

feeds them, fill the Democratic coffers to overflowing.

Daley services

But there's more to it than favors. Daley also provides superb city services.

It has been argued that Daley sometimes withholds services as a means of bringing opponents into line or punishing them, but at least the services are there to be withheld. In New York City, the mayor often cannot provide adequate services even to his friends. Chicago's services are the best in the nation.

For nine of the last ten years Chicago has been named the cleanest big city in the country. Garbage collection is reliable and efficient. The police force is one of the best in the country and total crime in Chicago declined slightly last year while it rose eleven per cent nationally.

If the streets of Chicago are clean and safe, they are also bright. Daley installed such powerful lights in the alleys that some persons feel it is safer to walk there than on the streets.

In addition, Chicago has one of the finest expressway systems in the country, radiating in all directions from the central Loop district, with transit authority trains running down the median strips.

And the streets are safe to drive on. Traffic deaths per capita in Chicago were the lowest in any big city last year.

The amazing thing about Chicago's services is that Daley has built and expanded them within the confines of a

Great American Series

"The atmosphere in Philadelphia has caused sore eyes in many people, including my husband and myself."

Martha Washington
13 April 1794

balanced budget. When Daley became mayor in 1955, nine of the twenty largest cities had a higher bond rating than Chicago. Today Chicago's bonds, rated AA, outrank all others.

The encouraging business climate and sound financial management of Daley's administration have resulted in extraordinary prosperity.

Since 1955 there has been a total of \$7 billion of public and private construction in Chicago. Last year in the central district alone there was \$1.5 billion of private construction underway or announced. Chicago also boasts the world's biggest convention hall and busiest airport. Its economic development is first among the nation's cities. The average family income is thirty per cent above the national average.

But the face of Daley's Chicago is not without its warts.

His critics say Daley is a fine "brick and mortar" mayor, but that he has forgotten the people.

They cite the dismal record of Chicago schools in which graduates from fifty-one of the fifty-seven high schools average per year behind national norms in reading and math.

They cite the failure of the city to stop the stampede of fifty thousand whites per

year to the suburbs. It is estimated that by 1985 the city will be seventy-five per cent black and the population of the suburbs will have doubled. There is little integration and much hostility, they argue, with blacks taking over white neighborhoods at the rate of five blocks per day.

They cite the failure of the city to provide public transportation for the working man. Sure, there are plenty of routes leading downtown, but where are the tracks to take ghetto dwellers to jobs in suburban factories? Besides, they say, the spiraling forty-five cent fare, up from twenty-five in 1967, has priced the system out of the reach of the poor.

They cite a failure to build more public housing and lament an urban renewal program which has torn down housing for the poor and left the land vacant or built middle-income high rises.

They cite the soaring property tax rate necessary to support a record city budget, up six and one-half per cent this year to \$899 million, and suggest that firing all the political hacks on the payroll would save the city \$150 million a year.

And so, over a period of sixteen years the charges against Daley have mounted. All his opponents were invited to join forces behind the Republican-Independent candidacy of Richard Friedman. Friedman said he was for all the people—the blacks, tired of being taken for granted, and the independents and liberals who are tired of machine politics. Friedman carried the torch of reform.

in sickness and in wealth

But might not the cure be worse than the disease?

During his campaign, Friedman tried to sell the liberal alternative, and he, like Lindsay in New York, is an engaging and attractive salesman for that ideology.

Although he denies being like Lindsay, few believe him. He has the style and the verve to provide a classy alternative to plodding, jowled, semi-literate Mayor Daley, whose malapropisms are legendary ("The police are not here to create disorder, they are here to preserve disorder.").

Friedman said he wanted to be mayor of all the people, to face up to the human problems over which Daley's payrollers have run roughshod. It is the same old liberal cliché. The liberals are concerned with people, the conservative with things.

Daley, said Friedman, has concerned himself with skyscrapers, roads, subways, airports, filtration plants and garbage trucks, but he has ignored the people.

It is never explained how a person can build skyscrapers in which people live, roads on which they drive, subways in which they ride, airports from which they fly, filtration plants from which they drink and garbage trucks on which they rely to remove their debris without being concerned primarily with people.

Paddy Bauler and John Lindsay

Daley is not a liberal meddler. He has been content to build a city in which the services can be taken for granted and each individual is free to pursue his own goals with a minimum of interference.

If Daley has fallen down, it has been in precisely those areas—education, housing

and racial integration—in which federal meddling has been most blatant.

