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THE NINE ELEVEN CRISIS: A COMPARISON OF
SELECTED BLACK NEWSPAPERS

THESIS

GENERAL E. BERRY

2008

**The Nine Eleven Crisis:
A Comparison of Selected Black Newspapers**

Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree Master of Arts in the Graduate School

Texas Southern University

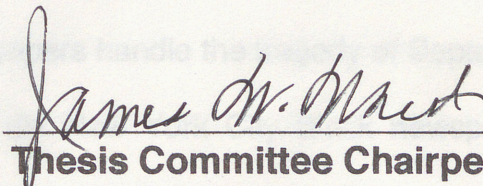
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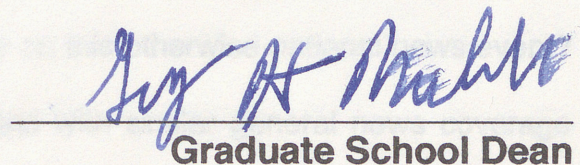
General E. Berry, Jr., B.A.

Texas Southern University

2008

Approved By:


Thesis Committee Chairperson


Graduate School Dean

THE NINE ELEVEN CRISIS:
A COMPARISON OF SELECTED BLACK NEWSPAPERS

By

General E. Berry, Jr., M.A.

Texas Southern University, 2008

Dr. James W. Ward, Advisor

When two airliners crashed into the World Trade Towers in New York and a third one struck the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001, the events easily became identified as the greatest news story of the Twenty-First Century. The media in the United States quickly identified the damage and loss of life, in particular in New York, as the worst act of terrorism on American soil in its history.

How did Texas Black newspapers handle the tragedy of September eleven, AKA, Nine-Eleven? How did New York City Black newspapers handle the tragedy of Nine-Eleven? To what extent did the weeklies provide coverage and commentary on this otherwise national news event? Did the Texas newspapers respond with similar general news coverage and editorials publish by the New York newspaper? Were they similar to

the general news coverage and editorializing published by the White press? Was there a continuous condemnation of those accused in the Black press similar to what the White press regularly printed?

This study of the coverage of this national news event is based on the examination of the issues published by three Black newspaper weeklies and on what each weekly produced and published during a six-month period of time. The newspapers selected included the New York Amsterdam News of New York City, New York, the Dallas Weekly of Dallas, Texas and the Houston Defender of Houston, Texas. The six-month span of time under consideration begins with news coverage involving the first week of the tragedy, September 10, 2001 through March 13, 2002.

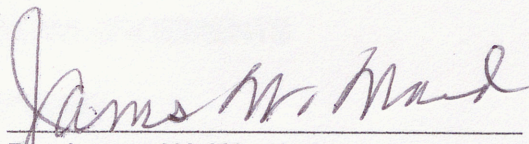
Many Americans receive their national news and information from national and local television news organizations. The next greatest sources complementing TV news are radio and daily newspapers. In the case of this national news event, touted by news outlets as perhaps the greatest long-standing news story, news outlets, including cable channels and 24 hour news networks, pumped Americans of all races and ethnic groups. From the very first reports that a passenger airplane struck the South Tower of the World Trade Center in New York through the

commemorative reporting one year later, news coverage continues almost daily in all of these venues for news except one, the Black press. Is there something significant in this premise? Did the Black press miss the importance of this news story? Or was there something about the Nine-Eleven story that made its connection to one audience and not another?

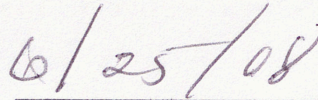
A content analysis of the previously mentioned Texas and New York weekly newspapers should reveal that there were indeed significant differences in both qualitative and quantitative aspects of delivering this significant American story to the readership of the Black press. That the Black press saw this story differently from the White press, and hence, covered it distinctively different from the White press because the tragedy seemed more like an attack on White America; and that it, the Black press, provided commentary not likely found regularly in the White press.

The thesis will show that these are some of the conclusions that are not only common, but are traditional traits that fit well into the long and worthy history fostered by the Black press.

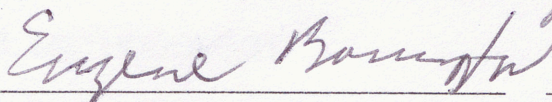
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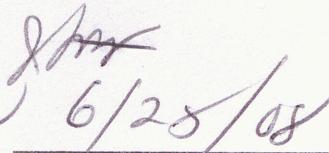
Dr. James W. Ward
Chairperson, Thesis Committee



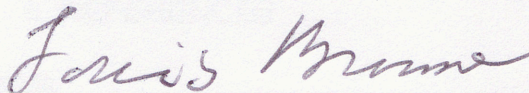
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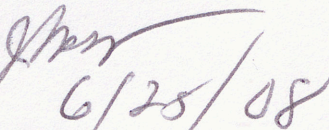
Dr. Eugene Barrington
Committee Member



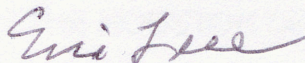
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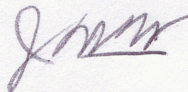
Dr. Louis Browne
Committee Member

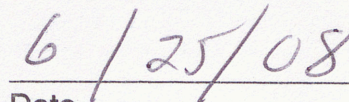


Date



Dr. Eui Bun Lee
Committee Member





Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VITA	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
3. METHODOLOGY	22
4. RESULTS	27
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	38
6. REFERENCES	70
CHARTS	
1. THE NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS	73
2. THE DALLAS WEEKLY	75
3 THE HOUSTON DEFENDER	77
APPENDIX	
1. THE NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS	79
2. THE DALLAS WEEKLY	95
3 THE HOUSTON DEFENDER	113
4. THE LOS ANGELES TIMES	122
5. THE NEW YORK TIMES	125
6. THE LOS ANGELES TIMES	128
7. THE NEW YORK TIMES	131

VITA

Born.....	San Antonio, Texas
2003.....	Received certificate from the
.....	Community Minority Business
.....	Advancement Program (Dallas),
.....	McCombs School of Business,
.....	May, University of Texas at
.....	Austin, Texas
1990.....	Received certificate from the
.....	MPA-sponsored Magazine
.....	Publishing Procedures Program,
.....	June, Howard University,
.....	Washington, D.C.
1974 to 1978	Attended Texas Tech University
.....	School of Law, Lubbock, Texas
1974.....	Bachelor of Arts, Journalism,
.....	Minor: Social Science, May, The
.....	University of North Texas, Denton

Work Experience

1991 to present.....	Publisher of Our Texas, regional
.....	quarterly magazine
1996 to 2002.....	Adjunct professor of journalism
.....	teaching Magazine Production,
.....	Feature Writing and Race,
.....	Gender and the Media at the
.....	University of North Texas,
.....	Denton
1984 through 1985.....	Business law instructor, Richland
.....	College, Dallas, Texas
1980.....	Business law instructor, South
.....	Plains College, Lubbock, Texas

Honors/Affiliation

2004.....	Honored with the Best Practices Award at the National Association of Black Journalists National Convention in Washington, D.C.
.....	
.....	
.....	
1998.....	Houghton & Mifflin Publishing reprinted an OTM cover story in "Practicing Texas Politics," 10 th edition college textbook
.....	
.....	
.....	
1995.....	Named Outstanding Area Journalist by the Society of Professional Journalist, University of North Texas
.....	
.....	
.....	
1992 to 2006.....	Received numerous Griots from the Dallas Fort Worth/Association of Black Communicators, including Best Cover, Best Overall Magazine, Best Magazine Interview and Best Magazine Feature
.....	
.....	
.....	
.....	
.....	
.....	
1992 to 2006.....	Received numerous MA'ATs from Region VII of the National Association of Black Journalists, including Best Magazine, Best Feature, Best Illustrations, Best Photography and Layout and Design
.....	
.....	
.....	
.....	
1993, 1996 and 2006.....	Received three nominations and a KATIE from the Press Club of Dallas, including the Best Small-Market Magazine.
.....	
.....	
.....	
Member.....	The Texas Publishers Association, and member on various panels regarding the Black press
.....	
.....	
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am especially grateful for the guidance, unwavering support, persistent encouragement, and mentorship of my advisor, Dr. James W. Ward. Without his vision regarding the importance of the Black press, this thesis could not have been accomplished. I also thank my Thesis Committee, Drs. Eugene Barrington, Louis Browne, and Eui Bun Lee, for their comments, suggestions and guidance throughout this study.

Without question, my research would have been far more difficult without the support of many journalists who from time to time would urge completion of this, knowing that the more documentation we produce about the Black press, the more its life might be sustained. I am also very grateful to my family, but especially to my spouse, Elaine, whose encouragement and phenomenal faith in me regularly allowed me to work well into the night, avoid vacations and shrug honey-dos.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

When two airliners crashed into the World Trade Towers in New York and a third one struck the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001, the events easily became identified as the greatest news story of the Twenty-First Century. "Mainstream" media in the United States (US) quickly identified the damage and loss of life as the worst act of terrorism on US soil in its history. The purpose of this thesis is to raise several questions, beginning with: Did all media, in particular the Black press, share this vision of the event being the worst act of terrorism on US soil? In other words, what type of coverage did Black newspapers present and how did it hold up in the wake of the coverage by white also known as "mainstream" media sources?

The focus of my research was on three Black weeklies: the *New York Amsterdam News*, *The Dallas Weekly* and the *Houston Defender*. The research began with a class I taught called "Race, Gender and the Media." My students had an assignment to do a commemorative study in 2002, of the September 11, 2001 event, also known as Nine-Eleven. They were to pick one television news broadcast, and go through print publications to investigate what happened that anniversary week. The student reports indicated that the imagery and the discussions were one directional: the language used presented this event to the public as the most devastating act of terrorism on US soil; and most often the interviews were with

white Americans. There was no cross section of American survivors. And most of the experts that were interviewed were white males.

For example, the September 11, 2002 issue of *The Dallas Morning News* features four different stories about the friends and family members of some of the victims. All four friends or relatives interviewed are white. The victims were also white males. The September 10, 2002 issue of *The New York Times* features a cover story of about two pages about the feelings of injured survivors a year after the terrorist attacks. The story focuses on a 31 year-old white female, who was still hospitalized due to severe injuries sustained on the day of the attacks. She is pictured with her fiancé. Considering that unique circumstance – that the number of injured survivors is comparatively small to the number of deaths – it should have been important to have had more injured survivors interviewed, including a broader variety of survivors. In the newspaper's defense, there is another segment of the same issue with a two-page spread devoted to 34 victims of the attacks, with pictures, sized at less than a square inch, and more intimate details of their lives as reported by families or friends. However, of the 34, seven are female and the remaining 27 are male. The majority of the men are white, with the exception of very few African, Asian, or Latino-Americans. Of the women represented, four are white, two are Asian American and one is African American. Of all the coverage of both these newspapers during this commemorative time, there is only one African American present.

The exercise confirmed what white media typically does: acknowledge the threat to the security and safety of white America, which, one argues, does not fit

into their self-proclaimed mission: to serve *all* Americans. The researcher was, therefore curious: if white media does not or rarely include Black Americans in the report of this event, how did the Black press feel about the event? This curiosity sought to document the coverage of the Black press and its role during this “American” tragedy. The researcher has enclosed American in quotation to indicate the problematic understanding of the term when it involves people other than white ones. This concept is more thoroughly discussed in CHAPTERS C and D.

General Coverage of the Nine-Eleven Event

American media has done a poor job in having its big stories or tragedies told through more than blue eyed males; for example, the Depression, WWI, WWII, the Japanese internment, the Korean War, the Vietnam Conflict, and the Oklahoma Bombing. It is no different now with September 11.

“Why do they hate us?” That question, sometimes asked in infuriated tones and sometimes bewildered and sometimes both, pervaded the discourse of white media – on television and radio news programs and in newspaper headlines in the days after the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Why did the other nations hate America so much they wanted to annihilate it? Why does much of the Muslim world seem so resentful to the United States? How could people applaud these atrocities? The answers poured forth, in commentaries, in articles, on call-in radio shows and even in comic strips. While opinions varied widely, the American “mainstream” media were in typical fashion in answering this deceptively simple question. For the most part, “mainstream” media failed to offer

any real critical or historical context of the view of America from the Arab world, and, during this time of national trauma, dreaded putting forth anything resembling criticism of the US government.

There were grave concerns that in the days immediately following the attacks, any exploring the roots of anger toward the U.S. would appear to rationalize or excuse the tragedy. "Initially, the American media shied away from analyzing the reasons for the anti-American sentiments," says Fawaz Gerges, a professor of Middle Eastern studies and international affairs at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, New York. "There was a feeling that [that would be] legitimizing the attacks." (Tugend, 2001).

A Comparative Look

The research shows that efforts to broach the question stood out even in the first few days in the Black press to put this story into a particular perspective that was in stark contrast to the perspective of white press. However, considering the devastating impact the Nine-Eleven event had on all Americans, and especially those in New York, including African Americans, the question became: Did the Black press miss the importance of this news story? Or was there something about the Nine-Eleven story that they felt made its connection to one audience and not another?

"Mainstream" media across the nation carried continual coverage of the unfolding events from September through October, and into November and December with editors having no difficulty finding new angles and different ways to

present the story. For the first two weeks after the incident, the television networks were commandeered for 24 hours a day to cover this national disaster. Many media outlets continued daily coverage even into the new year. News organizations provided audiences with continuous coverage of the aftermath. Audiences could not escape the Nine-Eleven coverage; unless they picked up a local Black newspaper.

The absence of Nine-Eleven stories put forward the mission of the first 1827 Black weekly, Freedom's Journal, to tell a different story and sometimes to do so with one of the most powerful communicative tools of media: silence. The silence establishes the very different perspective the Black press held toward the disaster: that being it was not the worst tragedy ever to happen on US soil.

Research Outlined

With research like this, there is no way around the "race issue," however, the proposal here is to present this research, not as a race issue, but as an issue that is situated in race. The issue is inclusion and democratic liberalism. Liberalism is an ideology, or current of political thought, which strives to maximize liberty. "Liberalism seeks a society characterized by freedom of thought for individuals, limitations on the power of government and religion, the rule of law, the free exchange of ideas, a free market economy that supports private enterprise, and a system of government that is transparent, a liberal democracy with open and fair elections, where all citizens have by law equal rights and an equal opportunity," (wikipedia.org) . For this group those rights happen to be situated in race (as opposed to gender, ethnicity, etc). It is because the group has "race" that they are excluded from the identity of

“American.” By that it is meant, white Americans are understood to be “Americans,” and/or “human,” while all other Americans have an adjective that precedes the term “American,” and/or “human.” For example, Neil Armstrong was touted in the white press as the “first man” (human) on the moon. Bernard Harris, however, was exclaimed in the same press as the “first Black man” (Black human). Harris’ accomplishment was an achievement for Black people, while Armstrong transcended his race; his achievement was for all mankind. Thus, if Black Americans are involved, the situation at hand becomes “naturally” situated in race.

After looking at the three Black weeklies of my research, an argument is that they have been situated in race from their very creation – created to provide their readers with information that they needed to navigate through a segregated world – and the publications continue to be situated in race as they, for example, struggle to survive economically; because even though they are reaching over 15 million people in specific geographical locations, advertisers will not use them because of race. Typically these weeklies talk about race, because their mission forces them to do so. White media claims objectivity, but they speak from the place of being “mainstream,” from being “raceless;” therefore race does not need to be mentioned, unless the story is about someone who is not white. Hence, if the Black press is going to talk about issues that affect its readers, who for the most part are not white, race becomes a prominent issue in analyzing all other issues.

Consequently, in CHAPTER D, this thesis presents a theoretical framework for an approach to the research that is analyzed in Chapter E. Chapter D explores the “mission” of the Black press with communications and critical race theory. And in

Chapter E, it considers the historical context of the Black press emerging out of a racialized United States; and it uses that context to show with a textual analysis of the subject weeklies that while these papers seem to promote a type of separatism for Black Americans, they are actually strongly promoting inclusion.

A content analysis reveals that there were indeed significant differences in both qualitative and quantitative aspects of delivering this significant story to the readership of the Black press. The analysis reveals that the Black press saw this story differently from the white press, and hence, covered it distinctively different. But the reporting was done specifically to promote inclusion. The type of coverage maintained the original mission of the Black press: to include Black Americans in the construct of "America." The perspective of these writers hinged on what was right for the entire country, not just what was right for a single racial group, which can be an obvious point missed when evaluating the Black press. But a careful analysis shows that, but for the Black press coverage of Nine-Eleven, it would have appeared that this national calamity was one that only happened to white people, with a media response conducted only by white people, whose observations and perspectives were the most important to record in print.

DEFINITION OF TERMS:

1. **AP:** the Associated Press, a newswire service, an organization of reporters and photographers that provides news coverage.
2. **Black Press:** newspapers owned by Black people.
3. **Coverage:** news reporting and editorial.

4. **Jump:** a news article that ends on one page and continues on a subsequent page.
5. **Mainstream:** white newspapers.
6. **Major Press:** white newspapers.
7. **Media:** television, radio, Internet, newspaper and magazine.
8. **NAA:** the Newspaper Association of America, which represents daily newspapers around the world. Member newspapers carry a minimum of 70 percent paid circulation.
9. **NNPA:** the National Newspaper Publishers Association, a national organization of about 200 Black weekly publishers.
10. **Nine-Eleven:** refers to events on September 11, 2001 pertaining to the airliners crashing into the World Trade Center Towers in New York City, and into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.
11. **Press:** newspapers and magazines.
12. **Teaser photos:** photography that is used for the purpose of stir a reader's curiosity to read an article, and one not holding much news value on its own.
13. **Graphics:** illustrations, photography and editorial cartoon in a newspaper.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of the literature shows that media have been treated as experiences, artifacts, processes, and practices politically and economically driven, and linked to developments in technology and science. And as such, there have been numerous ways to approach the study of mass media. For example, they have been examined as workplaces, institutions, cultural practices, social activities, aesthetic forms, historical developments, and as communicative practices (Spitulnik 1993). Most of the studies have been contained within four major arenas: 1) the nature of media power; 2) the interpretative practices of media audiences; 3) the sociocultural dynamics of national media; and 4) alternative media. The research of this thesis falls within the domains of communicative practices and “alternative” media.

Try to forget everything you have learned from personal experience and schools about a racial group other than white Americans. And try to remember what you know about non-white groups from what you have gathered from communication media – from radio, television, newspapers, and magazines. Chances are your factual information will be extremely flawed. The images that have been portrayed of groups other than white males often do not do justice to the people they try to represent. For example, in football, a Black quarterback is only recognized by white media as fast, strong, or coached well, but not for his mental acumen; whereas a white quarterback is assumed to be a strategist.

In a media-dominated society, such as the U.S., the communicative practices of media become critical to portraying and defining those things that we have not personally experienced for ourselves. We, consequently, "learn" about others through radio, television, movies, magazines, and newspapers. The portrayals and news coverage of groups in these communication forms can become reality in our minds, especially if we have no personal experience to balance them against. This pervasive influence in our society gives weight to media as highly potent arenas of political struggle. And it is in this arena of communications and political struggle that "alternative media" emerges. Key to this research is the fact that alternative media's existence is intricately determined in relation to the dominant, "legitimate," media in the societies where they occur. The crucial challenge in studying alternative media is to locate their production, use, interpretation, and circulation within the larger context of available media forms and their principles.

Wilson II and Gutierrez (1995) suggest five principles that clearly lay out the major functions of mass media: 1) Surveillance: the sentinel or lookout of the media watching the society and horizon for threats to the established order and information on people or places of public interest; 2) Correlation: an interpretation and linking function of the media, which helps the audience understand, interpret, and comprehend the different things that are happening in and out of a given society and how they affect each other, as well as stay in touch with others in the society; 3) Transmission: the socialization function of the media, which defines the society, its norms, and values to the audience and through their portrayals and coverage assists members of the society in adopting, using, and acting on those values; 4)

Entertainment: the function of the media for diversion and enjoyment, which provides stories, features, music, and films that are designed to make the audience laugh, cry, relax or reflect, rather than gain information; and 5) Economic Service: the role of the media within the economic system of the society, which in the United States means most media function as corporations serving the needs of their shareholders and other corporations by attracting audiences that will either pay for the media product and/or serve as the target for advertising messages. (Gutierrez and Wilson II, 1995:37-8). A consideration of these principles puts into perspective how different the Black press (an "alternative" media) and the white press (the "mainstream" media) handles news coverage, especially the "big story." These two media forms – Black and white press – born out of two separate experiences with vastly different historical and cultural contexts are *naturally* going to have opposing outlooks on any story idea. Proof positive is the Nine-Eleven story.

However, before we discuss Nine-Eleven, some groundwork should be laid out to understand the difference. Jean Gaddy Wilson in *Facing Difference, Race, Gender and Mass Media* (1997:45), says that the language journalists use to describe society and culture must change to reflect America's evolving social and cultural values. "English constantly evolves and changes to fit new realities," says Wilson. In the same way media language must change to become more inclusive and less dismissive. "Media messages of sexism, racism and other '-isms' is primarily a task of clearly seeing current reality and reporting it," says Wilson. In the latter part of the 20th century, we live in a culture that faces accelerating changes and a language that has trouble catching up. That makes the

writer's roles pivotal. Journalists are supposed to send out messages that reflect current reality, not assumptions from earlier and less-inclusive ages. We live in a society that for centuries has treated women of all races and men of color as peripheral. A language that displays a bias against women and minorities reflects a history of inequality.

Here are two ways mass media, in particular the white press, continue to mishandle their goal of reflecting their communities: 1) hiding whiteness. The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual: Fully Updated and Revised (1991), is the industry's bible. It admonishes journalists and editors on the subject of race.

Race Identification by race is pertinent:

- In biographical and announcement stories.
- When it provides the reader with a substantial insight into conflicting emotions known or likely to be involved in a demonstration or similar event.

The white press continues to flaunt and mock the guide by concealing whiteness and making inappropriate racial identifications. For example, this article appeared in the *New York Times* on Jan. 10, 2002:

Black Scholar Looks Beyond Mended Fence and Harvard
By Pam Belluck

Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 9—Although he is satisfied that fences have been mended with the president of Harvard, Cornel West, a prominent **African American** professor, said today that he was still considering leaving Harvard and going to Princeton University, in part because the episode was so unsettling (Belluck, 2002). My emphasis in bold.

There is no mention of the race of the president of Harvard, while Cornel West's race is clearly stated, without reason.

In another example let's compare how white news coverage typically hides

"white" but not "Black:"

February 18, 2003 a *Los Angeles Times*' front-page article reported on a fire owner of a building where 21 people died early Monday in a stampede from a second-floor nightclub. The article describes the club's previous names, continues, "has been one of most prominent, priciest restaurants and dance venues catering to **Blacks** in Chicago..." (Slater, 2003). My emphasis is bold.

February 18, 2003 a *New York Times*' front-page article reported on the same Chicago nightclub fire. Like the *Los Angeles Times* coverage, this coverage unceremoniously injects race: "the restaurant attracted **Black** professionals and politicians," (Wilgoren, 2003). My emphasis is bold.

February 22, 2003 a *Los Angeles Times*' front-page article reported on a fire at a Rhode Island nightclub injured 187 people and eyewitness accounts. The article describes the Station as "a small low-ceiling club." The article describes the city. "...West Warwick is the state in miniature, an enclave of Portuguese and Irish blue-collar families." The race of the club owners or clientele is absent. (Mehren & Brahn, 2003)

February 22, 2003, a *New York Times*' front-page article on the same fire at Rhode Island nightclub indicates the number of killed and injured. It too gives survivors accounts but the report, like the *Los Angeles Times*, bears no mention of the race of the club's clientele. (Belluck, & von Ziebauer, 2003)

Why would a daily newspaper intended for any reader routinely choose to racially identify people of color and not identify the race of white people? These media are talking to white people. In other words, it is akin to one white person talking to another – they are talking among themselves. And when they talk about anybody that is not white, or a topic that does not pertain to them directly, race becomes a factor. Race serves as the key identifier of difference.

Imagine a conversation between a couple of no particular racial group. Most often their conversation about their own lives will be personal, intimate, informative and without reference to their race. If the conversation includes someone else who is

of the same racial group, his or her race is not mentioned, as it is assumed to be the same. If the third person is not of their race, one or both may very well introduce the race of the person they are discussing, in order to give context that race may ordinarily play. Hence the conversation may go like this: "Things were going well until Brad came in. Brad's white." Or "I told Watson to get it done, but he didn't. "Is Watson white?" "No he's Black."

