

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

FROM KUNKIN TO GOLDBERG;

HOW TWO LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS EDITORS

VIEW THE WORLD

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in

Mass Communication

by

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May, 1975

The thesis of Suzanne David Montoya is approved:

California State University, Northridge

May, 1975

To Larry,  
who has understood

and

To Bryce,  
who almost seemed to

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ABSTRACT

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In 1973 editorship of one of the major underground newspapers, the Los Angeles Free Press, changed for the first time since its founding in 1964. The original editor and publisher, Art Kunkin, was fired in August of that year, and former Free Press city editor Jerry Goldberg assumed the editor's role.

This study involves a symbolic analysis of eight of Kunkin's articles and ten of Goldberg's selections appearing in 1973 issues of the Los Angeles Free Press. Using Kenneth Burke's method of study, the legal, informational, and personal symbols of each of the two writers are examined.

The symbolic world of each of the two editors is then related to the historical time periods when Kunkin and Goldberg each guided the Free Press.

Results indicate that Kunkin writes in a more negative but personal manner somewhat because of the more violent time period when he was editor of the newspaper. Goldberg, relating to a calmer historical period, tends to view the situation in a more hopeful but a somewhat less personal manner.

Finally, speculation is offered into the possibility of the transition from the writings of Kunkin to those of Goldberg as being characteristic of the future underground press of the 1970s.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Because the Los Angeles Free Press is regarded as one of the major underground newspapers, having existed since 1964 with a wide circulation, a study of two editors of this newspaper should be valuable to the underground press researcher of the future.

The Los Angeles Free Press underwent a significant transition in 1973. Founded in 1964, it changed editors for the first time in 1973, a change which is examined through the articles of the two editors involved in the transition, Art Kunkin and Jerry Goldberg.

The two Los Angeles Free Press editors' styles of writing differ markedly in several areas. These variations are compared together and then presented in relation to the different historical frameworks which appear to have influenced the works of the two men.

Using a formal methodology offered by Kenneth S. Burke, deriving conclusions from symbols, this thesis examines each of the two Los Angeles Free Press editors'



selected works individually and then compares these two sets in articles in a historical context. Finally, the relationship of the Los Angeles Free Press to the phenomenon of the alternative press is introduced as a topic for speculation.

Little research has been published concerning the underground press and its personnel. Even less of this can be defined as scholarly, with lack of a formal research method the primary criticism. Many of the researchers were either personally involved in the underground press or based their studies upon information gained from becoming personally involved to fulfill their researching objectives. They frequently admit this has introduced subjectively into their works. Another criticism is that so little of this material is recent, with the last of the relatively major works having received a copyright in 1972. The question of what the 1970s will bring is barely addressed in the available research.

Those writing about the alternative press and its personnel have agreed upon one contention: the underground has become a permanent addition to the newspaper medium in the United States. As such, it should be understood as completely as possible by those examining the media in

this country because it has grown into such a stable entity with a wide body of readers. Although the effects of the underground upon the Establishment media have not been examined, this is but another area which should be studied if the art of journalism is to be understood in today's world.

### The Los Angeles Free Press

The Los Angeles Free Press was founded in 1964 by Art Kunkin, the man who remained its publisher and active editor for the first nine years of its existence. Begun on such a small scale that Kunkin solicited contributions to scrape together enough to publish the first issue, by 1967 the newspaper's circulation was 68,000. It was then the largest of four alternative papers published in the Los Angeles area.<sup>1</sup>

Four years later, Kunkin sold the newspaper to Troy Boal and Don Partrick, who continued publication under the auspices of New Way Enterprises, Ltd. Kunkin remained as editor through the next two years, until he was fired in August 1973 when the new owners made the final payment on their purchase.<sup>2</sup>

Unhappy, he was responsible for a news release,

...the firing took place because of Kunkin's anti-Nixon stance and his concern with developing alternative political institutions and alternative life styles. In the staff's opinion, the Free Press owners will now publish a paper financed by massage parlors' advertising which deals only with L.A. Civic Center problems.<sup>3</sup>

Jerry Goldberg, city editor under Kunkin, was promoted to the position of editor. He announced the change through one of the articles cited within this study, admitting that "disagreements" characterized the transition.<sup>4</sup>

#### Historical Framework

Writings of the first two editors of the Los Angeles Free Press seem to have been influenced somewhat by difference in historical circumstances. Watching the sixties evolve into the seventies while guiding the newspaper, Kunkin undoubtedly was influenced by that history of a turbulent, violent period between 1964 and 1973. The second editor, Goldberg, had not related the newspaper to such a variety of events nor to such numerous violent circumstances during the latter half of 1973.

In 1963, the year before Kunkin started the newspaper, President John Kennedy was assassinated, shot while visiting Dallas, Texas. He was the first of several figureheads to die violently during the sixties. Two

years later, black leader Malcom X was assassinated. And Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was killed similarly in 1968.

Racially, problems grew in the United States in the sixties, which included signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Numerous demonstrations involved some deaths, but blacks began to progress. In May 1973, Thomas Bradley was the first black elected as mayor of Los Angeles, shortly before Goldberg assumed the reigns of the Free Press. One of the greatest civil problems in 1973 was between Indians and federal marshals in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, a situation which perhaps illustrated a move away from attention to blacks' civil rights problems.

Other problems resulted in numerous demonstrations during the 1960s, sit-ins and marches known in the current decade less frequently. The free speech movement at the University of California, Berkeley, began in 1964, predecessor to numerous other student demonstrations throughout the country. These were subdued somewhat with the Flower Children of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury in 1966 and 1967, but not for long. In 1970 four students were shot and killed at Ohio's Kent State University when National Guard troops had been sent to help with student demonstrations there. However, by 1973, student problems had

quieted somewhat concerning demonstrations and violent law enforcement reactions.

One of the major problems resulting in unrest in the sixties, and slowing by 1973, was the United States involvement in Indochina. Regular bombing of North Vietnam was carried out by this country between 1965 and 1968, and again in 1972 and the beginning of 1973. Civil protests in the United States were increasing by 1966, reaching a peak during the bloody Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968. Peace talks beginning in Paris, France, that same year, continued sporadically until the signing of the Paris peace accord in 1973, when official United States involvement in Indochina ended.

Tied to the war protests were numerous demonstrations against the United States draft system. The end of the military draft was somewhat tainted with the continued requirement that 18-year-old males register with the Selective Service in case of future "national emergency."

By 1973, numerous instances of "dirty politics" had begun to surface. After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Vice President Lyndon Johnson had been elevated to the chief executive's post. Elected President in 1964, Johnson then did not run in 1968 primarily because of his

precarious role in leading the United States so deeply into Indochina. Richard Nixon was elected President in both 1968 and again in 1972, when members of his reelection committee were caught illegally in Democratic National Headquarters during his second campaign. The beginning of 1973 saw all original seven Watergate defendants either plead or found guilty in connection with the break-in, and new personalities were accused of being involved almost daily. The President appeared on national television to refute charges against himself and claim innocence in knowing of the illegal activities performed in connection with his candidacy.

Other political figures were in criminal trouble in 1973. Former Attorney General John Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans found themselves before juries, for example. The highlight of "dirty politics" seemed to come when Vice President Spiro Agnew resigned October 10, facing charges of accepting "kickbacks" while governor of Maryland and of federal income tax evasion.

Also marking the year in which the Los Angeles Free Press' transition in editorship occurred was a worsening national economic situation, resulting in price controls and consumer boycotts. The same year environmentalists

continued to win major battles, with government permits blocked by court order for the proposed trans-Alaska oil pipeline.

The Free Press had not been without its own troubles during the time Kunkin was editor. The offices were fire-bombed three times, the Los Angeles Police Department refused to issue press passes to the newspaper, and numerous staff problems abounded. The latter culminated somewhat in 1969 when many employees left the Free Press to start another underground newspaper, Tuesday's Child. Others left later to begin yet newer newspapers. Finally, Kunkin went through a major court battle after the Free Press published a list of California narcotics agents in 1969. By the time Goldberg became editor in August, 1973, most of these problems had either been resolved or were not as serious as they once had been.

#### Methodology

Burke describes his approach to close examination of literature as "the analysis of literary symbolism."<sup>5</sup> Although his method has not been used widely in the past, it may be considered ideal for an examination such as the one described in this thesis.

The beginning of Burke's premise is that individual

words should be treated as "the basic 'facts' of that work." These words, or facts, are considered to be symbols which are related together to "characterize the motive and 'salient traits' of the work, in its nature as a total symbolic structure." Then moving from the individual words, one is directed to look for generalities stemming from careful examination of the words as related to their contexts. "From these generalities, conclusions are derived about the work as a whole, based upon the individual words which were originally accepted as 'facts.'"<sup>6</sup>

The list of types of individual words which should be noted appears almost endless. Burke directs one to: "Note all striking terms for acts, attitudes, ideas, images, relationships," as well as order of appearances, oppositions, beginnings and endings, transitional moment characteristics, breaks, and names, among other important features."<sup>7</sup>

With such a method, proof is described: "While grounding itself in reference to the textual 'facts,' it must seek to make clear all elements of inference of interpretation it adds to these facts; and it must offer a rationale for its selections and interpretations."<sup>8</sup>



In other words, there must be a direct line from the single word in its context to conclusions drawn which include that word, and there must have been a legitimate reason for selecting that word in the first place.

The methodology described is tedious. With the volume of eighteen newspaper articles studied, massive lists of potentially significant words were drawn into categories (or "indices")<sup>9</sup> derived from the words themselves. Included were references to subjects such as people, negatives, time, places, and quantity and numbers, in addition to the three sets of references finally focused upon for this study: Legal, information and methods of obtaining it, and personal. As Burke notes of the numerous entries, "You do not know just how you will use these entries. You are not even sure that you will use them at all. But you note them."<sup>10</sup> Likewise, the possibility of missing a potential entry also exists because of the massive size of the entry volume.

The three indices focused upon (legal, information and methods of obtaining it, and personal) were chosen because they appeared to reflect major changes within each author's writing and style. Legal or governmental emphasis was discovered in both, information and its gathering

was mentioned often (as in most news articles), and personal references to both the editors themselves and the newspaper were somewhat numerous (unlike many standard news articles). From the three selected lists, comparisons were drawn concerning the transitions in the two editors' writings. Conclusions were then related to the historical framework.

This study is limited to the calendar year of 1973, because it is that year in which the major editorship transition occurred. Of the available articles by Kunkin and Goldberg, the selections more significant were examined, resulting in a total inclusion of eight of Kunkin's articles and ten of Goldberg's pieces.<sup>11</sup>

### Literature

As much variety exists in the literature concerning alternative newspapers as in these newspapers themselves. The alternative, or underground, newspapers range from good to bad in numerous areas. Comparably, the books and articles explaining and surveying the alternatives vary from scholarly works to subjective impressions written by both those involved with alternatives and those outside the underground and the Movement which closely connects with these newspapers.

The literature concerning the alternative press has been generally divided into three classifications: somewhat scholarly, fairly objective writings by those removed from personal involvement in the underground and/or its media; similar articles by those involved personally in the underground; and more subjective pieces by those both personality involved and removed with the underground press and the associated Movement. Included herein are some of the highlights of the literature relating to the underground press which is available in these three categories.

#### Somewhat Scholarly

One of the most widely recognized complete works concerning underground newspapers is Robert J. Glessing's The Underground Press in America. Glessing, a college instructor, bases the material upon information gathered from thirty persons involved in the alternative newspapers. Included are chapters concerning the history, beginning with the Village Voice in Greenwich Village in 1955, various segments of the current (copyright 1970) scene such as advertising and makeup, and predictions concerning the future. As with most other authors who mention the future, Glessing predicts that the alternatives are here to stay after rising as the product of various

factors including inexpensive printing costs and a mood of unrest in the United States.<sup>12</sup>

Roger Lewis' Outlaws of America is one of the latest entire books claiming to deal with the alternatives, copyright 1972. Subtitled, "The Underground Press and Its Context: Notes on a Cultural Revolution," the book rambles loosely about the Movement in the United States, directing only three of its seventeen chapters primarily toward study of the alternatives, with the remainder considering the press secondarily to the culture.<sup>13</sup>

Considered as a basis for the start of "The New Journalism," the alternative press is briefly described by Michael Johnson in The New Journalism. In the first third of the volume, Johnson primarily writes of the alternatives history, with mention of their current situation (copyright 1970). He considers the alternative newspapers as having offered writers such as Truman Capote, Norman Mailer and Tom Wolfe, some of the first vibrations of the style of The New Journalism in which all three currently write.<sup>14</sup>

Using a historical slant is another fairly complete and objective text on the underground, The Paper Revolutionaries, by Laurence Leamer. Leamer dates the alter-

natives origins to The Masses, "the famous radical-literary magazine from the decade of 1910," carries the Movement into the current decade, and attempts to project into the future. Copyright 1972, the book includes several somewhat lengthy discussions of the Los Angeles Free Press, including its history and status in the world of the underground press. Unlike Outlaws in America and The New Journalism, Leamer's book is devoted entirely to a study of the underground newspapers.<sup>15</sup>

Also primarily concerned with the history and origins of the underground press medium is Robert Nelson's Freedom of Information Center Report, "The Underground Press," which again traces the beginnings of the alternatives to the Village Voice in 1955. While more organized than most of the shorter articles dealing with the alternatives, Nelson's 1969 report fails to consider changes which have evolved since the beginning of the medium, a failure of others considering the same topic.<sup>16</sup>

Several theses consider the history and current status of the underground press objectively, but again, all are somewhat dated. Among them are "The Underground Press in Los Angeles,"<sup>17</sup> "The Fifth Estate: Underground Newspapers as an Alternative Press in California,"<sup>18</sup> and

"Comparative Characteristics of the Alternate Press 1970."<sup>19</sup> Each of the three includes a survey brief of the past, moving onto the current scene of the specific area considered. All three attempt to relate the Movement to the general mass media in the sphere of influence of the underground considered.

Briefly noting the "cultural revolution" leading to the alternatives are both Gloria Steinam in "What Culture," a 1968 Look magazine article,<sup>20</sup> and Henry S. Resnik in "What Culture? What Boom?" a 1967 Atlantic article.<sup>21</sup>

Discussing the overall changes in United States society, neither mentions the alternative or underground press directly, although Jack Levin and James L. Spates do in "Hippie Values: An Analysis of the Underground Press." The latter article involves testing the hypothesis that, "contrary to middle-class pattern, hippie values stress expressive concerns and de-emphasize instrumental concerns." As such, conclusions were that "expressivism" accounts for forty-six percent of the alternative press.<sup>22</sup>

Depicting some of the most objective and current status reports of the alternative media are probably establishment newspaper articles. One of the best, though dated, is Richard Stone's "'Hip' Papers; the Underground

Press Succeeds by Intriguing Rebels and Squares," published as a front-page feature in the March 4, 1968, Wall Street Journal. Stone interviewed founders of such alternatives as the East Village Other and the Los Angeles Free Press, leading to a conclusion with comments on the hassles with police and other government officials in which the alternatives were then (1968) and had previously been involved.<sup>23</sup> Others with numerous articles which keep up with the alternatives notably include The New York Times, which expanded coverage from one small article in 1966 to numerous pieces relating specific police hassles and other alternative newspaper problems in 1970, growing as the number of alternatives increased.

