

RANGNO, ART
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*One of the finest papers I have
received at STS in any class*

PAPER ON COMPARATIVE NEWS

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PAPER ON COMPARITIVE NEWS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the quality of news reporting of two major newspapers with a brief commentary on the accuracy of an "underground" newspaper on the confrontation between anti-war factions and the Chicago Police Department during the week of the Democratic Convention, August 25 through the 30, 1968.

The Walker Report, "Rights in Conflict," to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence is used as a reference for the verification of the news reported.

In the course of this paper, the following questions will be answered as completely as possible:

- 1) Were there sources of evidence drawn on by the Walker staff but ignored by the particular newspaper?
- 2) Assuming that the reporting was not intended to mislead, what inadequacies are evident?
- 3) In the headlines and the body of the story, were any opinions expressed or implied through choice of words or selection and order of facts?
- 4) Was an event incomplete because of time limitations or were more sources available?

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this report are hardly surprising. A strong bias is observed in the news reporting of the Chicago Tribune with regard to the confrontations of anti-war protestors with the Chicago Police Department. The police department appears far less violent than in reality, while anti-war protestors are made to appear more violent, and are frequently described in terms more apt for locusts than human beings.

The New York Times fares extremely well in comparison with the Walker Report. Its coverage is virtually impeccable. Events are thoroughly and fairly reported. A minor exception to this is the headline of the first story reported from Chicago which read, "WAR CRITIC LIKENS CHICAGO TO PRAGUE." The importance of the remark is not of headline priority and I have interpreted it as a sign of the New York Times resentment of the strict security precautions which greatly hampered Convention coverage by the media. (The New York Times is making the comment through someone else by magnifying the remark's importance.) Perhaps somewhat more important is the tendency of the Times to make the demonstrators appear more youthful, and less violent than they actually were.

The Los Angeles Free Press, more in nature to a magazine than a newspaper (it is published only weekly) is the least comprehensive in the reporting of incidents occurring during the convention week. It is also most ^{politically} biased as evidenced by the subjective terms used to describe Chicago officials and police department, i.e., "pig-face Daley" is used frequently, and policemen are usually referred to as "pigs." However, in its reporting of police-newsmen-protester interactions, actually exceeds in accuracy and ^{objectivity} comprehensiveness the reporting of those events by the Chicago Tribune. For example, it notes that newsmen were clubbed who were clearly identifiable as newsmen and that policemen were frequently not wearing their badges or nameplates.

These two facts went unreported by the Chicago Tribune. Additionally, the aggressive actions of policemen against demonstrators and well as non-participants is more accurately depicted than in the Chicago Tribune.

Protestors, however, are not as violent in the Free Press as they actually were. Only one reference is made to rock and bottle throwing by "Yippies."

Lack of comprehensiveness in the reporting of events is attributed to lack of staff more than political bias since many of the events which went unreported, i.e., the violence of Wednesday night, August 28, would have been favorable to the paper's viewpoint--pro-demonstrator, anti-police, and generally anti-Chicago.

The L.A. Free Press, not surprisingly, exceeds in comprehensiveness the reporting of pertinent remarks by Yippie leaders, National Mobilization leaders, and other well known persons associated with the peace movement, i.e., Ginsberg, Genet, Burroughs, Gregory and Southern. In this respect the Free Press is valuable for evaluating the aims of the protestors during Convention week. In contrast, the Chicago Tribune, reported only fragmentary and sensational remarks made by these persons.

In summary, the New York Times is clearly the most objective of the three, and parallels the Walker Report of events in Chicago. Although far less comprehensive than the Chicago Tribune, the Los Angeles Free Press is chosen as number two, since its portrayal of events, and specifically the actions of the Chicago Police Department, is in greater agreement with the Walker Report and, ~~and~~ upon reading that which was reported in the Press, ^{one} would arrive at a conclusion closer to the truth than the reading of the Chicago Tribune. *aha* Although far more comprehensive than the second rated L. A. Free Press, ^{its} terminology, presentation, deletions and additions detract from the events as they actually occurred and it is felt that one's view of the events would be therefore ~~least~~ accurate of the three papers. Documentation supporting these conclusions may be found in the accompanying appendages.

