

~~FINAL~~
~~draft #4~~

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

It's amazing what you miss when you are on vacation or traveling out of the country. Until recently, I hadn't even heard about the controversy over the new Calvin Klein ads.

Now that I'm back in Washington I'm finally tuned in. Friends have sent me clippings and news stories. I've seen the ads myself, which show young people in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear in view beneath their shorts and skirts.

From what I can tell, most of the controversy centers on definitions of pornography, First Amendment rights, and the boundaries of artistic expression.

All of those things are important. But I think we're missing a larger point.

Not every question of morality and taste is a question of the Constitution or the law.

The Calvin Klein ads are ^{disturbing} [powerful] because they feed on the innocence and vulnerability of children. And the cynical message

delivered to young people is that their value as human beings depends on looking sexy and acting cool.

It's hard enough for kids these days to grow up feeling confident and secure about who they are. What we should be doing as a society is helping young people focus on school work and other positive activities that build self-discipline and character -- not adding to the confusion and anxiety that is part of growing up.

If you care about your family's values, as I do, you have to be concerned about values in the marketplace. You have to be concerned about the messages conveyed through the things we buy and sell.

Let's face it: Business decisions affect how people think and behave. In his recent book, Selling Out America's Children, David Walsh points out that careful calculation -- and billions of dollars -- go into advertising campaigns in order to shape opinions and change tastes.

Advertising, he says, is really "adver-teasing."

And "adver-teasing" is usually driven by a yearning for profits more than any concern for decency, civility, taste, or morality.

That is why raising our voices about how a company sells blue jeans can be just as important as the values we teach in our own homes.

The Calvin Klein ads are merely the latest proof that some businesses are willing to push the envelope of gratuitous sex and exploitation of children as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

But they are not the only ads we need to worry about. The pervasive influence of exploitative advertising touches every aspect of our lives.

We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. ~~You look.~~ You can't resist ^{in details look} ~~seeing the blood and gore,~~ even though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

Today, it's as if our society is a highway full of car wrecks. Only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What modern culture desperately needs are internal values that call on us to exercise our responsibilities, as well as our

rights, as citizens. Instead of trying to justify inappropriate behavior, people in positions of power must start to behave responsibly and show restraint.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. This fall, new movies and television shows that go further than ever before in showing graphic images of sex and violence will appear in theaters and on prime time. No doubt, they will make lots of money from the controversies they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- we, the public, have finally had enough of seeing children and women depicted as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, those of us who go to movies and watch television will stay away from the theaters and turn off our sets because we are so offended by the gratuitous violence, sexual degradation and bad taste we are subjected to on the screen.

But let's not wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, let's make it clear where we stand.

If you don't like the message, don't buy the product. Don't

let your kids buy it. And remember that even if your own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because adults can't control their own greed.

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draft #4

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COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

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From what I can tell, most of the controversy centers on definitions of pornography, First Amendment rights, and the boundaries of artistic expression.

All of those things are important. But I think we're missing a larger point.

Not every question of morality and taste is a question of the Constitution or the law.

It's hard enough for kids these days to grow up feeling confident and secure about who they are. The Calvin Klein ads are

powerful because they feed on the innocence and vulnerability of children. And the cynical message delivered to young people is

that ^{their value as} they are better human beings ^{depends on whether} if they look ^{ine} sexy and act cool.

That's why some young girls wear revealing clothes and boys will be violent to fight over the logo on a pair of sneakers.

What we should be doing as a society is helping young people focus on ^{their} school work and other ^{positive} activities that build ^{their} self-discipline and ^{character} ~~achievement~~ ^{that is part of growing up.} esteem -- not add to their confusion and anxiety about their

~~inner worth.~~

That's why, if you care about your family's values, as I do, you have to be concerned about values in the marketplace. You have to be concerned about the messages conveyed through the things we buy and sell.

Let's face it: Business decisions affect how people think and behave. In his recent book, Selling Out America's Children, David Walsh points out that careful calculation -- and billions of dollars -- go into advertising campaigns in order to shape opinions and change tastes.

Advertising, he says, is really "adver-teasing."

And "adver-teasing" is usually driven by a yearning for profits more than a ^{my} concern for ^{degeneracy} civility, taste, ^{or} morality, ~~or~~ ^{typical} ethics -- all values that ^{typical} don't make money.

That is why raising our voices about how a company sells blue jeans can be just as important as the values we teach in our own homes.

The Calvin Klein ads are merely the latest proof that some businesses are willing to push the envelope of gratuitous sex and exploitation of children as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

But they are not the only ads we need to worry about. ~~It's~~ ^{Re} the pervasive influence of exploitative advertising ~~that~~ touches every aspect of our lives.

We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore, even though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

Today, it's as if our ^{Society} ~~culture~~ is a highway full of car wrecks. Only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What ^{Modern} ~~our~~ culture desperately needs are internal values that call on us to exercise our responsibilities, as well as our

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Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. This fall, new movies and television shows that go further than ever before in showing graphic images of sex and violence will appear ^{in theaters and} on prime time ~~and in front of mass audiences~~. No doubt, they will make lots of money from the controversies they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- ^{we,} the public, ^{have} finally ~~has~~ had enough of seeing children and women depicted as victims and sexual objects.

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###

draft #4

PK
harder than
even for kids
to now & deal
w/ how they

innocence &
understand
children made
new so parents
should help
kids
to us -
then school
work
united

mainly new
more confused
abt new
identities
+ how
new way
new
abt what
it's
cool

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
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CREATORS SYNDICATE

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Now that I'm back in Washington I'm finally tuned in. Friends have sent me clippings and news stories. I've seen the ads myself, which show young people in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear showing beneath their shorts and skirts.

From what I can tell, most of the ^{opposite} controversy centers on ^{around} definitive issues of pornography, First Amendment rights, and the boundaries of artistic expression.

All of those things are important in our society. But I think we're missing a larger point here.

What are we doing to....

Not every question of morality and taste is a question of the Constitution or the law.

If you care about your family's values, as I do, you have to be concerned about values in the marketplace. You have to be

concerned about the messages conveyed through the things we buy and sell.

Let's face it: Business decisions affect how people think and behave. In his recent book, Selling Out America's Children, David Walsh points out that careful calculation -- and billions of dollars -- go into advertising campaigns in order to shape opinions and change tastes.

Advertising, he says, is really "adver-teasing."

And "adver-teasing" is usually driven by a yearning for profits more than a concern for civility, taste, morality, or ethics -- all values that don't make money.

That is why raising our voices about how a company sells blue jeans can be just as important as the values we teach in our own homes.

The Calvin Klein ads are merely the latest proof that some ~~profit-hungry corporations in America~~ ^{some businesses} are willing to push the envelope of gratuitous sex and exploitation of children as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

But they are not the only ads we need to worry about. It's the pervasive influence of exploitative advertising that touches

every aspect of our lives.

We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore, even though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

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Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. This fall, ~~Hollywood will launch several~~ new movies and television shows ~~that~~ go further than ever in showing graphic images of sex and violence, ^{in prime and for mass audiences} No doubt, they will make lots of money from the controversy they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here.

Maybe -- just maybe -- the public finally has had enough of seeing children and women depicted as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers *and all of us who watch TV will stay from the theaters & turn off the television because we* will be too offended ~~to go to films~~ in which women are subjected *by gratuitous violence, sexual degradation & bad taste we are* to acts of sexual degradation on the screen. *subjected*

But let's not wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, let's make it clear where we stand.

If you don't like the message, don't buy the product. Don't let your kids buy it. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because some adults ~~on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood~~ can't control their own greed.

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draft #3

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

It's amazing what you miss when you are on vacation or traveling out of the country. Until recently, I hadn't even heard about the controversy over the new Calvin Klein ads.

Now that I'm back in Washington I'm finally tuned in. Friends have sent me clippings and news stories. I've seen the ads myself, which show young people in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear in ~~full view~~ ^{showing} beneath their shorts and skirts.

From what I can tell, ~~a lot of~~ ^{most of} the controversy centers ~~on~~ ^{opposite to heads} ~~around the definition~~ issues of pornography, First Amendment rights, and the boundaries of artistic expression.

All of those things are important in our society. But I think we're missing a larger point here.

^{Not} Every ~~violation~~ ^{question} of morality and taste is ~~not a violation~~ ^{a question} of the Constitution or the law.

If ~~you are like me~~ ^{your}, and you care about family's values, ^{as I do,} you have to be concerned about values in the marketplace. You have to

be concerned about the messages conveyed through the things we buy and sell.

Let's face it: Business decisions affect how people think and behave. In his recent book, Selling Out America's Children, David Walsh points out that careful calculation -- and billions of dollars -- go into advertising campaigns in order to shape opinions and change tastes.

Advertising, he says, is really "adver-teasing."

And "adver-teasing" is usually driven by a yearning for profits more than a concern for civility, taste, morality, or ethics -- all values that don't make money.

That is why raising our voices about how a company sells blue jeans can be just as important as the values we teach in our own homes.

The Calvin Klein ads are merely the latest proof that profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of gratuitous sex and exploitation of children as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

But they are not the only ads we need to worry about. It's the pervasive influence of exploitative advertising ^{touches} ~~in~~ every

aspect of our lives.

~~A car wreck metaphor~~ comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore, even though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks. Only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What our culture desperately needs are internal values that speak to the responsibilities, as well as the rights, we have as citizens. Instead of trying to justify inappropriate behavior, people in positions of power ~~and influence~~ must start to behave responsibly and exercise restraint.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. This fall, Hollywood will launch several new movies and television shows that go further than ever in showing graphic images of sex and violence. No doubt, they will make lots of money ~~off~~ ^{from} the controversy they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here.
Maybe -- just maybe -- the public finally has had enough of seeing ~~mass culture depict~~ ^{deported} children and women as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage ~~over them~~. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and ~~embarrassed~~ to go to the ~~theater~~ ^{movies} ~~to watch women stripped of their clothing and their~~ ^{like shows,} ~~dignity as they are subjected to acts of sexual degradation on~~ ^{in which women} the screen.

But let's not wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, let's make it clear where we stand.

~~If you are after~~ ^{don't like the message,}
~~My advice is:~~ ^{if} Don't buy the products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because some adults on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood can't control their own greed.

###

MEMORANDUM

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa Muscatine *LM*
RE: Column on Calvin Klein etc.
DATE: September 18

This is better but . . . it still needs work.

draft #2

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

euphemize why I
had cater into her
several friends had sent
clippings + outraged
notes

It's amazing what you miss when you are on vacation or traveling out of the country. Until recently, I didn't even know about the controversy over the ads for Calvin Klein jeans.

So much of what has been written about
1st Amendment, pornography — I know that's important
but it's messy
pl

Now I've seen the ads, which show young people in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear in full view beneath their shorts and skirts.

Call me prudish or old-fashioned, but it sickens me that major corporations in this country will exploit and degrade children simply to make a buck.

Much of the latest controversy has centered on whether the ads, in a legal sense, are pornographic. But that misses the point.

What is really at issue here is whether taste, decency, civility, and morality count for anything in our society any more.

I disagree with those who say that making money has nothing

do of values.

I wish there were a an
People like me who are concerned about
the values also have to

What?
have
read
had
suggested

Every one's
of morality +
good taste
is not a question
of a Constitution
or
criminal
law.

be concerned abt
values - interplay -

What happens is the env
affects how people
think + behave

~~Selling abt what~~

Selling abt how so values +
liv + how they make a diff
+ how impacts other people
can be just as imp^t
as values taught in ones
own home

This controversy reminded me of a book —
"Selling out America's children"

& David

Advertising + consumers

~~What~~ What

a company sells, and how it sells it, says a lot about the society in which we live.

If inappropriate depictions of children work as a marketing tool, we as consumers are partly to blame.

Careful calculation -- and millions of dollars -- go into ad campaigns. If an advertisement offends you, don't buy the product. Don't invest in companies that weigh profits above taste and decency.

It's not just the Calvin Klein ads we need to worry about. It's the pervasive influence of ^{exploitative} advertising in every aspect of our lives.

~~There~~

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore, even though you ~~wish you could~~. ^{know you shouldn't slow down and other rubberneckers}

^{could cause another accident by slowing down to look.}

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks. Only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

Over the past 20 years, Tipper Gore has been one of the nation's most outspoken critics of popular culture's exploitation of young people. She and others (including my husband) have argued that internal standards -- what a famous English judge once called "obedience to the unenforceable" -- must be applied throughout our society.

Instead of trying to justify inappropriate or irresponsible behavior, people in positions of power and influence must start to exercise restraint. Good taste and decency must count for something, even if they don't make money.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. The Calvin Klein ads are only the latest proof that profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of sex and violence as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

This fall, Hollywood will launch several new movies and television shows that go further than ever in showing graphic images of sex and violence. No doubt, they will make lots of money off of the controversy they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- the public finally has had enough of seeing mass culture depict children and women as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage over them. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and embarrassed to go to the theater to watch women stripped of their clothing and their dignity as they are subjected to acts of sexual degradation on the screen.

But let's not wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, let's make it clear where we stand.

My advice is: Don't buy the products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because adults on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood can't control their own greed.

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1m draft #1

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

Didn't know what was
going on -

Tipper Gore & people had been doing
joined into this controversy -

I recently saw those Calvin Klein ads in which young people
are photographed in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear
showing beneath their shorts and skirts.

Mass release of expensive art & naked women
in L.V.

A few days later, a friend called to tell me about two new
movies coming out in Hollywood, "Showgirls" and "Striptease,"
both filled with scenes of nudity, sex and violence.

Sometimes you have to wonder what is happening to our
country.

People agreeable whether pornographic
or whether artistic free speech
All of which misses the point.

Call me prudish or old-fashioned, but it sickens me that
sex, violence and gratuitous exploitation of young people and
women are used more and more as a marketing tool in our society.

Doesn't anybody in the entertainment industry, or business,
or the media care about taste, civility, or morality any more?

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it
is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You
slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore,

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Some people say what difference does it make -

we are influenced by advertising - they spread bills
to probe our
we are
conscience

It's not just these ads - it's what we allow ourselves to be subjected to every day in ads

consumers are also
values

what you sell
by
male

it's about your
values

Consumers & values
cannot be

artificially
separated

These shows
etc. overlook
the fact that
is how
people spend
their money

has to
be
w/each
other

must be
willing to
pay for
what
we're

invest
in companies
or buy the
products
or
subscribe
products

even though you wish you could.

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks. Only it's worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What bothers me most about the latest round of commercial sleaze is that it exploits children and women so deliberately and so cynically. The Calvin Klein advertisements, which featured children as young as 15, were really about "the spirit, independence and inner worth of young people today," the fashion designer has been quoted as saying.

I don't know about you, but as a parent I don't think a photo of a teenage girl with her legs spread has a lot to do with conveying a child's inner worth.

~~Too often,~~ Offensive material is defended as "art." Or it is excused because it is "legal."

The fact is that careful planning and calculation goes into ads for jeans and ^{suits for} Hollywood movies. And it's no secret that a good controversy can lead to a public relations and marketing bonanza for the product being sold.

What is missing in our culture are internal standards -- or what John Silber, [the former] president of Boston University, has referred to as "obedience to the unenforceable." Instead of ~~making excuses for~~ ^{trying to justify} their irresponsible behavior, people in positions of power, influence and responsibility must start to exercise restraint. Good taste and decency must start counting for something in our society, even if they don't make money.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. The Calvin Klein ads and the new Hollywood films about strippers are only the latest proof that profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of sex and violence as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- the public finally has had enough of seeing mass culture depict children and women as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage over them. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and embarrassed to go to the theater to watch women stripped of their clothing and their dignity as they are paraded through acts of sexual degradation and violence.

Still, I don't think we should wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, we need to make it clear where we stand.

My advice is: Don't buy the products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because adults on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood are out to make a buck.

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS • BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02215 • 617/353-2240

Boston University Commencement

Main Address

Delivered by

Dr. John Silber

*President
Boston University*

Sunday, May 21, 1995

Obedience to the Unenforceable

John Silber

May 21, 1995

Boston University Commencement

Standing here in 1971 to give my inaugural address, I discussed the changing patterns of American life, the forces and changes that posed special challenges to educators. Today I would like to take a new look at these issues of grave concern to all of us. I want to talk to you about the standards by which we measure the strength and quality of American life — the greatness of our civilization.

Seventy-five years ago, John Fletcher Moulton, Lord Moulton, a noted English judge, spoke on the subject of "Law and Manners." He divided human action into three domains. The first is the domain of law, "where," he said, "our actions are prescribed by laws binding upon us which must be obeyed." At the other extreme is the domain of free choice, "which," he said, "includes all those actions as to which we claim and enjoy complete freedom." And in between, Lord Moulton identified a domain in which our action is not determined by law but in which we are not free to behave in any way we choose. In this domain we act with greater or lesser freedom from constraint, on a continuum that extends at one extreme from a consciousness of duty "nearly as strong as positive law," through a sense of what is required by public spirit, to "good form" appropriate in a given situation and so on up to the border with the domain of free choice, where there is no constraint whatever on what the individual may choose to do.

Lord Moulton considered the area of action lying between law and pure personal preference to be "the domain of obedience to the unenforceable." In this domain, he said, "Obedience is the obedience of a man to that which he cannot be forced to obey. He is the enforcer of the law upon himself." This domain between law and free choice he called that of Manners. While it may include moral duty, social responsibility and proper behavior, it extends beyond them to cover "all cases of doing right where there is no one to make you do it but yourself."

Moulton recognized that all three domains are necessary to the life of every individual. The law with its coercive remedies in both civil and criminal jurisdictions is necessary to establish an essential matrix of order and peace. And the domain of free choice is rightly treasured by each individual, for it is in this area that "spontaneity, originality and energy arise." Moulton, emphasizing its special importance, said, "It covers a precious land where the actions of men are not only such as they choose, but have a right to claim freedom even from criticism."

Considering the topography of this social order, all of us can recognize at once that the middle land of Manners, as Moulton calls it, is threatened by two tendencies: on the one hand, there are those who wish to extend the realm of law to regulate everything. The Congress and the agencies that have mushroomed from its legislation exhibit this tendency to an alarming degree. On the other hand, there is the tendency to claim that anything not ruled by law is a matter of personal choice. This tendency can be seen in the relativism and unbridled hedonism voiced

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in our schools, universities, newspapers, movies and on television by advocates who range from intellectuals and entertainers to the crassest hucksters.

Both the domains of law and free choice threaten to encroach upon the middle domain of Manners. Moulton's central point, one of capital importance, is that "The real greatness of a nation, its true civilization, is measured by the extent of this land of obedience to the unenforceable. It measures the extent to which the nation trusts its citizens, and its area testifies to the way they behave in response to that trust."

Obedience to law does not alone measure a nation's greatness. Totalitarian regimes enforce obedience at the price of cruelty and repression. And in the absence of law mere willfulness or license, far different from liberty, is no proof of greatness. The true test of greatness, Moulton said, is "the extent to which individuals composing that nation can be trusted to obey self-imposed law."

In America today the domains of choice and of law have eroded the domain of manners. As the realm of manners and morals has been diminished by those who claim that whatever they think or do is right if it feels good to them, the central domain loses its force. And despite the expansion of the domain of law, the consequent weakening of the central domain has resulted in a diminution of the authority and effectiveness of the law.

It is against the law to deface public property, to steal, to swindle, to drive while intoxicated, to rape, to bomb and to kill. But our public and private buildings are regularly defaced by graffiti and the territorial markings of juvenile gangs. In our cities many feel imprisoned in their homes, and our persons are at risk on our streets and in our parks. There are twice as many murders a year in New York as in England, and twice as many in Boston as in Argentina. Rape is epidemic and deadly assault by drunken drivers is commonplace. Nor is the crime wave confined to the streets: the Wall Street Journal estimates that stock swindles and other forms of white collar crime cost Americans \$100 billion every year.