Sadly, newspapers do not provide a public discussion from a race-neutral reporting or perspective. Such a public discussion in daily newspaper coverage is from a white perspective, since all daily newspapers are white-owned. White-owned newspapers have developed the following theme: if a racial identifier of a person written about or quoted is absent from the story, white becomes the implied race. This is a "natural" proposition the white press has long fostered, turning news coverage of achievements and activities by whites as accomplishments of the "Every Man" or "Every Woman," except when sexism trumps racism.

Moreover, both the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* ran their reports on the fire at the Black club in Chicago below the fold while their coverage on the fire at the otherwise "no-race" club in Rhode Island ran above the fold. Both had significant deaths and injuries, though the death toll in Rhode Island was greater. Perhaps the higher death toll makes the difference, some might suggest. It is argued here that such an observation is hindsight, since the Rhode Island fire occurred after the Chicago fire. Hence, the day these two otherwise august newspapers reported the Chicago fire, what could have led the editors, other than the prism of race, to NOT place the Chicago fire coverage above the fold when the Rhode Island fire had

four days to occur? Why did the editors at both august newspapers find success using the Associated Press StyleBook on matters of race when covering the Rhode Island club fire but not when reporting the Chicago club fire?

Given the white press' history and the research here, race cannot be discounted summarily. When coverage of people of color is made visible, the reference is most often gratuitous, the race of that person or group is significantly tied to the person or event reported on, and this kind of news coverage on a daily basis fosters or continues ageless stereotypes. It cultivates or advances non-inclusion of people other than white Americans. They are others.

This proposition leads us to the second way Wilson says the white press mishandle their goal of reflecting their communities: invisibility for all racial groups, other than white men and women. Media messages show us who we are through language, which is a system of symbols that describe our existence, actions and opportunities, according to Wilson (1997:45). As both George Gerbner and Gaye Tuchman (Chermak, Bailey, & Brown, 2003), sociologists who independently study the media, point out: If a group is not represented in media messages, that group is not part of the picture we carry around in our heads. When a group is invisible, absent, condemned, trivialized or ignored in writing, people in that group are symbolically "zapped" from existence. Primarily because of the invisibility of women and people of color in the language, the achievements of white men are given more credence than those of a "minority" man or any woman. This is in large measure the backdrop of the climate in which the Black press enters the Nine-Eleven story.

The essay, *Between Enemies and Traitors: Black Press Coverage of*

September 11 and the Predicaments of National "Others" (Mukherjee, 2003), analyzes the Black press response to the attacks of Nine-Eleven, by presenting themes and contradictions with the Black press coverage of the event. The essay explores shifting forms of resistance, complicity, and contestation evidenced in the pages of Black newspapers. It examines the complex positioning of Black Americans within the national imaginary created around the Nine-Eleven event. As Ronald Jacobs explains, "historically, the Black press has served three important functions: providing a forum for debate and self-improvement, monitoring the mainstream press, and increasing Black visibility in white civil society" (Mukherjee, 2003:30). "Given the paucity of diverse voices and viewpoints in the mainstream news, the Black press serves as one of the few sites of vibrant exchange on questions of terrorism, patriotism, and war at the present time."

The essay presents an analysis of three themes that emerge within news accounts from the post Nine-Eleven period, with careful attention to the ways in which they reconstitute familiar and resonant strains within Black political discourse. The themes include: 1) super-patriots and their detractors; 2) the Black American as witness, conscience, and the keeper; and 3) the promise and peril of interethnic solidarity. This paper will focus on the first two themes, starting with the idea of "super-patriots." Mukherjee shows how since the day of the Nine-Eleven attacks, Americans have sported red, white, and blue: baseball caps, designer clothing, and jewelry; and have claimed a newfound patriotism and spirit of unity. Yet these public displays of hegemony have resulted in incidents of implacable vengeance against visible "others" perceived to be suspect in the attack. The most common among

these retaliations are tactics of exclusion. The researcher wants to add that this notion of exclusion is a course Black Americans have dealt with since the inception of their existence in this country. And it is through exclusion that Black newspapers and separately Black Americans spoke about the Nine-Eleven event.

For example: A Black resident of Oakland CA., was quoted in the *Sun Reporter*. "I think we need to start deporting all these Arabs. They are owning all the businesses in our community" (Mukherjee, 2003:33). Similarly, Howard Baker (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:33) urged, "We have to be Americans; not Black Americans because when those planes hit those buildings in New York and Washington, those people who hijacked the planes didn't care if Blacks were in those places and Blacks were because we are Americans" (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:33).

On the other hand, Charles Muhammad of San Leandro, CA, a Black Muslim, advised African Americans not to overreact to media reports because "black people should know...better than anyone, given our history of dealing with racism and prejudice in this country." Philip Johnson, an African American truck driver from Oakland, CA disagreed, announcing his allegiances as follows: "This is not going to put us on the side of the Arabs. I have a friend who works two blocks from the WTC and another friend is a fireman in NYC" (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:33).

New immigrants seek to gain entry into the coveted circle of Americanness by articulating their differences from African Americans. In other words, by learning the logics of American racism that locate Black Americans perpetually and reliably "at the bottom of the well," as outsiders, others, and excluded, new immigrants make clear their worthiness to be called "American" (Mukherjee, 2003:33). Consequently,

Mukherjee points out that the preceding Black responses to the events of September 11 and its consequent demonization of Arab and Arab Americans ironically enable African Americans, however temporary, to a share in the ethno-racial framework of Americanness.

In that vein, Ron Walters, writing for the *Indianapolis Recorder*, encouraged African Americans to be particularly attentive to such zealous strains within public discourse for, as he argues, "these new super-patriots are also ultra-nationals bent on using this moment of crisis to enhance their racial privilege" (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:34). Walters warned that the "Go back to Africa" taunts of the past directed at Black Americans are analogue to the ethnic profiling and harassment of Arabs and Arab Americans; and that the unauthentic message of "such hyper-Americans has always been the *real* Americans are white and that all others are suspect." (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:34).

Mukherjee further points out that Black popular opinion and the Black press reflects a deep uncertainty in this matter. He further states that these divisions show a profound and abiding "ambivalence about patriotism" among Black Americans that is based on the nation's abysmal record on racial justice. Quoting from *The Crisis*, December 2001, Larry Aubry explains that historically, "wartime has been a source of patriotism and pragmatic idealism" for Black Americans. "Blacks have fought for the ideals of the US Constitution in the hope of winning the full citizenship they had long been denied, a kind of bartering of black blood for equality." And further, "Black patriotism has always been a matter of balancing the perils of racism with a promise of Americanness." Aubry concludes, "Black Americans have filtered this national

crisis through the terror of church bombings and lynching of our collective past and the problems of our present.”(as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:35).

Black press reportage of the events of September 11 falls in line with this complicated and contested patriotism. Carefully balancing their critique of “monstrous, historic, United States oppression” with condemnations of the “massive taking of lives, and destruction of family life” by al-Qaeda members, activist organizations like the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika issued public statements arguing that in all their fights, American people in the US had “never, never fought [their] oppression by killing great masses of people.” (Mukherjee, 2003:35).

As Rotan Lee clarifies in Mukherjee’s essay (2003:35): “African American voices negotiated a precarious position between treason and collaboration, enemy and ally, variously proffering bold critiques of hegemonic patriotism and a racial opportunism that for once enables them, however temporally, a coveted seat among the *real* Americans.”

With regard to the theme: “the Black American as witness, conscience, and keeper,” Mukherjee says these accounts locate African Americans, who are uniquely equipped to expose American hypocrisies, double standards, and deceptions, as the mythic conscience of the nation and ethical keepers of American values and ideals. African Americans are uniquely capable of “press[ing] America to be what it professes to be.” As such, Vernon E. Jordan, a President Bill Clinton confidant, argued in a much publicized speech, that “none of this is new to Black people. War, hunger, disease, deprivation, dehumanization and terrorism define our existence.

They are not new to us.” He continued: “Slavery was terrorism, segregation was terrorism, and the bombing of four little girls in Sunday school in Birmingham was terrorism. The violent deaths of Medgar, Martin, Malcolm, Vernon, Dahmer, Cheny, Schwerner, and Goodman were terrorism” (Jordan 2002).

Other witnesses to homegrown terrorism of America include former Illinois Appellate Court Justice R. Eugene Pincham, whose comments about “terrorism against Black Americans by white terrorist” were published in the *Chicago Defender* (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:36). “From the amputations, beatings and rapes of chattel slavery, to the New York City Draft Riots of 1863, to the Tulsa Riots of 1921, we as Black people have lots of experience with the horrors of terrorism in the US as it has too frequently been directed against us,” (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:37). “These reminders,” Mukherjee goes on to say, “of American brutality serve to temper patriotic zeal, and serve as counter knowledge—what John Fiske refers to as ‘black knowledge’ —which is produced by recovering facts, events, and bits of information the dominant knowledge has repressed or dismissed as insignificant” (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:37).

Another example recorded in this essay is how Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist William Raspberry published in the *Miami Times* Black Americans’ connection to September 11. Raspberry explained that foreign terrorists and American Blacks alike have sought to uncover the disjuncture between “America the ideal and America the hypocrite,” (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:38). Hence, for Vernon E. Jordan, “now that America is warring on terrorism, it is Black people who remind America that we know terrorism well” and that the surest defense against

terrorism is "affirmation of American values we [African Americans] have learned in our churches, the values we have fought and died for in every American war, even in segregated armies" (as cited in Mukherjee, 2003:41).

In the wake of the Nine-Eleven attacks, mainstream news accounts and popular cultural texts have pretty unanimously echoed dominant hegemonic agendas of super-patriotism and militarism, as they uncritically repeat symbolic and material penalties for political disagreement. On the other hand, the Black press provided a haven of debate and dissent on questions of patriotism, war, and national unity. According to Mukherjee, with full agreement here, the Black press sought to disrupt "the hegemony of the 'us verse them' paradigm that has forcefully constructed the 'war against terrorism' as an apocryphal clash of civilizations" (Mukherjee, 2003:46). He concludes: "in the post Nine-Eleven context, Black Americans, had a substantially important role to play in tempering the super-patriotic excesses of the moment. Their rhetorical abilities and ethical responsibilities to demand accountability from the political structure in the US, and their tenacity in pursuing alliances with Muslim/Arab Americans will play a critical part in influencing the course of war and peace in the coming years" (Mukherjee, 2003:46).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The terms “Black”, “Black American”, “African American”, and “people of color” are used interchangeably in this research, although differences among them can be seen in separate traditions of use. This thesis leans more toward the use of “Black” because of the subject of the research – the “Black press.” The term “press” refers to print news; and “media” refers to all forms of media outlets. Also, the terms September 11, Nine-Eleven, World Trade Center, WTC, Twin Towers are interchangeable terms for the events that occurred on September 11, 2001, involving the attacks on the Twin Towers, the Pentagon and the attempted attack on the White House. The term Nine-Eleven will be used primarily throughout this paper.

This thesis examines the news coverage of the Nine-Eleven event rendered by three Black newspaper weeklies during a six-month period of time. The newspapers selected include the *New York Amsterdam News* of New York City, New York, *The Dallas Weekly* of Dallas, Texas and the *Houston Defender* of Houston, Texas. The six-month span of time under consideration begins with news coverage involving the first week of the tragedy, September 10, 2001 through March 13, 2002. In addition to my own observations and documentation, University Journalism majors, who conducted studies on the commemorative coverage of Nine-Eleven, assisted me in this research. They documented and analyzed the number of articles and photos, the tone of the editorials and articles, and the races of the people covered in the various stories. From these documentations, the researcher was able to check his observations for personal biases.

The three newspapers chosen to be a part of the study were selected based on their longevity, their history of receiving awards for excellence in reporting news, the size of the city they serve, their circulation numbers, and their relationship to the event: the *New York Amsterdam News* because it is in New York City, the site of the most devastating impact of Nine-Eleven; and the Texas newspapers because Texas is home to President George W. Bush, a key figure in this event. Dallas and Houston were chosen because they are two of the largest cities in Texas and have significant economic, political, and social ties to President Bush. Since the President of the United States is from Texas, more specifically the Dallas area, there would be local angles, as well as national ones, that these two weeklies could consider.

The Dallas Weekly was first published in 1954 by James Henry Anderson. Currently, James Washington is the publisher; and the weekly prints about 45,000 (unofficial estimate) copies and is distributed on Tuesdays. It serves the City of Dallas with a population over 600,000. The National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), a national organization of Black publications, has recognized the weekly with various awards of excellence throughout its history. Primarily, it has received recognition for its significant role in local matters.

The *Houston Defender* was first published in 1930 by C. F. Richardson. Sonceria Messiah-Jiles, the current publisher, was recently elected chair of the NNPA. The weekly serves significant portions of Houston, which has a population over 900,000; and prints about 35,000 (unofficial estimate) copies that are distributed on Thursdays. The *Defender* has a long history of receiving numerous NNPA awards of excellence.

The *New York Amsterdam News* was first published in 1909 by James Henry Anderson. Elinor Tatum, daughter of the former owner, W.A. Tatum, is its current publisher. This weekly prints about 70,000 (unofficial estimate) copies and is distributed on Thursdays. It serves significant portions of New York City's Black community with a population over 2.3 million Black Americans. The City's population is over 10 million. The *Amsterdam News* has won numerous awards of excellence from NNPA, and has received recognition for a significant role in local matters.

The researcher considers the Nine-Eleven coverage of these weeklies through a textual analysis of the discourses emanating from their pages and the ideological currents expressed as they pertain to the number of Nine-Eleven or related stories in the issues, and the significance of how many of these stories are on the front page or the front section. Placement on the front page indicates what is most important to read. For broadsheet papers, if a story is above the fold it is considered more important than those below the fold. For tabloid size papers, placement of the story towards the top indicates importance. With regard to length and size: the longer a story or the bigger a photo, the more important they are. If a story has side bars or secondary stories, or if there are editorials or opinions and letters to the editor written on a story, it indicates the importance of the story.

In beginning this study the researcher adhered to the following criteria: 1) Count only those items that are directly related to the events or aftermath of September 11. "Directly related" refers to stories about the actual attacks. Eventually the research was expanded to include stories about relief efforts, racial profiling of Middle Eastern "looking" people, and the then pending wars in Afghanistan and Iraq,

simply because the President of the US directly connected these events to the attacks. "Items" include news articles, features, editorials, opinion pieces, sports and briefs. 2) Count only those pictorial references that accompany items that are directly related to the events or aftermath of September 11, including all headshots or relevant subjects. Editorial cartoons are also counted.

In the Appendix, the researcher has included reproductions or Xeroxed-copies of the front pages of each of the three weeklies, reproductions of inside pages that have Nine-Eleven related items, and detail quantitative examination of all three weeklies from September 10, 2001 – March 6, 2002. Readers will find that in the *New York Amsterdam News*, out of 26 issues, 23 have some sort of reference or coverage of September 11. From September through March, readers could find something about the aftermath in the pages of this weekly. However, the mayor's race dominated the front page two weeks after the attacks; Nine-Eleven coverage continued on the inside pages. After the first month, readers had to go beyond page five to find any Nine-Eleven related stories.

In *The Dallas Weekly*, 22 out of 27 issues have some type of coverage of September 11. The editors of *The Dallas Weekly* devoted a page each issue entitled: "WTC Aftermath" and put all seemingly related stories on this page. From September through the end of January, the "WTC Aftermath" section carried many stories about the war or anthrax, but very few about Ground Zero recovery, relief efforts, or terrorist racial profiling. It appears as time went on the editors had a hard time filling the space, yet they continued the section for some time. Nevertheless, after the first week, to find these stories readers had to go past page one.

The coverage in the *Houston Defender* consisted of five out of 26 issues having any reference to September 11. Nearly all stories and photos of relevance were from AP. The *Houston Defender* had the least amount of coverage of this event that took thousands of lives and temporarily crippled the nation. After the first three weeks, there is little coverage to be found about the Nine-Eleven event at all.

Despite the seemingly low number of Nine-Eleven related items, the circulation of the three weeklies did not drop during this period, which leads the researcher to this question: Does the Black press have a mission that is demonstrated in the amount of coverage given this Nine-Eleven event that puts this story into perspective for Black citizens, a perspective that is obviously quite different than the one put forth by the white press? Or, is there more coverage in the Black publications than it appears to be upon first glance?

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The September 27, 2001 edition of the *New York Amsterdam News* had a story in the lower left corner of the front page on the Nine-Eleven event. It reads:

I'm dreaming red, white and blue in full coloration," said Piper Anderson, a 22-year old performance artist and activist-educator. She repeated this curious line more than once as she stood on stage last Sunday and gracefully delivered her poem to a standing-room-only crowd of anti-war activists at Pier 63 on the Hudson River.

Anderson's poetic vision of Old Glory is not exactly what one might expect, given the sea of red, white and blue that has waved feverishly across New York City, and throughout the country, over the past two weeks.

To the contrary, Anderson is one of thousands-perhaps millions – of Americans, who have largely gone unheard by mainstream media, but who are deeply concerned by the unquestioning patriotism and fervor of war that has followed the Sept. 11 **disaster**. (My emphasis in bold).

This story epitomizes the self-proclaimed mission of the Black press. In order to explain that "mission" the researcher examined it with communications and critical race theory. The purpose of this chapter is to explore race as a social and political category with "social functions" that contributed to the decisions of the three Black weeklies examined in this research with regard to their coverage of the Nine-Eleven event; and to explore how the communicative practices of these weeklies are shaped by race.

In the United States, to be mainstream is to be White. One is not racialized unless he/she is not White – unless he/she is an "other." The term "other" suggests that there is a conflict between "us" and "them." And as such, this perspective serves

as a looking glass for those who look through it. In the case of this research, race is the looking glass, through which the Black press presents itself.

The starting point of such an exploration is to realize that race is a social construct – it has nothing to do with biology (Jacquard 1996:20). “The meaning of race is defined and contested throughout society, in both collective action and personal practice,” (Omi and Winant, 1989). “In the process [of defining race], racial categories themselves are formed, transformed, destroyed and re-formed.” Omi and Winant treat race as a “central axis” of social relations to explain what they call “racial formation.” Racial formation refers to the process by which economic, political and social forces determine the substance and importance of racial categories.

These authors argue that recently race has in theory been treated as a manifestation of other more fundamental categories of ethnicity, class, and nation. In these contexts, race is not understood as a continually evolving category in its own right; and as such, is declining in importance and rendering “race thinking” as obsolete. However the researcher agrees with Omi and Winant who argue “that racial meanings permeate US society, extending from the shaping of individual racial identities to the structuring of collective political action on the terrain of the state,” (Omi and Winant, 1989:66). They suggest that race be treated as an “organizing principle” of social relations. In other words, we should approach race as a principle that affects our understanding of ourselves and the way we interact with others: “the structuring of our practical activity – in work and family, as citizens and as thinkers – these are all shaped by racial meanings and racial awareness,” (Omi and Winant, 1989:66). Race becomes a matter of “collectivity” at the macro-level. It is here where

race involves the formation of economic, political, and ideological structures. These two levels – macro and micro – in the everyday experience, however, are not distinct; they are reciprocal and continuous.

For example, racial discrimination, which is on a macro-level of racial formation, affects the individual on a personal level because it affects racial meaning. And racial identity, considered as a micro-level of complex individual practices, shapes collective actions. This means that the array of individual characteristics – from one's patterns of speech, walk, or preferred smells or music to the economic, geographical, lineage, or citizenship "role" one inhabits – provides the essential themes for political organization, the elements of community, forged identities, etc.

The concept of race as an "organizing principle" of social relations gives us a description, or a "classification," of racial phenomena in the US, and explains the continuity of these phenomena. But it does not explain the *process* of racial formation. Omi and Winant argue that we must first recognize that race is present in every identity, social institution, and cultural practice in the United States before we can think of "racial formation," or before we can contest the social meaning of race. "There is a continuous temptation to think of race as an *essence*, as something fixed, concrete and objective... And there is also an opposite temptation: to see it as a mere illusion, which an ideal social order would eliminate, (Omi and Winant, 1989:69).

These authors suggest it is vital to break these thought patterns and understand race as an "an unstable and de-centered complex of social meanings

constantly being transformed by political struggle." The vital task is to put forward how the widely dissimilar circumstances of individual and group racial identities, and of the racial institutions and social practices with which these identities are intertwined, are formed and transformed over time. This takes place, the authors argue, through "political contestation over racial meanings."

The social processes by which differences of race and related concepts are produced, reproduced, and transformed and the constructions of cultural and biological difference in the context of how people come to be placed into racial categories have been conceptualized, substantiated and managed by such varied venues as a national census, with prescribed race categories; skin color definitions determined by politicians and scientists; language; nationalism; geographical boundaries; and ethnic affiliations, categorized by science, medicine, politics, and social science.

James Baldwin (1984) in his article *On Being White and Other Lies* argues that no one was white before coming to America. "It took generations, and a vast amount of coercion, before this became a white country...America became white." The British, Italians, Norwegians, Poles, etc. became white out of a necessity of denying a Black presence and justifying Black subjugation. In this process of becoming white, they were in fact defining Black. Baldwin argues that "no community can be based on such a principle – in other words, no community can be established on so genocidal a lie." He calls this principle "moral erosion" and says that it has made it difficult for anyone who supports it to have any "moral authority." Baldwin says the process was a debasement of Black people and since becoming white is a

moral choice, because there are no white people, a crisis was created in leadership in the "white community" for Black people.

The crisis is thus: "No nation in the world, including England, is represented by so stunning a pantheon of the relentlessly mediocre...Everyone now living [has been placed] into the hands of the most ignorant and powerful people the world has ever seen." And Black people, who were not Black before coming to America, and whose identity was forged or branded through the slave trade, have paid for this crisis in many ways, but has survived it. Baldwin further argues that the Black condition informs us of white people. It is a terrible paradox: "those who believed they could control and define Black people divested themselves of the power to control and define themselves," by making a moral choice to become "white." In making that choice, these peoples lost track of their own identities.

Such political contestation of racial meanings occurs today throughout American society. It occurs on the level of the individual whose identities and subjectivities are shaped by racial meanings and beliefs; and it exists in cultural representation. In that vein, the researcher refers again to the five points made by Wilson and Gutierrez with regard to the function of media as a communicative practice; and that function is accurately placed in a racialized environment.

Starting with their last point, the economic effects on media, the media serve as a vehicle for marketing messages for advertisers. Reporters and editors in mainstream media (aka, white media) are concerned that these news divisions are providing a more watered down product of news in an effort to be more entertaining to attract more audiences. There are fewer people that are like the markets of the

1960s and 70s who want hard news; now days they want to be entertained in the news. So we get more information out of Hollywood – who is married, who is having a baby, or the latest tragedy out of Hollywood; instead of the latest tragedy out of Washington D.C. The media's self-proclaimed mission is to inform the public about the issues of the day, regardless of whether the public wants to know or should know.

White media is failing to achieve that mission; and they are failing to do so based on race. For example, when the news media reports on missing persons, they typically do so based on race and gender. It is mostly missing white women who are profiled by the white news, whether it is Natalee Holloway, Jennifer Wilbank, Laci Peterson and Chandra Levy, to name only a few. Class is a factor, but not a significant one. The reporting of who is missing has crossed class boundaries, in that poor white women have made the list of persons to be profiled, and middle class African American and Latina American women have not.

There are two loci at work here: 1) only white women who are missing are considered news worthy enough to make the news; and 2) the media never identifies these women as white. The latter point is a foundational basic concept to why such behavior occurs: the media reports on white people as though they are the common sense standard. White people are without color. They are colorless. Even the white media is identified as colorless – as “mainstream” media. This “mainstream” media only recognize the humanness of white people, and as such allow them to say “I’m just a human,” “I’m just an American.” Further, such a perspective allows white people to have the full scope of their human experience,

without attaching the full scope of human experience for white people. In other words, when a story is about people who are not white, then the media identify whatever the subject has done with their race.

For example, a New York Times reporter, Jayson "Blair" was fired for fabricating stories in 2003. A number of subsequent news stories talked about him being a "Black" reporter and about his career being pushed along because of affirmative action. The same appalling conduct by Jack Kelly at *USA Today* also resulted in him being fired in 2004, but there were no mentions of him being a "white" reporter. The connection of his race to his wrongdoing was never identified, analyzed or theorized in any news story. Other examples: Doris Kearns Goodwin and Stephen E. Ambrose, both historians, suffered from claims of plagiarized information in their books, *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys*, and *The Wild Blue*, respectively. Again at no time did any "mainstream" news media ever refer to them as being "white historians," or criticize or connect their professional malfeasance to their race.