BACKGROUND NOTES

1) The Walker Report: "Starting with the FBI-trained staff of his Chicago Crime Commission--a distinguished citizens group that has devoted itself to fighting gangsterism and exposing the links between business interests and crime syndicates--Mr. Walker built a staff of 90 full-time and 121 part-time interviewers and researchers. Many lawyers and trained investigators were lent to him, at no cost, by prestigious Chicago law firms and banks. Together they took 1,410 statements from eyewitnesses, reviewed 2,017 others provided by the FBI, and studied 180 hours of motion picture films, more than 12,000 still photographs and thousands of news accounts."¹

2) The New York Times: "Universally respected by journalists for its comprehensive and fair reporting."²

3) The Chicago Tribune: A major Chicago newspaper whose fairness and accuracy will also be tested.

4) The Los Angeles Free Press: An "underground" newspaper directed to radicals, liberals and bohemians which publishes only weekly and heavily editorializes the events it reports.

A further note on the Chicago Tribune: No Chicago Tribune reporter was involved in a clubbing incident with a policeman. This is attributable to the fact that of all the media covering the Democratic Convention, it was the only one which took protective precautions for its newsmen³. Off-duty sheriff's deputies from the county of Chicago were hired to protect its reporters.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

WR..... Walker Report
CT..... Chicago Tribune
NYT..... New York Times
CPD..... Chicago Police Department
FP..... Los Angeles Free Press

APPENDIX I - The News

August 25

CT: Headline, p3, "YIPPIES FACE POLICE, BEAT FAST RETREAT."

Essential agreement with WR on this benign confrontation of protestors and police. Headline seems to imply some measure of cowardice on part of Yippies. David Dellinger, National Mobilization leader is quoted, "after(the speeches at) the Bandshell we will take a walk." The CT adds, "Dellinger ordered women and children to remain in the park." A militant attitude is implied and violence expected in "ordered."

NYT: Headline, p36, "WAR CRITICS LIKEN CHICAGO TO PRAGUE."

Headline refers to a description by Allan Ginsberg, poet. I believe this is an expression by the Times, rather than Ginsberg, of its resentment on the extreme security precautions taken by the city of Chicago. It is documented in WR that media personnel were angered by the scarcity of convention passes and the seeming harassment ^{by} of Fire Department officials regarding the placement of their equipment.

The Dellinger quote is also carried in the NYT, but is expanded; "If they do not issue us a permit (to march), we will proceed with our march, leaving behind women and children and others not willing to risk injury." Dellinger is precautionary here rather than militant.

Essential agreement with WR.

August 26

CT: "Swarms of anti-war, anti-administration, 'peaceniks' swept from Lincoln Park south toward the Loop." "Driven out of park at 11 PM." Then under a subtitle in mid-article, "MANY TOURISTS FRIGHTENED," states that the "scene resembled a war, with lines of frightened tourists trying to get out of the way." Police "moved" against "radicals." "Hippies stoned cars. One television camera was smashed." At the conclusion of the article, CT notes that "peaceful marches occurred during the afternoon."

Unreported in CT is the clubbing of five newsmen⁵, and the fact that the "warlike" scene reported followed a police charge into retreating demonstrators⁶. Additionally, the placing of "one television camera was smashed" after a report of hippies throwing stones, makes it apparent that it was smashed by hippies. Actually it was smashed by the Chicago police.⁷

omission

god

NYT: "Hundreds of anti-war, anti-Humphrey demonstrators, driven out of the park, staged a series of hit and run protests today that blocked traffic and triggered angry shoving matches with heavily armed police wearing plexiglass face masks, carrying shotguns and teargas guns."

"At one point police charged a mass of youngsters and about 20 were struck with nightsticks. The incident occurred after a bottle arched out of the crowd and landed near a policeman."

