of National Review magazine is the conservative. Howard Miller, a lawyer and professor of law at the University of Southern California, is the liberal.” John J. O’Connor, *TV: Stimulating Topical Debates on ‘Advocates,’* NEW YORK TIMES, Apr. 23, 1971 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

<sup>30</sup>Memorandum from Roger Fisher, Exec. Editor, *The Advocates*, to James Loper and Hartford Gunn (Jan. 18, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 141, Folder 36).

## 9. Simplifying—rather than complicating—the issues.

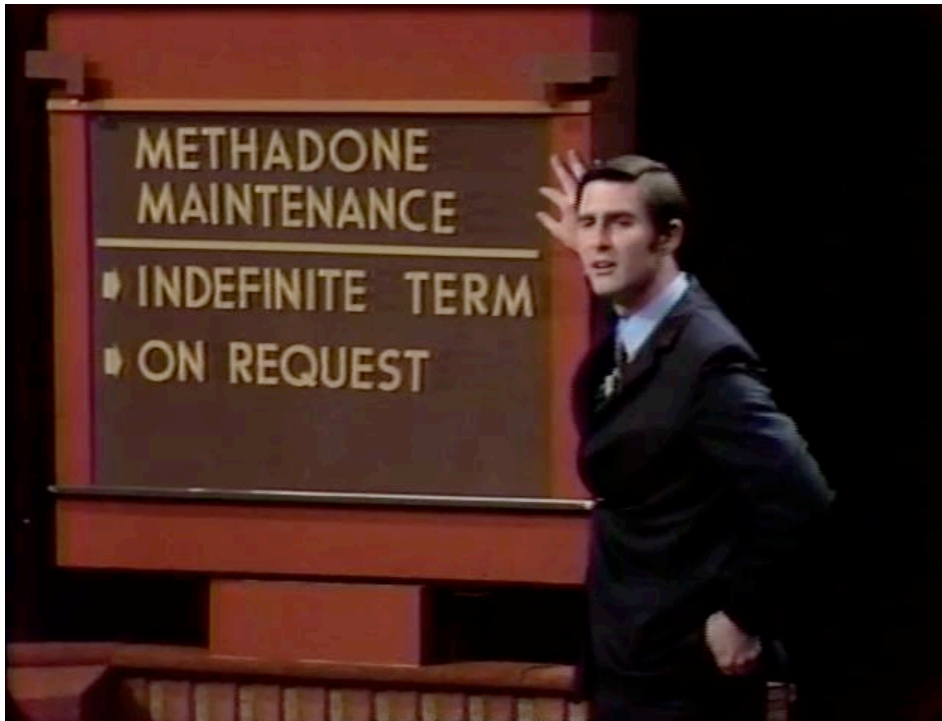
Roger insisted that we use the medium of television to simplify, but not over-simplify, the issues and the arguments, as advocates are asked to do in court. “Fisher believe[d] that all these issues could be made comprehensible to TV viewers if information were better organized to meet the layman’s needs.”<sup>31</sup> He wanted us to take advantage of the visual medium that television provided. In the early days, Roger challenged us to get our arguments into a few words: literally, on to a board on the show’s set, like the weatherman. The intent was to reinforce what we and our witnesses would say, and to do it in a few phrases – a practice much more disciplined than even the 140 characters that Twitter demands. Roger wrote in 1970: “The advocates are more likely to have seventeen reasons for doing something than two. The skeleton of their contentions should be simpler and more apparent.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Gary Rubin, *Fisher: A New Breed of TV Lawman*, HARVARD LAW RECORD, February 15, 1972 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

<sup>32</sup>Memorandum from Roger Fisher, Exec. Editor, *The Advocates*, to James Loper and Hartford Gunn (Jan. 18, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 141, Folder 36). Roger wrote that the “word board” as he called it, had become a “device with which the executive editor pressures the advocates to simplify their arguments.” *Id.* at 10.

Here is a photo of me using the “Word Board,” and a [clip](#) which involves the use of the board, from the Methadone show. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 6.52.)



Ultimately, however, the “Word Board” fell by the wayside as the show evolved. Later, the Board was replaced by a simple introductory argument and introduction of witnesses, as in this [example](#) from 1979. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 5.42.)

#### **10. Using direct examination of witnesses to lay out the case.**

After the introduction, the advocates elicited arguments and information from witnesses through direct examination. For example, [here](#) is a direct examination by then-State Representative Barney Frank and witness, Senator Edward Kennedy, on the same Trucking show in 1979. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 7.25.)

## 11. Illustrating arguments visually and not just verbally.

Roger also encouraged us to use film, still pictures, animation, charts, maps, and real exhibits to gain interest and promote understanding in the arguments that were being presented. Our producers often used film and – in one episode on oil imports – Roger (as an advocate) gave a witness a live lobster to make the visual point that some goods were cheaper in different parts of the country. In another episode, I produced a raft used by escaping Cuban refugees, shown [here](#). (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 34.36.)

My own view, however, is that despite these aids, the interaction between advocates and witnesses made for the most riveting and illuminating television. Roger proved this himself when he appeared as an advocate on a show involving civil disobedience to the Vietnam War, in which he presented no visual aids but only powerful arguments. [Here](#) is Roger at work in that episode. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 55.55.)

As effective as it was, this closing argument does not include everything that Roger said. Executive Producer Greg Harney (Roger then having left the show as Executive Editor to return as an advocate) made a decision to excise a particular clip of Roger’s closing argument about the Vietnam War, on the grounds of concerns about appearing to advocate for contacting a specific organization, in an apparent contravention of federal tax laws barring political advocacy by nonprofit organizations, such as WGBH and its Ford Foundation sponsor.<sup>33</sup> Roger was understandably upset, saying: “How can we show a program on the right and wrong things to do about a war protest without telling what the right things are? My whole position has been shot

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<sup>33</sup> Percy Shain, *Cut in ‘Advocates’ defended*, BOSTON GLOBE, Apr. 21, 1971 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

out from under me.”<sup>34</sup> Executive Producer Harney, however, responded that: “Mr. Fisher was retained to be an advocate on the program and to present the case for his side. He was not retained to take final responsibility for the program.”<sup>35</sup>

## **12. Conducting cross-argument more than cross-examination with opposing witnesses.**

During the first year I was with the show, cross-examination was not designed to discredit the witness, as often goes on in a courtroom, but was really cross-argument. Our job on cross-examination was to make sure we got at the weak points in the other side’s case, and if possible, prove our case through what they had to say. That was easier said than done. Here is an [example](#) from the methadone show in 1970, where I was questioning an opposing witness. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 39.37.)

You never knew what the witness was going to say, and that was part of the appeal (as well as the challenge) of the show. [Here](#) is Roger with Howard Zinn as an opposing witness from the show on civil disobedience to the Vietnam War. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 52.25.) And [here](#) is William Kunstler cross-examining Allard Lowenstein in that same episode on civil disobedience. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 27.58.)

Here is another [example](#) where I had to cross-examine Senator Ted Kennedy, who was a proponent of deregulating trucking. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 15.32.)

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<sup>34</sup> Percy Shain, *Censor snags ‘Advocates’ show on anti-civil war civil disobedience*, BOSTON GLOBE, Apr. 20, 1971 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1)

<sup>35</sup> Percy Shain, *Cut in ‘Advocates’ defended*, BOSTON GLOBE, Apr. 21, 1971 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

And [here](#) is Senator Kennedy's response. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 16.27.)

Occasionally, however, there were some lighter moments. [Here](#) is then-State Representative Barney Frank. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 42.33.)

Successful cross-examination required, on occasion, some redirect examination. [Here](#) is the follow-up to Barney Frank's cross-examination. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 44.42.)

### **13. Involving the audience.**

An early feature of the show was audience participation and having a studio audience was part of what gave the show immediacy. During the first season, there were also live audiences watching at remote public television stations as well, which were in effect satellite audiences for the show. These audiences were organized by the local public broadcasting station involved with the help of *Advocates* producer, Hoagy Carmichael, Jr. Hoagy rode circuit around the United States to one public television station after another in order to get a local audience to view and react to the show, whether it was broadcast from Boston or Los Angeles. Trying to guess what the studio audience, remote audience, and viewers at home felt about your case turned out to be as difficult as predicting how the witnesses would perform, but it lent some level of reality to the discussion. In the first year – on the methadone show, for example – the studio audience was polled both before and after the arguments.



Here is a shot of the poll at the end of the show, and a [clip](#) of the tally being taken. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 53.36.)

	YES	NOT VOTING	NO
1ST	51	29	20
	- 10	4	6
	7	2	9
	12	- 16	4
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2ND	60	19	21

Hoagy Carmichael had a poll of his remote audience as well, polling members before and after the show using bulky machinery that had to be moved from station to station around the country. In later seasons, with more partisan advocates, the audience did not vote during the show, but was invited to respond by mail, although that decision came under criticism:

“The audience vote on each program is, of course, far from being scientifically accurate, with the tally being subject to the distortions of organized pressure groups and inveterate letter writers. The results over an extended period, though, have been curious. The conservative side, it seems, ‘won’ 12 programs, while the liberals were picking up only 6.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup>*TV: Stimulating Topical Debates on ‘Advocates,’* NEW YORK TIMES, Apr. 23, 1971 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 1).

At the same time, the show did generate mail: “Evidence of the amazing impact it had on its viewers was the fact that it drew 22,000 letters a month – or 177,000 for the 40-week season – more than was received by CBS News and Walter Cronkite, over the same period... [t]hus it more than lived up to its role of involving the viewer in critical issues.”<sup>37</sup>

[Here](#) is the audience being invited to vote at the end of the show on deregulation of trucking in 1979. (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 56.32.)

#### **14. Going on location when possible.**

In the first season, while the show mostly alternated between studios in Boston and Los Angeles, it also went to Chicago for a show on police work and to Miami for the Cuba show. In later years, many programs were videotaped, rather than broadcast live. This gave flexibility to move to Boston’s historic Faneuil Hall, as well as to locations where the problem under discussion seemed more appropriate, such as Yosemite National Park, Phoenix, Madison (WI), Washington, D.C., the state prison in Chino (CA), Paris, Cologne, and even Stockholm.<sup>38</sup>

#### **15. Presenting topics before they became topical and revisiting them if left unresolved.**

The producers argued that *The Advocates* had an advantage in that it previewed issues before they became newsworthy and were still open for public input and decision, not just

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<sup>37</sup>“Professor returns to class but his TV show lives on,” Boston Globe (10/2/1970). (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 2). Over later years, almost a million viewers responded to requests for viewer opinion.

First Season (1969-70)	177,881
Second Season (1970-1971)	228,455
Third Season (1971-1972)	200,125
Fourth Season (1972-1973)	<u>311,977</u>
	918,438

WGBH, *THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES* (1973) at 30.

