



CONTROL OF THE MEDIA

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■ EVERY DAY, in millions of homes across America, a propaganda war is being waged against the minds of a largely unsuspecting people. This war is being conducted every morning in the daily newspapers, especially in such paramount organs of the Establishment press as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. It is waged every

week by the major weekly newsmagazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*. And it is being pressed throughout the day on network radio and television. In this way the average American is constantly bombarded with the "party line" of the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment on issues ranging from government spending on Welfare programs to the "nuclear freeze."

Dirck Halstead — Liaison

Seventy percent of Americans rely primarily on television for their news, and more than two-thirds use it to follow political events. Now new technology and deregulation have enabled cable networks to proliferate, and the three big Establishment networks could soon be forced to present more balanced programming.

All of this is no more surprising to readers of AMERICAN OPINION than the startling revelation that the Los Angeles freeways will be crowded at five p.m. Conservatives have long been moved to heartburn by the collectivist bias of the mass media. It is heartening to note, however, that an increasing number of our fellow Americans is aware of the extent of media bias and righteously angered by it.

Not long ago a poll conducted by the *Los Angeles Times* surprised its editors with the revelation that only one American in three believes that reporters are fair. A Gallup Poll showed that the public ranks the ethical standards and honesty of reporters well below those of police officers. And, more recently, a poll by the Establishment's *Washington Post* found fifty-three percent of its nationwide sample agreed with the statement that the major news media often cover up stories that ought to be reported. Only thirty-five percent took the view that the mass media do not engage in such coverups. The same poll indicated that people are aware of bias in reporting: fifty-nine percent said that reporters in the major news media often express their own opinions to excess while not giving enough of the facts.

Another important survey of pub-

lic opinion was conducted by a Washington polling company called Fingerhut-Granados. This one polled people in the Washington area (not known for its Conservative leanings) to find out if they believe the *Washington Post* tends to publish "made-up" stories. Only eight percent believed the *Post* never ran such stories, while sixty percent claimed they were "rare." But a very significant twenty-two percent thought the newspaper ran "made up stories" some of the time, and three percent actually believed it ran them *most* of the time.

In the wake of increased public distrust of the Establishment media — a credibility gap which we heartily welcome and encourage — some journalists have begun to own up to their biases rather than try to conceal what should be obvious to anyone above the age of nine.

Fred Freed of NBC tried to explain what has happened. Writing in *TV Guide* he noted: "This generation of newsmen is a product of the New Deal. Those beliefs of the New Deal are the beliefs that news has grown up on. This is true of the networks, of *Newsweek*, of the *New York Times*, of all media. Men of like mind are in the news. It is provincial. The blue and white collar people who are in revolt now do have cause for



complaint against us. We've ignored their point of view. It's bad. It's bad to pretend that they don't exist. We did this because we tend to be upper-middle-class liberals."

Another candid confession, by the now-retired ABC network anchorman Howard K. Smith, also appeared in *TV Guide*. Smith declared that network news bias is massive — beginning with the ideological composition of the news staffs, which are virtually all "Liberal." He confirmed that he and his colleagues in network journalism have "a strong leftward bias." Though Mr. Smith described himself as "left of center" and a "semi-socialist," his comments were prompted by his concern over the even more extreme views of some of his fellow newsmen who, according to Howard Smith, were increasingly leaning to the anti-American world view of the New Left.

Howard K. Smith warned, for instance, that the self-proclaimed sophisticates of network news are seriously deluded about the intentions of the Communists. He explained: "Some [*newsmen and commentators*] have gone overboard in a wish to believe that our opponent has exclusively peaceful aims, and that there is no need for armaments and national security. The danger of Russian aggression is unreal to many of them, although some have begun to rethink since the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But there is a kind of basic bias in the left-wing soul that gives the Russians the benefit of the doubt."

This tendency is well illustrated by the views of former CBS broadcaster Walter Cronkite. As longtime anchorman and managing editor of the "CBS Evening News," Cronkite became one of the most powerful influences in the national news game. In an interview with *Playboy*,

he admitted that most of his media colleagues are "certainly liberal and possibly left of center as well." Indeed, he added arrogantly, "I think most newspapermen by definition have to be liberal. If they're not liberal, by my definition of it, then they can hardly be good newspapermen."

A detailed study of the content of CBS News, conducted by the Institute of American Strategy, found that on the issue of national defense CBS gave more than sixty percent of its coverage to advocates of a weaker defense, and only 3.5 percent to those recommending a stronger America. When asked about these findings, Walter Cronkite shrugged the matter off by saying, "There are always groups in Washington expressing views of alarm over the state of our defense. We don't carry those stories. The story is that there are those who want to cut defense spending."

In other words, Walter favored a weaker America and was doing his part by suppressing the views of military experts warning about our deteriorating military strength. A clue to why he felt this way is suggested in his view of the nature of Soviet Communism. An interview with Walter Cronkite was published in the May Day 1979 issue of a Soviet magazine called *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and was subsequently reprinted in English in a publication called *Socialism: Theory And Practice*. The following is an excerpt from that interview, conducted by Vitali Kobyshev of the Novosti Press:

"KOBYSHEV: How can you agree with the idea that the Soviet Union menaces someone, that our people are preparing for war?

"CRONKITE: If you watched my program every evening for several years, you must know that I never



WHO CONTROLS THE MEDIA?



A partial listing of the 216 Council on Foreign Relations and Trilateral Commission members who are in key positions in the mass media. An asterisk indicates membership in both organizations; a dagger denotes membership in the Trilateral Commission only. These data come from late-1982 reference sources.

MAJOR NEWSPAPERS

Dow Jones & Co., Inc.

Publishers of the
Wall Street Journal
William Agee, Director
Rand Araskog, Director
Vernon Jordan Jr., Director
Charles Meyer, Director
Robert Potter, Director
Richard Wood, Director
Robert Bartley, Editor

Des Moines Register & Tribune Co.

David Kruldenier, Chairman
John Cowles Jr., Director

Field Enterprises, Inc.

Publishers of the
Chicago Sun-Times
*James Hoge, Publisher

The New York Times Co.

Richard Gelb, Director
William Scranton, Director
Cyrus Vance, Director
A.M. Rosenthal,
Executive Editor
Seymour Topping,
Managing Editor
James Greenfield, Assistant
Managing Editor
Max Frankel, Editorial Page
Editor
Jack Rosenthal, Deputy
Editorial Page Editor
James Reston, Consultant

The Times Mirror Co.

Publishers of the
Los Angeles Times
Robert Erburu, President
W. Thomas Johnson Jr., Vice
President
David Lavenhol,
Vice President
F. Daniel Frost, Director
Roger Heyns, Director
Eli Jacobs, Director

The Washington Post Co.

Katharine Graham, Chair
Nicholas Katzenbach, Director
*Robert McNamara, Director
†Arjay Miller, Director
Howard Simons, Mg. Ed.
George Will, Columnist

MAJOR MAGAZINES

National Review, Inc.

William Buckley Jr.,
Editor-in-Chief
Richard Brookhiser, Editor

Newsweek, Inc.

Katharine Graham, Director
Maynard Parker, Editor
George Will, Contributing Editor

Reader's Digest Assoc., Inc.