"Police grabbed the notebook of Claude Lewis, reporter for the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, and started swinging."

Also included in this article is a quote by Rennie Davis, of the National Mobilization Committee, in reference to the peaceful afternoon marches, "We proved it was possible to have a peaceful demonstration. We did just what we set out to do." This is important because readers are given the attitude of anti-war leaders toward "violent confrontations."

August 26 (Continued)

An accurate description of police armament is important because it puts rock and bottle throwing by protestors in more realistic perspective; police are extra-protected against such assaults. Not reported in CT.

However the inspiration for the charge by police on the demonstrators is understated by NYT. Rocks and bottles did not just land near police, but several landed on police.⁸

The description of demonstrators as "youngsters" seems also designed to influence reader to empathize with protestors. The battle is "heavily armed police" battling "youngsters." The average age of protestors is estimated to be at least 21 in WR.⁹

August 27

CT: Headline, p2, "RESCUE 3 COPS HEMMED IN BY 400 YIPPIES, RIOT CLUBS USED IN GRANT PARK MELEE."

Incredibly, the lead story is not substantiated in WR.¹⁰ Other major events of the previous day are included and are in essential agreement with WR, except not nearly so comprehensive, in detail.

One minor event is reported, however, and it seems to be aimed at creating an unfavorable image of demonstrators; "Hippie is arrested carrying 6-inch knife."

None of the previous evening's disturbances, including the clubbing of some newsmen is mentioned, though. An afternoon edition of the CT on August 27 does and is discussed later.

The CT demonstrator image evolves into more objective terms in today's news, i.e., "marchers, protestors, and demonstrators." Police on the other hand, become more aggressive, "charging, swinging nightsticks."

CT Afternoon "Final": Headline, p3, "POLICE ROUT HIPPIES WITH GAS CHARGE."

This article deals exclusively with the events of the previous evening (the story of the marooned police is not repeated). There is essential agreement with the WR in the events. However, the clubbing of newsmen and non-demonstrators¹¹ is not reported in this article. Reported, though under a subtitle in mid-article is "Policeman Kicked." Two sentences thereafter describe a policeman being kicked by a "Hippie."

A separate article on this page is titled, "ACCUSE COPS IN BEATING OF NEWSMEN." An important deletion in this otherwise fair article is the fact that most of the newsmen clubbed were clearly identifiable as such, and/or informed policemen of their affiliation.¹²

August 27 (Continued)

The WR indicates that violence was preponderantly done by the CPD this night. It would appear that the subtitle, "Policeman Kicked" and the brief account of this incident with no mention of other violence in this article on the evening's events, is an attempt to make it appear that only some demonstrators were violent. Perhaps a response to the "ACCUSE COPS..." incident where the implication would be that the police are deserving of sympathy.

NYT: Very comprehensive, parallels WR. Police continue aggressive; "clubbed youngsters, assaulted, massed, seized and hit." Protestors are depicted as "youths, demonstrators, and as youngsters." NYT does not ^{note} the unruliness of the evening's march down Clark street.¹³ An interesting note is the fact that NYT quotes the order to clear Lincoln Park, but deletes "including news media" from the otherwise accurate quote.¹⁴ *aha*

August 28

CT: Headline, p1, "800 GUARDSMEN FACE HIPPIES, CALLED OUT TO GIVE POLICE RELIEF."

The second paragraph of this article notes that "fifty Black Panthers took part in Tuesday's demonstration." Not substantiated in WR.¹⁵ Also reported is that "100 clergy conducted an all night service of some sort." Those same clergy, the North Side Cooperative Ministry, held a news conference the previous afternoon and stated that they would keep an all night vigil in Lincoln Park to protest the police brutality some of its members had witnessed the night before.¹⁶ Otherwise there is general agreement with WR on events.

Protestors revert, or perhaps undergo metamorphosis is more accurate since they again appear more insect-like in their actions in the CT. Namely, "300 driven from the park and swarmed around the bus depot." Another description is "mostly young persons in beards, sandals and old army clothes." This is the last sentence in a full column.

