

core in the evaluation of the complex content decision-making process” (p.131), the propaganda model’s third filter posits that “the mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest” (Herman and Chomsky 2002, 18).

Chapter five is good discussion-starter. Fortunato highlights several reasons that commercial media ownership equates to neither complete control nor less competition. He points out that even with “corporate conglomeration, there are still five different corporations, six networks, presenting national news on television and competing for market share,” and that “there are few industries that have six brands viably competing for market share” (p. 104).

While Fortunato accepts that a more democratic system of making and distributing content is ideal in a perfect world, he warns that even if it existed “you cannot force people to participate in messages they do not want to waste their time watching or listening to,” (p. 201) and the author’s point is well taken. He claims that through their political economy approach, critical theorists are simply complaining about the media not reporting on “their perceived shortcomings of the capitalist system” and that these theorists essentially “call for more state control of the media industry.” For Fortunato, “it seems the state would have even more control over messages and the flow of information if the media were state run,” and that, “at least the current system has some form of independence and an allowance for the audience to make some determinations about the success or failure of media content” (p. 200).

For communication scholars who do not embrace the argument of C. Wright Mills, namely that elite interests control the commercial media through access and due to, at best, superficial competition, *Making Media Content* is a viable source work for defending the consolidating corporate media system. For those who embrace the critical perspective that media consolidation is a threat to democracy, Fortunato offers cause for continued debate within the marketplace of ideas.

Kyle F. Reinson
St. John Fisher College

References

- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. 2002. *Manufacturing Consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.
Mills, C. Wright. 1956. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Free Press: Underground & Alternative Publications 1965-1975. By Jean-François Bizot. New York: Universe Publishing/Rizzoli International Publications, 2006. 255p. (paper) ISBN-10: 0-7893-1496-7; ISBN-13: 978-0-7893-1496-3. Large format, a translation of the same author’s *Free Press: la Contre-Culture Vue par la Presse Underground*. Paris, Actuel/Underground Press Syndicate, 2006.

Far too few books on social movement media, of which in general there is thankfully a growing number these days, give us any sense for what they looked like. In them, logorrhea reigns. However, Bizot's quite extraordinary collection of reproductions of posters and newspaper pages from the USA, Australia, Canada, France, Ireland, Britain, the Netherlands, Germany and Italy joins the select company of those such as Broude & Garrard (1994), Viénet (1992), and Zurier (1988) (1), who have taken the trouble to conserve these visual explosions from social and cultural movements. Today the technological possibility of seeing or hearing materials from bygone periods is much greater than ever before, even though to date all storage formats are sooner or later still perishable. But both for the historian fascinated by the upsurge of social movements, and for the grassroots media activist looking for ideas, good and bad alike, these collections are a treasure trove.

This collection is nearly all pictures, in color, and with the original accompanying text. (Any logorrhea is in a handful of the originals!) Bizot identifies and succinctly comments on each one of the images (pp. 226-252), and also provides a summary chronology (p. 253) and a good index (pp.254-55). For slogans and captions in other languages, though not for whole pages, translations into English are in most cases provided on or close to the relevant page. The images – photos, text, collages, cartoons, posters, fliers - are divided up into segments of varying length, which begin with a general overview, and then focus in on political activism, feminist and gay liberation, Black power, Green politics, and finally the shift into glam and punk styles toward the end of that alternative media decade.

The predominant effect for this reviewer, already older by a few years than many of the activists at that moment, is to be re-launched into the quite ferocious energy and irreverence of that period of time. It will be interesting to know whether for readers of different generations the intensity of the times blows out so strongly from these images and texts. Maybe the intensity was less than it seemed and was, rather, a vivid contrast with the vapid consumerism and late-McCarthyite political timorousness that preceded that phase (with the very sharp exception of the earlier Civil Rights movement). Nonetheless, it was a movement that caught fire internationally, and which, as these images show, embraced a heady and conflictual brew of sexual liberation, passion for political justice, various kinds of Black Power politics, the emergence of feminism and the ecology movement, and of lesbian and gay liberation movements, experimentation with all kinds of drugs, support for often distorted images of Chinese and Cuban marxism, the re-emergence of anarchism, rock music and its children, everything that young German activists used to refer to as “the Scene.”

Not surprisingly, it's a selection (the whole production of those years, globally, would fill many warehouses). *Oz*, *Actuel*, *International Times*, *Other Scenes*, *the East Village Other*, *the Berkeley Barb*, *Rat, ink*, *Los Angeles Free Press*, *Fifth Estate*, *Seed*, *Hobo-Québec*, are among those best represented here. The selection is also from industrially advanced nations, as noted, which means that a mass of work from Brazil to India, from Senegal to South Africa, from Poland to the Philippines, is inevitably absent. We would have to hope that people would be hard at work putting together digitized archives from other places, were that not financially a pipedream right now in many countries. And had possession of media like this not

been so dangerous in so many countries, so that archiving itself would have been highly risky.

It is of course tempting to quote, though words – mine at least – can't handle the likely visual impact. One image on the back cover is titled **MEDIA BURN: *The Nation's leading mental crippler***, and shows a radio set with the words "What are YOU doing to protect yourself from:" - and a clawed hand is stretching out of the set through three discs labeled Misinformation, Half-truths and Mind Rot, and about to dig into a conventionally dressed man's head. It is as bluntly confrontational as the *Other Scenes* cover here (p.41), showing deep cleavage in a woman's buttocks, with 1968's three U.S. presidential candidates' names (Humphrey, Nixon and Wallace) exiting her anus. (These styles are to a degree reminiscent of James Gillray, the noted political cartoonist of late Georgian England.)

The late David Widgery, briefly editor of *Oz*, has a 1972 column reproduced here (pp. 206-7) in which he tersely and effectively sums up the trajectory of the underground press in Britain, one which echoes similar stories elsewhere and which it behooves us to keep in mind as we leaf through the pages of this book. He wrote in it: "The truth of the matter is not that The-Leaders-Sold-Out or that-something-greatly-beautiful[sic]-grew-cankered, but that the underground got smashed, good and proper by exactly those forces of which it stood in defiance. It was smashed because it could not, by 1968, be laughed at or ignored or patronised any longer." As we look with justified admiration at the sometimes brilliant color and artistic flair of these excerpts, and also take pleasure in some of their craziness, let us not omit that reality.

John Downing

Global Media Research Center, Southern Illinois University

References

- Broude, Norma. & Mary D. Garrard, eds., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American movement of the 1970s, history and impact*, New York, Harry Abrams, 1994.
- Viénet, René, *Enragés and Situationists in the Occupation Movement, France, May '68*, New York, Autonomedia, 1992.
- Zurier, Rebecca, *Art for The Masses: A radical magazine and its graphics, 1911-1917*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1988.

Remaking Media: The Struggle to Democratize Public Communication. By Robert A. Hackett & William K. Carroll. New York: Routledge, 2006. xiv + 235p. (paper) ISBN 10: 0-415-39468-6. (U.S.)

This book is a second major intervention into analysis and debate on the themes of media reform by Bob Hackett and a co-contributor within the space of two years (see Hackett & Zhao, 2005). That text contained a series of international studies by