this, yet they have persisted in carrying forward this combustible affair.” The paper begged for a “rediscovery of reason.” After the march the Tribune let out a sigh of relief. “The planners and participants can consider their job well done, and the residents of the capital, who had to put up with a day’s inconvenience, are entitled to acknowledgment of their patience. Such oratory as there was less superheated than might have been expected.” (The oratory included the “I have a dream” speech of Dr. Martin Luther King.) Around 300 marchers returned to Chicago and demonstrated outside the Sun-Times. They’d expected better from that paper. “It was quite obvious that the [Washington] rally was composed largely of responsible and substantial people who were in control,” the Sun-Times editorial page allowed. Nevertheless, “the time has come for the demonstrations for civil rights to be taken off the streets and into the conference rooms.” The paper hoped that among the march’s leaders “were some who agree with this advice for the future conduct of the civil rights crusade.”

Two years ago the Library of America published a two-volume anthology Reporting Civil Rights, a history of race in America from 1941 to 1973 as written on the fly by journalists. The anthology’s one shortcoming is that it misrepresents civil-rights coverage. The journalism it presents is distinguished. A vast amount of the journalism it omits was dismal.
A two-volume anthology presents a history of the race in America from 1941 to 1973 as written on the fly by journalists. The journalism it presents is distinguished. A vast amount of what it omits was dismal.

Eighteen days after the 1963 march four black girls died when a church was bombed in Birmingham, Alabama. “Only criminal insanity can explain such a despicable act,” said the Tribune editorial page. But the right to live is one thing, the right to vote another. In March 1965 President Johnson asked Congress to pass a voting rights bill. “To those who like that sort of thing,” snorted the Tribune, “Johnson was credited with hitting a note of high emotion already about what are the realities of voter education. There is far too much discussion. There is far too much emotion about what all are called ‘civil rights.’”

In the Tribune’s view the right to vote was a so-called civil right. “In massive voting with the ideal society,” the editorial continued, “Mr. Johnson again presented himself as a miracle man who will bring about the reformation of mankind’s soul, spread brotherhood to the farthest shore, educate and make everyone healthy, wealthy, and wise. This is a brand of socialist nonsense which even such medicine men as Upson Sinclair never had the tenacity to preach in their palmy days.”

If the price of a free black vote was socialism, America would be nuts to pay it. “Poverty is overcome by men and intelligent enough to hold a job,” the Tribune lectured. “It is overcome as the post-war West Germans overcame it—by working harder, while their neighbors, the British in especial, hit the featherbed. It is not overcome by beatnik lies and the riots of mobs in cities and on campuses. Nor will it be overcome by visionary bondogglies, politically inspired.”

The failure is one of how far the Tribune has come since.

Federalism has come a long way too. In the 1960s it grew fat on segrag- cantation, taking up the states’ rights argument for allowing Jim Crow to die in bed. The Tribune couldn’t countenance the Birmingham bombings, but William Buckley’s National Review, which would champion Barry Goldwater for president the following year, was able to. “Let us gently say,” it said, “the fiend who set off the bomb does not have the sympathy of the white population in the South; in fact, he set back the cause of the white people there so dramatically as to raise the question whether in fact the explosion was the act of a provocateur—a of a Communist, or of a crazed Negro.”

The magazine said some evidence supported this possibility. “And let it be said,” the National Review declared, “the conviction that go on, and are bound to continue, have resulted from revolutionary assaults on the status quo, and a contempt for the law, which are traceable to the Supreme Court’s manifest contempt for the settled traditions of Constitutional prac- tice. Certainly it now appears that Birmingham’s Negroes will never be content so long as the white continued on page 6.

In contrast, the Able Archer part of Able Archer that calls for Reagan and other officials to disagree (it goes into bunkers) and instead arranges for the president to be seen in public, meaning the Russians and defusing the cri- sis. Good story, but I can find no corrobo- ration of the details and think they’re partly a garbled version of events and partly fantasy. The truth for now appears to be that the Russians raised the alert status of a dozen nuclear fighter bombers but pro- sumably had them stand down later when no further reports of suspicious U.S. activity emerged. The U.S. published nothing of Soviet fears and found out only after the fact following a report from a Russian double agent in London. Some content that when word finally did reach the White House, Reagan was displeased to learn the Russians thought him capa- ble of precipitating Armageddon and adopted a more conciliatory approach. Our side didn’t come off badly, clearly we had been going the Soviets. Still, the guys who came closest to push- ing the U.S. into a nuclear confrontation would end in war.