Near the middle of this article it is correctly noted that a liquor store was broken into and some liquor stolen. What is not reported is that the liquor store was not near the scene of the demonstrations and that local youths were responsible.¹⁷ The innuendo is obvious.

President Johnson's "Unbirthday Party" held in the coliseum by anti-war factions is characterized as "fiery." WR states, "although enthusiasm rose," it had the "air of a revival meeting."¹⁸

NYT: Headline, p4, "POLICE ASSAULTS ON 21 NEWSMEN IN CHICAGO ARE DENOUNCED - SOME REPORTERS ARE SENT TO HOSPITAL - CRITICS SAY DALEY WANTS TO DETER DAMAGING REPORTS TO HELP CITY'S REPUTE."

This article is in excellent agreement with WR accounts.

August 28 (Continued)

of the attacks on newsmen. Such important details as the fact that officers were not wearing their nameplates or badges is noted, and that in most instances the newsmen involved were clearly identifiable as such. These two items are not reported in the CT article on the same subject.

NYT: Headline, p36, "GAS IS USED AGAIN TO QUELL PROTEST - 2000 DISPERSED AS POLICE CLEAR PARK IN CHICAGO."

Parallels WR. Additionally, notes the presence of clergy and their reason for being there, and the presence of prominent persons participating in the protests--Allan Ginsberg, William Burroughs, Terry Southern and Jean Genet. These two items are ignored by CT.

NYT: Headline, p36, "CHURCHILL GRANDSON, NEWSMAN, ASSAILS CHICAGO POLICE AS BRUTAL."

Specific account of Churchill's encounter with CPD. Parallels WR. Also reported is Churchill's comment, that "in none of the wars he has covered did he feel the necessity of wearing a steel helmet, but that he regretted not having taken one to Chicago."

NYT: Headline, p36, "WAR CRITICS GIVE SANCTUARY TO G.I."

Story of National Mobilization giving sanctuary to G.I. who wishes to resign from army. This story does not appear in CT. Its value is that protestors are reported doing something other than demonstrating.

Overall, the impression is clear that NYT is more comprehensive, more objective.

The CT is biased to the point of humor on this particular day. In the midst of its coverage of Convention flare-ups among delegates, demonstrations, and various political hasseling, the following "PR" story is immersed, "CONVENTION THRILLS ENVOYS OF 62 NATIONS." Comments such as those by the Nicaragua representative, "This is such an important event

August 28 (Continued)

and so exciting. This a wonderful place for a convention. This is a happy, friendly city." Mindful of the fact that delegate challenges resulted in the physical ouster of several New York members, and CBS commentators Dan Rather and Mike Wallace were crumpled to the concrete by security personnel,¹⁹ one is likely to be convulsed and ask which city and which convention they were talking about. An obvious effort by the CT to offset the adverse publicity the city was getting.

On August 28 the CT also published an editorial entitled, "Bad Judgement by Police." Analysis of the comments made in it discloses the same bias as observed in the news.

Little of the language of the editorial is critical of police. For example, the first paragraph condemns protestors for "rowdiness," the second expresses sympathy for police because of "long hours served which take them from more important work." It also states that "many policeman are veterans and have little sympathy for anti-war, anti-draft demonstrators." (A non-sequiter).

Another paragraph states that "strong security, however, does not require the police to beat up news reporters and photographers." The WR makes clear that "security" played no role in the beatings of newsmen.²⁰ The paragraph continues that "judging from photographs, some of the newsmen looked like hippies, and perhaps they refused to obey police orders to move. If so (looked like hippies?), the police were perhaps justified in using force."

The editorial ends in quasi-humor as I see it when it states, "Policeman so lacking in judgement that they needlessly beat up a representative of the press don't belong on the force." The humor is that perhaps they mean these press representatives should be beat up when it is useful; not needlessly.