The role of the media within the economic system of this society is to function as corporations. News coverage, like a pair of sneakers, is a product to be marketed. And, unlike sneakers, it is marketed to the largest group of people – white audiences. The Newspaper Association of America released the 2006 Daily and Sunday Newspaper Audience Report. The report provides data on the total newspaper audience of adults 18 and over. The report indicates that one issue of a daily newspaper reaches (is read by) about 43.7 percent of Blacks, and 49.3 percent

of whites. However, on an average weekday, about 82 percent of the total daily newspaper audience is white, while only 10.7 percent is Black.

How many white Americans will want to know about whether there has been any real advancement on dealing with race? They have no experience with combating or maneuvering racism. As far as they are concerned, it is a non-issue, meaningless, and unimportant since race has little to do with their personal lives and aspirations. And while this marketing strategy makes this approach profitable for newspapers, when it comes to news and disseminating what is important to all of America's citizens, another dynamic should take precedence.

According to Wilson and Gutierrez, news media should be the first line of defense to let people know about any kind of threat and whether the government is prepared appropriately to meet that threat. If the media does its job, it will alert the (entire) public to threats from without and within. There is a long history of the white news media not doing its job in alerting the public to the threat of racism. There are too many instances of not addressing it – whether it is about legislation that may affect non-whites more negatively than whites; or about voting irregularities based on race. And yes there are pockets of such reporting happening in places like New York City, but there is no consistency across the country, in smaller cities like Lufkin, Texas, for example. And there are a lot more small cities like Lufkin, than there are large ones like New York City.

In smaller cities we see a news media functioning in the second point of Wilson and Gutierrez, to help audiences interpret and understand the different things that happen in our society, based on their own experiences, which are the

experiences of being colorless and raceless. The danger of such reporting is their interpretations of the story at hand will also be based on how white Americans see the problem and the solution. During the 1960s it was the "Negro problem." There was no "Negro problem." The "problem" was how white Americans saw Negroes. Therefore, the socialization function of the media, which is to define the society's norms and values, becomes extremely problematic if it is based on the interpretation of events by white Americans in a pluralistic society such as the US.

All media, Black, white, or otherwise contribute to the definition of a society's norms, and in doing so value certain ideologies and not others. But the power of ideologies of communication in producing subjectivities, organizing them hierarchically, and recruiting people to occupy them does not simply flow but is dependent on communicative processes structured by inequities of power and resources. One of the jobs of the Black press is to counter the adverse imagery with news regarding African Americans. It is a monumental task, since white Americans typically do not read Black publications. Therefore, the Black press targets Black readers since it believes that these readers know what the press knows: the criminal stories, celebrity sports figures and big church pastors are not the only important people in their community.

If white media help interpret norms, Black media is trying to counter those interpretations, and establish its own. In the case of Nine-Eleven, the Black press sought to deconstruct how social relations and knowledge are produced and reproduced, how institutions and individuals gain rights over these processes, and how social worlds come into view and people are recruited to occupy them.

Consequently, as will be shown in the next chapter, the Black press felt it to be their responsibility to show America that Black people were involved and affected by the Nine-Eleven attacks. The narratives found in the Black press about this occurrence were erased from “mainstream” discourse; therefore, as was discussed in CHAPTER B with the work of Mukherjee, the Black press became the conscience of America during this horrific time.

Meanings do not simply flow from news media, but are disseminated through practices of appropriation and reception. Such practices occur through coverage of events and accompanying imagery. Media does not tell you what to think, but what to think about. The news managers determine the most important things, out of all the things that are occurring, to bring to you (i.e. the *New York Times*: “All the news that’s fit to print”). They are guided by what they believe is more news worthy and what is more important to put on page one. These decisions are based on focused groups or market surveys and journalistic experience. Those criteria are good until they are applied in a racialized context, such as: newsrooms typically hire and promote white males¹. Consequently news is filtered through life as they see it. For example, very few white newspapers had editorials that questioned US policy immediately following the Nine-Eleven tragedy. There were newspapers that had screaming headlines like “Why Do They Hate Us?” Headlines like these do not support fair reportage. News coverage should not indicate one particular point of view. The words “they” and “us” set up a divide that is inevitably biased in favor of one group over the other.

¹ Pointer Institute

In the next chapter the researcher offers an historical framework for the practices of the Black press and a textual analysis of the three weeklies examined in this research to show why the weeklies covered the Nine-Eleven event as they did.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The news coverage of the Nine-Eleven event captured the headlines and front pages of mainstream media – daily newspapers, TV, and radio news program – everyday for at least six months. But one month after these war-like attacks on the World Trade Towers, the Pentagon, and attempts on the White House, that left almost 3,000 American civilians dead in a matter of hours, *The Dallas Weekly*, the *Houston Defender*, and the *New York Amsterdam News* made clear some telling revelations about their beliefs with regard to the function of Black weeklies. For example, *The New York Amsterdam News* ran as its front page and headlining story in the October 18 issue: “Keep the Faith, Freddy,” a story about the Democratic runoff election for mayor. It reads:

Reflections among several African-American and Latino political officials and voters over last week’s Democratic runoff election for mayor reveal disappointment, anger, bitterness and even threats of crossing party lines or not going to the polls on Nov. 6.

The frustration doesn’t seem to be so much over the fact that their candidate, Bronx Borough Pres. Fernando Ferrer, may have lost, but that events leading up to Public Advocate Mark Green’s assertion of victory...were “insulting and very tasteless.”

Political strategist Bill Lynch, an advisor to Ferrer in his bid for City Hall, said he was greatly disappointed because “We tried to run a campaign with integrity, while our opponent decided to go negative.”

Lynch said he was particularly concerned about the tactics that were used against the Rev. Al Sharpton in most of the city’s mainstream media. “It was not in the spirit of progress and democratic politics,” he added.

The former deputy mayor said he was surprised that neither Green nor the State Democratic Committee denounced any of those “insulting and very tasteless” cartoons against Sharpton and Ferrer published in the New York Post. (My emphasis in highlights)

Some important characteristics of the weekly papers that will be discussed in this chapter are alluded to in the above passage, namely: 1) the iconic, historical function of the Black press to motivate its readers to “keep the faith;” 2) the role of the Black press in informing readers about racists tactics of mainstream media; 3) the responsibility of the Black press to hold political and other influential figures accountable to the promises they make to the community the newspapers serve; and 4) the job of the Black press to establish or influence what is “tasteful” or “tasteless” in a Black cultural context – or to establish a Black consciousness.

Most studies of Black weeklies have consisted of comparative accounts to White media, otherwise known as mainstream media. And these studies have brought much attention to bear on questions dealing with the legitimacy of the papers when as one writer puts it:

People of color often complain that “our voices” are not being heard in mainstream (read: white) media. One would think that black newspapers would jump at the chance to interview people of color on such a big issue [as Nine-Eleven]. One would hope that they would work hard to create story ideas that localize what happened to the brothas and sistas in New York to the brothas and sistas in Texas. One should be ashamed that some black newspapers felt so disconnected from the events and aftermath of September 11 that they tagged it with a “not our problem” and continued covering the Grambling vs. Prairie View football game. (Cole, 2002)

However the researcher wants to point out: the function of these Black publications falls squarely within the functions of any media source according to Wilson and Gutierrez (1995), as was described in the previous chapters.

Furthermore, it is argued that it is precisely because these media are serving in these functions that they are not taken seriously by White media and their analysts (even some Black journalists who work in White media). As well, the research will show that these papers did treat the Nine-Eleven event as a "big story," in which they thought their readers shared. Unless we examine these publications carefully, it appears they did not give this event much coverage. However, through a textual analysis of *The Dallas Weekly*, the *Houston Defender*, and the *New York Amsterdam News*, it has been demonstrated that the discourses emanating from these publications reveal a sense of *consciousness* that does share the enormity with regard to the Nine-Eleven crisis that was evidenced in the White media. Simultaneously, the ideological currents that find expression in the pages of these weeklies during the Nine-Eleven event still plead the original mission of the Black press for equality, justice, good American life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for a community that has yet to have its full citizenship recognized; and they maintained their mission even in the face of the overwhelming in-your-face reporting by White media of what it dubbed "the worst terrorist attack on American soil." In other words, the weeklies continued their charge of helping society define its norms and values; and they did so with their non-continuous coverage and ultimately with their silence on the Nine-Eleven event. These observations fully suggest the significance of these publications in the making of a "Black consciousness," and what the weeklies call the "Black community."

The identity of Black people, who were of distinct ethnic groups before coming to America, was forged through the slave trade. The forged identity created

a community of peoples with shared interests for survival. It is a community that has been bound together by the necessity to "keep the faith," to hold onto the goal of survival, no matter what. The community was further developed and defined through Black weeklies.

"We didn't exist in the early [news]papers. We were never born, we didn't get married, we didn't die. We didn't fight in any wars. We never participated in anything of scientific achievement. We were truly invisible, unless we committed a crime.

But in the black press, the Negro press, we did get married. They showed us our babies being born. They showed us graduating. They showed our Ph.D.'s." (Jarrett, pbs.org/blackpress/educate_event/toolong.html)

Through the printing and publishing of their life events, Black Americans were able to realize, or to *make real* for themselves their existence as Americans, functioning in an American norm: using the power of words and the printing press to forge a *oneness* and to defend the legitimacy of that oneness.

"After the Civil war, there was an enormous burst of energy, a desire to communicate, a *desire to connect*, with black people establishing newspapers in any town, even tiny ones. It was their first opportunity to use the written word without fear of reprisal." (Garland, pbs.org/blackpress/educate_event/toolong.html)

Freedom's Journal, the first Black weekly was published in 1827, by Samuel E. Cornish and John Brown Russwurm in New York. It was founded in the journalistic tradition of the abolitionists' publications that were written and published by White liberals who called for the abolishment of the practice of slavery. Slaves and freed slaves told their stories to abolitionists, who printed these stories in weekly papers. The White-owned publications convinced other abolitionists to record the stories of slaves, because slaves had been forbidden by law to learn to read or write,

therefore many could not write. Although this was a laudable gesture of benevolence, it did not sit well with Cornish and Russwurm, who said "we wish to plead our own cause," (as cited in Wilson II & Gutierrez, 1995). In other words, who is going to better explain the United States to an American, a Russian newspaper or an American newspaper?

The problem is in interpretation. White writers were interpreting what they heard from Black people and representing what they (the writers) felt was important for White and Black people to know about Black people. The risks of interpretation are high, given that it is so subjective. Is it possible for speakers to interpret an utterance or a text or semantics in the context of radical social difference, without distortions? Donald Davidson (Davidson, 1984:137) proposes that such a possibility does exist with what he calls "radical interpretation" based on the idea of "the principle of charity," in which speakers and listeners "charitably negotiate" upon the principle that the other is acting according to a set of standards that are like their own. Both speaker and listener also assume that these principles are rational; therefore they are constantly adjusting their interactions to accommodate new meanings as they realize that the one is not using the principles as the other would.

In a climate like the American slave climate, Cornish and Russwurm had no reason to assume that the White media, even the liberal White media, shared the same standards as Black people in America and certainly not the same as those enslaved. "Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimations of some mere trifles" (as cited in Wilson II & Gutierrez, 1995). This statement makes it apparent that the stories of

Black people were *mis-re-presented*. The researcher has dissected the term *misrepresented* in an effort to explain the process of translating stories. The concept of representation is traditionally linked to the issue of *author-ity*, or the entitlement to speak. And conventional modes of representation have implicitly set up standards of who is speaking versus who listens; who dissects and who is dissected; who is gazed upon and who gazes. The dissection of the term *mis-re-presented* focuses on destabilizing and unmasking the complexity that underlie assumptions concerning who may speak about/to/about whom or what.

Is it ever possible to, without the influence of our own histories, re-present the history of others? The telling of someone else's experiences is always a re-presentation through the historical filters of the teller, which are laden with assumptions that come with a particular way of life. If that way of life is drastically different than the one being re-presented, there will be significant gaps, misunderstandings, and *mis-re-presentations*.

White writers, as authors of Black stories, became the *author-ities* on Black life – White writers were the *experts* on the *others*. In a process of objectifying and constructing other-ness, constructors assume an unproblematic distinction between “our own society” and an “other” society. The purpose of such a construction as Marcus and Fisher put it is “to generate critical questions from one society to probe the other,” (Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. 1992). But the fundamental conception of such a construction ends up perhaps against the author's intentions as he or she attempts to present in a familiar way cultural differences. For example, a White abolitionist attempting to re-present the story of a freed slave to other White abolitionists will

have to tell that story in a language, format, and sensitivity that their audience can grasp. That style may severely alter the gravity or complexity of the story being told. Another example: a print journalist goes into a disaster area to get a story. The journalist gathers information from observations, interviews and documents. When the story comes to the public it has been shaped into a cohesive, linear report, with perfect Standard English vernacular. What is missing from the story is the sensitivity of the individuals to whom the event has happened. The historical conditions to which the individuals have been subjected have been covered over in language, in grammatical structure, and in the historical influences of the reporter. Even interviews with affected individuals have been colored by the reporter's sensibilities, or the reporter's consciousness. For instance, the Hurricane Katrina catastrophe produced much nationwide coverage. In that coverage there were photos of evacuees from New Orleans, LA walking through flooded areas. Under one photo of White evacuees, the caption read: "Victims Found Food." Under another photo of Black evacuees, the caption read: "Evacuees Loot for Food." The writers of both captions identified with the White evacuees and not with the Black ones.

Both in tone and content the three weeklies examined in this research have a definite "Black consciousness" character; and this consciousness overrides the Nine-Eleven hysteria prominent in White media. For example, the titles of the Nine-Eleven stories in the Black weeklies did not demonstrate extreme or exaggerated emotion. For instance some of the headlines are: "The Aftermath," "We Shall Fear No Evil," and "Terror Strikes." Furthermore, these publications went beyond Nine-Eleven to show there were other important stories. Such as, "75 Years of taking care

of business: The Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce;" "The Texas Tycoon, Dumas Simeus [a photo of a Black man accompanies] is the state's ultimate example of entrepreneurial excellence." The *Houston Defender* has as its headlining stories: "Redistricting Plan is 'anti-Black;'" and "City Council Candidates," which features only Black candidates.

With such stories, at a time when the country was still sifting through the debris of dead bodies and rubble from the Twin Towers and the Pentagon; and at a time when most Americans were so afraid to speak against the idea of going to war after watching American civilians die in a war-like attack on American soil, that only one US Congressional Representative (a Black woman from CA) in the whole political structure of the country publicly opposed sending the country to war, these weeklies made clear their functions: current local political battles, economic/business development, and recognition of African Americans simply as Americans achieving success.

However, it is important to note here the reasons for such strategy. The Nine-Eleven story by this time (October, a month after the event) had been saturated; and the weeklies realized that this was a story they could not keep up with because of their resources compared to those of the dailies. But more importantly, the weeklies did not see how the continued reporting on this event would meet their audiences' needs. The op-ed pages of the weeklies had already satisfied the concerns of their readers about how this event happened. In other words, Black people had already come to realize how the event unfolded – "American Arrogance" as it was put by a headline in the *Amsterdam News* in their September 13-19 edition and in the *Dallas*

Weekly's September 19 issue. Meanwhile, White news sources were still trying to figure out for their market: "Why Do They Hate Us?" These media were asking: what is the federal government going to do about more protection, and how is Congress going to respond to the Patriot Act, an Act most White newspapers presented as a measure that would help capture terrorist, dismissing the apparent intrusion of American civil liberties of non-white Americans.

However, during the first month of the Nine-Eleven story we see a significant amount of coverage in these three weeklies. The September 13 edition of the *AmNews* has its whole front page devoted to the attacks. The main headline is 1 inch high across all five columns. There is a second $\frac{1}{4}$ inch double deck headline right above the article. There are four large photos (three are $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches X $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the other is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches X $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches), and about three inches of copy below the fold in the bottom left corner. In all there were 14 articles and 23 photos about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are only 67 articles and 66 photos. More than 30 percent of the paper is devoted to one story. It was indeed a major story. But the stories and images focus on Black people and the affects on predominantly Black neighborhoods. Such pieces made this news event come alive for a particular audience, by attempting to show how the event touched this community.

For example, on Page 13, the *Opinion* page, the two top pieces address the attacks. Staff writer Charles Rangel's piece is a "call to action" and Washington writers George Curry and Benjamin Todd Jealous' article from NNPA focuses on "American Arrogance" and how it could lead to new attacks. The latter opinion piece

covers nearly half the page and is placed in the center of the page. It reads: "US arrogance has caused the nation to be hated by many people around the world, hatred that could lead to violent incidences like those that shocked the nation Tuesday,' said David Baugh, a criminal [defense] lawyer who once represented convicted terrorist, Muhammed Al-Owhali in connection of the bombing of the US Embassies in Africa. 'We just assumed they are crazies and we don't even spend one minute wondering why they hate us.'" The timing of this story was less than one week after the Towers had been attacked and survivors were still being pulled out of debris. Most White papers were still trumpeting the loss to America, not questioning what the nation did wrong, but how the nation was done wrong. The AmNews put this lost into perspective. For example, "Ronald Walters, a political science professor at the University of Maryland at College Park, says tough-talk by the Bush Administration, while understandable, is unlikely to improve the nation's fragile security. 'It's like Malcolm [X] ...all of these years, we have been dancing on one side of the fence [in the Middle East] and pretending to be an honest broker,' Walters explains. 'Now, we have a choice. The US can greatly exacerbate the situation by going in the direction of retribution, or it can try to turn a corner and go in a new direction.'" This kind of editorial was not in line with how White America saw the event.

For the rest of the month of September, the *Amsterdam News* continued to give this story front page coverage. Just about the entire front page of the September 20 edition is devoted to the September 11 attacks. The main headline is 1¼ inches high. There are two photos (one is 3¼ inches X 1¾ inches, and the other

is 6 X 4 inches), and two articles on page one. The article about 11 missing Black firefighters is above the fold, and the article about the nation's leaders is below the fold. Both articles jump. The Black firefighters take precedence over the president of the US. In the September 27th edition coverage of the effects of September 11 was reduced to the bottom left corner of the front page. The article, which addresses the sudden surge of patriotism, is accompanied by a 3 ½ X 2 ½ inch photo and a ¼ inch double deck headline.

The *Houston Defender's* September 9-15 issue had no stories about the event, because it was already at the press. The second September issue devotes its lead cover and photos above the fold to not only the tragedy at the World Trade Center, but also to Houstonians giving blood for victims of Nine-Eleven. In all 33 percent of its paper is devoted to coverage of the Nine-Eleven story. There are five articles and nine pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 12 pages, 27 articles and 28 pictures. For this paper to stretch one story over four pages out of 12, it is a very significant story. Of the three cover stories of the previous week, two jump, or continue, to one page on the inside, whereas the Nine-Eleven event is one story and jumps to three pages.

A great portion of the front page is devoted to the attacks. The main headline is ¾ inch and bold with a smaller headline above it, signifying how the paper uses large type to let the reader know this is a major event. There is a line around the two stories and three pictures creating a Nine-Eleven package on page one. The main photo, which is above both the fold and the stories, is 5 X 10 inches. It is an AP photo that is a combination of three photos running together—the towers as they

have been hit, the White House, and an officer aiding a man down the street. One of the other pictures, a 3 X 3¼ inches AP photo, is of President Bush, and his cabinet in a meeting. The third picture, a 3¼ X 3¾ inches photo by Von Jiles, is of Houstonians donating blood. The two stories on page one are AP with about 2 inches of copy each. Both stories jump to inside pages. This paper depended heavily on wire services for most of its coverage, which means several things: 1) the paper has access to the same wire services as White dailies. This wire service is a source from which all editors can determine whether or not to use the stories based on their journalistic experience and the market they serve. 2) It also shows their dependence on other news sources to tell a national story for them. While it eliminates a need for a bureau, it also eliminates uniqueness and limits their possibilities to appeal to their readers. If those stories coming across the wire service do not make a connection with the readers of this Black paper, then the wire will be of little value. In that case the editor has to figure out how to get stories that will address his or her audience. That is one of the primary problems of the two Texas papers after the first publication of coverage. For example, there are two more issues in September: September 23-29, and September 30-October 6. There is one Nine-Eleven related story on each cover of these two issues. The stories are about war in the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan.

The September 12 edition of the *Dallas Weekly* has nothing about the event, because the paper was at the press. The September 19 edition's entire front page is devoted to the September 11 event. The cover headline reads: "The Aftermath" rightly so since it was the week after the event that the story appears. The design is

a collage of about eight pictures of the towers falling, debris and people running. The two-word double-decker headline, "The Aftermath," is one inch high. On page seven is the *National* page with the top devoted to the same story of a first-hand account of a Black Pentagon employee, which can be found one week earlier in the *New York Amsterdam News*. Using the same story alerts the readers in Dallas, like the readers in New York, that a Black person at the pentagon had been a part of the Nine-Eleven event, in the same way that Jessica Lynch, Harriet Miers, or Tom Delay or any of the current stories coming out the Katrina tragedy are found on the front pages and top of the hour news broadcasts around the country. This tactic creates a sense of shared interest between millions of people, even though they have never met.

This cover story manufactured more coverage into the newspaper on ten additional pages, including editorial, sports, metro, national, world view, and the publisher's section. In all, there are 13 articles and 17 pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 35 pages, 39 articles and 49 pictures. This publication covered this story from all these different angles, even going all the way to Lagos, Nigeria to get views on the event. This was an extremely significant story. But the perspective on the story is from a Black consciousness. For example, Julianne Malveaux writes an op-ed opinion piece: "Toppling Towers Tested Power." The story reads: "As outraged as I am, I am reconciled to the fact that this attack, despicable as it is, was also provoked. The US has insisted on playing a 700lb gorilla with the rest of the world, failing to cooperate with international treaties, to participate in international conference[s]. Our message has been 'our way or the highway,' and it

seems that such a message begs someone to humble us... WEB Dubois talked about the duality of our African American existence, of 'two warring souls in one Black body.' Even as our American nationalism and outrage at this sneak attack anger us, our African identities must allow us to put this foul attack in context... We cannot condone the hijacking of airplanes, the bombing of building, and the lost of innocent life. But we must acknowledge that our nation's own hubris may have pushed others into testing our power and exposing our vulnerabilities."

The September 26 issue of the *Dallas Weekly* uses teaser photos along the left column of the front page. The last one is Nine-Eleven-related. The photo, 2 ¼ inches X 2 inches, speaks to a story on page 47 about football games returning after the weeklong absence in tribute. This issue also marks the beginning of an ongoing section covering the aftermath. Page 17 is the *WTC Aftermath* page. There are two stories on this page each with a photo of the people featured. The top story, from the *NNPA*, is a feature on Rodney Dickens, a young Black victim of the hijacked plane that crashed into the Pentagon. The story is about Dickens being an 11-year-old honor roll student, on his way to the National Geographic Marine Sanctuary Program in Santa Barbara, CA, and the possibilities of his life cut short by the plane crash. Below that story is a feature on Louis Farrakhan and how he feels about the attacks. Farrakhan says "a better foreign policy in America would defeat terrorism forever in the world."

By October through March, the coverage of the Nine-Eleven event by these three weeklies demonstrates the lens through which these weeklies saw this event. For example, in October the first issue of the *Amsterdam News*, neither Nine-Eleven

or anything related to it appears on page one and the coverage inside the paper has decreased markedly as well. The front page covers local mayoral politics. The second issue has one brief Nine-Eleven related story on page one of Alton A. Burton (a Black man) one of the civil engineers with the Port Authority, working in the World Trade Center Planning Division. He reminisced about his work. The story jumps to the inside of the paper with an accompanying 3 ¼ X 3 ¾ inch photo. The photo is bigger than the article. This tactic emphasizes the identity of someone Black in the event. The third issue has no related stories on the cover; instead it presents international news on Kofi Annan and the UN jointly winning the Nobel Peace Prize. The cover of the fourth edition deals with the upcoming mayoral election.

In October the cover pages of the *Houston Defender* deal with local news items: the mayoral election, state redistricting, economics, and local health concerns. The only Nine-Eleven related story among all four issues is in the second, on the cover, and is about airport and business security measures. It is a wire service report from the Associated Press, and while the headline is above the fold, the article, about 7 inches, is below the fold and jumps to page four. This tactic shows the story, though important, could not be placed above the fold because of space, but the title is there to demonstrate the importance.

The *Dallas Weekly* during the same month has no Nine-Eleven related stories on the covers of all five issues, with the exception of a vague reference in connection to a story on Anthrax in the final issue. The story is found on page 16, and the lead sentence is: "The world changed forever the morning of September 11, but no one really knew how much – that is until anthrax became part of the country's

everyday vocabulary." This story runs for two pages. Also In this issue, a special section on the Black sports Hall of Fame has replaced the *WTC Aftermath* section.

