III. Corporate Profiles

Who's who in the media cartel

The brief profiles that follow illustrate the point that has been made throughout this report: that an increasingly British-dominated, highly centralized group of powerful individuals and multinational companies dominates the American news media. The rate of consolidation of power is escalating—and,

if not stopped, will escalate even more rapidly, as the result of the federal government's capitulation to the "deregulation" frenzy. Deregulation spells cartelization, and a growing tyranny of censorship and manipulation of how you think and what you know.

For purposes of clarity, we have grouped the corporate profiles into two categories: those companies under direct British control, and those controlled by British-allied, American entities.

Clearly, there are genuine differences of policy, among these media giants. There have also been substantial policy differences between the Clinton administration and the British interests, which have periodically exploded into the media. Media control and manipulation, as we have shown, does not mean that a monolithic "Big Brother" serves up one, and only one distorted version of reality. The media cabal defines the boundary conditions of the "news," and, therefore, shapes

New communications bill furthers cartelization

On Feb. 1, 1996, the U.S. Congress passed the comprehensive Telecommunications Reform Act of 1996, which, at a stroke of a pen, eliminated most federal safeguards against the concentration of the media in the hands of a few British-dominated conglomerates. The bill, the product of several years of backroom maneuvering, had the overwhelming support of both party leaderships in Congress, as well as of the White House (it had been a pet project of Vice President Al Gore). When it was signed by President Clinton, the legislation struck down or emasculated critical regulatory powers of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), effectively deregulating the industry.

While there was some recognition among mostly smaller media outlets of the dangers inherent in the bill, such opposition was, for the most part, muted; the most vocal opposition centered upon likely higher costs to the consumer, as a result of the consolidation process.

Among its most invidious features, relevant to the topics under consideration in this report, are the following:

• Current federal limits that prevent any one company or network from owning TV stations that reach more than 25% of the U.S. population, would be lifted to 35%. A group of network affiliates (local TV stations) had lobbied hard against the bill, warning that they would lose their autonomy from the networks, with the loss of much local

broadcasting; they apparently succeeded in eliminating the provision in the House version that would have raised this particular limit to 50% after one year.

- The federal limit on no one entity owning more than 20 AM plus 20 FM radio stations has been eliminated entirely. Caps are placed on four levels of local markets; for example, in a market with 45 or more radio stations, no one entity may own more than 8. However, the FCC is instructed to provide exceptions to these local caps, if there is an increase in the number of stations operating in that
- Current federal limits that prevent one entity from owning all the major newspapers, TV stations, and cable TV providers, in the same city or locality, or at the same time, would be greatly relaxed.
- The seven Regional Bell Operating Companies (RBOCs), formerly all subsidiaries of AT&T, will be allowed to offer long-distance service, provided that they can demonstrate that they have opened their local phone market to a level of competition to be determined by the FCC, within six months of the bill becoming law. Cable TV providers, for example, will be allowed to offer local phone service. The RBOCs will also be allowed to begin manufacturing telecommunications equipment, which they are currently banned from doing under the judicical provisions of the AT&T 1984 breakup.
- The RBOCs will also be allowed to offer cable TV and other services.

Predictably, the legislation has triggered a new wave of mergers, acquisitions, and takeovers, the most notable being the merger of the vast Time Warner empire with Ted Turner's Turner Communications.—L. Wolfe

the terms of the public discourse and the range of policy options available for debate. It disinforms, misinforms, and dumbs-down the citizenry, by providing what the Tavistock Institute brainwashers refer to as "critical choices." It determines what's in the deck of cards and gives you the "freedom" to pick a card, any card.

These profiles were researched by Charles Tuttle, Scott Thompson, Anton Chaitkin, Anthony Wikrent, and Stuart Rosenblatt.

Direct British Control

The Hollinger Corporation

Headquarters: London (formerly, Vancouver, Canada) Media ownership: Since 1992, Hollinger has doubled its holdings in the United States, owning 80 daily newspapers and over 300 weekly newspapers in 1995, in both large city and smaller markets, including the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the eighth largest daily in the United States. The estimated circulation of these U.S. holdings is 10 million.