August 29

CT: Headline, pl, "COPS, HIPPIES WAR IN STREETS."

Describing the worst violence of the week, during which the WR states "the preponderance of violence came from the police,"²¹ CT reports, "A few minutes later, police marched on the intersection. Big vans followed them to cart off prisoners. The police waded into the crowd. Many convention visitors and delegates watched the battles from upper windows of hotels. Many were appalled at what they considered the unnatural enthusiasm of police for the job of arresting demonstrators."

"Unnatural enthusiasm of police for job of arresting" is a gross euphemism for ^{the} grotesque police brutality which occurred at the intersection of Michigan and Balbo.²² At that, it ^{is} not attributable to the reporter, but to onlooker's opinion, and only "many"; implying that some did not feel that way. A review of the WR leaves no doubt that excessive force which can only be described as brutal was used wantonly on bystanders as well as demonstrators. In many cases there was no attempt to arrest.²³

Violence by police during the afternoon rally and the Grant Park Bandshell also goes unreported. CT states, "police chased demonstrators through the park." Actually police did a good deal more than chasing; they did plenty of catching up and clouting.²⁴

Violence by protesters comes under closer scrutiny; "one hippie missed (throwing a rock) a window, and hit a woman in the face."

Other articles on the page that the front page story is continued on include, "29 POLICEMEN INJURED" and "POLICE INJURE 6 MORE NEWSMEN." The latter story reflects the paper's editorial position that perhaps newsmen aren't getting out of the way of police, when under a picture of Barry Silverman, NYT photographer, being restrained by several policemen, a caption reads, "PHOTOGRAPHER CAUGHT IN MASS ARRESTS OF DE-

August 29 (Continued)

MONSTRATORS." "Caught" implies he was doing something he shouldn't, for example, mingling with demonstrators. Actually Mr. Silverman had been standing behind police lines while photographing ^{the} police arresting demonstrators.²⁵

In the other arrests, no mention is made that either plainly visible identification was worn by the individuals, or that they immediately informed officers of their affiliation.

Included in this article, however, are statements by CPD Superintendent Conlisk and Mayor Daley attesting to the "fine work of police."

NYT: Headline, pl, 100 ARE HURT AND 178 ARRESTED IN CHICAGO AS POLICE AND NATIONAL GUARD BATTLE PROTESTORS - VOTE (Convention) TAKEN AMID BOOS FOR CHICAGO POLICE TACTICS - YOUTHFUL THOUSANDS TRY TO MARCH ON CONVENTION HALL BUT ARE SURROUNDED."

All major events of the previous day and evening are covered with only insignificant discrepancies. They are in good agreement with WR depiction of same.²⁶ Particularly apt is the sentence near the beginning of the story, "The police and guardsmen used clubs, rifle butts, tear gas and Chemical Mace on virtually anything moving along Michigan Avenue and the narrow streets of the Loop area." NYT also notes non-hippie, middle-aged victims of the "fine police work."

Judging from the WR, the overall impression of the events occurring on the previous day, what the CT termed a "war" between hippies and police, would have been more accurately termed a "massacre" by police of hippies and anyone else they could lay their hands on.

August 30

CT: Headline, pl, TROOPS BAR DEMONSTRATORS ON LONG WALK TO AMPHITHEATRE."

Major events of the previous day are reported and are in a substantial agreement with WR. This¹⁸ probably because the only confrontations between protestors and police reported are peaceful, i.e., the march led by delegate D. O. Peterson was peacefully dispersed at 16th and State Streets.²⁷

Unreported is the march led by Dick Gregory which is dispersed by teargas.²⁸ The march occurred early enough so that it could have been included (about 9:30 PM) in the morning's paper. The teargas was effective in terminating the march and no unusual violence was observed.

The innuendo that demonstrators merely mass for assaults on police is inserted near the end of this article, "altho(sic) the demonstrators called an afternoon rally, there was no indication they were prepared for another clash with police or that they might still attempt a march." The demonstrators at no time could have been considered "prepared for a clash" with heavily armed police carrying shotguns, teargas guns, and wearing plexiglass face shields. The implication is that they periodically massed for attacks on same with no other objective since the word "or" implies that at this time they were either going to march or "clash."