Daley is the embodiment of the Protestant Ethic. He is a strong family man with seven children boasts impeccable personal morals, and attends mass daily. He came from a poor family and worked to get his law degree in night school. His climb up the ladder of city politics was slow but steady.

Consequently, Daley sees his responsibility as one of providing a healthy city in which others can climb as he has. He doesn't understand the liberal obsession with eliminating poverty by handing out cash or expanding the welfare rolls. Given the opportunity, any good man will make something of his life, he believes.

If Friedman had been elected he would have been without a political power base in the city council, and the city, more likely than not, would have split into warring factions. Until liberals build a sound political base and learn how to use the tools of power, they are doomed to failure in Chicago. John Lindsay will tell you that you can't run a city on style, dash and charisma.

Paddy Bauler, a legendary saloon-keeper alderman in Chicago who is retired, said back in 1955 after Daley's nomination victory, "Chicago ain't ready for reform."

According to the voters, Chicago still ain't ready for reform. Judging by the results, New York and other cities with liberal mayors, liberals who would dismantle the Daley machine would do well to devise first a workable system of governing with which to replace it. It is liberal America, not Daley's America, that cannot govern itself. □

The Media and the Panthers

David Brudnoy

"Irresponsible" is a word not usually applied in New England to the operations of the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. But that charge was leveled against those journals by Harvard professor Edward Jay Epstein in a mid-February issue of the *New Yorker* magazine. Mr. Epstein's article demolished attorney Charles Garry's charges of December, 1969, that the police had murdered twenty-eight Panthers across the nation. Although the *Chicago Tribune* quickly wrote that Garry's charges were false, the media chose to believe Garry. On 7 and 9 December 1969, the *Times* repeated this charge as fact, and the *Post* stated flatly on 9 December that "a total of 28 Panthers died in clashes with the police since 1 January, 1968." Garry's charge then became Truth and was immediately picked up and broadcast across the land.

After an extensive investigation lasting several months, Mr. Epstein showed that the facts were far different from Garry's charge, which the Panthers' lawyer repeated in a book some months later. Epstein found that of the twenty-eight,

most were killed by other Negroes, not by the police, some in inter-factional fighting — St. Valentine's Day revisited — others in marital squabbles. A few were killed by police after first attacking the police. Perhaps two of the alleged twenty-eight, Epstein concluded, were deliberately murdered by the police. In a democracy of rule by law, even two lynchings are too many. But Epstein showed that the truth is not served by exaggerated charges "that are reported unverified, in the press and in consequence widely believed by the public."

The press reaction to Mr. Epstein's devastating article confirms Agnew's Third Law of Media Dynamics: that is, the Liberal press, with few exceptions, will not print what it doesn't want to believe. The *Washington Post*, to its credit, editorialized an apology for its irresponsibility. "There is no adequate excuse for making this kind of error in the first place and none for failing to pursue the truth behind the phony 'facts,'" the *Post* mea-culpaed. The *New York Times*? Nothing.

In my city while the *Boston Herald Traveler* editorialized and also reprinted the *New Yorker* article in its entirety, what did the liberal *Boston Globe* do? Except for an article by columnist George Frazier, not a word editorially from the *Globe*, which helped spread Garry's distortion. WGBH? The Boston educational TV channel, which devotes a lot of air time to presentation of the extremist Negro position, had allowed Charles Garry's lie to be broadcast on various occasions. Since the appearance of Epstein's article, WGBH has not seen fit to rectify the situation. The other TV channels hereabouts have likewise been silent.

Mr. Garry confronted Professor Epstein on David Frost's television program recently. Infuriated, outraged, shocked, dismayed—all the predictable reactions—Mr. Garry could do little but sputter that Epstein was a tool of the CIA, an agent of the FBI, a "congenital liar." Garry denied having written the book which appears with his name as author; he denied—and here's the beautiful part—that it made any difference whether twenty-eight or two were killed. We used to

call that sort of nonsense "McCarthyism" back in the days when the senator from Wisconsin was waving his little lists in the air, those lists with the names of fifty-one, thirty-six and eighteen Communists known to be in the State Department. We used to cry "foul" at Joe McCarthy's tactic. We were right to do so then.

Where is the hue and cry from the friends of Pantherism now? Where is their outrage about McCarthyism in defense of Panthers? Is McCarthyism of the left more acceptable than old-style McCarthyism?