But what of enforcement? Indictments number only a small fraction of the crimes committed; convictions only a fraction of the indictments; punishments, except in the case of first degree murder, typically light — a few years, probation, suspended sentence or community service. Even fines are rarely collected. Of the \$4.5 billion dollars owed in fines by stock swindlers, only one dollar in ten has been paid, leaving swindlers with almost all of their ill-gotten gains and their victims uncompensated.

Standards in the profession of law have eroded, as lawyers, judges and juries have become less obedient to the unenforceable. Judges have accommodated to the delays and improper importunings of counsel by frequently excluding from jury duty persons of education and professional and business competence, leaving jury panels composed of the relatively inexperienced and uneducated to try civil cases of

great complexity. In criminal cases, worthy jury men and women are rejected by lawyers concerned not to impanel a jury of twelve good persons and true, representing a cross-section of the community, but a carefully selected jury of persons most likely to respond sympathetically to their side. Impaneling a jury in a murder case, which takes no more than an hour in England, takes weeks in the United States. American trials now drag on endlessly, making jury duty a burden beyond the means or endurance of most individuals.

The O. J. Simpson trial, if held at the Old Bailey, would have taken a few weeks. It is now the *reductio ad absurdum* of our system of criminal justice, a bonanza for broadcasters who are provided a year-long soap opera without the expense of producers, writers, actors, or directors. And the confidence and respect of the American public for lawyers, judges and the jury system have imploded as they watch a trial in which the judge has lost control and lawyers flout legal ethics in their reach for irrelevancies to delay the process and create confusion in the minds of the jury.

Even more alarming than the comedy of the courts is the tragedy of the streets: the random violence, the children killed in drive-by shootings by persons they have never met, and acts of terrorism which demonstrate the inability of a sovereign nation to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

We live in a deeply flawed society and are moving rapidly toward the state of nature that Thomas Hobbes chillingly described: "No arts; no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." This sounds just like *Pulp Fiction*.

We cannot end this state of violence and restore the authority of law simply by getting tough on crime, by relying on the police power of the state, or by calling for capital punishment.

As both Hobbes and Lord Moulton observed, the sovereign cannot establish his authority simply by force or through acts of state terror. Authority and civil order depend in a significant measure on the consent of the governed--that is, on obedience to the unenforceable. The more civilized and enlightened the country, the greater its dependence on the voluntary respect and support of its citizens for law and civil order. The rule of law depends upon the morality of the people.

Obedience to the unenforceable is required to give to the rule of law the power of enforcement which is its essential character. The erosion of manners and morals inevitably undermines the law. Civil society depends not merely on law but on the obedience of the individual citizen who in Moulton's words is "the enforcer of the law upon himself."

The law is not self-sustaining, but depends like science, medicine, higher education, and accounting, on the willingness of scientists, doctors, professors, lawyers and accountants to obey moral principles that are unenforceable.

There is nothing to guarantee the soundness of scientific experiments and theories beyond the moral integrity of scientists and their faithful adherence to the principles of scientific method. If they falsify data they are like accountants who cook the books or lawyers who concoct evidence or bring suits devoid of merit. Their professional work is compromised by their lack of obedience to the unenforceable. The integrity and efficacy of all our professions and businesses rest on this moral foundation.

We must not attribute all our social ills to a single cause, however, for the causes are many. If families had not broken up, if churches had not lost much of their influence, if there had not been an extensive spread of secularism and materialism, if the quality of our schools had not declined despite substantial increases in financial support, if drugs had not become easily available, if some or all of these factors had not been present, we might have withstood the degenerative effects of television and its indiscriminate advocacy of pleasure.

Prior to television and to the breakup of the family, parents typically tried to preserve and extend the ceremonies of innocence in the lives of their children by shielding them from the sordid dimensions of human life, from filthy language, premature exposure to sex, and mindless and indiscriminate violence. But that is now the common experience of children: by age four or five they speak the language of the gutter and teenagers enlarge their experience of violence, obscenity and sex in all its varieties through television, watched on the average for 25 hours a week, through the movies and occasionally even in the schools.

Television is the most important educational institution in the United States today. Since the beginning of human history mankind has known what Aristotle later set down as the fundamental fact about education: that we learn by imitation. Imitation is the dynamic of all education. Why else would English children learn English instead of German? Or German children learn German instead of Spanish? Children imitate what they hear. And what they see they also do. It is as simple as that.

Common sense alone tells us that violence endlessly enacted on television serves as a model for imitation. In many of our great cities we find teenagers, in imitation of what they have seen scores or even hundreds of times on television, engaged in wanton acts of violence, blowing away parents, friends or strangers with a totally amoral, psychopathological indifference to the suffering of others. Even if most youths do not imitate the violent acts they have witnessed, the deluge of television violence infects their sensibilities. Revulsion and abhorrence, our natural reactions to violence, are suppressed. We become reconciled to violence as

though it were a normal part of life, as indeed it has become. Mark Antony made the point when, standing over Caesar's dead body, he prophesied,

Blood and destruction shall be so in use,
And dreadful objects so familiar,
That mothers shall but smile when they behold
Their infants quartered with the hands of war,
All pity choked with custom of fell deeds;

And now new opportunities are open for our youth as the Internet makes available to those accessing it simple straightforward directions for the manufacture of bombs. But our government, which has found it necessary to regulate the formula for ice cream and peanut butter, is reluctant to prohibit the distribution on the Internet of handbooks for terrorists. Such communication threatens our lives in a way that shouting "Fire!" in a crowded theater could never do. Can anyone seriously believe that the First Amendment protects instruction in terrorism through the Internet? Its prohibition clearly meets Mr. Justice Holmes's test of a clear and present danger. It may be technically impossible to control terrorism on the Internet, but that difficulty should not be confused with a constitutional protection.

The level of insensitivity engendered in many of our youth in the last few years is not due exclusively to television and the entertainment industry. On the other hand, it cannot be explained in the absence of television, for there are no other factors adequate in themselves to account for it. Nevertheless, if the influence of television and films were countered by a strong family, a first-rate educational system, or good job opportunities in inner cities, the impact of television would be far less significant and perhaps even negligible.

It has not had an equal influence on all children by any means. Children from strong homes, children attending vital churches and deeply nurtured in religious traditions, children who have developed sound study habits and who in consequence have little time for television, children who have developed a moral center to guide their choice seem remarkably immune.

As television has ravenously consumed our attention, it has weakened the formative institutions of church, family and schools, thoroughly eroding the sense of individual obedience to the unenforceable on which manners and morals and ultimately the law depend. Obviously, we need to rebuild our families, our schools and our churches. But we cannot complete these reforms until something is done about television, for in both its advertising and its programming it has created demands that appeal, not to the best in our natures, but to the worst.

Alarmed by the deterioration of standards, and recognizing one clear source of this decline, we may be tempted to enlarge the domain of law by regulating television and the entertainment industry. But this should give us pause.

I do not advocate altering the First Amendment, nor do I advocate congressional limits on what television stations can program. But isn't it time for those who own television stations and networks and those who own motion picture companies that supply material for television to demonstrate their obedience to the unenforceable?

Let the First Amendment stand as it is. But the moguls of television and movies should recognize that they are contributing directly to the erosion, not only of morals and manners, but of the rule of law itself. Are they going to show obedience to the unenforceable by asserting their moral responsibility for the good of our society, or is the pursuit of profit their only guide?

If the television and the entertainment industries do not control themselves in obedience to the unenforceable, we shall reach the point in the not too distant future where programming on television threatens the life of the Republic. But will the American people recognize that it poses a clear and present danger calling for decisive, corrective action?

There is still time for self-correction. But those with positions of responsibility in these industries should understand that we cannot continue indefinitely to tolerate their trashing of our and our children's sensibilities without endangering our survival.

The barbarians television has nurtured and continues to nurture are not at our gates but in our midst. Recognizing that by its nature, obedience to the unenforceable cannot be enforced, W. Edwards Deming observed, "You don't have to do it — survival is not compulsory."

The members of this graduating class and those of all other classes graduating this spring across our nation are the agents of our future and the repository of our hopes. For good or ill, my generation have already made most of our contribution. We have tried to do our best: at times we have succeeded; at others we have failed. But the future for good or ill is increasingly in your hands.

If the members of these graduating classes recognize the importance of the domain of manners and morals, and if each is obedient to the unenforceable, we shall see a diminution of license and a renewal of freedom and civilization in this country. If this moral vision strikes fire in the younger generation, our future is secure.

The crisis we face will not be solved by higher or lower taxes, by more or less welfare or Medicaid, by the increase or decrease in the budgets of the military or the police. Our crisis, like that confronting the peoples of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is, as Solzhenitsyn observed, a crisis of moral decay.

We face a crisis of the spirit. Its resolution far transcends the power of the state; it is too important, too far-reaching, to be resolved by mere governmental action. Rather, it lies within the grasp of each of us. When we determine to govern ourselves — when each is obedient to the unenforceable — we shall have regained control over ourselves and thus regained as a nation our capacity for self-government.

This will never come to pass, however, without faith in the importance of honor and truth and in the essential role of duty and obligation in our lives.

What we are, what we do and thereby what we become depends heavily on what we believe about ourselves. Are we Edwin Markham's man with a hoe,

A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?

Or are we not rather,

... the Thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?

The crisis that will confront graduating classes for years to come lies not in the state or in the stars, but in ourselves. The future of our country, our future happiness and that of our children depends decisively on whether we as individuals and as a people practice obedience to the unenforceable.

1m draft #1

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE**

I recently saw those Calvin Klein ads in which young people are photographed in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear showing beneath their shorts and skirts.

A few days later, a friend called to tell me about two new movies coming out in Hollywood, "Showgirls" and "Striptease," both filled with scenes of nudity, sex and violence.

Sometimes you have to wonder what is happening to our country.

Call me prudish or old-fashioned, but it sickens me that sex, violence and gratuitous exploitation of young people and women are used more and more as a marketing tool in our society.

Doesn't anybody in the entertainment industry, or business, or the media care about taste, civility, or morality any more?

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore,

even though you wish you could.

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks. Only it's worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What bothers me most about the latest round of commercial sleaze is that it exploits children and women so deliberately and so cynically. Offensive material is defended as "art." Or it is excused as "legal."

The Calvin Klein advertisements, which featured children as young as 15, were really about "the spirit, independence and inner worth of young people today," the fashion designer has been quoted as saying.

I don't know about you, but as a parent I don't think a photo of a teenage girl with her legs spread has a lot to do with conveying a child's inner worth.

The fact is that careful planning and calculation goes into ads for jeans and Hollywood movies. And it's no secret that controversy can lead to a public relations and marketing bonanza for the product being sold.

What is missing in our culture are internal standards -- or what John Silber, the former president of Boston University, has referred to as "obedience to the unenforceable." Instead of making excuses for their irresponsible behavior, people in positions of power, influence and responsibility must start to exercise restraint. Good taste and decency must start counting for something in our society, even if they don't make money.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. The Calvin Klein ads and the new Hollywood films about strippers are only the latest proof that profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of sex and violence as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- the public finally has had enough of seeing mass culture depict children and women as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage over them. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and embarrassed to go to the theater to watch women stripped of their clothing and their dignity as they are paraded through acts of sexual degradation and violence.

Still, I don't think we should wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, we need to make it clear where we stand.

My advice is: Don't buy the products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because adults on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood are out to make a buck.

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draft #3

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

It's amazing what you miss when you are on vacation or traveling out of the country. Until recently, I hadn't even heard about the controversy over the new Calvin Klein ads.

Now that I'm back in Washington I'm finally tuned in. Friends have sent me clippings and news stories. I've even seen a few of the ads myself -- glossy photos of young people in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear in ^{showing} full view beneath their shorts and skirts.

From what I can tell, ^{most} a lot of the controversy centers on issues of pornography, First Amendment rights, and the boundaries of artistic expression.

[All of those things are important in our society.] But I think we're missing a larger point here.

^{Not} Every ^{question} violation of morality and taste is ~~not~~ ^{a question of the} a violation of the Constitution or the law.

If you ~~are like me, and~~ ^{your family's} you care about family values, ^(as I do.) you

have to be concerned about values in the marketplace. You have to be concerned about the messages conveyed through the things we buy and sell.

Let's face it: Business decisions affect how people think and behave. In his recent book, Selling Out America's Children, David Walsh points out that careful calculation -- and billions of dollars -- go into advertising campaigns in order to shape opinions and change tastes.

Advertising, he says, is really "adver-teasing."

And "adver-teasing" is usually driven by a yearning for profits more than a concern for civility, taste, morality, or ethics -- all values that don't make money.

That is why raising our voices about how a company sells blue jeans can be just as important as the values we teach in our own homes.

The Calvin Klein ads are merely the latest proof that *Some* profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of gratuitous sex and exploitation of children as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

But they are not the only ads we need to worry about. It's

the pervasive influence of exploitative advertising in every aspect of our lives.

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore, even though you know that your own rubbernecking could cause another accident.

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks. Only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What our culture desperately needs are internal values that go beyond definitions of ^{rights but responsible} ~~what is "allowed"~~ or "legal." Instead of trying to justify inappropriate or irresponsible behavior, people in positions of power and influence must start to exercise restraint. Good taste and decency must be viewed as more important than a profit margin.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. This fall, Hollywood will launch several new movies and television shows that go further than ever in showing graphic images of sex and violence. No doubt, they will make lots of money off of the

controversy they generate.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- the public finally has had enough of seeing mass culture depict children and women as victims and sexual objects.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage over them. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and embarrassed to go to the theater to watch women stripped of their clothing and their dignity as they are subjected to acts of sexual degradation on the screen.

But let's not wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality. As parents and consumers, let's make it clear where we stand.

My advice is: Don't buy the products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued because adults on Madison Avenue and in Hollywood can't control their own greed.

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MEMORANDUM

TO: HRC
FROM: Lissa Muscatine 
RE: Column on Calvin Klein, Showgirls, etc.
DATE: September 17

I have tried to incorporate the ideas we discussed, but this is still pretty rough and it needs beefing up. If possible, we should try to get a draft to Creators by Monday night or Tuesday morning at the very latest.

There are a few points we might want to add:

- 1) That questions of taste and civility are not ideological and that opposition to these ads is not from one political group alone. (most of the organized opposition to the Calvin Klein ads came from the religious right).
- 2) Do you want to mention that Tipper Gore was one of the first high-profile Americans to raise questions about decency, taste, morality etc. through her campaign to clean up pop lyrics?

1m draft #1



FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

I recently saw those Calvin Klein ads in which young people are photographed in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear showing beneath their shorts and skirts.

A few days later, a friend called to tell me about two new movies coming out in Hollywood, "Showgirls" and "Striptease," both filled with scenes of nudity, sex and violence.

Sometimes you have to wonder what is happening to our country.

Call me prudish or old-fashioned, but it sickens me that sex, violence and gratuitous exploitation of young people and women are used more and more as a marketing tool in our society.

Doesn't anybody in the entertainment industry, or business, or the media care about taste, civility, or morality any more?

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You can't resist seeing the blood and gore,

even though you wish you could.

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks, only worse. Nobody purposely causes an accident to attract the public's attention. But in the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated with sex and violence, simply because they sell.

What bothers me most about the latest round of commercial sleaze is that they exploit children and women so deliberately and so cynically. The Calvin Klein advertisements, which featured children as young as 15, were really about "the spirit, independence and inner worth of young people today," the fashion designer has been quoted as saying.

I don't know about you, but as a parent I don't think a photo of a teenage girl with her legs spread has a lot to do with conveying a child's inner worth.

Instead of owning up to the lack of taste and decency commercial marketing, offensive material is defended as "art." or it is defended because it is "legal."

Most of the time sexual and violent images are part of careful planning and calculation -- and the knowledge that any controversy it provokes will lead to a public relations and

willing to push the envelope of sex and violence further and further in order to make money. The second ^{hopeful} is that -- and I hope I'm right -- the public is getting fed up with seeing children and women continuously turned into sexual objects and victims.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads because of public outrage. ^{In the long weeks, we can only hope} Hopefully, no one will show up at the box office to watch ~~naked women be subjected~~ ^{to} sexual degradation and violence.

^{experience}

marketing bonanza for the product being sold.

What is missing in our culture are internal standards -- or what John Silber, the former president of Boston University, has referred to as "obedience to the unenforceable." Instead of making excuses for their irresponsible behavior, people in positions of power, influence and responsibility must start to exercise restraint. Good taste and decency must start counting for something in our society, even if they don't make money.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. The Calvin Klein ads and the new Hollywood films about strippers are only the latest proof that profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of sex and violence as far as possible if it's good for the bottom line.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here. Maybe -- just maybe -- the public is finally had enough of seeing children and women routinely turned into sexual objects as part of mass culture.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and embarrassed to go to the theater to watch women stripped of their clothing and their dignity as they are paraded through acts of sexual degradation and violence.

Still, I don't think we can wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality or even listen to their consciences. As parents and consumers, we need to make it clear where we stand.

My advice is: Don't buy these products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if you're own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued simply because an adult without a conscience is out to make a buck.

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1m draft #1

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
CREATORS SYNDICATE

Last week I finally saw those pictures of the Calvin Klein ads in which young people are photographed in sexually suggestive poses, their underwear ^{showing} peeking out beneath shorts and skirts.

A few days later, a friend called to tell me about two new movies coming out in Hollywood, "Showgirls" and "Striptease," both filled with scenes of nudity, sex and violence.

In ~~both~~ cases, I ^{do} ~~didn't~~ know whether to scream or weep.

Call me prudish or old-fashioned, but it makes me sick that sex, violence and gratuitous exploitation of young people and women are used more and more as a marketing tool in our society.

Doesn't anybody in the entertainment industry, or business, or the media care about taste, civility, or morality any more?

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You try to absorb all the gory details, even though you wish you wouldn't.

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COLUMN #10 -- FOR SEPTEMBER 24
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It all made me wonder
I ~~didn't know whether to weep or scream.~~

Call me prudish or old-fashioned, but it sickens me that sex, violence and gratuitous exploitation of young people and women are used more and more as a marketing tool in our society.

Doesn't anybody in the entertainment industry, or business, or the media care about taste, civility, or morality any more?

A car wreck metaphor comes to mind here. We all know what it is like to drive along the highway and see a pile-up of cars. You slow down. You look. You try to ^{get a glimpse of} absorb all the gory details, even though you wish you wouldn't.

You can't resist trying to see what happened,

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks, only worse. Car wrecks are involuntary. In the case of ~~exploitative~~ ^{commercial} marketing, we are ^{purposefully} teased and titillated at every turn, saturated with sex and violence simply because they sell.

What bothers me most is that the ^{this} ~~commercial~~ exploitation of children and women is done so cynically. Sometimes it's defended as "art." Sometimes it's defended as "legal." Sometimes it's done with the idea that any controversy it provokes will lead to a public relations and marketing bonanza for the product involved,

I don't know about you, but I wouldn't allow a photo of my daughter in one of Calvin Klein's poses in a family album, let alone an advertisement.

What is missing in our culture are internal standards -- or what John Silber, the former president of Boston University, has referred to as "obedience to the unenforceable." People in positions of responsibility must show restraint. Good taste and decency must count for something even if they don't have a price tag on them. ^{in corporate America and in our daily lives}

^{what we learn from}
Two lessons emerge from the recent controversy over the Calvin Klein ads, and the new Hollywood films about strippers. One is that profit-hungry, mainstream corporations in America are

Today, it's as if our culture is a highway full of car wrecks, only worse. Car wrecks are ~~involuntary~~. In the case of commercial marketing, we are purposely teased and titillated at every turn, ~~saturated~~ with sex and violence simply because they sell.

to get a car accident to attract the viewer
No one plans car wreck But
undated *not* *images*

What bothers me most is that this deliberate exploitation of children and women is done so cynically. Sometimes it's defended as "art." Sometimes it's defended as "legal." Sometimes it's done with planning and calculation -- and the knowledge that any controversy it provokes will lead to a public relations and marketing bonanza for the product being sold.