CT: Headline, pl, "TERRORISTS IMPERILED CITY, DALEY SAYS - COPS ACTS AGAINST MOB WIN DEFENSE."

The exaggeration of the protestors' threat to the City of Chicago by Mayor Daley (in justifying police action) is matched by CT in placing those remarks on the front page instead of ⁱⁿ the comic section where they belong. Daley, using the guise of "the people of Chicago" states "will never permit a lawless violent group of terrorists to menace the lives of millions of people, destroy the purpose of this national political convention, and take over the streets of Chicago."

CT: Headline, pl, "A Great City."

An editorial concurring with Mayor Daley's viewpoint.

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Demonstrators are referred to as "street fighters" and as "dirty, lawless, bearded rabble" led by "professional agitators from Berkely and New York."

Police and National Guard "used such force as was necessary."

All of the above is misrepresentation of facts and an attempt at defamation of protestors, as based on their representation in the WR.

Other stories clustered on p10 and 11 of CT include:
"COPS, HUBERT, NIXON RIPPED BY ABERNATHY"
"NEGRO LEADER BLAMES WHITES FOR CHICAGO 'POLICE BRUTALITY.' "

Note that CT, by placing police brutality in quotes, implies that it is still unsubstantiated.

Within the body of this article in bold face titles the same size as ordinary print are several other anti-police news items of about one paragraph length each:

"LINDSAY CRITICIZES POLICE"
"WANTS SUPERINTENDENT FIRED" - The Chicago Newspaper Guild, that is,
"CHURCH GROUP CONCERNED" - Illinois Council of Churches.
"SOCIOLOGISTS CHANGE CONVENTION SITE" - American Soc. So.
"TIMES SQUARE VIGIL" - to protest CPD tactics
"ALF LANDON CRITICIZES POLICE"
"RUSS REPORT VIOLENCE"

Other articles receiving more space than the above include:

"COURT CURBS COP SQUEEZE ON PRESS HERE - RESTRAINING ORDER NAMES CONLISK."

"BLOOD FLOWS IN CHICAGO, BRITISH TOLD." (As if it didn't).

This item was printed in NYT two days earlier and is an account of Winston Churchill III's experiences with the CPD. General agreement with WR. However also included are observations by a John Cameron, who is described as "often being critical of the U.S." I believe his remarks are quoted to induce an emotional defensive stance in the reader. He states, "It will take many years to disinfect Chicago from the

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sour smell of human failure of which it reeks today. It took a kind of misbegotten genius to make Chicago an even dirtier word than it has been for years."

"COPS PRESSED BEYOND LIMIT."

This full column article states that news coverage was unfair, that police were provoked beyond endurance, and that the actions of Mayor Daley were justified.

"DIRKSEN SAYS POLICE ROLL EXCELLENT."

"ACTOR ASSERTS HE DIDN'T SEE BRUTALITY."

"MOST CALLERS PRAISE DALEY."

"DIARY OF DETAILS TO DISRUPT CITY."

} All of these articles had headlines larger than ordinary

The story of police spy, Robert L. Pierson, who infiltrated Yippie leadership. A replay of "I Led Three Lives." Interestingly, nowhere in the WR are Pierson's observations of the Yippies reported. He states that the Jerry Rubin, Yippie leader, "ordered snake dances and 'sing alongs' to make people believe the movement was peaceful." Also implied, and untrue, is that movement was directed by Rubin alone. Many of the marches were spontaneous or incited by any one of the other anti-war factions in Chicago.

"REPUBLICANS RAP CHICAGO POLICE ACTS."

Seemingly within the body of this single article are several one paragraph articles whose titles are bold face print the same size as ordinary print. They are:

"RIBICOFF ASSAILS POLICE."

"OGILVIE ASSAILS DALEY."