Edward Thompson,
Editor-in-Chief
C. Robert Devine,
Vice President
Donald Platten, Director

Time, Inc.

Publishers of *Fortune*, *Life*,
Money, *People*, *Sports*
Illustrated, and *Time*
Ralph Davidson, Chairman
Donald Wilson, Vice President
Louis Banks, Director
Henry Grunwald, Editor-in-Chief
Alexander Heard, Director
*Sol Linowitz, Director
Raleigh Warner Jr., Director
Thomas Watson Jr., Director
Clifton Wharton Jr., Director

TELEVISION NETWORKS

ABC

Ray Adam, Director
Frank Cary, Director
John Connor, Director
Ulric Haynes, Director
Roone Arledge, News
and Sports
David Brinkley, News Analyst

Ted Koppel, Anchorman

John Scali, Newsman
Barbara Walters,
Newswoman

CBS

William Paley,
Acting Chairman
Thomas Wymann,
Chairman-to-be
*Harold Brown, Director
William Burden, Director
Roswell Gilpatrick, Director
James Houghton, Director
Henry Schacht, Director
Franklin Thomas, Director
Marietta Tree, Director
Charles Collingwood,
Newsman
Richard Hottelet, Newsman
Lawrence LeSeuer,
Newsman
Bill Moyers, News Analyst
Dan Rather, Anchorman

NBC

Thornton Bradshaw, Director
John Petty, Director
Richard Sonnenfeldt,
Executive Vice President
Lester Crystal, Producer
John Chancellor,
News Analyst
Marvin Kalb, Newsman
Irving Levine, Newsman
Garick Utley, Newsman

WIRE SERVICES

Associated Press

Keith Fuller, President
Stanley Swinton,
Vice President
Harold Andersen, Director
Louis Boccardi, Director
Katharine Graham, Director

United Press International

H.L. Stevenson,
Editor-in-Chief

agreed with that, and do not agree.

"KOBYSH: What do you think has to be done in order to establish full confidence between our peoples, to develop broad cooperation between our countries in all fields?"

"CRONKITE: I think, in the long term, the main thing is to dispel mutual distrust, suspicion, to be better informed and more tolerant. To the best of my ability I work in this direction. I know your country, your people. Shortly after the war I lived for two years in Moscow as a UPI correspondent. I saw the legacy of the war and I will never believe in a 'Soviet threat.'"

This of a totalitarian regime engaged in the most massive military buildup in history. While the Soviets were wringing all the propaganda they could from the interview with Cronkite, they were planning the invasion of Afghanistan. It is hardly surprising that viewers of CBS were never told the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was accomplished in trucks and armored personnel vehicles manufactured at the Kama River truck plant which was constructed by U.S. industrial firms and financed by the Rockefeller-controlled Chase Manhattan Bank.

And this pro-Communist attitude is not the exception but the rule. Take, for example, the biased reporting on the revolution in Nicaragua which overthrew the freely elected President Anastasio Somoza and installed a Sandinista military dictatorship that has still not both-

ered to hold elections. Karen DeYoung, deputy foreign editor for the *Washington Post*, was responsible for most of the *Post's* coverage of that.* In fact, the Society for Professional Journalists awarded her a prize for her stories from Nicaragua. But according to Reed Irvine of Accuracy In Media, "Karen DeYoung's coverage of Nicaragua leads one to believe that she was including herself among those Western journalists who she said were 'very eager to seek out guerrilla groups, leftist groups, because you assume they must be the good guys.' She had visited a secret Sandinista training camp in Costa Rica during the Nicaraguan rebellion, where she interviewed a female guerrilla named Nora. Nora was described as a heroine who had helped assassinate one of the Nicaraguan generals. What Miss DeYoung spared her readers was the description of the torture and mutilation of the general that Nora and her comrades perpetrated. The Nicaraguan Government offered photos of the mutilated corpse to the *Washington Post*, but it showed no interest in revealing that side of Nora. Nora now holds the post of special prosecutor in the new regime in Nicaragua, where she is busy seeing that the 7,000-plus political prisoners held by the Sandinistas are properly processed through the kangaroo courts that have been established there."

Knowing that most Americans are anti-Communists, DeYoung and her clones in the media played down and covered up the Communist and socialist mindset of the "revolutionaries." As Reed Irvine points out: "Those who depended on Karen DeYoung's prize-winning reports from Nicaragua were ill-prepared for the discovery that the revolution has brought to power puppets of Castro
(Continued on page eighty-nine.)

*Karen DeYoung is an active figure with the notorious Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. The I.P.S. is a pro-Soviet "think-tank" which has been described in the *Village Voice* as "an intellectual headquarters for the left since 1962." One of its co-directors, Marcus Raskin, was involved with the publication *Counter-Spy*, dedicated to exposing the identities of U.S. intelligence personnel.

THE MEDIA

and the Kremlin who have no intention of permitting Nicaraguans to enjoy the degree of freedom that they had under Somoza. A typical DeYoung report on the ideology of the Sandinistas read: 'As for the politics of the Sandinistas, while some of the leadership avows Marxist beliefs, others describe themselves as democratic pluralists Moises Hasan Morales, one of five members of a proposed provisional government of the Sandinistas named over this weekend, described himself in an interview as a socialist who does not adhere to the Marxist mold.' Hasan recently led an official Nicaraguan mission to Moscow where he signed several important agreements, including one pledging cooperation between the Soviet Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

Another member of the Sandinista junta, Daniel Ortega, was a Cuban-trained guerrilla leader. But *Post* reporter Karen DeYoung described this man as a member of "the most moderate faction which advocates pluralistic democracy."

In his book *Nicaragua Betrayed*, the late Anastasio Somoza told how elements of the American media conspired to mislead and influence Congress on Nicaragua. He wrote: "Two of the most influential newspapers in the Western Hemisphere are the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. These publications carried many stories that reflected badly on me and my administration. Karen DeYoung of the *Washington Post* and Alan Riding of the *New York Times* were biased, unfactual, and thoroughly prejudicial in their reports on Nicaragua. Alan Riding admitted to me that he opposed my

government and that he was a Socialist."

President Somoza went on to say: "Karen DeYoung and the *Washington Post* performed an excellent hatchet job on me. It's not just happenstance that every time there was a congressional hearing on Nicaragua, on that very same day the *Washington Post* would carry an anti-Somoza article. This ploy, of course, was used to influence various U.S. congressmen on that particular day."

And this is only one illustration of the Leftwing bias of the Establishment Media on the whole range of issues and personalities. Statistical confirmation of this was presented in a major study published in *Public Opinion* last year. For this study, Robert Lichter of George Washington University and Stanley Rothman of Smith College conducted hour-long interviews with 240 of our nation's most influential journalists and broadcasters, representing the most powerful media outlets, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, NBC, CBS, ABC, and PBS. The findings of this scholarly study make fascinating reading.

The Lichter-Rothman survey revealed that our mass media are operated by a socially privileged class from upper-middle-income homes. Ninety-five percent are white, seventy-nine percent are male, ninety-three percent are college graduates, fifty-five percent have postgraduate educations, and nearly half boast family incomes in excess of fifty thousand dollars. Geographically, two-thirds come from the quadrant of the nation extending from New England to Chicago's north shore. Only three percent come from the entire Pacific coast. Although fifty per-

cent of those surveyed state that they have no formal religious affiliation, almost one in four was reared in a Jewish household, while only one in eight identified himself as a Roman Catholic.