More recent, but also of a more limited scope, is "The Alternative Press Turning to Muckraking," by Robert A. Jones in the October 28, 1973, issue of the Los Angeles Times. Jones discusses alternatives from the basis of the Mountain Eagle, a Whitesburg, Kentucky, "community newspaper," and surveys the current rise of such newspapers, which, he claims, "In large part...eschew the rhetorical flourishes of the 'underground' papers in the 1960s and devote their energies almost entirely to a robust treatment of local issues, with an emphasis on old-fashioned

muckraking."<sup>24</sup> The article includes comments from several publishers across the country, as well as cites specific examples of the Eagle's and other newspapers' operations.

Another source for current material is the California Newspaper Publishers' Association bulletin, published weekly in Los Angeles. Events concerning major alternative newspapers in the state are carefully reported, with the Association evidently realizing the importance of alternative press court cases in relation to potential and existing establishment press situations. The several court cases in which the Los Angeles Free Press have been involved have been detailed, with implications clear for the establishment press.

Also available to the underground press researcher of somewhat scholarly material are several separate directories for alternative newspapers, as well as listings in books such as Glessing's and Leamer's. Compiled and published by a variety of individuals and groups, they variously include only addresses of the publications within a subject index framework to also relating editorial policy statements. These directories include Alternatives in Print by the Social Responsibilities Round Table Task Force of the American Libraries Association, published in 1971,<sup>25</sup> and Underground Press Guide, printed as a "first



edition" in December 1967 by a group of alternative newspaper personnel.<sup>26</sup>

To assist in evaluating the worth of such directories, Joan Marshall describes the work of the American Libraries Association group in a short article: "Indexing the Underground" in a 1972 issue of Library Journal. The volunteers attempted to index the Bell and Howell "Underground Newspaper Microfilm Collection" between 1965 and 1969. Marshall asserts that, although Bell and Howell introduced the collection "quickly (and not too carefully) ...they did not accept the responsibility for providing access to it."<sup>27</sup> Smaller underground press lists may also be found in such periodicals as the Wilson Library Bulletin.

Somewhat scholarly works are also available both concerning a wide variety of more specific alternative newspapers and involving particular aspects of the overall medium. Probably the most-often-written-about segment of the alternatives is the high school underground. More often than not, these articles and books relate the author's viewpoint, be the author a school administrator or a student.

Samuel Feldman's The Student Journalist and Legal and Ethical Issues is one of the more widely encompassing

pieces of extended length concerning the high school alternatives.<sup>28</sup> Glessing also includes a chapter, "Underground on Campuses," which relates both to high school and college alternatives. Diane Kowalski's master's thesis, "A Symbolic Content Analysis of High School Underground Newspapers and Related Legal Decisions," is one of the more objective studies in existence.<sup>29</sup>

Specific factors of the general alternative press are also the basis for available scholarly literature. Much study has evolved around the artwork of the medium, with several assertions that the alternatives have most highly influenced the establishment press in graphics and design. Again, Glessing has a separate chapter concerning this subject, while numerous articles are available such as Ethel G. Romm's "Protest Tabloids Turn On to Color Printing" in the November 11, 1967, issue of Editor and Publisher,<sup>30</sup> and Janet Vrchota's "The Underground Press" in Print (November/December 1967).<sup>31</sup> Other essays are directed toward considering the comics of the alternative press, the news services, and the matter of press passes for the underground in a Freedom of Information Center Report entitled, "Press Passes: Patent or Privilege?"<sup>32</sup>

### Involved but Scholarly

In the gray area between the scholarly and impressionistic literature concerning the alternative press is Play Power: Exploring the International Underground by Richard Neville.<sup>33</sup> In the fairly objective chapter relating to the underground, the author examines the current status of the alternative press in the book (copyright 1970), in addition to citing its history, while the volume generally centers on the underground movement. Included in the several brief summaries of underground newspapers throughout the world is the Los Angeles Free Press, as well as a content survey of selected papers. Although Neville remains outside the book, the possible influence of his viewpoint must be recognized.

Likewise are shorter articles such as James Ridgeway's "The New Journalism" in a 1971 issue of American Libraries<sup>34</sup> and Raymond Mungo's "The Movement and the media" in The New Left: A Documentary History.<sup>35</sup> Both of these are general overviews of the alternatives, again with the author remaining outside the subject, although Ridgeway relates examples from personal experiences with Hard Times.

More recently written by persons involved in the

underground press are several magazine articles, two primarily relating history and the remaining two focusing upon the current status of the alternatives. Of interest is the agreement among three of them that the alternative press is moving toward the community newspapers of which Jones spoke in his October 1973 Los Angeles Times article.<sup>36</sup> Citing such a movement are Daniel Ben-Horin in "Journalism as a Way of Life,"<sup>37</sup> Dennis Hale in "Prospects for the Alternative Press,"<sup>38</sup> and Hal Warwick in "The Underground Press Goes Straight."<sup>39</sup> Hale and Ben-Horin emphasize the alternative press history, with Hale's review limited to two Boston, Massachusetts, area newspapers, while Ben-Horin's review is of a larger scope before concluding similarly. Warwick focuses upon the current situation, as does Ellen Garvey in "From Outrage to Barometer: the underground press."<sup>40</sup> In the latter, the author's involvement in the Liberation News Service is used as a basis for her description. All four of the works are somewhat objective, but their authors are involved in the underground itself as was Neville.

#### Impressionistic

Two articles included in Notes from the New Underground, edited Jesse Kornbluth, assist in explaining the

alternatives from an individual viewpoint as expressed by those involved on alternative press staffs. M. Preston Burns' article is entitled "What Is the Underground?"<sup>41</sup> while Eben Given is responsible for "The Wakening of the People."<sup>42</sup> Both essays generally apply to the Movement as a whole, rather than only its press, and are included in a survey of alternative press literature only as examples of the many articles and books which serve such a purpose.

Another of those available to help illustrate the general situation and viewpoint of underground writers are such anthologies as Thomas King Forcade's Underground Press Anthology.<sup>43</sup> The book, edited in 1972, is a collection of material concerning a variety of radical feelings, persons, and movements, as well as such subjects as women's liberation, creativity, and the future. Forcade has himself been involved heavily in the underground press movement, from individual newspapers and other publications to the Underground Press Syndicate.

In a more narrative format, some articles and books explain how the newspapers began or the manner in which they operate. Some of the alternatives themselves are widely used sources for such information. For example,

an editorial in the Realist in September 1968, written by Paul Krassner, explains in first-person terms "Where The Realist Is At."<sup>44</sup> Another notable example in this category is Art Kunkin's "Free Press Wins; Court reverses 'Little Pentagon Papers' conviction" in the April 6-16, 1973, issue of the Los Angeles Free Press.<sup>45</sup>

A book to be included is Famous Long Ago by Raymond Mungo,<sup>46</sup> one of the founders of the Liberation News Service and active in the "Movement." Mungo's book presents a complete inside, personal picture of the daily operations of portions of the alternative press. The volume traces the news service from the mid-60s beginnings of the Movement to the "Flower Children" espousing peace and love throughout the world and to the more militant "New Left" radicalization of the Movement.

Subjectively written by those unassociated personally with the underground and its media are articles such as "Alternatives" by Richard Todd in a November 1970 issue of The Atlantic,<sup>47</sup> "Making It--Underground" in a 1968 Newsweek,<sup>48</sup> and "Admen Groove on Underground" in a 1969 edition of Business Week.<sup>49</sup> This Todd piece discusses an alternative media conference at Goddard College in Vermont in 1970, while the Newsweek selection deals with the

alternative news services in terms of comments from subscribers of the services. "Admen Groove..." involves reasons for advertising placement currently rising (1969) in the alternatives, with comments from advertisers and those placing the advertisements for others. Time and Nation articles may also be included in some of the rather subjective literature concerning the alternative press.

### Conclusions

The available literature concerning alternatives newspapers is limited primarily in two ways--in both currency and in scholarly method. Considering these factors necessary to any formal research, much room exists for expanding in the area of the underground press. As predicted by anyone considering the future of mass media, the alternatives are here to stay. As a permanent fixture on the United States media scene, and with the large circulation and readership of such newspapers, they certainly are worthy of current study with systematic researching methods. Examination of the writings of two editors of such a major underground newspaper as the Los Angeles Free Press is considered to be will add to the limited materials which can be considered scholarly and current to the alternative press researcher.

## FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Gaye Sandler Smith, "The Underground Press in Los Angeles." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1968), pp. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup>The Weekly News (Unpublished news release, Los Angeles, August 6, 1973).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Jerry Goldberg, "Statement of Policy; This Newspaper is Going Thro' Changes!" Los Angeles Free Press, August 3-13, 1973, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Kenneth S. Burke, "Fact Inference, and Proof in the Analysis of Literary Symbolism," in Terms for Order, ed. by Stanley Edgar Hyman (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1964), p. 145.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 153.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>11</sup>See Appendix A.

<sup>12</sup>Robert J. Glessing, The Underground Press in America (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970).

<sup>13</sup>Roger Lewis, Outlaws of America; The Underground Press and Its Context: Notes on a Cultural Revolution (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1972).

<sup>14</sup>Michael Johnson, The New Journalism (Kansas: University of Kansas, 1971).



<sup>15</sup> Laurence Leamer, The Paper Revolutionaries; The Rise of the Underground Press (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972).

<sup>16</sup> Jack A. Nelson, The Underground Press (Freedom of Information Center Report No. 226, Columbia, Missouri: School of Journalism, University of Missouri, August, 1969).

<sup>17</sup> Smith, "Underground Press."

<sup>18</sup> Paul Slater, "The Fifth Estate: Underground Newspapers as an Alternative Press in California." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1969).

<sup>19</sup> Richard Henry Askin, Jr., "Comparative Characteristics of the Alternative Press 1970." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1970).

<sup>20</sup> Gloria Steinam, "What Culture," Look, November 26, 1968, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Henry S. Resnik, "What Culture? What Boom?" Atlantic, February 1967, pp. 51-53.

<sup>22</sup> Jack Levin and James L. Spates, "Hippie Values: An Analysis of the Underground Press," in Mass Culture Revisited, ed. by Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1971).

<sup>23</sup> Richard Stone, "'Hip' Papers; The Underground Press Succeeds by Intriguing Rebels and Squares," Wall Street Journal, March 4, 1968, p. 1+.

<sup>24</sup> Robert A. Jones, "Local Issues: The Alternative Press Turning to Muckraking," Los Angeles Times, October 23, 1973, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> American Libraries Association/Social Responsibilities Round Table Task Force, Alternatives in Print (Ohio: The Ohio State University Libraries, 1971).

<sup>26</sup> Joe Korpsak, ed., Underground Press Guide (Los Angeles: Other Press Publishing Company, December, 1967).

<sup>27</sup> Joan Marshall, "Indexing the Underground," Library Journal, February 15, 1972, pp. 734-735.

<sup>28</sup> Samuel Feldman, The Student Journalist and Legal and Ethical Issues (New York: Richards Rosen Press, Inc., 1968).

<sup>29</sup> Diane Disse Kowalski, "A Symbolic Content Analysis of High School Underground Newspapers and Related Legal Decisions" (unpublished Master's Thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1973).

<sup>30</sup> Ethel G. Romm, "Psychedelics by Offset; Protest Tabloids Turn On to Color Printing," Editor and Publisher, November 11, 1967, p. 15+.

<sup>31</sup> Janet Vrchota, "The Underground Press," Print, November/December, 1967, pp. 11-17.

<sup>32</sup> Alan Kent Leahigh, Press Passes: Patent or Privilege? (Freedom of Information Center Report No. 262, Columbia, Missouri: School of Journalism, University of Missouri, June, 1971).

<sup>33</sup> Richard Neville, Play Power: Exploring the International Underground (New York: Random House, 1970).

<sup>34</sup> James Ridgeway, "The New Journalism," American Libraries, June, 1971, pp. 585-592.

<sup>35</sup> Raymond Mungo, "The Movement and Its Media," in The New Left: A Documentary History, ed. by Massimo Teodori (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1969).

<sup>36</sup> Jones, "Muckraking."

<sup>37</sup> Daniel Ben-Horin, "The Alternative Press; Journalism as a Way of Life," The Nation, February 19, 1973, pp. 238-239+.

<sup>38</sup> Dennis Hale, "Prospects for the Alternative Press," The Nation, April 23, 1973, pp. 529-533.

<sup>39</sup> Mal Warwick, "Turning to the Community; The Underground Press Goes Straight," New Leader, July 23, 1973, pp. 11-13.

<sup>40</sup> Ellen Garvey, "From Outrage to Barometer: The Underground Press," Library Journal, September 1, 1974, p. 2050.

<sup>41</sup> M. Preston Burns, "What Is the Underground?" in Notes From the New Underground, ed. by Jesse Kornbluth (New York: Viking, 1968).

<sup>42</sup> Eban Given, "The Wakening of the People," in Notes From the New Underground, ed. by Jesse Kornbluth (New York: Viking, 1968).

<sup>43</sup> Thomas King Forcade, ed., Underground Press Anthology (New York: Ace Books, 1972).

<sup>44</sup> Paul Krassner, "Where the Realist Is At," Realist, September, 1968, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Art Kunkin, "Free Press Wins; Court reverses 'Little Pentagon Papers' conviction," Los Angeles Free Press, April 6-16, 1973, p. 1+.

<sup>46</sup> Raymond Mungo, Famous Long Ago; My Life and Hard Times with Liberation News Service (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970).

<sup>47</sup> Richard Todd, "Alternatives," The Atlantic, November, 1970, pp. 112+.

<sup>48</sup> "Making It--Underground," Newsweek, March 4, 1968, p. 58.

<sup>49</sup> "Admen Groove on Underground," Business Week, April 12, 1969, pp. 84-86.

## CHAPTER II

### KUNKIN'S WORLD

The eight major articles written in 1973 by the original founder and editor, Art Kunkin, extend from the January 26, 1973, issue of the Los Angeles Free Press to the July 20, 1973, issue. Topics ranged broadly, from "The Capture of Tim Leary" to "Erotic Art Gets a Home" and "Healey Quits Communist Party."

A major transition for Kunkin occurs during this time period, evidenced through his writings. He is searching for a better governmental system, after extensively examining and questioning the major existing one in the United States. The articles also permit insight into his leaving the newspaper as its editor, an action which occurred only two weeks after the final selection which is included in this study appeared in the Free Press.

### Legal Symbols

The search for a better governmental system is illustrated primarily through the legal index of single-word

entries. Kunkin refers to the system in various ways which were irregularly divided into eight sections, again resulting from the words themselves: Jail, arrest terms; legal, illegal terms including laws and charges; court references; federal references; law enforcement references; drug terminology; slang and coined phrases; and Soviet and Communist references. Entries and changes in these eight categories were examined separately and together in the eight articles.

Jail, arrest terms played a much more important role in the beginning than later, though they continue to appear sporadically through the seventh article. For example, in the first article, "The Capture of Tim Leary," the word "jail" occurs eleven times, with four of these in reference to "visits in jail." Kunkin also writes in terms of "a jail sentence" and "escape from jail" in the first article, as well as in phrases such as "house arrest," "breaking of jail," and "extraordinary bail." Another highlight in his usage of jail, arrest terms occur in the fifth article, "Wiretapping in Los Angeles-- and elsewhere," which includes six references to "jail." These are such phrases as "jail cells," "the city jail," and "the 'felony section' of the jail." References to

the word "imprisonment" are more evenly extended through the articles, though a maximum of one occurrence appears in each selection.