In November each of the five issues of the *Amsterdam News* had nothing about the World Trade Center on the cover. All issues, with the exception of a small article about the Patriot Act in the fourth issue, speak to local politics. In all, there are nine articles and four photos related to the attacks in the inside pages of the four issues. As for the *Houston Defender* there are four issues in November and there are no Nine-Eleven related stories on the cover or in the inside pages. Most of the coverage is about national, state, and local political races. The *Dallas Weekly* has four issues in all, and there are no Nine-Eleven related stories on the cover.

However, the first issue brings back the *WTC Aftermath* section inside, with three articles, one is about anthrax and the other two are war-related. In all four issues, outside the Aftermath section, there are three related pieces and one editorial cartoon. The cartoon identifies that there were efforts to assist people of color who were victims. It makes fun of the Red Cross' efforts by claiming that it would take at least two hours to get through to the organization by phone. The commentary reminds one of how difficult it is to get help from the 911 police line in the Black community.

In December the *Amsterdam News* has no Nine-Eleven related stories on the covers of any of the four issues. The inside pages of these four editions contain four articles and six photos related to the attacks. The top cover stories deal with the murder rate and a new police commissioner; Dennis Walcott, president of the Harlem based, New York Urban League, selected to serve as the deputy mayor for

policy; the death penalty thrown out again Mumia Abul-Jamal; and a commentary on Rudy Giuliani whose editorial nicknamed him "Ghoulani" and "Nebuchadnezzar"

The *Houston Defender* published five issues in December. The last issue December 30-January 5, covers Nine-Eleven in the 2001 year in review. The coverage is above the fold. A 4½ X 4¼-inch picture of the burning towers is the lead photo. The article written by Marilyn Marshall as a "Special to the Defender," is in the far right column of the paper and is about 20 inches. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows: Page six is a *News* page where the year in review continues.

Unlike the *Houston Defender* and the *Amsterdam News*, the *Dallas Weekly* has some coverage in all five issues in December, although there is no front-page coverage. The Weekly's *WTC Aftermath* section shows the newspaper's dedication to continual coverage. It exceeded the coverage given by the *Defender* and *AmNews*. This special section made it possible for this story to continue for quite sometime, and to even connect stories that might seem unrelated but because they were in this section became relevantly linked.

In January the first issue of the *Amsterdam News* contains a review of 2001. Out of the nine events under September, four are Nine-Eleven-related. The five issues of January had no cover stories on the Nine-Eleven event or aftermath. Cover stories include: the inauguration of the new mayor, and the first Black comptroller for New York City. In February of the four issues of the *Amsterdam News* one (the second issue) presented a Nine-Eleven related story on the cover, although it was not the lead story. As a special to the *AmNews*, John Price's article is about a Black

photographer, Edmund A. Herman and his quest to commemorate the fallen Black firefighters. The article is accompanied by a 3 ¾ inch X 6 inch photo and a 1/3-inch headline. It appears on the bottom half of the front page. The lead story in this issue is about who might win the Oscar: Denzel Washington, Halle Berry, or Will Smith. In March there are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one of this weekly. On page six, a *News* page, a long article, a special from the NNPA by Joe Davidson, is about the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies having a forum to examine post-September 11 policies. In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven with no photos.

In the nine issues of January, February, and March in the *Houston Defender* there are no Nine-Eleven related stories. As you can see (see Appendix) from the covers, the weekly is using wire stories. And although the wire services are still producing stories on Nine-Eleven and its aftermath, this weekly used other stories from that service. For example, one AP story features the murder trial in Atlanta of former Black Panther and Muslim Cleric, once known as H. Rap Brown. Another AP story covers the dispute between Harvard University and Professor Cornell West. Another example is an AP story about how Jet Magazine survived 50 years. Some of the local stories include: the inauguration of city mayor and the naming of a mayoral appointee. The latter story is actually bigger, because the appointee is Black American. In February there are four issues. None contain Nine-Eleven related stories. The lead story is about the candidacy of a US Representative seeking the US Senate. There are two AP stories: one regarding diversity in the Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah; and the other is about President Bush's appointee to the US Commission on Civil Rights. In March the lead story features

the campaign for governor of Tony Sanchez; and three AP stories. One of the AP stories is about the "N" word.

There are 11 issues in January, February, and March of the *Dallas Weekly*; and there are no Nine-Eleven related stories on the covers. The *WTC Aftermath* section continues throughout the January 23 issue. The January 30 issue contains a column by Dr. Robin F. Goodman on guidelines for parents to help children deal with and understand the tragedy. The feature is continued on page 36. There is one related story in the month of February on page 12, the *National* page. In the main section there is an article by John Price, special to the *NNPA* from the *New York Amsterdam News*, about the commemoration of the Black firefighters of September 11. There is an accompanying photo of the project. There are no related stories in the whole month of March.

As was stated earlier, without a careful exploration it might appear these weeklies did not give this event much coverage. However, based on the above examination, it is argued here that the decidedly qualitative aspect that documents the presence of African Americans in this national suffering supersedes the quantitative element. Put more succinctly, but for the Black press coverage of Nine-Eleven, it would have appeared in print media that this national calamity was one that only happened to white people, with a media response conducted mostly by white conduits, whose observations and perspectives were the most important to record in print. For example, a brief analysis of the New York Times' editions from September 12 through October 10 demonstrates this point.

On September 12, 2001: an issue of the *New York Times* had two headlines and each one is 1 and ½ inches high. One says "US Attacked" while the other headline reads: "Hijacked Jets Destroyed Twin Towers and hit Pentagon in Day of Terror". That makes for 3 inches of headlines. There are four photos: two above the fold, large one is 16 x 6, above the fold and continued below the fold. Below that photo are three smaller ones. 2 are half the size (2 ½ x 3) and the 3rd is 2 x 2. The large photo is of the burning Twin Towers. There are four additional headlines and they read: "A News Analysis on Aftershock;" "Pres. Bush Vows to Exact Punishment for 'Evil;'" "A Somber Bush says Terrorism Cannot Prevail;" "The Collapse of Buildings." In the lower right corner there is a 3 inch guide called "Inside" relating more stories in section A.

Of the 27 pages of Section A, all were dedicated to Nine-Eleven. In all the coverage there are only two photos on the inside pages of Black people: 1) shows two Black women as spectators, and 2) shows two Black women reacting as the Towers crumbled to the ground. The cutline reads: "Two women reacting as the WTC Tower crumble to the Ground. Its Twin and Two Other Buildings Were to Follow." There is a story about what the New Zealand, Japanese, and Australian governments thought about the happenings. A look at four additional weeks (through October 10) shows there is still significant coverage, but it moves to a special section on the inside of the newspaper. Nevertheless, the tone and content of the coverage remains unchanged.

In contrast, the three Black weeklies show that the perspective of their writers hinged on what was right for the entire country, based not on a racially divided

nation or a subtlety beneficial to a single racial group, which can be an obvious point missed when evaluating the Black press. While many of the Nine-Eleven news stories in the three weeklies came from Black-owned wire services, many also came from the white-owned wire services. This demonstrates how using both wire services is common practice with Black weeklies. Such is not the case with white media, which rarely publishes articles from Black-owned wire services.

These three weeklies also show that this event was a significant story for Black newspapers that were not in New York City. For example, an intra-regional comparison of the Texas weeklies show the coverage in the *Dallas Weekly* was pretty intense. It included a special section for the Nine-Eleven event and its aftermath, running consistently through January. This weekly exceeded the *Houston Defender* (and, on some level, even the *New York Amsterdam News*, which will be discussed in the next paragraph). In comparison to the *Houston Defender*, the Dallas newspaper extended its coverage far longer during this six month evaluation, resulting in far more news stories over a greater period of time. Consequently, the *Dallas Weekly's* handling of the matter gave greater weight to a Black perspective on this national event, than the Houston newspaper provided its readers. Therefore, the Dallas newspaper had a greater impact on influencing a particular perspective. In other words, the more they wrote about this matter, the more their readers read and thought about this matter from the *Weekly's* perspective.

Inter-regionally, the *Amsterdam News* came out far ahead of the Texas weeklies with regard to stories and photos written and taken by the newspaper's staff. They also had more first-hand accounts than the Texas papers, which one

would expect since they were in New York City, the site of the greatest devastation. However, the *Dallas Weekly* exceeded the *AmNews* in the length of coverage over the time span of this research through its special section, the *WTC Aftermath*. In addition, having a special section for the Nine-Eleven event is another feature the *Dallas Weekly* had over the *AmNews*.

Both inter- and intra-regionally, the commentaries and editorial opinions were virtually the same; many of the same news stories or features were published in two, sometimes all three, weekly newspapers. Some stories identified local efforts to assist the Nine-Eleven victims, such as blood drives within the communities the papers served. All three Black weeklies were thorough in making this story relevant to their audiences, by utilizing both Black- and white-owned wire services, weekly staff writers, special correspondents, or free lancers. And these newspapers served as a record of Black presence in this national event.

CONCLUSION

The process of building a cohesive community for Black people in America began with the 1827 Freedom's Journal. By the 1920s, 500 Black newspapers were in print (pbs.org). Nonetheless, by the 1950s and 60s, ironically as the Civil Rights and Black Power movements achieved some of their goals, the circulation of Black newspapers began to decline. With the arrival of integration, a large section of African Americans left the Black press when they moved from the Black neighborhoods.

However, it is important to note that while the number of Black newspapers in circulation has fallen (from about 500 to about 300) John B. Smith, chair of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), says its federation of 200 Black-owned newspapers has about 15 million readers distributed in Black communities. Approximately 85 percent of that readership is Black, with 15 percent being "others." The others include Latinos who are Black. The total population of the US, according to the 2004 US Census, is 293,622,764. African Americans are 12.3 percent of that population or 37,521,497. These numbers show that while the number of Black newspapers has declined significantly, the surviving newspapers still reach more than 40 percent of all African Americans in the United States. It is important to mention here that a study by the Newspaper Association of America shows that daily newspaper reading in general (for all newspapers) has steadily declined. For example, readership has gone from 78 percent of adults in 1970 to 55

percent in 1997. And among 18-to-24-year-olds, only 41 percent read a daily paper. (Stepp, 2003/2004)

Therefore, in 2001, in the midst of fading circulations and economic hardships, in general because people are not reading as much; and in particular for Black newspapers, because advertisers still believe they can better reach the Black consumer through white publications, despite the data² that shows Black newspapers reach more Black readers than white newspapers, the occurrence of the Nine-Eleven tragedy posed several problems for the three weeklies examined in this research. The week of September 11, there was no coverage of the event by the *Houston Defender* and *The Dallas Weekly*, because their distribution dates are Tuesday and Thursday. On the day of the event (Tuesday) the publications were either on the presses or already printed and published. The *New York Amsterdam News* did have full coverage that first week, because it is printed on Thursday, two days after the event occurred, and because it is located in New York City, the epicenter of the tragedy. In the aftermath, could these newspapers handle "the big story" better than most other media outlets? If those outlets were 24/7 news channels, dailies, and local TV news, they could not. If the weeklies could tell that same story about people their readers could identify with, then they could.

But how much treatment could the publications give it, since it was an ongoing story of national media coverage? Their readers could get that information

² According to John B. Smith, chair of the NNPA, white newspapers are circulated into only 15 percent of "minority" homes (minority includes African Americans, Latinos, and Asians). What's more, in *Turning Point Magazine*, March/April 2005 issue, Trevor Hansen, vice president of Gemstone Communications/Ethnic Print Media Group, an auditing company, indicated that "preliminary numbers have found 66 percent of readers of Black press cite African American newspapers as their primary or only source for local news and community event information; and 72 percent frequently purchase products or services seen in their local African American newspaper," (Morgan, 2005)

anytime, anywhere. What different angle could weeklies give these stories to interest their readers? If the wire stories, which the Texas papers depended upon significantly, looked like the TV or the daily stories, then there would be a problem for the weeklies. How can a weekly publication present the same story once a week, that everybody else is presenting seven days a week? If Sunday through Wednesday the reader has been getting the various angles of the stories from TV, radio and dailies, by Thursday when the weekly is distributed, what can be said that its readership has not already understood? So then the task is to tell that story differently, or to tell what the editorial staff views as a more important story. After the first month, all three Black weeklies opted for the latter, and that leads to what could be called the *characteristic of difference* found in the discourses of their pages. This characteristic is explicitly predicated upon the self-designated function of presenting "the Black point of view." As such, the main purpose of these weeklies is definitively, and often forthrightly, to denounce the dubious values of white media, or those things that seem to be most important to white media, and sometimes to do so with one of the most powerful communicative tools of media: silence.

The absence of Nine-Eleven stories on the front page put forward the mission of the first 1827 weekly to tell a different story. The silence demonstrates the very different perspective, if not obvious, the Black press held toward the disaster: that being it was not the worst tragedy ever to happen on American soil. Furthermore, there is a decidedly qualitative difference among these weeklies that documents the presence of African-Americans in this national suffering. If it had been left to white media, it would have wrongly appeared that African Americans were not "there" --

that they did not die, did not rescue anyone, did not have any children who lost their mothers or fathers, did not have any men or women who lost their fiancés or spouses. Indeed race was part of the controversy when the memorial monument was under discussion. Suggestions of having the memorial reflect the diversity of those involved became ridiculously but predictably controversial in the white press (Murphy, 2002). The weeklies' coverage ensured that Black Americans realized their connection to this national experience. Their connection was this: Black lives were lost; Black firefighters rescued many people, not just Black ones; Black police officers died in the performance of their duty to the entire city. These stories did not regularly show up in white publications.

The difference between Black and white media has long been based along racial lines, as when writer Shante Morgan pointed out in the *Turning Point* article, "Historians says mainstream (read white) newspapers wouldn't even run African American obituaries, so the Black press became the premier source of information about politics, economics, entertainment and overall society" (Morgan, 2005). White news did not cover this event as fairly as they could have, which would have included regularly presenting the stories of people other than white people, as well as quoting experts other than white ones. Scarcely can a Black, Latino or Asian expert be found within the coverage of the Nine-Eleven event in white media. Another difference lies in the tone of the coverage in headlines. For example, one in the *Houston Defender* reads: "Though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death 'We shall fear no evil,'" an obvious religious reference, which resonates with the weekly's audience; while headlines like, "Why Do They Hate Us?" was printed in

white media during this time. Further differentiations are: white newspapers did not use Black-owned wire services, did not routinely have editorial opinion or commentary from people other than white writers, and showed only the consequences for Americans, i.e., "white" Americans.

Black newspapers used both Black- and white-owned wire services; wrote editorials that questioned government policy as well as supported it; sought to show the impact of this catastrophe on Americans, including Black Americans; and published opinions about how America should respond that included Black perspectives. The writers in Black media wrote from a broader historical viewpoint about this event. By that the researcher means Black writers considered the problems the United States has allowed to occur by connecting the way it does business with the rest of the world. In other words, the writers pointed to faulty government policy that set up the situation for this horrible and indefensible event to take place.

Another difference: white newspapers constantly harangued about Middle Eastern policy and its people. Racial profiling suddenly became an acceptable "incidental" knock on American liberty in light of the newest nationalistic tenet "the world has changed," or "everything has changed." The white press publicly wrestled with whether it had fewer questions about the United States government's responses, such as the Patriot Act, and airlines racially profiled anyone who looked of Arab descent. Numerous editorials published by Black weeklies did not single out Middle Eastern people, their communities, or their houses of worship as sites or obsessions to condemn; for the writers, familiar with our country's history of racial

injustice, considered such a response bogus, does not provide a real solution, and will not prevent such tragedies in the future.

There were regional differences among the Black weeklies. For example, an intra-regional contrast of the Texas weeklies show the coverage in the *Dallas Weekly* was pretty intense as compared to the tepid coverage by the *Houston Defender*. The Dallas newspaper consistently included a special section for the Nine-Eleven event and its aftermath through January 2002. It exceeded the *Houston Defender* qualitatively with editorials, photos, articles, and opinion pieces. The Dallas newspaper also continued coverage far longer during this six-month evaluation, resulting in far more news stories than what can be found in the *Defender*. Consequently, the research indicates that the *Dallas Weekly's* response gave greater weight to promoting a Black perspective on this event than the Houston newspaper did, although it could be argued that the silence it gave to the story symbolizes the perspective of how unimportant the story had become.

In contrasting the Texas and New York regions, the *Amsterdam News* came out far ahead of the Texas weeklies with regard to news stories and photography produced by the weekly newspaper's staff; as well as the *Amsterdam News* published coverage the week the event occurred, as was pointed out earlier, unlike the Texas newspapers. The *Houston Defender's* first issue to cover the event is dated September 16-22, and the first coverage in the Dallas newspaper is dated September 19. As one might expect the New York paper also had more first-hand accounts than the Texas weeklies, since it is located in New York City, the site of the news event. However, the coverage by the *Dallas Weekly* exceeded that of the

Amsterdam News' in its length of coverage over the time span of this research, through its WTC or World Trade Center special section. This section, itself, is another feature the *Dallas Weekly* had over the *Amsterdam News*.

But, how well did the weeklies fair in the sea of coverage of such a countrywide devastating occurrence? They handled the Nine-Eleven story like it was a *national* tragedy. That means, to them, it was a "big story!" The weeklies went all out. The *Amsterdam News* sent a number of reporters and photographers to the scene; and their coverage proves it. As the research in CHAPTER E shows, they published many new stories, first-person accounts, photographs, editorials, and commentaries. The Texas weeklies used both Black- and white-owned wire services to make certain they covered this event as accurately as they could. What's more, the commentary all three newspapers provided an alternative to the overwhelming mainstream (white) point of view about how this event came about, and what America should do.

But, this question is posed again: how well did they do? In other words, how detail or in-depth were the stories; how many graphs and charts were included to support the stories; how many different angles were brought to the story. Unlike the dailies that produced stories everyday, the coverage of these weeklies was periodical – once a week. So what does that say about the weeklies? Did they miss something? Could their coverage have been better? The answer is: Yes. If we grade the weeklies on whether they had charts and graphs, and on how many different angles they covered the event, then they did not do as well as the dailies; but they did not, because understandably the issue becomes primarily a function of financial

resources. But for the revenue, these Black publications would have been able to place more reporters on different angles of the story; and more editors to monitor the creation of graphs and charts on the loss of business and to the economy, loss of life, ad nauseam. It is well known that Black weeklies are poorly financed and struggle to publish their product. In essence, for the revenue they generate and the pages they print they did a sufficient job in covering Nine-Eleven.

As the research in CHAPTER E shows, the *Amsterdam News* handled the tragedy of Nine-Eleven more than adequately. Although the publication comes out once a week and it competes (struggles) against dailies, network television and 24-hour cable news and radio, it was able to convey the impact of the event on New Yorkers, including Black New Yorkers. The Texas newspapers responded as well and in some ways better than the New York newspaper. The Texas weeklies made a stellar effort to make this story relevant to the communities they serve, even though the event occurred several states away, indicating that it was a major national story of interest to all Americans. The publications brought in editorials that gave a perspective their readership could use to put the occurrence into a relevant and useful perspective – a perspective that was routinely unavailable in white press.

There were some similarities to what the white press printed. All three Black weeklies, like the white newspapers, had access to and published stories provided by white-owned wire services. Consequently, we see some of the same stories in the Black weeklies that can be found in the white press. Another similarity actually produced stories with decidedly different tones between the Black and white media. This means that both Black and white media sought to make this disaster

understandable and heartfelt to their readership; both Black and white media provided editorial content about this event and how the people and the American government should respond. Consequently, while both media were seeking to appeal to their audiences, the appeal was different.

As such, Black newspapers could appear to be promoting Black separatism. The researcher, however, question such accusations of anarchist ideas. The research has attempted to show through careful study that these newspapers are steeped in the ideology of democratic liberalism and the politics of inclusion, even in the wake of needing to present a different, perhaps unsettling, view. This idea is the basis of a pluralistic society – difference in inclusion. The discourse found in Black publications, from 1827 to 2001, calls for the U.S. Constitution to recognize all citizens, and encourages the readers of these media to participate in the rich capitalist consciousness of the U.S. as consumers and producers. And in that vein, the behavior of the three subject papers of this research held onto to that mission, even in the face of what seemed like to some the worst tragedy the US has ever faced. These newspapers were working within a framework of the Tulsa Riots, Rosewood, and Rodney King – a history its own readership may well recall. In face of this collective understanding, the Nine-Eleven crisis was not covered as the worst disaster to occur on U.S. soil.

Therefore, the research supports the conclusion that the Black press, although restrained by its meager finances, did a better job of covering the Nine-Eleven event than the white press, by providing more racially inclusive coverage of what happened. The white press gave a very one-sided view of the event. As well, a

careful look at the *New York Times* shows that the amount of space given to Nine-Eleven and related stories on the front pages highly resembles what was done in the three Black weeklies examined here. For example, on September 19, only one week after the event, there are 28 pages in section A, and 17 of those are advertisements, most all are full page ads. One week earlier, all 27 pages of section A presented Nine-Eleven related stories. As you can see things came back to "normal" quite quickly. By September 26 there is only one story above the fold on the front page dealing with Nine-Eleven. The other stories above the fold include one about the New York mayoral race, and another about a Supreme Court case unrelated to the Nine-Eleven event. Below the fold there are only two Nine-Eleven related stories. A clear sign that things are getting back to normal reporting is: on the front page, in the left bottom corner of the newspaper there is a space three inches tall, with two small photos and two small stories. The small headlines read: "Michael Jordan's Comeback, Again," and "Yankees Back Again." October 3 and 10 editions each have only three Nine-Eleven stories on the front pages. This data further demonstrates my argument that the Black press did a better job of covering this national tragedy than the white press; because, although the Black publications were working with extremely limited human resources and available pages, they still conveyed the gravity of this event for the entire country, fulfilled their unwavering mission and preserved their historical response for decades to come.

CHAPTER SIX

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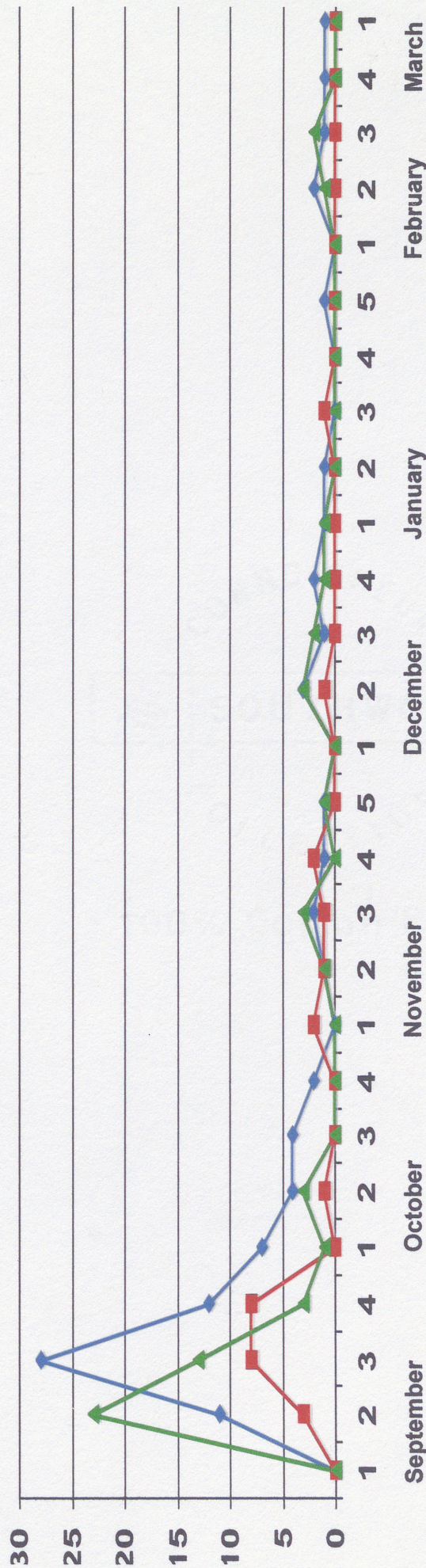
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**Chart
1
The New York Amsterdam News**

News coverage on the Nine-Eleven Tragedy by the New York Amsterdam

News from September 6, 2001 through March 13, 2002

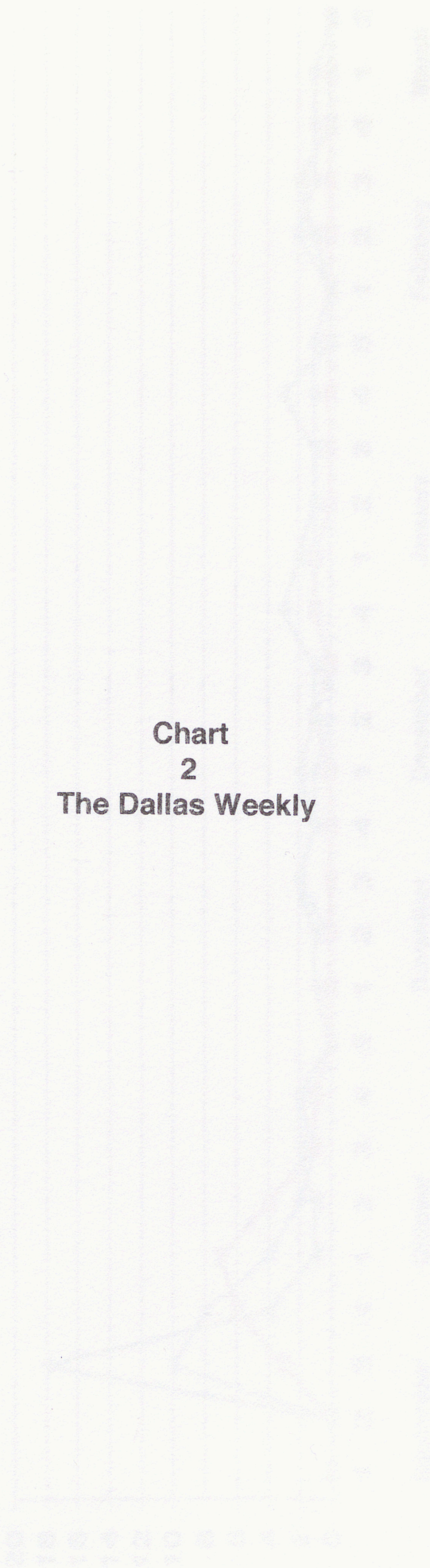


Articles, e.g., news reports, first-person, features.
 Graphics, e.g., photography, illustrations, cartoons.
 Opinion, e.g. editorial, columnist, letters to editor.