Fifty-four percent of these leading journalists call themselves "Liberals." While this is a much greater percentage than in the general population, it is assuredly too modest a figure in view of the overwhelming "Liberal" bias in the media. Many "Liberals" now palm themselves off as "moderates." Only nineteen percent maintain that they are "Conservative" or "Right of Center."

On the issues, it is disturbing that these pressies credit the most obvious Marxist myths and propaganda. Half of them believe that guaranteeing jobs is a proper function of government, and sixty-eight percent think one of the purposes of government should be to bridge the gap between rich and poor through political programs that redistribute the wealth. This group also heavily favors "Affirmative Action" programs. And, most say they believe poverty in the Third World is caused by the United States. More than half also claim to think America's consumption of world resources is immoral and exploitive.

Is it any wonder that you never hear the mass media discuss Free Market economics as an alternative to the nostrums of Marxists, Keynesians, and Monetarists? The mainstream journalist or commentator is simply ignorant of Free Market alternatives. Or opposed to them. On issues of sexual morality, the attitude of the newspeople is one of permissiveness. Only nine percent believe that homosexuality is wrong, and a full eighty-five percent support the "right" of sexual deviants

to teach in public schools. Fifty-four percent see nothing wrong with adultery, with only fifteen percent saying they "strongly agree" that extramarital affairs are wrong. A huge ninety percent take the position that women have a "right" to abortion.

In terms of Presidential politics, the media elite are again dramatically out of step with the general population. They voted ninety-four percent for Lyndon Johnson to six percent for Barry Goldwater in 1964; eighty-seven percent for Hubert Humphrey to thirteen percent for Richard Nixon in 1968; eighty-one percent for Jimmy Carter to nineteen percent for Gerald Ford in 1976; and, in the landslide of 1972 when three-fourths of white America voted for Nixon (or at least against McGovern) this predominately white, male elite went eighty-one percent for the fanatic George McGovern! Figures on the 1980 election are not available, but you can bet that the media people did not favor less government and more individual responsibility.

Keenly aware of their own power, the aristocrats of the media want even more. Asked by Lichter and Rothman which groups they felt should rule America, the nation's top journalists surprised no one by naming themselves at the head of the list, followed by consumer groups, intellectuals, blacks, business, feminists, and unions.

We see from all this that our national press does not reflect the variety of America's ideological leanings and philosophical assumptions. What we have is ideological homogeneity inconsistent with the American mix. The press and broadcasting elite share a single point of view — that of the Eastern "Liberal" Establishment. Little wonder that

other viewpoints are systematically ignored and even suppressed.

The mainstream of American journalism is a stagnant pool of passé "Liberalism," the last gasp of yesterday's collectivist pragmatism. The typical mainstream journalist holds the unquestioned conviction that profits are won at the expense of exploited workers, cheated consumers, and a polluted environment; that government measures to control business "for the common good" are a triumph for workers and consumers even though these measures eliminate jobs and raise prices; that the United States is a racist nation; that our prisons are full of unfortunates who are there because "society" failed them; that trespassing and destruction of private property are not crimes when done in the name of peace, poverty, civil rights, or the environment; that the principles of the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution are outmoded and no longer relevant; that the more complex society becomes, the more centralized government control is needed; that "human rights" are more important than "property rights"; that businessmen should be made to work for the good of society rather than for "selfish" gain; that government should control prices, but not people; that human "equality" is "meaningful and relevant"; that government should generate freedom from want by spending more tax money on Welfare programs and make-work schemes.

Thomas Jefferson said, "If a nation expects to be both ignorant and free, it expects what never was and never will be." That's why honest reporting and exposure to alternative points of view are important. The news we see and hear helps us form our opinions. When we pick up a newspaper and read a story — or

when we switch on the TV and watch the evening news — we are affected consciously and subconsciously. If we are given misinformation, or if relevant facts are left out, we are being manipulated.

Who's In Control?

While it is widely recognized that the workaday editor or reporter tends to be "Liberal," it is generally believed that the owners of the mass media are "conservatives." They are not. Though many owners are still nominal Republicans, they are on the whole men and women of the Establishment Left. "Liberal" reporters, editors, and broadcasters are on the payroll because they promote the line that the Establishment wants disseminated to the "masses."

We use the term "Establishment" to refer to a relatively small group of individuals who belong to an elitist organization called the Council on Foreign Relations (C.F.R.) and/or its satellite institutions, including the Trilateral Commission. Headquartered at the Harold Pratt House at Park Avenue and 68th Street in New York City, the C.F.R. counts in its exclusive membership some 2,200 of the most powerful men and women in American finance, industry, government, academia, and communications.

Forty percent of the Council's members reside in the New York City area, twenty-three percent in the Washington area, and six percent in Greater Boston. The professional distribution of C.F.R. members is: scholars or academic administrators, nineteen percent; corporate executives, thirty percent; government officials, twelve percent; lawyers, ten percent; journalists, correspondents, and communications executives, ten percent; administrators of tax-exempt foundations and other non-

profit organizations, fourteen percent; others, five percent.

The American C.F.R. was spun off from the Royal Institute of International Affairs of London, which was founded in 1919 to promote the vision of One World government as dreamed of by Lord Alfred Milner, Cecil Rhodes, and Lord Rothschild. In his revealing book *Tragedy And Hope*, the late Professor Carroll Quigley (of Harvard, Princeton, Georgetown, the Brookings Institution, etc.) wrote: "... the relationship between the financial circles of London and those of the eastern United States ... reflects one of the most powerful influences in twentieth-century American and world history. The two ends of this English-speaking axis have sometimes been called, perhaps facetiously, the English and American Establishments. There is, however, a considerable degree of truth in the joke, a truth which reflects a very real power structure"

From its inception in 1921, the C.F.R. Establishment was a tool of international financiers who sought to establish a socialist World Government under their control, through which they could exercise monopolistic hegemony over world trade, banking, communications, transportation, and natural resources. Certain obvious strategies were employed. Centralization of control over the major means of communication — the key organs of the mass media — was necessary to assure control over popularly elected governments. Hence, these would-be world monopolists have for years been deeply involved in financing and manipulating the American communications industry.

The Council on Foreign Relations has been from the start the creature of financial interests including J.P. Morgan, the Rockefellers, those in

control of the Andrew Carnegie fortune, and such Rothschild financial satellites as the following five Wall Street firms: Kuhn, Loeb and Company; Lehman Brothers; Lazard Frères; Goldman, Sachs and Company; and, Dillon, Read and Company.

Leaders of these institutions maintain interlocking memberships and associations with a variety of other organizations and avatars of the Establishment. For example, Eugene R. Black, a leading figure in Lazard Frères, is also a director and former president of the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank, a director of such firms as the New York Times Company, I.T.&T., American Express, and Royal Dutch Shell, as well as trustee of the Ford Foundation, Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, and the J.P. Morgan Library. In addition he is a member of the secretive Pilgrim Society, former president of the World Bank, and former trustee of the Brookings Institution and the Atlantic Council.

David Rockefeller presides as chairman of the C.F.R. with other top officers including John J. McCloy, Douglas Dillon, Robert V. Roosa, Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Hedley Donovan.