What is missing in our culture are internal standards -- or what John Silber, the former president of Boston University, has referred to as "obedience to the unenforceable." Instead of making excuses for their irresponsible behavior, people in positions of power, influence and responsibility must ~~start to~~ *occasionally* exercise restraint. Good taste and decency must start counting for something in our society, even if they don't make money.

Sadly, we seem to be a long way from that. The Calvin Klein ads and the new Hollywood films about strippers are only the latest proof that profit-hungry corporations in America are willing to push the envelope of sex and violence as far as

-- *He only means*
possible ~~if it's~~ good for the bottom line.

We can only hope there is a silver lining here.
Maybe -- just maybe -- the public ~~is~~ *has* finally had enough of seeing children and women routinely turned into sexual objects as part of mass culture.

Calvin Klein was forced to pull his ads last month because of public outrage. And hopefully, in the weeks ahead, movie-goers will be too offended and embarrassed to go to the theater to watch women stripped of their clothing and their dignity as they are ~~paraded through~~ *subjected to* acts of sexual degradation and violence.

Still, I don't think we can wait for the marketers of sleaze to wrestle with questions of taste and morality ~~or even listen to~~ *and decide ~ New* ~~their consciences~~ *conscience*. As parents and consumers, we need to make it clear where we stand.

marketing
My advice is: Don't buy these ~~sa~~ products. Don't let your kids buy them. And remember that even if your own child doesn't fall for the marketing ploys, millions of other children are being exploited and devalued simply because ~~an adult without a~~ *one* ~~conscience~~ *conscience* is out to make a buck.

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The Guardian, September 5, 1995

Miami strip joint understatedly called the Eager Beaver. That's not all she is, of course; she's also a desperate young mother trying to raise cash to fight for the custody of her daughter. The trouble is, she raises the blood pressure of a lecherous politician in the process.

If two films do not an outbreak make, there is also Canadian director Atom Egoyan's *Exotica*, which enjoyed success in art house cinemas earlier this year. *Exotica* had the advantage of being critically acclaimed - the perfect excuse - but its real appeal was transparent. Set in yet another smart strip joint, it was the story of a man who becomes obsessed with a dancer who once babysat his late daughter.

As usual Hollywood is not starting up a bandwagon so much as jumping on to one. America's sex industry was booming long before some studio bigwig had the idea of making Demi Moore a seriously indecent proposal. Visit the tiniest town in the deep Mid West at any hour of the day or night and you are likely to find a topless bar or strip-joint called the Pink Flamingo or Pussy Cats, packed with men vying to tuck \$ 20 bills into the garter of a scantily clad dancer. According to Bill Harland, a travelling salesman who is most famous for his *Complete Guide To Gentlemen's Entertainment*, the fear of Aids has contributed to a doubling of the number of strip joints since 1992. "This is the safe sex alternative of the nineties."

Stripping isn't just booming, it's also undergoing a dramatic image change. When Drew Barrymore shed all at a New York nightspot earlier this year, she showed that strip joints were no longer the preserve of dirty old men and travelling reps; they were hip. In New York, the once sleazy Blue Angel and Scores (where the mourning husband of South Carolina child murderer Susan Smith was recently rudely interrupted by a paparazzo) had already been attracting a trendy crowd for months. In LA, it is OK to say "Meet you at Fantasy Island". On the days when the gossip columns have not been able to report some Hollywood actress "researching" her newest part in some well-known strip joint (Demi Moore has dropped in on both the Blue Angel and Scores), they have had even better news to trumpet: stars shedding all just for the fun of it. This summer both Sharon Stone and Naomi Campbell have obliged.

Even Broadway, or more specifically Off-Broadway, has been shedding its costumes quicker than you can say "exploitation". The last year has spawned four New York variations on the stripping theme, the latest of which, *The All-Nude College Girl Revue*, was written by Lisa Faith Phillips, who worked her way through college as a stripper.

None of the new skin flicks, their makers assure us, are merely intended to offer the titillation of striptease to those of us still too embarrassed to slip into a place called Pussy Galore. Verhoeven says his movie is meant to convey "that underlying the glitz and glamour you see the evil and generosity of human beings". As righteously indignant, Egoyan insists the striptease is in fact purged of eroticism.

The favourite justification being honed in advance of the inevitable feminist onslaught, is that the films, in fact, deal with the subtle power inversion which occurs in striptease. Far from being exploited, the theory is, the stripper manages to take charge through her nakedness, exploiting her ogling admirers. "In doing research for the book I tried to talk to some strippers who were single mothers," says an earnest Hiaasen. "Though some are in it for the

The Guardian, September 5, 1995

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attention, they are in it for money and are pretty tough about it. They'd tell me, 'How long do you think I'm going to look this way? As soon as I put the kid through private-school and get some money in the bank I'll quit.' "

In countless newspaper features, the stripper is suddenly being portrayed as strong-minded mistress of her own destiny. "My mom told me I could get over feeling insecure about my small chest by doing this, and I have," says Lashele Austin, a 24-year-old dancer at Cheetah's in Las Vegas, where much of Showgirls is filmed. "Got about 100 marriage proposals."

At the same time, more cerebral types have been arguing furiously over whether striptease is or is not the quintessential post-modern sex act: titillation without consummation. Roland Barthes's classic 1955 essay Striptease has been pressed into service to deconstruct the stripping boom. "Striptease," Barthes wrote, "is based on a contradiction: woman is desexualised the moment she is stripped naked." But he never got to see Demi Moore to do it for \$ 12m.

The moot question is whether the surge of stripper movies signals a new sexual licentiousness in Hollywood. Until recently, it has been an article of faith that big budget productions had to avoid "adult only" classification to achieve financial success. This rule of thumb meant the most talked about scenes of many movies often wound up on the cutting room floor. But MGM is releasing Showgirls with the once feared "NC-17" certificate, confident that the controversy it is certain to provoke will compensate for the restriction of its potential audience. If it is boffo at the box-office, Hollywood's wardrobe departments could face lean times.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 6, 1995

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Mail on Sunday

September 3, 1995

SECTION: Pg. 48, 49

LENGTH: 1814 words

HEADLINE: Hollywood's indecent proposal;
These sexually shocking films will redefine what can be screened at the local Odeon

BYLINE: Elkan Allan, Sharon Churcher

BODY:

UNDER the pink neon lights of the Cheetah Club, a line of statuesque young women prance on to the stage, arrayed in metal-studded bikinis, thigh-high black boots and slave-style handcuffs.

As the male patrons shout encouragement one of the women, Nomi, saunters into the audience and writhes obscenely on the lap of a stranger who is waving a handful of dollar bills at her.

The scene is from the new movie Showgirls, whose producers boast it features the sort of nudity, perversion and sexual violence which are usually the fare of low-budget porn films. With a £25 million budget however, Showgirls is destined not for porn cinemas but for your local Odeon. Starring unknown young actress Elizabeth Berkley as Nomi, it is the first of a series of shocking films Hollywood hopes will rewrite the rules about what it is acceptable in 'legitimate' family cinemas.

The next such offering will be Striptease with Indecent Proposal star Demi Moore, possibly the most popular actress in the world, who will earn £8 million.

Asked what the film's 'story' consists of, producer Mike Lebell chortles. 'She is going to be sexy and stripping. No female star this big has ever done this kind of role before.'

WITH more one-time cinema-goers staying home, two of the most reputable companies in Hollywood have persuaded Moore and Berkley to take part in an extraordinary gamble to try to win back audiences. Showgirls is financed by MGM - the studio where Judy Garland sang Somewhere Over The Rainbow and a teenage Elizabeth Taylor rode National Velvet. Striptease is backed by Castle Rock, owned by Atlanta broadcasting mogul Ted Turner.

He is married to that lobbyist for prudishly-correct feminism, Jane Fonda. But forget reputations or values. For these two huge corporations, there is only one goal here: higher profits.

They hope that if they go too far with sex, the shock will sell tickets, in the same way violence sold films like Quentin Tarantino's Reservoir Dogs. 'Showgirls and Striptease will be the ultimate test of whether there are any standards left in the modern world,' David Horowitz, president of Hollywood's Centre for the Study of Popular Culture, told The Mail on Sunday. 'The idea

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is to see if they can break the final taboo, and persuade respect-able people to be seen in public watching what, despite the multi-million dollar budgets, is essentially porn.'

Of course, sex has frequently been used to sell movies.

'Artistically' wrapped sex, that is, legitimised either in a smokescreen of intellectual pretension - as in Last Tango In Paris - or by weaving it into the 'plot,' as in so many Richard Gere and Sharon Stone and, for that matter, Demi Moore thrillers.

The other rule was that the scenes had to be 'tastefully' filmed. But taste is the last thing on the minds of the producers of Striptease and Showgirls. In Showgirls a Las Vegas cabaret star called Cristal (Gina Gershon), hires Nomi (Berkley) to titillate her producer boyfriend (Kyle MacLachlan from Twin Peaks). Nomi then plots to rep-lace Cristal as star of a topless revue. Hence, even the 'legitimate' casino dance numbers are extravaganzas of bare flesh.

Berkley's speciality in the film is lap dancing. Popular in American clubs, lap-dancers writhe six inches from the patrons in return for dollar bills. These are slipped under their G-strings. But Showgirls is written and directed by Joe Eszterhas and Paul Verhoeven, the same team which made Basic Instinct, in which Sharon Stone uncrossed her legs to reveal an absence of underwear. And so in Showgirls, Berkley drops her G-string.

VERHOEVEN piously declares: 'I want to show just how far women are prepared to go to succeed.'

Striptease makes the same insulting, pseudo-feminist assumptions about how far even 'nice' women think it is OK to go. Demi Moore, 32, plays a mother who works as a stripper in Miami - a city with plenty of jobs which don't require intimacy with male strangers - in order to pay for her legal fight for custody of her daughter.

If Moore thinks this plot is plausible, that may be because she hardly comes from the most stable background herself.

Her parents divorced and her father committed suicide. She successfully battled alcohol abuse. Her unhappy childhood has made her overwilling, some friends say, to do whatever she is told is necessary for her career.

'When you grow up like that, you have an innate fear that the rug could get pulled out and you could be right back where you were,' says one friend, Columbia Pictures executive Barry Josephson. 'You really persevere. You do the job.'

To research Striptease Moore's husband, actor Bruce Willis, is said to have taken her to study L600-a-night strippers at a New York club. 'I want to know what it is they feel as they use their bodies to evoke a response,' she dutifully told a fan magazine during an interview arranged by the film's publicists.

Doubtless worried about offending its readers, the magazine mentioned the film only in passing. Showgirls is also attracting scant attention, for the

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same reason, in the American Press.

And that raises a L25 million question for its producers: has Hollywood gone too far?

In the States, Showgirls has been rated NC-17 - the equivalent of an 18 category. The received wisdom is that this rating spells box office suicide, as many cinemas have been reluctant to exhibit NC-17 films. MGM's argument is that times have changed, and an NC-17 rating will attract emancipated modern audiences. Indeed, Verhoeven says the only rule he imposes on his films is that 'I don't want audiences to feel embarrassed or ashamed to be in the theatre.' Clearly he has a depressingly low opinion of the moral standards of cinema-goers.

BUT unfortunately for Hollywood, the pendulum may be just as abruptly swinging back. Opinion polls reveal that many people who have gone to see films like Reservoir Dogs and Basic Instinct are becoming disgusted at themselves. 'They're worried about what the general decline in standards is doing to their children,' says David Horowitz. 'For Hollywood to produce even more of this stuff isn't only outrageous, it's reckless and stupid.'

And what seems to make it especially stupid is that Hollywood has tried to play this game before.

Just as cinema audiences were beginning their dramatic decline because of the introduction of videos, director Ken Russell hired Kathleen Turner for Crimes Of Passion. She played a hooker and a dominatrix in scenes so explicit that Russell barred her fiance from the set, for fear he would object. Audiences stayed away in droves. Leaving aside the issue of morality, it was just too embarrassing to queue at the box office, they confided.

That was exactly 10 years ago.

Can Hollywood have forgotten the lessons of history so soon? Additional reporting by Elkan Allan in Los Angeles

GRAPHIC: (1) SELLING SEX: A scene from Showgirls, directed by Paul Verhoeven for MGM, and Striptease star Demi Moore, above (2) PORNOGRAPHY AS ENTERTAINMENT: Exotically-dressed young women parade on stage in the explicit new film Showgirls

LOAD-DATE: September 5, 1995

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7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Los Angeles Times

July 30, 1995, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Metro Desk

LENGTH: 2714 words

HEADLINE: DOLE'S ATTACKS FAIL TO CURB HOLLYWOOD ON SEX, VIOLENCE;
MEDIA: TWO MONTHS LATER, MOST OF THE INDUSTRY IS STILL PUSHING THE LIMITS. BUT
SUBTLE SIGNS OF A CHILL CAN BE FOUND.

BYLINE: By ROBERT W. WELKOS and DANIEL HOWARD CERONE, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

BODY:

Even as Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole continues his attacks on Hollywood over sex and violence in movies, television and records, the U.S. entertainment industry is once again pushing the envelope.

Next month, Time Warner will put on sale a rap album -- called "Dogg Pound" -- that is rife with raw lyrics.

In September, MGM will release the NC-17-rated movie "Showgirls," a racy look at the world of Las Vegas strippers, showing more nudity than any other major studio film in recent history.

And this fall CBS will unveil a new drama about young professionals set in New York City called "Central Park West," which its creator hopes will "push boundaries" in terms of nudity and sexuality on network television.

These projects arrive at a time when Dole and others are complaining about gratuitous violence and sex in movies, television shows that lack traditional family values and rap songs that glorify killing and degrade women.

Hollywood has had two months to digest Dole's initial broadside. It's clearly business as usual for most of TV, movies and music. What's less obvious are the hints of a ripple-down effect in some business and creative corners.

Some of that chill was evident when scores of Hollywood's elite turned down requests to discuss the issue for this story. Several explained through representatives that they don't wish to become targets of the religious right.

"There is a theory out there right now that if the Republicans take office, there will be a blacklist of people who spoke out against them," said the director of one public relations agency.

Still, a broad spectrum of people in entertainment did speak, revealing that while virtually all voice opposition to government-imposed censorship of the arts, they are cognizant of their impact on society and believe some self-imposed limits are necessary.

Director Oliver Stone, whose film "Natural Born Killers" was targeted in Dole's Hollywood speech, said the Republican senator missed the point. His satirical tale of two serial killers on a rampage, he insists, was meant to

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expose the violence in our society -- not exploit it.

"Dole called the movie depraved, but it was meant to reflect our depraved culture," Stone said. "By categorizing things, we are able to dismiss them. You don't want to listen to the message? Kill the messenger. . . . (Still,) when all is said and done, Dole had a point. We all agree that on-screen violence debases our culture. We just disagree on the methods of preventing that."

The problem with Dole's attacks is they have put Hollywood on the defensive, Stone said, specifically mentioning Time Warner, which has produced movies and music criticized by Dole and even its own stockholders.

"Dole isn't proposing censorship or passing legislation -- but, then, neither did (the late Sen. Joseph) McCarthy," Stone said. "By creating a climate of paranoia, they create a chilling effect. Time Warner fired (its domestic music chairman and rap music supporter) Doug Morris. They've postponed the video release of the unrated director's cut of 'Natural Born Killers.' . . . Dole's poison is working."

Warner Music Group spokesman Richard Plepler responded, "There is absolutely no connection between Doug Morris' situation and Sen. Dole or the rap music controversy."

When asked if Dole's offensive had any impact on filmmakers he knows, director John Landis responded bluntly: "For all practical purposes, of course not, because it was a clear, blatant, hypocritical bit of sophistry that was solely, solely for political purpose."

What Dole has done, Landis said, is raise the specter of censorship, "and that must be dealt with strongly."

TV Tries to Police Itself

Nowhere is that more clear than in television, the object of legislation Congress is pounding out that would require the industry to rate its TV entertainment programs. Manufacturers also would be required to install technology in every TV set that would enable parents to lock out programs with objectionable content.

Even without such legislation, television is taking pains to police itself. A recent incident happened after CBS screened a new fall supernatural drama called "American Gothic" for its affiliates last month. Many station owners were shocked by the opening segment showing a demented father bring a shovel down hard upon the head of his possessed young daughter.

When the small-town sheriff arrived on the scene and found the girl still alive -- he finished the job, twisting the girl's neck with a sickening crunch.

"This is too weird," one station owner said, aghast.

Last week, before screening the series for a national gathering of TV critics, CBS decided to change the opening, re-editing the scenes to soften them while removing the grotesque sound effects.

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"It was graphic at points where I felt it went a little over the top," said Leslie Moonves, president of CBS Entertainment, acknowledging that the sensitive political climate played a part in his decision. "I can't deny that governmental pressure affects us."

The TV industry has been at the center of an ongoing debate over violence and sex that began long before Dole launched his offensive. Throughout the 1990s, Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) has waged a personal crusade to pressure the broadcast networks to reduce gratuitous violence.

In 1992, a nonpartisan group called the Center for Media and Public Affairs in Washington conducted a survey on a "day in the life" of television for TV Guide.

In a single 18-hour day, on 10 channels representing all the major program genres, the center logged 1,846 separate scenes of violence, which translated into an average of more than 10 violent scenes per hour per channel all day long, said Robert Lichter, who headed the study.

The center repeated its study in 1994 with startling results. Lichter said that on the same channels, during the same amount of time, there were now 2,605 violent scenes -- a 41% jump. He pointed out, however, that violence on the broadcast networks seems to have declined, which would leave cable channels and independent stations responsible for the overall increase. But he noted that the broadcast networks appeared to replace violence with more sex.

"Sex (that was) once considered deviant and still is by (conservative author/activist William) Bennett is now commonly seen," Lichter said. " 'Picket Fences' loves to do this stuff. They've done wet dreams, sexual fantasies."

Interestingly, that dramatic show is downplaying its sexy story lines this fall, but its producers said it has nothing to do with Dole or any chilling effect his speeches may have had.

"I have a staff of six writers and we don't talk about what's going on with Dole," said the show's new executive producer, Jeff Melvoin. "I don't hear it from CBS in relation to this show and I don't hear it from 20th Century Fox (where it is produced). Nobody is saying, 'Play it down because they are on the prowl.' "

One new show that CBS hopes will turn up the heat in ratings is "Central Park West," scheduled to air Wednesdays at 9 p.m.

"We are going to push the boundaries in terms of sexual situations (and) nudity," said Darren Star, the show's executive producer and creator.

But Star, who also created "Beverly Hills 90210" and "Melrose Place" for Fox, said he knows the limits of network television.

"I hope it does push the envelope in a sophisticated way, not in a titillating way," he said.

One show Star said he admires is the risk-taking "NYPD Blue," the ABC police drama that has used nudity -- both male and female -- and coarse language in a conscious effort to be unabashedly adult.

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"Certainly there are limits," Star said, "but I think 'NYPD Blue' pushed them in a really interesting way. I think that opens the way for us a little bit."

While Star said CBS so far has given him great support, he nonetheless took it upon himself to film a potentially provocative scene two ways -- one more revealing than the other.

"There is one scene where the character is surprised at home by a girl," he said. "Their relationship is finished but she shows up in a trench coat in his apartment and drops her trench coat. She is basically naked underneath except for high heels. We shot that a couple ways." Star has not yet turned in the rough cut of the scene, part of the show's second episode. Once he does, CBS executives and its standards and practices department will carefully review the footage to decide which version will air.

Rap Fuels Controversy

While television has long been the target of critics for sex and violence, it is rap music that has most dramatically made waves in recent years.

The furor was intensified in 1989 when N.W.A.'s "F--- tha Police" infuriated the FBI and police officers, and in 1990 when 2 Live Crew's "Me So Horny" led to the band's members and record store owners being arrested in Florida on obscenity charges.