The left scale shows number of news articles. The bottom scale indicates the weekly issues published.

News coverage on the Ninth-Eleven Tragedy by the Dallas Weekly
from September 12, 2001 through March 13, 2002

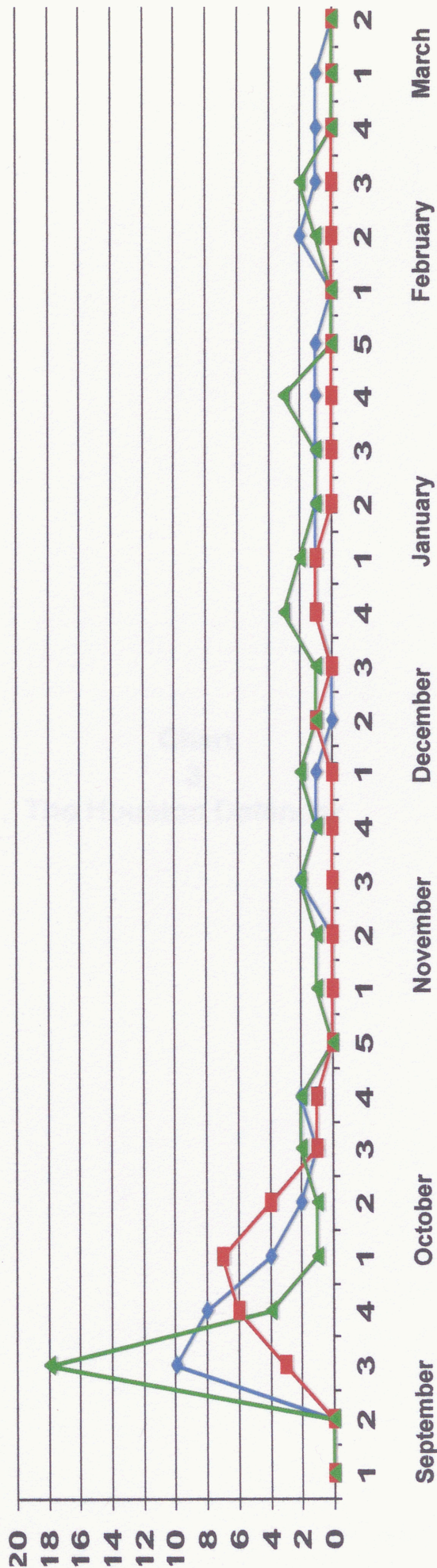
Chart
2
The Dallas Weekly



Articles, e.g., news reports, feature stories, editorials
Photographs, e.g., photographs, illustrations, cartoons
Cartoons, e.g., editorial cartoons, letters to the editor

The total number of items of news coverage. The
number of items of news coverage published

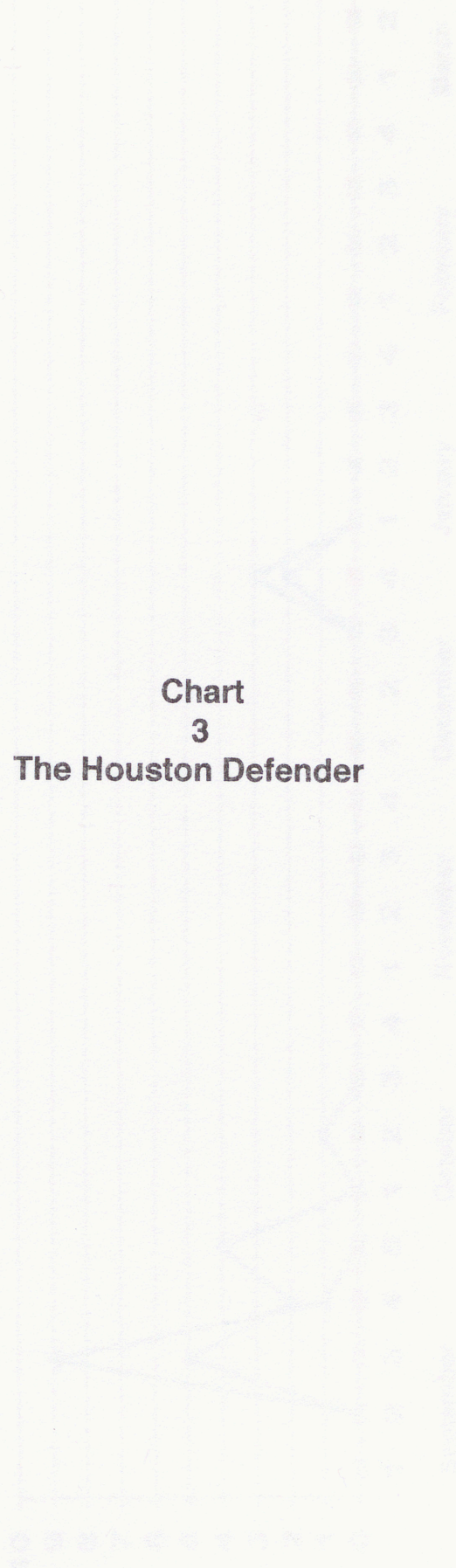
News coverage on the Nine-Eleven Tragedy by the Dallas Weekly from September 12, 2001 through March 13, 2002



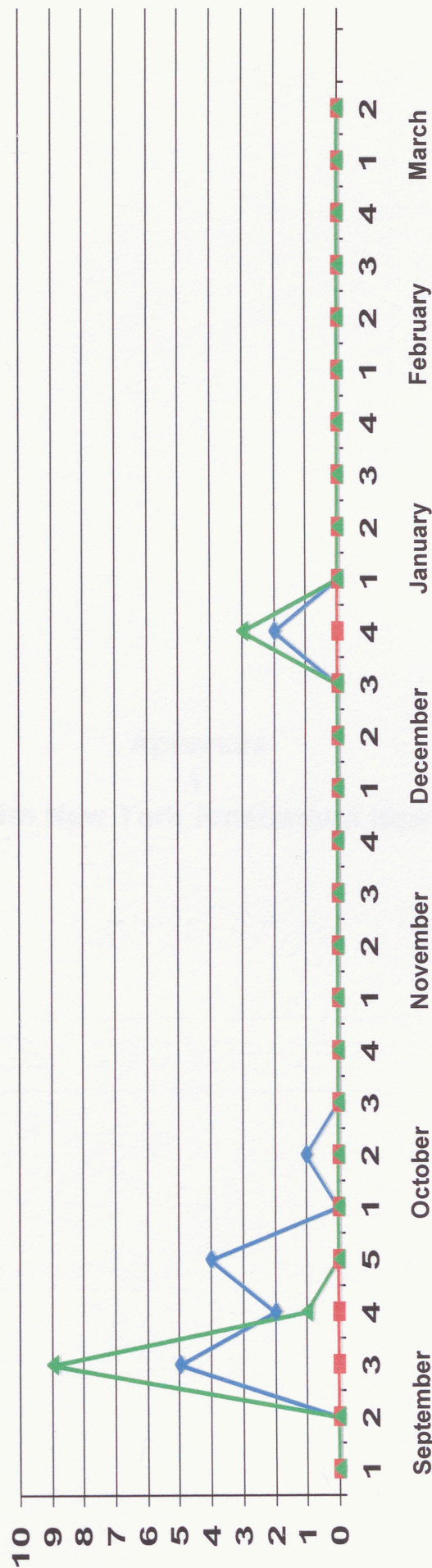
Articles, e.g., news reports, first-person, features.
Graphics, e.g., photography, illustrations, cartoons.
Opinion, e.g. editorial, columnist, letters to editor.

The left scale shows number of news articles. The bottom scale indicates the weekly issues published.

**Chart
3
The Houston Defender**



News coverage on the Nine-Eleven Tragedy by the Houston Defender from September 9, 2001 through March 10, 2002



Articles, e.g., news reports, first-person, features.
Graphics, e.g., photography, illustrations, cartoons.
Opinion, e.g. editorial, columnist, letters to editor.

The left scale shows number of news items. The bottom scale indicates the weekly issues published.

**Appendix
1
The New York Amsterdam News**

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 92 No. 34 (must be a misprint because it should be 37)

September 6-12, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 62 articles and 77 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 92 No. 34 (must be a misprint because it should be 37)

September 13-19, 2001

The entire front page is devoted to the September 11 attacks. The main headline is 1 inch high across all five columns. There is a second $\frac{1}{4}$ inch double deck headline right above the article. There are four large photos (three are $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches X $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the other is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches X $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches), and about three inches of copy below the fold in the bottom left corner.

The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- All of page three, the *News* section, is devoted to Nine-Eleven with three articles and three pictures. Of the three articles, one is a first-hand account by Herb Boyd.
- Page four is also a *News* page entirely devoted to survivors of the attacks. It has two articles and three pictures.
- All of page five is covering Nine-Eleven. With three stories and three pictures, there is an eyewitness account and a news/feature on a Black Pentagon employee.
- In the first column of page eight, a *News* page, columnist Armstrong Williams devotes his space to addressing Nine-Eleven.
- On the *Editorial* page, 12, Wilbert A. Tatum, publisher emeritus and chairman of the board, writes about the attacks. His editorial is second from the top falling in the middle of the page. It is interesting to note that the editorial above it is Tatum's weekly "anti-Giuliani" piece.
- Page 13 is the *Opinion* page with the two top pieces addressing the attacks. Staff writer Charles Rangel's piece is sort of a "call to action" and Washington writers George Curry and Benjamin Todd Jealous' article from NNPA focuses on "American arrogance" and how it could lead to new attacks.

- In the *Religion & Spirituality* section, page 34, Talise D. Moorer, special to the AmNews, writes about what local churches are doing to provide relief and guidance.

In all, there are 14 articles and 23 pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 67 articles and 66 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 38
September 20-26, 2001

Just about the entire front page is devoted to the September 11 attacks. The main headline is 1¼ inches high. There are two photos (one is 3¼ inches X 1¼ inches, and the other is 6 X 4 inches), and two articles on page one. The article about the 11 Black missing fire fighters is above the fold, and the article about the nation's leaders is below the fold. Both articles jump. Wilbert A. Tatum's "anti-Giuliani" commentary returns to the bottom right corner. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page two, the *News* section, contains a news article about the United Nations postponing a session due the attacks (bottom ½ of page) and international news briefs about what other countries are doing/ how they feel about the Nine-Eleven attacks (last two columns).
- Page three is also a *News* page entirely devoted to the attacks. Of the three articles, two focus on comforting families and citizens with the other article addressing anti-terrorism laws. There is one picture accompanying one of the comfort stories.
- All of page four is covering Nine-Eleven with four stories and three pictures.
- Page five, a *News* page, has two articles, a column and one picture relating to Nine-Eleven. The column, The Urban Agenda, by David R. Jones, president of the Community Service Society of New York, is about how New Yorkers can/are pull(ing) together.
- All of page six, a *News* page, deals with Nine-Eleven. It has three articles with one picture. Two articles deal with anti-Arab sentiments and the third is about mourning the victims.

- In the first column of page eight, a *News* page, columnist Armstrong Williams devotes his space to addressing Nine-Eleven. The second story from the top is an article about how Mayoral candidate Fernando Ferrer took an active leave to assist with the aftermath. In addition, there are two short news briefs on the bottom of the page about a candlelight vigil and a peace rally/vigil.
- On page nine, the *Brooklyn* page, the last two columns contain a commentary, "A prayer for peace," by staff contributor Sadie Feddoes.
- Page 10 only has one piece, a commentary by staff contributor Richard Carter reflecting on how the day changed many lives.
- Page 12 is called the *Guest Editorial* page in this issue. There is one editorial by Cong Charles Rangel (at the top of the page) and two letters to the editor (second from the top and at the very bottom).
- Page 13 is the *Opinion* page with the whole page addressing the attacks (three items). Feature photo-columnist James Gilbert's question of the week deals with Nine-Eleven. Alton H. Maddox, Jr's. and George Curry's articles focus on Osama bin Laden and his role in the attacks.
- Page 14 is the *Caribbean Update* page. The whole page is devoted to Nine-Eleven with four article addressing condolences and relief from Caribbean countries.
- In Florence Anthony's gossip column on page 15, she addresses what entertainers plan to do to help in the relief efforts.
- In the *Health Care* section on page 16, two items relate to Nine-Eleven. Gerald W. Deas' commentary (in the last three columns) takes on a religious tone to address Nine-Eleven and an article in the bottom corner addresses the city's health crisis in response to the attacks.
- Page 18 is the *Children's PressLine* section. The whole page is devoted to the youth fears about Nine-Eleven. There are two stories, one a news and the other a feature, and one photo.

In all, there are 36 articles and 13 pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 78 articles and 46 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
 Vol. 92 No. 39
 September 27-October 3, 2001

Coverage of the effects of September 11 has now been minimized to the bottom left corner of the front page. The article, which addresses the sudden surge of patriotism, is accompanied by a 3 ½ X 2 ½ inch photo and a ¼ inch double deck headline. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page two, the *News* section, contains one three-column article, at the very top of the page, about how Liberia is mourning for the United States.
- Page three is also a *News* page mostly devoted to the attacks. Of the three articles, two focus on remembering the victims, while the other contains activists' views on the attacks. There is one large picture (of three white firemen at the vigil) accompanying the lead story about remembering the victims.
- One story at the top of page four relates to Nine-Eleven. The commentary, by staff writers Sally O'Brien and Karen Juanita Carrillo, addresses the mayor's activeness in response to keeping his city together.
- Page five, a *News* page, has three articles relating to Nine-Eleven. One article is about C. Virginia Fields' efforts at Ground Zero, another about the United States preparing to fight terrorism, and the third, about mental health services preparing for the long-term impact of the aftermath.
- Page eight, a *News* page, has two articles about Nine-Eleven. In his column, Armstrong William is about whether Black Americans have a vested interest in going to war with the terrorists.
- On page nine, the *Brooklyn* page, Sadie Feddoes uses her space to once again address Nine-Eleven and a hope for recovery.
- All of page 13, *Opinion* page, is devoted to Nine-Eleven. Feature photo-columnist James Gilbert's question of the week deals with Nine-Eleven and the fears surrounding the possible repercussions. Michael Jones' piece is about Black patriotism and what Black Americans could/should be doing.

- Page 14 is the *Caribbean Update* page. Just about the whole page is devoted to Nine-Eleven with three articles (all written by Vinette K. Pryce): one, a commentary about showing tolerance to Muslims (with a photo of Kareem-Abdul Jabbar at a book signing), another about the island of St. Kitts offering free stays to rescue workers, and the last, is about Caribbean volunteers.
- The entire *Religion & Spirituality* page, 32, is in response to Nine-Eleven. Susan Johnson Cook's commentary is about turning to Christ in a time of crisis. The story below it is about the Red Cross's gift program for families of the victims.
- Page 33, *Education Today* page, has a ½ page story on young people's views on the attacks.

In all, there are 20 articles and three pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 66 articles and 40 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 40
October 4-10, 2001

For the first time in a few weeks, Nine-Eleven or anything related to it does not appear on page one and the coverage inside the paper has decreased dramatically as well. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Below the fold in the bottom left corner, on page two, the *News* section, there is an article about how the attacks have affected Haitians and their economy.
- Page four, a *News* page has an article in the bottom right corner about families still clinging to hope of finding lost loved ones.
- In the bottom right corner on *News* page six, there is a news/feature about volunteer Andrew Benjamin and his actions in aiding in the recovery/relief efforts at Ground Zero. A photo of Benjamin also accompanies the article.
- On page nine, there are two small news briefs in the middle of the page relating to Nine-Eleven. One is about the Black United Fund of NY setting up a victim relief fund, and the other is about Rev. Al Sharpton using his birthday event to commemorate the victims.

- On page 18, the *Children's PressLine*, writer Kelly Hill's news/feature addresses the fact that many children lost parents in the attacks and how to help them through the loss.
- A commentary by Dr. Sujay, at the bottom of the *Religion & Spirituality* page, 31, focuses on Nine-Eleven and how New Yorkers have pulled together.

In all, there are seven articles and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 73 articles and 37 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 41
October 11-17, 2001

In the bottom left corner on page one, a feature on the World Trade Center engineer begins and jumps to the inside of the paper. Accompanying about 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches of copy is a $\frac{1}{4}$ headline and a 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ X 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inch photo of the man, Alton A. Burton. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Most of the *News* page three is devoted to the jump from page one about Burton. At the bottom of the page, is an article about free college and special services offered to people directly affected by the attacks.
- On page 13, the *Opinion* page, feature photo-columnist James Gilbert's question relates to Nine-Eleven. And a piece identified as "Special to the NNPA" calls for racial/religious unity in the wake of the attacks.
- At the top of page 40, a *News* page, there is an article about the grant fund to assist small-businesses that suffered in the attacks.

In all, there are five articles and three pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 69 articles and 38 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 42
October 18-24, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page three, a *News* page, has a brief in the bottom left corner about the Twin Towers Job Center opening. The center will help place people affected by Nine-Eleven in temporary and permanent employment. There is another small brief in the bottom right corner about the Black Bar Association's law clinic for the disaster victims.
- On the *Caribbean* page, 14, Vinette K. Pryce's brief about the Caribbean consulates praying for WTC victims is in the bottom left corner.
- At the top of page 38, a *News* page full of jumps, is a brief about Michael Jordan donating \$1 million to the attack relief agencies.

In all, there are four articles and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 79 articles and 32 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 43
October 25-31, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page five, a *News* page, has a small Nine-Eleven article by staff writer J. Zamgba Browne in the bottom left corner about the Comptroller H. Carl McCall meeting with state representatives for relief-effort plans.
- Page 16, also a *News* page, has a small article at the bottom of the page also by Browne. The article is about the air quality near Ground Zero.

In all, there are two articles and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 56 pages, 87 articles and 43 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 44
November 1-7, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 13, the *Opinion* page, feature photo-columnist James Gilbert's question of the week deals with Nine-Eleven and asks how should America respond.
- On page 27, the *A&E* page, columnist Charles E. Rogers highlights how patriotism has topped the charts since Nine-Eleven.

In all, there are two articles and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 74 articles and 40 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 92 No. 45

November 8-14, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- For the first time in a while, there is a full story (with a jump) relating to the events of Nine-Eleven. On page 5, the *News* page, at the top of the page there is an article about how the Vulcan Society plans to memorialize its lost Black firefighters. There is even a three-column picture along with the story.
- On page 34, the *Religion & Spirituality* page, as a special to the AmNews, Talise D. Moorer writes about how prayer and religious debates linger after the attacks.

In all, there are two articles and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 72 articles and 46 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 92 No. 46

November 15-21, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- The lead story on page four, the *News* page, is the follow-up story to the Vulcan Society's memorial service. Two photographs accompany the article.
- On page 22, the *A&E* page, there's a feature about comedian Dick Gregory speaking about Nine-Eleven and satirizing it. There is an accompanying photo.

- On page 26, the *Resorts & Travel* page, there is an article by Cam McGrath from Cairo, Egypt (IPS) about how tourism has dropped in Egypt in wake of the attacks on the United States attack.

In all, there are three articles and three pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 88 articles and 42 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 92 No. 47

November 22-28, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page five, the *News* page, there is a long article (although second from the top) about the historical analysis of September 11.
- On the *Editorial* page, 12, a piece by William A. Tatum addresses the Thanksgiving holiday in wake of Nine-Eleven. The bottom editorial by Alton H. Maddox Jr. addresses whether or not President George W. Bush can make the skies "friendly" again post-Nine-Eleven.

In all, there are three articles but no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 67 articles and 52 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 92 No. 48

November 29 - December 5, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page four, a *News* page, there is an article about how Minnesota's Somali community denounces the attacks. The article follows much debate about whether or not the community supports terrorism.

In all, there is one article and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 80 articles and 45 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 49
December 6-12, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one or in the rest of the paper.

In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 82 articles and 44 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 50
December 13-19, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page two, a *News* page, the lead story is about the American Embassy (and several other embassies) commemorating September 11. There is an accompanying photo of (white) marines at the American Embassy in Jarkarta. Damaso Reyes the South East Asia Bureau chief wrote the article.
- On the *News* page four, the lead story is about how the Black businesses near Ground Zero are struggling to rebound.
- On *News* page five, David R. Jones's two-column "Urban Agenda" is about the disaster relief Medicaid.
- On the *A&E* page 21, as a special to the AmNews, Risasi Dais wrote an article about jazz artists uniting for a benefit concert for the World Trade Center victims. There are two photos of jazz artists who will perform.

In all, there are four articles and three pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 52 pages, 74 articles and 45 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 92 No. 51
December 20-26, 2001

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page five, a *News* page, the lead story is about the Tavis Smiley of the “Tom Joyner Morning Show” giving out \$300,000 to people who directly suffered because of the attacks. There are two photos of people standing in the rain in a line that wrapped about the building.

In all, there is one article and two pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 81 articles and 56 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 91 (must be a mistake, should be 92) No. 52

December 27 – January 2, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper’s coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page six, a *News* page, the lead story is by Herb Boyd and it is about the Nine-Eleven government compensations.
- On the *News* page 19, there is a news/feature story about a Brooklyn-based multi-service organization, CAMBA, and how it donated money to the World Trade Center victims. There is a photo of the CAMBA members.

In all, there are two articles and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 40 pages, 76 articles and 60 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News

Vol. 93 No. 1

January 3-9, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. This is the “new year” issue and has some articles devoted to looking back on 2001.

- On *News* page four, the largest photo, in the center of the page, is of the fallen towers and debris.
- On the *News* page 33, the year in review story continues and out of the nine events under September, four are Nine-Eleven-related.

In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven with one photo. In the entire paper, there are 36 pages, 64 articles and 55 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 2
January 10-16, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- One news brief in the bottom left corner is about the disaster relief deadline being extending to March 11.

In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven but no photos. In the entire paper, there are 40 pages, 79 articles and 48 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 3
January 17-23, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 12, the *Editorial* page, Wilbert A. Tatum addresses the controversy and debate surrounding the photograph of the firefighters and the possible statue.

In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven but no photos. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 78 articles and 55 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 4
January 24-30, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 40 pages, 66 articles and 42 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 5
January 31 – February 6, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page four, a *News* page, as a special to the AmNews, Yvonne Annette Delaney wrote an article about the continuing efforts of the September 11 fund and its future.

In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven but no photos. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 85 articles and 44 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 6
February 7-13, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 52 pages, 83 articles and 67 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 7
February 14-20, 2002

For the first time in a while, an article in reference to September 11 graces the front page. As a special to the AmNews, John Price's article is about Black photographer, Edmund A. Herman and his quest to commemorate the fallen Black firefighters. The article is accompanied by a 3 ¾ inch X 6 inch photo and a 1/3-inch headline. It appears on the bottom half of the front page.

The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 24, the *Children's PressLine* page, as a special to the AmNews, Linda Armstrong wrote a feature about a teacher whose lesson involves her elementary students writing to other elementary students across the United States to express their feelings about September 11.