In general, then, the above organizations and Wall Street firms represent the interests about which we are speaking when we refer to the Establishment media.

Controlling The Flow

The newspaper industry is the largest division of the news media in the United States. There are some 1,760 daily papers and over five hundred Sunday editions, and they get most of their national news from the wire services of Associated Press (A.P.) and United Press Inter-

national (U.P.I.), although some of the larger newspapers and newspaper chains supplement the wires with their own national news services. All are strongly biased to the Left. Many radio stations fill their newscasts with items taken directly from A.P. or U.P.I. teletypes. Most local newspapers rewrite national news stories which are fed to them, but the news agenda is generated from a very small cadre of individuals at the top. At the Associated Press, for instance, Keith Fuller, (president), Stanley Swinton, (vice president), Louis Boccardi (vice president), Harold Andersen (director), and Katharine Graham (director) are all members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Newspaper ownership has been increasingly concentrated in recent years, as more and more independent, locally owned papers have been taken over by newspaper chains and media conglomerates. According to *Editor And Publisher*, two-thirds of the country's dailies are owned by such big, profitable chains — double the number under such control in 1960. Independent newspapers, of which less than six hundred remain, are being gobbled up at a rate of about fifty dailies a year. The fifteen top chains own more than twenty-five percent of all American newspapers. Moreover, the twenty-five largest chains control more than half of all weekday circulation, and the top ten control about forty percent. These ten biggest chains, in order of daily circulation, are:

Gannett Newspapers (eighty-two dailies, including the *Rochester Democrat And Chronicle* in New York State and the *Oakland Tribune* in California); Knight-Ridder Newspapers (thirty-four dailies, including the *Detroit Free Press*, *Miami Herald*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*); New-

house Newspapers (twenty-nine dailies, including the *Denver Post* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*); Tribune Company (ten dailies, including the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News*); Dow Jones & Company (twenty dailies, including the *Wall Street Journal*); Times Mirror (six dailies, including the *Los Angeles Times*); Scripps-Howard Newspapers (twenty-one dailies, including the *Cincinnati Post*); Hearst Corporation (10 dailies, including the *San Francisco Examiner*); Cox Enterprises (seventeen dailies, including the *Atlanta Constitution*); and, Thomson Newspapers, U.S. (sixty-six dailies).

Allen H. Neuharth, Gannett's chairman and president, made that chain the largest in the field and the most consistently profitable as well. He is also the highest-paid newspaper executive in the nation, receiving well over one million dollars in salary, benefits, and stock options per year. Formerly the assistant managing editor of the *Miami Herald* and the *Detroit Free Press*, Allen Neuharth is known both as a ruthless businessman and as a champion of "Liberal" causes.

The owner of the important Newhouse group, the mysterious Samuel Newhouse, is like Neuharth a "Liberal" Democrat. In addition to his twenty-nine dailies and twenty-one Sunday papers, Newhouse controls three radio and six television stations, and publishes nine magazines under a subsidiary, Condé Nast Publications. There can be little doubt that Samuel Newhouse, an immigrant from Russia, knows that as an outsider in those areas where he owns newspapers he is mistrusted and must move slowly. In some Conservative areas, and in special situations like St. Louis where his *Globe-Democrat* couldn't possibly take a stance to the Left of the Pulitzer family's

Post-Dispatch, Newhouse keeps his fingers out of the editorial pie. Owners like Newhouse will often permit a paper to take a moderately Conservative stand on some issues — but it is taboo to discuss the Establishment and its links with international Communism.

Another owner of a major chain is the shadowy Lord Thomson of Fleet (Roy Thomson of Toronto), who owns sixty-six dailies and twenty-nine Sunday papers in the United States in small and medium-sized towns. Thomson was also owner of the *London Times*, traditional voice of the British Establishment — where the Royal Institute of International Affairs is controlled by the same types as those who control our C.F.R. Lord Thomson is a member of the elitist Pilgrim Society, which seeks to merge the U.S. into the British Commonwealth as the base for World Government.

One important factor which has encouraged independents to sell out to these big chains is the high rate of taxes, both income and inheritance. A privately held newspaper becomes an estate asset when the principal owner or owners die. If the estate is not rich in cash or other marketable securities, the heirs may be forced to sell the newspaper in order to pay the estate taxes on it. Also, because capital-gains taxes have been considerably lower than income-tax rates, if a newspaper is sold in a cash transaction the seller pays only the lower capital-gains tax. If the exchange is for some of the stock in the purchasing chain or conglomerate, then the deal is tax free until that stock is sold. Consequently, our government's tax structure has encouraged oligopoly in this field.

While the impact of increasing concentration of ownership is difficult to measure, one study did

find evidence that, contrary to the claims of editorial freedom by the chain owners, "chain papers were more likely to support the favored candidate of the press in every election." On the other hand, it was found that in endorsing Presidential candidates in the elections of 1960 through 1972, non-chain papers were less likely to endorse any Presidential candidate while "the vast majority of chains exhibited homogeneous endorsement patterns." And eighty-five percent or more of the papers in the chains endorsed the same candidate.*

The Establishment's Times

What's black and white and red all over? Answer: The *News York Times*. It is The Important Paper for Important People Everywhere, and is the nearest thing in the United States to a national daily. Most Congressmen and Senators read it faithfully. It is found in virtually all academic libraries and is read by more than half of this country's college presidents. Fifty copies of the *Times* go to the White House every day. Over seventy Embassies in Washington subscribe to it, including the Soviet Embassy. It is even read by the comrades in Peiping, and thirty-nine copies are sent to Moscow. "A significance of the *Times*," Timesman James Reston (C.F.R.) has written, "is its multiplier effect. What appears in the *Times* automatically appears later in other places."

Concerning this multiplier effect, columnist Alice Widener has observed: "It is a fact that most editors and newsmen on the staffs of . . . *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc., and most editors, reporters, and commen-

*Daniel Wackman, et al., "Chain Newspaper Autonomy As Reflected In Presidential Campaign Endorsements," *Journalism Quarterly*, Autumn 1975.

tators at NBC, CBS, and ABC take their news and editorial cues from the *New York Times*. Technically, it is a great newspaper; but it reports much of the news in conformity with its editorial policies."

One of the most damning indictments of the "Liberal" bias of the *New York Times* came from the late Herman Dinsmore. After serving thirty-four years on the news staff of the *Times*, including many years as its associate foreign editor and nine years as editor of its international edition, Mr. Dinsmore could no longer take the increasingly Leftist slant of the paper, and so he retired and wrote a book exposing it. In *All The News That Fits*, Dinsmore observed: "The *New York Times* in more recent years has stated that it wants a balance of power in the world — as if it were possible to maintain such a thing. Editorially, it has freely criticized the United States while but sparingly finding fault with Communist actions. The attitude of the *New York Times* toward the Soviet Union has resulted in remarkable distortions in its news columns and in its editorial judgments."