But both those rap bands were on independent labels, not major corporations that are subject to shareholder concerns, such as corporate giant Time Warner.

Ice-T's 1992 "Cop Killer" brought the debate to another level, with such lyrics as: "I'm 'bout to bust some shots off/I'm 'bout to dust some cops off." After that rap song was released by Warner Bros. Records, a firestorm of controversy erupted.

Ultimately, Ice-T did agree to reissue the album without the song in order to defuse the situation, but when it came time for his next album in 1993, "Home Invasion," he and Warner Bros. Records parted ways, in what many see as a turning point for the company.

Since then, Time Warner has remained in the spotlight, in large part due to releases coming from Interscope, a co-venture between Time Warner and financier Ted Field.

Interscope has had great success with such acts as gangsta rappers Dr. Dre and Snoop Doggy Dogg and hard rock's Nine Inch Nails. But in the aftermath of Dole's criticism, Time Warner appears to see those groups more as a liability than an asset. Industry insiders predict Time Warner will sever all ties with Interscope and let the lucrative property go to a rival.

That action could come any day now, especially considering the impending Interscope release of the debut album by Tha Dogg Pound, which will contain songs certain to bring the issue to a boil.

Staff at the Time Warner record labels report that no directives have been issued regarding tightening restrictions of content -- other than memos instructing them not to discuss the matter with the press, on or off the

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record. A company spokesman said Michael Fuchs, chairman of both Warner Music Group and HBO, is studying the issue and drawing up an official policy.

One prominent artist manager, who handles rock and rap acts at several major companies, said there has been evidence of a chilling effect at Time Warner since Dole's speech.

While the other companies are "ignoring it and moving on," he said, "Time Warner is much more conscious of it."

He cited a current soundtrack album project for the upcoming movie "White Man's Burden" being compiled by Time Warner's Atlantic Records, on which a song proposed by a rapper was rejected due to violent content.

"They ended up not doing the song," said the manager, who asked that his name not be used. "(Atlantic) seemed more conscious of it than before."

Ron Stone, president of the Gold Mountain management company, whose clients range from Bonnie Raitt to alternative-rock band Sonic Youth, noted, "People at Warner Bros. are traumatized by the whole experience."

Another major record label decided three years ago not to handle gangsta rap. MCA Music in 1992 bowed to pressure from some of its own employees who were upset with misogynistic lyrics by the rap group FU2.

MCA Music Chairman Al Teller said he opposes government censorship, but added: "I don't for a moment believe that any individual can abdicate defining . . . what music it wants to be associated with."

Like popular music, the film industry has long been the focus of debate over content, resulting in numerous self-governing efforts over the decades. The voluntary movie rating system was established in 1968 by the Motion Picture Assn. of America, an industry trade group, to prevent local governments from forming rating boards -- and possibly censoring movies -- after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that they could.

"I do believe that it's right and appropriate for any audiovisual work to give advance warning to parents so they can make judgments about what their children watch," said MPAA President Jack Valenti, who recently came out in favor of a voluntary TV rating system to stave off a current government effort to legislate one. "But it ought to be done by the industry, with self-regulation."

Film studios point out that they have long relied on family fare to help fill the seats and balance their schedules. In fact, some studios, including 20th Century Fox and Warner Bros., have separate family divisions. Peter Chernin, who took over the reins of 20th Century Fox's movie division in the fall of 1992, agrees with Dole that there are cases of "inappropriate violence" in movies. But soul-searching rather than outside censorship is the answer, he said.

"Dole's attempt to paint this industry as a moral swamp is silly," said Chernin. "Most of us are moral and concerned about this society in which we live. While we continue to engage in self-examination, there has been no sea change in attitudes or campaign on the part of executives to sanitize movies."

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In fact, filmmakers say what the public may not realize is the self-censorship that goes on in Hollywood on almost a daily basis.

Allen and Albert Hughes, who made the 1993 critically acclaimed movie "Menace II Society," voluntarily cut some pistol whipping scenes and a graphic depiction of a man getting shot.

"We wanted it to be brutal, but we're not animals," said Allen Hughes, who next teams up with his brother for Disney's "Dead Presidents," a violent story of a returning Vietnam veteran who locks horns with the law. Their film joins a slate of eyebrow-raising fall pictures. Castle Rock Entertainment's yet-to-be-filmed "Striptease" is a black comedy centered around Florida's strip clubs. Star Demi Moore has been paid \$12.5 million for the lead role in the movie, which reportedly includes nudity.

"I don't think a female star this big has done this kind of role," said producer Mike Lebell. . . . She is going to be sexy and stripping." But he added that the movie won't be off-putting. "We're not making a porno movie," he said.

One upcoming movie already reaping publicity because of its sexual content is MGM's "Showgirls," about Las Vegas strippers, which reunites director Paul Verhoeven and writer Joe Eszterhas (the "Basic Instinct" team).

Although it was filmed before Dole's criticisms of Hollywood were issued, "Showgirls" recently was given an MPAA rating of NC-17 for rampant "nudity, erotic sexuality throughout, graphic language and sexual violence." Studios normally fight NC-17 ratings, asking directors to trim questionable scenes. In this case, MGM knew it was making an adult film and, in fact, embraced the rating.

"Showgirls" includes scenes of prostitution and sadomasochism.

Verhoeven describes it as "portraying sexuality in a more precise way than you normally do in American movies. . . . I like nudity and it's basically my pleasure in nudity that has propelled me to use it. I think it's beautiful."

Coming sooner is shock master Clive Barker's late August release, "Lords of Illusion." Barker said the film contains more graphic scenes and genuine horror than anything he has done before, including the flesh-ripping sequences in "Hellraiser."

"Lords of Illusion" was completed before Dole's assault, but Barker said it wouldn't have mattered.

"When I get up in the morning and work on writing a screenplay, the last thing in my head is Bob Dole," Barker said. "I just don't think any storyteller worth his or her salt cares what anybody outside of his or her imagination thinks. You just can't do that."

Times staff writer Elaine Dutka and correspondent Steve Hochman contributed to this report.

* CENTER OF FIRESTORM: Show business powerbrokers respond to senator's concerns. Calendar

Los Angeles Times, July 30, 1995 Los Angeles Times July 30, 1995, Sunda

GRAPHIC: Photo, Elizabeth Berkeley dances in NC-17-rated film "Showgirls." . . .
MURRAY CLOSE; Photo, . . . At right, "Dead Presidents" is the violent story of a
Vietnam veteran. Hollywood Pictures Co.; Photo, (BullDog Edition, A1) Sen. Bob
Dole (R-Kan.) Associated Press

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Gov't hot on trail of Calvin Klein ads

Current interpretation of 'kiddie porn' at heart of issue

By Pat Sloan and Jennifer DeCoursey

If Calvin Klein thought yanking his ads would end the uproar over whether he was indulging in "kiddie porn," he wasn't counting on the G-men.

Late last week, the FBI and U.S. Department of Justice launched an investigation of the designer's controversial jeans campaign featuring young people in suggestive poses.

The surprise move raised questions on what exactly prompted the probe, what direction it would take and whether it's an isolated incident or just the start of sterner attention given to advertising.

"I cannot remember, in the 30 years I've



The First Amendment may not shield the ads.

been in this business, any case where the FBI has investigated an advertisement," said Felix Kent, senior partner at Hall, Dickler, Kent, Friedman & Wood, a New York law firm specializing in advertising. "I believe some private organization put pressure on the FBI."

Others speculated that the FBI itself pushed for a probe of the sleazy Klein jeans TV commercials and print ads in an effort to placate the nation's religious right and other anti-government critics who are increasingly heated in their criticism of the FBI's mishandling of the Ruby Ridge affair and other incidents.

The Rev. Donald Wildmon, an early critic
(Continued on Page 8)

MarketTrends

Smelling trouble

By Pat Sloan

Fragrance opponents say they want to breathe free

The genie is out of the bottle.

The world has long been accustomed to aromatic perfumes and redolent household products. Get ready for environmental scenting, as businesses from hotels to the local dentist's office dabble in airborne bouquets.

The hitch: Fragrance is highly personal, with cola the only smell to travel well across all cultures.

Further, there's the issue of allergies, a concern heightened by anti-fragrance activists such as Louise Kostra, a member of the Atlanta-based Human Ecology Action League's Public Information Committee.

Ms. Kostra deems chemically compounded fragrance to be superfluous and as an air pollutant she considers it to be as objectionable

Air Travel

Danièle



Danièle Ryman's aromatherapy business may soon be

NEWS

FBI scopes out Klein

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Klein campaign, had asked the FBI to investigate, and officials up to Attorney General Janet Reno, and even the president and first lady, have been waving the banner of protecting our children, but Justice denied that any of them sparked its interest in the advertising.

The government is trying to determine whether Calvin Klein Inc. ran afoul of federal pornography laws in the \$6 million ad campaign that was pulled last month after a firestorm of consumer and media complaints.

"We are at the very preliminary stages," said John Russell, Justice Department spokesman, stressing the probe is limited to Calvin Klein. "The question is are the photos obscene or not. That's a determination that has to be made by our lawyers. They have not made it yet, and it won't happen today."

Age of models is crucial

The age of the models in the campaign seems crucial. Mr. Russell said the FBI will have to determine whether any of the models in the ads were under 18.

Delancey Bezin, one of the young men featured in the campaign, created in-house by Calvin Klein Inc., was described on segments of WNBC's news, "Entertainment Tonight" and other shows in late August as a 15-year-old model.

The Rev. Wildmon has said he has determined that one model was 16 and another 15.

Stuart Cameron, an agent with Women Model Management, said his agency placed four of the models in the campaign "and each of them was over the age of 18."

A Calvin Klein spokesman said last week: "We are very confident we have not violated any federal law and it is sheer demagoguery to suggest otherwise." At press time, the spokesman said he couldn't say how many models had been used in the campaign.

Joseph Valiquette, an FBI agent and spokesman for the bureau's New York office, said he is waiting for a referral of the case from the Justice Department, which will make its decisions based on "information pulled together by FBI investigators. We will try to ascertain if there was any violation of federal statutes that fall under our jurisdiction."

Probe limited to Klein

"To my knowledge," he confirmed, the probe "is limited to Klein" and doesn't include the media that carried the designer's ads.

Mr. Russell maintained the investigation wasn't prompted by the Rev. Wildmon and his American Family Association but rather was initiated inside the Justice Department itself. The Rev. Wildmon asked Justice to look into the campaign, but Justice said it had already begun its probe by that time.

Leading the Justice Department is Attorney General Janet Reno, a well-known children's rights advocate. And Ms. Reno's boss, President Clinton, has shown increased interest in children's issues lately.

Ms. Reno, during her 15 years as Dade County (Fla.) state attorney, was a staunch supporter of children. Among Ms. Reno's most visible actions was the 1985 Country Walk child pornography case prosecuted by her office. The case, made against two operators of a Miami area baby-sitting service, was considered one of the first such cases of pornography against pre-school-age children in the country.

President Clinton, claiming concern about children's safety, inflamed the tobacco and ad industries recently by instructing the Food & Drug Administration to assert regulatory control over tobacco. And earlier this summer, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said it was hypocritical for politicians to complain about sex in movies "when we use sex to sell everything in America" and urged adults not to use sex "in an exploit-

ative way to sell products."

While Mr. Russell wouldn't identify the person inside Justice who prompted the Calvin Klein investigation, he did say it wasn't Ms. Reno. The decision to start an investigation followed that internal complaint and letters from citizens groups.

Last week, the Rev. Wildmon said: "We're not looking to target anyone else right now. We want to concentrate on Calvin Klein for the moment... We want [the FBI] to get all the photos and tapes from Steven Meisel [the campaign photographer] and see what else is in there. There could be even worse photos or videos that they did not use... The magazines and TV stations that ran the ads should be part of the FBI investigation. *Rolling Stone* is not exempt from child pornography laws."

Amy Adler, an attorney who often writes about the First Amendment and child pornography, said, "These ads may be offensive but I would think they are protected speech. However, under *Knox vs. U.S.* from the 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals, child pornography laws are now very broad and vague. Any lascivious display of a minor's genitals, even if the child is clothed, can be a violation of the law. Now, this is not a Supreme Court ruling and it only affects children under the age of 18.

"I don't think this is a good case for the FBI to pursue, they don't have a solid case. But under *Knox*, Calvin Klein may have broken the law if any of the models are under age."

In January, the Supreme Court announced—what was widely reported as welcome news to the

Clinton administration—had turned down Stephen A. Knox's appeal. Knox, a State University professor, was convicted by a federal court of possession of child pornography of the young girls in the

Ms. Reno heard the brief to the court of an earlier 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia, which was turned down. Before 1991, no prosecution was made in a child pornography case unless the subjects were

Marjorie Hines, an Art Censorship American Civil Liberties Union, said no past cases involving Calvin Klein

Knox was "r

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Ayer

(Continued from Page 1)

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NEWS

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Joseph Valiquette, an FBI agent and spokesman for the bureau's New York office, said he is waiting for a referral of the case from the Justice Department, which will make its decisions based on information pulled together by FBI investigators. We will try to ascertain if there was any violation of federal statutes that fall under our jurisdiction."

Probe limited to Klein

"To my knowledge," he continued, the probe "is limited to Klein" and doesn't include the media that carried the designer's ads. Mr. Russell maintained the investigation wasn't prompted by the Rev. Wildmon and his American Family Association but rather was initiated inside the Justice Department itself. The Rev. Wildmon asked Justice to look into the campaign, but Justice said it had already begun its probe by that time. Leading the Justice Department Attorney General Janet Reno, a well-known children's rights advocate. And Ms. Reno's boss, President Clinton, has shown increased interest in children's issues lately. Ms. Reno, during her 15 years as Dade County (Fla.) state attorney, was a staunch supporter of children. Among Ms. Reno's most visible actions was the 1985 Country Walk child pornography case prosecuted by her office. The case, made against two operators of a Miami area baby-sitting service, was considered one of the first such cases of pornography against pre-school-age children in the country.

President Clinton, claiming concern about children's safety, inflamed the tobacco and ad industries recently by instructing the Food & Drug Administration to assert regulatory control over tobacco. And earlier this summer, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton said it was hypocritical for politicians to complain about sex in movies "when we use sex to sell everything in America" and urged adults not to use sex "in an exploit-

ative way to sell products."

While Mr. Russell wouldn't identify the person inside Justice who prompted the Calvin Klein investigation, he did say it wasn't Ms. Reno. The decision to start an investigation followed that internal complaint and letters from citizens groups.

Last week, the Rev. Wildmon said: "We're not looking to target anyone else right now. We want to concentrate on Calvin Klein for the moment... We want [the FBI] to get all the photos and tapes from Steven Meisel [the campaign photographer] and see what else is in there. There could be even worse photos or videos that they did not use... The magazines and TV stations that ran the ads should be part of the FBI investigation. *Rolling Stone* is not exempt from child pornography laws."

Amy Adler, an attorney who often writes about the First Amendment and child pornography, said, "These ads may be offensive but I would think they are protected speech. However, under *Knox vs. U.S.* from the 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals, child pornography laws are now very broad and vague. Any lascivious display of a minor's genitals, even if the child is clothed, can be a violation of the law. Now, this is not a Supreme Court ruling and it only affects children under the age of 18.

"I don't think this is a good case for the FBI to pursue, they don't have a solid case. But under *Knox*, Calvin Klein may have broken the law if any of the models are under age."

In January, the Supreme Court announced—what was widely reported as welcome news to the

Clinton administration—that it had turned down an appeal by Stephen A. Knox, a Pennsylvania State University graduate student convicted by a lower court for possession of three videotapes of young girls in bathing suits.

Ms. Reno herself had filed a brief to the court saying a rejection of an earlier appeal by the 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Philadelphia, shouldn't be overturned. Before the *Knox* arrest in 1991, no prosecution had been made in a child porn case where the subjects were not nude.

Marjorie Hines, director of the Art Censorship Program at the American Civil Liberties Union, said no past cases resemble the Calvin Klein case.

Knox was "renegade" case

However, Ms. Hines also cited *Knox*, calling it a "renegade" case. Although the children were clothed, "the establishment was so disgusted by the video, they stretched and misread the law in this case," she said. The law, which formerly defined child pornography as pictures of naked children or kids involved in sexual acts, now includes clothed children involved in lascivious displays of sexuality.

Since the *Knox* case, the new pornography guidelines haven't been tested, until the Calvin Klein investigation, Ms. Hines said.

"I think that it is highly unlikely that Calvin Klein will be indicted. This case is mostly for the press and for political expediency," Ms. Hines said, adding that the case will probably not go farther than the FBI investigation.

Media and advertising groups did not exactly flock to Mr. Klein's defense last week. At press time, few of the outlets that ran the ads had much to say.

A spokeswoman for Wenner Media said *Rolling Stone* never dis-

cusses its advertisers. At *YM*, Andrea Kaplan, VP-director of communications for Gruner & Jahr, said: "We rely on our advertisers to screen their ads and use their judgment when they provide us with ad copy. I can't speculate if we are included in the investigation, but I don't think that will happen."

MTV: Music Television wouldn't comment, though it didn't seem too concerned during the Sept. 7 worldwide telecast of "The MTV Video Music Awards," during which it ridiculed the Calvin Klein campaign in a series of parodies. In one, a waifish model was seen on what looked to be the same seedy set as the Calvin Klein campaign, but instead of the disconcerting voice-over, "Beavis & Butt-head" were heard asking the model to disrobe.

At the Magazine Publishers of America, a spokeswoman said: "Some of the magazines that ran the ads are members of the MPA and some are not. But we support First Amendment rights to freedom of speech in advertising and the freedom of the press to accept and run the ads or to refuse them. We are neutral on supporting Calvin Klein either way, but we do firmly support First Amendment rights."

At the American Advertising Federation, Director of Media Relations Jeff Custer said: "Calvin Klein is not a member of the AAF and so we have no comment on the situation either way."

At the American Association of Advertising Agencies, Cathay Brackman, public relations writer and editor, said: "We have had no feedback from our members either way on the FBI's investigation into Calvin Klein, but this has just surfaced. Next week could be a different story." □

Contributing to this story: Jeffery D. Zbar, Andrea Sachs, Joe Mandese and Leah Haran.

Ayer

(Continued from Page 1)
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Ayer has been an AT&T agency since 1908, and all sides agree the relationship is strong. Other primary AT&T agencies are BBDO Worldwide, FCB/Leber Katz Partners and Young & Rubicam, all New York.

"We have no plans to put Ayer's work in review," said Dick Martin. AT&T's VP-corporate advertising. "We're happy with what Ayer is doing for us. In fact, the work they've done with 1-800-

CALL-ATT has really increased our calls." Ayer also handles AT&T's award-winning "You Will" campaign and buys

P&G, said the company has made "absolutely no such decision."