In all, two articles refer to Nine-Eleven with one photo. In the entire paper, there are 56 pages, 74 articles and 64 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 8
February 21-27, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 13, the *Opinion* page, feature photo columnist James Gilbert's question of the week deals with whether or now Black people have been treated the same since Nine-Eleven. Albert J. Williams-Myers, from the SUNY-New Paltz Black Studies Department, writes about the fuss surrounding the firefighter statue.

In all, two pieces refer to Nine-Eleven but no photos. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 75 articles and 48 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 9
February 28 – March 6, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page four, a *News* page, the lead article, a special to the AmNews by Risasi Dais, is about when the Black intelligentsia addressed Nine-Eleven in Philadelphia. There are two photos of some of the panelists accompanying the article,

In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven with two photos. In the entire paper, there are 48 pages, 88 articles and 51 pictures.

New York Amsterdam News
Vol. 93 No. 10
March 7-13, 2002

There are no stories Nine-Eleven-related on page one. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page six, a *News* page, a long article, a special to the NNPA by Joe Davidson, is about the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies having a forum to examine post-September 11 policies.

In all, one article refers to Nine-Eleven with no photos. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 87 articles and 52 pictures.

Appendix

2

The Dallas Weekly

The Dallas Weekly

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 37
September 12, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 44 pages, 67 articles and 70 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 38
September 19, 2001

The entire front page is devoted to the September 11 attacks. The design is a collage of about eight pictures of the towers falling, debris and people running. The two-word double-decker headline, "The Aftermath," is one inch high. It becomes a graphic in later use.

The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page six, the *Publisher* section, James Washington uses his weekly column to reflect on the attacks. It is in the first column of the page.
- Page seven is the *National* page with the top devoted to first-hand accounts of Black Pentagon employees. There is an accompanying photo of Black DC police watching the main avenue leading to the municipal building.
- Page eight is the *World View* page. The first column of the page has international news briefs. The top two briefs are Nine-Eleven-related. "IAAF Condemns Terrorist Attacks on U.S."; News report; Summary: President Lamine Diack of IAAF wrote a letter to President Bush condemning the attacks; No photo; Total length: 1/12 page. "Nigerian Police Strengthen Security Around U.S. Consulate"; News Report; Summary: After terrorist attacks, Nigerian police beefed up security around U.S. Consulate; No photo; Total length: 1/12 page.
- On 10, the *Metro* page, *Dallas Weekly* staff writer, Natesha Wyrick writes an article about New Yorker's reactions to the attacks. The article takes up the middle and last column of the page. There are three pulled-quotes, but no photos.

- Taking up the entire page 11, another *Metro* page, is an article by Wyrick about a clinic held at St. John Missionary Baptist Church in Grand Prairie that addressed the attacks. There are six photos of people in the church at the clinic.
- On page 14, the *Editorial* page, in the second two columns under the editorial carton, Washington writers George Curry and Benjamin Todd Jealous' article from *NNPA* focuses on "American arrogance" and how it could lead to new attacks.
- The *Opinion* page, 15, has two pieces on Nine-Eleven. One piece is by Julianne Malveaux, a syndicated columnist, and the other is by *Dallas Weekly* columnist Cheryl Smith. "Toppling Towers, Tested Power" by Julianne Malveaux; Opinion; Summary: Malveaux recalls her reaction on that terrible day; No Photo; Total length: 1/2 page. "911 Tragedy Affects Us All" by Cheryl Smith; Opinion; Summary: Smith recalls how on Nine-Eleven, news coverage only seemed to show white faces when they were not the only people affected by the attacks; 1 photo, (small); Total length: 1/2 page.
- Pages 20-21 are the *Cover Story* pages. There is one story that takes up both pages, two photographs, two sidebars, and another large sidebar featuring a timeline of the terror. One of the smaller sidebars is a listing of telephone numbers of relief agencies, and the other is a poem, "Freedom" by Stealth. "The Aftermath" by Gordon Jackson; Cover Story; Summary: Jackson remembers how the nation was halted by the terrorist attacks; 2 photos, (small); Article continued on separate page; Total length: 1 page.
- On page 34, the *Sports* page, columnist Shay Wyrick uses her space to address how sports seem "inconsequential" in light of what has happened.
- Page 35 is also a *Sports* page. At the top of the page is an article, courtesy of the NFL Media Relations office, about the canceling of games to honor the victims.

In all, there are 13 articles and 18 pictures about the attacks. The "Aftermath" image is included in photography and whenever it is used in later issues. In the entire paper, there are 35 pages, 39 articles and 50 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
 Vol. 47 No. 39
 September 26, 2001

The *Dallas Weekly* uses teaser photos along left column of the front page. On this issue, the last teaser photo is Nine-Eleven-related. The photo, 2 ¼ inches X 2 inches, teases to a story on page 47 about football games returning after the weeklong absence in tribute. This issue also marks the beginning of an ongoing devotion of a full page in the paper to covering the aftermath. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page eight, the *Publisher* section, James Washington uses his weekly column to reflect on the attacks. It is in the first column of the page. In addition, an editorial by author Kwaku Person-Lynn addressing the media's response appears at the top of the page.
- Page ten is the *National* page with the top story written by John Price, special to the *NNPA* from *The New York Amsterdam News*. There is an accompanying photo of rescue and relief vehicles near Ground Zero. "N.Y. Agencies Grapple With City's Health Crisis" by John Price; News Report; The Department of Health has been conducting several public health activities in response to the disaster; 1 Photo, (small); Article continued on separated page. Total length: 1/2 page.
- On 15, the *Metro* page, *Dallas Weekly* staff writer, Gordon Jackson's article is about teenagers speaking out on the terrorist attacks at the Youth Etiquette Symposium. There is also a photo of the panelists.
- Page 17 is the *WTC Aftermath* page. There are two stories on this page each with a photo of the people featured. The top story, from the *NNPA*, is a feature on Rodney Dickens, a young Black victim of the hijacked plane that crashed into the Pentagon. Below that story is a feature on Louis Farrakhan and how he feels about the attacks.
- All of page 18, the *Editorial* page, is related to the attacks. In the first column, there are two letters to the editor. The first letter is about the religious prophecy of the attacks, and the other is a call for racial/religious unity signed by 21 organizations. The editorial on this page is by Earl Ofari Hutchinson, a columnist and president of the National Alliance for Positive Action. 5th Bullet: "Racial Profiling: Another Tragedy of the Terror Attacks?" by Earl Ofari Hutchinson; Editorial; Racial Profiling will escalate from the attacks towards Muslim and Arab American; 1 Photo, (small); Total length: 1/2 page.

- The *Opinion* page, 19, has two pieces on Nine-Eleven. One, by George E. Curry about bin Laden's holy terrorism, and the other "Urban Journal" by Ronald Robinson who chronicles his day on September 11.
- Page 26 is the *Religion* page. There is one story in the second two columns, a special to the *NNPA* from the *Washington Informer* by D.R. Barnes about religious leaders calling for healing.
- Page 27 is also a *Religion* page with the last column by Shewanda Riley offering tips for surviving the "mourning after."
- On page 40, the *Real Estate* page, there is an article from Washington about HUD secretary Mel Martinez encouraging lenders to give relief to families affected by the terrorist attacks.

In all, there are 14 articles, one graphic and three pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 47 pages, 46 articles and 49 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 40
October 3, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page six, the *Publisher* section, James Washington uses his weekly column to reflect on how life has changed since the attacks. Washington's piece is in the first column of the page. An editorial by publisher of the *Pasadena Journal News*, Joe C. Hopkins, is also on this page. He addresses why he thinks the attacks happened.

- In the first column of page eight, the *National* page, there is a brief about how the Congressional Black Caucus scrapped its plans for a town hall meeting because of the attacks. The brief is via *NNPA* Washington correspondent Hazel Trice Edney. On the bottom half of the page, *WEnews* Content Manager Siobhan Benet writes about how U.S. Muslim and Asian women are the targets of harassment. The story jumps to page 26.
- On 13, the *Metro* page, briefs are in the last column on the page. The second brief is about how the Duncanville fire and police departments are taking donations to aid the New York victims.
- Page 15 is the *WTC Aftermath* page. There are three stories, however, only one is in direct reference to Nine-Eleven. The bottom story as a special to the *NNPA* from *The New York Amsterdam News*, John Price writes about how a Harlem hospital is providing counseling services in the aftermath. 4th Bullet: "Civil Rights Advocates Call For Unity In Wake of Terrorist Attacks"; News Report; The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights requested American refrain from racial, religious or ethnic intolerance toward Arab Americans and Islamic communities.
- All of page 16, the *Editorial* page, is related to the attacks. In the first column, there are two letters to the editor. A pro-Black revolutionary lauding victory of the oppressed people writes the first one. The second letter is in response to a racist comment made on the Fox News Network about terrorists. The editorial, by Ron Daniels, is about questioning fellow Americans' patriotism at this time.
- Page 18 is the *Religion* page. There are two commentaries about keeping faith after the attacks. The top one is by Rev. Jesse Jackson, and the bottom one is by Natesha Wyrick.

In all, there are 11 articles, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 52 articles and 38 pictures.

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page eight, the *Publisher* section, James Washington uses his weekly column as a call for action to cease the harassment of "Indian, Pakistani, and other Middle Eastern" U.S. citizens.
- Page 15 is the *WTC Aftermath* page. There are two stories, however, only one is in direct reference to Nine-Eleven. The bottom story, from New York, is about how Muslim groups are facing new scrutiny in the aftermath.
- On page 16, the *Editorial* page, there are two items related to Nine-Eleven. In the first column, there is a letter to the editor that is an open letter to the media community from filmmaker St. Clair Bourne. She is letting everyone know that she is actively seeking "people of color and other under-represented communities" to get their points of view on Nine-Eleven. The editorial, by Bernice Powell Jackson, is about how non-violent leaders, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Mahatma Ghandi, views' compare to how America feels in the aftermath.
- Page 17 is the *Opinion* page. The top commentary, by Wiley A. Hall, is about all of the racial profiling after the attacks.
- On page 32, the *Business* page, Roosevelt Roby answers questions about the stability of the nation's economy after the attacks.

In all, there are six articles, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 49 articles and 42 pictures.

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 10, the *National* page, the top brief in the first column is about Michael Jordan donating part of his salary to U.S. attack relief agencies.
- Page 17 is the *WTC Aftermath* page. There are four stories, however, they are all about the pending war and America's retaliation.
- On page 18, the *Editorial* page, the editorial cartoon is about how other basketball players are reacting to Jordan's decision to donate part of his salary to U.S. attack relief agencies. The cartoonist shows the other athletes supporting the idea orally but not financially.
- Page 19 is the *Opinion* page. The top commentary, by Mumia Abu-Jamal, is about the "forgotten terrorists."

In all, there are two articles, one graphic, one editorial cartoon and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 57 articles and 51 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 43
October 24, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 19 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and there are three stories. The top story by Paul Crewe and Lougenia Bailey, special to the *NNPA*, is about how Historically Black Colleges and Universities have reacted to the attacks. The story underneath it, by Josette Compton and Erica Dotson, special to the *NNPA*, is about the new targets of

racial profiling. In the far right column, there is a piece by Hazel Trice Edney, *NNPA* correspondent, about how Black Americans can take public action to deflect the possible harsh economic impact of Nine-Eleven.

- On page 20, the *Editorial* page, the editorial cartoon, at the top of the page, shows a young person asleep in bed with signs of pop icons strewn on the floor and in the trash. Adorning his wall is a new hero/idol— a fire firefighter.
- Page 41 is the *Business* page and has an article titled, “Terrorism and the Technology Sector.” Although it mentions September 11, I do not find it relevant enough to include it with the other articles.

In all, there are three articles, one editorial cartoon and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 47 pages, 56 articles and 43 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 44
October 31, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. In this issue, a special section on the Black sports Hall of Fame has replaced the *World Trade Center Aftermath* section. The rest of the paper’s coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 15 is the *Opinion* page and there is one piece by Minister Paul Scott titled, “‘Bling blingin’ in the era of terror.” The piece, which is at the top of the page, focuses on the responsibility of the Hip Hop community in the time of crisis. Although it is an interesting topic and a new avenue down the Nine-Eleven path, it is not directly-related enough to be counted with the rest.

In all, there are no articles and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 35 pages, 50 articles and 79 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 45
November 7, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. In this issue, the *World Trade Center Aftermath* section returns. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 15 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and although there are three articles, one is about anthrax and the other two are war-related.

In all, there are no articles, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 43 pages, 62 articles and 81 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 46
November 14, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 19 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and although there are four stories—two articles and two briefs, none are primarily focused on the attacks. One article is about airport screening, the bottom article is about tourism declines and the briefs are war-related.

In all, there are no articles, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 47 pages, 52 articles and 65 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 47
November 21, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 15 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and although there are two articles, none are primarily focused on the attacks. The top article is about anthrax, and the bottom article, so unrelated that it seems misplaced, is about Tom Ridge's, director of White House Homeland Security, racist past.
- Page 16 is the *Editorial* page, and it has two items that are Nine-Eleven-related. At the top of the page, the editorial cartoon is about Tom Joyner and Tavis Smiley's efforts to assist specific family needs of people of color victimized by the attacks. Below the cartoon is a piece by William Reed about disaster relief funding.

In all, there are three articles, one graphic, one editorial cartoon and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 43 pages, 49 articles and 43 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 48
November 28, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 15 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and in the Metro Brief section, there is a brief by Mel Reeves, special to the *NNPA* from the *Minnesota Spokesman/Recorder*, about how the state's Somali community denounces the attacks.

In all, there is one article, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 54 articles and 47 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 48 (mistake, it should be 49)
December 5, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 13 is the *Metro* page and at the bottom of the briefs in the last column, there is an item about Senator Royce West leading a rally to benefit September 11 victims. A photo of West accompanies the brief.
- Page 14 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and there are two AP stories that are not directly related to the attacks.

In all, there is one article, one graphic and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 48 articles and 60 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 50
December 12, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 13 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and although there are two articles and photos, nothing is directly related to the attacks.

- Page 14 is the *Editorial* page and a piece by John Meredith addresses America's attitude immediately after Nine-Eleven.

In all, there is one article, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 45 articles and 56 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 51
December 19, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 17 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and although there are two articles, nothing is directly related to the attacks.

In all, there are no articles, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 43 pages, 39 articles and 78 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 47 No. 52
December 26, 2001

Since this is the last issue of the year, there is a collage on the cover of *The Dallas Weekly* covers from 2001. Among them is the issue with the September 11 collage. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page six, the *Publisher* page, James Washington uses his space in the first column of the page to reflect back on the attacks.

- Page 13 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and although there are two articles and three pictures, nothing is directly related to the attacks. Instead, the main article is about local Dallas graduates serving in Operation “Enduring Freedom” and the column on the right is about a Hillcrest graduate finishing basic training. Basically, in this issue this section is a feature on military people.
- On page 23, the *Cover Story* page continues. Under the September section, there is a picture of the September 19 *Dallas Weekly* and a brief about the events on Nine-Eleven.

In all, there are two articles, tow graphics and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 54 articles and 48 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 1
January 2, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper’s coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page 13 is the *WTC Aftermath* page and there is one article, with a picture, about Army Chaplain Lt. Col. James E. Walker, who ministered at Ground Zero at the Pentagon on September 11. The article, out of Washington D.C., relates how Walker shares his experience with the Congress of National Black Churches, Inc.
- On page 35, the *Business* page, there is an article out of New York by Stephan Schiffman with six strategies for selling after September 11.

In all, there are two articles, one graphic and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 43 pages, 51 articles and 71 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 2
January 9, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 15, the *WTC Aftermath* page, there is an article out of Geneva (IPS), by Gustavo Capdevila, about how the tragedies of September 11 aggravated the Human Rights situation.

In all, there is one article, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39 pages, 48 articles and 42 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 3
January 16, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 15, the *WTC Aftermath* page, there is an article about how the New York Historical Society is opening a World Trade Center exhibition.

In all, there is one article, one graphic and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 39

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 4
January 23, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 15, the *WTC Aftermath* page, there is an article, out of Washington D.C., in the last column about the Joint Center for Political Ethics' forum on post-September 11 policy priorities. Two headshot photos accompany the brief.

In all, there is one article, one graphic and two pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 41 pages, 55 articles and 42 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 5
January 30, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. It seems that *The Dallas Weekly* has decided to end its *WTC Aftermath* page starting this issue. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 17, the *Metro* page, in the last column there is a brief feature by Dr. Robin F. Goodman on guidelines for parents to help children deal with and understand the tragedy. The feature is continued on page 36.

In all, there is one article but no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 47 pages, 57 articles and 53 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 6
February 6, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 47 pages, 48 articles and 46 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 7
February 13, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 51 pages, 54 articles and 40 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 8
February 20, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 51 pages, 48 articles and 41 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 9
February 27, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- On page 12, the *National* page, in the main section there is an article by John Price, special to the *NNPA* from the *New York Amsterdam News*, about the commemoration of the Black firefighters of September 11. There is an accompanying photo of the project.

In all, there is one article and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 51 pages, 50 articles and 49 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 10
March 6, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 51 pages, 51 articles and 46 pictures.

The Dallas Weekly
Vol. 48 No. 11
March 13, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 51 pages, 49 articles and 45 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 46
September 9-15, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are six pages, 14 articles and nine pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 47
September 16-22, 2001

A great portion of the front page is devoted to attacks coverage. The main headline is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch and bold with a smaller headline above it. There is a line around the two stories and three pictures creating a Nine-Eleven package on page one. The main photo, which is above both the fold and the stories, is 5 X 10 inches. It is an AP photo that is a combination of three photos running together—the towers as they have been hit, the White House, and an officer aiding a man down the street. One of the other pictures, a 3 X $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches AP photo, is of President Bush, and his cabinet in a meeting. The other picture, a $3\frac{1}{4}$ X $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches photo by Von Jiles, is of Houstonians donating blood. The two stories on page one are AP with about 2 inches of copy each. Both stories jump to inside pages. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page four is a *News* page where one of the front-page AP stories jumps, taking up the entire top-half of the page. At the top of the page, there is an uncredited photo of the destruction in New York.
- Page five is also a *News* page and the whole page is given to attack coverage. There is a story in the first column credited to the *Defender News Service*. It is a news-feature about coping with disaster and below it is helping children cope with disaster (which jumps to page six). The rest of the page is a collage of four photos of the attacks—the towers being hit, the towers falling, the debris at Ground Zero and two women hugging. None of the photos have a credit.
- Page seven, the *Sports* section, has a story about how the attacks have halted the sports world. The article, by staff writer Ralph Cooper, takes up the entire top-half of the page. A large photo of the burning towers, 9 X $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, splits the article.

In all, there are five articles and nine pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 12 pages, 27 articles and 28 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 48
September 23-29, 2001

There is one military article on the front page and one photo that is Nine-Eleven-related. The headline is ½ inch and accompanies an article by AP military writer Susanne M. Schafer, which is 8 inches of text that jumps to page four. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page three is a *News* page and in the National brief section, at the bottom of the top-half of the page, there is an item about Jamaica's economy suffering as a result of the Nine-Eleven attacks.
- On page five, there is an editorial/feature called "Chag's Place" and it mentions under "Condolences," the victims of the attacks.

In all, there are two articles and one picture about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 17 articles and 23 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 49
September 30 – October 6, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page three is a *News* page and in the City brief section, at the bottom top of the page, there is an item about the increase of divorce dismissals since Nine-Eleven. In the State brief section, there is an item about tightened border security since the attacks. In the National briefs, there are two relevant items. The first is a brief about how the Black Panther Party's reunion has been postponed because of the attacks. The other brief is about Whitney Houston's 1991 version of "The Star-Spangled Banner" is being re-released as a fundraiser for the New York City police and fire departments. All briefs were either AP or Special to the NNPA.

In all, there are four articles but no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 27 articles and 25 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 50
October 7-13, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 20 articles and 18 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 51
October 14-20, 2001

In the first column of page one, there is an article by AP writer David Koeing about increased airport and business security. While the headline is above the fold, the article, about 7 inches, is below the fold and jumps to page four. There is no other Nine-Eleven coverage in the rest of the paper.

In all, there is one article and no pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 20 articles and 20 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 70 No. 52
October 21-27, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 16 pages, 30 articles and 27 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 1
October 28 – November 3, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 12 pages, 26 articles and 20 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 2
November 4-10, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 20 articles and 14 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 3
November 11-17, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 19 articles and 18 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 4
November 18-24, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 12 pages, 31 articles and 23 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 6
November 25 – December 1, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 17 articles and 11 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 6
December 2-8, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 17 articles and 14 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 7
December 9-15, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 30 articles and 18 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 8
December 16-22, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 31 articles and 17 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 9
December 23-29, 2001

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are six pages, 24 articles and 20 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 10
December 30 – January 5, 2002

Since this is the last issue of the year, this is their 2001 year-in-review issue. The top photo and headline are related to the attacks. A 4½ X 4¼-inch picture of the burning towers is the lead

photo. The article, By Marilyn Marshall as a "Special to the Defender," is in the far right column of the paper and is about 20 inches. The rest of the paper's coverage breakdown is as follows:

- Page six is a *News* page where the year in review continues. In the September brief section, third item from the top, there is an item about the Nine-Eleven attacks.

In all, there are two articles and three pictures about the attacks. In the entire paper, there are six pages, nine articles and 30 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 11
January 6-12, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are six pages, 14 articles and 13 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 11 (mistake, should be 12)
January 13-19, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 17 articles and 18 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 12
January 20-26, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 28 articles and 16 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 13
January 27 – February 2, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 24 articles and 20 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 14
February 3-9, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 20 articles and 20 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 15
February 10-16, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are six pages, 27 articles and 26 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 16
February 17-23, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 28 articles and 16 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 17
February 24 – March 2, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are eight pages, 32 articles and 25 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 18
March 3-9, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 25 articles and 28 pictures.

The Houston Defender
Vol. 71 No. 18
March 10-16, 2002

There is nothing Nine-Eleven-related on the cover or in the rest of the paper. In the entire paper, there are 10 pages, 26 articles and 27 pictures.

Los Angeles Times

Published daily except on Sundays and public holidays.

Printed at the Times Building, 633 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90012.

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Volume 102

The Good Life Is No More for Argentina

By Robert D. McElroy
Los Angeles Times Staff Writer

Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES — Argentina's economic crisis has reached a point where the government is unable to pay its foreign debt, and the country is facing a deep recession.

The crisis has led to a sharp decline in the country's economic growth, and the government is struggling to maintain its financial stability. The situation is expected to worsen in the coming months.

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Appendix 4 The Los Angeles Times

Los Angeles Times

On The Internet WWW.LATIMES.COM

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 2003

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50¢ Designated Areas Higher

COLUMN ONE

The Good Life Is No More for Argentina

■ The nation rode high on a free-market system, backed by the IMF and tied to the dollar. Then the global economy spun it into disaster.

By HÉCTOR TOBAR
Times Staff Writer

SAN ISIDRO, Argentina — More than any other developing nation in the 1990s, Argentina embraced the free market and the global economy.

For top officials at the International Monetary Fund and economic gurus of the American right, Argentina was a star pupil. It sold off most government enterprises and loosened banking restrictions and controls on foreign investment. The IMF backed the strategy with billions of dollars in loans.

For a few years, people lived better than ever. Many Argentines believed that their country, already the most prosperous in Latin America, was finally graduating into the First World.

Then, in December 2001, the bottom fell out, causing a run on the banks that wiped out billions of dollars in deposits.

Nearly six months later, on a May morning that happened to be her 59th birthday, Norma Albino stepped into her bank branch in this Buenos Aires suburb of cobblestone streets, famous for its affluence and the tall spires of its 100-year-old church. She asked — for the third or fourth time since December — for her family's money. When the teller told her that he couldn't help her, she blurted out: "I'm going to kill myself."

As horrified bank employees looked on, she poured a bottle of rubbing alcohol over her head and snapped at a cigarette lighter.

Albino became, at that instant, a symbol of the rage and hurt smoldering inside millions of Argentines. Rushed to a hospital, she survived with third-degree burns. Months later, she has found that the best therapy is simply to forget.