Indeed, the *Times* has employed a number of reporters whose pro-Communist diatribes are notorious. Such men as Herbert L. Matthews (the C.F.R. member who wrote that Castro was an anti-Communist!), Harrison Salisbury (C.F.R.), Lester E. Markel (C.F.R.), Ralph Parker, and Walter Duranty spent the greater portion of their careers with the *Times* as side-show barkers for every Communist regime with a cage to rattle. The board of directors and top editorial staff are filled with members of the Council on Foreign relations. They include among the directors William Scranton, Cyrus Vance, and Richard Gelb; plus executive editor A.M. Rosenthal, managing

editor Seymour Topping, assistant managing editor James Greenfield, editorial page editor Max Frankel, and Frankel's deputy Jack Rosenthal.

The modern history of the *New York Times* dates from 1896, when Adolph Ochs took over the paper. Gerald Johnson notes in *An Honorable Titan* that Ochs's mother, Bertha Levy Ochs, had been so involved in the Communist Revolution of 1848 that her family was "advised" to leave Bavaria. Ochs bought the foundering *New York Times* for the borrowed sum of \$75,000. Johnson tells how Ochs arranged this: "He had arrived in New York almost unknown; but by August 17, 1896, he was well and favorably known to a group of men whose power in the financial, business and political worlds was out of all proportion to their numbers."

Mr. Ochs's backers in taking control of the *Times* were international bankers J.P. Morgan; August Belmont; and Kuhn, Loeb's Jacob Schiff (who was later to be an important financier of the Russian Revolution). The latter two were Rothschild partisans. Later, the firm of Lehman Brothers began working with the *Times*. Ferdinand Lundberg reports in his *America's 60 Families*: "Although not conspicuously connected with publishing, this banking family stands close to the *New York Times* . . . It has the outstanding interest in the Kimberly Clark Corporation, a papermaking enterprise which, with the *New York Times*, jointly controls the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company."

This Rothschild voice of the American Establishment passed from the publishing hands of Adolph Ochs (C.F.R.) to his son-in-law Arthur Hays Sulzberger (C.F.R., Pilgrim Society, Rockefeller Foun-

dation, and Norman Thomas Foundation), to his son-in-law Orville E. Dryfoos (C.F.R.), and then to the current publisher, Arthur Ochs Sulzberger (C.F.R.).

The New York Times Company (which publishes the *New York Times* and nine dailies in Florida and North Carolina) also publishes four consumer magazines (*Us*, *Family Circle*, *Golf Digest*, and *Tennis*) and has substantial holdings in the broadcast media and book publishing.

The Washington Post

The Washington, D.C., end of the Establishment's New York-Washington newspaper axis is the redoubtable *Washington Post*. What the *Post* prints is important as it is the capital's only morning newspaper and is read by most Members of Congress. What the *Post* does not print is also important, and that fact is notorious. A longtime staffer at the Library of Congress once told us that fully half of the articles cited in congressional debate (not including additions in the *Congressional Record* appendix) come from either the *Washington Post* or the *New York Times*. Like its New York counterpart, the *Post* is infamous for its Leftward bias. We have already indicated an example of this in the excesses of reporter Karen DeYoung.

The *Post* was the creature of the late banking *Insider* Eugene Meyer (C.F.R.), whose family immigrated to America in the backwash of the failure of the Paris Commune of 1848. Meyer's father, Gunther, was the U.S. representative of the Rothschilds' firm of Lazard Frères. Eugene studied international banking in Hamburg, Berlin, Paris, and London, and also became associated with Lazard Frères. Later he was a partner of *Insider* Bernard Baruch in Alaskan mining adventures and

Baruch brought Meyer to Washington in 1917 to head a division of the War Industries Board. Baruch and Eugene Meyer held almost complete dictatorial control over America's wartime industry and placed billions of dollars in war production contracts with friends and associates. Meyer was author of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, and was made chairman of the R.F.C. when the Act was passed. He was also a governor of the Federal Reserve Board and the first head of the World Bank. He held important positions in every Administration between Wilson and Truman.

Using money he made from his World War I manipulations, Eugene Meyer bought the *Washington Post* in 1933 to support F.D.R.'s New Deal, but also reportedly to squelch investigations into how Meyer and his partners in New York and Europe had maneuvered the United States into the war and then helped themselves to enormous profits. Meyer's first move was to fire the *Post's* editor for refusal to support U.S. recognition of the Soviet Union.

After Eugene Meyer's death, control over the *Post's* operations passed to Philip Graham (C.F.R.), his son-in-law and a former law clerk of Felix Frankfurter. Graham ran the show until his severe depressions broke him and he shot himself in 1963. Control is now in the hands of his widow, Katharine Meyer Graham, Eugene Meyer's daughter and a member of the C.F.R. Howard Simons, the *Post's* managing editor, is another member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Washington Post Company, which also publishes *Newsweek* magazine and owns five TV stations, includes on its board Nicholas Katzenbach (C.F.R.), Arjay Miller (Trilateral), and Robert McNamara (both).

Among its broadcast media holdings, the Washington Post Company owns the CBS outlets in Washington, WTOP-TV and WTOP-AM and FM. The firm's newspaper, magazine, radio, and television media outlets combine to give the Establishment *Insiders* a powerful ideological punch in our nation's capital.*

The West Coast Times

The West Coast anchor of the Establishment's newspaper complex is the *Los Angeles Times*. Before 1960 it would have been difficult to find a more Conservative newspaper in the United States, but in less than a decade the paper did an about-face. The *Times* began to turn Left after Dorothy "Buff" Chandler pushed her husband out as publisher, using a series of his flagrant indiscretions as the lever. Replacing Norman Chandler was their son Otis, a man of imposing physical qualities who is not intellectually gifted. Whether Otis is a foil for his Machiavellian mother or is manipulated by the entourage of "intellectuals" for whom he flaunts admiration is an oft-debated subject.†

The *Times*, which consumes more newsprint than any other American daily, controls New American Library, a large publishing company which produces Penguin, Mentor, and Signet books. The parent corporation, Times Mirror Company, also owns five other newspapers, including the *Dallas Times Herald*, and seven magazines, including *Outdoor*

Life and *Popular Science*. In addition it owns two TV stations and a controlling interest in *Newsday*, the large-circulation Long Island newspaper. And the *Times* also shares with the *Washington Post* the operation of a widely used news service.

The Times-Mirror Corporation's leadership includes Robert F. Erburu (president); W. Thomas Johnson Jr and David Laventhal (vice presidents); and, F. Daniel Frost, Roger Heyns, and Eli Jacobs (directors). All belong to the Council on Foreign Relations, that elite club headquartered in New York City.

Another very important newspaper group in California is the strategic McClatchy chain, which owns the *Sacramento Bee* in the state's capital, as well as other newspapers and eight radio and TV stations. In his will, founder Charles K. McClatchy required his heirs and assigns to fight for socialism through these media outlets. The will reads: "One fundamental issue will never change and that is the vital issue of government ownership. I want the McClatchy newspapers to battle for that principle at any and all times no matter against what odds."

The McClatchy clan has lived up to this provision of the will in both letter and spirit.

The Mass Slicks

By far the largest magazine publisher in the United States, based on amount of revenue, is Time Inc. With its three profitable weeklies (*Time*, *People*, and *Sports Illustrated*), its bi-weekly (*Fortune*), and two monthly magazines (*Life* and *Money*), Time Inc. is undisputably a media giant. In addition to its magazines the Time complex also owns five TV stations, Manhattan Cable TV, and Home Box Office; Little, Brown & Company, a major book publishing firm; and,

*For a comprehensive and shocking look at the *Washington Post* and examples of its Left-wing distortions, see "Washington As Censored By The Post," by John Rees in the November 1979 issue of this magazine.