<sup>38</sup>WGBH, *THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES* (1973) at 7.

discussing decisions that had already been made.<sup>39</sup> They also pointed out that the show covered topics that were not likely to receive sufficient media attention, e.g. abolition of involuntary confinement of mental patients, prohibition of industry-wide unions, conviction of criminal defendants by non-unanimous juries, restrictions on the use of national parks, mandatory prison sentences for drunken drivers, etc.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, *The Advocates* was able to reexamine questions as long as they remained unresolved, e.g. no fault insurance (twice), changes in the abortion laws (twice), forced busing issue (three times), and debating the handgun laws (twice).<sup>41</sup>

## **16. Earning praise and even awards.**

Even in its first year on the air, *The Advocates* received lots of positive press. Here are several quotations:

“*The Advocates*...is a live debate, beefed up with films, visual aids and hostile witnesses. It is designed to explore the problems of the future and to encourage citizen participation. Television notoriously finds presentations of ideas difficult or impossible....*The Advocates* may be a breakthrough because it is an appealing package for opposing arguments, an alternative to the endless coffee-drinking, chain-smoking, late-night discussion shows. The strength of this program is in the knowledge that what the viewer sees is live, happening at the instant. The films and visuals are important for presentation of arguments, but the cross-examination of a hostile witness...is the drama that could turn *The Advocates* into a compelling program...this program could evolve into an important

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<sup>39</sup>*Id.* at 10, 11.

<sup>40</sup>*Id.* at 12.

<sup>41</sup>*Id.* at 13.

public service and might become an informational aid in Presidential elections and great national debates.”<sup>42</sup>

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“This show is a real debate with real lawyers arguing real questions of current interest. It may not have the romance and action of the lawyer series on commercial TV, but it’s a lot more palatable, and sometimes more dramatic...the show[s] were both as illuminating as any discussion I have heard on commercial network news.... Aside from the value of presenting both sides of a question competently and simultaneously, *The Advocates* is a good chance to see some of the best lawyers in the country at work.”<sup>43</sup>

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“*The Advocates* uses an effective courtroom format to inform and involve viewers in political issues while there’s still time to get off a mad letter to Congress. *The Advocates* is the closest television has come to date to a real contribution to participatory democracy. Both attorneys were well organized, used large clear charts and film clips with some humor to make their points, and their witnesses seemed top men, well informed.”<sup>44</sup>

Not everyone agreed, however.<sup>45</sup> In the spirit of *The Advocates*, here is an alternative point of view:

“Debate went out with the ark. It persists as a fossilized relic in certain academic institutions and, as one might sadly expect, on public television....From the sample offered...the real-life lawyers...are very tiresome and unendearing fellows....And the

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<sup>42</sup> Norman Mark, CHICAGO DAILY NEWS Oct. 6, 1969.

<sup>43</sup> Gail Rock, DAILY NEWS RECORD (New York) Oct. 17, 1969.

<sup>44</sup> VARIETY (Los Angeles, CA) – Oct. 29, 1969.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix E.

cross-examination lacks that power in the hands of a script writer or film editor to condense time and dramatize reality. The result is an exchange as dull as that in any courtroom on a normal day....Having supposedly galvanized interest, it is daringly suggested that the greatest contribution toward solving the problem at hand is to write to the producers of the program.”<sup>46</sup>

Station managers supported the show, with 193 stations in 1972 choosing to air it, second only to Masterpiece Theatre with 199.<sup>47</sup> One station manager wrote: “On no other continuing show does the viewer have an opportunity to hear all sides of controversial issues debated at the same setting in time and with key experts and witnesses from essential areas and fields involved in the point in question.”<sup>48</sup>

*The Advocates* won the Peabody award (a presentation of the University of Georgia given for distinguished achievement in television) for “television education” in its first season. The Peabody Awards are considered among the most prestigious in broadcasting, and in his presentation for the award, former FCC chairman Paul Porter said that it was given for a “thirty-nine week series of bold, invigorating debates on crucial issues.”<sup>49</sup>

At the time of the award, Roger Fisher said in a press release:

“Let us hope this will encourage more programs to recognize that television’s highest challenge is not to divert people from reality, or even to tell them about it, but to help them cope with it....The true measure of success for an hour’s broadcast is not its internal

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<sup>46</sup> Alex Toogood, University of Texas, *Program Reviews: The Advocates*, EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING REVIEW, Feb. 1970 (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 4). See also LAURIE OUELLETTE, VIEWERS LIKE YOU? HOW PUBLIC TV FAILED THE PEOPLE (2002) (“The Advocates and the discursive formation around it divorced politics from the everyday lives and emotions of ordinary people, casting democracy as an affair managed by professionals.” *Id.* at 129).

<sup>47</sup> WGBH, THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES (1973) at 25.

<sup>48</sup> *Id.* at 27.

<sup>49</sup> *Id.* at 69.

elegance, its technical excellence, or the size of its audience, but the degree to which it leaves each citizen better equipped to achieve his full potential.”<sup>50</sup>

Russell Morash, WGBH producer for *The Advocates*, said: “I’ve never been connected with a show in which mail has been such a factor. This series has received more than 70,000 letters. We’ve been given the responsibility to air two sides of the question and we’ve learned that viewers value this objectivity above all else.”<sup>51</sup>

The show got impressive fan mail from high officials and ordinary citizens alike. Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote: “I continue to watch *The Advocates* at every opportunity and join with many of your viewers in expressing appreciation for this fine program.”<sup>52</sup> Another viewer wrote:

“I have thoroughly enjoyed *The Advocates* this past year. It has been the second most thought-provoking series I have ever watched. (Second only to *Star Trek*.) *The Advocates* is the type of program that I consider to be essential in a democracy. This is because it allows the average citizen to become informed about the crucial issues of the day by having both sides of the issue. My only complaint is that it isn’t on 12 months a year.”<sup>53</sup>

The show received plaudits from either side of the political spectrum. Here is one from conservative commentator William F. Buckley: “The thought of doing without *The Advocates* is terribly depressing. It has been instructive, vigorous, stimulating and witty. What else could serious viewers ask for? And where else are they supposed to go?”<sup>54</sup> Conversely, here is one

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<sup>50</sup> Memorandum regarding The Peabody Awards Recipients’ Comments from Bill Alexander and Herbert Hadad, Promotion Directors, *The Advocates* Recipients’ (Apr. 21, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 6).

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*

<sup>52</sup> WGBH, *THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES* (1973) at 44.

<sup>53</sup> *Id.* at 58.

<sup>54</sup> *Id.* at 64.

from liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith: “I know *The Advocates* both as a participant and as a viewer. In both roles, and especially the second, I came to believe it to be one of the fairest, most informative, and generally most interesting programs viewable in the last ten years.”<sup>55</sup>

The show was also praised by a Vietnam veteran named John Kerry, who went on to become a U.S. Senator, as well as the current Secretary of State: “I have watched the show often and know countless others who have also watched, and feel the series should be continued. In my experience in trying to change policy in this country, this is one of the few shows which consistently reaches opinion leaders and makers, and undoubtedly has a great effect in helping to determine the issues of the day.”<sup>56</sup> Even Mohammed Ali weighed in. A fan of *The Advocates*, he agreed to make a short promotional spot for free, in which he said the show was: “good training... for your mind, that is.”<sup>57</sup>

*The Advocates* then went on to win several other awards. During its second season, the show won a Christopher Award, a presentation of the Christophers given to programs which “affirm the highest values of the human spirit...demonstrate artistic and technical proficiency...and (which) have gained a significant degree of public acceptance.” In presenting the Christopher Award for *The Advocates*’ debate on school vouchers, Father Richard Armstrong called the program a “frank, informative exploration of both sides of a complex issue.”<sup>58</sup> During its fourth season, the show won four Emmys, presented by the National Academy of Television

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<sup>55</sup>*Id. at 65.*

<sup>56</sup>*Id. at 64.*

<sup>57</sup>*Id. at 81.*

<sup>58</sup>*Id. at 69.*

Arts and Sciences in the “Special Classification of Outstanding Program and Individual Achievement.”<sup>59</sup>

When it was not clear whether the show would be funded for a full season in 1973-74, Bill Hart, station manager for WYES in New Orleans wrote: “*The Advocates* is a valuable show we would like to see preserved. It is the only format where controversy is shown through unbiased presentation.... We tried to do a local show patterned after *The Advocates* and discovered how difficult and how expensive it was to do properly.”<sup>60</sup>

### **17. Showcasing people as well as ideas.**

As indicated earlier, one unusual aspect of the show is that Roger was not only the show’s first Executive Editor, but on occasion he also moderated the discussion, like a judge, as he did with the Cuba show; and, as in the show about Civil Disobedience, now on the Open Vault, appeared as an advocate himself. Michael Dukakis, former Massachusetts Governor and 1988 Democratic Presidential nominee, moderated the discussion (and you can see him in other clips from 1979). Governor Dukakis, who moderated a number of shows, appeared first on *The Advocates* when I asked him to be a witness for me in favor of no-fault auto insurance. Ironically, that was a show where I ended up cross-examining then-Suffolk Law School Professor David Sargent, who went on to become my Dean when I joined the Suffolk Law faculty in 1973.

*The Advocates* was a showcase for talented advocates and knowledgeable and entertaining witnesses. A glance at the shows that are available on the Open Vault includes advocates like Margaret Marshall, who became Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme

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<sup>59</sup>Emmy Awards press release (undated) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 142, Folder 6).

<sup>60</sup>WGBH, THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES (1973) at 26.



Judicial Court and Anthony Scalia, who became an Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, and Senator Joe Biden who became Vice-President of the United States. Prominent witnesses included California Governor Ronald Reagan, later President of the United States, and such other witnesses as U.S. Senators and Representatives in Congress like Sam Ervin (Democrat, North Carolina), Barry Goldwater (Republican, Arizona), Philip Hart (Democrat, Michigan), Hubert Humphrey (Democrat, Minnesota), George McGovern (Democrat, South Dakota), Charles Mathias (Republican, Maryland), Frank Moss (Democrat, Utah), Edmund Muskie (Democrat, Maine), and Robert Drinan (Democrat, Massachusetts); foreign government officials, such as King Hussein (Jordan), Kenneth Kaunda (President of Zambia), Golda Meir (Prime Minister of Israel), Julius Nyrere (President of Tanzania) and Nguyen Van Thieu (President, Republic of South Vietnam); economists like Milton Friedman (University of Chicago) and John Kenneth Galbraith (Harvard University); members of the clergy, such as William Sloane Coffin (Chaplin, Yale University) and Billy Graham (Evangelist); news people like Jack Anderson (syndicated columnist), Benjamin Bradlee (Executive Editor, “Washington Post”), Walter Cronkite (CBS), Edith Efron (writer, “TV Guide”) and Chet Huntley (NBC); union leaders, such as Leonard Woodcock (President, United Auto Workers); military officers like Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer (NATO); scientists, such as James Lovell (astronaut) and Karl Menninger, M.D. (Director, Menninger Institute); sportsmen like Pete Rozelle (NFL Commissioner) and John Mackey (Baltimore Colts); authors, such as Marshall McLuhan (“Medium is the Message”); and even Bob Keeshan (aka: Captain Kangaroo).<sup>61</sup>

Policy and public argument aside, one of the underlying strengths of the show were the skilled producers who made *The Advocates* possible. For example, in Boston, I saw Russ Morash

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<sup>61</sup>WGBH, *THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES* (1973) at 36-43.

oversee the sometimes off-camera rivalry between the two advocate teams with a sense of humor that lightened the load as well as kept the peace. Also, during the first season, Hoagy Carmichael managed to use his own good will to persuade station managers around the country to help assemble audiences to hear the show, and it was no easy task.<sup>62</sup> My own first-season regular producer, Peter McGhee, our usual opponent producer, Austin Hoyt, and later Susan Mayer, who helped me on the trucking show a decade later, were all committed to helping enhance public understanding of the issues we discussed.