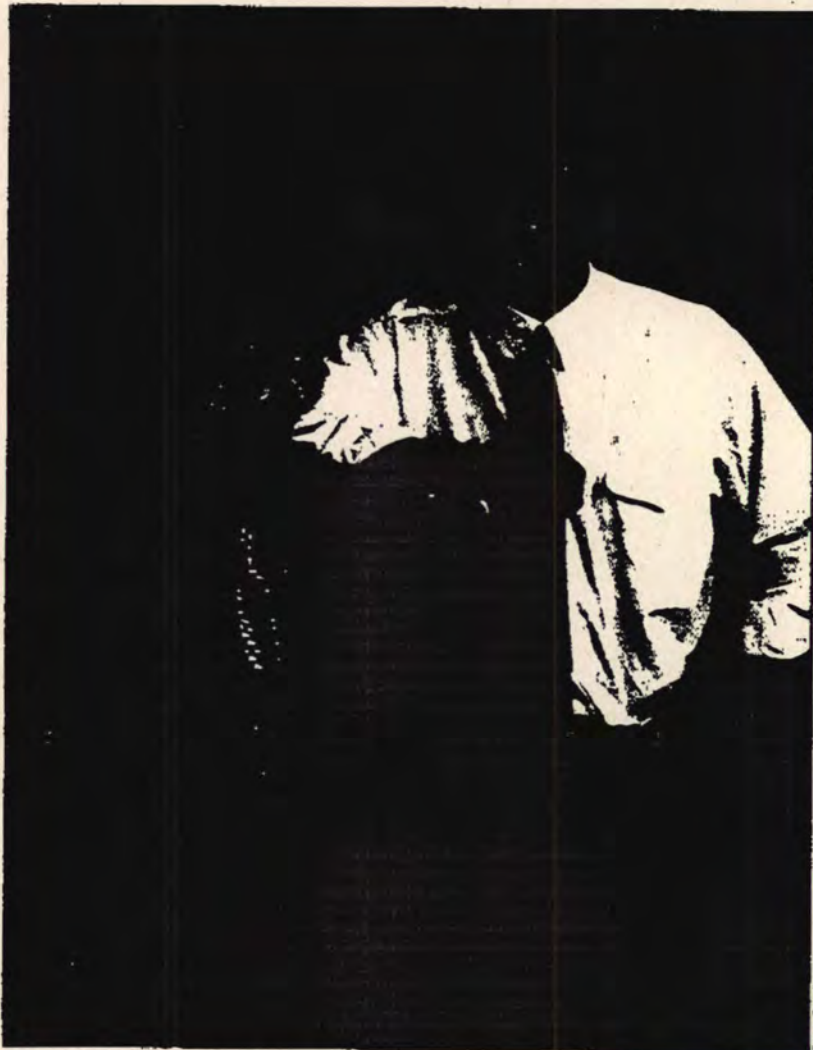
GM has expressed no dissatisfaction with Ayer and is not believed to be considering an agency consolidation. Ayer does corporate image work for GM.

International capabilities weren't directly a factor in DeBeers' decision to move its U.S. account to JWT. But DeBeers executives cited the "significant advantages" of having one global agency in explaining its decision to part with Ayer after 57 years. JWT already handles the rest of the world for DeBeers, and Ayer's recent TV advertising was selected from a JWT campaign.

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Today?



\$3.00 - In Canada \$3.50



It could have been kayak manufacturing, but instead, John Kennedy and Michael Berman decided to start a political personality magazine.

JFK Jr., 'George' & rise of pol pop

By Keith J. Kelly

Politics and pop culture become bedfellows in the new magazine named for a president and co-founded by the son of a president.

And at least at the start, advertisers are voting with their pocket-books for the new formula.

Breaking the mold on political magazines is the goal of Editor in Chief John Kennedy and Executive Publisher Michael Berman, co-founders of *George*, the new political personality magazine that will roar onto newsstands Sept. 26 with

a record-setting 175 ad pages.

George is a joint venture of Messrs. Kennedy and Berman's Random Ventures and Hachette Filipacchi Magazines, but it's the latter that's providing as much as \$20 million to get the publication up and running.

The next challenge will be to capture readers with an edgy, personality driven magazine for what they hail as the "post-partisan" era in American political society.

"We feel there is an opportunity to deal with politicians and politi-

(Continued on Page 36)

Fueling, feeling the heat

Calvin Klein pushes into 'different edge' with controversial jeans ads

By James Brady

Is Calvin Klein a dirty old man? Or simply a shrewd if cynical businessman cashing in on an American appetite for sexual titillation? Or a bit of both?

Last week, even *The New York Times* seemed confused. On the op-ed page Maureen Dowd ripped Calvin as a purveyor of kiddie porn. In the same edition was a page and a half devoted to the glories of Calvin's new retail shop opening this week on Madison Avenue. Since Mr. Klein is a big advertiser, you had the feeling of, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's..."

I think I know how the Bible Belt and committees of outraged parents feel about Calvin and those famous (infamous?) ads and commercials. Tar and feathers, anyone? But what of professionals in the fashion biz and in fashion journalism? What are they saying about Calvin himself and about his ads and the furor they've inspired?

Some declined to be quoted by name and then spoke frankly. Others agreed to be quoted but chose their phrasing carefully. Some wouldn't talk at all or return calls. When you work in or around a business that lives off fash-

(Continued on Page 34)

■ Fax Poll readers weigh in—Page 34.

■ Garfield: "Profoundly disturbing"—Page 18.

■ Judge the ads for yourself—Page 34.

■ Crain: CK rationalization is a crock—Page 16.

■ Kids say: What's the big deal?—Page 35.

Another brand of Calvin

This is the week Cal Ripken Jr. becomes Major League Base-

Calvin's provocative portfolio



CK jeans photo from the fold out magazine insert.



Off-camera voice: Go ahead, show me what you can do.

Model: I'm not sure what to do.

OCV: What do you do when you just stand around and you hear a good song on the radio or CD?

Model: I mosh, I like, run around the room.

OCV: You march?

Model: Yeah, mosh.

OCV: Go ahead.

Model: dances around the ladder...

OCV: That's a pretty good mosh.

Model: Thanks.



Off-camera voice: open that vest up?

Model: takes off t shirtless...

OCV: Where'd you go?

Model: At a tattoo house.

OCV: Uh huh. Any o

Model: No.

OCV: Well you look think you can act?

★ Brady: Calvin got what he want

(Continued from Page 1)

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Others felt I shouldn't write about the affair at all. One professional told me, "Look, by writing about this, you're playing right into his hands."

One who spoke briefly but on the record was Michael Gross, *Esquire* writer and author of the best selling hardcover, "Model," all about what he calls "the ugly business of beautiful women." Gross was off to London for British publication of his book last Thursday when we spoke.

"He's got all the right people mad at

him," Gross said, "the religious right and the censors. The kids think he's a rebel and the [protesting] parents think they've won. Actually, it's a win/win situation for Calvin."

Another speaking for attribution was Rochelle Udell, a former art director for *Vogue* and for *Harper's Bazaar*, and today a senior exec helping guide Conde Nast into the cyberspace tomorrow. She's a fascinating witness since she worked for Calvin years before as creative director on another set of ads that ignited furious debate, those starring 15-year-old Brooke Shields.

"Calvin always wanted to be at the edge," Rochelle said, "but this is a different edge. Calvin may be speaking to a mood in the country. The heat level has risen, the whole

stimulation level is up. People food. What we [adults] value even a film like 'Apollo 13,' the boring. They want more stimulation."

Sure, Rochelle said, there was the Brooke Shields ads. "But different. In those, the words came mouth and she looked so gorgeous."

At the Ford model agency, industry's largest and, in an trade, boasting a generally solid Katie Ford talked to me.

"We work with Calvin a lot the youngsters in this campaign." Is there a morals clause other sort of protection written into the contracts for youngsters? Said Katie Ford

Readers rate Klein 'porn' campaign

By Dan Lippe

Dr. Fad is mad at Calvin Klein. And like some other respondents to an Advertising Age Fax Poll, he's taking action.

But not by simply boycotting Calvin Klein jeans. The toy gunner and former kids show host is urging consumers to "Take Off Your Pants So Children Won't"—the first 300 consumers who send in a pair of Calvin Klein jeans will get in return a free Rollerboard. The jeans will be donated to the homeless.

The timing of the Calvin Klein

ads a rating of 8 or higher:

■ "They give me the willies! The purple shag carpet and the '70s-style wood paneling make me think of some kid's bedroom with kids in the 'playroom'!"

■ "The kids looked very unsure of themselves, and the man's voice sounded like a scummy animal's."

■ "What is he up to? At first I must admit I was titillated by the centerfold shot, then disgusted when I saw how old she was."

■ "My 17-year-old daughter was outraged. She's in favor of teen sex—not kiddie porn."

port any of his products!"

Another said: "I am going to take their (Calvin's) career outfit and hosiery. I will buy no more goods from... and I am a very literal interpreter of the First Amendment."

Overall, when asked if the would be a net plus or a net Calvin Klein jeans, results were evenly split, with 53% calling it

Two concepts popped up repeatedly in the responses: the idea of "an envelope," for good or ill effect, and the notion that "any PR is good PR." "This is so typical of CK—

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Model: Yeah, mosh.

OCV: Go ahead.

Model dances around the ladder...

OCV: That's a pretty good mosh.

Model: Thanks.



Off-camera voice: Why don't you open that vest up?

Model takes off the vest, stands shirtless...

OCV: Where'd you get the tattoo?

Model: At a tattoo studio out by my house.

OCV: Uh huh. Any other tattoos?

Model: No.

OCV: Well you look good... Do you think you can act?



Off-camera voice: You got a real nice look, how old are you?

Model: Twenty-one.

OCV: What's your name?

Model: August.

OCV: Why don't you stand up... are you strong?

Model: I'd like to think so.

OCV: You think you could rip that shirt off of ya?

Model rips off T-shirt...

OCV: That's a nice body... Do you work out?

Model: Uh huh.

OCV: Yeah, I can tell.

gross!

win got what he wanted

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"We work with Calvin a lot but none of the youngsters in this campaign were ours." Is there a morals clause or some other sort of protection written into modeling contracts for youngsters under a certain age? Said Katie Ford, "Usually

the agent discusses such things with the model. 'Ever do topless?' 'Don't do topless?' Like that." And aren't the parents brought into the discussion? "Depends on how old the child is. A 17-year-old living on her own, no. Under 17, yes, you talk to the parent."

According to a source, the model agency repping some or all of the kids in this current batch of Calvin Klein ads and TV commercials is Women Model Management on Greene Street in Manhattan, where I was told to call "Paul Roland or Jennifer." When I called there was only a recorded message saying they were closed for the holiday and would reopen right after Labor Day.

Now, getting down and dirty with sources who won't be quoted by name, these comments about Mr. Klein and his kiddie campaign:

"He doesn't care about the people who care about these ads... by pulling the ads now, he's saved a quarter of his ad budget and gets all this free publicity... Has he gone too far this time? I really think this is not responsible... Calvin isn't stupid so therefore he can't believe what he says in his statement [about having been 'taken aback' by the adverse reaction]..."

The worst savaging by critics I spoke to was directed at Calvin's choice of Fabien Baron and Steven Meisel to create the ad campaign. "These are the guys who produced the Madonna sex book for God's sake," Baron, the *Harper's Bazaar* executive, has a design studio and business of his own and did the Klein job on assignment and independent of his magazine. Meisel, the photographer, works frequently for Conde Nast.

What I hadn't known until I began asking questions was that Meisel took the original photos not for Calvin but for *Italian Vogue*. Said one of the fashion pros with whom I

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ads a rating of four higher:

■ "They give me the willies! The purple shag carpet and the '70s-style wood paneling make me think of some dirty, sex-crazed old man with kids in the playroom!"

■ "The kids looked very unsure of themselves, and the man's voice sounded like a scummy animal's."

■ "What is he up to? At first I must admit I was titillated by the centerfold shot, then disgusted when I saw how old she was."

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Another said: "I was a major buyer of their (expensive!) career outfits, lingerie and hosiery. I will buy no more. This disgusts me... and I am a very liberal interpreter of the First Amendment."

Overall, when asked if the campaign would be a net plus or a net minus for Calvin Klein jeans, results were almost evenly split, with 53% calling it a minus.

Two concepts popped up repeatedly in the responses—the idea of "pushing the envelope," for good or ill effect, and the notion that "any PR is good PR."

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"This is so typical of CK—one did not even have to see the ads to know about the products they were pushing," said one respondent. "It was jeans, wasn't it? Or was it perfume? Or brand awareness? Anyhow—we all know they have pushed the envelope again and we all remember the CK brand again."

"Any PR is good PR... or so they say," said another respondent. "I will never buy, but it's accomplished mass awareness."

"Anytime advertising gets more coverage than what was purchased, their audience is increased," said another. "If you haven't seen the ads with all the news coverage, you're now looking to see them—so Calvin has won in the end."

"Great marketing ploy, you must admit," another respondent said. "And as usual, the media and the public went for it."

"Have you forgotten marketing 101?" one respondent asked. "Anything that creates a stir draws attention. Kinda like buzzards on a carcass."

"No question," asserted another. "He is a brilliant marketer." □

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What I hadn't known until I began asking questions was that Meisel took the original photos not for Calvin but for *Italian Vogue*. Said one of the fashion pros with whom I talked:

"The bottom line is why would Calvin choose photos by the notorious Steven Meisel, a self-confessed promoter of 'the queer sensibility'?"

The answer, in this person's mind, is that Calvin Klein knew precisely what he was doing and got the ad campaign he wanted.

And while we're at it, doesn't this whole business raise the larger issue of conflict of interest? Here's the creative chief of a major fashion magazine doing the ads for one of the magazine's biggest advertisers. Should *Women's Wear Daily*, the industry's great trade paper, have been on this story earlier than anyone else? Or were considerations taken regarding the ad pages Calvin buys in its sister magazine, *W*?

Years ago Calvin said for quote: "Anything I wanted to do, I did. If there's something I want, nothing stops me!" He got the ads he wanted; he got the shocked reaction; he got the publicity. Maybe he even sold some jeans. Maybe in the end, he did win. □

OCV: Go ahead.

think you can act:

Model dances around the ladder...

OCV: That's a pretty good mosh.

Model: Thanks.

CK jeans photo from the fold out magazine insert.

Brady: Calvin got what he wanted

(Continued from Page 1)

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But not by simply boycotting Calvin Klein jeans. The toy creator and former kids show host is urging consumers to "Take Off Your Pants So Children Won't"—the first 300 consumers who send in a pair of Calvin Klein jeans will get in return a free Rollerboard. The jeans will be donated to the homeless.

The timing of the Calvin Klein controversy is fortuitous for Ken Hakuta, known as "Dr. Fad" and creator of the Wacky Wall-walker toy that was popular in the 1980s. He's now helping Milwaukee-based Rollerboard Inc. introduce its product, a kind of skateboard with inline wheels.

Mr. Hakuta isn't worried some might criticize his promotion.

"What I am doing is hitching myself to the mass exploitation system that Calvin Klein is using. We're trying to benefit from going against them. Obviously, we couldn't generate anything like the publicity that Calvin Klein gets, but by riding that, we see it as a good opportunity."

Mr. Hakuta, the father of three teens, was asked to rate the Calvin Klein ads on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being bona fide pornography. He gave them about an 8.

So did many other respondents to the Ad Age Fax Poll, though the average rating was lower, at 6.37.

From those who gave the Calvin Klein

ads a rating of 8 or higher:

■ "They give me the willies! The purple shag carpet and the '70s-style wood paneling make me think of some dirty, sex-crazed old man with kids in the 'playroom'!"

■ "The kids looked very unsure of themselves, and the man's voice sounded like a scummy animal's."

■ "What is he up to? At first I must admit I was titillated by the centerfold shot, then disgusted when I saw how old she was."

■ "My 17-year-old daughter was outraged. She's in favor of teen sex—not kiddie porn."

And from those who rated the ads a 2 or lower:

■ "They are leering and disturbing—but not real 'porn.'"

■ "Excuse me—doesn't 'porn' have something to do with the exposure of sexual organs and depiction of sexual acts? If young models standing around in T-shirts is 'porn,' what does that make 'Baywatch'?"

■ "Whoever thinks those ads are

porn hasn't seen real porn in a while! Real porn is what we have to protect our kids from."

■ "The stuff on 42nd Street is the real thing."

While it remains to be seen whether the advertising, and ensuing outcry, will sell jeans, it's going to hurt Mr. Klein's sales in other categories among some respondents.

"I'm a supporter of designer clothes, primarily Calvin Klein," one respondent said. "However, as a mother after seeing the Calvin Klein ads, I will no longer sup-

port any of his products!"

Another said: "I was a major buyer of their (expensive!) career outfits, lingerie and hosiery. I will buy no more. This disgusts me... and I am a very liberal interpreter of the First Amendment."

Overall, when asked if the campaign would be a net plus or a net minus for Calvin Klein jeans, results were almost evenly split, with 53% calling it a minus.

Two concepts popped up repeatedly in the responses—the idea of "pushing the envelope," for good or ill effect, and the notion that "any PR is good PR."

"This is so typical of CK—one did not even have to see the ads to know about the products they were pushing," said one respondent. "It was jeans, wasn't it? Or was it perfume? Or brand awareness? Anyhow—we all know they have pushed the envelope again and we all remember the CK brand again."

"Any PR is good PR... or so they say," said another respondent. "I will never buy, but it's accomplished mass awareness."

"Anytime advertising gets more coverage than what was purchased, their audience is increased," said another. "If you haven't seen the ads with all the news coverage, you're now looking to see them—so Calvin has won in the end."

"Great marketing ploy, you must admit," another respondent said. "And as usual, the media and the public went for it."

"Have you forgotten marketing 101?" one respondent asked. "Anything that creates a stir draws attention. Kinda like buzzards on a carcass."

"No question," asserted another. "He is a brilliant marketer." □



NEWS

Klein's apology wearing thin

Media say schedules ran out before Calvin's mea culpa

By Jennifer DeCoursey

So much for noble gestures.

Buffeted by criticism over advertising some called child pornography, designer Calvin Klein last week ran a full-page mea culpa ad in *The New York Times*. Because the ads had been "misunderstood by some" and because the company takes its responsibility to young people seriously, "we will cease running the remainder of this campaign as soon as possible," the *Times* ad said.

But an *Advertising Age* analysis found virtually the entire \$6 million TV, print and outdoor effort had already run its course, even though the company had said ads had been slated through October.

"The Calvin Klein ads will be pulled from MTV's lineup next week. But they had pretty much been scheduled to be taken off the air next week anyway," an MTV Music Television spokeswoman said.

"Calvin changes his copy frequently and has plans to do so at the beginning of September," said an outdoor ad company executive who didn't want to be identified. She said the change was scheduled well before the controversy erupted. The TV ads were placed in 10 to 15 spot markets.

Magazines that ran the ads included *Spin*, *Rolling Stone*, *Elle* and *YM*. While the ads are in the current *Spin*, they aren't in the other titles' September issues.

Vanity Fair Publisher Mitchell Fox said there was no adverse reaction to the ads in his August issue, and added: "By the time the uproar began, the September issue was on newsstands, and that did not contain the ad anyway. Their schedule with us this year was already completed."

Experts were reluctant to put a dollar value on the free publicity Calvin Klein Inc. received, but "it was a great PR plus for him," said Bob Dilenschneider, CEO of the Dilenschneider Group, New York.

Kansas City, Mo., agency Valentine Radford, using its Word Trends system to scan four major papers for the designer's name, found 10 "hits" for Aug. 7 to 13. For Aug. 21 to 27, that number was up to 36 in *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and *Chicago Tribune*.

"The Calvin Klein jeans ad used shock to create extraordinary press," Mr. Dilenschneider said. "These spots did not create a negative image of the product or the designer in the mind of the average consumer. They will only remember his name when they go to the store."

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"Some of those kids were under the age of 18," said the Rev. Donald Wildmon, head of the American Family Association, Tupelo, Miss. He said that since asking the U.S. Justice Department to look into possible legal action against the marketer on child pornography grounds, he has confirmed one of the models is 16 and another is 15.

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The association wrote about 50 stores, including Dayton Hudson Corp. and Federated Department Stores, he said.

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Shoppers at Water Town: other jeans had a love Klein's ad

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Indeed, an unscientific check of department stores in key cities showed increased interest in the brand by young shoppers last week.

"The message was carried across the country to places that never would have heard of the jeans ads," said Alan Millstein, editor-publisher of *The Fashion Network Report*, New York. As a result, "he's laughing all the way to the bank."

Mr. Millstein estimated the brand's sales at \$100 million last year, vs. \$600 million for archival Guess?

Benetton, the world master of controversial ads, acknowledged waiting for media pickup on a minimal ad buy is a tactic it uses. But Peter Fressola, Benetton Group director of communications, was quick to differentiate between the two companies.

"We cover social issues in our ads... We would never use sex to exploit children," he said. He also was critical of Calvin Klein Inc.'s statement the campaign's "message about the spirit, independence and inner worth of today's young people" was misunderstood.