†Other members of the Chandler family are extremely patriotic and Conservative. But they have been frozen out of authority in running the newspaper.

several weekly newspapers in the Chicago area. Headquartered at the Time & Life Building in Rockefeller Center in New York City, Time Inc. includes the following C.F.R. members on its board: Ralph Davidson (chairman), Donald M. Wilson (vice president), and board directors Louis Banks, Alexander Heard, Sol Linowitz (also a Trilateralist), Rawleigh Warner Jr., Thomas Watson Jr., and Clifton Wharton Jr.

The father of the time Empire was the late internationalist Henry Luce,* who began his rise to publishing glory with loans from such Establishment figures as Thomas Lamont (C.F.R.) and Dwight Morrow (C.F.R.), the J.P. Morgan partners; Harvey Firestone (C.F.R.); E. Roland Harriman (C.F.R.); and, various members of the Harkness family of the Standard Oil fortune. Their influence became especially apparent when Luce started his business magazine, *Fortune*, in the middle of the Great Depression. As John Kobler wrote in *The First Tycoon*:

"It is a bemusing paradox that *Fortune*, the magazine of business, questioned the efficiency of the free-enterprise system, and even took on a faint socialist tinge. Some of its editors and contributors stood far to the left. Luce realized this — but he also realized that he needed iconoclasts to shake up the business world and make it notice *Fortune*."

When it is understood that certain powerful businessmen have long used political pull and government intervention to obtain and maintain

their fortunes, the Leftwing slant of such Establishment mouth organs as *Fortune* becomes no paradox at all.

Time, of course, is the most widely read newsmagazine in the country, having a circulation of about 4.3 million, as compared to *Newsweek's* three million and *U.S. News & World Report's* 2.1 million. Known from the start for its biased content, *Time* long had as its Editor-in-Chief Hedley Donovan (Rhodes Scholar; member of the Pilgrim Society; director of the C.F.R.; and, trustee of the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and New York University). That position is currently held by Henry Grunwald, another member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Number Two in newsmagazine circulation (but gaining on *Time*) is *Newsweek*, brought to you as we have noted by the same people who publish the *Washington Post*. *Newsweek's* board chairmen have included the C.F.R.'s Phillip Graham, Frederick Beebe, and Katharine Graham. Its editors have included Malcolm Muir, Osborn Elliott, and Maynard Parker, and it has boasted columnists and contributing editors Stewart Alsop, Carl Spratz, and George F. Will. All belong to the Council on Foreign Relations.

Cathode-Ray Conditioning

By far the most vivid and the most powerful medium in the propaganda arsenal of the Eastern Establishment is television. The national television communications system extends into virtually every home in America. In 1952 only 19.8 percent of homes in the U.S. had TV sets; today more than 99.8 percent have at least one. The average American spends over twenty hours a week in front of a television receiver. While

*Luce was a member of several organizations of the Establishment Left, including the infamous Institute for Pacific Relations (officially cited as an "instrument of Communist policy"), the Atlantic Union, and the Council on Foreign Relations. He was also a strong supporter of the United Nations, even after Alger Hiss's role in its founding was revealed.

newspapers and magazines have always reported on wars, riots, scandals, elections, and other disasters, not even a majority of Americans reads these accounts — and fewer still read the editorial pages on a regular basis. Newspaper readers can turn quickly to the comic strips or the sports pages and avoid confronting the political news. By contrast, nearly everyone watches television.

Seventy percent of all Americans now rely primarily on television for their news, and over two-thirds of the U.S. population says it thinks television is the best way to follow candidates for national office. Here is the most powerful of the mass media.

Television is an extension of the graphic arts and its appeal is more emotional than analytical. The emotional impact of both pictures and sound invites the need for action, drama, and confrontation to hold the attention of the viewing audience. As NBC executive news producer Reuben Frank once advised his co-workers at NBC: "The highest power of television journalism is not in the transmission of information, but in the transmission of experience — joy, sorrow, shock, fear — these are the stuff of [television] news."

That is the key to understanding why TV is so useful for conditioning mass audiences. Scenes of rioting on campuses, burning and looting in the cities, plastic bags containing dead American G.I.s being loaded onto helicopters in Vietnam, a fictional account of a nuclear explosion — all seem very real on the cathode-ray tube, and they all compel *emotion* rather than analysis.

Because of the nature of the medium and its realism, moreover, TV news personnel want a story with *action*. After all, if nothing hap-

pens, where's the story? And what advantage would television have over print media? So desperate are TV crews that they sometimes stir up action when not enough is present for a good story. Indeed they sometimes fabricate action of their own and make it into a media event.

Local television stations do not have the resources to produce their own national news programs; so, they confine themselves mainly to local coverage and rely on the major networks. The networks connect stations all over the country for common and simultaneous distribution of programs and advertising. The three big network corporations feed their propaganda news programs to approximately six hundred local "affiliated" stations. In addition, the networks own and operate their own key TV stations in the nation's largest cities, forming a media matrix which covers about forty percent of all TV households in America.

Considering that there is a limit to the amount of information which can be jammed into the few minutes available for network news each night, we might wonder if anything of significance is left out. We might also wonder why the evening news programs of the three major networks seem so often to be virtual carbon copies of each other. And why is the point of view always the same on all three "competing" networks?

Thomas R. Dye, writing in *Who's Running America?*, capsulates the situation well: "[T]elevision is so important in mass socialization that diversity of views is avoided, and a single Eastern, liberal 'establishment' interpretation prevails in all three network presentations Network entertainment programming, newscasts, and news specials are designed to communicate estab-

lished liberal values to the masses. These are the values of the elite; they include a concern for liberal reform and social welfare, an interest in problems confronting the poor and blacks, a desire to educate the ignorant and cure the sick, and a willingness to employ governmental power to accomplish these ends."

An important technique in expressing this statist bias is the *selection* of "news." A Princeton University study has concluded that "the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about." Current "Liberal" issues such as opposition to the strengthening of national defense, vociferous concern for the poor and blacks, ecology, women's liberation, the anti-nuke protests, and so on get mountains of coverage. Watergate received almost two straight years of attention. Yet other stories are ignored or played down. The Chappaquiddick tragedy involving Senator Teddy Kennedy was given only one or two weeks' coverage, and was then barely mentioned despite a closed judicial inquiry and the availability of witnesses to the drinking party which had occurred just before the accident.

Another technique is to present false alternatives, always ignoring Free Enterprise solutions. We were, for example, presented with several points of view on how to "reform" the bankrupt Social Security system; but the idea of getting government out of the area entirely, proposed by Senator Jesse Helms, was lost down the Memory Hole.

But why this incredible uniformity of "Liberal" bias in the national news?

What the American people see and hear about their world is determined by a tiny, arrogant fraternity of

privileged media elitists who work for the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), all headquartered within a few blocks of each other in New York City. As Theodore H. White, a creature of the Left and a member of the Establishment's Council on Foreign Relations, once observed: "... the increasing concentration of the cultural pattern of the U.S. is in fewer hands. You can take a compass with a one-mile radius and put it down at the center of Fifth Avenue and 51st Street in Manhattan and you can have control of 95 percent of the entire opinion-and-influence-making in the U.S."