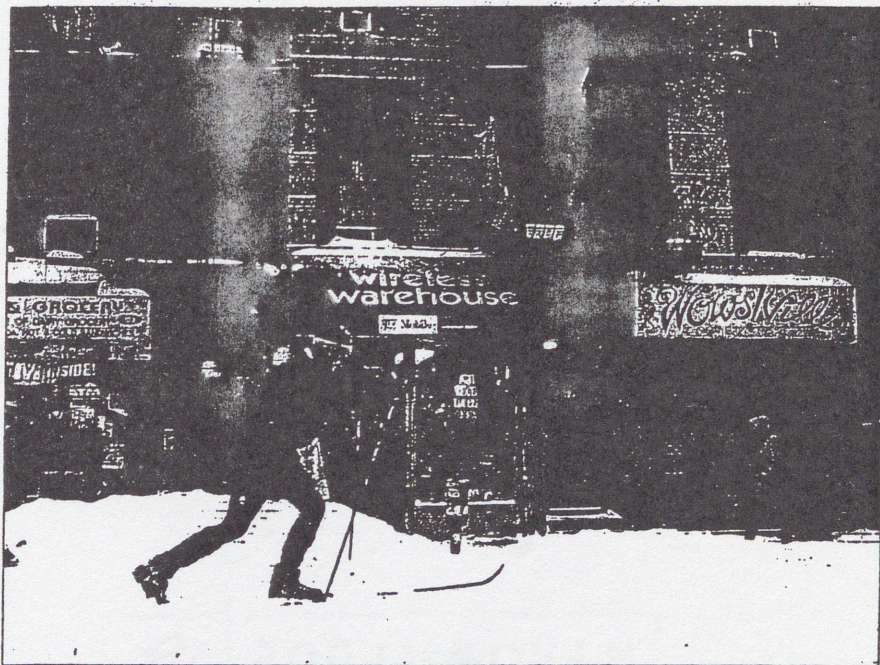
"The politicians robbed us," she said. "But I don't care anymore. I try not to think about it." Argentina's official unemployment rate stands at 22%, about the same as in the United States during the Great Depression. Poverty afflicts 53% of Argentines, triple the rate of just five years ago.

"We're not the poorest country. There are places that are much worse off," said Raúl Quémada, an unemployed economist and writer. "What's hard for us is that we've known something better. We've lived well."

How Argentina came to suffer such a fall is an emblematic tale of the global economy's power to spur sudden prosperity in developing countries, and then, even more swiftly, to bring disaster.

It is never easy to apply the formulas of free markets to

(See Argentina, Page A6)



SHUFFLING UPTOWN: A cross-country skier works his way up 2nd Avenue in New York. Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg said of the blizzard, the worst to hit the city in seven years: "It's very pretty, it's very inconvenient and it's very expensive."

MARIO TAMA/Getty Images

Deadly Blizzard Blankets East Coast

By JOSH OSTLIN
Times Staff Writer

NEW YORK — A holiday blizzard walloped New York and New England on Monday with up to 2 feet of snow, shutting down airports, closing major highways and causing widespread power outages from the mid-Atlantic states to Maine. At least 28 deaths were blamed on the slow-moving storm, which forecasters said was the worst to hit the East Coast in seven years.

The swirling blizzard, which drifted north after burying Washington, D.C., in snow 24 hours earlier, turned New York into a eerie white ghost town, as snowdrifts piled high on major avenues and only a handful of people ventured out, some on skis and snowshoes.

City officials declared an emergency, recommending that all nonessential vehicles stay off the roads, and said it might be several days before the city could dig out.

"It's very pretty, it's very inconvenient and it's very expensive," said Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, noting that the city would apply for federal funds to help defray the massive cleanup costs. Up to 20 inches of snow had fallen in Central Park by early evening.

Elsewhere, the nation's capital was paralyzed and in a state of emergency, much of it buried under up to 2 feet of snow. Malls, museums and monuments were closed, and officials announced that all federal offices and schools will be closed today. Even the president's State of the Union plans were postponed.

President Bush, who battled the storm to return to a snow-covered White House from Camp David on Sunday, canceled a scheduled Monday morning tour and speech at "The White House."

(See Blizzard, Page A4)

21 Die in Stampede at Club in Chicago

Guards using pepper spray to quell a fight trigger a crush at a packed illegal dance bar.

By ERIC SLATER
Times Staff Writer

CHICAGO — Security guards using pepper spray to break up a fight in an illegal nightclub early Monday triggered a stampede that killed 21 people and injured more than 50, police said, as hundreds of clubgoers tried to flee the bar only to be trapped in a single overcrowded stairwell.

Most of the dead appeared to have been asphyxiated and some suffered heart attacks, officials said, as they were trampled in the stairway leading from the second-floor dance area of Epitome, a high-priced bar and restaurant that caters primarily to African Americans.

Witnesses said a second-floor door was locked and chained, and fire officials said other doors

were illegally locked or blocked. The throng tried to flee down the stairwell that led to the front door of the dance club, named E2. The second floor — where patrons had been dancing — was ordered closed in the summer for repeated safety violations, including a lack of exits and exit signs.

By the time firefighters arrived, the lone exit was clogged with the injured and the dead, and bodies were piled against the double-paned glass.

"It was chaos," one patron said a few hours after the disaster. "It was madness."

The stampede is reminiscent of other incidents in which large numbers of people were trampled. In 1991, nine people in New York were crushed to death in a gymnasium stairwell while awaiting a celebrity basketball game. In 1979, 11 died in Cincinnati as a crowd rushed for the best seats at a concert by The Who.

"Chicago is a city in deep mourning today," said Police

(See Nightclub, Page A12)



'IT WAS MADNESS': Clubgoers are pressed against glass as they try to escape the crush of panicked patrons at the illegally operated E2 dance club in Chicago, in a television image.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Rift With Europe Runs Deep

U.S. views on war, guns, religion strain the alliance that has defined Western democracy.

By SEBASTIAN ROTELLA
Times Staff Writer

PARIS — Europeans think Americans are ignorant, bullying, greedy, trigger-happy barbarians. Americans think Europeans are snobbish, cowardly, bureaucratic, decadent, traitorous wimps.

That, at least, might be the conclusion drawn by a visitor from another planet these days. The Iraq crisis has brought the relationship between the United States and Europe to new lows, unleashing ugly instincts and shrill voices on both sides.

U.S. congressmen and comedians have rediscovered the joys of French-bashing. Antiwar marchers in Spain last weekend declared that President Bush was worse than Hitler and that the United States kills for oil.

It seems hard to believe that the United States and Europe are actually old friends and partners and that their alliance is at the heart of a Western culture based on personal liberty and political democracy.

Optimists, including White

(See Rift, Page A8)

Iraq Given 'Last Chance'

European leaders issue a statement on disarming Baghdad but don't impose a deadline. Open U.N. debate is scheduled to begin today.

By HENRY CHU
Times Staff Writer

BRUSSELS — Trying to salvage some unity at a time of deep division, European leaders told Iraq on Monday that it had a "last chance" to disarm immediately but stopped short of saying when continued noncompliance by Baghdad would lead to war.

After a weekend outpouring of antiwar sentiment in many of their capitals, the heads of the 15 European Union nations met in an emergency session to patch over differences that have severely strained relations among them and with the United States.

The result was a joint statement affirming their desire to see Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein eliminate any weapons of mass destruction, a process that they warned could not be drawn out indefinitely. But the statement did not go much further, indicating that fundamental questions about the need and timing for military intervention remain unresolved.

U.S. officials indicated that they and their British allies were planning to go ahead with the introduction this week of a second resolution that would push reluctant U.N. Security Council members to confront Iraq.

Even as European leaders were making their show of unity, France explicitly rebuffed the U.S. and British efforts to shape a new resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq. French President Jacques Chirac told reporters before the EU summit that inspectors ought to be allowed more time to do their

(See Iraq, Page A9)



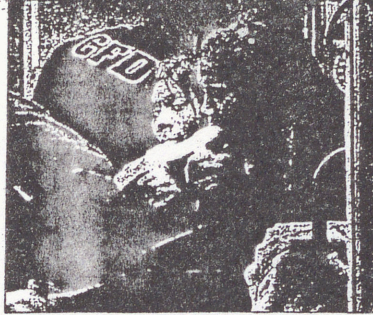
OPPOSED: French President Jacques Chirac sees no need for a second U.N. resolution authorizing force against Iraq.

AP/Wide World

INSIDE

Warming Relations on Korean Peninsula

Despite fears about the north's nuclear program, North and South Korea are firming ties. AS



CLUB CRUSH: Women who escaped the tangle of panicked club-goers at an illegal Chicago dance venue are treated at the scene, in this television image.

21 Die During Stampede in Chicago Club

[Nightclub, from Page A1]
Supt. Terry Hilliard. "While these deaths were sudden... our investigation will not be over quickly. We will get to the bottom of this."

City building codes limited the number of people in the first-floor restaurant to 327. Authorities said Monday they did not know what the legal capacity of the dance area had been, but in July a state court ordered the owners not to use the second floor for any public events. Estimates of the number of patrons in the club during the panic early Monday ranged from 500 to 1,500.

According to business records, the club is owned by Lesly Motors, which is next door, and Chicago attorney Dwain Kyles and his business partner Calvin Hollins.

Hollins, president of Epitome, served prison time in the 1980s for shooting a man outside another nightclub, according to police records.

"The owner knows damn well he's not to open that second-floor facility," said an angry Chicago Fire Commissioner James Joyce.

The panicked exodus began about 2:15 a.m., when security guards stepped in to break up an altercation that witnesses said involved two women.

Some witnesses said the guards sprayed a crowd-control agent into fans that were blowing in the crowded room, though police could not confirm that.

At 2:23 a.m., a 911 call reporting "a pregnant woman down" was routed to the Chicago Fire Department, Joyce said.

"The first companies on the scene saw other people down on

the stairwell and... people against the doors trying to get out," Joyce said. The paramedics immediately called for help.

Soon, about two dozen ambulances, a dozen firetrucks and numerous other emergency vehicles arrived at the club on South Michigan Avenue, minutes from the city's Loop business district.

One fire engine drove to the back of the building, Joyce said, where firefighters smashed the locks or chains on several doors with sledgehammers. Patrons then burst through some of the doors.

Inside one door, near the kitchen, the firefighters discovered four people in cardiac arrest who had apparently been dragged there, Joyce said. It was unclear whether anyone had tried to escape through the locked or blocked doors.

Witnesses said that the crowd fled because the guards used pepper spray in the hot, crowded room.

"People were throwing up everywhere," said one young man, who declined to give his name. "People throwing up and running and tripping everywhere. I saw people lying everywhere."

Three people were pronounced dead at the scene in early morning, though firefighters said they had carried out several more who appeared to already have perished. By late in the day, the number of dead stood at 21.

"How many died?" 24-year-old Anthony White, who said he had visited the club before, asked one of the firefighters at the scene.

"Twenty-one so far," the firefighter said.



AIDING THE INJURED: Rescuers rush a victim of the stampede toward an ambulance, in this television image. Officials said 21 people died and more than 50 were hurt after security guards using pepper spray to stop a fight triggered a panic.



RESCUE EFFORT: Emergency workers aid victims from the E2 club after nightclub patrons rushed the only open exit.

"Oh, no. Oh, no."

Ambulances sped victims to nine hospitals, where relatives collapsed with grief in the waiting rooms and sobbed as they ran through the emergency room doors.

"These bodies were smashed faces, torsos, legs. It's like a steamroller rolled over them."

The Rev. Eric Sloss told the Chicago Tribune as he comforted families at the University of Illinois Medical Center at Chicago. "It's horrific."

The club, formerly called La Mirage, Heroes, and The Clique, has been one of most prominent, priciest restaurants and dance venues catering to blacks in Chicago for 17 years, attracting such hip-hop and pop music figures as Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, Jay-Z and R. Kelly.

Security was often tight at the club, with guards locking doors to prevent people from sneaking in to avoid cover charges as high as \$100, and to help control crowds, club-goers said. Epitome and its predecessors also have been the scene of numerous crimes inside as well as outside, according to police records.

In September, a 22-year-old woman was shot to death out-

Nightclub chaos

A release of pepper spray into the air at a Chicago nightclub caused hundreds of guests to rush down a stairway to the club entrance. At least 21 people died in the panicked crush.

Epitome building

Club above restaurant

Restaurant on first floor

Stage

Club entrance

Stairwell from dance club

Source: Chicago Tribune, Associated Press

Los Angeles Times

side the club, and in January a woman died in a car accident after leaving Epitome, where she allegedly had gotten drunk.

Since 2000, police have responded to calls at the club 80 times, mostly for fights, Hilliard said.

The high-priced menu and live jazz in the restaurant area tended to lure well-dressed couples and sometimes families, while the dance club drew both rich and poor as well as number of troublemakers, some from nearby housing projects, according to owners and police.

In 2002, part-owner Kyles wrote Alderman Madeline Halthcock asking for her help in getting more police to patrol the area. Halthcock wrote back encouraging him to work with police but also said: "I will not be available for any support in the future."

An April 2002 article in the Chicago Defender newspaper said Kyles was planning to change the type of music at the

dance club from heavy hip-hop to mellow music — hoping to lure a quieter clientele — because police and city officials were threatening to close it because of violence.

"The music has a lot to do with who you attract in this business," Kyles told the Defender.

On Monday, several club-goers said they hadn't noticed a change in musical styles.

As police interviewed dozens of people and viewed videotape from the club in trying to determine what the fight was about and how security guards reacted, fire and building investigators searched for safety violations. They found many, officials said.

Joyce, the fire commissioner, said the restaurant section of the club has "some history of violations" but it doesn't appear to be an overwhelming number of violations.

When inspectors last visited the restaurant, in the fall, they found no problems. They did not inspect the upper level, Joyce said, because it was not supposed to be in operation.

On Monday, however, they discovered exit doors throughout the building that were locked, doors that were chained, doors blocked by boxes and others by bags of laundry.

Sluicing in the cold, White stared at the club from behind police tape as sirens wailed and firefighters rolled up a hose.

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Got Termites?

Appendix 5

The New York Times

21 Die in Stampede of 1,500 at Chicago Club

Continued From Page A1

around the nightclub in the last three years, prompting numerous neighborhood complaints and a petition to shut the place down.

The club's owners, who were being interviewed by the police today and could not be reached for comment, had pleaded for more patrols in the area. They recently changed the music mix and relaxed the dress code.

Dorothy Capers, the city's deputy corporation counsel, said officials had been in court three times since July, most recently last month, trying to enforce the order barring use of the second story, which officials said was shattering because of shoddy rehabilitation work and stairwells and exit lights that were not up to code.

The owner of the building is Lesly Motors, a car dealership, and the liquor license is held by a corporation called Le Mirage.

The owners chose to violate the law, said Cortez Trotter, director of the city's office of emergency management. "They certainly were in violation of it this morning."

Andre Grant, a lawyer for the club owners, said that his understanding of the court order was that it prevented the use only of a skybox above the dance floor, not the second story. He said that city officials must have known the club was operating because its events were widely advertised on local radio stations and that the security guards who sprayed Mace this morning were employed by Envy Entertainment, the company sponsoring the evening's festivities, not the club itself.

In addition to the issue of the court order, Commissioner Joyce said, the required occupancy placard was missing from the second floor, and bags of laundry were blocking several doors.

"There are people who were trying to get out who could not get out," he said. "We can't explain how management or ownership would allow that to happen. We understand that they have some tight security procedures, but we can't allow that to get in the way of safety."

It was the nation's deadliest stampede incident in recent years. In December 1991, nine people were crushed to death in a stampede at a celebrity basketball game at City College in New York. And in December 1979 in Cincinnati, 11 people were killed trying to get into a concert by The Who. Death tolls have been larger overseas, with 53 people killed in

Minsk in 1990 as they fled a rock concert.

Survivors of the stampede here described a chaotic and frantic nightmare, with people gasping for air amid the sprays as they climbed on top of each other down the stairs. The first firefighters, responding to a 911 call about a pregnant woman in distress, arrived at 2:24 a.m. to discover the mob scene.

Witnesses said that the security guards formed a human chain to try to control the crowds, and that the glass front doors were shut by the crush of bodies.

"I couldn't breathe, I was in there searching for air," said Chandra Spencer, 30. "There were so many people who died in front of me. Them guards killed them people. There was no need for them to do what they did."

Ms. Redmon said she heard the

are necessary to make sure that nothing like this ever happens again."

Fire and police officials said they were not sure whether the Mace and pepper spray contributed to the fatalities. But they said the lack of alternate exits was almost certainly to blame.

Commissioner Joyce, of the fire department, said there were no locked or blocked doors when the investigators last visited Eptome, in October. But he said the investigators examined only the first floor, since the upstairs club was supposed to be closed.

Eptome and E2, in a 16,000-square-foot landmark building two blocks from the McCormick Place convention center, opened in May 2000, replacing previous nightclub incarnations, the Clique and Hero's.

Serving American cuisine with an international flair, like filet mignon wrapped in applewood-smoked bacon with a mushroom and Shiraz reduction, the restaurant attracted black professionals and politicians, several of whom had fund-raisers there.

The nightclub, with cover charges of \$15 to \$100 — it was \$20 last night — often had special events, including performances by the R & B star R. Kelly and the rapper 50 Cent.

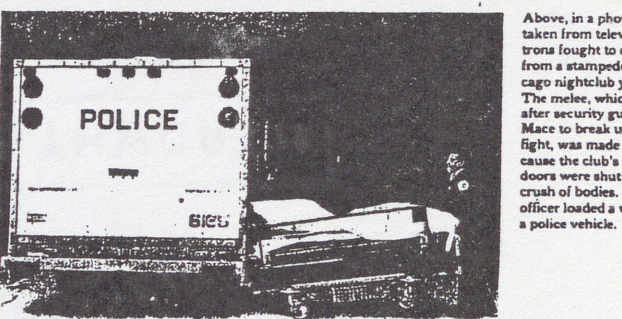
"Though the name and décor are different, the crowd hasn't changed much," Ventia Griffin wrote of E2 in a review on centerstage.net. "Be warned: It can get nasty on the dance floor; barely dressed women bump and grind with men who want to know just how low they can go."

Dwain Kyles, a lawyer who runs the club with Calvin Hollins Jr., had in recent months urged the police department to send more officers on weekend nights to the neighborhood, known as Motor's Row, where artists live in renovated lofts with a view of the nearby public housing projects.

"We need the kind of manpower that serves as a deterrent," Mr. Kyles told The Chicago Sun-Times last year. "Although we have security, some of these people really want to clown."

Superintendent Hillard of the Chicago police said his department could not provide protection to private clubs.

Detectives interviewing hundreds of people who had been inside the club were receiving conflicting accounts of how the fight started, who sprayed Mace and why, and how people died, Superintendent Hillard said, adding that he expected to review video from the club's security



Peter Thompson for The New York Times

cameras as part of the investigation.

Several clubgoers, as well as victims' relatives and community leaders, questioned why the club had been so crowded, why the doors were locked, and why security guards seemed to exacerbate rather than defuse the situation.

Mr. Jackson led a prayer service today at the headquarters of his Rainbow/PUSH Coalition and said his organization would help coordinate funeral services, and lawsuits.

"This could have been avoided," said DePetric Mosley, president of a local group called Bringing About Reform, who recently complained to

Mr. Kyles about overcrowding.

"The club owner was more interested in money than saving people," Mr. Mosley said.

Antione Heyward, 30, a frequent patron, blamed the newly relaxed dress code.

"When you put on nice clothes and pay \$10 to have your shoes polished, you're not looking for a fight," Mr. Heyward said. "When you start letting just anyone come up here, you're looking for trouble."

A dozen bouquets and three white teddy bears sat in front of the restaurant this morning, with a card that said "We Miss You — R.I.P. — Keep

Yo Heads Up!"

Just after noon, a woman stopped by to add a brown envelope with the message, "Our prayers with you."

The Rev. Ira Acree, one of the local pastors who visited this morning to counsel the relatives, described the grief. "When I went into my room, he fell into my arms crying," Mr. Acree said. "A year-old man crying! It's traumatic. He was crying, brother. I lost my friend, neighbor. That boy's on an al respirator."

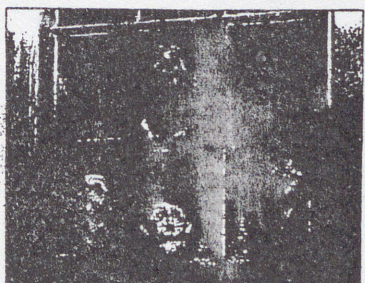
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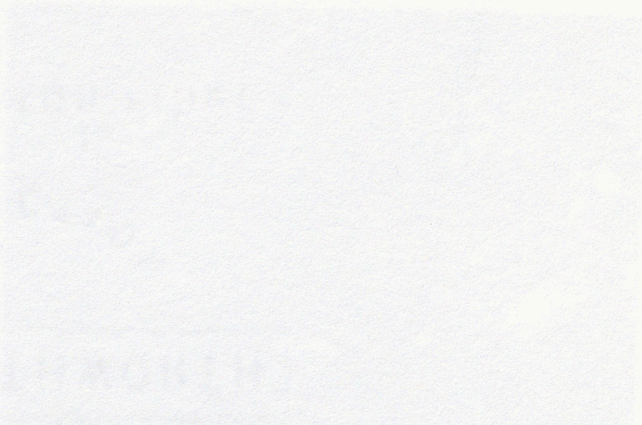
U.S., Britain to Tall U.N. It Has 3 Weeks on Iraq

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10 — The United States and Britain are expected to announce today that they will demand that Iraq withdraw its troops from Kuwait within three weeks, a move that would bring the Gulf crisis to a head.

The two nations are expected to lead a coalition of other countries in a demand that Iraq withdraw its troops from Kuwait within three weeks, a move that would bring the Gulf crisis to a head.

Nightclub Fire Toll Nears 100

Death toll in fire at nightclub near 100, police say.



LOS ANGELES, Sept. 10 — The death toll in a fire at a nightclub near downtown Los Angeles today reached 99, police said.

The fire, which broke out at the Fire House nightclub, has claimed the lives of 99 people, including 97 patrons and two firefighters.

Appendix 6 The Los Angeles Times

Zeroing in on 9/11

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 10 — The Los Angeles Times is zeroing in on the Sept. 11 fire at the Fire House nightclub, a move that would bring the Gulf crisis to a head.

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Fire Toll Drove to the Fire



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U.S., Britain to Tell U.N. It Has 3 Weeks on Iraq

Allies plan to offer a resolution clearing the way for war and also set a deadline. Turkey and Washington tentatively reach a deal on access.

By PAUL RICHTER,
ROBIN WRIGHT
AND MAGGIE FARLEY
Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — The United States and Britain plan to offer a resolution on disarming Iraq at the U.N. Security Council on Monday that will be accompanied by a demand for a vote within three weeks, diplomatic sources said Friday.

The decision came as chief

weapons inspector Hans Blix ordered Iraq to begin destroying its Al-Samoud 2 missiles by March 1 and as Bush administration officials confirmed that they have reached the outlines of an agreement with Turkey on allowing U.S. troops to traverse Turkish territory to attack Iraq from its north.

Weapons inspectors found that the Iraqi missiles exceed by 20 miles the 93-mile range allowed by the United Nations. Blix demanded that Iraq also destroy launchers, engines, autopilots, fuel and other components of the missiles, diplomats said.

Blix's moves are expected to bolster the Bush administration's efforts to persuade the Security Council to vote on a resolution that many believe will trigger a U.S.-led war on Iraq that has been the focus of worldwide protests.

In a breakthrough for the Bush administration's war plans, U.S. and Turkish officials said they had settled the basic terms of a deal that includes a \$26-billion package of grants and loans to Ankara in exchange for its allowing U.S. troops to open a front against Iraq from southeastern Turkey. Such a deal would settle the most important unresolved issue of the Pentagon's war plan, officials said.

Both sides acknowledged that key points remain in dispute but said they hope to complete the deal Monday and present it to the Turkish legislature for its approval Tuesday.

President Bush, meanwhile, began an intensive lobbying [See Iraq, Page A5].

COLUMN ONE

Zeroing In on 9/11 'Vultures'

■ It wasn't just a time for heroes at the World Trade Center. Dozens have been charged with filing false death claims. One collected \$273,000.

By DAVID ZUCCHINO
Times Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Cyril Kendall, father of 12, reported his youngest child dead — a brown-eyed young man in a blue suit, last seen on the 91st floor of the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, 2001.

Gerard Rinaldi reported the death of his wife, last seen working in the Windows of the World restaurant in the North Tower. Ricardo Frutos listed three dead relatives, killed as they toured the 42nd floor of the World Trade Center straight of a flight from France.

These were deeply disturbing tales — not for the people who reported them, but for the police detectives who exposed them as frauds.

"Basically, these people were vultures," said New York City Police Sgt. Daniel Heinz, whose Special Frauds Squad has spent longer than a year dismantling the elaborate edifice of lies built by people seeking to profit from the worst terrorist attack on U.S. soil.

For all the heroics of the World Trade Center narrative, there is a sad and twisted coda in the bright pink file folders of the frauds squad. Eighteen months after the towers collapsed, the squad's nine detectives are still investigating suspicious claims of dead loved ones who, all too often, are either very much alive or never existed at all.