"He was disingenuous to say in the *Times* statement that he was misinterpreted. To say the TV ads especially did not mimic kid-

since 1980, when a 15-year-old Brooke Shields revealed, "Nothing comes between me and my Calvins." What's different now?

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Recently, some of those judgment calls have indeed been edgy. A print ad from Foote, Cone & Belding, San Francisco, for 501 button-fly jeans said one reason to buy them is because "it's a dangerous place to put a zipper." A TV spot shows a young man having his nose pierced with a jeans pocket rivet.

"It has to be... a funny thing. We are not encouraging you to get a rivet put into your nose," Mr. Chriss said. □

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As for the ads: "They don't bother me," she said. "But I don't think it's in good taste that they show young models who are so thin and unhealthy looking." Asked if she would pose for similar ads: "Probably not in the eighth grade... I'm not sure why they are doing these ads [with young models]. Levi's is catering to the same age group, and the models are skateboarding and playing outside."

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That was the reaction of most adults, including Marcia Ellis, 48, of Washington, who was shopping in New York with her daughter.

"I'm more attracted to advertising that's age appropriate," Ms. Ellis said.

A Boston TV station's call for viewers to express their opinion about the ads sent Kathleen O'Meara to the phone immediately.

Ms. O'Meara, a financial consultant in Gloucester, Mass., and a former Saatchi & Saatchi Holdings financial manager, said she tried to call several times to say the ads were sexually exploitive of children, but couldn't get through.

"But my side still won, something like 72% to 28%," she said. □

Contributing to this story: Lucky Vittert, Sara Teasdale, Alan Salomon, Alice Z. Cuneo, Leslie Baylor, Kemba Johnson, Laurie Freeman, Jennifer DeCoursey and Melanie Rigney.



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MEMORANDUM

TO: Lissa Muscatine 
FROM: Don Baer
RE: Calvin Klein
DATE: September 14, 1995

Attached are the materials you requested. Included are copies of the fold-out ad that ran in Rolling Stone, news articles about the campaign and the FBI probe, and editorials, both pro and con.

Attachements:

- A. News
- B. Pro-Klein Editorials
- C. Anti-Klein Editorials
- D. Photocopies

Copyright 1995 Associated Press
AP Online

September 09, 1995; Saturday 01:42 Eastern Time

SECTION: Domestic, non-Washington, general news item

LENGTH: 720 words

HEADLINE: FBI To Probe Calvin Klein Ads

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

The FBI is investigating whether the man who introduced Brooke Shields and her skin-tight Calvins 15 years ago crossed the line into kiddie porn with his latest jean campaign.

Calvin Klein says no laws were broken.

"We're not trying to shock, and we're not trying to create controversy," Klein says in an interview in next week's New York magazine.

Some of the TV and print ads show young people striking suggestive poses in little more than underwear. On a TV spot, a young man is asked by an older male off camera, "You think you could rip that shirt off of you?" After he does so, the older man says, "That's a nice body. ... Do you work out?"

The ads ran for less than two months before Klein agreed Aug. 28 to drop them under pressure from the public and retailers. The matter seemed resolved until the Justice Department said it was investigating the campaign to see whether the ads broke child pornography laws.

"Investigating something like this is not unusual," Justice spokesman Carl Stern said Friday. "We don't throw things in the wastebasket and ignore them."

Critics cheered the news that the FBI has stepped in.

"We've known from the start the Calvin Klein ads were cynical, exploitative and immoral," said C.J. Doyle of the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights. "Now we see they also apparently are illegal."

Klein has long been known for risque advertisements, such as a 1980 spot featuring a 15-year-old Shields cooing, "Nothing comes between me and my Calvins."

Federal law prohibits "lascivious exhibitions of the genitals or pubic area of a minor,"

according to Patrick Trueman, a former head of the Justice Department's child pornography and exploitation division who now works for the conservative American Family Association. He wrote his former colleagues last week to urge them to investigate.

There was some question as to the age of the models used in the campaign. Stuart Cameron of Women Model Management Inc. said the four models he supplied for the ads were older than 18.

In any case, civil libertarians said the government would have a hard time prosecuting Klein for the ads.

"The government is bowing to political pressure and misusing the child pornography laws," said Norman Siegel of the New York Civil Liberties Union. "There is no evidence that the models were sexually abused, and the ads, whatever you think of them, don't descend to obscene."

Genevieve Waite, whose 15-year-old daughter, Bijou Phillips, appears in one ad in a tight tank top and jeans, leaning against a ladder, enthusiastically supported the campaign.

She told the Daily News that she and Bijou's father, pop star John Phillips of the Mamas and the Papas, saw the photos before they were published and "were all just so proud of her and thrilled."

"I thought the campaign was kind of funny," Waite said. "I knew (Klein) was trying to get ... the teen-age mall market. You can't do that with 25-year-old models."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 09, 1995

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

September 3, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 10; Column 5; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 111 words

HEADLINE: Calvin Klein's Models

BODY:

To the Editor:

As the mother of one of the models, Bijou Phillips, age 15, who was photographed most beautifully by Steven Meisel for the CK Calvin Klein Jeans campaign, I resent the aspersions that have been cast suggesting that I would allow my daughter to be used as an object of pedophilia.

My daughter has passed puberty and is in the first bud of womanhood.

I do not understand those who attack Calvin Klein and I wish, for the sake of the feelings of Mr. Meisel, the young models and the support staff, that Mr. Klein had not withdrawn his ads so quickly in the face of sexual bigotry.

GENEVIEVE WAITE
Bolton Landing, N.Y., Aug. 29, 1995

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 3, 1995

TAB B

Copyright 1995 Daily News, L.P.
Daily News (New York)

September 05, 1995, Tuesday

SECTION: News; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 333 words

HEADLINE: SHE RIPS JEANS KING MODEL'S MOM SEZ KLEIN DIDN'T HAVE
TO FOLD ADS

BYLINE: By BARBARA ROSS

BODY:

Calvin Klein's controversial jeans ads were "beautiful" and "funny" and the besieged designer should have stood behind them, the mother of one of Klein's teenage models said yesterday.

Genevieve Waite, a one-time actress and model known in the 1960s as "the Twiggy of South Africa," dismissed as "unwarranted" the criticism that forced Klein to pull an advertising campaign widely denounced as "kiddie porn."

Among the teens posing in the Klein ads was her daughter Bijou Phillips, 15, whose father is John Phillips, leader of the '60s pop group The Mamas and the Papas.

Both she and Phillips, from whom she is divorced, saw Bijou's photos before they were published, found them "beautiful" and approved them, Waite said.

"We were all just so proud of her and thrilled," Waite said. "I thought the campaign was kind of funny. I knew he [Klein] was trying to get the Gap market, which is the teenage mall market. You can't do that with 25-year-old models."

Klein recently canceled the ads after child welfare authorities, leaders of the Catholic League and members of the conservative American Family Association attacked them as sexually exploitive of youngsters.

"The kids are crushed," Waite said. "They're hurt because they're just kids. It took them a year to prepare for this. I think he [Klein] should have stood by them."

Waite, 45, said her daughter has been modeling extensively since March and loves the work when she's not attending Palm Springs High School in California, where she lives with her father.

"I started modeling [in South Africa] at her age," Waite said. "She loves modeling. I guess it's in the genes."

Waite made a splash at 19 when she starred in the 1968 British film "Joanna," which featured considerable nudity.

"When someone is spending millions on a film, I don't think it's too much to ask you to take your clothes off," she told an interviewer then.

Waite is currently married to Brooklyn lawyer Norman Buntaine.

GRAPHIC: BIJOU Phillips (in bus ad, center) has a supportive mom, who called the jeans campaign "beautiful" and branded criticism of it "unwarranted."

ASSAULT ON A KLEIN: Genevieve Waite, known in 1960s as 'the Twiggy of South Africa,' with then-hubby John Phillips in 1974.

LOAD-DATE: September 05, 1995

Copyright 1995 McClatchy Newspapers, Inc.
Sacramento Bee

September 13, 1995, METRO FINAL

SECTION: EDITORIALS; Pg. B6

LENGTH: 1107 words

HEADLINE: CALVIN KLEIN'S KIDDIE PORN

BYLINE: Richard Cohen

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Is there someone in Congress with the guts to ask why the FBI is investigating Calvin Klein for child pornography? The answer, you can bet, is no. Given the nature of the times -- the emphasis on family values, the political clout of the Christian right -- it would take a foolhardy lawmaker indeed to point out that there is a difference between bad taste and kiddie porn. The former is offensive, but only the latter is a crime.

The FBI, though, is hard on Klein's trail. Guns figuratively drawn, it is trying to figure out if an ad campaign clandestinely aired on the public airwaves and furtively plastered on the side of city buses amounts to child pornography.

Were the models under 18 years of age? Were they sexually abused? Are the ads obscene? The answers to those questions can be provided by me. Yes, at least one model was 15, or so says her proud mother. No, there is no indication they were sexually abused. And, no, the ads were not pornographic -- although they were certainly designed to be controversial if not offensive.

The ads in question were vintage Klein -- eye-catching, provocative and, in this case, in terrible taste. They showed childish-looking models suggestively posed in a cheap wood-paneled room. In the television commercials, a young man is seen while an adult male voice is only heard. "You got a real nice look," the voice says. "How old are you? Are you strong?" The entire ad campaign -- print as well as TV -- was dropped Aug. 28 after a storm of protest.

KLEIN SAID the ads had been "misunderstood by some." If so, I'm one of the "some." He professed himself "taken aback" by the criticism since, in his view, the ads were about "the spirit, independence and inner worth of young people today." Yeah, sure. In my view they were evocative of kiddie porn, not the genuine article, mind you, but suggestive of it. The difference, however, is considerable. After all, plenty of nudes in the museum are erotically

suggestive; few to none would be considered pornographic.

It is the same with Klein's aborted ad campaign. Moreover, it was not aimed at what might be called the kiddie porn market -- adults, particularly males -- but at kids themselves. The line of clothing he was peddling, CK Jeans, is the favorite of young people and the ads were placed in magazines, such as YM, that have a youthful readership. In other words, Klein was not targeting adults. By and large, they don't buy preripped jeans. The FBI could have figured all this out.

Ah, you say, but the bureau had to open an investigation once it received a complaint. Sure. But according to the Justice Department, the FBI launched its investigation on its own -- before it received any complaints from the usual sources on the Christian right. I asked twice and twice I was told that first the bureau initiated an investigation and only later did it get any complaints.

An FBI investigation is a serious matter. It can be -- in fact, it ought to be -- downright intimidating. At the very least, it can be expensive -- not just to the taxpayer, but to the target of the investigation. He or she tends to seek the company of lawyers. He or she tends to become distracted, putting off business decisions, staring into the middle distance where, vaguely, can be seen the outlines of a prison. In Klein's case, the government has virtually called him a pornographer -- never mind its assurance that its investigation is preliminary.

LET ME make some preliminary judgments of my own. The Justice Department's senior leadership is so scared of being called soft on porn that it has allowed a sham of an investigation to proceed. The Clinton administration, more concerned with re-election than with protecting individual rights, has looked the other way. For the White House it's all in the electoral math: How many Christian conservatives are there? How many clothing designers?

I didn't like Calvin Klein's ad campaign. And I do think that we have to extend the concept of family so that children become everyone's concern. It was swell that complaints forced Klein to back down -- adults telling other adults how children should be treated.

But it is not the government's job to punish bad taste (or else Roseanne would be a lifer) or to enforce family values -- whatever they may be. The FBI is way out of line investigating Calvin Klein. He's not selling pornography, but clothing, and he has a right, constitutional and otherwise, to be as shameless, tawdry and downright repulsive as he wants. Let the marketplace straighten him out. As it did. The FBI ought to be out catching spies and bank robbers and not playing the role of censor.

Washington Post Writers Group

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 1995

Copyright 1995 Lewiston Morning Tribune
Lewiston Morning Tribune

September 12, 1995

SECTION: Editorial; Pg. 10A

LENGTH: 427 words

HEADLINE: Jeans ads are vulgar trash, but pornography? Come on

BYLINE: Jim Fisher

BODY:

There is no scarcity of things you can call the latest ad campaign for Calvin Klein's overpriced jeans, from exploitive to trashy. But you still have to reach pretty far to call it pornographic.

That hasn't stopped the FBI from starting an investigation into whether Klein has broken laws against kiddie porn, though. The bureau wants to know if any of the models used for the suggestive ads were children, and, if they were, whether the ads meet the definition of child pornography.

If they do, the government has been given too much power. The only country where people are forbidden to produce vulgar and offensive material is a police state.

Besides, there are mechanisms within the free market itself to police material that goes over the line in promoting merchandise for the masses. Calvin Klein has dropped the campaign in question not because the government objected to it, but because the buying public objected to it. Although the young people featured in the ads were all clothed, the ads did rely on sexual suggestion to sell jeans. Sex is one of the most powerful enticements in advertising today, but underage sex does remain, and should remain, off limits.

There is a difference, however, between suggestion and pornography. And although it is difficult to define what pornography is, even the FBI should be able to discern what it isn't. There is simply no precedent for pictures of clothed models lounging suggestively, no matter how sultry they appear, being considered pornography.

Justice Department spokesman Carl Stern defends the bureau's investigation, while pointing out that it is still in a very early stage.

"Investigating something like this is not unusual," he asserts. "We don't throw things in the wastebasket and ignore them."

Nonsense. The department and the bureau do that all the time with charges that are silly on

their face. And any allegation that the Calvin Klein ads constitute porn is silly on its face.

Throw it in the wastebasket. Ignore it. J.F.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 12, 1995

Copyright 1995 The News Tribune
News Tribune

September 11, 1995, Monday

SECTION: Editorial; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 293 words

HEADLINE: CALVIN KLEIN ADS DESERVE FBI SCRUTINY

BODY:

It might be tough to nail Calvin Klein in court on a child-exploitation charge. But if the Justice Department can at least make him sweat, so much the better.

The New York designer got exactly what he wanted when the now-halted advertising campaign for his line of jeans provoked a huge uproar over its cynically provocative use of teenage models. Religious groups, child-welfare experts and parents rightly denounced the ads as commercial kiddie porn - and Klein got reams of publicity that enhanced his notoriety.

But Klein probably didn't expect to have the Federal Bureau of Investigation nosing around to see if the designer's ads might have actually violated federal child-pornography or exploitation laws.

Last week the agency said it has begun a preliminary investigation, seeking to determine whether any of the models used in the ads are under 18. If that turns out to be the case, child-pornography laws could apply.

This may well be more than smoke. Critics such as Donald Wildmon, head of the conservative American Family Association, claim that at least two of the models are underage. Friday the mother of one of the girls who posed for Klein confirmed the girl is only 15.

What Klein's critics particularly want to know is the age of the pubescent-looking girl who posed in a denim miniskirt with her legs spread to reveal the crotch of her underwear. If the model was a minor, Klein should have to explain this shot to a jury.

Federal law prohibits "lascivious exhibitions of the genitals or pubic area of a minor," and one federal appeals court has ruled that the law may be broken even if a child is clothed. Klein wanted headlines; let him have more that combine the words "Calvin Klein" and "child pornography."

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 1995

TAB C

September 12, 1995 Tuesday SUNRISE EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 386 words

HEADLINE: Calvin Klein Goes a Step Too Far

BODY:

What can be done with Calvin Klein?

Ol' Cal sells designer jeans. Cal and his people had an idea: They're already known for sexually provocative advertising. (Remember young, sultry Brooke Shields and "nothing comes between me and my Calvins" 15 years ago?) Why not go a step further to boost the market for their jeans?

So they did. Now the FBI is on their case, checking for possible child pornography violations.

The step Klein took was right into the dark zone of pandering to child molesters, pedophiles and assorted other perverts. And that can be against federal law - if underage models were used, for instance.

The ads in question are creepy and disgusting. They have appeared in buses and on billboards, in magazines aimed at pre-teen and teen-age readers and on television. The purported goal, Klein's spokesman said, was to convey "the spirit and inner worth of today's young people." Sure. That's why the kids, who looked about 13 or 14, were half-dressed.

That's why they were posed so provocatively. That's why a young girl was posed, legs spread, with the crotch of her white panties showing.

That's why the advertisements were shot in a basement and the kids slouched against cheap paneling to hype the sleazy look of it.

That's why the kids' expressions are vacant, dead-eyed, stupefied.

That's why in one television spot, a gravelly, off-camera male voice, obviously older, talks suggestively to a post-pubescent boy. "You got a real nice look. How old are you? Are you strong? You think you could rip that shirt off of ya?" After the model does, the husky voice continues: "That's a real nice body. . . . You work out? I can tell." The impression of that particular advertisement is that the audience is watching a homosexual seduction or a kiddie-porn cameraman doing his dirty work. The youth looks as if he came straight to the

basement from the junior high.

The company, which said it was shocked, just shocked that people would react so sharply to its little advertisements, pulled the campaign recently. But not before the job was done. Word was that CKs, Klein's particular brand of jeans, were flying off the store shelves.

Klein, whether or not he has nibbled at the edges of legality, has ripped decency to shreds.

LOAD-DATE: September 13, 1995

September 12, 1995, Tuesday, CITY EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. 2C

LENGTH: 324 words

HEADLINE: CALVIN KLEIN, CLUELESS;
ON SEX IN ADS, HE'S THE ONE WHO DOESN'T GET IT

BODY:

POOR Calvin Klein, hounded by the philistines of middlebrow America. The artiste of blue jeans (let us never suggest a taint of commercialism) was hounded into dropping his ad campaign featuring childlike models in sex-charged poses.

Now even the FBI is hanging around, asking whether some of the models posed in those crotch shots, with their pre-teen but provocative air, might really have been as underage as they looked. Ah, the persecution never stops.

The ads were "misunderstood," sniffed Calvin as he grudgingly had the poster-sized photos of girls and boys with legs spread pulled off bus shelters in New York City.

The message of what looked to a lot of parents like kiddie porn was, he insisted, that young people today "have a real strength of character and independence." He was just shocked that Middle America didn't get it.

Somebody doesn't get it, all right, but it isn't the protesting parents who have had enough and more than enough with sex-saturated entertainment and marketing aimed at their children.

And it isn't those who worry that if kiddie-porn images work their way any farther into mainstream culture, more children will end up victims of the kinds of weirdos who used to have to buy this stuff in plain brown wrappers -illegally.

You see, Calvin, parents know about their kids' drive toward independence. They'd just like to keep their girls out of the maternity ward and the abortion clinic at least till they reach 18. They'd like their boys to focus on something more character-building than comparison of underwear bulges. And they'd like all their children to grow up without contracting chlamydia, gonorrhea or AIDS.