Control Of CBS

At the apex of the networks stands the Columbia Broadcasting System, 51 West 52nd Street, New York City 10019. The gargantuan CBS network owns television outlets in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, and has over two hundred affiliate stations scattered throughout the continental United States. It also owns and operates fourteen major radio stations (seven AM and seven FM) in key cities and has more than 250 affiliate radio stations around the country. In addition, CBS is involved in the publishing field with over twenty-two magazines, including *Field & Stream*, *Woman's Day*, *Cycle World*, *Road & Track*, and *Mechanix Illustrated*. It owns several book publishing firms, including Holt, Reinhart & Winston; Fawcett Books; Dryden; and, the W.B. Saunders Company. Indeed, it even owns Columbia Records.

For many years the chairman of the board of CBS was William S. Paley. Mr. Paley is the son of Samu-

el and Gold Palinsky, who immigrated from Russia to America before the turn of the century. Sam Paley became wealthy as a cigar manufacturer. Since he did not want his son in the cigar business he arranged purchase of fifty percent of CBS from Paramount. The year was 1928, and William Paley was twenty-seven years old. He was interested in social causes and saw great potential in radio for furthering them. Another group interested in "social causes," the international banking firm of Lehman Brothers, a satellite of the worldwide Rothschild investment network, also became a major investor in CBS. Paley and his brother-in-law, Dr. Leon Levy, are the largest CBS stockholders, however.

During World War II, William Paley was able to develop his propaganda theories as Deputy Chief of the Psychological Warfare Division on the Headquarters staff of General Eisenhower. After V-E Day he was Deputy Chief of Information Control in Germany. So far is he to the Left that he received the order of *Polonia Restituta* from Communist Poland.

An important member of the American Establishment, Paley is a devout internationalist. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the United Nations Day Committee, and the Ford Foundation's Fund For Resources For The Future; and, a trustee of Columbia University and the Museum Of Modern Art. Despite the fact that his parents came from Russia, Paley is a member of the super-secret anglophile network called the Pilgrim Society.

Mr. Paley is reported to be very generous to "Liberal" and Leftist causes. Not surprisingly, the CBS Foundation has been a major donor to David Rockefeller's C.F.R., and

CBS Inc. funded the Trilateral Commission.

William Paley was recently replaced as chairman of CBS by Thomas H. Wyman, a member of the C.F.R. Wyman has been serving as president and chief executive officer of CBS, was formerly an executive with Polaroid and Pillsbury, and worked as a management trainee at First National City Bank in the early 1950s.

Other C.F.R. personnel on the CBS board of directors are: Harold Brown (also a Trilateralist), William Burden, Roswell Gilpatric, James Houghton, Henry Schacht, Franklin Thomas, and Marietta Tree. Its many "Liberal" newsmen include the C.F.R.'s Charles Collingwood, Richard C. Hottelet, Lawrence LeSueur, and Dan Rather — the man who replaced Walter Cronkite as CBS News anchorman.

You can trust Dan Rather to be as biased as Uncle Walter. In 1974 Rather moved from his native Texas to New York and appeared regularly on "CBS Reports," on "60 Minutes," and on the "CBS Evening News" before taking over as anchor and managing editor of the latter at an annual salary well in excess of one million dollars. With that kind of income and position of influence, Rather can afford to be arrogant in his "Liberal" prejudices.

A typical example of Mr. Rather's biased reporting was his "60 Minutes" interview with former Nicaragua President Anastasio Somoza. In his book *Nicaragua Betrayed*, published only days before he was blown to bits by the "humanitarian" Sandinistas, Somoza wrote that Rather grilled him for two and a half hours. This long interview was chopped down to a mere seven minutes for the CBS program. President Somoza observed: "I didn't

realize what the power of film editing really meant. With that power, Rather cast me in any role he chose. Everything good I said about Nicaragua was deleted. Any reference to Carter's efforts to destroy the government of Nicaragua was deleted. Every reference to the Communist activity and Cuba's participation was deleted."

The American people should see those out-takes left on the cutting-room floor! Somoza went on to say:

"His [*Dan Rather's*] insistence that there was torture in my government probably disturbed me the most. We would go over the subject and then we would come back to it again. He just wasn't getting the answers he wanted. Finally he said, 'May we visit the security offices of the Nicaraguan government?' He had heard that this was a torture chamber and he believed it. I replied, 'Yes, Mr. Rather, you may visit those offices and you may take your camera.' Then I added, 'You go right now. Take that car and go immediately so that you can't say I rigged it.' Well, he did go, and he saw where the people worked and talked to many of them. When the show came on the air, he made no mention of the fact that he had personally visited our security offices and was free to film, talk to people, or do anything he wanted to do. He knew in advance how he wanted to portray me and his predetermined plan was followed."

An even more thoroughly documented example of CBS deception concerns a 1968 "News Special" called "Hunger In America" — a show designed to stimulate increased support for the Food Stamp program and greater Welfare spending. That one began by showing a dying baby, malformed and pitifully thin, being resuscitated in a hospital. The voice of narrator Charles Kuralt in-

toned as follows: "Hunger is easy to recognize when it looks like this. The baby is dying of starvation. He was an American. Now he is dead." Such an image was certain to produce an emotional impact on viewers, who naturally believed that the baby had died of starvation.

A subsequent investigation by authorities revealed the Kuralt story to be a lie. The dying baby was a three-month premature infant weighing less than three pounds at birth, whose parents were neither poor nor starving. As Edward J. Epstein writes in his book *News From Nowhere*, "The mother, a school-teacher, had the premature birth after an automobile accident. There was no medical reason to suspect that malnutrition or starvation was in any way connected with the death of the child."

When questioned about the incident, CBS news president Richard Salant admitted that "new evidence came to light" regarding the baby's death. He added, however, that he had a belief that "in that area, at that time, in that hospital, babies were dying of malnutrition."

Indeed, it appears that CBS was so convinced that babies were literally starving to death that, even though CBS could not find one to televise, it felt there was no harm in *picturing* a baby who *looked* as if it were starving! Moreover, the entire program, which never once asked *why* poverty continues after decades of anti-poverty programs and enormous Welfare spending, left viewers with the strong impression that the poor in America have no alternative except starvation.

These examples of bias, while remarkable, are by no means isolated instances. The slant is there in every news program, every day and night of the year.

Control Of NBC

The National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 10020) is a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America (R.C.A.) with wholly owned TV stations in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, and Cleveland. It also owns four AM and four FM radio stations, plus four publishing companies. There are more than two hundred television stations and over two hundred radio outlets in the NBC constellation.

The longtime head of R.C.A. (and therefore of NBC) was Brigadier General David Sarnoff.* Like his counterpart William Paley at CBS, Sarnoff was a bright young man backed by the banking *Insiders* in such Rothschild satellite firms as Kuhn, Loeb & Company, Lehman Brothers, and Lazard Frères. Over the years the members of the board of directors have always included partners from those three investment banking firms. As a front man for the bankers, Sarnoff was also a member of their Council on Foreign Relations and the Pilgrim Society.