Kunkin's numerous references to jail, arrest terms in the beginning, which peak to a smaller extent in the fifth article, help to indicate his disgust with the governmental system of the United States. He examines the system extensively through these terms in the first article, a little more in the next three selections, and more heavily once again before moving away from the system.

This conclusion is emphasized with other terminology, such as the legal, illegal terms including laws and charges. Kunkin uses these references extensively until the final three articles, when his attention to the Communist Party offsets deletion of the legal, illegal terminology.

One of the first highly charged references to legal, illegal terms is that "the police have constructed a conspiracy theory..." He is likewise negative with phrases such as "had some \$86,000 swindled from him (Leary) while he was imprisoned in Switzerland," and "an entirely new indictment alleging his (Leary's) involvement with

dope smuggling." Note particularly in the terminology relating to Leary's stay in Switzerland that Kunkin portrays a situation in which Leary was obviously "taken" while having no control because of his imprisonment. Likewise, the police "have constructed" the theory, rather than concluding it from various events.

Such terms continue. In the second article, "Erotic Arts Gets a Home," Kunkin refers to "a legal conflict with U. S. Customs about bringing the collection into the United States, a legal battle which...." The negative connotations are also evident in "cold narrow legalisms of the State Supreme Court" and "God help those innocent people who are charged with violation of the law," both in the third article, "Free Press Wins." In the fourth selection, "Watergate Murders?" references are to the "actual murder of potential Watergate witnesses," "The conspirators" and to "'deaths...believed to be murders.'" The numbers decrease in the final three articles again, though a few references to legal, illegal terms including laws and charges remain, Kunkin writes, "...like being sentenced to five years of imprisonment under the Smith Act for a so-called Communist conspiracy," in the sixth article, for example.

The disgust with the United States governmental system and his transition into preoccupation with the Communist Party and its system has been enhanced through the usages of legal, illegal terms including laws and charges.

Kunkin's court references follow a similar pattern, with numerous entries in the first five articles yielding to only a few in the final three selections. These also begin negatively in the first article, with an unpleasant reference to the possible necessity of creating a "Tim Leary Defense Fund" again and the unlikelihood of Leary's receiving a "completely fair trial." Following court references in the second article, the court emphasis is most obvious in the third article in which Kunkin himself plays such an important role. There are eighteen references to the California State Supreme Court alone, and another fifteen mentions of judges and justices attached to that court. The disgust in Kunkin's eyes is again apparent: "In its (the State Supreme Court's) cautious ruling," referred to later as "the narrowness of its ruling," and the "obvious miscarriage of justice" and "the original miscarriage of justice." His questioning of the system is illustrated with the simple statement and question, "...and justice was done. Or was it?"



The court references are not so negative in the fourth article dealing with the Watergate "murders" question. He refers to witnesses and to attorneys six times each, with such noncommittal phrases as "Skolnick claims to have a witness" and "two lawyers for the Northern Natural Gas Company of Omaha...flew to Chicago...." Perhaps the more noncommittal references result from Kunkin's guilt in attacking the system so extensively in the previous article, that article in which he was so deeply and personally involved. On the other hand, the extremely negative aspects of the legal, illegal terms including laws and charges in this fourth article to some degree counterbalance the more positive court terminology. By no means can the conclusion of the references in the fourth article indicate a generally positive attitude toward the United States governmental system.

The number of court terms decreases more in the fifth article, again in preparation for shifting into another system, and is minimal in the final three selections included in this study.

Kunkin used numerous references to the federal government in the first five articles, with the amount increasing drastically in the fourth and fifth. His governmental terms are more difficult to assess in the

fifth selection, again a turning point. These terms could refer to any level of government, resulting in the conclusion that the entire local, state and federal system is merging into one in his viewpoint: It's "the government" with which he is disgusted. However, his general emphasis of the federal government up to this point, and the transition into preoccupation with the Communist Party, indicates that he sees the Los Angeles Free Press role as national, or even international, in scope, rather than as a newspaper offering coverage of only the local, Southern California area news. State and local governmental references were not considered significant enough to be noted separately, although they did appear.

The first reference to the federal government is in article one, when Kunkin writes of Leary's involvement in "a federal case involving possession in Texas." That remains to be the lone reference until the former Free Press editor emphasizes his position in the third article, with mentions of the United States Constitution such as "... the obvious and fundamental Constitutional question...."

The federal government emphasis is in the fourth article as well, with eighteen terms involving the federal government directly, sixteen Watergate references, and six mentions of the White House. The Federal Aviation

Administration is referred to nine times in the fourth article, primarily because the "possible murders" resulted from an airplane crash. The federal terms vary, with references to an indictment, charges, and to government, among others. Notably, the word "federal" is capitalized in a complaint which Kunkin quotes: "Federal Criminal Indictment." But he later uses the unusual capitalization in mentioning "the Hammond Federal Criminal charges" and in "employee of a Federal Drug Agency." Obviously, Kunkin, who did not notably capitalize many other grammatically incorrect words in the entire eight articles, wanted to emphasize the "federal" aspect of his topic.

The Watergate references vary equally. He writes of "potential Watergate witnesses," of "the Watergate case," of "McCord, another Watergate conspirator," of "the Watergate affair," and of "the Watergate connections." The White House mentions connect the men controlling the Nixon administration to Watergate, using such identification as "special Justice Strike Force attorneys...who have direct links to the White House...." Rather than the capitalization, here the author indicates the importance of the references by emphasizing the words "White House" through mentioning the name of the airplane pilot, "a Captain Whitehouse (ironically)." The name could easily

have been deleted, with the article remaining complete. Perhaps the Watergate situation helped lead to Kunkin's rejection of the U.S. governmental system.

Notably, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are mentioned first in the fourth article, the Central Intelligence Agency four times and the Federal Bureau of Investigation once. For example, when discussing a group which performs illegal actions, Kunkin writes, "...either their Mafia or CIA contacts (the gang, according to Bottos, had performed many CIA missions...)." Juxtaposing the Mafia and the Central Intelligence Agency sheds a negative aspect onto the federal agency, further supporting the conclusion that Kunkin is disgusted with the United States system.

This contention is emphasized with the eight Federal Bureau of Investigation references and the four Central Intelligence Agency mentions in the fifth article. The emphasis is again negative, with references such as "fear of FBI electronic surveillance" and "even his official CIA phones were tapped by the FBI."

The fifth article, concerning wiretapping, is the one in which the federal government begins to merge into one, large entity, encompassing all levels of government. Not included among twenty-one mentions of the federal

government were eleven general references to "government," which emphasized all or any level of the system. Kunkin used such terms as "the subjects of government surveillance," "fear of both government and private bugging," "government construction contracts," and "anti-government political activists." Although the federal emphasis has remained with such phrases as "focuses on the federal government" "the LAPD (Los Angeles Police Department) sometimes works with federal agents," and "members of Congress," the emphasis is clearly not only directed toward the federal government. Law enforcement references, examined as a separate category, further support this contention for the fifth selection, with nine references to "police" which cannot be identified as belonging to a single agency.

The fifth article contains the most frequent use of law enforcement terminology. After a total of seventeen mentions in the preceding four selections, Kunkin refers to law enforcement thirty-six times in the article concerning wiretapping. Perhaps the pure quantity is a mode of emphasizing his disgust with the United States governmental system's particular branch of law enforcement, before moving away from it and into an examination of the Communist Party.

Included are fifteen references to the Los Angeles Police Department, the "LAPD." Some are direct mentions; others are not: "Commander Peter Hagen of the Los Angeles Police told...that the LAPD sometimes works," "In Los Angeles, however, the police equipment was destroyed," and "a 'listening room' in the LAPD Scientific Investigations Division." Other mentions of the "police" in general include "Rarely are the police involved; public notice is nothing but 'bad press,'" "unreasonable search by police agencies," and "It is also legal and common for police to bug security areas...."

Generally, the references are negative, if one accepts the premise that wiretapping or "bugging" is undesirable to the individual citizen.

In addition to the focus upon law enforcement, Kunkin uses slang and coined terms notably for the first and only time in the fifth article, also lending credence to the theory of his disgust with the system. All of the terminology in this category refer to legalities: "warrantless taps," "Jail house bugs," "a rookie cop," and "gets the goods." Because the author has not used slang or coined words previously, these, too, should be construed as pointing toward Kunkin's transition into examining the Communist Party. With such terms not normally

accepted usage for either Kunkin or regular newspapers, they lend a further connotation of disgust or rejection of the United States governmental system.

The Communist and Soviet references begin in the sixth article, as previously mentioned. Generally non-committal insofar as being positive or negative, the terms include forty references to the Communist Party or to communism in the sixth selection alone. Examples of non-committal references in the sixth article, "Why does Gus Hall fear Healey & Al Richmond?" include "The decision of local Communist Party leaders," "the history of the American Communist Party," "struck with a taste for party democracy," and "then to the Young Communist League seems quite logical, inevitable perhaps." The references increase to fifty-three in the next article and decrease again with twenty-seven mentions in the final selection. Soviet and socialist references reach a peak in the middle of the three articles, with nineteen mentions noted in the seventh selection.

Extremely few freedom, democracy terms were included in the eight articles, so few that they were not noted in a separate category. "Freedom" was cited twice and "freely" once in the third selection, while "democracy" rated four introductions in the sixth and seventh

articles. "Capitalism" was referred to twice in the sixth article, the first of those dealing with the Communist Party. Both mentions are to the "restoration of capitalism" in Hungary, in the context of describing someone's book. The brief references to freedom and democracy help emphasize Kunkin's negative picture of the United States governmental system, if one accepts democracy as being desirable. He does not note it as an integral part of the United States system, but only in light of the Communist Party: "fight from within for party democracy," "a taste for party democracy," and "disputes...often start with seemingly abstract questions of democracy." These references to democracy certainly are not positive.

Kunkin also mentions "democratic centralism" four times in the seventh article. Again the term is tied to the Communist Party, rather than referring back to the United States system.

Likewise, the lack of drug, sex, and slang terms should be noted. A separate category was drawn for drug terms after they appeared somewhat frequently in the first article. However, the seven references in that first piece were the only mentions of drugs throughout the eight articles. Each of those were either in references



to legal problems ("dope smuggling," "marijuana possession," "U. S. narcotics agents") or to Timothy Leary's lifestyle ("the LSD trips he is reputed to have taken," "loss of ego experience of LSD," "to do a film against heroin addiction"). Somewhat numerous sexual references in the second article were not noted, after a brief perusal of the entire set of eight selections resulted in discerning not a single other such mention. The subject matter of the International Museum of Erotic Art lent itself to sexual referneces, and none of these appeared avoidable if Kunkin were to describe the art he saw in the museum. As previously noted, the usage of slang terms was limited.

The general lack of these three types of terms will most likely surprise many who have previously considered "underground" or "alternative" newspapers to include such references exclusively. This difference in what those who have not studied the alternative press would generally expect supports the theory that such newspapers are serious attempts at offering something else, an "alternative" to readers of traditional newspapers such as the Los Angeles Times.

### Informational Symbols

The references to information and methods of obtaining it were more difficult than were legal terms to separate into categories. With the methodology utilized, these individual lists must be derived from the single-word entries, rather than determining the topical lists before citing words, a more usual research method. But, contrary to Burke's methodology, the predetermination of categories would mean imposing the researcher's set of beliefs upon the material to be examined.

The six resulting categories in this study were methods of acquiring, transmitting information; possessing information; definite knowledge; indefinite knowledge and transmittal; news, media, reporting; and mysterious references.

The original editor and founder of the Los Angeles Free Press obviously wants to be creditable with his readers. Kunkin uses numerous attributions and generally takes care to support definite (versus indefinite) statements with reasons. However, on occasion, he does not hesitate to utilize definite terms without supporting information to emphasize absolute knowledge, illustrating his ability to extend himself into one mode of thinking.

The attributions vary widely, from "she told me" and "the Reverend McIlvenna informed me," to "according to the KFWB (radio station) report." Such attributions continue throughout the first seven articles, with "say, tell" references the most numerous (sixty-one totally) reaching a high point with twenty mentions in the fifth article, again the turning point in Kunkin's direction of examination. The frequent usage of the simple words "say" and "tell" lends credence to Kunkin's assertions in offering the reader a source through which he could verify Kunkin's statements.

Kunkin's definite statements are most often supported with reasons, sometimes attributions. For example, "The reasons for her slight French accent became clear when she told me...." Joanna Harcourt-Smith's words made the situation "clear." In the second selection, "certainly" becomes a definite statement supported with the numbers of people attending the opening of the International Museum of Erotic Art: "But the party certainly was a success in calling attention to the existence of the museum." However, a dichotomy exists with another statement in the same article: "I definitely got the impression that the Museum was a very serious art

project...." Although Kunkin writes "definitely," he immediately follows it with the information being only an "impression." Perhaps he is not certain about the museum's status after all, though he would like to believe it is a "serious project."

Other references are again either definite or indefinite. In the third article, he mentions "the fact that defendants are not ordinarily tried by juries of their peers," and, again, "The [Los Angeles] Times didn't even get straight the fairly obvious fact that...I have been editor, calling me the former editor for some reason." Discussing wiretapping devices in the fifth selection, Kunkin writes, "They are no longer science fiction, but plain reality," and in the sixth article it is, "In fact, Ms. Healey keeps on repeating" and "However, just the fact that disagreements within...." Another five references to the word "fact" alone appear in the seventh article, while in the final selection "clearly indicated" is quoted from the Communist Party statements.

Kunkin takes care in using a number of indefinite statements as well, to alert his readers to potential questions. He begins in the first article with a reference to a "new indictment alleging his (Leary's) in-

volvement...." The most frequent mentions involve the references to "seem" and "supposed," in the article concerning Leary: "Timothy...seemed happy," "Leary, also, does not seem to have a lot of money...." These are obviously statements which Kunkin does not have the power to support by citing another authority or does not want to investigate thoroughly enough to support definitely.

In the third article, he mentions the "possibility that newsmen in the future" and "even though the value of the paper involved is minimal, even possibly being photocopy paper of uncertain ownership." References to "allegedly" and "claiming" are the most numerous indefinite citations in the fourth article, while "claim" and "probable, possible" mentions are most frequent in the fifth selection. Eight "seem" references in the next article, four "claiming" mentions in the seventh selection and three notations of "possible, perhaps" in the final piece all contribute to the skepticism created when Kunkin is not willing to place his name and that of the Los Angeles Free Press as final authorities behind the information offered.

However, he does use definite statements without defending attributions or reasons upon occasion. These references are most often found in the third article,

"Free Press Wins," in which Kunkin is so personally involved. His emotionalism is likely coming through, in statements such as "the obvious and fundamental Constitutional question" and "the obvious question of why there was an obvious miscarriage of justice...." Such definite references also appear to a limited degree in other articles: "a really good rock group," "It was claimed that the audio system," and "That got Gus Hall really mad." But, aside from a few, most of the definite statements are supported with additional attribution or facts, lending credibility to his work for his readers.