Despite these talented people, and its successes, *The Advocates* apparently became the victim of uncertain funding. It went off the air at the end of the 1974 season. At the time, those involved with the show argued that, were it to be cancelled, the viewing public would lose:

- A discussion of important issues likely to appear only on this program.
- The only public affairs program willing and able to reexamine questions when necessary.
- A public forum where large numbers of thoughtful citizens can appear to air their opinions.
- The presentation of unorthodox arguments.
- The questioning of interested parties by other interested parties, a way of eliminating charges of reporter “bias”.<sup>63</sup>

In 1978, Glenn Litton of WGBH Educational Foundation wrote Roger a letter in which he said:

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<sup>62</sup> Hoagy Carmichael was multitalented, helping produce many shows thereafter, and at one time even made bamboo fly fishing rods by hand. An index of his good humor was that he was even willing to try to teach me how to cast with one.

<sup>63</sup>WGBH, *THE CASE FOR THE ADVOCATES* (1973) at 21.

“We need to remind our current audience of how unique the format still is, how fresh it remains, and how useful it can be to an electorate that is just as befuddled as ever. In short, more of your enthusiasm for and faith in reasoned argument put in a dramatic form needs to be heard.”<sup>64</sup>

### **18. The return of *The Advocates*.**

That argument was apparently persuasive, because the show was revived in 1979, and many of those shows are now on the Open Vault. As is apparent from some of the above clips in this article, I was invited back to the show to present the case in favor of continued regulation of the interstate trucking industry. I argued against State Representative Barney Frank and cross-examined Senator Ted Kennedy, while Dukakis (again) moderated the discussion.

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<sup>64</sup>Letter from Glenn Litton to Roger Fisher (Aug. 7, 1978) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 7).

Here is a photo of Barney Frank, arguing against regulation with Ted Kennedy as his star witness by televised remote broadcast, with the studio audience at the John F. Kennedy School of Government in the background.<sup>65</sup>



Here is a [clip](#) of Barney Frank in action: (You may return to the article when the time-bar at the bottom of the video reaches 3.46.)

This show is remarkable in that it involved so many people who were involved in politics. Governor Dukakis has been mentioned before, and Barney Frank went on to be elected

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<sup>65</sup> While I remember some of the argument, the part my family recalls is that my wife Sally and our two daughters, Mary Sarah and Nancy, were sitting directly under Senator Kennedy.

to Congress. Even I ended up in government, getting elected to the Board of Aldermen for Newton, Massachusetts, where I have served for over thirty years.

**19. The legacy of *The Advocates*? Seeing the legitimacy of alternative points of view.**

As the show progressed over the years, the debates became more polarized. This troubled Roger, and seemed to undermine the goal of giving viewers a difficult choice in which they must weigh the pros and cons of each side. He wrote in early 1970:

“In my mind, the most significant defect of the present format is that it is organized around the arguments which each side advances, rather than around the two alternatives with which the guest is confronted. Ideally, the structure of the debate should end up with a clarification of the risks and opportunities which lie down one fork in the road, compared with those which lie down the other. It would be great if the structure of the argument would result in a clarification of the pluses and minuses on each side of the choice—for example: ‘Would you rather face the risk of too many innocent and harmless people being locked up or the risk of too many mentally unstable and perhaps dangerous people being free?’ At present, the format presents arguments for each side, tending to cause the viewer to believe that he should pick his favorite argument, and come out that way.”<sup>66</sup>

Ideally, the issues would have been presented as Roger desired, but that soon yielded to the dynamics of the adversary process and the need for drama, where each side made the best case it could. Even Roger, with his framework in mind, presented his case vigorously during the

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<sup>66</sup>Memorandum from Roger Fisher, Exec. Editor, *The Advocates*, to James Loper and Hartford Gunn (Jan. 18, 1970) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 141, Folder 36).

civil disobedience show with no apparent willingness to concede that the choice he advocated might have some defects. Thus, an irony is that – while illuminating and clarifying issues – the adversary process pushed even Roger toward a more polar presentation.

*The Advocates* therefore illustrates the challenges of explaining public affairs while allowing for alternative points of view to have legitimacy. I believe that was Roger’s objective early on in the show, by assigning us roles more like barristers, before the show evolved to a point where the advocates began bringing a personal perspective to their arguments.

When the show went off the air after its revival in 1979, David Kuhn of WGBH wrote a letter looking back on the show. In it he said:

“No other form has emerged on television which allows expert witnesses to give their testimony and then subject them to the rigor of tough cross-examination. No other program has *The Advocates*’ commitment to equal time and equal attention to both sides of a debate. No other program has so high an investment in thorough preparation and research for each broadcast. We have now ended production, and have no firm commitments for future funding. . . . *The Advocates* should be part of the great debates which confront the nation. What we do on television can make a difference. I think the tone of our work can influence public policy in this country, and can raise the level of public discussion.”<sup>67</sup>

But today, when we have gridlock in Washington thanks to lawmakers’ (and perhaps their constituents’) inability to treat the other side’s arguments as legitimate, Roger’s original goal, of impassioned but objective public education – and of debate as an illuminating force,

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<sup>67</sup>Letter from J. David Kuhn, WGBH, to Irving Harris, The Aspen Institute (Jul. 9, 1979) (The Roger Fisher Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Box 140, Folder 7).

rather than a partisan, persuasive ones – is worth remembering. One of the lessons that I took away from working with Roger was summed up nicely by Roger’s former colleague and co-author of *Getting to Yes*,<sup>68</sup> Bruce Patton. Bruce said that you really have to understand and perceive how the choices are viewed from the other side in order to get anywhere, let alone go forward.<sup>69</sup>

Roger always said that armed with the correct information and perspective, one person can make a difference. He was never referring to himself, but from this vantage point, forty years later, it is clear that Roger was one of those people who managed to make a difference, and we can continue to benefit from his example.

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<sup>68</sup> ROGER FISHER, WILLIAM L. URY, & BRUCE PATTON, *GETTING TO YES: NEGOTIATING AGREEMENT WITHOUT GIVING IN* (1981).

<sup>69</sup> Bruce Patton, Remarks at the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School Special Screening of ‘The Advocates’ on Civil Disobedience (Feb.28, 2013).

## Appendix:

For reader convenience, in the following appendix at the end of this article are provided the following lists of *Advocates* episodes, including links to those on the WGBH Open Vault:

- A. A list of topics from the first season of *The Advocates* (with key words in **bold** print).
- B. A list of *The Advocates* episodes on the WGBH Open Vault with links to specific shows.
- C. A list of all *The Advocates* episodes from 1969-1984.

A. A list of topics from the first season of *The Advocates* (with key words in **bold** print).

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| October 5, 1969   | “Should the sale of the <b>internal combustion engine</b> be banned in California by 1975?”                                       |
| October 12, 1969  | “Should Congress require work from those on <b>welfare</b> ?”   |
| October 19, 1969  | “Should the Goodell bill, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from <b>Vietnam</b> by December 1, 1970, be adopted?”         |
| October 26, 1969  | “Should Congress provide funds to develop a U.S. <b>supersonic transport</b> ?”   |
| November 2, 1969  | “Should the States adopt legislation allowing any woman to <b>terminate pregnancy</b> at any time during the first three months?” |
| November 9, 1969  | “Should we prohibit law suits over <b>auto</b> accidents and have each driver buy <b>insurance</b> for his own injuries?”         |
| November 16, 1969 | “Should the federal government issue no further leases for <b>off-shore drilling</b> ?”   |
| November 23, 1969 | “Should involuntary confinement on the grounds of <b>mental illness</b> be abolished?”  |
| November 30, 1969 | “Should criminal penalties for the use of <b>marijuana</b> be abolished?”   |
| December 7, 1969  | “Should the police be relieved of responsibility for social problems to concentrate on <b>major crime</b> ?”                      |
| December 14, 1969 | “Should we require each ninth-grade student to take a course in <b>Afro-American culture</b> and history?”                        |



- December 21, 1969 “Should we stop giving **Christmas presents** to restore the meaning of Christmas?”
- December 28, 1969 “Should **drinking drivers** get mandatory prison sentences or treatment of first offenses?”
- January 4, 1970 “Should we **legalize gambling** on pro football?”
- January 11, 1970 “Should we use half of the federal gasoline tax for **mass transit**?”
- January 18, 1970 “Should we allow anyone to obtain a **divorce** after a six-months separation?”
- January 25, 1970 “Should **Indian reservations** be continued indefinitely?”
- February 1, 1970 “Should the United States continue to reduce its **aid to developing countries**?”
- February 8, 1970 “Should Congress limit **farm subsidy** payments to no more than \$20,000 per family farm?”
- February 15, 1970 “Should we lift our embargo on trade with Castro’s **Cuba**?”
- February 22, 1970 “Should the U.S. Army instruct every soldier to ignore any military order to engage in conduct that he reasonably believes to contrary to international **laws of war**?”
- March 1, 1970 “Should the Congress appropriate further funds to maintain, improve or protect **land-based missiles** in the United States?”
- March 8, 1970 “Should the U.S. government make **contraceptives** available to every American including teenagers and to conduct an education campaign to limit population?”
- March 15, 1970 “Should the federal government subsidize the development of **prepaid group practice medical care** plans, and make Medicare-Medicaid payments contingent on membership in them wherever they exist?”
- March 22, 1970 “Should criminal **trials** be **televised**?”