The story doesn't end there, with deafening silence from the Liberal media. The facts are that exposés of the falsehood passed off by Garry as true appeared long ago, fourteen months, to be exact. But these exposés appeared not in an establishment journal like the *New Yorker*. They appeared in *Human Events*, the leading weekly conservative journal. On 17 January 1970, *Human Events* columnist, Victor Riesel, debunked the charges. Later in January, 1970, the journal observed that Garry's list boiled down to so few that there was no way the deaths could be construed as a police conspiracy. On 18 July, *Human Events* columnist, James Jackson Kilpatrick, explained that the twenty-eight victims dwindled down to the Hampton-Clark shootings in Chicago the previous December. Where was the comment then?

The national conservative youth organization, Young Americans for Freedom, followed up the *Human Events* stories and published several articles refuting Garry's charges. Where was the comment then? It took an article in *New Yorker* last month to elicit a retraction from the *Washington Post*. Agnew's Fourth Law of Media Dynamics was verified too: if Liberals listen to anybody, they listen only to other Liberals.

What this episode reveals, aside from the fact that we must henceforth be very skeptical about swallowing propaganda about white "genocide" of Negroes, is that we must pay more heed to those like the Vice President who have long correctly pointed out the grave problems in America's distorted media dissemination of the news. □

Agnew's reported misgivings about the Administration's emerging China policy. The Vice President was also concerned, according to these accounts, about the press coverage of the U. S. Ping-Pong team's visit to the Chinese mainland. He feared that it added up to a propaganda coup for the Chinese Communists, which could have the effect of undercutting U. S. support for Nationalist China.

The irony is that these developments stemmed from a genuine attempt by Mr. Agnew to narrow the gulf between him and the press. His remarks about China weren't new. He had reportedly expressed his views in National Security Council meetings and in private meetings with the Republican governors here. The news lay in the public reports that the Vice President, one of the most politically loyal of men, disagreed with his chief on such an important and sensitive issue. A detailed examination of the incident provides an insight into the political perils of dealing with a nosy, gossiping, insatiably curious, competitive and enterprising press.

It started when Mr. Agnew's press secretary, Victor Gold, asked a group of nine reporters to meet with the Vice President to have a friendly drink and exchange views. The organizations represented were the major wire services, Associated Press and United Press International; the Gannet papers; Scripps-Howard newspapers; the *Washington Star*; the *Baltimore Sun*; the *Chicago Tribune*; the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*; and *Newsday*.

The time was unusual; the group gathered at 12:30 a.m. Monday, 19 April, and broke up at 3:30 a.m. At least one reporter was awakened from a slumber. Since Mr. Agnew left the Governors' Conference the following day, the time of the meeting suggested that it had not been planned in advance and was a rush job to get it in while he was still in Williamsburg. A couple of the participants were not on the original list; they were included just because they happened to be in the hotel lobby with some of the chosen.

The meeting began with Mr. Gold setting the ground rules: off-the-record. In the Byzantine twistings of Washington press ground rules, off-the-record means nothing can be written or printed about the conversations by those present. After small talk, Mr. Agnew brought up the subject of China and the group pursued this for about an hour.

They spent more time, however, in a genuinely spirited and friendly give-and-take about the Vice President's problems with the press.

They finished up by discussing his 1972 prospects: his spot on the ticket had not been decided, he said, and he wouldn't go on if he would hurt Mr. Nixon's re-election prospects. Drinks were served, but Mr. Agnew had only a cold bottle of beer, fetched by Secret Service agents, and the meeting broke up with him repeating the ground rules—off-the-record. As they left, the Vice President jocularly predicted that he would probably see something about the discussion in print in "about six months" or so. One of the reporters, an old hand in

Recorded Live at Williamsburg

Mr. Agnew Gets Friendly with the Press, Then...

James R. Dickenson

Vice President Agnew's political future as No. 2 man on the Republican national ticket next year is probably shakier than it was a few weeks ago.

President Nixon is reportedly—for the first time in his Administration—displeased with his Vice President. And Mr. Agnew is open to charges of undermining the President's policy of easing relations with Communist China.

This turn of events grew out of the Vice President's relations with the press,

which have consistently resembled those of the cobra and the mongoose, and are now at an all-time low. The Vice President is portrayed as more furious with the press than he has ever been, and the press' attitude toward him ranges from incredulity to hilarity.

At issue is the clutch of news stories that came out of the spring meeting of the Republican Governors' Association in Williamsburg, otherwise a prosy little gathering. The stories concerned Mr.