In conjunction with the numerous attributions, Kunkin often chooses physical terms such as "see" and "view" in relating possession of information. Such terms perhaps emphasize the degree to which the writer prefers physical transmission and possession of information, rather than such words as "realize," "believe," "understand," and "know." The latter terms number approximately forty-five, while the physical terminology of "way," "tell," "see," "checking," "find," and "view" references total 117. Kunkin's more physical attitude perhaps places a more definite factor upon his information as a whole, rather than the unknown of a process occurring within one's mind.

Contexts again vary, with both physical and inner-mind references to transmission and possession of information, extending throughout the eight articles. The physical associations occur most often (with thirty-eight) in the transitional fifth article, while the other references are extended more equally in the selections. Such physical citations are included: "Timothy looked very well," "I saw them," "Committee had discovered that documents and records...were fraudulent," and "Americans didn't find out about this bug...." References to possessing information through the mind's processes are in such contexts as "Healey is not known to be illogical," and, quoting Ms. Healey, "'I do not believe that any of the fourteen socialist countries are infallible nor do I believe that any one of the fourteen....'" The physical references appear to transmit or indicate possession of certain knowledge, while the other mentions seem to concern more indefinite information.

With "ask, answer" references appearing in all but one of the eight articles, Kunkin is again alerting his readers to think for themselves, in addition to the indefinite statements that he has frequently utilized. He is directing his readers toward assuming one of his personal attitudes, that of remaining open to questions and

to actively seek answers to those questions.

The four question and answer mentions in the first article are in such differing contexts as "Joanna asked me to arrange a press conference" and "Everyone seems to want to know if...." With no mentions in the second selection, the third includes nine such as "Constitutional question," "the obvious question of why," and "I ask in all sincerity." "Inquiries" are cited twice in legal contexts in the next article, while "politicians asked the phone company" and "Mayor-elect Bradley's staff made the same request--twice," are the lone references in the fifth article.

However, the number increases again, with six such references in the sixth article, the first of the Communist Party-oriented selections, reaching a peak in the seventh article with eighteen mentions of either questions or replies. The setting for the seventh article is a "two-hour question period...." Kunkin also writes, "the [Eugene] Dennis criticism involved questions," and quotes Al Richmond's book: "'Such disclosures posed questions about the Soviet regime....'" Again referring to Ms. Healey, Kunkin states, "To quote her answer to a recent questioner" and "However, when asked what organization she urges people to join, she says...."



Kunkin obviously does not have all the answers.

The Free Press founder uses numerous references in the fifth article which creates the atmosphere of a mystery surrounding the subject. Rather than using a term such as "investigate," Kunkin writes of "spying" and "snooping" and of "surveillance." Although a few such mentions occur in the fourth and seventh articles, his emphasis in the fifth again indicates a turning point. It could be that he is unclear about the total picture of the United States governmental system which he is rejecting, with the "mysterious" references generally citing wire-tapping in which he has maintained the government participates. References in the fifth article include "the new age of electronic surveillance," "the spying was an internal operation," "electronic spying began to reveal its promise," "subjects of police surveillance," "surveillance TV cameras in the ceilings of corridors in the Federal Courthouse," and "courtroom rights were being infringed by the surveillance."

News, media, and reporting references will be considered within the context of the personal list of references because of Kunkin's close association with such factors.

### Personal Symbols

Personal references concerning both the author and the newspaper of which he is editor are frequent throughout the Kunkin material examined. This personalization contributes toward a closer identification with readers than is formally found in the traditionally written news article. The references were divided into categories which involved Kunkin's self; the Los Angeles Free Press or Kunkin identifying with a group; the current or a past article; addresses to readers; orders to readers; and mentions of other reporters. Also included in this section is the informational category involving citations of news, media, and reporting, because of Kunkin's close personal association with these factors.

Kunkin refers to himself often in the first four articles, and these mentions suddenly fade into a total of only four references in the latter selections. In addition, the references to himself become decidedly more formal in the fourth article, with six citations of "this writer," after words such as "I," "me," and "my" had sufficed before. Both the decrease in entries and the increase in formality are perhaps tied into Kunkin's departure from the Los Angeles Free Press. After ten

years, the Free Press would have been a very personal entity with which he was closely connected. The fifth article appeared less than a month before he was to leave, and most probably he realized by then that he would be departing shortly.

Aiding in associating closely with his readers, he brings himself often into the first article with such phrases as "Joanna called me," "when I saw him in court," and "we (Ms. Harcourt-Smith and Kunkin) arranged to go together." Continuing the references, the article concerning Kunkin's visit to the museum includes "I had to return Sunday when" and "The wife of a New York photographer, who, along with me...." In the third article, with such numerous personal mentions, he considers the "convictions of...Jerry Applebaum and myself," "Being a defendant in this case, I" and, expounding upon the current situation, he writes: "In preparing to write this article, I dug out of the files the Free Press issue of July 17, 1970, and I was reminded today of the outrage I felt then when, believing in my innocence, I found Jerry (Applebaum) and myself...."

Also bringing the reader more closely into his article, in the next selection he comments, "if the reader is still with me in this stranger than fiction story,"

and again introduces himself with, "I had met Skolnick' some years ago when I was there reporting...for the Free Press." However, this article is the one in which he first refers to himself as "this writer:" "Skolnick, in an exclusive telephone interview with this writer," "However, Bottos told this writer," "As this writer was led to understand ...."

The few later references are "I don't think," "During the Coffee Hour this reporter learned," "but to this observer it would seem," and "Listening...with as much openness as I could muster."

Directly addressing the readers also lends itself to maintaining close contact with them. However, such mentions are most significant in the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, with a single mention in the first and seventh selections. As Kunin is undergoing a personal transition between examining the United States governmental system and that of the Communist Party, he seems to want to lead the readers with him through this change. It should also be noted that references to readers somewhat seem to supersede mentions of himself, with four in the fourth article when his self-mentions are beginning to decrease and eight reader citations in the fifth article which include no obvious mention of himself.

The single reference in the first article is a promise: "As the situation develops we will endeavor to keep Free Press readers fully informed." The addresses, lacking in the second and third selections, are apparent again in the fourth with such direct salutations as "And why didn't you, dear Free Press reader, hear about this?" and "you won't find him (Jack Anderson) in the Los Angeles Times either."

At their height in the fifth article, the one reflecting Kunkin's greatest transition, the reader-mentions are in such phrases as, "You can even get 'bugs' through the mail," "The only way of being perfectly certain that a bug is not transmitting your private words," and "will check your phone line for taps...." The sixth selection, with only three references to readers, includes varied contexts: "and if any reader has forgotten...he can discover that fact in this book" and "until you figure out what he's up to...." The final direct reference in the seventh article is, "Hopefully the reader was able to locate the conclusion of the article...."

At the same time, Kunkin offers more orders and directions to readers in the fourth article than in the others, helping maintain his close association with them.

Unlike personal and reader references, mentions of the Los Angeles Free Press and its staff as a whole extend throughout the eight articles. Although Kunkin might realize he is leaving, he wants to retain the image of the newspaper as a viable organization which will continue without him. The references are most frequent in articles three, four, and five, but begin in the first and continue in the eighth selection.

In the first article, references are to the "Free Press office," "Free Press readers," and "we," as the newspaper staff. The third selection includes "Free Press writer Jerry Applebaum," "The Free Press case," The Free Press decision," etc., while in the fifth article are "When the Free Press rented the building...we discovered," "When we innocently called L. A. Rams management," and "Another device, described in a Free Press article...." The Free Press' viability is obvious again in the seventh selection, "As we began to develop last week" and "As we made clear in the first installment of this article...." Although such references as the latter two may be argued to be "editorial we's," they do indicate Kunkin's consciousness of the newspaper as an entity. The Free Press importance is again emphasized in the final article with such phrases as "The Free Press last week printed the full

text," "As given to the Free Press, and printed by us," and "last week's issue of the Free Press...."

As with direct Los Angeles Free Press references, also extending throughout the selections examined are mentions of current and past single issues and articles of the Free Press and to news, media, and reporting. (The latter three are listed in the informational category, as mentioned previously.) Such citations seem to indicate that Kunkin thinks highly of his profession, in terms of reporting itself, the people involved, and the media.

For extreme examples in terms of significance, in the fifth article he mentions radio station KFWB fifteen times, because he is relying heavily upon the station's past research, and to past Free Press articles eight times, citing information in those selections. In the first place, Kunkin four times mentions a "press conference" in which he is involved, again emphasized in article four with a total of five references to "exclusive interview" and "exclusive access." The entire eight pieces include a total of nine references to four other specific media. Kunkin also cites "information" and "reports" throughout his writings, referring directly to his news profession.

It should be noted that he refers specifically to only four other reporters, all associated with the Free Press, possibly protecting his personal stature through little mention of the others.

#### Summary

Kunkin's final articles while editor of the Los Angeles Free Press help illustrate his general outlook and the roles which he sees for himself as a journalist and for the newspaper.

He leads his readers through a major personal transition from examining the United States governmental system into rejection of that form and a survey of the Communist Party form of government. The role of the Free Press is obviously of larger scope than covering only Southern California area news, and this role is largely defined by the editor's interests and questions. He views the United States government, as a whole, somewhat as a mysterious entity before moving into examining the Communist Party, and the picture is painted more blackly with almost no mentions of freedom and democracy.

The extent of his questioning and examining is evident to his readers who are generally guarded against indefinite statements of knowledge. Unless Kunkin is



ready to support a statement with fact, he is most often unwilling to comment that something is true without attribution, offering a source for his readers to further examine. He also prefers physical terms for transmitting or receiving information whenever possible, a more concrete offering to his readers than references to the inner mind's processes. However, like most, his emotionalism sometimes plays a larger role, especially when he is closely personally involved with the subject.

The Los Angeles Free Press is an important, viable entity to Kunkin, in spite of realization toward the end that he is to leave. With numerous references to the newspaper, himself, and to the readers, he maintains the close contact which helps retain the newspaper's viability. Kunkin also regards the journalistic profession highly, with continual, though infrequent, mentions of news articles, other media, and reporting itself.

A lack of drug, sexual, and slang terms throughout the articles examined is significant in that such a finding will reject one of the basic conceptions some persons have of the writing in the Los Angeles Free Press.

Kunkin obviously wanted to offer his readers news as clearly as possible, without slang that some might not

understand, and without the emotionalism generally resulting from drug and sexual terminology in the early 1970s.

### CHAPTER III

#### GOLDBERG'S WORLD

Selected for this examination, the ten articles written by Jerry Goldberg, the first editor to assume that position after the founder and original editor left, extend from the August 3, 1973, issue of the Los Angeles Free Press to the December 14, 1973, issue. Subjects ranged from an initial introduction of the changes in the newspaper's staff and ownership to primarily governmentally related topics, such as endorsing Celes King for the Los Angeles City Council and relating problems with the Los Angeles convention center and effects of a California Coastal Zone Commission decision.

The limited major change reflected in this time period for Goldberg involves his self image and that of the newspaper. Once he has established existence of himself and of the Free Press in the beginning, he has gained self-confidence enough to refer to himself in larger groups of people. This same confidence seems to lead him away from relying upon the newspaper's identity.

However, Goldberg's writings lead to conclusions concerning his general viewpoint, both personally and for the Los Angeles Free Press, after he has assumed control of the alternative newspaper.

#### Legal Symbols

Goldberg's vision of his journalistic role is evident in his general preoccupation with legal topics. The various single words used to describe the government were divided into seven categories of references: Political; federal or general government; local government; school board; rights, freedom, and laws; courts; and miscellaneous. Following Burke's method of examination, the single words and general changes were studied to discover a picture of Goldberg's topics.

The second Los Angeles Free Press editor utilizes numerous politically oriented references, mentioning election-connected terms frequently. He therefore sees government in a political framework, controlled by elections, rather than as a permanent, all-powerful entity in which the people have no choice. However, he does not always present a positive picture.

He begins with the first article, "This newspaper is going thro' changes!" already indicating potential future

topics: "Neither politician, nor special interest group, nor special political interest will dictate the news coverage of the Free Press."

Such references become more numerous in the second article, and continue throughout the remainder of the ten pieces. "All sorts of public officials...are sworn to uphold the law" and "Elected officials...have consistently worked behind closed doors" are but two of such references in the second article. The word "political" is mentioned four times and "politics" is referred to twice in the third article in such contexts as: "future political activities," "the crime-ridden machine politics associated with many Eastern cities," and "a community tradition to stand up to irresponsible politics at city hall."

Mentions of "politics," "politicians," and "political" again highlight political entries in the fourth article, "White folk don't lie," with references varying from "covering politics" to "big Chicago City politicians" to "a public relations man for a lot of different politicians." Also multiple are "public official" references such as "especially white folk who are honest public officials" and "illness of an important public official." "Elected officials" are mentioned three times in the fifth article: "Some elected officials," "elected Board of

Education members," and "actions of elected officials."

References in the next selection are strongly negative.

The sixth article includes mentions such as "Parker Center (the police department's location) has become a bureaucratic jungle loaded with individuals who cannot justify their positions" and "The new police commission is in an ideal situation to...see an end to bureaucratic empire-building...."

The seventh piece by Goldberg introduces the first mention of a political party, when he refers to the "women attending the National Republican Women's convention," while the ninth article includes the Democratic National Committee in a reference identifying a Free Press staff and to the Democratic Central Committee in describing another Free Press reporter.

The final selection includes additional political references: "government bureaucrats riding the political tide for every ballot box gain" and "The vote was apparently a political action...."

In addition to political citations, mentions of rights, freedom, and laws extend throughout the ten articles, broadening Goldberg's picture of the governmental system. His frequent mention of rights and freedom offers readers a potential belief in the system, though he

obviously does not consider the current system to be without fault.

References in the first article include "The current Free Press policy of firmly protecting its rights under the First Amendment," "these (First Amendment) rights," "The public has a 'right to know,'" and "The fight for freedom for minority groups...." Differing, somewhat, references in the second article extend into five involving "violating," in such contexts as "violating laws," "a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution," and "A group of smug law violators." As illustrated in these examples, law and legal mentions are numerous: Ten in this second article. In the third selection, King is identified as a president of "the Los Angeles Branch of the NAACP," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which is known for its fight for people's rights. As a law, the "election code" is mentioned once, again stressing the political orientation of Goldberg's writing.

With no references to rights, freedom, or laws in the next selection (or in the eighth article), the fifth piece again introduces the concept of "violating" six times, while mentioning laws, rules, and codes nine times. Goldberg speaks strongly in terms of "blatant violation of

the California Public Disclosure law" and "a complete violation of the public trust by breaking many rules they are pledged to uphold."

Crime and arrest are first emphasized in the sixth article, while mentions of laws continue. A total of thirteen references to crime supersede other citations in this category, however, in such phrases as "the sorry state of violent crime prevention in Los Angeles," "a major crime situation," and "all sorts of sexual violence." The "free enterprise system" and the convention center's involvement in "legally swindling the public" are referred to in the next selection, while the ninth article contains three mentions of "law" in general and two to the Constitution of the United States. The tenth refers to "new federal environment laws" and to "This rule...."

Unlike the previous legal references discussed, mentions of the local government gradually increase, although there are none in the final article. With few federal government references, Goldberg is envisioning his journalistic scope as primarily locally oriented, with a focus upon Southern California, although he retains national perspective in limited references to the federal government. The prominence of school boards as part of local government is evident with mentions in three



articles, and particular emphasis in one.