- March 29, 1970 “Should the U.S. end **restrictions on low-cost foreign oil?**” *(Part I)*
- April 5, 1970 “Should the U.S. end **restrictions on low-cost foreign oil?**” *(Part II)*
- April 12, 1970 “Should your city or town try to **integrate** its **public schools** through redistricting and busing?” *(Part I)*
- April 19, 1970 “Should your city or town try to **integrate** its **public schools** through redistricting and busing?” *(Part II)*
- April 26, 1970 “Should colleges adopt a fixed rule **expelling** any **student** who used obstruction, sit-ins or other illegal physical force as a mean of persuasion?”
- May 3, 1970 “Should we **outlaw sidearms** for all but police, licensed guards and proprietors of small businesses?”
- May 10, 1970 “Should Congress resolve that the President immediately withdraw all troops, aid and advisers from **Cambodia** and commit no further forces outside Vietnam?”
- May 24, 1970 “Should your city provide methadone to **heroin addicts?**”
- May 31, 1970 “Should automatic **probation** replace prison sentences for all those convicted of non-violent crimes of theft?”
- June 7, 1970 “Should shareholders insist that **corporations** have special directors to represent consumers and the environment?”
- June 14, 1970 “The **Middle-East**: Where do we go from here?” *(Part I: The case against U.S. support for Israel)*
- June 21, 1970 “The **Middle-East**: Where do we go from here?” *(Part II: The case for U.S. support for Israel)*
- June 28, 1970 “So that women may work and men may share in family tasks, should unions demand that everyone be given the option to **work full or half-time?**”

B. A list of *The Advocates* episodes on the WGBH Open Vault with links to specific shows.

## Episodes of The Advocates Available For Viewing on WGBH Open Vault

You can access these programs by going to WGBH's Open Vault web page: [http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog?f\[pbcore\\_pbcoreTitle\\_series\\_s\]\[\]=Advocates](http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog?f[pbcore_pbcoreTitle_series_s][]=Advocates) or you can click on a link below for a specific episode. Note that you can see a portion of an episode by following the transcript for it to a specific point of interest and then clicking on the SYNC arrow to its left. The episodes are arranged in chronological order.

Air Date	Program Topic	Link to View	Moderator	Advocate For	Advocate Against	Notable Witnesses
2/15/1970	Should We Lift Our Embargo on Trade with Castro's Cuba?	<a href="http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/8c5d4d-should-we-lift-our-embargo-on-trade-with-castro-s-cuba">http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/8c5d4d-should-we-lift-our-embargo-on-trade-with-castro-s-cuba</a>	Roger Fisher	R. Lisle Baker	Joseph Oteri	Special Guest: Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI); Richard Goodwin - JFK Advisor (On Film); Carmelo Mesa-Lago - Economist, Univ. Pittsburgh; Richard Fagen - Political Scientist, Stanford; Gabriel Valdes - Foreign Minister, Chile (On Film); Robert A. Hurwitch - State Department; Jose de la Torriente - Miami, Florida; Jose Font - Miami Florida (Taped at the University of Miami).
4/26/1970	Should Colleges Adopt A Fixed Rule Expelling Any Student Who Used Obstruction, Sit-ins, Or Other Means of Illegal Physical	<a href="http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/5967e4-should-colleges-adopt-a-fixed-rule-expelling-any-student-who-used-">http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/5967e4-should-colleges-adopt-a-fixed-rule-expelling-any-student-who-used-</a>	Victor Palmieri	R. Lisle Baker	Evan Semerjian	Special Guest: Louis Nunn – Governor of Kentucky; Witnesses: James M. Hester – President, NYU; Alan Dershowitz – Harvard Law School; Tom Gerety – Student, Harvard Law School; Dr. James Dixon – President, Antioch College; William S. Coffin – Chaplain, Yale University (on film).

	Force As A Means of Persuasion?	<a href="#">obstruction-sit-ins-or-other-illeg</a>				
5/9/1970	Should Your City Provide Methadone to Heroin Addicts?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/6c668d-should-your-city-provide-methadone-to-heroin-addicts">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/6c668d-should-your-city-provide-methadone-to-heroin-addicts</a>	Victor Palmieri	R. Lisle Baker	William Bailey	Special Guest: Kevin White, Mayor of Boston; Dr. Jerome Jaffe – Prof. Of Psychiatry, University of Chicago; Pleasant Harris – Methadone Program, Bronx State Hospital; Karl J. Deissler, MD – Nat’l. Medical Director, Synanon Foundation; Gene Haislip – Narcotic Bureau, Washington DC.
1/5/1971	Should the Government Adopt Long-Term Wage and Price Controls for Selected Unions and Industries?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/45a509-should-the-government-adopt-long-term-wage-and-price-controls-for-selected-unions-and-industries">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/45a509-should-the-government-adopt-long-term-wage-and-price-controls-for-selected-unions-and-industries</a>	Victor Palmieri	Howard Miller	William Rusher	John Kenneth Galbraith – Economist; Rep. Henry Reuss (D-WI); Milton Friedman – Economist; William F. Buckley.
4/20/1971	If You Opposed the War, Should You Answer the Call for Massive Civil Disobedience?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/012c7d-if-you-oppose-the-war-">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/012c7d-if-you-oppose-the-war-</a>	Michael Dukakis	Roger Fisher	William M Kunstler	Rennie Davis - Coordinator, MAYDAY; Howard Zinn - Boston University; Allard K. Lowenstein; Sen. Philip Hart (D-MI); Thomas P. “Tip” O’Neill (D-MA).

		<a href="#">should-you-answer-the-call-for-massive-civil-disobedience</a>				
10/05/1971	Should the Government Drop the Charges Against Daniel Ellsberg?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/903d38-should-the-government-drop-the-charges-against-daniel-ellsberg">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/903d38-should-the-government-drop-the-charges-against-daniel-ellsberg</a>	Victor Palmieri	Howard Miller	William Rusher	Ernest Gruening – Ex-Senator, Alaska; John Siegenthaler – Editor, Nashville Tennessean; Leo Cherne – Research Institute of America; Elbridge Durbrow – Ambassador to Vietnam, 1957-1961; Noam Chomsky – MIT. Discussing the charges against <i>Daniel Ellsberg</i> in relation to the release of the Pentagon Papers.
11/2/1971	Should Television News Be Exempt From the Fairness Doctrine?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f199dd-should-television-news-be-exempt-from-the-fairness-doctrine">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f199dd-should-television-news-be-exempt-from-the-fairness-doctrine</a>	Victor Palmieri	Howard Miller	William Rusher	W. Theodore Pierson – Attorney; Fred Wiseman – Film Maker; Jeffrey St. John – CBS Spectrum; Edith Efron – Author, “The News Twisters”; Arthur Alpert – TV News producer; Paul Weaver – Government Department, Harvard.
11/23/1971	Should Congress Limit the President's War Powers?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/8cd064-should-congress-limit-the-president-s-war-powers">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/8cd064-should-congress-limit-the-president-s-war-powers</a>	Victor Palmieri	George Reedy	J. Daniel Mahoney	Sen. Jacob Javits - (R-NY); Robert McKay - Dean, NYU Law; Eugene Rostow - Undersecretary of State, 1966-69; and John Norton Moore - Professor of Law, University of Virginia.

11/30/1971	Should Congress Enact a National Involuntary Commitment Program for Narcotic Addicts?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/300583-should-congress-enact-a-national-involuntary-commitment-program-for-narcotic-addicts">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/300583-should-congress-enact-a-national-involuntary-commitment-program-for-narcotic-addicts</a>	Michael Dukakis	William Rusher	Jack Cole	Rep. Lou Frey – Republican, Florida; Jim Germano – Director, Marathon House; Roland Wood – California Rehabilitation Center; Neil Chayet – Attorney; Pleasant Harris – Methadone Program, Bronx State Hospital; Matthew Dumont, MD – Massachusetts Drug Rehabilitation.
1/11/1972	Should Courts Be Able to Admit Evidence Police Have Seized Illegally?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/3102e9-should-courts-be-able-to-admit-evidence-police-have-seized-illegally">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/3102e9-should-courts-be-able-to-admit-evidence-police-have-seized-illegally</a>	Victor Palmieri	Mitchell Ware		Donald Santarelli: Justice Department; James Zagel: Criminal Justice Division, State of Illinois; Joseph McNamara: Chief of Police, Kansas City, MO; Judge George Crockett: Detroit, Michigan.
2/22/1972	Should the Olympics Be Open to Professional Athletes?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/1159a4-should-the-olympics-be-open-to-professional-athletes">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/1159a4-should-the-olympics-be-open-to-professional-athletes</a>	Michael Dukakis	Howard Miller	William Rusher	Suzy Chaffee – US <i>Olympic</i> Ski Team, 1968; Harold Connolly – Gold Medal Hammer Throw; Bud Collins – Columnist, The Boston Globe; Harold Zimman – US <i>Olympic</i> Committee; Bob Mathias – <i>Olympic</i> Champion 1948, 1952; Jesse Owens – <i>Olympic</i> Champion, Berlin 1936.

3/28/1972	Should Large Corporations Be Driven Out of Farming?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/7873e5-should-large-corporations-be-driven-out-of-farming">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/7873e5-should-large-corporations-be-driven-out-of-farming</a>	Michael Dukakis	Howard Miller	William Rusher	Jim Hightower – Agribusiness Accountability; Sen. Fred Harris (D-OK); Russell Jackel – Hog Farmer, Delavan Illinois; Howard Marguleas – Pres. Food Operations, Tenneco; Willard Williams – Ag. Economist, Texas Tech.
11/9/1972	Would Justice Be Served Better if a Jury Didn't Have to be Unanimous to Convict Someone?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/65e8ab-would-justice-be-served-better-if-a-jury-didn-t-have-to-be-unanimous-to-convict-someone">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/65e8ab-would-justice-be-served-better-if-a-jury-didn-t-have-to-be-unanimous-to-convict-someone</a>	Michael Dukakis	Evan Semerjian	James Hill	Jacob Tanzer – Solicitor General, Oregon 1969-71; Keith Mossman – American Bar Association; Prof. Samuel Dash – Georgetown University Law Center; Melvin Belli – Attorney, San Francisco.
11/16/1972	Should the News Media Refuse to Publish Candidate Preference Polls?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/e4ea13-should-the-news-media-refuse-to-publish-candidate-preference-polls">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/e4ea13-should-the-news-media-refuse-to-publish-candidate-preference-polls</a>	Michael Dukakis	Roger Fisher	Howard Miller	Herschel Shosteck – Political Opinion Consultant; David Anderson – Liberal Party Leader, British Columbia; Rep. William Green (D-PA); Mervin Field – Pollster; Charles Goodell – Former Senator, New York.

11/23/1972	Would We Be Safer From Crime If We Closed Down Most of Our Prisons?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/8f8260-would-we-be-safer-from-crime-if-we-closed-down-most-of-our-prisons">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/8f8260-would-we-be-safer-from-crime-if-we-closed-down-most-of-our-prisons</a>	Michael Dukakis	Howard Miller	William Rusher	Jerome Miller – Commissioner of Youth Services, Massachusetts; John Irwin, Ph.D. – Ex-Convict; Kenneth Fare – Chief Probation Officer, San Diego, California; James W. L. Park – Associate Warden, San Quentin; Bernard Garmire – Police Chief, Miami; David Robinson – Professor, Criminal Law, George Washington University.
12/7/1972	Should Newsmen Be Allowed to Keep Secret Their Sources of Information Without Fear of Jail?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9c89de-should-newsmen-be-allowed-to-keep-secret-their-sources-of-information-without-fear-of-jail">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9c89de-should-newsmen-be-allowed-to-keep-secret-their-sources-of-information-without-fear-of-jail</a>	Michael Dukakis	Howard Miller	John Harmer	Rep. Jerome Waldie (D-CA); Paul Branzburg – Reporter, Detroit Free Press; William Frye – District Attorney Oregon, 1958-66; David Wilson – Columnist, Boston Globe.
12/28/1972	Should Public Use of Our National Parks Be Restricted?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/3169fe-should-public-use-of-our-national-parks-be-restricted">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/3169fe-should-public-use-of-our-national-parks-be-restricted</a>	Michael Dukakis	Howard Miller	Eric Julber	Garrett Hardin – Professor of Ecology, University of California Santa Barbara; William Unsoeld – Outward Bound 1967-70; Don Hummel – Yosemite Park; Floyd Dominy – Former Commissioner, Federal Bureau of Reclamation.