"PHOTOGRAPHERS PROTEST."

"STUDENTS RAISE FUNDS (for demonstrators)."

"L.A. TIMES PROTESTS."

Appearing on the front page is last "news" account of the protestors while in Chicago. Generally the article describes the peaceful scene of Grant and Lincoln Parks and the relief of police and National Guard, now that the demonstrators have departed. The title again gives insight into CT's view of demonstrators, "YIPPIE HORDES END SIEGE OF PARK."

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NYT: Headline, pl, "THOUSANDS MARCH"

Another factual article in close agreement with WR. No detectable bias. Underlined stories do not appear in CT. "DALEY DEFENDS HIS POLICE."

Unlike CT, the NYT notes injuries to bystanders during convention week while reporting Daley's statement. Also included in this article is the statement of Frank Sullivan, director of public information for the CPD which criticizes press representation of the CPD. NYT replies, "The pictures and sounds of the CPD in action speak for themselves louder than any words ours or any attempt by them to find any scape goats." While carrying Sullivan's statement also, CT does not report media's reply.

"HUMPHREY SCORES CLASHES".

HHH states, "you don't change the laws by storm trooper tactics, either on the part of dissenter or police." This particular part of HHH's verbiage is nowhere to be found in CT.

"HAYDEN IN DISGUISE FOOLS FRIENDS AND POLICE"

Gives SDS founder a romantic "Robin Hood" like image. Definitely written to invite empathy for his cleverness and cunning in outsmarting CPD.

"SOCIOLOGISTS ACT TO BAR CHICAGO"

One paragraph long in CT, one column in NYT.

"WALLACE DEFENDS CPD."

" 'DISMAYED DEMOCRATS' UNIT PROTESTS CHICAGO VIOLENCE."

"CHICAGO POLICE 'BEST IN WORLD' REJECT CRITICISM."

Comments of individual Chicago police.

Adjacent to this article, perhaps in commentary, certainly in irony is the following story,

"CHICAGO POLICEMAN CONVICTED OF MURDER."

"FBI WILL INVESTIGATE DISORDERS IN CHICAGO."

Other FBI activities are noted in CT, though. For example, J. Edgar Hoover warning of leftist intentions to disrupt campuses in today's CT.

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"FIRST LADY'S PRESS SECRETARY LAUDS DALEY."

Seemingly within the body of this article and marked by subtitles the size of ordinary print, but in boldface, are the following one paragraph articles supporting police:

"SUPPORT OF THREE MAYORS."

"DAKOTAN BACKS ACTIONS."

"OKLAHOMAN DEFENDS POLICE."

One full column is devoted to protestor comment on the Chicago events. No such space is provided in CT. The headline reads,

"CHICAGO PROTESTORS SAY POLICE ACTION WILL 'RADICALIZE' MANY TV VIEWERS."

Obviously, since many of the articles that are unreported in CT are favorable to their position, the fact that they are not is most likely due to lesser news gathering capacity than NYT.

Although about equal numbers of articles appear in both papers both praising and criticizing police work in Chicago in both papers, the size of the title seems to be the best parameter for determining the paper's viewpoint. For example, many of the stories criticizing police in CT, appear under one larger headline, with minute subtitles marking completely different stories. Similarly, in NYT the same is observed for stories praising police. The effect is the appearance of a single article.

Except for the commentary on the Los Angeles Free Press reporting, this marks the end of Appendix I. Several more articles similar in nature to the bulk of those appearing in today's papers, commentaries by various persons, appear in subsequent editions of each paper. However, examination of these reveals no new positions taken by either paper. The viewpoint of each is graphically reiterated in the reporting of Senator Muskie's remarks. Although his re-

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marks are essentially the same in each paper, CT interprets them as "MUSKIE GIVES CAUTIOUS APPROVAL TO DALEY ACTION," while NYT reports, "MUSKIE REGARDS POLICE ACTION IN CHICAGO AS OVERREACTING."