The second Free Press editor mentions "government" in general and "local government" each once in describing the newspaper's changes in his first article. "The President of the United States is being investigated by the California Bar Association" is in the beginning of his second piece as the lone reference to the federal government in contrast with three mentions of county government and five citations of the Pasadena Board of Education or its members. The school board references are emphasized with one relating to "school boards" in general and seven mentions regarding an integration program and segregation. Goldberg discusses the board and program in terms of "A new school board has been elected in Pasadena dominated by three new individuals," "new members of the Board of Education have started carrying out all sorts of programs in secret which are obviously designed to destroy the integration program in Pasadena," the superintendent's "affirmative action program for integration," and "the legal plan which these so-called law and order Board members have been attempting to ignore."

Again, in the third article, the President is mentioned: "(King) refused to go along with the President of the United States...." A mention of "Congressional

Offices...being used to further the ambition" is the only other federal government reference, although the Los Angeles City Council is considered twice and city hall and local government directly mentioned three times each.

A similar ratio continues in the fourth article, while the board of education again supersedes other forms of local government in the fifth selection. Fourteen mentions of local government, emphasized further via eight school district references, versus five citations of government in general and six of generalized local government, are found in the fifth article. The contexts vary again: "a public relations man for the Los Angeles Unified School District," "persons connected with the Board of Education," "charges that he (Dr. Donald Newman) and other Board of Education members," "disagreement between the Board of Education and the Free Press," and "some very questionable actions being taken by other board members and the administration." Examples of other local government citations include three mentions of "civil service" and two of the "grand jury" in Los Angeles County. Federal or general government mentions involve the "taxpayers" three times and "the government" twice.

"Watergate" is referred to for the only time within the ten articles in the next selection, "Police failing."

"Just like everybody thought would only happen at Watergate." However, that is one of two federal references while there are twenty mentions of the local police officers, force, etc. alone, in such terminology as "career officers (who) have been complaining about recent assignments," "the general manager of the police department," "a controversial law which can do nothing more than turn more people against the police department," and "Los Angeles does not have enough police officers...."

The emphasis continues upon local government throughout the remainder of the ten articles, with no mention of the federal government or to government in general in the seventh piece, and thirteen references in the final three articles. In contrast, the local government is mentioned forty-six times in those final selections.

References to the courts notably appear only in the second article, "Editor's Notebook." Goldberg cites the U. S. District Court, the State Supreme Court, and "the kangaroo courts of California," and mentions rulings twice. Such minimal reference suggests that, although he has emphasized rights, laws, and crimes, he is not considering the end of the legal process which lies in the court system. Perhaps this is incomplete thinking on his part because, although rights, laws, and crimes are

important, there must be repercussions for lawbreakers if the legal system is to exist successfully.

Although the second Free Press editor mentioned drug, sexual, and slang terms infrequently, his writings do not fulfill the image that many persons have of the alternative press. The number was not considered significant enough to index for the purposes of this examination, demonstrating the minor role which such references assume in Goldberg's works.

#### Informational Symbols

Difficulty was evidenced in attempting to separate into categories individual words concerning information and methods of obtaining it. Following Burke's method, however, five categories of references were derived: Methods of acquiring and transmitting information; possessing information; definite knowledge; indefinite knowledge and transmission; and news, media, and reporting references.

Goldberg's limited use of question, answer references indicates he wants to lead his readers into some thinking about the subjects under consideration, but not to a great degree. He includes question, answer terms numerous in three sporadic articles, but offers just a few in another and only questioning in four others.

The maximum number of such references is the eight in the second article, followed by six in each the first and fifth selections. Those eight include mentions primarily of a press conference: "reporters and the public will not ask any questions about the investigation--or else," "[Leonard] Janofsky...became highly indignant...when reporters...expected him to answer questions." "He [Janofsky] steadfastly refused to answer any questions," and "this reporter dared to ask...." The first article mentions questions concerning the Free Press staff transition, in such contexts as "Many questions have been raised since that change" and "This column is devoted to answering those questions and others as yet unasked." Contexts in the fifth selection, "Newman calls Freep porno," vary from "requested copies of the Free Press" to "very questionable actions of Dr. [Donald] Newman and other school officials."

Other question, answer references scattered within the ten articles include "significant questions about his (Supervisor Frank Bonelli's) physical condition" and "the questionable illness of an important public official" in the fourth article; "questionable things happened with tax money" and "Prices...demand a major grand jury investigation" in the seventh selection; and "the cliffs in

question were actually formed" in the final piece.

Goldberg definitely does question, but perhaps not as much as he is in a position to do.

The number of attributions he employs is not significant. This implies that his readers are expected to rely upon and trust his judgment and information, rather than possibly seek the original sources themselves if they are doubtful.

A total of nineteen attributions in say, tell form in the ten articles indicates an average of fewer than two in each writing. Nine of these, however, are found in the fourth article, "White folk don't lie," concerning various truisms which Goldberg has learned from other people, as well as questioning the right to know about public officials' illnesses. The attributions include "The best editorial maxim...came from [Chuck] Stone," "[Chicago Mayor Richard] Daley said," "Stone said," "The mayor of that community said," and "a reporter...told me," all simply phrased so that Goldberg's reader could reach the source if necessary.

The other scattered attributions notably include three in the second article and two in the ninth. Other selections include either one or none, with Goldberg's "word" indicating "truth" to his readers.

As can be expected in conjunction with previous conclusions, Goldberg uses more definitely knowledgeable statements than those concerning more indefinite implications such as "might," "possibly," and "thinking." Confidence in himself and in his writing directs his reader to trust his statements and information.

Five references to "facts" highlight the first article in such contexts as "stories containing facts to be evaluated by readers" and "The problems...will be dealt with in a factual way." Moving into the second article with seven varied mentions of definite knowledge, Goldberg relates "individuals who are obviously violating laws," "Under the facts of this case," "In fact, Leonard S. Janofsky...became highly indignant," and "The real point of indignation...." Although "very clear" and "actually" are the sole references in the third article, the fourth includes fifteen mentions of definite knowledge. "Lie" is the single word used most often, with four mentions in quoting a maxim, "White folk don't lie!" The word "clear" is employed three times, in such contexts as "a very clear concept of his [Senator Robert Kennedy's physical] condition" and "Chuck Stone once made it clear to me...."

Continuing, the seven definite-information references in the fifth selection involve such phrases as "Hypocrisy

has been a fact of life," "These information people are charged by law to truthfully provide...information," and "Dr. Newman and his fellows would have undoubtedly demanded immediate action." The trend continues with nine such definite citations in the next article, including "The Los Angeles City Charter clearly states," "the general manager has completely assumed duties which were actually designated," and "They [Los Angeles residents] have made it 'crystal clear....'" However, a dichotomy appears with the terminology of "really seem:" "Chief [Ed] Davis... doesn't really seem to care about the wishes of the people." With this as the only such dichotomy, Goldberg's uncertainty as to the position of Davis' feelings must be considered minor in the context of the numerous references the writer makes to primarily definite knowledge.

The seventh selection contains a single "actually," while the eighth offer four statements of definite knowledge: "a real mass transit program for the Los Angeles basin," "people...have actually worked on plans," "the RTD...is actually on the verge of cutting schedules," and "little has been done by any elected officials outside of making intellectual speeches about the truth or falseness of the growing energy crisis." Goldberg's final two selections conclude with such definite informational



statements as "Such investigations are clearly a violation of these reporters' rights" and "Chief of Police...really should resign from office" in the ninth article, and "This is, in fact, a reversal of trends" and "There is certainly a need to do something about ecology" in the final piece.

The comments related through indefinite knowledge and transmission are fewer. Goldberg uses "might" in the first article once, "thinking" twice in the second selection. The third piece, which includes six such references, involves the statements "The Los Angeles Free Press Editorial Board feels Celes King is the best qualified man" and "candidate who was actually moved...(possibly because of a quirk in the election code)." The six indefinite-information comments in the fourth selection include phraseology such as "I personally feel that Bill Homer is exceptionally talented" (rather than "I know...") and "It would seem the people...should receive...information" (rather than "The people should definitely receive....").

Another six such indefinite references in the fifth article illustrate Goldberg's uncertainty, in such terms as "Because the Free Press management thought it was proper," "The request was made, apparently," and "any mere sexual material which might appear in the Los Angeles Free Press." The next article includes five indefinite

mentions, including the dichotomy of definite, indefinite in "really seem," while the seventh through tenth selections contain a total of eight such references, few in comparison to the fifteen definite-knowledge mentions in those final four articles:

Goldberg is highly conscious of news, media, reporting, and journalists throughout the ten articles, with mentions in all but the final piece. The continual flow of such emphasis indicates that he thinks highly of his profession and news-gathering organizations. He wants to relay this to his readers.

Such mentions are most numerous in the first and fourth articles. Understandably, in the first article concerning the Free Press' transition, he introduces "sotry" six times, "news" six times, and "reporter" or "journalist" and "coverage" of news each a total of nine times, in relaying the role the Free Press will assume. References include "a call for professional reporters," "Coverage of the Indochina War," "The Free Press coverage," "the fearless and dedicated coverage for which the Free Press has always been noted," "beginning journalists," and "new, aspiring writers." He mentions the somewhat unusual term, "sensationalistic journalism," once: "though it

(discussion of past problems) might make very interesting reading for those devoted to sensationalistic journalism."

Terms referring to his journalistic profession in the fourth article include five mentions of "covering" stories and another five citations of "IPT," International Press-Telegraph, which he emphasized because of its carrying a news story in which he was interested.

An elaboration of this conclusion will be offered in the section concerning personal references, because Goldberg is so closely associated with news, media, and reporting.

References concerning mysterious terms were insignificant, with only three notations in the entire ten articles. Goldberg's thinking appears too positively oriented to be concerned with matters which are unclear. His is a black and white world, with little gray to connect the two.

#### Personal Symbols

Six categories of personal references to Goldberg and to the Los Angeles Free Press were determined within this study of the editor's ten articles. The references gradually decline after numerous entries in the beginning, indicating perhaps that Goldberg has grown more confident

of himself and the newspaper, but also that he does not feel an excessive closeness to those readers. However, the latter trend changes toward the end of the ten articles.

The six divisions of references to Goldberg and the Free Press include mentions of: Self only; Free Press; readers; current and past Free Press articles; other reporters; and Goldberg with others.

Goldberg mentions himself in the first two articles, most frequently in the fourth, and then again only fleetingly in the fifth and ninth selections. This rise and decline seems to indicate that he feels he must prove himself as a journalist to readers in the beginning after taking over the Free Press reigns, and that he has succeeded in this after the fourth article. It is interesting to note that he refers to former editor Art Kunkin six times in the first selection, while mentioning himself only four times, a fact which also lends support to the theory that he must prove himself.

Personal mentions in the first selection are generally formal: "this reporter" twice and "this reporter's assignment as city editor" (a position he held before becoming editor), while only one "me" appears in the context of "the publishers of the Free Press hired me...."

"This reporter" appears twice again in the second article, and no self-mentions are offered in the third. However, twenty-nine references to himself overwhelmingly are used in the fourth article, "White folk don't lie." These are basically personal, with twenty-two words falling into the "I, me, my" group. Contexts include "I got quite confused," "I reported back to him (Chuck Stone)," "I thought of it several times," "members of the Los Angeles County Fire Department told me," and the more formal, "this reporter through the years as a newsman and as a public relations man...."

Personal references in the other two articles involve such phrases as "During the past election, I personally saw Dr. [Donald] Newman and Richard Ferraro arrive" and "Several other reporters, including myself...."

The latter example illustrates Goldberg's apparent transition into identifying himself with other persons. He does this three times in the fourth article and then only in the final three selections, indicating perhaps that he is confident enough of himself to become part of a group in front of his readers, rather than remain an individual, alone in the subjects he presents. This would also be a method of continuing a close, personal association with his readers to some degree.

The three examples in fourth article include "Those of us here in Los Angeles who covered [Robert] Kennedy's last few days" and "We [local reporters] certainly did not wish to maliciously attack either the supervisor or our friend...." Further supporting the contention that such references substitute later for mentions of himself alone, these three mentions in the fourth selection appear toward the end of the article, when Goldberg has refrained from citing himself alone.

In the eighth article, variations include "There have been a number of us who felt the (Rapid Transit) district," after mentioning "public and elected officials" and "people of Los Angeles...or else we will all die from the fumes." The next selection offers six references to himself in a group of other reporters; "We will be glad to let him (Police Chief Ed Davis) know something about all of us," "None of us have ever been arrested anywhere," and "We all have expected" are among the citations. Finally, he ends with references to "We (in general) need the energy now," "but the people who want to clean it (the ecology) up, as all of us do," and "We cannot wait for our grandchildren to solve these problems."

Goldberg refers to the Los Angeles Free Press generally in the same articles as he does to himself alone.

However, newspaper mentions are most extensive in the first article, while his self-references are most frequent in the fourth. He does introduce the Free Press four times in the third article, which does not include a single reference to himself alone. These entries possibly illustrate his dependence upon the newspaper's existence and stature to offset a personal lack of confidence in the beginning. Relying upon the newspaper's name while proving himself, Goldberg is more independent later, although he mentions the Free Press again in the ninth article after no references since the fifth selection.

In the first piece, dealing with the Free Press changes, he refers to the newspaper seventy-eight times, in such contexts as the newspaper alone, its future direction, past disagreements, contents, and the current publishers. The Free Press Editorial Board is introduced three times in the third article, while the newspaper is mentioned once in first describing the board: "The Los Angeles Free Press Editorial Board feels...." The next article includes two references: "our national Free Press columnist, Chuck Stone," while the fifth selection offers nine mentions of the Free Press and refers to "subscriptions" twice and "ads" once in such contexts as: "complementary subscriptions were given to those persons whose

names have and will continue to appear in the paper" and "one of the persons who had received the subscription became self-righteous and indignant over the type of ads which appear in the Free Press." The final five mentions of the newspaper in the ninth piece include "he has been investigating government in Los Angeles for the Free Press" and "Deputy Mayor Morrie Weiner has promised the Free Press that...."

In each reference, Goldberg has treated the newspaper as an entity with stature in the community.

References to readers are cited only in rather impersonal contexts in the first article. Goldberg does not employ this potential method of creating a more personal, direct contact with his readers, with such terminology as "the inside story about government, which is particularly important to readers of the Free Press," "The front page of the publication was changed to present a better idea to potential readers of the contents of the paper," "domestic problems have become the focal point of interest to Free Press readers," and "The editors feel these (features) do not meet the needs of our So. Calif. readers." The emphasis is in the relatively impersonal third person, rather than in personal, first person addresses.



Goldberg apparently thinks highly of those in his profession, in addition to respecting the profession itself (see information section), by referring to other journalists in three sporadic articles. However, his esteem is qualified when it is noted that he also mentions himself in each of the same three articles, perhaps tending to reserve the highest respect for himself, or perhaps needing to strengthen his confidence in himself as a journalist.

Citations of other reporters by name include, in the first article, the six previously mentioned references to Kunkin; four to Chris Van Ness, Free Press editor of the cultural news in which "the Free Press [is] the outstanding authority;" and one to "Lloyd Steele and the contributors which have made the Free Press the outstanding authority in these fields...."