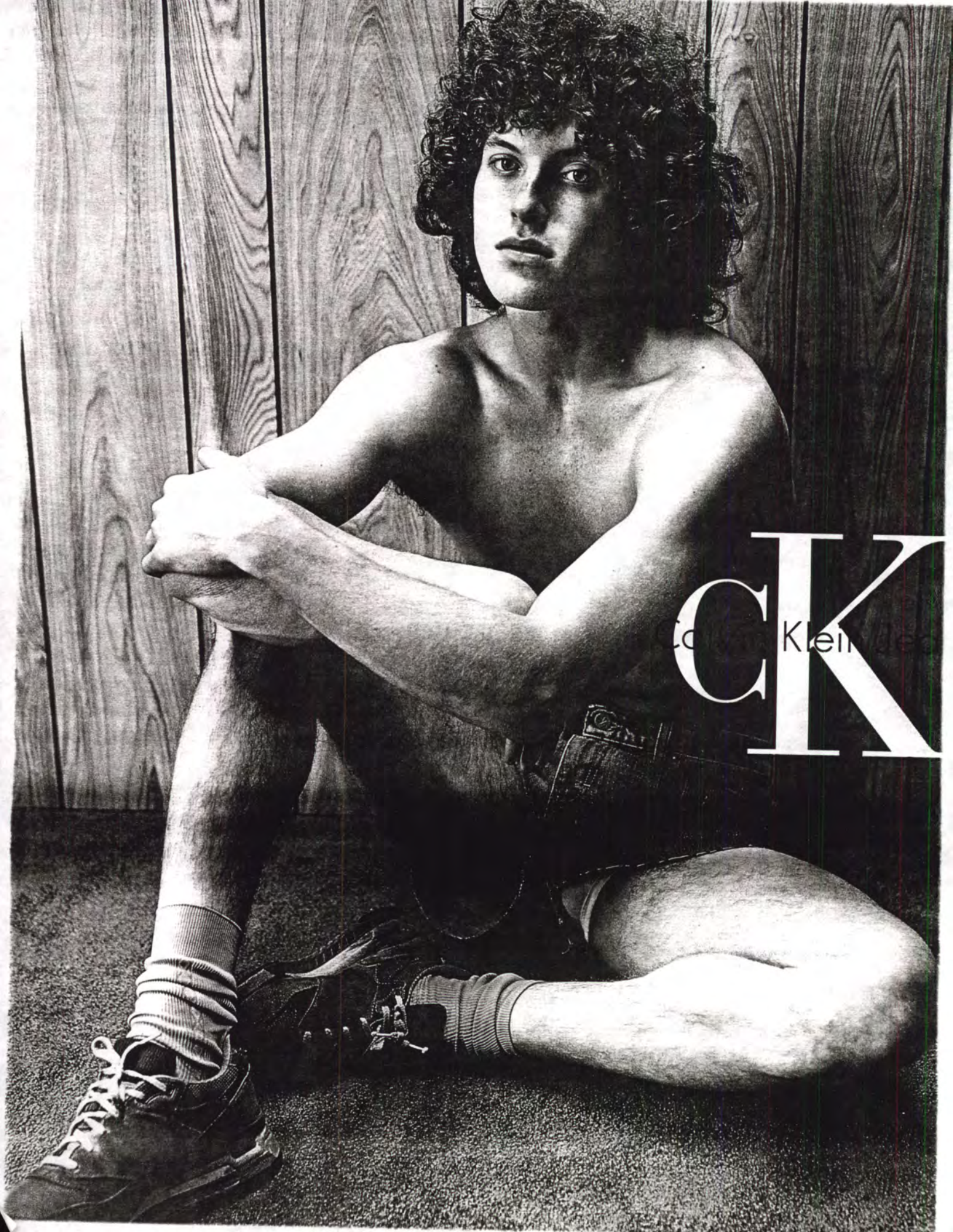
Sure, sex sells. Sure, it's a free country. But advertisers could still take into consideration what other sorts of appetites they're feeding as they nurture the public's lust for designer jeans.

Somebody doesn't get it all, right. That somebody is Calvin Klein.

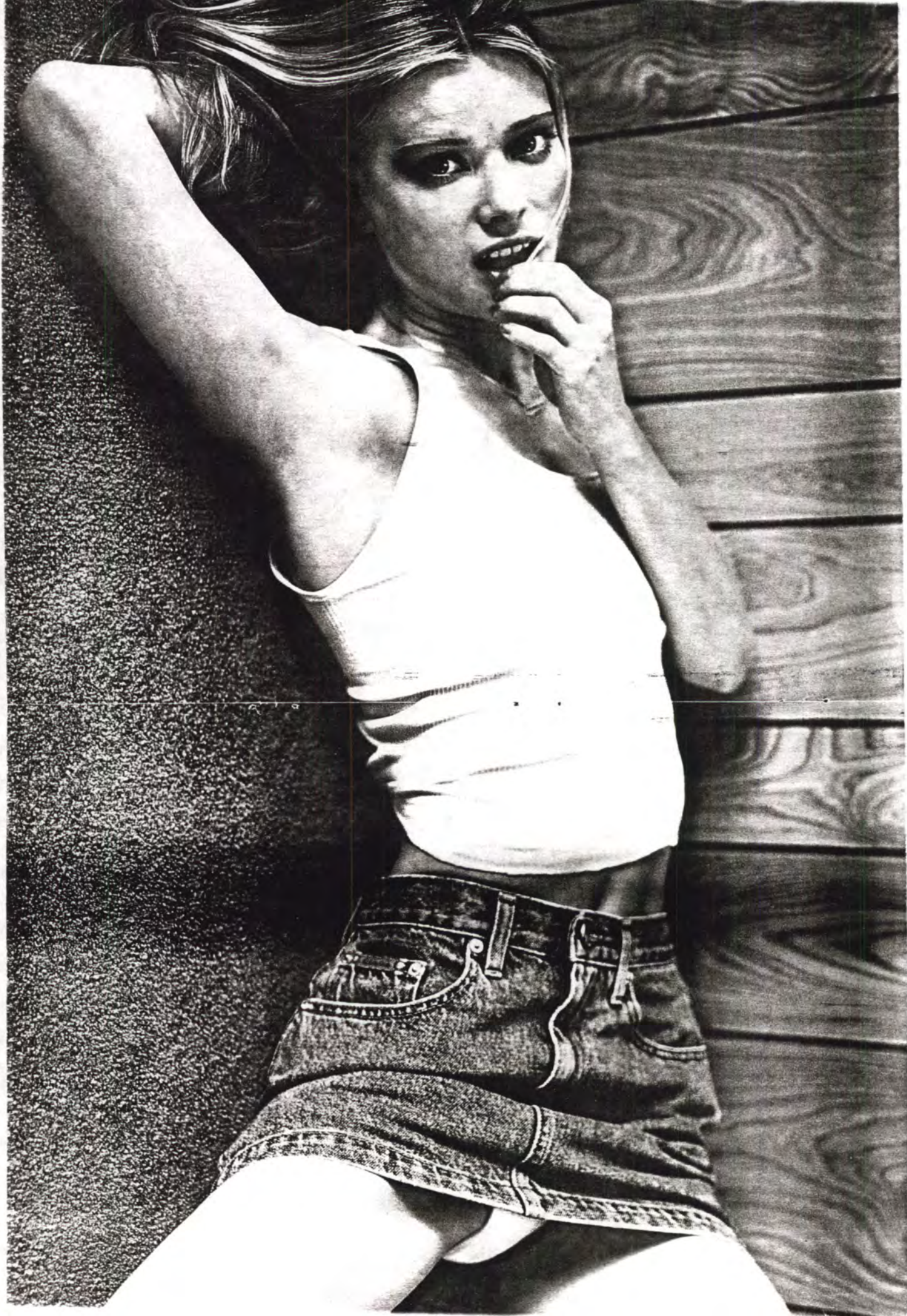
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 1995

TAB _ D



CK
Calvin Klein



Copyright 1995 Gannett Company, Inc.
USA TODAY

September 12, 1995, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: LIFE; Jeannie Williams; Pg. 2D

LENGTH: 453 words

HEADLINE: Klein ads 'sexual' to one teen model

BYLINE: Jeannie Williams

BODY:

A 15-year-old boy talks about those yanked Calvin Klein ads tonight on Dateline NBC - and says he was just 14 when he posed. The FBI is looking into the ads as possible child porn, and Dateline has found some involved were under 18.

Dateline says Delancey Berzin was found skateboarding in Greenwich Village by photog Steven Meisel and paid \$ 1,000 to pose in May. The boy says the ads are "definitely sexual," but "they're blowing this way out of proportion. I guess I see how some people would find it pornographic. But I guess it's just another sexual advertising thing."

The boy's father, Rudy Berzin, tells NBC's Dennis Murphy he thinks the ads are sleazy but attention-grabbing. "I'm not going to say no to an opportunity to make money." Murphy asks if he's thought of his son being portrayed as an object for pedophiles, and Berzin says: "That's disturbing. But on the other hand, I worked on 44th and Broadway, and every day I went out to lunch and I saw Marky Mark standing in his underwear in front of my office." Could that be Delancey in the future? "I would hope so. He's got a beautiful body."

The Justice Department is soft-pedaling the inquiry by the FBI, says Monday's Women's Wear Daily, and criminal charges against Klein appear unlikely. It would be a first, says WWD, for porn laws to be used against a national advertiser.

QUOTABLE: "He does three hours, no matter what!" Rosie O'Donnell tells us about the sleep habits of new son P.J., 3 1/2 months. "I read the book; it doesn't help. I give him 8 ounces; he wakes up three hours later. I give him 4 ounces - three hours later!"

She'd hoped for six hours rest by now with her 13-pounder. But he's become a frequent little flyer: "I used to be the one who got mad in first class. When a baby comes in, I'd think to myself, 'That is so wrong, they should not allow babies!' Now I'm the one doing it! They're all looking at me!"

We talked to Rosie at the New York opening of To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything! Julie Newmar. She then flew to L.A. for the Emmy Awards, where she told Joan Rivers on

TAB A

E! Entertainment that she thinks it was easier for her, as a celebrity, to adopt P.J.

FLASHES: Both O.J. Simpson's business manager, Leroy "Skip" Taft, and Larry King deny a report in The New Yorker that a pay-per-view interview with Simpson is being negotiated to air after the trial. "It is way premature to discuss anything like that," says Taft. . . . Benjamin Reeve tells American Journal today about progress of paralyzed brother Christopher Reeve. But he says the situation can be sad. Once Christopher said to him, "I wish I could move my arms." Benjamin could only say that a lot of people wished he could, too.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, b/w, Bob Riha Jr., USA TODAY

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 13, 1995

Copyright 1995 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

September 09, 1995, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 1025 words

HEADLINE: Sexy Calvin Klein Ads Spark FBI Inquiry; Investigation to Determine if Child Exploitation Laws Were Violated

BYLINE: Paula Span, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: NEW YORK, Sept. 8

BODY:

The jeans ads that Calvin Klein Inc. recently pulled from magazines and airwaves -- after complaints that they veered beyond provocative to pornographic -- have attracted the attention of the FBI.

The controversial campaign in which young models -- just how young may prove critical -- show a little underwear and a lot of vulnerability is the subject of a preliminary investigation, the Justice Department confirmed today. This "initial inquiry," in which no interviews have yet been conducted, centers on whether the ads violated federal child exploitation laws by using underage models. "If the models are not minors, then the federal law does not apply," said department spokesman Carl Stern.

That would presumably end government involvement in a thorny matter encompassing questions of free speech, definitions of pornography and the control of images distributed to millions of consumers through some of the nation's leading media outlets.

A letter from the Rev. Donald Wildmon's American Family Association, delivered to Attorney General Janet Reno last week, requested such a probe. But Stern said the inquiry predates the letter and began shortly after the ads started appearing in July. In fact, the eye-catching quality that Klein's marketing always strives for may have brought in the federal officials. Inquiries began, the Wall Street Journal reported today, after FBI employees in New York saw the ads emblazoned on the sides of city buses.

"We're very confident that we've violated no laws," a Klein spokesman said. "It is sheer demagoguery to suggest otherwise."

Four of the denim-clad models were represented by Women Model Management, where agent Stuart Cameron said today that the two men and two women were all over 18. But a federal law enforcement source said that Justice officials were reviewing an angry letter that

appeared on the editorial page of the New York Times from Genevieve Waite, the mother of one of the models. Waite wrote that she was outraged at any suggestion that she would allow exploitation of her daughter, Bijou Phillips, who was, she said, 15 years old. Waite and Bijou's father, John Phillips of the '60s pop group the Mamas and the Papas, saw the photos and were "so proud of her and thrilled," Waite told the New York Daily News.

If the department determines that the ads did use minors, it will examine each one based on eight "threshold questions," including whether the "focal point" of the photo is the child's genital area, whether the setting is "sexually suggestive" and whether the pose implies "a willingness to engage in sexual activity."

Several fashion and advertising professionals were unable to recall another instance in which the FBI had investigated the content of a campaign. And they were not pleased at the prospect.

Conde Nast President Steven Florio, who approved the ads for the August issues of several of his magazines, blames "this right-wing, very conservative contingent imposing its will on everybody else." The ads might have caused far less of a stir a few years ago, he suggested, noting that model Brooke Shields was 15 when she whispered about what came between her and her Calvins. The young Marky Mark, grinning and grabbing his cotton briefs, was another Klein poster boy.

But that was then. Now, "we're living in the era of Newt Gingrich, for God's sake," Florio said. "And Bob Dole telling the world that the social ills of this country are caused by rap music."

In the world where fashion images are crafted, bought and sold, the Klein ads -- a \$ 6 million campaign, Advertising Age estimates -- simply do not generate enormous outrage. Florio okayed the campaign for Vogue, Vanity Fair, Details and Mademoiselle without any agonizing. "I didn't think it was overly offensive," he said.

"I don't see the pornography," said photographer Patrick Demarchelier, who shoots for Harper's Bazaar. The models "are dressed, top to bottom."

"I think they should be out there catching drug dealers or something," modeling agency doyenne Eileen Ford said of the FBI. "It's not a big deal. It's yesterday's news. It's over and done with."

In part, that diffidence may reflect the enormous clout of Calvin Klein, not only a major buyer of ad space but also a creator of careers. "He can make a model," Ford notes. "Look what he did for Kate Moss."

If Klein and photographer Steven Meisel misjudged what they could get away with, perhaps it was less because the ads eroticized children, as critics have charged, than because they eroticized male children. The TV spots, which ran on MTV and in 10 to 15 local markets (including Washington), featured an older male voice asking questions of a very

young man: "How old are you? Are you strong? You think you could rip that shirt off of you?"

"To get sexy little guys gazing moistly at the camera, that gives everyone a terrible shock because boys are not to be used in this way," says critic Anne Hollander, author of "Sex and Suits." Teenage girls, she noted, have long been fair advertising game.

Although the Justice Department said the inquiry has "no political dimensions," child porn has been a particularly sensitive issue for the Clinton administration. In November, the department reversed its interpretation of child pornography laws after conservative critics argued that the position seriously weakened efforts to prosecute commercial exploitation of children.

Jeans advertising is already notably "edgy." The uninhibited Guess gang sell more jeans than Klein does. Even Levi's is turning to the occasional racy ad ("Girls Like Butts") for its 501s. Baby boomers aren't buying jeans much anymore, forcing marketers to target consumers in their teens and twenties, who cut their teeth on MTV (the only network to which Klein offered its ads) and don't seem shocked by bold, even borderline imagery.

"I can't believe this kind of fuss is being made about these ads," said Frances Grill, president of the modeling agency Click, who predicted that any chill from an FBI probe will be "short-term."

Staff writer Pierre Thomas contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: Photo, ap, The FBI's inquiry centers on whether the young models in Calvin Klein's recent provocative ad campaign were underage.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 09, 1995

Copyright 1995 P.G. Publishing Co.
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

September 9, 1995, Saturday, SOONER EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL, Pg. A1

LENGTH: 771 words

HEADLINE: Probe of Calvin Klein ads stems from 2 tough child-porn laws

BYLINE: Mary Deibel, Scripps Howard News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The FBI inquiry into Calvin Klein ads featuring scantily clad young people in provocative poses stems from two controversial child pornography laws that have stirred warnings of potential criminalization of medical texts and even family photo albums.

Justice Department spokesman Carl Stern said yesterday that the preliminary investigation into the Klein ads began in early July, when the ads appeared.

Calvin Klein Inc. pulled the ads Aug. 28 following protests by anti-pornography and child-welfare groups. Yesterday a company spokesman read a one-sentence statement saying, "We are confident we have not violated any laws."

The inquiry also follows recent Supreme Court actions that left standing lower-court rulings upholding key child-pornography laws.

In each case, the nation's booksellers, publishers, photographers and others said the measures pose sweeping, unintended consequences for constitutionally protected speech.

At issue are:

-- A 1990 statute that makes it a crime for anyone involved in the production or distribution of sexually explicit material not to keep on file the names and ages of actors and models, including adults.

Enforcement was held up until June 1995. Without comment, the Supreme Court cleared the way then in turning down a lawsuit in which the American Library Association and the Right-to-Read Foundation argued that blanket record-keeping goes well beyond what's needed to combat child pornography and creates a "dragnet" for protected expression.

-- A 1978 measure that makes "lascivious exhibition" of children a federal crime. In

January, the high court rejected a challenge by Stephen Knox, a Pennsylvania graduate student sentenced to prison for possessing videotapes in which the camera zooms in on body parts of teen-age girls dressed in bathing suits and leotards.

The American Booksellers Association, the nation's magazine publishers and the National Association of Artists' Organizations had urged the justices to take Knox's case on grounds that medical texts, aerobics tapes "and even family pictures arguably become criminal to own, much less sell ... simply because they are provocative to some" under lower-court readings of the law.

The Knox case also caused an uproar in Congress and split the administration, prompting President Clinton to order Attorney General Janet Reno to tell the court that the law applied to the Knox videos.

Reno also was told to redraft the 1978 law to clarify that it applies to clothed youngsters. The change was part of the 1994 crime bill, with Congress saying it intended to cover clad children all along.

Patrick Trueman, the onetime chief of the Reagan Justice Department's child pornography unit who now heads the Washington office of the American Family Association out of Tupelo, Miss., had written Justice Department officials urging an investigation of the Klein ads under these laws.

"We pushed Attorney General Reno for more than a year to adopt the right position in the Knox case, and she ultimately did the right thing," Trueman said yesterday.

He added that, where the Calvin Klein ads are concerned, "we can't criticize her or the department."

Bruce Ennis, a First Amendment lawyer who follows the issue, disagreed, saying, "The point is very simple: No one is in favor of child pornography, but if you don't have a clear test for deciding what is or is not pornographic, you run the very real risk that huge amounts of speech that most people don't consider child pornography will be suppressed."

Absent a clear constitutional test that requires some sexually explicit nudity -- at a minimum -- where children are involved, "there are in mainstream bookstores and libraries around the country thousands and thousands of images of clothed children that some people might consider pornographic, erotic or suggestive," Ennis said. "But there's a huge difference in the law between what someone might find erotic and what society finds to be pornographic."

The Klein ads, which appeared in magazines and on billboards and buses, showed young men and women in suggestive poses. In pulling the ads, Klein Inc. said they were misunderstood.

Some critics have charged that at least two models were younger than 18, which Congress

set as the legal age in the wake of a 1982 Supreme Court ruling giving the federal government and the states authority to outlaw non-obscene materials if children are involved.

Justice Department officials said yesterday they haven't made any determination about the age of the Klein models or talked to company officials yet.

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 1995

Copyright 1995 Newsday, Inc.
Newsday

September 9, 1995, Saturday, NASSAU AND SUFFOLK EDITION

SECTION: BUSINESS; Pg. A25

LENGTH: 404 words

HEADLINE: FBI Probes Racy Ads By Calvin Klein

BYLINE: By Jeanne Dugan Cooper. STAFF WRITER

BODY:

Simply withdrawing its controversial jeans ad campaign might not be the end of the story for Calvin Klein. The FBI is conducting a preliminary investigation into whether the campaign amounted to child pornography.

At least one of the models used in the print and broadcast campaign might be under the age of 18. In a letter to the New York Times last week defending the ads, Genevieve Waite of upstate Bolton Landing disclosed that her daughter, 15-year-old Bijou Phillips, was one of the models.

Justice Department spokesman John Russell said the letter is being turned over to the FBI in New York, which will contact the model and several others used in the ad campaign. Ads featuring minors, he said, will be scrutinized to determine whether they violated laws against child exploitation or obscenity.

A Calvin Klein Inc. spokesman said, "We are confident that we have violated no laws, and to suggest otherwise is sheer demagoguery."

A conviction could carry fines up to \$ 100,000 and up to 10 years in prison for first offenders, though Russell said Klein wouldn't necessarily be held personally responsible. Several people - from the agencies that supplied the models to officials at the company's in-house ad agency - could become targets, he said.

Stuart Cameron, an agent at Women Model Management Inc., said the four models he represented were over 18. "I love Calvin and have no moral objection to the campaign," he said.