1/4/1973	Should Your State Restore the Death Penalty?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/4723d6-should-your-state-restore-the-death-penalty">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/4723d6-should-your-state-restore-the-death-penalty</a>	Michael Dukakis	William Rusher	Alan Dershowitz	Robert Shevin – Attorney General, Florida; Rev. Bruce Williams – Professor of Philosophy, St. John’s University; Shane Creamer – Attorney General, Pennsylvania; Dr. Louis West – Professor of Psychiatry, UCLA.
1/25/1973	Should Half of the Federal Dollars Reserved for Highways Be Diverted to Mass Transit System?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9576b8-should-half-of-the-federal-dollars-reserved-for-highways-be-diverted-to-mass-transit-systems">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9576b8-should-half-of-the-federal-dollars-reserved-for-highways-be-diverted-to-mass-transit-systems</a>	Margaret	Michael Dukakis	Eric Julber	Stewart Udall – Secretary of the Interior, 1960-69; Gov. Francis Sargent – Massachusetts; George Hilton – Professor of Transportation, UCLA; Rep. James Wright (D-TX).
2/1/1973	Should Social Security Benefits Be Financed in Part From General Tax Revenues?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/6d6b72-should-social-security-benefits-be-financed-in-part-from-general-tax-revenues">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/6d6b72-should-social-security-benefits-be-financed-in-part-from-general-tax-revenues</a>	Michael Dukakis	Gus Tyler	William Rusher	Sen. Harrison Williams (D-NJ); Nelson Cruikshank – President, <i>National Council of Senior Citizens</i> ; Robert Myers – Chief Actuary 1947-70, Social Security Administration; Sen. Jack Miller – Senate Finance Committee 1969-73.

2/15/1973	Should the President Spend the Money Congress Appropriates?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/ac2585-should-the-president-spend-the-money-congress-appropriate-s">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/ac2585-should-the-president-spend-the-money-congress-appropriate-s</a>	Michael Dukakis	Morris Udall	Charls Walker	Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN); Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-ME); Caspar Weinberger – Secretary of HEW, Director of Budget, 1972-73; Sen. William Roth (R-DE).
3/12/1973	Should the U.S. Immediately Develop Its Oil, Coal, and Other Resources to Meet the Energy Crisis?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a249a4-should-the-us-immediately-develop-its-oil-coal-and-other-resources-to-meet-the-energy-crisis">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a249a4-should-the-us-immediately-develop-its-oil-coal-and-other-resources-to-meet-the-energy-crisis</a>	Michael Dukakis	Charles Walker	Evan Semerjian	Thornton Bradshaw – President, Atlantic-Richfield; James Akins – Office of Fuels and Energy, Department of State; Rep. Silvio Conte (R-MA); Martin Lobel – Attorney, Washington, DC; Steward Udall – Secretary of the Interior, 1961-69.
4/5/1973	Should the U.S. Government Establish an Independent Consumer Protection Agency?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/6805e3-should-the-u-s-government-establish-an-independent-consumer-protection-agency">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/6805e3-should-the-u-s-government-establish-an-independent-consumer-protection-agency</a>	Morris Udall	Michael Dukakis	Michael Uhlmann	Charles Ross - Former Member of the Federal Power Commission; Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D-NY); Richard Stewart - Harvard Law School; Roger Miller - Professor of Economics, University of Washington.

5/8/1973	Should the Law Allow Birth Control Treatment for Teenagers Without Their Parents' Consent?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/5df121-should-the-law-allow-birth-control-treatment-for-teenagers-without-their-parents-consent">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/5df121-should-the-law-allow-birth-control-treatment-for-teenagers-without-their-parents-consent</a>	Carolyn Bell	Zipporah Wiseman	James Hill	Alan Guttmacher, MD – Planned Parenthood; Mary Lane, MD – Sanger Contraception Clinic; Blaine Porter – Dean, Brigham Young University; Richard Schmidt, MD – American College of Obstetricians-Gynecologists.
10/31/1973	Should Your State Adopt a Constitutional Amendment to Limit State Spending?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/c3ffb5-should-your-state-adopt-a-constitutional-amendment-to-limit-state-spending">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/c3ffb5-should-your-state-adopt-a-constitutional-amendment-to-limit-state-spending</a>	Evan Semerjian	John Harmer	Howard Miller	Gov. Ronald Reagan (R-CA); Milton Friedman - Professor of Economics, University of Chicago; Bob Moretti - Assembly speaker (D-CA); Edmund G. “Pat” Brown - Former Governor (D-CA).
12/20/1973	Should the United States Press for Israeli Withdrawal From Occupied Territories and offer to Guarantee Israel's Security?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f0394b-should-the-united-states-press-for-israeli-withdrawal-from-occupied-territories-and-offer-to-guarant">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f0394b-should-the-united-states-press-for-israeli-withdrawal-from-occupied-territories-and-offer-to-guarant</a>	Evan Semerjian	Lincoln Bloomfield	William Rusher	Prof. William Griffith - MIT; William Polk - Adlai Stevenson Institute, University of Chicago; Edward Luttwak - Defense Consultant; Uri Ra'anan - Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

1/3/1974	Should the President Be Impeached?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/001e10-should-the-president-be-impeached">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/001e10-should-the-president-be-impeached</a>	Evan Semerjian	Jerome Waldie	A panel of three lawyers – James Hill, William Rusher, Henry Monaghan	Monroe Freedman – Dean, Hofstra Law School; Thomas Emerson – Yale Law School; Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-CA); William Dobrovir – Attorney, Washington DC; Aryeh Neier – Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).
1/3/1974	Would the Nation Be Better Off if Fewer People Went to College?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/83cacd-would-the-nation-be-better-off-if-fewer-people-went-to-college">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/83cacd-would-the-nation-be-better-off-if-fewer-people-went-to-college</a>	Evan Semerjian	Collette Manoil	John Burgess	Fritz Machlup: New York University; Paul Kurtz: Professor of Philosophy, Buffalo; Freda Reblsky: Professor of Psychology, Boston University; Dr. Kenneth Tollett: Howard University.
1/17/1974	Should We Rely on Nuclear Power to Help Supply Our Future Emergency Needs?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/cd71dd-should-we-rely-on-nuclear-power-to-help-supply-our-future-emergency-needs">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/cd71dd-should-we-rely-on-nuclear-power-to-help-supply-our-future-emergency-needs</a>	Evan Semerjian	William Rusher	Myron Cherry	John Simpson, President, Power Systems, Westinghouse; Walter Meyer, Nuclear Engineer, University of Missouri; Henry Kendall, Professor of Physics, MIT; and Douglas LaFoulette, State Senator, (D)Wisconsin.
1/24/1974	Should Congress Create a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation to Compete With Private Industry?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/b70b3a-should-congress-create-a-federal-oil-and-gas-">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/b70b3a-should-congress-create-a-federal-oil-and-gas-</a>	Evan Semerjian	Fred Harris	Charls Walker	Adlai Stevenson (D-IL); Lee White – Former Chairman, Federal Power Commission; C. Jackson Grayson – Dean, Business School, Southern Methodist University; John Swearingen – Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil of

		<u>corporation</u> <u>-to-</u> <u>compete-</u> <u>with-</u> <u>private-</u> <u>industry</u>				Indiana.
2/7/1974	Should the Federal Government Subsidize Political Campaigns and Limit Individual Contributions ?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/4297b1-should-the-federal-government-subsidize-political-campaigns-and-limit-individual-contributions">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/4297b1-should-the-federal-government-subsidize-political-campaigns-and-limit-individual-contributions</a>	Evan Semerjian	Sen. Joseph Biden	Tom Bourdeaux	Sen. Joseph Biden (D-DE); Delaware Rep. John Anderson (R-IL); George Webster - Washington; Attorney David Wilson - Boston Globe.
2/14/1974	Should We Develop Highly Accurate Missiles and Emphasize Military Targets Rather Than Cities?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/e97cd3-should-we-develop-highly-accurate-missiles-and-emphasize-military-targets-rather-than-cities">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/e97cd3-should-we-develop-highly-accurate-missiles-and-emphasize-military-targets-rather-than-cities</a>	Evan Semerjian	Robert Ellsworth	Barry Carter	Henry Rowen - President, Rand Corporation, 1967-1972; Geoffrey Kemp - Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Herbert Scoville - Former Deputy Director, CIA; Morton Halperin - Deputy Asst. Secretary, Defense Dept. 1966-1969.
2/21/1974	Should All Medical Experiments on Prisoners Be Banned?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/1ef28c-should-all-medical-experiments-on-">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/1ef28c-should-all-medical-experiments-on-</a>	Michael Dukakis	Tom Bourdeaux	Crawford Morris	William McCue: Prison Health Project; Jessica Mitford: Author, Kind and Unusual Punishment; John Arnold, MD: Truman Research Laboratory, University of Missouri; Monroe Trout, MD: Vice

		<u>prisoners-be-banned</u>				President Sterling Drug Co.
3/7/1974	Should Courts Admit Evidence That Police Have Seized Illegally?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f51707-should-courts-admit-evidence-that-police-have-seized-illegally">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f51707-should-courts-admit-evidence-that-police-have-seized-illegally</a></u>	Evan Semerjian	James Hill	Lloyd Weinreb	Donald Santarelli: Justice Department; James Zagel: Criminal Justice Division, State of Illinois; Joseph McNamara: Chief of Police, Kansas City, MO; Judge George Crockett: Detroit, Michigan.
3/14/1974	Should Colleges and Universities Give Preferential Admission to Minority Group Applications?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a5ac7b-should-colleges-and-universities-give-preferential-admission-to-minority-group-applicants">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a5ac7b-should-colleges-and-universities-give-preferential-admission-to-minority-group-applicants</a></u>	Evan Semerjian	Monroe Freedman	William Van Alstyne	Robert O'Neil: University of Cincinnati; Slade Gorton: Attorney General, State of Washington; Paul Kurtz: Editor, The Humanist; George Roche: President, Hillsdale College.
4/18/1974	Should Newspapers Be Required to Give Reply Space to Political Candidates and Others They Have Attacked?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/2806a1-should-newspapers-be-required-to-give-reply-space-to-political-">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/2806a1-should-newspapers-be-required-to-give-reply-space-to-political-</a></u>	Charles Rogovin	Tobias Simon	William Van Alstyne	Jerome Barron – George Washington Law School; Tracy Westen – Director, Public Communication, Inc.; Benno Schmidt, Jr. – Professor of Law, Columbia University; Reginald Murphy – Editor, The Atlanta Constitution.