He praises Free Press columnist Chuck Stone via eight mentions in the fourth article, references which indicate that Stone taught Goldberg a "maxim" or "important truism" which Goldberg has utilized "through the years." In the ninth article, he introduces five journalists, mentioning "Free Press reporter Tom Thompson" a total of thirteen times, three other Free Press journalists once each, and Jack Donahue, a reporter from the "old Los Angeles

Mirror," four times. Many of these references cite past experiences of the journalists, while others are in such contexts as "these reporters' rights," "Chief of Police Ed Davis has no business...unless Tom breaks a law," and "Thompson has been inquiring about questionable activities carried on by the LAPD." Thompson, like the others, and his work have respect from Goldberg.

The Free Press editor's viewpoint toward his newspaper and staff writers might be somewhat qualified because he so infrequently cites current or past Free Press articles (six times in his first piece and once in the fifth). However, it must be recalled that he was relatively new to the Free Press staff when he began writing the articles used in this study, and, therefore, might not be so readily familiar with the contents of the newspaper in relationship to the topics which he covers in his ten selections. All seven of those references are to the article or issue with which he is immediately dealing.

#### Summary

Goldberg, the second editor of the Los Angeles Free Press, sees his journalistic role as portraying a picture of local government for his readers. Although that picture is not always positive, he presents it in terms

of a political system in which the readers, as voters, have some control. Mentions of rights, freedom, and laws further support his positive viewpoint, though he does not continue through the legal process with very many references to the courts which must enforce the system if it is to remain alive. Relatively frequent local school board references indicate his emphasis upon that form of local government.

The writer does some limited questioning within his articles, but he generally wants readers to trust him and the information he presents without the opportunity to seek the original sources for themselves. He uses question, answer references extensively in only three articles, and offers few attributions. Utilizing more statements inferring definite knowledge than indefinite terms, such as "might" and "feel," also supports the contention that he wants readers to trust him. Using mysterious terms so little indicates further that he is a positive thinker and tends to question relatively little. Conscious of the news, media, and reporting itself with fairly frequent mentions of such terms, Goldberg emphasizes the esteem in which he holds his profession.

The author undergoes a personal transition within the ten articles considered, in gaining confidence of his

role in command of the newspaper. In the beginning especially, he wants desperately to convey his abilities to his readers through frequent mentions of himself, while he has later gained enough confidence to assert himself within larger groups of persons. References to the Free Press are likewise extensive in the beginning, decreasing within the articles, again reflecting his confidence in general as a journalist. However, respecting the newspaper, he does continue its infrequent mention throughout the selections. He refers to other reporters in three articles in which he also refers to himself, indicating his respect for them and his desire to maintain his stature as a journalist at the same time.

Goldberg is not necessarily a personal writer. Both the drastic decrease in references to himself and the limited usage of mentioning readers indicate this. In the single article in which he refers to readers, the emphasis is in the impersonal third person, rather than in personal, first person addresses.

A lack of mentioning past Free Press articles relating to his topics could be construed to indicate that esteem of other writers is not continued into the articles. However, because he is relatively new to the newspaper, he is likely not very familiar with past articles

relating to the topics which he has chosen for the ten articles.

The author cites drugs and sex and uses slang terms infrequently, a notable omission in an alternative newspaper. This aspect of his writing illustrates that perhaps the frequent contention that alternative newspapers include such emotional, unclear phraseology is inappropriate, at least in light of the writing style portrayed by Goldberg in the Los Angeles Free Press.

## CHAPTER IV

### COMPARISON AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Several differences, as well as similarities, are evident in the writings of the first editor and founder and the second editor of the Los Angeles Free Press, Art Kunkin and Jerry Goldberg. Both differences and similarities were discovered in each of the three categories examined: Legal, informational, and personal references.

#### Legal Comparison

One of the general contentions surrounding the alternative press is that it is focused upon drugs and sex. Along with this "irreverent" attitude, writers for these newspapers supposedly use numerous slang and coined terms which critics of this medium would claim to not understand. However, neither Kunkin's nor Goldberg's works included many references to drugs or sex nor many slang-type terms that the average Los Angeles Times reader would not understand. The eight selections by Kunkin and ten by Goldberg do include a few such mentions, depending upon

the topics under consideration, but they are minor in comparison to the wide utilization of other terms.

Another obvious similarity is that both authors emphasize legal, governmental issues in general, with frequent usage of such terms in almost each one of the eighteen articles. However, this same subject is considered differently by the two men.

Kunkin emphasizes much more of the federal governmental system in the United States, while Goldberg's stance is local. The first editor extends himself into examining the Communist Party, further illustrating the broader view he has of his role as a writer for his readers. Kunkin envisions his articles as serving the broad, national and even international news needs of his readers, persons who conceivably could be sitting across the country and obtaining worthwhile information from the Los Angeles-based newspaper. In contrast, Goldberg is primarily oriented toward serving Southern California readers who would be interested in their local governments: City, county, and school, in particular. With such an attitude, Goldberg's selections are obviously more limited in readership than were those of Kunkin.

More subtle conclusions may be examined by noting

another difference between the writing of the two editors: Kunkin refers often to jail and law enforcement, while Goldberg chooses to emphasize political and election terminology. From this difference, several contentions may be offered. First, Kunkin is more negative in his outlook. His jail and law enforcement phrases are generally negative and tend to imply that the United States governmental system is all-powerful. This contrasts with Goldberg's political and election references which indicate that the second editor views the government as a process in which the electorate participates, a process over which voters have some control. Goldberg's stance is thus a more positive one, although he, too, includes his political and election terminology in numerous negative contexts. A second conclusion offered may be that Kunkin views the government in a more personal, physical light than does Goldberg, because, for example, the vision of someone being arrested or going to jail is somewhat more touching, and more strikingly physical, than a picture of someone casting a ballot. The two Free Press editors illustrate a transition from a negative, somewhat hopeless outlook which is rather personal to a more positive attitude in which some control of the powerful is



possible. However, some of the personal stance is lost in the change.

Goldberg's more positive outlook is emphasized with his numerous references to rights, freedom, and laws, while Kunkin notably mentions democracy and freedom little.

Goldberg is more positive in offering such terms which lead the reader into feeling hope that the local governmental system will improve. The characteristics for democracy are present; they must only be realized. However, Kunkin fails to use such positive terms, and instead appears to reject the United States governmental system entirely. Looking for a substitute, he settles into examining the Communist Party in his final three articles.

Surveying the new governmental form objectively, by the end of these selections he obviously is not satisfied that it is a fair substitute for the United States system which he had earlier seemingly rejected. Goldberg wants to lead Free Press readers in continuously seeking improvement in the local government. Kunkin wants his newspaper articles to help readers examine different governmental systems, after rejecting the one in the United States.

In a final conclusion concerning the differences, Kunkin emphasizes court references while examining the

United States governmental structure, much more than does Goldberg. The court emphasis is found in Kunkin's first five articles, until he moves into examining the Communist Party. Apparently, Kunkin is examining a more complete process within the governmental system, of the judicial system in particular. Goldberg's insight into the system, after his frequent references to rights, freedom, and laws, seems to stop short of the full process. With such a variation in the two editor's writings, the Free Press readers first being led, through Kunkin's articles, into a complete topical examination later face a somewhat incomplete survey of subjects presented by Goldberg.

#### Informational Comparison

Goldberg's writings are filled with numerous more definite terms concerning information relaying and acquiring than are Kunkin's. At the same time, the second editor includes far fewer attributions than does Kunkin. Both sets of characteristics imply that Goldberg is more positively confident in his writing than his predecessor, who is journalistically more careful in supporting his statements and wants readers to be aware of possible questions when he is not absolutely certain of his information.

The general appearance of Kunkin's work tends to be less emotional, more conservative with the information than does Goldberg's because of these differences. However, both illustrate their ability to think definitely and strongly and convey these thoughts to readers. The writer's role illustrated in these terms seems to have changed from Kunkin's journalistic offering of information for consideration and questioning by readers into Goldberg's conveyance of facts which readers should possibly act upon without further investigation.

In a similar vein, Kunkin uses more direct question and answer terms. There is no doubt that he wants to lead his readers into an intelligent questioning of the governmental systems under discussion, with this not necessarily reflecting upon the personal image of competence offered his readers. On the other hand, Goldberg's limited usage of question and answer words helps emphasize his attitude evident in his greater inclusion of definite-knowledge statements: Goldberg's readers are to accept his facts without much questioning, trusting him as the source of this information.

Extending this concept, Kunkin uses more terms relating to mystery, especially in his final article dealing

with the United States governmental system. Although these are not excessive in number, such words as "snooping" and "reveal" help point toward his uncertainty of the United States system which is rejected by the close of that fifth article. Goldberg, with his more positive outlook toward the future of the government, fails to use as many mystery-related references. Once again, the transition is from Kunkin's questioning for and with the reader into Goldberg's offering a source of definite unquestionable information.

The first editor chooses to relay information within his articles often through physical terms such as "see" and "tell." While he also includes numerous citations of informational words conveying processes within the mind ("knowing" and "feeling," for example), the physical terms far outnumber the latter. With Goldberg using more of the informational terminology conveying inner mind processes, an inference of "trust me" is offered his readers. Kunkin seems to want to relate his information in as open and uncovered a manner as possible, again emphasizing differences earlier pointed out by the two editors' articles.

In a different informational category, Goldberg is

much more conscious of news, media, and reporting than is Kunkin, emphasizing this viewpoint through frequent references. While the first editor also utilized such terminology, Goldberg more strongly indicates his need to stress his high esteem of his profession to his readers. Perhaps this follows his need to develop self-confidence before his audience; it does not appear to indicate that Goldberg respects his profession any more than does Kunkin because, as is pointed out in the next section, Kunkin emphasizes the Free Press existence to a greater degree.

#### Personal Comparison

Kunkin generally maintains a closer personal association with his readers throughout his eight articles than Goldberg's writing style indicates. Kunkin mentions the readers and the newspaper consistently, while Goldberg tends to emphasize these factors more in the beginning than in his later writings.

However, both writers mention themselves more in the beginning, likely for two different reasons. Kunkin seems to realize he is to be leaving the Free Press soon, while his successor is attempting to establish his identity and self-confidence. By the middle of the series, both Kunkin and Goldberg's style of personal references have changed,

with Kunkin deleting himself more often and Goldberg identifying himself within larger groups of persons. Kunkin is likely realizing his imminent departure, while Goldberg wants to retain a personal contact but has gained enough confidence to associate himself with others. Both writers illustrate their generally personal attitudes by interjecting themselves into their articles.

However, Kunkin carries this personal association further than his successor does. The original editor refers to his readers in first person addresses in most of his eight articles, as well as directing them to perform various actions, such as reading past Free Press selections. Goldberg uses the rather impersonal third-person format in mentioning readers, and only does this in the first of his pieces. Writing in Kunkin's eyes should be a two-way street between readers and authors as much as possible, while Goldberg's style directs more effort towards simply relaying information.

With more mentions of the Free Press in Kunkin's writing, another aspect of the degree of his personalness is illustrated. The newspaper is alive to him; it has been the greater part of his life for ten years, contrasting with Goldberg who has been employed there only a short time. The Free Press is important to Kunkin both

personally and professionally, while it holds a lesser degree of significance for Goldberg.

Another variation between the two editors is discovered with Goldberg's more frequent references to other reporters, while Kunkin mentions articles and entire Free Press issues more often. Perhaps again this is an indication of Kunkin's familiarity with the newspaper's past, and his desire to relate past and current topics to his readers. Goldberg might again be emphasizing his respect for the journalistic profession as a whole with his frequent mentions of the other reporters.

#### Comparison Summary and General Conclusions

The comparison summary and general conclusions are based upon the preceding comparisons which are believed somewhat related to historical factors of the 1964-1973 time period during which Kunkin and Goldberg were editors of the Los Angeles Free Press.

During the violent period of war in Indochina, demonstrations, assassinations, and civil rights and Free Press problems, Kunkin's writing is mainly directed toward the federal government in somewhat negative, physical terms of jail and law enforcement. Concerning both national and

international situations, the negative aspect of his articles is reenforced with little mention of democracy and freedom. He sees the courts as the conclusion of the federal government system, until changing from examining the system in the United States to investigate the Communist Party's structure.

The first Los Angeles Free Press editor's negative world appears to result from his experiences while guiding the newspaper through the turbulent years between 1964 and 1973. Journalistically, the Free Press had to continue functioning in spite of such problems as internal staff turmoil and a lengthy court battle.

The history of both the world and of the newspaper also reflects the first Free Press editor's emphasis on jail and law enforcement, superseding almost all reference to democracy and freedom. Kunkin undoubtedly watched numerous demonstrators, some personal friends, be jailed, tried in the courts, and sentenced for what many considered the "crime" of demonstrating. Kunkin's world, illustrated through his 1973 Free Press articles, did not include much democracy and freedom because of the history he had watched so closely.

Although the end of the United States draft in early



1973 might have led to an upturn in Kunkin's feelings concerning the government, it apparently failed to do so. This failure is likely due to the fact that perhaps Kunkin felt the draft's end was too late, as indeed it was for the 45-year-old editor and his peers.

Kunkin illustrates his open mind after rejecting the United States system by turning to an examination of the Communist Party. Party members were still not widely accepted in the United States, but courts were gradually giving them more rights than they had previously been granted. Although Kunkin does not accept this political system either, he surveys it in some depth before leaving the Free Press as its editor.

Writing during a calmer, less violent second half of 1973, Goldberg indicates that his world appears somewhat differently. His Free Press articles deal heavily with local government as a political entity which can be at least partially controlled by the electorate. Although it may not be perfect, there is hope for improvement through his frequent mention of rights, freedom, and laws. But his view of the legal system is somewhat incomplete with little mention of the courts which make the system viable.

Without the negative background of covering numerous demonstrations, both peaceful and violent, for the Free Press, Goldberg instead watched some of the Watergate defendants being criminally tried and sentenced. Perhaps it was because of Watergate, to some degree, that Goldberg stressed politics so heavily in his articles. His belief in the United States system was being strengthened with political figures being sent to jail for various crimes. However, his belief in the execution of justice was not complete, illustrated by his few references to the courts. Goldberg possibly considered that the Watergate defendants sentencing was not entirely due to the courts, but resulted more from popular opinion against the defendants.

The same end of the United States draft which negatively affected Kunkin may have positively related to Goldberg, although he, too, was older than men subjected to the draft. Again, an end to such a disliked system would help strengthen Goldberg's hope in the United States government as run by the people, the voters who elect their representatives.

While neither of the two editors emphasize drug or sexual terminology, this should not be surprising by 1973. These aspects of underground newspaper writing had been more prominent during the 1960s, when such terms were often

used for shock value alone. By 1973, drug and sexual references were generally accepted in radical circles to which Kunkin and Goldberg each belonged to a varying degree.

Using more attributions and supporting statements of definite knowledge, the first Free Press editor leads his readers into a questioning frame of mind concerning national and international events. Kunkin attempts to relay information as physically as possible, though there is mystery to his insight into the federal government. Although likely holding his journalistic profession in high esteem, he does not stress it with numerous mentions of news, media, and reporting.