For several years, General Sarnoff was an officer in the Citizens Committee for International Development, an *Insider* organization whose objective was "to help generate public support for the Foreign Aid Program." The public is supposed to believe that the lobbying for foreign aid is a product of efforts of average citizens motivated by the altruistic desire to help America's friends all over the world. Far from it! The *Insiders* of international banking have profited enormously from America's foreign-aid program — which has cost us a sum greater than our entire National Debt while, for the most part, propping up socialist regimes all over the globe.

Succeeding David Sarnoff at R.C.A. was his son Robert,† who among many other things was a director of the Establishment-run Advertising Council. Richard W. Fatherley, a twenty-five-year veteran of the broadcasting industry, tells us this about that propaganda outfit:

"One group with tremendous reach is the Advertising Council, founded in 1941. All of the Advertising Council's so-called public service campaigns are run voluntarily by radio stations, TV stations, and print publications. The Advertising Council is headquartered in New York City, with branch offices in Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles. Its Industrial Advisory Committee lists some fifty-four high-level business people — eleven of whom appear on the membership roster of the Council on Foreign Relations, including David Rockefeller. The Ad Council's Public Policy Committee seats some twenty foundation heads and institutional and service-group types. The names of four of them appear on the C.F.R.'s Annual Report."

The R.C.A./NBC megalith includes a significant number of C.F.R. members on its board and in its news staff. These include executive vice president Richard Sonnenfeldt, and several directors, among them John R. Petty and Thornton Bradshaw. The C.F.R. newsmen at NBC include Marvin Kalb, John Chancellor, Garick Utley, Irving R. Levine, and Bill Moyers.

*Sarnoff was not a military man; Franklin D. Roosevelt made him an instant general during World War II.

†It was also significant that in 1950 Robert Sarnoff married Felicia Schiff Warburg, daughter of Kuhn, Loeb & Company's Paul Felix Warburg and great grand-daughter of Jacob Schiff, Leon Trotsky's financial angel. The Sarnoff-Warburg merger wound up in the Mexican courts in 1970, however, and that same year Felicia married F.D.R. Jr.

Control Of ABC

The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) has its national headquarters at 1330 Avenue of the Americas, New York City 10019. It owns and operates major-market television stations in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, and Detroit. In recent years, ABC has demonstrated staying power in competing with the other two big networks for prime-time popularity. As a result, a number of traditional CBS and NBC affiliated stations have switched over to ABC, giving the network coverage parity with the other two. And, ABC is also involved heavily in the motion-picture industry and the publishing field. It publishes seventeen magazines, including *Los Angeles* and *Prairie Farmer*. In radio broadcasting, ABC owns seven AM and seven FM stations, and is linked with several hundred affiliates around the nation.

The ABC news artists include C.F.R. partisans John Scali (former U.S. representative to the United Nations) and Ted Koppel (the host of ABC's "Nightline" show). Barbara Walters, a regular on ABC's television magazine program "20/20," is one of the highest paid women in the world. Like Katharine Graham, Walters is one of the 163 women with membership in the Council on Foreign Relations. David Brinkley, formerly the co-anchor (with Chet Huntley) on the NBC news, is now working for ABC and is hosting its Sunday morning news and views programs. He, too, is a member of the Establishment's C.F.R.

But you don't have to be a member of the C.F.R. to distort the news. Take Geraldo Rivera, one of ABC-TV's top correspondents. In an interview with *Playboy*, Rivera admitted that he and other members of the network clique deliberately slant news

in order to influence critical U.S. legislation. For instance, he revealed, he and other "Liberal" reporters engaged in a conspiracy to play down an anti-Torrijos demonstration in Panama on a day that General Torrijos (the Marxist dictator) was in Washington with President Carter and the leaders of all other Latin American nations. He did this because he favored the Panama Canal giveaway treaties and such negative news might have threatened the ratification of that treaty.

Rivera explained: "The vote [in the Senate] was so close at that point, it could have gone either way, and I knew that while I was down there that if I continually focused on the radicals and on the suppression by Torrijos of the political activists within his own country, then I might be in part responsible for the Senate's rejection of the treaty

"The day the treaty was signed in Washington, the Panamanian National Guard came down on the students and started belting them with rubber hoses. That was also the day that I got arrested, but we played the whole thing very mellow. We could have made a lot more of that than we did — because they roughed me up, really belted me around."

You see, the Torrijos goon squads did not want anyone filming anti-Torrijos demonstrations. But, despite his treatment by the Guardsmen, Rivera retained his pro-treaty bias and covered up for the dictator. As Geraldo Rivera put it to *Playboy*: "I could have made the whole country pay for the stupidity of 12 secret policemen. But we downplayed the whole incident. That was the day that I decided that I had to be very careful about what I said, because I could defeat the very thing I wanted to achieve. Later, I had dinner with some people from the New York

Times and the *Washington Post*, and we all felt the same way."

The *Playboy* interviewer asked: "Doesn't that smack of a little too much media power seated around the table discussing strategy?" Rivera replied: "It was tremendous if you think about it. There was ABC News, the *Times*, and the *Post* having dinner together. You don't have to be a real student of the media to understand that is a lot of power. And we all realized, you know, we could have a great story and sink" the treaty.

Geraldo Rivera doesn't even pretend to be an impartial observer. Glorifying in his influence, he is "very appreciative" of the power of the media, candidly admitting that they "definitely influence events, even if people don't admit it. They're not benign observers."

Control Of The Media

The media elite are the 220-odd presidents, chairmen, directors, and news people who run CBS, NBC, and ABC; the A.P. and U.P.I. wire services; the *New York Times*; the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*; Time Inc.; and, the ten largest newspaper chains. Of the C.F.R.'s some 2,200 members, 216 of them are executives and professionals in the field of media and communications. They are the people whom we've been discussing.

Some believe that the answer to media bias is to have the Federal Communications Commission intervene to force these people to present "both sides" of controversial issues. We think that such a strategy is doomed to failure and frustration. As Nicholas Johnson, a former member of the F.C.C., has observed: "The F.C.C. is a 'captive' of the

very industry it is purportedly attempting to regulate." The answer, as usual, is less government, not more controls.

In recent years we have witnessed some deregulation of television — despite the frenzied lobbying of the giant networks — and the market is, once again, trying to supply what people want, at the best possible prices, without subsidies from taxpayers. Cable TV and other forms of alternative media — delayed for years by government restrictions — are finally beginning to emerge. This gives us cause for optimism, as Cable TV and other new electronic options will break the media monopolies of the Big Three networks based in New York.

The new technology, which is making fresh alternatives possible, offers a greater diversity of points of view. These new modes, in many cases independent of the Establishment *Insiders*, are with Free Market competition breaking down the old uniformity. For instance, we could never realistically expect to see a one-hour interview with John Birch Society spokesman John F. McManus on any of the three major networks. But such an interview did occur recently on CSPAN, a cable network reaching two hundred cities. And the Christian Broadcasting Network is also bringing in Conservatives to address its audience. Reacting to these Conservative alternatives, even "60 Minutes" and "20/20" have recently covered some Conservative issues. They are well aware that, once people get even a glimpse of the truth, and find out how the Establishment media have been misleading them, there is no telling what the resulting chain reaction could produce. ■ ■

CRACKER BARREL

■ No nation, now or ever, is rich enough to subsidize idleness, says Tom Anderson.