		<a href="#">candidates-and-others-they-have-attac</a>				
5/2/1974	Should Defenses Based on Pleas of Insanity Be Abolished in Criminal Trials?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/7cf709-should-defenses-based-on-pleas-of-insanity-be-abolished-in-criminal-trials">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/7cf709-should-defenses-based-on-pleas-of-insanity-be-abolished-in-criminal-trials</a>	Evan Semerjian	Zipporah Wiseman	Lloyd Weinreb	Joseph Goldstein: Professor of Law, Yale University; Dr. Thomas Szasz: Professor of Psychiatry, State University of New York; Lawrence Freedman: Psychiatrist, University of Chicago; Sanford Kadish - Professor of Law, University of California, Berkeley (Taped at the Old Federal Courthouse in St. Paul MN).
5/2/1974	Should Marriage Between Homosexuals Be Permitted?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f4ae6e-should-marriage-between-homosexuals-be-permitted">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/f4ae6e-should-marriage-between-homosexuals-be-permitted</a>	Thomas Atkins	Franklin Kameny	Tobias Simon	Elaine Noble - Emerson College; Dr. Richard Green - Assoc. Prof. of Psychiatry, UCLA; Prof. Robin Smith - Dept. of Philosophy, Occidental College; Dr. Charles Socarides, MD - Assoc. Clinical Professor; Albert Einstein, Medical School.
5/23/1974	Should We Limit the Size of Investments By Banks and Other Large Institutions in the Stock Market?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9964d2-should-we-limit-the-size-of-investments-by-banks-and-other">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9964d2-should-we-limit-the-size-of-investments-by-banks-and-other</a>	Thomas Atkins	Roy Schotland	Ray Myers	Chris Welles – Institutional Investor Magazine; Thomas Martin – President, Anchor Corporation; Donald Weeden – Board Chairman, Weeden & Co.; Roderick O’Neil – Exec. Vice President, Manufacturers, Hanover Trust (Taped at the Pacific <i>Stock</i> Exchange

		<u>large-institutions-in-the-stock-market</u>				in Los Angeles).
3/9/1978	Should Congress Pass President Carter's Welfare/Jobs Bill?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9ea265-should-congress-pass-president-carter-s-welfare-jobs-bill">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/9ea265-should-congress-pass-president-carter-s-welfare-jobs-bill</a></u>	Marilyn Berger	Franklin Raines	John Kramer	Arnold Packer – Assistant Secretary of Labor; Carol Burris – President, Women’s Lobby; George Gilder – Writer, Social Critic; Alvin Schorr – Author, “Jubilee of Our Times”.
3/30/1978	Should the Federal Government Guarantee Comprehensive Medical Care For All Americans?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/fe9d71-should-the-federal-government-guarantee-comprehensive-medical-care-for-all-americans">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/fe9d71-should-the-federal-government-guarantee-comprehensive-medical-care-for-all-americans</a></u>	Marilyn Berger	Patricia Butler	William Rusher	Max Fine – Executive Director, Committee for National Health Insurance; Bert Seidman – Economist, Director AFL-CIO, Dept. of Social Security; Congressman Philip Crane (R-IL), House Ways and Means, Health subcommittee; Walter McClure, Ph.D. – Health Policy Analyst.
4/27/1978	Should Congress Provide More Protection for Union Organizing?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/cde83c-should-congress-provide-more-protection-for-union-">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/cde83c-should-congress-provide-more-protection-for-union-</a></u>	Marilyn Berger	Stephen Schlossberg	Vincent Apruzzese	Thomas Donahue – Executive Assistant to the President of AFL-CIO; Howard Lesnick – Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania; Peter Nash – Labor Law Attorney; Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Subcommittee on



		<u>organizing</u>				Employment.
5/11/1978	Should the Federal Government Give Tax Credits to Help Pay for School Tuition?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/5d5c78-should-the-federal-government-give-tax-credits-to-help-pay-for-school-tuition">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/5d5c78-should-the-federal-government-give-tax-credits-to-help-pay-for-school-tuition</a>	Marilyn Berger	Antonin Scalia	William Van Alstyne	Sen. S.I. Hayakawa (R-Ca); Walter Williams – Economist, Temple University Cong. Paul Simon (D-IL); Albert Shanker – President, United Federation of Teachers.
5/25/1978	Should the Federal Trade Commission Ban Advertising on Children's Television?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a5d687-should-the-federal-trade-commission-ban-advertising-on-children-s-television">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a5d687-should-the-federal-trade-commission-ban-advertising-on-children-s-television</a>	Marilyn Berger	Nicholas Johnson	Edwin Diamond	Tracy Westen - Bureau of Consumer Protection, Federal Trade Commission; Joan Gussow - Chair, Program in Nutrition, Columbia University; Richard Jencks - Media Consultant, Ex-President, CBS Broadcast Group; Lee Loevinger - Former Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission.
6/6/1978	Should the United States Support 'Self-Determination' for Palestinians in a Middle East Peace Settlement?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/cf45d9-should-the-united-states-support-self-determination-for-palestinians">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/cf45d9-should-the-united-states-support-self-determination-for-palestinians</a>	Marilyn Berger	Fouad Ajami	Morris Abram	Naseer Aruri - Prof. Political Science, Southeastern Mass. University; George Ball - Former Undersecretary of State; Ben Nitay - Economic Consultant (later to be known as Benjamin Netanyahu); Robert Tucker - Prof. International Politics, Johns Hopkins University.

		<a href="#"><u>-in-a-middle-east-peace-settleme</u></a>				
7/20/1978	Should the Federal Government Reduce Everybody's Income Tax Thirty Percent Over ... Three Years?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/04982a-should-the-federal-governmen-t-reduce-everybody-s-income-tax-thirty-percent-over-the-next-three-years"><u>http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/04982a-should-the-federal-governmen-t-reduce-everybody-s-income-tax-thirty-percent-over-the-next-three-years</u></a>	Marilyn Berger	William Rusher	Stephen Schlossberg	Cong. Jack Kemp (R-NY), Sponsor of Kemp-Roth Bill; Wendell Wilkie Gunn – Vice President, Chase Manhattan Bank; Robert M. Dunn, Jr. – Professor Of Economics, George Washington University; Cong. Richard Bolling (D-MO) Chair, Joint Economics Committee.
2/11/1979	Should U.S. Foreign Policy Include Covert Action By the C.I.A.?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/d42c41-should-united-states-foreign-policy-include-covert-action-by-the-cia"><u>http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/d42c41-should-united-states-foreign-policy-include-covert-action-by-the-cia</u></a>	Marilyn Berger	Barney Frank	Margaret Marshall	William Colby – Director, CIA 1973-1976; Professor Lyman Kirkpatrick – CIA Official, 1947-1965; Morton Halperin – Director, Center for National Security Studies; Robert Borosage – Institute for Policy Studies.
2/18/1979	Should Journalists Have the Right to Protect Their Sources?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a67a24-should-journalists-have-the-right-to-"><u>http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/a67a24-should-journalists-have-the-right-to-</u></a>	Michael Dukakis	Charles Nesson	Avi Nelson	Daniel Schorr – Journalist; Floyd Abrams – Attorney; David Wilson – Boston Globe; Prof. Larry Simms – Former Counsel, Reporter’s Committee.

		<u>protect- their- sources</u>				
3/11/1979	Should Congress Deregulate Trucking?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/540844-should-congress-deregulate-trucking">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/540844-should-congress-deregulate-trucking</a></u>	Michael Dukakis	Barney Frank	R. Lisle Baker	Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Ma); Leaman McCoy - True Transport; James Miller - Economist; Daniel Sweeney - Attorney for shipper groups; Arthur Imperatore - President of APA Corp.
3/18/1979	Should the U.S. Agree to United Nations Control of Undersea Mining?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/09ccea-should-the-u-s-agree-to-united-nations-control-of-undersea-mining">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/09ccea-should-the-u-s-agree-to-united-nations-control-of-undersea-mining</a></u>	Marilyn Berger	Randall Robinson	Lew Crampton	Ralph Ochan – International Law Attorney; Paul McCloskey (R-CA); Northcutt Ely – International Lawyer; Professor John Flipse – Ocean Engineering, Texas A&M.
3/25/1979	Should We End the Courts' Authority Over Truant, Runaway and Incurrigible Children?	<u><a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/b10434-should-we-end-the-courts-authority-over-truant-runaway-and-incorrigible-children">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/b10434-should-we-end-the-courts-authority-over-truant-runaway-and-incorrigible-children</a></u>	Michael Dukakis	Charles Nesson	Margaret Marshall	Kenneth Wooden – Investigative Reporter; Judge Luke Quinn – Genessee County, MIT; George Silcott – The Wiltwyck School, Mount Kisco NY; John Milligan – Juvenile Judge, Canton Ohio.

4/1/1979	Should There Be a Constitutional Amendment Requiring a Balanced Federal Budget?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/21c0fc-should-there-be-a-constitutional-amendment-requiring-a-balanced-federal-budget">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/21c0fc-should-there-be-a-constitutional-amendment-requiring-a-balanced-federal-budget</a>	Michael Dukakis	Avi Nelson	Barney Frank	Edmund G. Brown, Jr. – Governor of California (via remote); Professor Charles Baird – California State University; Hayward Sen. James McClure (R-ID); Henry Reuss – Chair, House Banking Committee; John Kenneth Galbraith – Economist.
4/8/1979	Should Congress Substantially Increase Federal Funding for Public Broadcasting?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/e8cba7-should-congress-substantially-increase-federal-funding-for-public-broadcasting">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/e8cba7-should-congress-substantially-increase-federal-funding-for-public-broadcasting</a>	Michael Dukakis	Roger Fisher	William Rusher	William Henry III – TV Critic, Boston Globe; Eli Evans – President, Charles H. Revson Foundation; William Poorvu – Boston Broadcasters, Inc.; M. Stanton Evans – Syndicated Columnist.
4/22/1979	Should We Have a Compulsory System of Service for All Young Americans?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/40307a-should-we-have-a-compulsory-system-of-service-for-all-young-americans">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/40307a-should-we-have-a-compulsory-system-of-service-for-all-young-americans</a>	Marilyn Berger	Pete McCloskey	Lew Crampton	Rep. Robin Beard (R-TN); Harris Wofford – National Service Study; Rep. Jim Weaver (D-OR); Barry Lynn – Attorney United Church of Christ.