APPENDIX II - Characterizations

	CT	NYT
Protestors.....	hippies..... hordes. swarmed massed beat fast retreat peaceniks radicals marchers demonstrators closed in kicked crowd mob waged pitched battle invaded	colorfully dress- ed, beaded youths. chanted slogans sung youngsters men and women demonstrators marchers staged hit & run protests dissenters gently chanted shouted taunts clustered acceded to pleas
Police.....	barred..... moved against herded charged were marooned pelted formed a wedge chased pushed out demonstrators waded into swinging nightsticks	cracked down heavily armed charged grabbed unleashed barrage firing tear gas assault massed seized and hit clubbed youngsters critically beat advanced on pursued flying police squads clubbing repeatedly beat victims

SUMMARY OF APPENDIX II

In CT, demonstrators are aggressive, in NYT police are aggressive.

COMMENTARY ON THE LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS

The choice of the L.A. Free Press ahead of the CT is based on WR characterizations of police actions during the period August 25 through the 30 and comparing them to those presented in CT and the FP. Although vastly superior in reporting capability, and in the reporting of the events which occurred during the week, CT fails its readers repeatedly by omitting those details which put police in a bad light, by the use of descriptive terms for police and protestors designed to gain police empathy and protestors animosity regardless of whether the facts warrant it. All of the above has been documented in Appendix I. and II

FP accounts of Convention week activities is carried in their edition for the week of September 6 - 12, 1968, in an extensive article entitled, "SIX DAYS OF RAPE; A DIARY." A day by day description of events beginning with August 24 is presented. The preponderance of this narration is devoted to Convention activities and harangues about the irrelevancy of it. However, interspersed are accounts of police - demonstrator confrontations, such as this one which accurately depicts the violence of Monday evening:²⁸ "The Festival (of Life) was turned from a joyous revolution of life styles into a scene of carnage. Police lobbed tear gas shells into the Yippie's makeshift barricade of picnic tables and trash cans. Tears streaming down their faces and their lungs choking with the noxious gas, they regrouped in nearby streets and hurled words against clubs and gas shells, crying 'Pigs!' and when they could find any, bottles and rocks. The pigs (police interrogation groups) waded in with more gas and started swinging their bone-crushing blood-letting billy clubs. Dozens were injured and dozens more arrested."

FP also notes, "The camera of three news photographers was smashed as they were taking pictures of the brutal police action. The newsmen had taken to wearing protective helmets. But that didn't protect photographer Bob Black of the Sun-Times from being clubbed on the arm and a reporter from being kicked in the groin while taking notes."

The use of police and other words reported in the

FP COMMENTARY (Continued)

The mood of the CPD and the events reported are in excellent agreement with WR. Although numerous details are unreported (probably due to lack of staff), it is made clear as to which side the preponderance of violence originated.

Interestingly, the camera smashing incident is the same one that CT notes, but has embedded it in its story of the evening's events so that it appears protestors did the smashing.

Other evening marches on the 26 are "clubbed into insensibility," and "turned back by tear gas and billy clubs."

Also substantiated in WR is the claim by FP that "the word seemed to have gone down the line anyway that newsmen were fair game for the cops."²⁹

Also reported in FP is the North Side Cooperative Ministry press conference³⁰ which charged Daley had turned the city into a police state.

Additionally FP notes that police were not wearing name plates and badges. This item and the previous two are not in CT.

Additional brief descriptions of succeeding day's activities are provided that are as apt as these at describing the situation in Chicago.

In summary, the outstanding anomaly of the events in Chicago between protestors, newsmen and the CPD is the viciousness of the CPD towards demonstrators, bystanders and newsmen. It is more accurately portrayed in the Los Angeles Free Press than in the Chicago Tribune. It must be assumed that since the news gathering facilities of the CT are much more vast than the FP that its vested interest of preserving the city's image grossly interfered with good journalism.

well stated

WALKER REPORT FOOTNOTE LOCATIONS

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²William G. Leary, "Thought and Statement," Harcourt, Brace and Company, p7.