The multimillion-dollar campaign, produced by fashion photographer Steven Meisel, who also shot Madonna's controversial "Sex" book, was fiercely criticized by conservative groups after it broke last month. Leading the attack was the American Family Association, a 500,000-member nonprofit group.

The controversy centered on a series of ads depicting young people in provocative poses. One print ad showed a girl posed in a miniskirt that exposed her underwear. A television spot showed a shirtless boy talking to an off-screen director, who said to him: "Nice body. Do you work out?"

"At best you can say it is pseudo child porn, and maybe it is real child porn," said Patrick Trueman, director of governmental affairs for the American Family Association and former head of the Justice Department's obscenity unit.

Calvin Klein said Aug. 28 that it was ending the campaign. It said the ads were intended to demonstrate the independence and character of young people today.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 09, 1995

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

September 9, 1995, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 37; Column 5; Business/Financial Desk

LENGTH: 281 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Starts Inquiry Into Calvin Klein Ads

BYLINE: Reuters

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Sept. 8 -

BODY:

The Justice Department is conducting a preliminary investigation into whether Calvin Klein's widely criticized jeans advertisements showing teen-aged models in provocative poses violated child pornography laws, the agency said today.

But a spokesman for Calvin Klein Inc. said, "We are confident that we have violated no laws, and to suggest otherwise is sheer demagoguery."

The Justice Department's inquiry was begun by the agency's childexploitation and obscenity unit after the ad campaign began appearing over the last month, a department spokesman, John Russell, said.

Mr. Klein announced last week that he would stop the ad campaign, which showed both male and female teen-agers in provocative poses, after critics attacked them as bordering on child pornography.

Mr. Russell said the obscenity unit had sent the matter to F.B.I. headquarters, but the case had not been referred to the agency's field office in New York for interviews. "It is not a high-priority thing," he said. "It is being handled in a routine fashion."

Other Justice Department officials said a number of preliminary questions must be answered, including whether the models were minors and whether the ads met the legal definition of pornography, before a decision could be made on whether to prosecute. They privately expressed skepticism that any criminal charges would be brought.

People close to the company said the models were all thought to be over 18, including one as old as 29.

The ads had been running in magazines, on the sides of New York City buses and on television. Advertising experts have said the controversy has generated millions of dollars

worth of free publicity.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 9, 1995

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THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS

September 9, 1995, Saturday, HOME FINAL EDITION

SECTION: BUSINESS; Pg. 1F

LENGTH: 390 words

HEADLINE: FBI investigating Calvin Klein ads over age of models

BYLINE: From Wire Reports

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

NEW YORK - Calvin Klein Inc. is being investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its latest jeans campaign, which it pulled last month amid a rash of criticism that the advertisements bordered on child pornography.

The investigation to determine if any of the models in the ads were minors is very preliminary, said John Russell, a spokesman for the Justice Department. He said the FBI hasn't contacted the jeans maker and is not out talking to people about the matter.

The multimillion-dollar campaign - which was created by Calvin Klein's in-house agency CRK Advertising - centers around young people, many of whom are posed provocatively. One print ad shows a girl posed in a miniskirt that exposes her underwear. A television spot shows a shirtless boy, talking to an off-screen director who says, "Nice body. Do you work out?"

The ads, which were produced by fashion photographer Steven Meisel, who also shot Madonna's controversial Sex book, have been fiercely attacked by conservative groups who say Calvin Klein has gone too far.

"Obviously, whoever had final authority on these ads misjudged the potential reaction of the public," said Hal Shoup, executive vice president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies.

→ they knew exactly what the rx of the public would be!

Last month, the American Family Association, a 500,000-member, nonprofit Christian group, asked Attorney General Janet Reno to launch an investigation into whether any of the models were minors.

The FBI said Friday that it began its investigation shortly after the ads began airing over the summer.

Calvin Klein - long known for its controversial ads - has said that the campaign was "misunderstood" and was intended to demonstrate the independence and character of young people today.

Even as it announced it would pull the ads last month, the company said it stands behind what it calls the positive message "of spirit, independence and inner worth of today's young people."

Repeated phone calls to the New York-based company were not answered Friday.

The ads aren't the first Calvin Klein spots that have stirred controversy.

In 1980, Klein turned heads when then 15-year-old Brooke Shields cooed that "nothing comes between me and my Calvins."

More recently, the company drew criticism for using the gaunt, waif model Kate Moss' naked image in another campaign.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO(S): 1. Calvin Klein 2. (Associated Press) A zipper sign in New York City announces an FBI investigation into recent Calvin Klein ads, such as the one on the billboard at left.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 13, 1995

Copyright 1995 Daily News, L.P.
Daily News (New York)

September 09, 1995, Saturday

SECTION: News; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 380 words

HEADLINE: IS IT PORN, OR ISN'T IT, FED PROBE ASKS

BYLINE: By RUSS BUETTNER

BODY:

The FBI kiddie-porn probe of the Calvin Klein jeans ads has renewed a longstanding constitutional debate where does free speech end and censorship begin?

"It's a very complex discussion," said Dan Armagh, senior attorney at the Center for the Prevention of Child Abuse in Washington, D.C. "You have the conflicting issues of the rights of expression versus the need to protect children."

When children are involved, federal laws set a tougher restriction on what is considered acceptable or pornographic. Images of children don't even have to be nude to be considered illegal.

Floyd Abrams, a prominent New York constitutional lawyer, said federal laws prohibit depictions of children that include "lascivious exhibitions of the genitals or pubic area."

But, added Abrams, legal definitions of a word like "lascivious have to be interpreted in a way which keeps constitutional principals alive."

"When a statute uses a word like 'lascivious,' it can't be interpreted to mean 'distasteful,' " he said.

Abrams said federal courts have limited kiddie porn investigations to cases that involve "hardcore sexual" depictions.

Based on that standard, the Calvin Klein ads don't qualify for prosecution.

"The public can argue about whether or not they are in good taste," Abrams said. "But the idea that the advertisements are anything but First-Amendment protected is fanciful."

Definitions aside, others insist that the ads violate federal standards as well as public decency.

"There's no question in my mind that these advertisements are pornographic," said Patrick Trueman, director of governmental affairs for the American Family Association, a Christian group based in Tupelo, Miss., that has crusaded against the Klein ads.

Advertising industry officials yesterday said the legal debate could leave them caught between balancing sexy selling techniques against possible censorship. They warned that the FBI probe could have a "chilling effect" on future ad campaigns.

"When you regulate speech, it has to be done in a very careful and judicious way," said Dan Jaffe, executive vice president of the Association of National Advertisers.

"Advertising cannot be suppressed because people don't like it or find it distasteful."

GRAPHIC: YOUTHFUL MODEL in Calvin Klein ad.

LOAD-DATE: September 10, 1995

Copyright 1995, The Commercial Appeal
The Commercial Appeal (Memphis)

September 9, 1995, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. 2A

LENGTH: 395 words

HEADLINE: FBI investigating Klein ads' legality

BYLINE: (AP)

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

The FBI is investigating whether critics of Calvin Klein's latest hot-blooded ad campaign for jeans were on to something when they branded it kiddie porn.

The TV and print ads, some showing young people striking suggestive poses in little more than underwear, were dropped under pressure from the public and retail industry Aug. 28 after running less than two months.

That seemed to lay the matter to rest. But on Friday, Justice Department spokesman Carl Stern said the agency began investigating shortly after the campaign started to see whether the ads broke child pornography laws. At least one model, whose mother liked the ads, was a minor.

John Russell, spokesman for the Justice Department's criminal division, said the probe is in "very preliminary stages" and the FBI hasn't questioned Calvin Klein officials yet. A Klein spokesman said only: "We are confident that we have not violated any laws."

One of the ads showed a youth dressed only in a denim vest and underwear. Another showed a young woman in a short skirt with her legs spread apart and her white panties showing.

On a TV commercial, a young man is asked by an older, unseen man, "You think you could rip that shirt off of you?" After he does so, the older man says, "That's a nice body. . . . Do you work out?"

Federal law prohibits "lascivious exhibitions of the genitals or pubic area of a minor," according to Patrick Trueman, a former head of the Justice Department's child pornography and exploitation division, who now works for the conservative American Family Association.

One federal appeals court has ruled that the law may be broken even if a child is clothed. But several defense attorneys said the government would not have a strong case.

"The government is bowing to political pressure and misusing the child pornography laws," said Norman Siegel of the New York Civil Liberties Union. "There is no evidence that the models were sexually abused, and the ads, whatever you think of them, don't descend to obscene."

Noach Dear, a New York City councilman who wants to ban sexually explicit advertising from buses and subways, thought otherwise. "There is no difference between pedophiles-pornographers . . . and advertisers like Calvin," he said.

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 1995

Copyright 1995 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago Tribune

September 9, 1995 Saturday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: BUSINESS; Pg. 1; ZONE: N

LENGTH: 654 words

HEADLINE: FBI EXAMINES KLEIN JEANS ADS;
AN INVESTIGATION OF WHETHER CHILD PORNOGRAPHY IS INVOLVED

BYLINE: By Nancy Millman, Tribune Staff Writer.

BODY:

Are the photographs in fashion designer Calvin Klein's latest advertising campaign examples of child pornography-and therefore criminal-or merely this season's entry in the bad taste sweepstakes?

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is in the preliminary stage of a probe to determine whether jeans ads featuring provocatively posed and semiclothed young people involved the sexual exploitation of minors, confirmed John Russell, a spokesman for the U.S. Justice Department. The bureau is not yet interviewing the parties involved, Russell said.

The photographs in question were the work of Steven Meisel, who also created the controversial Madonna book, "Sex." Meisel worked on the project for Klein's in-house advertising agency.

On Aug. 28, after pressure from religious and children's advocate groups, Klein said in a national newspaper ad that the company would "cease running the remainder of this campaign as soon as possible."

At that time, the ads were withdrawn from display on public transportation, including the Chicago Transit Authority, and the broadcasting of the TV commercials ended. Current issues of many magazines, including Mademoiselle, Details and Rolling Stone, are carrying the ads, however.

The first step in the FBI investigation is to determine whether any of the models, some of whom are showing their underwear in the poses, are younger than 18, Russell said. If any of them are, the question would then be whether any of the ads fits the definition of child pornography.

The agent for four of the models, Stuart Cameron of Women Model Management in New York, said all of the models he placed in the ads are older than 18. An agent for another young man in the campaign, Ernest Williams of Hunt Model Management in New York, said

his client is 21 years old.

Despite the increasingly risqué nature of fashion advertising-going back to 1980 when Calvin Klein used 15-year-old Brooke Shields to state that nothing came between her and her Calvins-an accusation of child pornography has never before been raised against a mainstream advertiser, said Daniel Jaffe, executive vice president of the Association of National Advertisers in Washington, D.C.

"It is very reasonable for the government to take a look," at the campaign, Jaffe said. But the concern of the advertising industry is that the government "not use pornography laws to suppress advertising that some people find to be tasteless."

The American Family Association, based in Tupelo, Miss., has been exerting pressure on Calvin Klein since it learned of the ad campaign several weeks ago.

The association was founded in 1977 by Rev. Donald E. Wildmon as a coalition of church groups to promote family values. Wildmon, through the group's nationally distributed newsletter and radio network, is a vocal critic of much of the content of network television, popular movies and advertising.

American Family, which has threatened countless advertisers with boycotts over the years, sent letters to 50 of the country's biggest retailers citing boycotts and picketing of stores as tactics they would use to protest the jeans campaign.

Marshall Field & Co., along with its parent, Dayton Hudson in Minneapolis, "asked Calvin Klein not to include us in the tagline" of the TV commercials because the campaign "didn't reflect what our store stands for," a Fields spokesman said. That position was taken "prior to the time the public saw the ads," he said.

Like the creators of ad campaigns for Guess jeans and Benetton clothing, Calvin Klein has courted controversy in its advertising for years-many believe to maximize the exposure for its multimillion-dollar campaigns. While many public relations experts thought the initial uproar over the titillating nature of the recent ads was good publicity for the fashion designer, an FBI investigation is causing them to modify their opinions.

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS 3PHOTOS: The Federal Bureau of Investigation is in the preliminary stage of an investigation to determine whether Calvin Klein jeans ads (above) featuring provocatively posed and semiclothed young people involve the sexual exploitation of minors. AP photos.; PHOTO: Fashion designer Calvin Klein is under fire for his controversial jeans ads.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 9, 1995

Copyright 1995 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

September 9, 1995, Saturday, City Edition

SECTION: ECONOMY; Pg. 53

LENGTH: 539 words

HEADLINE: Expression vs. exploitation;
Feds disclose investigation of Klein's jean ads

BYLINE: By Chris Reidy, Globe staff

BODY:

It began as classic Calvin Klein media manipulation: racy ads designed to generate a media controversy that would boost sales of his designer jeans. But Klein may have gotten more controversy than he bargained for.

The Justice Department yesterday said it was looking into claims that jean ads, using provocatively posed young models, violate child pornography laws. However, the department said the inquiry by the FBI was only "preliminary."

"It is not a high-priority thing," said spokesman John Russell. "It is being handled in a routine fashion."

If the feds were to launch a full-scale investigation, it would be highly unusual, ad executives said.

"I can't ever recall the Justice Department and the FBI getting involved in an ad campaign before," said Hal Shoup, executive vice president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies.

"To my knowledge, nothing like this has ever happened before," said Elizabeth Cook, president of the Advertising Club of Greater Boston.

Calvin Klein Inc. said last week that it had stopped running ads that, according to some critics, show young models in blue jeans and blue-movie poses.

"We are confident that we have violated no laws," the company said, "and to suggest otherwise is sheer demagoguery."

A conservative Christian group that helped mobilize public opinion against the ads is guided by Patrick A. Trueman, a former federal official who led the Justice Department's child exploitation and obscenity section during the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Recent court rulings suggest that the Calvin Klein ads might violate a federal child pornography law, said Trueman, now a top official in the American Family Association.

"Some of the poses, if the models are under 18, cross the legal line set by the federal child pornography law," he said.

A Klein spokesman was unable to provide information about the number of models used in the print and TV ads or their ages.

At least one of the models used in the print and broadcast campaign might be under the age of 18, according to Newsday. In a letter to The New York Times last week defending the ads, Genevieve Waite of Bolton Landing, N.Y., disclosed that her daughter, 15-year-old Bijou Phillips, was one of the models.

In one print ad, a young woman is posed with legs apart and panties showing. In a TV ad, the voice of an off-camera male adult admires a shirtless young man's body. The ads were produced by Steven Meisel, a photographer who worked on "Sex," a book by Madonna.

In the name of family values, the American Family Association organizes boycotts of companies that advertise on "filthy" television shows, such as "Seinfeld;" last month, the group threatened to boycott retailers that stock Calvin Kleins.

Founded in 1977 by Rev. Donald Wildmon, the nonprofit group said it has 500,000 subscribers to its monthly journal.

Over his career, designer Calvin Klein has courted controversy, and some speculate that his latest series of ads has generated millions of dollars of free publicity.

At the ad agency group, Shoup disagreed.

"This is not good publicity, this is bad ink," he said, adding, "The public seems to feel that this ad campaign went beyond what is acceptable."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, The famous Times Square zipper sign announces the news of an FBI probe into recent Calvin Klein ads, on billboard at left. / AP PHOTO

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 1995

Copyright 1995 Denver Publishing Company
Rocky Mountain News

September 9, 1995, Saturday

SECTION: BUSINESS; Ed. F; Pg. 59A

LENGTH: 587 words

HEADLINE: Calvin Klein ads target of federal investigation

BYLINE: Michele Conklin; Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

BODY:

A controversial Calvin Klein advertising campaign is being investigated by the Justice Department, a move that local advertising executives call unwarranted.

The Justice Department has asked the FBI to determine whether the ads, featuring scantily clad young people in provocative poses, constitute child pornography. The ads started running in early July but were pulled by Klein last week after sharp criticism by parents, child-welfare groups and conservative Christian organizations.

According to a Justice Department official contacted by Reuter news service, there is little chance charges would be brought.

A number of local advertising executives expressed distaste for the ads but did not consider them child pornography. They said the marketplace - and not government - should determine the appropriateness of the ads.

"In this country, we do have free speech," said Doug Kinzley, chairman of Kinzley-Hughes advertising agency in downtown Denver. "If Calvin Klein is wrong, the marketplace will punish Calvin Klein. If Calvin Klein is right, the marketplace will reward Calvin Klein."

The ads, which ran primarily in New York City on the sides of buses and on television, also ran in national magazines with distribution in the Denver area.

In one commercial, a teenage boy is asked to rip off his shirt by an unseen adult male. The off-camera male then comments on how nice his body is. A fold-out magazine insert showed a young woman lying on her back with her legs spread apart and her white panties showing.

"(The Justice Department) is obligated to look into it, but I hope they dismiss it quickly," said Bill Pierson, chief executive of Pierson Hawkins Advertising in Denver. "It's not porn, but it's certainly distasteful. We need to step back and have a little more forethought when we develop ideas like this."

The biggest risk with government intervention is that it will go too far and start restricting advertising, said Tom Hagan, co-chairman of Denver's Karsh & Hagan Advertising.

"Every time we see an example of how government gets into things, most of the time, it's with such a heavy hand that it misses the target."

A local psychologist who specializes in working with children views the controversy as much more than a marketing issue.

"These ads struck me as being exploitive," said Tim McKay, a clinical psychologist with Kaiser Permanente. "They are treating people as objects rather than as people of worth."

While other ad campaigns, such as those done by Benetton clothing, have been controversial, they seemed to be trying to raise the public's consciousness of critical issues, McKay said. But the Calvin Klein ads seemed "to have no moral base. It's sell what you can sell and it doesn't matter who gets hurt in the process," he said.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 11, 1995

COLUMN / CARVIN KUEN

Not semantics - porn vs. bad taste
great speech by John Silber - Boston Univ

obedience to the unenforceable

There has to be standards beyond which responsible people
Always will be deviants who

business

advertising people

news media

Some internal standards must be present

It is maddening -

Some days I just don't understand what's going on -
in our own

Why do they do it -

profit motive outweighs every other consideration
Car wrecks - you look

you wish you wouldn't

you know it will interfere w/ police

culture saturated w/ sex & violence

w/ purpose of selling products

like big on a highway full of car wrecks

It is our fault.

I'm tired of this in a country

moral equivalent of car wrecks
People ought not to start

Column / Calvin Klein

gag up, not selling products they don't
need -

turning them into sexual objects + victims

Control

Profit at the expense of all other values

Let's show that people are not going to
put up with

good taste

morality

civility

ethics

} all these things have
don't have a price tag

don't buy these products; don't let your
kids buy them; put it down.

may not be your kind

Millions of kids being exploited.

object term

Shopwells - now we have another

we all gonna have to fight

these battles one by one.

/ Linda Thomason /

USA Today - Joe Esterhouse

"Should we take it's to get it again
a movie that really
do whatever you have to do."

Jack Valenti -

Nudity, graphic violence, sexuality

\$50 m (MGM) reported to have cost that

A wall has come down here - a wall has fallen -
in the past porno was left in lower realm
of production

First time a major studio has spent this kind
of \$ in a movie that has NC 17 rating

(how many NC 17 - among mainstream films)
Risking all this money on the idea that if you
exploit women enough, people will come
The sad part is, they'll go make money -
Kids will get in;

"Just remember the gay man who went to see
Steven last night -

is same gay man taking his daughter
He thinks he now knows what
gay women want.

Until people propelled by same rage as civil rights
movement

They are not

Linda (3)

How many of us wd put a picture

Afraid of being labelled a prude.

When it comes to showing kids of men

naked women Thruout - sliding down poles,
wiggling in men's laps

[Elizabeth Berkeley] on Tonight Show

I felt so sad lky at her - she looks
like an angel - who shld be at college

[It's a movie abt power - says others]

Good has always propelled evil - but never
before have there have been so many ways
to exploit kids

- kids not

When it comes to ... I'm a prude.