4/29/1979	Should We Cut Back Veteran's Preference for State and Federal Jobs to Provide More Opportunity for Women?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/249620-should-we-cut-back-veteran-s-preference-for-state-and-federal-jobs-to-provide-more-opportunities-for">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/249620-should-we-cut-back-veteran-s-preference-for-state-and-federal-jobs-to-provide-more-opportunities-for</a>	Michael Dukakis	Margaret Marshall	Avi Nelson	Alan Campbell – Director, Office of Personnel Management; Virginia Dondy – Equal Opportunity Office, Dept. of Air Force; Norman Hartnett – Disabled American Veterans; Rep. James Hanley (D-NY).
5/6/1979	Should Puerto Rico Become a State, a Commonwealth, or an Independent Nation?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/2e1010-should-puerto-rico-become-a-state-a-commonwealth-or-an-independent-nation">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/2e1010-should-puerto-rico-become-a-state-a-commonwealth-or-an-independent-nation</a>	Michael Dukakis	Jaime Fuster	Joaquin Marquez	Jose Arsenio Torres - Professor, University of Puerto Rico; Former Senator Reinaldo Paniagua; Former Secretary of State Ruben Berrios Martinez - President, Puerto Rican Independence Party.
5/13/1979	Should We Stop Construction of Nuclear Power Plants?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/b9a2ac-should-we-stop-construction-of-nuclear-power-plants">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/b9a2ac-should-we-stop-construction-of-nuclear-power-plants</a>	Michael Dukakis	Anthony Roisman	Avi Nelson	Michio Kaku – Nuclear Physicist, CCNY; Charles Komanoff – Energy Analyst; Barry Commoner – Environmentalist, Washington University; David Rossin – Commonwealth; Edison Alan Manne – Stanford University.

5/20/1979	Should Your State Assume Financial Control of its Public Schools?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/83457c-should-your-state-assume-financial-control-of-its-public-schools">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/83457c-should-your-state-assume-financial-control-of-its-public-schools</a>	Michael Dukakis	Wendell Anderson	Antonin Scalia	John Lloyd, Jr. – Attorney; Joel Berke – School Finance Specialist; Thomas Shannon – Executive Director, National School Board Association; James Guthrie – Professor of Education, UC Berkeley.
6/3/1979	Should We Impose Mandatory Controls On Wages, Prices, and Profits?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/3ff8c3-should-we-impose-mandatory-controls-on-wages-prices-and-profits">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/3ff8c3-should-we-impose-mandatory-controls-on-wages-prices-and-profits</a>	Michael Dukakis	Margaret Marshall	Avi Nelson	Joan Bannon, Economist and Assistant Director, United States Conference of Mayors; Gar Alperovitz, Co-Director, National Center for Economic Alternatives; Marvin Kusters, Economist, American Enterprise Institute; David Meiselman, Professor of Economics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
6/24/1979	Should Your State Carry Out Death Sentences?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/706fa7-should-your-state-carry-out-death-sentences">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/706fa7-should-your-state-carry-out-death-sentences</a>	Michael Dukakis	Avi Nelson	Margaret Marshall	Arthur Shuman, Jr. – Former Assistant DA, Philadelphia; Sen. Dale Volker – New York State Legislature; Don Reid – Publisher Emeritus, “The Huntsville Item”; Professor Alan Dershowitz.
9/9/1979	Should We Legalize Marijuana?	<a href="http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/05cb09-should-we-legalize-marijuana">http://open.vault.wgbh.org/catalog/05cb09-should-we-legalize-marijuana</a>	Michael Dukakis	Avi Nelson	William Rusher	Peter Meyers – Chief Counsel, NORML; Dr. Lester Grinspoon – Professor, Harvard Medical School; Dr. Robert DuPont – Founding Director, National Institute on Drug Abuse; James Buckley –

						Former US Senator.
11/4/1984	Who Should Be President?	<a href="http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/dabe2b-who-should-be-president">http://openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/dabe2b-who-should-be-president</a>	Judy Woodruff	William Rusher	Barney Frank	Jack Kemp; Jeane Kirkpatrick; Michael Dukakis; Chris Dodd.

C. A list of all *The Advocates* episodes from 1969-1984.

*Advocates* episodes available to view online in the WGBH Open Vault as indicated above are in **bold** print.

<u>Air Date</u>	<u>Program Topic</u>
10/5/1969	Should the sale of the internal combustion engine be banned in California by 1975?
10/12/1969	Should Congress require work from those on welfare?
10/19/1969	Should the Goodell bill, calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam by December 1, 1970, be adopted?
10/26/1969	Should Congress provide funds to develop a U.S. supersonic transport?
11/2/1969	Should The States Adopt Legislation Allowing Any Woman To Terminate Pregnancy At Any Time During The First Three Months?
11/9/1969	Should we prohibit law suits over auto accidents and have each driver buy insurance for his own injuries?
11/16/1969	Should The Federal Government Issue No Further Leases For Off-shore Drilling?
11/23/1969	Should involuntary confinement on the grounds of mental illness be abolished?
11/30/1969	Should criminal penalties for the use of marijuana be abolished?
12/7/1969	Should the police be relieved of responsibility for social problems to concentrate on major crime?
12/14/1969	Should We Require Each Ninth-grade Student To Take A Course In Afro-American Culture And History?
12/21/1969	Should we stop giving Christmas presents to restore the meaning of Christmas?
12/28/1969	Should Drunk Drivers Get Mandatory Prison Sentences Or Treatment For First Offenses?
1/4/1970	Should We Legalize Gambling on Pro Football?
1/11/1970	Should We Use Half Of The Federal Gasoline Tax For Mass Transit?
1/18/1970	Should We Allow Anyone to Obtain a Divorce After a Six-Months



	Separation?
1/25/1970	Should Indian Reservations Be Continued Indefinitely?
2/8/1970	Should Congress Limit Farm Subsidy Payments To No More Than \$20,000 Per Family Farm?
<b>2/15/1970</b>	<b>Should we now lift the embargo on trade with Cuba?</b>
2/22/1970	Should the U.S. Army instruct every soldier to ignore any military order to engage in conduct that he reasonably believes to contrary to international laws of war?
3/1/1970	Should the Congress appropriate further funds to maintain, improve or protect land-based missiles in the United States?
3/8/1970	Should The U.S. Government Make Contraceptives Available To Every American Including Teenagers And To Conduct An Education Campaign To Limit Population?
3/15/1970	Should the federal government subsidize the development of prepaid group practice medical care plans, and make Medicare-Medicaid payments contingent on membership in them wherever they exist?
3/22/1970	Should Criminal Trials Be Televised?
3/29/1970	Should The U.S. End Restrictions On Low-Cost Foreign Oil? Part I
4/5/1970	Should The U.S. End Restrictions On Low-Cost Foreign Oil? Part II
4/6/1970	Should Colleges Reschedule Classes So That Students Get Two Weeks Off to Work in Political Campaigns?
4/12/1970	Should Your City Or Town Try To Integrate Its Public Schools Through Redistricting And Busing? Part I
4/19/1970	Should Your City Or Town Try To Integrate Its Public Schools Through Redistricting And Busing? Part II
<b>4/26/1970</b>	<b>Should Colleges Adopt A Fixed Rule Expelling Any Student Who Used Obstruction, Sit-ins, Or Other Means of Illegal Physical Force As A Means of Persuasion?</b>
5/3/1970	Should We Outlaw Sidearms For All But Police, Licensed Guards And Proprietors Of Small Businesses?
<b>5/9/1970</b>	<b>Should Your City Provide Methadone to Heroin Addicts?</b>
5/10/1970	Should Congress Resolve That The President Immediately Withdraw All Troops, Aid And Advisors From Cambodia And Commit No Further Forces Outside Vietnam?

5/31/1970	Should automatic probation replace prison sentences for all those convicted of non-violent crimes of theft?
6/7/1970	Should Shareholders Insist That Corporations Have Special Directors To Represent Consumers And The Environment?
6/14/1970	The Middle-East: Where do we go from here?" (Part I: The case against U.S. support for Israel)
6/21/1970	The Middle-East: Where do we go from here?" (Part II: The case for U.S. support for Israel)
6/28/1970	So that women may work and men may share in family tasks, should unions demand that everyone be given the option to work full or half- time?
10/13/1970	Should the Federal Government Subsidize All Campaigns for Federal Office?
10/20/1970	Should Public Education Funds Go Directly to Parents in the Form of Vouchers for use at Public or Private Schools of their Choice?
10/27/1970	Should We Prohibit the Police From Keeping Intelligence Files on Political Dissidents?
11/3/1970	Should the Federal Government Register Voters for Presidential Elections?
11/10/1970	Should Congress Approve Import Quotas on Shoes and Textiles?
11/17/1970	Should the Legislative Recommendations of the Pornography Commission Be Adopted?
11/24/1970	Should Those Subject to Military Service and Those who have evaded it Now Be Eligible for Selective Service Conscientious Objector Status?
12/1/1970	Should the Federal Government Guarantee a Minimum Income to Every American?
12/8/1970	Should the United States Agree to a Coalition Government in Saigon? Part I
12/15/1970	Should the United States Agree to a Coalition Government in Saigon? Part II
12/22/1970	Is Grand Apartheid a Policy Worthy of U.S. Support?
12/29/1970	Should the United States Discourage American Investment in South Africa?
<b>1/5/1971</b>	<b>Should the government adopt long-term wage and price controls for selected unions and industries?</b>
1/12/1971	Should the Congressional Seniority System Be Abolished?
1/19/1971	Should the Federal Government Set Limits on the Tar and Nicotine Content of Cigarettes?

1/26/1971	Should a Governor Have Final Veto over Federal Legal Aid Services in his State?
2/9/1971	Should All Drugs Be Legalized?
2/16/1971	Should there be a Moratorium on the Construction of Nuclear Power Plants?
2/23/1971	Should your state adopt a pre-trial preventative detention law?
3/9/1971	Should We Amend the Constitution to Permit Prayer in the Public Schools?
3/16/1971	Should Congress Adopt President Nixon's General Revenue Sharing Plan?
3/23/1971	Should The U.S. Cut Off Military Aid to Greece?
3/30/1971	Should The Proposed Defense Budget Be Approved?
4/13/1971	Should President Nixon pardon Lieutenant Calley?
<b>4/20/1971</b>	<b>If you opposed the war, should you answer the call for massive civil disobedience?</b>
4/27/1971	Should We Have An All-Volunteer Army?
5/11/1971	Should The Trans-Alaska Pipeline Be Built?
5/18/1971	Should public employees at the state and local level have the right to strike?
5/25/1971	Should J. Edgar Hoover Be Replaced?
6/1/1971	Should the federal government compel suburbs to accept low-income housing?
6/8/1971	Should The U.S. Accept Peking As The One Government Of China For All Purposes?
6/15/1971	Should Capital Gains be taxed as ordinary income?
6/22/1971	Should The Congress Force Withdrawal Of All U.S. Troops From Indochina By December 31, 1971?
6/29/1971	Should The Philadelphia Plan Be Extended To All Federal and Federally Assisted Construction?
<b>10/05/1971</b>	<b>Should the Government Drop the Charges Against Daniel Ellsberg?</b>
10/12/1971	Should a state refuse to negotiate with prisoners holding hostages?
10/19/1971	Should The FCC Prohibit Commercials on Children's Television?
10/26/1971	Should public funds be used for non-public education?
<b>11/2/1971</b>	<b>Should Television News Be Exempt From the Fairness Doctrine?</b>