Kendall collected \$190,967 from charities. Rinaldi collected \$13,500 and Frutos got \$47,000 before they were charged with filing false death claims for imaginary victims or, in Rinaldi's case, for his unsuspecting estranged wife. For his convicted son

RELATED STORIES

Compliance: Inspector orders Iraq to destroy missiles. All Iraqis oppose. A muddled movement seeks relevance. All Los Angeles: City Council votes to oppose a war in Iraq. B1

Americans Could Face a Swamp in Philippines

By JOHN HENDREN
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Military and diplomatic experts Friday questioned a new mission that is expected to send American combat troops to the Philippines, warning that the U.S. force would face a complex web of local politics and a danger that the effort could backfire.

By most accounts, the presence of U.S. military advisors in the Philippines over the last year has helped suppress and fragment the Muslim extremist group Abu Sayyaf on the southern island of Basilan. But the expected arrival of 3,000 U.S. Navy, Marine and special operations troops in the coming weeks will escalate what had been a training and advisory mission.

With an apparent authorization to engage in combat along-

Nightclub Fire Toll Nears 100

Band's Pyrotechnics Ignite a Life-or-Death Rush for the Exits



By ELIZABETH MEHRREN
AND STEPHEN BRAUN
Times Staff Writers

WEST WARWICK, R.I. —

The raging nightclub fire touched off by a rock group's pyrotechnic show claimed 96 lives by late Friday, as officials struggled to identify badly burned victims and investigate the chaos that sent scores of survivors tumbling from a mobbed doorway.

Hours after 187 fire and smoke victims were rushed to hospitals in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, nearly two dozen remained in critical condition with life-threatening burns from one of the worst nightclub blazes in U.S. history.

Splashes of flame and rolling coils of dark smoke coursed through The Station, a small, low-ceilinged club, Thursday night in this Providence suburb.

Desperate concert-goers trampled one another in a mad rush through the club's main entrance, some writhing with their clothes aflame as they staggered into the street.

Witnesses described fire racing up the walls of the club with an ominous crackle at 11 p.m., moments after the Los Angeles-based heavy metal rock band Great White took the stage in front of the sparking wheels of a pyrotechnic display. "The whole building filled with smoke in 20 to 30 seconds," said Christopher Travis, a survivor. "Everyone started panicking. It was total chaos."

Rhode Island Gov. Donald L. Carcieri said the fireworks apparently were used without permission from either state or city public safety officials. As the club's owners and Great White's management blamed each other for failing to obtain proper licenses, police and prosecutors found themselves confronting hazy questions of accountability similar to those raised this week in Chicago after a nightclub stampede led to the deaths of 21 people.

"This is just unspeakable and it should not have happened," Carcieri said. Added West Warwick Fire Chief Charlie Hall, "There may be a bone of contention among them, but all I know is nobody got a license."

The rock group's lead singer, Jack Russell, told reporters that the club's managers had given Great White permission to mount the fireworks display. The club's owners, Michael and Jeffrey Deder, [See Fire, Page A16]

RUINS: Fire officials inspect the smoldering rubble of The Station, a West Warwick, R.I., nightclub that burned late Thursday during a rock concert, killing at least 96 people.

Some Still Drawn to the Flame

Use of fireworks has declined, but bands that light them in small clubs are taking big risks.

By CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS
AND RANDY LEWIS
Times Staff Writers

It might not match the thrill of turning up the volume, but for many performers, lighting a fireworks fuse has become a powerful temptation.

Since the 1970s, when the cartoonish rock band KISS pioneered the use of indoor fireworks, many pop music performers have been counting on pyrotechnics to punch up their acts. Fireworks industry veterans say their clients range from rockers to rappers, from wrestlers to magicians to convention planners, all looking to enliven presentations.



PART OF THE SHOW: Lead singer Jack Russell and his heavy metal band, Great White, perform moments before fireworks triggered the fire at The Station in West Warwick, R.I.

It was just such a pyrotechnic show, staged by the rock band Great White in a small Rhode Island club Thursday night, that erupted in flames, leaving scores of dead and wounded.

Industry veterans also point

out that pyrotechnics have become standard on televised music awards shows, which would-be stars watch closely for inspiration.

"The more they see it on television, the more they want [See Pyrotechnics, Page A19]

RELATED STORIES

Keeping watch: Regulars fear for missing friends. A17
Great White: Band still claimed loyal fans. A19

NASA Resisted Concerns, Engineers' E-Mails Say

Exchanges among a dozen scientists raised fears about shuttle's safety before disaster.

By SCOTT GOLD
AND RALPH VARTABEDIAN



Club Fire Death Toll May Reach 100

(Fire, from Page A1)

lan, countered in a written statement that they had no "prior knowledge that pyrotechnics were going to be used by the band."

As 120 firefighters battled the blaze, rescue teams from West Warwick and the neighboring town of Warwick dashed in and out of the club, carrying scores of burned and smoke-choked survivors out until a wall of flame finally drove them back. Pressing into the fleeing crowds, firefighters hauling heavy rubber hoses trained streams of pressurized water on the flames long enough to bring out 100 burned survivors from a narrow hall that led to the mobbed front exit, Hall said.

But within three minutes, officials said, the club's main room had convulsed into a pyre. In half an hour, bolts of flames cast eerie light on the skeletal remains of the club's exterior walls. "The whole place was gone," said Jack Charlier, fire chief from neighboring Warwick.

Only when smoldering hot-spots were finally extinguished late Friday were fire teams able to search The Station's charred ruins to determine how many victims they had missed. Firefighters found bodies clustered near the stage and in bathrooms.

More than 25 lay near the entrance, Fire Chief Hall said, just beyond the reach of rescuers who had waited in vain just yards away.

Dozens of injured club-goers — burned, retching, their hands and faces seared by flame, bloodied by broken glass and blackened by smoke — were transported by ambulance to local hospitals. At least 25 people sustained life-threatening injuries, including 10 with severe burns airlifted to burn centers in Boston. Fifteen others with critical injuries were among 71 people admitted to several Rhode Island hospitals.

"I'm not sure New England has seen anything like this since the Coconut Grove fire," said Dr. Joseph Amaral, president of Rhode Island Hospital in Providence, which admitted 43 burn and smoke victims.

Amaral was referring to the worst nightclub fire in U.S. history, which killed 491 people in Boston in November 1942. The West Warwick blaze is the fourth-worst such blaze, after a 1940 fire that killed 198 at a Natchez, Miss., club, and the Beverly Hills Supper Club fire in Southgate, Ky., where 165 perished in May 1977.

"As much as anyone can prepare for anything like this, the stars really is hard to imagine," Amaral said. He said the next three days will be the most critical for those severely burned, but added that painful, difficult skin grafts lay ahead for survivors. Although officials were heartened that all of the injured taken from the club were still alive Friday night, Charlier warned that the death toll could climb past 100.

Doctors were also surprised, Amaral said, by the "degree of inhalation injuries" suffered by survivors who had little time to react.

"They tried to go out the same way they came in," Hall said. "That was the problem. They didn't use the other three fire exits."

Those exits were unlocked, officials said, but many patrons, including some from out of town, were unfamiliar with the club's layout.

Some relatives told Charlier and other officials of receiving "frantic calls from victims who fled into the club's bathrooms only to find there was no way out. 'They didn't have a prayer,' the governor said.

Rhode Island, the nation's tiniest state, is a compressed warren of ethnic villages, and West Warwick is the state in miniature, an enclave of Portuguese and Irish blue-collar families. As sad-eyed survivors returned to the smoldering club, Rhode Island



THE VICTIMS: Firefighters carry the remains of a victim through the rubble of The Station, a West Warwick, R.I. nightclub. Officials said 94 people had died in the blaze, which was started during a heavy metal band's pyrotechnic display.



THE WAIT: Friends of victims comfort each other outside The Station, where 187 injured concert-goers were taken to hospitals.

lucky

"I wanted to see it again," said Erin Pucino, 25, a sales associate with a chin stud and long black hair. "My friends were in there. All these other people were in there. And most of them didn't get out."

Many bodies were burned so badly, officials said, that by day's end they were still having trouble identifying scores of the dead. The first, Carlier said mutedly, "were those who had identification in their pockets." Volunteer pathologists were being called in to speed up the identification process.

Among the missing, officials and witnesses said, were Great White's guitarist, Ty Longley,

and Mike "Dr. Metal" Gurekshes, a local disc jockey who had introduced the band moments before the fire started.

A video filmed inside the club by a television news crew just as the fire started showed Russell wearing a blue-starred bandana, leaping onstage. Fans hoisted beer bottles and waved fingers in a heavy metal salute as the fireworks display began. Suddenly, rivulets of flame began snaking up the wall behind the singer.

Witnesses said the band was still playing its first song, "Desert Moon," as the stage caught fire. "This is the time to stay out all night," Russell yelled. "I've got a fire like a heavenly light."

"It went up like a Christmas

tree," Russell said after escaping the flames. "I was trying to put it out with a bottle of water. I turned around and the building was engulfed. My sound man is injured. I'm missing my guitar player."

Sparks from the pyrotechnics appeared to catch on a curtain behind the stage and quickly spread along an egg-crate mat of acoustic material lined against the wall, several witnesses said.

Mistakenly assuming the fire was part of the band's act, some in the audience kept cheering even as the flames licked upward — until a sudden blast of heat stunned those near the stage with the realization that they were in danger.

"Everyone just stood there," said Jackie Bernard, 40, a hotel housekeeper from Cranston, R.I., who went to the club with a friend, Tina Ayers. "They thought it was part of the fire works."

Bernard noticed "crackling" noises and looked up to see the ceiling cracking and flames sifting nearby. She grabbed Ayers and the two women tried to get to the front entrance, only to find themselves hemmed in by other panic-stricken fans, all groping their way in the dark. The fire quickly shrouded the club's lights and dense smoke obscured the faint illumination from battery-powered exit signs.

In the dark gasping, Bernard was separated from Ayers. "I had to let her go," she said. "I don't know what happened." On Friday, her eyes still red-rimmed from the smoke, Bernard returned to gawk sadly at the club's ruins. Ayers was missing.

Bernard and other witnesses said they had no idea that the fireworks display had gone on without permission. But Great White was one of a number of metal groups that have used incense to punctuate their shows.

On Web sites, metal fans routinely use about "pyro" demonstrations by their favorite bands. Last Friday, Domenic Santanu, the owner of the Stone Pony, a club in Asbury Park, N.J., said that Great White had set off the incense without warning during a Feb. 14 show. "Our stage manager didn't even know it until it was done," Santanu said. "My sound man freaked out because of the heat and every time they jeopardized the health and safety of our patrons."

The band also allegedly used fireworks without permission, during a Feb. 7 show in Pinellas Park, Fla., said Tim Bryant, a producer who put on the show at Pinellas Park Expo Center. But the group did not ignite fireworks when it played the Riviera Club in Atlanta on Feb. 10.

There was no fire show," said Mike Marshall, a Riviera worker who declined to say whether the band had asked if it could use pyrotechnics.

Paul Woolnough, president of Great White's management company, told Associated Press that tour manager Dan Biechle "checked" with club officials before pyrotechnics are used. Biechle could not be located for comment.

Russell, Longley, bassist Dave Plice and drummer Eric Powers make up the latest roster

of the band, which formed in Los Angeles in 1981, specialising in the droning blues-metal music pioneered by Zeppelin. The group, steady fan base among metal loyalists and sellers of thousands of d

Several Great White band members and managers questioned "several" Tuesday by State Police investigators, said Rhode Island Gen. Patrick Lynch. Police state fire marshals were trying to establish if there was a fault in using the fire

"The permit law was violated," Lynch said.

Hall, the fire chief, said the band and the club were responsible for obtaining fireworks license from Warwick and a "certificate of competence" from the state. The certificate would have had to be out by the "pyrotechnics" responsible for igniting fireworks. It was unclear if anyone set off the fireworks, officials said.

"They did not get permission from our department," Lynch said.

The fireworks were used without permission, said Hagerty, a lawyer representing club owners Michael and Derdarian, who were in the statement. Hagerty said the fire started in the building, the fire started in the building, the fire started in the building.

"No permission was requested by the band or it to use pyrotechnics at the time," Hagerty said.

Another possible cause, Hall and other officials said, was the club's expansion. Hagerty said the club had a legal limit of 350 people had been in the club. Hall said the club had a legal limit of 350 people had been in the club.

"Slightly under the limit," Hagerty said. The club also had emergency generators, though many witnesses said they had to grope for the dark.

But the club had no sprinkler system. Dating to the late 1940s, Hall said, the club was built under a 1976 law that required other newer and similar commercial establishments install sprinklers.

It was grandfathered in, Hall said.

The club was able to install sprinklers by using its exit lights and fire extinguishers, which were functioning when the fire occurred, Hall said.

But Hall noted angrily that they had a sprinkler system wouldn't be here today.

Mehren reported from Warwick and Braun reported from Washington. Times writer Thomas S. Mulligan contributed to this report.

Nation's worst club fires

Deaths	Date	Location	Club Name	Cause	Circumstances
491	Nov. 28, 1942	Boston	Coconut Grove	Unknown	Club jammed with more than 1,000 patrons, had inadequate fire exits
198	April 23, 1940	Natchez, Miss.	Rhythm Night Club	Unknown	Old wooden frame building with weak supports, mass draped from balcony
165	May 28, 1977	Southgate, Ky.	Beverly Hills Supper Club	Outdated wiring	Club exceeded legal capacity; exits obstructed by chairs, tables
87	March 25, 1990	The Bronx, N.Y.	Happy Land Social Club	Arson	No exit and no sprinkler system
32	June 24, 1973	New Orleans	Upstairs Lounge	Arson	Fire started near first-floor entrance, raced upstairs into club
25	Oct. 24, 1976	The Bronx, N.Y.	Fuori Rican Social Club	Arson	One exit to second-floor club; fire escape blocked
24	June 30, 1974	Port Chester, N.Y.	Club 42	Arson	Fire started by bowling alley



**Appendix
7
The New York Times**

That Bayer Knew Cholesterol Drug

OVERVIEW

96 Dead in Fire Ignited by Band's Pyrotechnics at Rhode Island Club

Continued From Page A1

Arms, were investigating to see whether anyone should be held responsible for the fire.

Mr. Carlier, who cut short a working vacation in Florida to return to Rhode Island today, said it appeared about 350 people were in the club, which had a capacity of 300.

Investigators said most of the victims had either been burned to death or died of smoke inhalation, though some may have been trampled in the rush to escape. Some bodies were so charred that officials were having trouble making identification and planned to use DNA samples and other methods. Names of the victims were not being released this evening because many family members had not been notified, officials said.

The fire came just four days after people were killed in a stampede at a Chicago nightclub after security guards used pepper spray to break up a fight.

It was clear that the fire had dealt a horrific blow to Rhode Island, a state that often sees itself as one of the most secure communities. Countless state residents had some connection to people who had been in the club in this former textile mill town of 30,000 about 15 miles southwest of Providence.

"People say, in the world it's six degrees of separation," said the attorney general, Patrick Lynch. "In Rhode Island, it's probably a degree and a half."

All day, as the death toll climbed and rescuers used cranes to lift the blackened debris and look for bodies, friends and relatives showed up at the ravaged hulk that was the Station looking for people they knew or thought had been at the show.

George Guindon, 35, a house painter who was at the club on Thursday night and was burned on his head, band and leg, returned to the Station this afternoon searching for a close friend, Matt Darby, a man whose wife is nine months pregnant, who he feared had not survived.

"I'm hoping he got out and has amnesia or something and is just walking around somewhere," Mr. Guindon said.

Mr. Guindon described his escape. The flames were over my head, coming through the bar. I figure I had two choices: make a run for it or stay and die. I jumped over the bar and ran toward the wall, hoping I'd hit a window and not the wall.

"I ran across the street and into the snow. I looked back and saw people coming out. One guy, he already looked dead. He said, 'Don't touch me.' He had no face."

Donna Miele, 40, showed up to look for her brother and his wife, Michael and Sandy Hoogasian. Ms. Miele said that her brother, a longtime Great White fan, had not been able to get tickets to the show. But on Thursday afternoon, he happened to be in a tattoo parlor getting a tattoo of a flame when he noticed the band's lead singer getting a tattoo as well.

Mr. Hoogasian, 31, was thrilled when he was invited to see the performance as the band's guest. Ms. Miele said. Now, with a tear-stained face, Ms. Miele described how she had called all the hospitals and could not find her brother and sister-in-law in any of the lists.

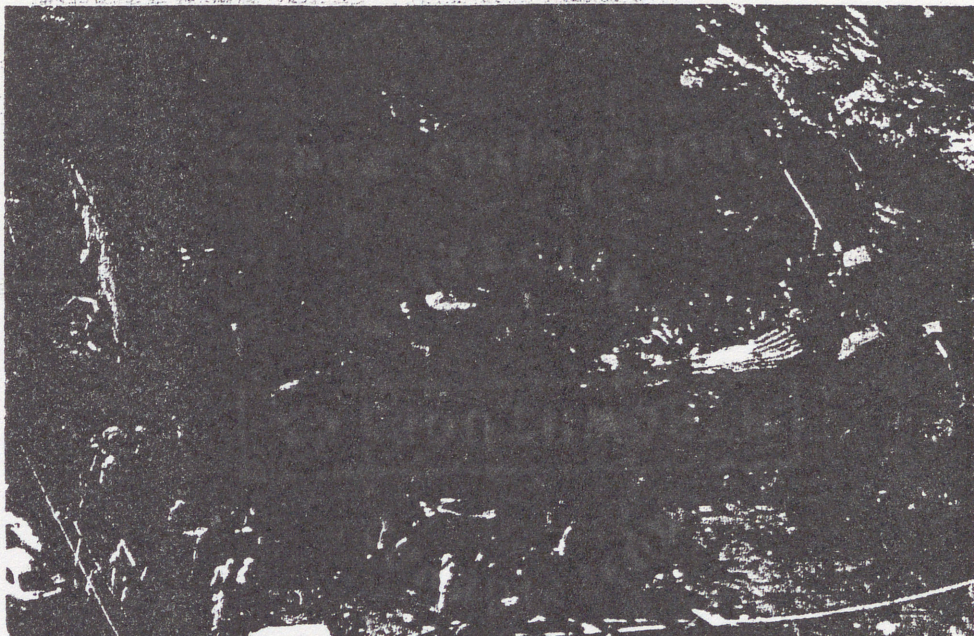
"This is so much pain," she said, with more pain than I've ever known. At the hospitals, all people had been admitted by this afternoon and were in critical condition, the authorities said.

Liz Arruda, 21, a waitress from New Bedford, Mass., suffered second-degree burns over 30 percent of her body, mostly on her back, which was struck by a piece of burning roof. The rubber soles of her sneakers melted into the floor and she escaped after a friend picked her up and threw her over a crowd of people who had the club's back door.

Ms. Arruda's mother, Dorothy, visited her this afternoon in the intensive unit at Rhode Island Hospital, the hospital ward, filled with nearly 100 fire victims, was "like a battle scene," Ms. Burt said. "You see people literally with no faces."

Doctors gave some of the more critical patients a 40 percent to 50 percent chance of survival.

Among those missing was a guitarist for Great White, Ty Longley. There were conflicting reports about whether the club was told that Great White was planning to ignite pyrotechnics.



The Station in West Warwick, R.I., was not large enough to require sprinklers, the fire chief said. He added that the club was inspected two months ago. Officials said the fire spread almost instantly from pyrotechnic sparks to sheet walls, causing a death toll that is one of the worst in U.S. history.



ONLINE: INSIDE THE CLUB

Video of the fire can be found on The New York Times Web site, www.nytimes.com/national.

Domestic Santana, the owner of the Stone Pony in Asbury Park, N.J., said no one at the club was told about the pyrotechnic equipment for a show on Feb. 14. Mr. Santana said other details were stipulated in the contract. "From towels to the number of yellow M&M's they want."

He said that when the sparks began to fly, "our stage manager reacted right away and went onstage and told their tour manager: 'What are you doing? You can't be doing this.' Security workers smothered the device, he said.

A lawyer for Russell's nightclub in Bangor, Me., said Great White did not tell club management that it planned to use the sparklers as a

The Derderians have owned the club since March 2000. Jeffrey Derderian is a television repairman recently hired by WPRI in Providence. On Thursday night, he and a cameraman were apparently preparing a report on nightclub safety in light of the Chicago club stampede.

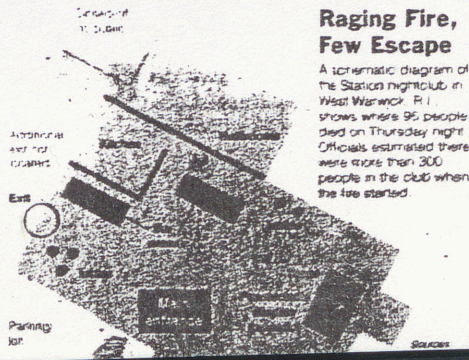
The fire generated reaction in at least one other state today when Gov. Mitt Romney of Massachusetts announced that he would form a task force to help fire officials inspect every nightclub in the state.

Mario Giamet, 38, a former bouncer for the Station for years who was there Thursday night as a patron, said "this particular management was the best equipped to get a lot of resources in the club."

Mr. Giamet hoped to the club this afternoon hoping to hear word of four employees and the wife of a fifth who had been at work as Thursday. Great White was popular on the heavy metal circuit in the 1980s.

Raging Fire, Few Escape

A schematic diagram of the Station nightclub in West Warwick, R.I., shows where 96 people died on Thursday night. Officials estimated there were more than 300 people in the club when the fire started.



SURVIVORS

Suddenly, Rock Show Turns Stage For Horror

By LYDIA POLGREEN

WEST WARWICK, R.I., Feb. 15 — At first it seemed like nothing but a blazing beginning of a rock show. So many other concerts Chris Travis had seen. Jack Russell, singer for Great White, belted the opening line of "Desert Moon" the crush of people inside the club. Travis gyrated and screamed in healing delight. Two pinwheel pyrotechnics spun on either side of the stage and two rockets shot sparks into the air.

Minutes later the excitement way to panic and desperation, the club became an inferno and the stampede to the exits began. The heat was too intense, the exit was too short.

"People were just scratching, clawing, looking for a way out," Travis said, his face still black by soot a day after his narrow escape and a white hospital identification tag still around his wrist. "I was throwing chairs, throwing things they could use."

People who made it out of the club described a scene of panic and a speakable horror. Skin and charred Strickens, burning faces, mangled in the crush of people trying to get out any way they could.

Mr. Travis was lucky. He reached a doorway.

But his legs became stuck under a pile of screaming people. "I was pulling my legs out from underneath," he said. "People were trampling on me." After pulling himself free, he rolled down three floors and lunged away from the building.

"I saw people running out the door engulfed in flames," he said. "They were rolling around in the street, tearing off their clothes. A lot of people were wearing winter clothes which didn't help, because they caught on fire."

"I cannot believe that I am alive," Mr. Travis said.

All those who made it out of the club by one route or another, but they wondered about those who had trampled, by necessity, meaning to, in order to escape.

Chris Nowicki, who had been on the side of the Station and suffered lacerations and bruises, was haunted by cries of a girl he had crushed.

"I had some poor girl under me screaming hysterically to get her," Mr. Nowicki told The Associated Press at Rhode Island Hospital. "I couldn't move an inch but I tried to pull her out. I'm not sure if she ever got up getting out."

Some escaped virtually unscathed, but others were badly burned or killed.

Jeffrey Hair's 30-year-old brother, Bob Rager, a sound man for Great White, made it out, barely. Mr. Rager lives in Cleveland but caught the plane to Providence that he was on this morning after he saw the news on television. He described his brother's struggle to get out.

"Bob tried to power through the windows but there were just enough ways to get out of the place," Mr. Hair said after talking with his brother in a hospital ward where he was being treated with gasoline. His hands, arms and face were badly burned. But he's a fighter. He's in great spirits. He said he couldn't get out. He had to go through a window."

Mr. Hair said doctors told him his brother was likely to survive his injuries.

Liz Arruda's family gathered at Rhode Island Hospital, where the 21-year-old mother of a 3-year-old boy was in the burn unit. A friend who also at the concert had picked Arruda up and thrown her out. It was so hot her sneakers had melted into the floor.

Ms. Arruda's mother, Dorothy Burt, was watching over her at the hospital. "Her face isn't too bad," Mrs. Burt said. "She has long, beautiful dark hair. It was striking because it was falling out."

Jesse Botelho was up near the stage when the flames reached the ceiling. "Those pyrotechnics were


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