History at a glance: Conrad Black's Hollinger Corporation started as a privatized asset of British intelligence in North America, known as the Argus Corporation. Originally created as a means to conduit munitions to Britain during World War II, Argus, as it became known after the war, served as a base of British subversive operations directed against the United States, using more than \$1 billion in loot accumulated during the war to fund them. Black's father, George, ran Argus, overseeing interests in munitions, Canadian liquor distillations, and amassing a media conglomerate with newspapers in Britain, the United States, British colonies in the Caribbean, and Australia.

In 1985, Argus was reorganized into the Hollinger Corporation, and under the chairmanship of Conrad Black, launched a furious media takeover drive within the Englishspeaking world. With the help of the British branch of the Rothschild banking interests, Hollinger bought 83% ownership of the holding company that owns the London Daily Telegraph; in 1994, the Sunday Telegraph became the vehicle for launching the "Whitewatergate" assault on the Clinton Presidency, in which the Sunday Telegraph's Washington, D.C. correspondent, Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, has played a pivotal role. Hollinger also bought up the British establishment journal The Spectator, which in 1990, led attacks on German reunification. In 1989, Hollinger took a 98.9% interest in the Jerusalem Post, which has been used to undermine the Middle East peace accords. During this same period, Hollinger vastly increased its holdings in most major U.S. markets. Intelligence sources report that some of the funds for these recent purchases, which have often cost several times the book value of the newspapers, may have come from Li Kai Shing, who, until he was recently replaced by his son, was on the board of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (now known as HSBC Holdings, based in London); this bank has been identified in *EIR*'s book *Dope, Inc.* as a long-standing controller and money launderer for Asian dope trafficking.

Key personnel:

Hon. Conrad Black—chairman and chief executive officer; Canadian Privy Council; member, Trilateral Commission; director, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce.

Rupert Hambro—with Hambros Bank 1964-; group managing director 1986-94, chairman 1994-, J.O. Hambro & Co.



Conrad Black

Baroness Margaret Thatcher of Kesteven—British prime minister and First Lord of the Treasury 1979-90.

Giovanni Agnelli—member, Trilateral Commission; advisory board, European Roundtable of Industrialists; chairman 1966-, Fiat; member, World Wide Fund for Nature, 1001 Club.

Sir James Goldsmith—chief executive officer, Goldsmith Foundation 1991-; member, World Wide Fund for Nature, 1001 Club.

Dwayne Andreas—chairman, Archer Daniels Midland; member, Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission; formerly with Cargill Inc.

Sir Henry Kissinger—Hon. KCMG; chairman, Kissinger Associates Inc. 1982-; assistant to the President for national security affairs, 1969-75; U.S. secretary of state, 1973-77; chairman, National Bipartisan Commission on Central America 1983-84; member, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board 1984-90.

Lord Peter Carrington—Grand Cross Order of St. Michael and St. George (GCMG 1988); Chancellor of Order of St. Michael and St. George 1984-94; director, Kissinger Associates; chancellor, Order of the Garter 1994-; British secretary of state for defense, 1970-74, for foreign and commonwealth affairs, 1979-82; secretary general, NATO 1984-88.

Henry Keswick—chairman, Matheson & Co. Ltd., 1975-; chairman, Jardine-Matheson Holdings (Hongkong), 1972-75; director, Rothmans International, 1988-94; member, London advisory committee, Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corp.

Peter Bronfman—chairman, Edper, the Bronfman fami-

The British invasion at a glance

Here are some of the highlights of the British media takeover of America:

Hollinger Corporation, which owns the London the Daily Telegraph and Sunday Telegraph, the Spectator, and the Jerusalem Post, also owns the Chicago Sun-Times, the eighth largest daily newspaper in the United States, and over 100 other daily newspapers, and 300 weekly newspapers, concentrated primarily in the U.S. farm belt. Total U.S. circulation is over 10 million copies per day. The Hollinger Corp.'s International Advisory Board, which shapes editorial policy for all of the Hollinger publications, is chaired by former British prime minister Baroness Margaret Thatcher of Kesteven, and is co-chaired by Sir Henry Kissinger and Lord Peter Carrington. Other members include Henry Keswick of the Jardine-Matheson holdings, Lord Jacob Rothschild, Sir Jimmy Goldsmith, and Dwayne Andreas of Archer Daniels Midland.