11/9/1971	Should Congress Establish A National No-Fault Insurance Plan?
11/16/1971	Should Congress Ban Private Ownership of Handguns?
<b>11/23/1971</b>	<b>Should Congress Limit the President's War Powers?</b>
<b>11/30/1971</b>	<b>Should Congress Enact a National Involuntary Commitment Program for Narcotic Addicts?</b>
12/7/1971	Should Congress Limit the Presidents War Powers?
12/14/1971	Should Congress Make Strikers Ineligible To Receive Public Aid?
12/21/1971	Should Our Presidents Be Limited To A Single Six Year Term?
12/28/1971	Should The Senate Pass And States Ratify The Equal Rights Amendment For Women?
1/4/1972	Should New York City Become the 51st State?
<b>1/11/1972</b>	<b>Should Courts Be Able to Admit Evidence Police Have Seized Illegally?</b>
1/18/1972	Should Gambling Be Legalized?
1/25/1972	Should The United States Reduce Its Troops In Europe?
2/1/1972	Should The U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty Be Terminated?
2/15/1972	Should The U.S. Claim Jurisdiction Over Fishing To A Limit of 200 Miles From Its Shores?
<b>2/22/1972</b>	<b>Should the Olympics Be Open to Professional Athletes?</b>
2/29/1972	Should Your State Repeal Local Property Taxes in Favor of Statewide Financing for Public Schools?
3/7/1972	Should Unions Be Forbidden From Organizing More Than One Competing Company?
3/14/1972	Should the Government Regulate the Foreign Operations of Multinational Corporations?
3/21/1972	Should the Constitution Be Amended To Prohibit The Assignment Of School Children On The Basis Of Race?
<b>3/28/1972</b>	<b>Should Large Corporations Be Driven Out of Farming?</b>
4/4/1972	Should Prostitution Be Legalized?
4/11/1972	Should Congress Appropriate Funds To Develop The Space Shuttle?
4/18/1972	Should The Press Be Prohibited From Publishing Classified Material?

4/25/1972	Should The United States Support The Unification Of Ireland?
5/2/1972	Should The Law Permit Voluntary Euthanasia For The Terminally Ill?
5/9/1972	Should The U.S. Ban The Sale And Manufacture of DDT?
5/16/1972	Should Congress Act Now to Override the President and Withdraw All American Air, Naval and Ground Forces from Indochina?
5/23/1972	Should government finance a comprehensive day care program?
5/30/1972	Should We Adopt A National Presidential Primary?
6/6/1972	Should the developed nations limit their economic growth? Part I
6/13/1972	Should the developed nations limit their economic growth? Part II
10/5/1972	Debate #1 in the McGovern - Nixon 1972 Presidential Election: Should You Support McGovern's Defense Proposal?
10/12/1972	Debate #2 in the McGovern - Nixon 1972 Presidential Election: Should You Support McGovern's Tax Reform Package?
10/19/1972	Debate #3 in the McGovern - Nixon 1972 Presidential Election: Do you support the President's policy in Indochina?
10/26/1972	Debate #3 in the McGovern - Nixon 1972 Presidential Election: Do You Approve of the President's Management of the Economy?
11/2/1972	Should We Vote For President Nixon Or Senator McGovern?
11/9/1972	<b>Would Justice Be Served Better if a Jury Didn't Have to be Unanimous to Convict Someone?</b>
11/16/1972	<b>Should the News Media Refuse to Publish Candidate Preference Polls?</b>
11/23/1972	<b>Would We Be Safer From Crime If We Closed Down Most of Our Prisons?</b>
12/7/1972	<b>Should Newsmen Be Allowed to Keep Secret Their Sources of Information Without Fear of Jail?</b>
12/14/1972	Should Women Be Permitted Abortion on Demand
12/28/1972	<b>Should public use of our national parks be restricted?</b>
1/4/1973	<b>Should Your State Restore the Death Penalty?</b>
1/11/1973	Should The Congress Act To Cut Off Funds For The War In Indochina?
1/19/1973	Should Drug Advertisements Be Banned From Television

1/25/1973	<b>Should Half of the Federal Dollars Reserved for Highways Be Diverted to Mass Transit System?</b>
2/1/1973	<b>Should Social Security benefits be financed in part from general tax revenues?</b>
2/8/1973	Should We Create A National Court Of Appeals To Ease The Burden On The Supreme Court
2/15/1973	<b>Should the President Spend the Money Congress Appropriates?</b>
2/22/1973	Should unconditional amnesty be granted to those who have evaded military service?
3/8/1973	Should We Support The National Lettuce Boycotts?
3/12/1973	<b>Should the U.S. Immediately Develop Its Oil, Coal, and Other Resources to Meet the Energy Crisis?</b>
3/13/1973	Should The United States Turn Over Control Of The Panama Canal Zone To Panama
3/29/1973	Should the United States Government Adopt a Program of Heroin Maintenance?
4/5/1973	<b>Should The U.S. Government Establish An Independent Consumer Protection Agency?</b>
5/8/1973	<b>Should the Law Allow Birth Control Treatment for Teenagers Without Their Parents' Consent?</b>
5/21/1973	Who's To Save Our Railroads?
6/11/1973	Should Congress adopt the Administration plan for broadcast license renewal?
10/4/1973	Should the Senate Select Committee End its Public Hearings Now?
10/12/1973	Should the US Expand its Nuclear Power Program? / Nuclear Power: Where Do We Go From Here
10/18/1973	Should Plea Bargaining be Abolished?
10/31/1973	<b>Should Your State Adopt a Constitutional Amendment to Limit State Spending?</b>
11/8/1973	Should We End All Wage and Price Controls Now?
11/15/1973	Should There Be a Moratorium on Strip Mining in the West?
12/13/1973	Should the US Grant Normal Trade Privileges to the Soviet Union?

12/20/1973	<b>Should the United States Press for Israeli Withdrawal from Occupied Territories and Offer to Guarantee Israel's Security?</b>
1/3/1974	<b>Should the President Be Impeached?</b>
1/3/1974	<b>Would the Nation Be Better Off if Fewer People Went to College?</b>
1/10/1974	Should the Government Institute Coupon Rationing of Gasoline Now?
1/17/1974	<b>Should We Rely on Nuclear Power to Help Supply Our Future Emergency Needs?</b>
1/24/1974	<b>Should Congress Create a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation to Compete With Private Industry?</b>
2/7/1974	<b>Should the Federal Government Subsidize Political Campaigns and Limit Individual Contributions?</b>
2/14/1974	<b>Should We Develop Highly Accurate Missiles and Emphasize Military Targets Rather than Cities?</b>
2/21/1974	<b>Should All Medical Experiments on Prisoners Be Banned?</b>
3/7/1974	<b>Should Courts Admit Evidence that Police Have Seized Illegally?</b>
3/14/1974	<b>Should Colleges and Universities Give Preferential Admission to Minority Group Applications?</b>
3/21/1974	Should the Government's Monopoly on First Class Mail Be Ended?
4/4/1974	Should We End All Military Aid to South Vietnam
4/11/1974	Should We Have a Permanent Special Prosecutor's Office
4/18/1974	<b>Should Newspapers Be Required to Give Reply Space to Political Candidates and Others They Have Attacked?</b>
5/2/1974	<b>Should Defenses Based on Pleas of Insanity Be Abolished in Criminal Trials?</b>
5/2/1974	<b>Should Marriage Between Homosexuals Be Permitted?</b>
5/23/1974	<b>Should We Limit the Size of Investments By Banks and Other Large Institutions in the Stock Market?</b>
6/16/1974	Special inquiry on the UN Treaty Law of the Sea
1977	Should Congress Pass Carter's Energy Package?
1978	Should public institutions be permitted to give preferential treatment to minorities in hiring and admissions?
1978	Should the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) be ratified?

1978	Should the United States reject detente as its strategy in dealing with the Soviet Union?
1978	<b>Should the United States support self-determination for Palestinians in a Middle East peace settlement?</b>
<b>3/9/1978</b>	<b>Should Congress Pass President Carter's Welfare/Jobs Bill?</b>
<b>3/30/1978</b>	<b>Should the Federal Government Guarantee Comprehensive Medical Care For All Americans?</b>
<b>4/27/1978</b>	<b>Should Congress Provide More Protection for Union Organizing?</b>
<b>5/11/1978</b>	<b>Should the Federal Government Give Tax Credits to Help Pay for School Tuition?</b>
<b>5/25/1978</b>	<b>Should the Federal Trade Commission Ban Advertising on Children's Programs?</b>
<b>7/20/1978</b>	<b>Should the Federal Government Reduce Everybody's Income Tax Thirty Percent Over ... Three Years?</b>
1979	Election '80: Which candidate best shows the ability to lead our country for the next four years?
1979	Election '80: Which major candidate will best ensure a dependable energy supply?
1979	Election '80: Which of the three major candidates will best manage relations with the Soviet Union?
1979	Election '80: Which of the three major candidates will best serve the needs of the nation's poor?
1979	Election '80: Who's Best For America: The Economy
<b>5/6/1979</b>	<b>Should Congress admit Puerto Rico as a state or grant it independence?</b>
<b>4/8/1979</b>	<b>Should Congress Substantially Increase Federal Funding for Public Broadcasting?</b>
1979	Should the senate approve the SALT II Agreement?
1979	Should the U.S. give its support to the new government of Zimbabwe / Rhodesia?
1979	Should the US move to break the price-setting power of OPEC?
<b>4/22/1979</b>	<b>Should we have a compulsory system of service for all young Americans?</b>



<b>6/3/1979</b>	<b>Should We Impose Mandatory Controls On Wages, Prices and Profits?</b>
<b>9/9/1979</b>	<b>Should we legalize marijuana?</b>
1979	Should Your State Require a Minimum Competency Test for High School Graduates?
<b>2/11/1979</b>	<b>Should U.S. Foreign Policy Include Covert Action By the C.I.A.?</b>
<b>2/18/1979</b>	<b>Should Journalists Have the Right to Protect Their Sources?</b>
<b>3/11/1979</b>	<b>Should Congress Deregulate Trucking?</b>
<b>3/18/1979</b>	<b>Should the U.S. Agree to United Nations Control of Undersea Mining?</b>
<b>3/25/1979</b>	<b>Should We End the Courts' Authority Over Truant, Runaway and Incurable Children?</b>
<b>4/1/1979</b>	<b>Should There Be a Constitutional Amendment Requiring a Balanced Federal Budget?</b>
<b>4/29/1979</b>	<b>Should We Cut Back Veteran's Preference for State and Federal Jobs to Provide More Opportunity for Women?</b>
<b>5/13/1979</b>	<b>Should We Stop Construction of Nuclear Power Plants?</b>
<b>5/20/1979</b>	<b>Should Your State Assume Financial Control of its Public Schools?</b>
<b>6/24/1979</b>	<b>Should Your State Carry Out Death Sentences?</b>
5/12/1982	Up Close: Hazardous Waste
<b>11/4/1984</b>	<b>Who should be President?</b>
date uncertain	Should Congress withhold funds from states that don't adopt acceptable land use plans?
date uncertain	Should The United States Continue To Reduce Its Aid To Developing Countries?
date uncertain	Does Executive Privilege Justify the President's Withholding the Watergate Tapes?