The Straight Dope by Cecil Adams

Exactly what was the deal with Operation Able Archer? I was right smack in the middle of that whole thing (as a soldier stationed in Germany), but I still don’t know what exactly happened except that a number of history books hint that we were actually closer to war in October 1983 than we were during the Cuban missile crisis. —Bill Owen, Cincinnati

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I love working as an acupuncturist. There are many different types of settings available to work in from a clinic or private practice to a hospital. In my practice, I enjoy incorporating acupuncture with Chinese herbal medicine and bookwork. I make a comfortable living and have flexible hours. But, the most rewarding part is being able to help my patients feel better.” — Lauren O’Brien • B.S. • Community Health Education
Schwerner, and Cheney in the murders of Goodman, National Review's grand jury convened in Neshoba against local police officers. "It is everyone's impression, including ours, that some, at least, of the Neshoba police are a crummy lot," said the magazine airily. "But we said the magazine airily. "But we..."continued from page 5

In the view of this conservatism, which has slowly taken over the country, the cure for Jim Crow was far worse than the disease.

Clueless in Chicago

The David Radler indictment let Jim Thompson claim the only vindication open to him: blamelessness on account of cluelessness. "They either falsified the documents or kept them from the audit committee and the board," Thompson told the Tribune's John Kass after Radler was indicted on August 18. "I've served on more than a dozen corporate boards, and I've never been lied to before by management."

As head of the audit committee of the Hollinger International board, Thompson was supposed to be the guardian at the gate, challenging anyone who approached the stockholders' treasure. The committee met regularly with Radler, who in addition to being publisher of the Sun-Times was president, COO, and deputy chairman of the board of Hollinger International. These meetings would be followed by meetings of the full board, which looked to Thompson's committee for direction. During the period from January 1999 to May 2001 Hollinger was allegedly defrauded of more than $32 million by Radler, Hollinger attorney Mark Kipnis, and Ravestport, a private holding company Radler ran with Hollinger chairman Conrad Black. (According to civil suits now being litigated, Black, Radler, and their friends actually raked in off many times that.) Thanks to a bizarre ownership structure, Black and Radler controlled Hollinger International through Ravestport despite holding relatively little Hollinger stock. This arrangement made the value of that stock of dubious importance to them. The indictment explains, "Every $100 that was transferred out of International and into Ravestport...would cost [Black and Radler] $19, but give them $79." A favored means of making these transfers, according to the indictment, was to sell off newspapers and write into the sales contracts spurious "noncompete" clauses that diverted millions of dollars of the proceeds to Ravestport. In one case, Hollinger allegedly sold newspapers to a company Radler and other officials of Hollinger, who knew they had "in essence, negotiated an agreement with themselves...resulting in them paying themselves...approximately $1.2 million."

The indictment alleges ten separate sales in which the defendants "failed to disclose...side deals and payments" to International's Audit Committee, thereby breaching their fiduciary duty. A year ago, after Black and Radler were banished from the board, Richard Breeden, a former chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, submitted a 531-page report to it that reached the same conclusion Fitzgerald's grand jury would reach: the audit committee had been "repeatedly and deliberately misled" by Radler and Black. But Breeden also assigned moral culpability, and he concluded that the audit committee's "ineffectiveness is primarily a consequence of its inexplicable and nearly complete lack of initiative, diligence or independent thought."

Thompson made his reputation in 1973 by sending federal judge Otto Kerner to prison. He persuaded a jury that by accepting racetrack stock while he oversaw the state's racing board as governor, Kerner had deprived the public of its "intangible right" to his honest service. This intangible right was teased out of the federal mail-fraud statute; eventually the U.S. Supreme Court would rule that the statute didn't support it, but by then Kerner was long dead.

Now Fitzgerald has indicted Radler on the theory that he schemed to deny Hollinger stockholders of not only money and property but their "intangible right of honest services." Fitzgerald says Radler intends to plead guilty and cooperate with the ongoing investigation, whose ultimate quarry is presumably Black.

One onlooker would like it to be someone else. Anton Kerner has been trying to vindicate his father since he died in 1976. "My interest is not that Thompson goes to jail," he e-mailed me, "but that the standard of justice he applied to Otto Kerner is either applied to him or is repudiated by the Department of Justice."

Fat chance. Congress wrote the Department of Justice into law as soon as the Supreme Court ruled it wasn't there. But though shareholders must have some kind of right to assume a board of directors isn't comatose, a board member simply isn't as answerable as a governor. Kerner knows this, but he's savoring the moment.
DOMINANT jeans

7 FOR ALL MANKIND
TRUE RELIGION
ROCK & REPUBLIC
CITIZENS OF HUMANITY
JOE’S JEANS
ANTIK DENIM
CHIP & PEPPER
BLUE CULT
JAMES JEANS
PEOPLE’S LIBERATION
MISS SIXTY
EARL JEANS
PAPER DENIM & CLOTH
LEVI’S PREMIUM

Marshall Field’s

SHOP FIELDS.COM/DENIM Your style. Your fit. Your brand. In the end it’s always Marshall Field’s.

DESIGN YOUR OWN DENIM
Friday, August 26
State Street, noon–6pm
Create your unique denim look with complimentary embellishments on regular-priced denim purchases of $75 or more. Join celebrity stylist Ali Swift as she presents a denim style seminar at noon and works with guests throughout the day.