Beginning the Free Press at the time of the rise of open questioning of various laws and governmental actions, Kunkin wanted to help others in questioning, searching for answers, as he wanted to do for himself. It is because he wants to assist others (his readers) in their questioning efforts that he generally carefully includes attributions so that his sources of information can be sought out and verified. His questions, which extend deeply into the federal government, remain unanswered by the time he rejects that system in favor of examining the Communist Party, resulting in his numerous references to

the government in mystery terminology in the final article concerning the United States. Unendingly questioning people and systems, Kunkin openly claims to be unconcerned with both making money and with others' opinions.

The first editor's attempts to relay information in terms as physical as possible, rather than referring to inner mind processes, possibly result again from the historical circumstances under which he edited the Free Press. The violent times were physical; it could be almost commented that words meant relatively little in relationship to the war, demonstrations, and killings.

His failure to use numerous references to general news, media, and reporting should not be considered an indication that he thinks little of his profession. Rather, his frequent mentions of the Free Press are a more specific substitute for the lack of general terminology. It is the Free Press with which he has been associated, through its almost phenomenal growth, for the past nine years.

Goldberg, however, is a strong, positive writer, thinking that his readers should trust his judgment and information. He uses more definite informational terms to relay his material, and few supporting attributions. While employing more informational terminology relating

to the inner mind processes, he sees little as mysterious, again emphasizing that his thinking may be characterized as that of one who makes firm judgments. More frequent mentions of news, media, and reporting in general, as well as of other reporters, indicates his high regard for the journalistic profession.

The second Free Press editor can be considered to be "editorializing" somewhat extensively, with the trust demanded of his readers insofar as his numerous statements without attributions. He offers few opportunities for them to verify his information and uses few mysterious terms, reflecting perhaps his own more positive viewpoint of trusting others. Goldberg seems somewhat protective of himself, not desiring to be entirely open with his readers, in using more inner-mind-process terms than the clearer physical words to relay information. This more nebulous approach leaves both his readers, and the subjects of his articles, to wonder a little more about his thoughts.

Limiting his subjects generally to the Southern California area, as Kunkin had accused Goldberg would, the second editor is apparently following the new publishers' wishes. With such a limitation, his scope is more community-newspaper oriented.

Frequently mentioning news, media, and reporting, Goldberg obviously holds his profession in high regard. He has not been tied to the Free Press for nine years, but apparently considers this editorship another job of the many he has held in the journalistic profession.

Kunkin is a confident, personal writer. Though mentioning himself gradually less in his later articles, he emphasizes the newspaper extensively. Creating a kind of two-way street, he addresses and offers suggestions to his readers on a personal, first-person basis. By introducing Free Press articles and entire issues often in his writing, he re-emphasizes the personal contact and high regard he holds for the newspaper.

Again, it is because of his long association with the Free Press that Kunkin is personal with his readers. By 1973, he knows who many of his readers are and has generally characterized the "average" reader to a certain extent. Emphasizing the newspaper, he perhaps almost considers it somewhat as an extension of himself, demonstrating this extension through his articles. Mentioning himself less often in later selections, Kunkin realizes that his long association with the Free Press will be dissolved soon with his leaving. However, continued mention

of the newspaper illustrates that he considers it to be a viable entity which will continue without him.

Goldberg is personal to some degree, with references to himself primarily in the first articles. Later he refers to himself in groups. He does not mention the Free Press often after the first article, possibly revealing its somewhat minor significance to him as an entity which is instrumental in relaying Southern California news. The personalization of his writing is also limited with only a few mentions of readers, and these are in third-person contexts, rather than in the form of personal addresses.

The second Free Press editor seems to use his initial personal references to help establish his identity and achieve confidence with his readers. Later, perhaps, he assumes that these same readers should know who he is by now, and accept his writing without such personal contacts. However, inclusion of himself in references to groups does help maintain some degree of personal association. Such inclusion also again offers him some protection from complete and open contact with his readers, as had the frequent use of information terms concerning the inner mind processes. Fewer mentions of the Free Press can again be attributed to Goldberg's fairly brief association with the newspaper, in comparison to having watched it grow for

nine years.



## CHAPTER V

### AND THE FUTURE?

Using Kenneth S. Burke's methodology of deriving conclusions from symbols, a number of writings from Art Kunkin and Jerry Goldberg, the first and second editors of the Los Angeles Free Press, have been examined. The formalized method yielded specific conclusions concerning the material presented by each of the two authors. The time frame of the writings, the transition from the founder to the second editor of the newspaper, helps emphasize the significance of these conclusions.

With the Los Angeles Free Press considered as one of the few major alternative newspapers existing, partly because of its longevity and wide circulation, a change such as the one resulting in the Kunkin-Goldberg study may be related to that research, speculating into the alternative press of the seventies, a subject to be studied further.

In several respects the changes seem to portend a return to the beginning style of the alternatives, or at least the beginning of the majority of such newspapers in

the early and mid-sixties. Several characteristics of Goldberg's style indicate such a return, lending support to the cyclical theory of history.

Goldberg is offering coverage of local events, far more than Kunkin who was preoccupied with the national and even international world. In the beginning, alternative newspapers generally emphasized the local community, with the Free Press continuing this tradition as late as 1967. However, more recently Robert A. Jones pointed out in an October 1973 Los Angeles Times article that growth of newer newspapers has involved devoting "their energies almost entirely to a robust treatment of local issues, with an emphasis on old-fashioned muckraking."<sup>1</sup> Jones was observing a phenomenon which Roger Lewis mentioned a year earlier in Outlaws of America<sup>2</sup> and which Laurence Leamer somewhat recognized when he commented that, in its beginning, the Free Press was "addicted to a kind of space-age muckraking that theorizes imaginatively on the basis of commonly available, minutely detailed facts."<sup>3</sup> Although this examination has shown that Kunkin's writing fits that statement somewhat, it does to a lesser degree as he becomes involved in political theory and issues. Perhaps it is because of a calmer Movement that underground newspapers can begin again to look first toward the issues

at home, rather than first toward those of national emphasis.

Other characteristics of Goldberg's writing which may be true of the 1970s underground are those of a command of trust from his readers and an ignoring entirely of objectivity. These were also exceedingly evident in writings toward the beginning of the alternatives' growth in the early 1960s. Leamer<sup>4</sup> and Michael Johnson<sup>5</sup> both specifically indicated that the first underground press writers required a trust from their readers and were more concerned with opinion than presenting individual facts which could be verified. Kunkin, by the end of his tenure at the Free Press, had offered the attributions and sources from which readers could verify his information, while Goldberg later wrote in a style that would demand that readers trust his statements, opinionated though they might be.

Finally, Goldberg's hope in the democratic system appears to flash back to the time of the hippies and Flower Children of the 1967 era. There was hope then, before the physical violence which marked the turn of the decade and had marred the years earlier. Kunkin had been associated closely with the Free Press during that period of violence

and the legal harassments which immediately followed. His hope seemed to have faded by 1973, though he willingly continued to question political systems. But Goldberg's hope is epitomized in one of Glessing's final statements concerning the future of the underground press in the United States:

The past lies dead and forgotten for the now generation who will produce the underground papers of the 1970s. Young people tell us hopefully 'today is the first day in the rest of your life' as they seek to build a future in an age when America glories in her flights to the moon while she turns her back on poverty in the south and in the cities.<sup>6</sup>

Though Goldberg's writings have been shown in this study to admit that the democratic system we now have is not perfect, these same articles indicate that there is hope for improving it through the political process.

With the characteristics of local political emphasis, a demand for trust from readers, opinionated and unsubstantiated writing, and a hope in the democratic system to be considered as possible characteristics of the underground press to grow through the seventies, a few factors appear to have been recently discarded in the transition. The drug, sex, and slang terminology that once marked the alternative writer's style may be gone, as is the case of much of the personalness of that writing. If these two

writers illustrate a transition, this study has indicated that, along with the move back toward demand for trust, the role of questioning of the world is being limited to the queries of the author, rather than extending the invitation to the reader as well.

As in the past, the existing and future underground newspapers must be adaptable to survive. As Lewis commented of the drug-mystic newspapers of the San Francisco Haight-Ashbury cult of the 1967 era, "The great acidhead papers, like the San Francisco Oracle and the Southern California Oracle, have long since folded. Their graphics were the finest the underground has yet produced, but the papers could not survive as attitudes changed."<sup>7</sup> And, indeed, underground newspapers of the early 1970s must change and adapt to new attitudes if they are to survive in the rapidly and constantly changing world, even if those transitions mean acceptance once again of several of the guidelines which originally heralded the beginning of many of the alternative newspapers of the sixties.

Such a marked transition can only be offered for speculation in this material concerning the first and second editors of the Los Angeles Free Press. Further study of both individual underground newspaper articles

and selections from the alternatives as a group would help to identify the underground press of the seventies, to contrast that press with that of the sixties, and add to the information available concerning the alternative media.

## FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER 5

<sup>1</sup> Robert A. Jones, "Local Issues; The Alternative Press Turning to Muckraking," Los Angeles Times, October 23, 1973, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Roger Lewis, Outlaws of America; The Underground Press and Its Context: Notes on a Cultural Revolution (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence Leamer, The Paper Revolutionaries; The Rise of the Underground Press (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-41, 131.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Johnson, The New Journalism (Kansas: University of Kansas, 1971, pp. 4, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Glessing, The Underground Press in America (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1970), pp. 159-160.

<sup>7</sup> Lewis, Outlaws, p. 50.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A - SELECTED ARTICLES EXAMINED

- Goldberg, Jerry. "Chief Davis." Los Angeles Free Press, December 7, 1973, pp. 2+.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "City Serves Garbage." Los Angeles Free Press, November 8-15, 1973, pp. 2+.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Editor's Notebook." Los Angeles Free Press, August 10-20, 1973, p. 2.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. "Newman Calls Freep Porno." Los Angeles Free Press, October 26 - November 1, 1973, p. 2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Police Failing." Los Angeles Free Press, November 2-8, 1973, pp. 2+.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "RTD Needs Federal Help." Los Angeles Free Press, November 16-23, 1973, pp. 2+.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Statement of Policy; This Newspaper is Going Thro' Changes!" Los Angeles Free Press, August 3-13, 1973, p. 2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "White Folk Don't Lie." Los Angeles Free Press, September 21-28, 1973, pp. 2+.

## APPENDIX A - Continued

Kunkin, Art. "The Capture of Tim Leary." Los Angeles Free Press, January 26-February 4, 1973, p. 1+.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Communist Press Censors Healey and Edits Official CP Statement." Los Angeles Free Press, July 20-30, 1973, p. 8.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Communists Without a Party; Al Richmond Joins Dorothy Healey." Los Angeles Free Press, July 20-30, 1973, p. 3+.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Erotic Art Gets a Home." Los Angeles Free Press, March 23-April 2, 1973, pp. 8-9.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Free Press Wins; Court Reverses 'Little Pentagon Papers' Conviction." Los Angeles Free Press, April 6-16, 1973, p. 1+.

\_\_\_\_\_. "'A Long View from the Left;' Why Does Gus Hall Fear Healey and Al Richmond?" Los Angeles Free Press, July 13-23, 1973, pp. 5+.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Watergate Murders? Law Suit Claims 'Cover-Up' Includes Plane Sabotage." Los Angeles Free Press, April 27-May 7, 1973, pp. 1+.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Wiretapping in Los Angeles--and Elsewhere." Los Angeles Free Press, July 13-23, 1973, pp. 3+.

## APPENDIX B

List of Important Recurring Symbols in Order of Appearance  
 Art Kunkin's Articles\*

\*Articles are numbered chronologically according to the following system (see Appendix A for complete references):

1. "The Capture of Tim Leary"
2. "Erotic Art Gets a Home"
3. "Free Press Wins"
4. "Watergate Murders?"
5. "Wiretapping in Los Angeles--and Elsewhere"
6. "A Long View from the Left"
7. "Communists Without a Party"
8. "Communist Press Censors Healey and Edits Official CP Statement"

LEGAL SYMBOLSJail, arrest terms

1. jail, 11  
   house arrest  
   breaking (of jail)  
   extraordinary bail  
   escape  
   was imprisoned
3. imprisonment  
   freedom, 2; freely
5. jail terms, 6  
   imprisonment  
   "felony section"  
   misdemeanor section
6. imprisonment
7. imprisonment

Legal, illegal terms, including laws and charges

1. a conspiracy (theory)  
   swindled  
   smuggling conspiracy  
   charge  
   smuggling  
   possession  
   California possession  
   charge  
   (dope) smuggling
2. legitimate  
   legal, 2
3. conviction terms, 5  
   guilty terms, 4  
   felons  
   stolen, 6  
   law, legal terms, 5  
   violation (of the law)  
   criminals

4. were fraudulent  
anti-trust charges  
robbery, theft  
terms, 5  
stole, stolen  
conviction  
guilt, guilty  
bribery, 2  
perjury, 2  
extortion  
conspirator terms, 6  
sabotage terms, 5  
murder terms, 4  
kill terms, 3
5. legal, 2; illegal, 2  
convictions,  
conviction  
National Security Act  
the law, 3; lawmakers;  
statute; wiretap law;  
state law terms  
break-in  
law terms, 10  
punishable  
unconstitutional
6. conviction  
the Smith Act  
conspiracy
7. Violation, 2  
the right  
murder  
crimes

#### Court terms

1. Indictment, charge  
defense, 2  
Tim Leary Defense  
Fund  
sentence  
appeals  
in court, 3  
trial  
arraigned
3. criminal justice  
terms, 5; injustice  
U.S. Supreme Court

District Court of Appeal  
terms, 7  
California State Supreme  
Court judge terms, 15  
District Court of Appeal  
judge terms, 2  
California State Supreme  
Court terms, 18  
evidence or record, 6  
trial terms, 6  
jury terms, 10  
prosecution terms, 5  
reverse, 3; decision  
terms, 8; verdict, 2;  
edicts

4. indictment terms, 5  
witness terms, 6  
"proving"  
attorney terms, 6  
evidence, 3; evidently, 3  
Illinois State Supreme  
Court terms, 2  
U. S. Court  
Cook County, Illinois  
court
5. authorized or unwarranted  
terms, 7  
evidence, 2  
justice terms, 6  
the Supreme Court  
defense  
court orders  
courtroom rights were  
being infringed
6. trials and tribulations  
like being sentenced  
U.S. Supreme Court
7. trials  
defensible; indefensible;  
defend

#### Federal terms

1. a federal case
3. U.S. Constitution terms, 6
4. Watergate terms, 16  
Nixon terms, 4



White House terms, 6;  
 Captain Whitehouse, 2  
 federal terms, 18;  
 FBI; FAA, 9  
 CIA, 4  
 U. S. Code  
 Justice Department  
 terms, 3

5. security-conscious  
 government agencies

FBI, 8  
 CIA, 4  
 Nixon terms, 4  
 federal terms, 21  
 Pentagon Papers, 2  
 Bill of Rights  
 Watergate terms, 6  
 government terms re-  
 lating to any level,  
 11

6. democracy terms, 3  
 capitalism, 2

7. democracy  
 Watergate terms, 2  
 democratic centralism, 3  
 democratic centralist

Law enforcement terms

1. the police  
 U.S. narcotics agents
2. U.S. Customs
3. narcotics agents terms, 3  
 California Attorney  
 General, 2
4. Coroner's Office terms, 6  
 Northwest Indiana Crime  
 Commission terms, 4
5. Justice Department  
 terms, 5  
 American agents  
 LAPD terms, 15  
 other police terms, 9  
 law enforcement buyers  
 security terms, 5
7. military intervention, 2  
 security

Drug terms

1. dope (smuggling)  
 heroin addiction  
 LSD, 3  
 marijuana (possession)  
 U.S. narcotics agents  
 (See also law en-  
 forcement terms)

Slang and coined terms

4. payoff, 3  
 a double take-out
5. warrantless taps  
 (See also legal  
 terms)  
 jail house bugs (See  
 also legal terms)  
 a rookie; a rookie  
 cop  
 nabs, get caught  
 gets the goods  
 can get you five years  
 put out the word...  
 go to the pen  
 non-radical citizens
6. radical terms, 3
7. frameups

Soviet and Communist Terms

6. Communist, Communist  
 Party terms, 40  
 Young Communist  
 League  
 Popular Front terms, 3  
 the Left terms, 2  
 decision
7. Communist, Communist  
 Party terms, 53  
 Socialist Party  
 terms, 2  
 the Left, 2  
 Soviet regime, Soviet  
 terms, 8  
 Socialist terms, 9

- 7. totalitarianism  
terms, 2
- 8. Communist, Communist  
Party terms, 27

#### INFORMATIONAL SYMBOLS

#### Acquiring, transmitting information terms

- 1. say, tell terms, 7  
ask, answer terms, 4  
to plumb the depths  
explained
- 2. according to  
say, tell terms, 4  
explain terms, 3
- 3. say, tell terms, 5  
ask, question and ques-  
tions, 7; posed  
traceable terms, 4
- 4. investigation, 3; in-  
vestigators, 4  
inquiry, inquiries  
according to, 10  
say, tell terms, 9
- 5. investigation, investi-  
gators  
say, tell terms, 20  
asked, request  
checking terms, 10  
explained  
detected, undetected, 3  
pointed out  
according to, 5
- 6. ask, answer terms, 6  
inquiring  
explore  
say terms, 6  
figure out what
- 7. say terms, 10  
ask, answer terms, 18
- 8. ask, answer terms, 3  
found

#### Possessing information terms

- 1. know terms, 4  
see terms, 11  
understand  
believes
- 2. believe  
see, view terms, 7
- 3. knowing terms, 4  
believing  
see terms, 3
- 4. found, 2; find  
believing terms, 5  
realized  
knowledge, 4; known
- 5. know terms, 5; been  
known  
find terms, 8  
seen; observed, 2
- 6. known, 2; knew  
realize  
views, looking, see  
terms, 6  
understand and under-  
standing, 4  
believed  
found
- 7. beliefs; these beliefs;  
believe terms, 4  
see, view terms, 5  
knew; unknown
- 8. viewpoint; viewed

#### Definite Knowledge terms

- 1. the fact  
reason  
clear
- 2. obviously  
true  
really, real, 3  
certainly  
definitely
- 3. fact, 4  
truth  
obvious terms, 3

- really, real, 4
- 4. facts, factor terms, 6  
actual  
obvious
- 5. obviously  
plain reality; really  
Actually  
literally
- 6. fact, 3  
really, real, 9  
reality  
to be sure; sure
- 7. fact terms, 5  
clear terms, 2  
reason; reasons why  
really, 4; reality  
terms, 2; real  
of course  
truth  
obviously, 2  
clearly indicated

Indefinite knowledge and  
transmittal terms

- 1. alleging  
may, 2; might and if, 3  
probably, 2; probable;  
perhaps seem and supposed  
terms, 6  
reputed terms, 2  
evidently  
got the impression
- 3. why (4 questions in suc-  
cession)  
allegedly  
uncertain  
possible terms, 3  
if, 2
- 4. alleged terms, 4  
purportedly  
supposed, 2; perhaps  
claims, 4; claimed  
thought (1 noun, 1  
verb); think  
asserted

- 5. seemed evident; evi-  
dently  
claim terms, 4  
supposedly  
alleged method  
apparently  
possible terms, 4  
probably  
if, 2
- 6. if terms, 5  
evidently; quite evident  
seem terms, 8  
don't think  
imply, 2; implications  
possibility, 2
- 7. a questioner, 2  
claims, 2 (verb); claim  
(noun); claim (verb)  
thinks  
thoughts; a thought  
(nouns)  
supposed, 2  
seems; seemed; seem, 2  
unknown  
is evident
- 8. the claim  
possible; perhaps, 2  
assertion,  
apparently believed

News, media, reporting  
terms

- 1. press conference, 4
- 2. informed
- 3. information, 2  
outspoken newspapers
- 4. a source; this source  
information, 3  
informed; informant  
exclusive interview,  
exclusive access  
terms, 5  
report terms, 3  
Los Angeles Times  
L. A. Star terms, 2

5. Information, 2  
Informers  
intelligence sources  
reportedly; report  
terms, 6  
KFWB terms, 15  
Los Angeles Times  
New York Times
6. Journalist (Richmond)
7. KPFK terms, 4
8. reporting  
the story, 2  
news story

#### Mysterious terms

4. suspicious  
discovered  
revealed, 2
5. camouflage  
spying, snooping terms, 8  
detective terms, 6  
detected, undetected, 3  
surveillance, 11  
reveal, revealed
7. such disclosures  
revelation, revealed

#### PERSONAL SYMBOLS

##### Kunkin's self terms

1. I, me, my, 14  
we, 4
2. I, me, my, 11
3. I, me, my, 23
4. this writer, 6  
I, me, my, 11
6. I
7. this reporter  
I  
this observer

##### LAFP or Kunkin in group terms

1. we (LAFP)  
Free Press office, readers

3. Free Press, 11; Free Press, 2;  
the paper  
we, our, us, 7 (LAFP)
4. L. A. Free Press; Free Press, 4  
our, 2; we, 2 (LAFP)
5. Free Press terms, 11  
we, our terms, 5 (LAFP)
6. we (in general)
7. our (proofreading)  
Los Angeles Free Press  
terms, 2  
we, 2 (LAFP)
8. Free Press, 3  
printed by us

#### Current or past article terms

1. here is
2. here
3. this article, 2  
this, 8
4. this, 9 (includes 6  
story, article terms)  
full plot  
these, 7
5. past LAFP article terms,  
8  
local story (in LAFP)
6. the story  
(up to this writing)  
here in this review
7. this article, 2  
this writing  
the article last week
8. last week's issue (of  
the LAFP)

#### Addresses to readers terms

1. Free Press readers
4. Reader terms, 4
5. you, other LAFP reader  
terms, 6; one's, 2

6. any reader; he  
you
7. the reader

Orders to readers terms

1. see below
4. complain...and weep  
check out pages 3 and  
4 (of this issue)....  
So look for Skolnick
5. (See story....)
7. (See LAFP....)

Other reporters terms

3. Applebaum terms, 5
5. correspondent Ridgely Cummings  
(reporter) Anna Sklar  
Earl Ofari

Jerry Goldberg's Articles\*\*

\*\*Articles are numbered chronologically according to the following system (see Appendix A for complete references)

1. "Statement of Policy"
2. "Editor's Notebook"
3. "King in the 10th"
4. "White Folk Don't Lie"
5. "Newman Calls Freep Porno"
6. "Police Failing"
7. "City Serves Garbage"
8. "RTD Needs Federal Help"
9. "Chief Davis"
10. "Let the Bastards Freeze"

LEGAL SYMBOLSPolitical terms

1. politician, nor special interest group, nor special political interest (all one phrase)
2. public officials  
government officials  
elected officials  
the politicians  
elected
3. political, 4; politics, 2  
candidate, 2  
elected officials  
non-partisan  
special election
4. politics; politicians, 3;  
political leaders  
public official; public officials; an official  
a non-partisan (source)
5. elected officials terms, 3  
bureaucrats  
candidate  
these officials  
political, 2
6. bureaucratic jungle  
political, 2  
bureaucratic empire
7. National Republican Women's convention  
political connections  
politicians  
elected officials, 2
8. elected officials  
any elected officials
9. Democratic National Committee; Democratic Central Committee
10. government bureaucrats  
political, 2  
ballot box gain

Federal or general government terms

1. government
2. the President
3. the President  
Congressional offices
4. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Presidnet Dwight D. Eisenhower, (lengthy list)
5. government, 2  
taxpayer, taxpayers, 3
6. the taxpaying citizens  
Watergate
8. energy crisis, 2  
transportation crisis  
dire national emergency;  
some emergency action  
the President's call
9. government, 2  
taxpayers
10. federal government, 2  
red-tape delays  
national (public agencies)

Local government terms

1. local government
2. County Counsel  
county legal counsels  
Los Angeles County Grand Jury
3. Los Angeles City Council  
terms, 2  
city hall, 3  
government, terms, 3
4. downtown at city hall;  
downtown direct references to city government, officials, 10
5. county officials  
civil service terms, 3  
the grand jury terms, 2
6. police officers, force,  
etc. terms, 20

"new broom" administration  
a subversive or red squad;  
its multi-governmental  
structure

7. councilman, men terms, 4  
grand jury terms, 2
8. Southern California Rapid  
Transit terms, 18
9. Los Angeles Police Depart-  
ment terms, 7  
Police Commission terms, 3  
police bureaucracy  
Los Angeles policemen,  
police
10. California Coastal Zone  
Commission terms, 5  
city attorneys, 2  
local public agencies

#### School board terms

2. Board of Education's  
three meetings board  
members terms, 3  
(Pasadena) school board  
(general) school boards  
integration terms, 5  
segregation terms, 2
5. Board of Education  
terms, 14  
school district terms, 8  
school officials
9. California Board of  
Education

#### Rights, freedom, laws terms

1. (LAFP) rights under the  
First Amendment; these  
rights; "right to  
know"  
fight for freedom
2. violating terms, 5  
public's right to know;  
the rights  
so-called law and order  
(Board members)

the Constitution and  
the law; other Con-  
stitution terms, 2  
Brown vs. the Board of  
Education; this case  
law, legal terms, 10  
Ralph M. Brown Act or  
other acts

3. the NAACP; that organi-  
zation  
the rights of people  
election code
5. California Public Dis-  
closure Law; other  
state law terms, 4  
moral law; kind of  
moral code; moralistic  
codes  
rules  
violating terms, 6  
law enforcement of-  
ficials
6. violent crime prevention  
crime terms, 10  
sexual violences, sex-  
ual assault  
mandate, 2  
petty laws, petty  
(crime)  
arrest terms, 3
7. free enterprise system,  
2  
legally swindling
9. First Amendment of the  
Constitution; the  
Constitution  
rights  
breaks a law; the law, 2
10. new (federal govern-  
ment) laws; this rule

#### Court terms

2. State Supreme Court  
U.S. District Court  
kangaroo courts of  
California

ruling terms, 2

### Miscellaneous terms

2. California Bar Association terms, 7  
attorney terms, 7  
the governor
6. pot smokers  
a controversial unit  
marauding gangs
7. monopolistic management
10. "Bastards"

### INFORMATIONAL SYMBOLS

#### Acquiring, transmitting information terms

1. give terms, 3  
question, answer terms, 6  
voice, 3; vocal  
views
2. investigate terms, 5  
question, answer terms, 8  
say, tell terms, 3
3. blatant display
4. say, tell terms, 9  
questions; question-  
able; demanding
5. ask, question terms, 6  
say  
outcry  
see terms, 4  
investigate
6. saying  
looks; look  
questionable, 2; ques-  
tion  
investigating
7. public outcry  
said  
viewpoint; attitude, 2  
investigating; investi-  
gation

7. demand, question terms, 3

8. tell

9. investigate terms, 6

ask terms, 4

telling, saying

see, 2

10. attitude

look; see

in question

has told

### Possessing information terms

1. to be found elsewhere
2. "in knowing"  
from knowing
3. have found
4. understand, 5  
realize  
know
5. strange understanding  
believe, 3  
know, 2
6. knowledge; know
7. found a way  
known
8. strong indication to  
believe
9. know; known
10. understand  
known

### Definite knowledge terms

1. fact terms, 5  
truth
2. In fact; facts; true  
facts  
actually  
real  
obviously, 2
3. very clear  
actually
4. clear, 3  
really, 2; real  
true; untrue, 2; the  
truth



- in fact  
lie, 4
5. fact, 2  
truthfully; true  
undoubtedly, 2  
really
6. clearly; "crystal  
clear"  
actually  
really (seem); real, 2  
factor; in fact  
obvious
7. actually
8. real  
actually, 2  
truth or falseness
9. reason, 2  
clear; clearly  
obviously  
really, 2
10. actually  
in fact  
certainly

Indefinite knowledge and  
transmission terms

1. might
2. thinking, 2
3. feel terms, 3  
evidence  
possibly  
to think for
4. feel terms, 4  
seem, 2
5. apparently  
thought  
possibly even  
might, 3
6. the thinking; thought  
(really) seem; seem  
claimed
7. might feel
8. Perhaps  
seem
9. seems, 2  
apparently

10. apparently  
claim

News, media, reporting terms

1. story terms, 6  
news terms, 5; news media  
(news) coverage, 9  
to be informed; informa-  
tion  
reporter, journalist  
terms, 9  
sensationalistic journal-  
ism
2. reporters, 2  
essential information
3. news media  
irresponsible report
4. newspapers, 2  
a black daily, Chicago  
Daily Defender  
story, 2  
cover terms, 5  
a (non-partisan) source  
information  
news blackout  
reports, 2; reported back  
IPT, 5; the paper
5. public information people,  
department terms, 4  
information  
propaganda, 2  
deceptions, 2  
media people
6. reporters
8. reports (tell)
9. TV network terms, 3  
old Los Angeles Mirror  
reporter, 2

PERSONAL SYMBOLS

Goldberg's self only terms

1. this reporter, 2; this  
reporter's  
me
2. this reporter, 2

4. this reporter terms, 2  
as reporter, 1  
this editor  
other I, me, my terms, 22  
addresses to self, 2  
personally
5. I personally
9. myself; my

#### Free Press terms

1. Free Press terms, 45  
direction, future, 10  
disagreements terms, 4  
we, 2 (LAFP)  
new editors; editors  
content, section terms, 5  
content, topic terms, 3  
current publisher terms,  
7
3. Free Press editorial  
board terms, 3  
the Los Angeles Free  
Press
4. the Free Press  
our
5. Free Press terms, 9  
subscription; subscrip-  
tions, ads (LAFP)
9. Free Press terms, 5

#### Readers terms

1. (Free Press) readers  
terms, 7

#### Current and past LAFP articles terms

1. this column, 2; the  
column  
issues, 3
5. this matter

#### Other reporters terms

1. Van Ness terms, 4  
Lloyd Steele and the  
contributors  
Kunkin terms, 6
4. Chuck Stone terms, 8
9. Tom Thompson terms, 13  
Jack Donohue terms, 4  
reporter Ellen  
Byrnes's mother  
...June Isaacson  
Lynn Rothman

#### Goldberg with others terms

4. those of us here in  
Los Angeles; We; our
8. us who (have com-  
plained)  
we in Los Angeles
9. several other reporters,  
including myself  
terms, 6
10. We, 2; us (all  
Californians) our  
grandchildren (all  
Californians)