Thomson Corporation, which sold the London Times

to Rupert Murdoch, owns 105 daily newspapers and 26 weekly newspapers in the United States, many of them in the smaller media markets. The company is headed by Rt. Hon. Lord Kenneth Thomson, who is also director of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Pearson PLC (*Financial Times, The Economist*) owns *Roll Call*, the "newspaper of record" for the U.S. Congress, and the *Journal of Commerce*. The *Financial Times* is now published in the United States, for circulation throughout the country. The company is chaired by Viscount Blakenham, a member of the House of Lords. Among the directors is Sir Simon Hornby, director of Lloyds Bank. Rupert Murdoch is a leading shareholder.

Rupert Murdoch's **The News Corporation** (London *Times, The Sun*, and the *Australian*) owns 80 newspapers around the world. It also owns 20th Century Fox, which has spawned the "fourth TV network," Fox Television. Fox-TV has now launched its own 24 hour-a-day all-news TV network, which has already begun broadcasting in test markets across the United States. The News Corp. also publishes the *New York Post* and *TV Guide*; owns the large publishing company, HarperCollins; and has a 20% stake in Reuters, which is the number-one international news feed to the media in the United States, and the largest wire service in the world.

ly's real estate conglomerate, died in December 1996.

Lord Jacob Rothschild—president, Institute for Jewish Affairs, which combines the Anti-Defamation League and World Jewish Congress.

The Thomson Corporation

Headquarters: Toronto, Canada

Media ownership: Owns 105 daily and 26 weekly papers in the United States, mostly in smaller markets, not dominated by large city press; for example, it owns several papers in smaller cities in Wisconsin, with an estimated circulation of 2.1 million.

History at a glance: The Thomson Corporation is tied through interlocking directorates with London's dope money apparatus in Canada, which dates to the days of the Hudson's Bay Company and more recently to the Bank of Montreal. The founder of this empire, Roy Thomson, moved from acquisitions in Canada and the United States to, in 1957, the purchase of the London *Sunday Times*, along with regional British press. By 1964, Thomson had been raised to a peerage, as Lord Thomson of Fleet. Two years later he purchased both the London *Times* and the *Times Literary Supplement*,

funding their losses through profits from partnerships in the North Sea oil bubble; in 1981, he sold the *Times* to Rupert Murdoch. In 1978, Thomson moved his headquarters back to Toronto, establishing the International Thomson Organisation, beginning a buying spree of newspapers and publishing companies in North America. Aside from his regional and local paper holdings, Thomson has emerged as one of the key purveyors of financial information to investors, as well the largest legal research publisher in the United States. More recently, the Thomson empire has emphasized electronic data services, including Internet services. In 1995, Thomson sold 23 of its smaller daily papers to Hollinger Corporation.

Key personnel:

Rt. Hon. Lord Kenneth Thomson—director, Hudson's Bay Company.

Richard Thomson—chairman, Toronto and Dominion Bank, 1978-; director, Eaton's of Canada; director, Inco Ltd.

John Tory—deputy chairman, Markborough Properties Inc.; director, Royal Bank of Canada; director, Hudson's Bay Company.

John Fraser—chairman, Federal Industries Ltd. 1992-; director, Bank of Montreal; director, Coca-Cola Beverages Ltd.; director, Ford Motor of Canada Ltd.; director, Shell Canada Ltd.; president, Empire Freightways Ltd., 1953-62.

Pearson PLC

Headquarters: London

Media ownership: The \$3 billion Pearson empire, along with Hollinger and Thomson, is one of the most powerful media influences in the British Empire and the world. It owns several papers, with its flagship being the City of London's most important journal, the Financial Times; it holds halfownership in The Economist magazine; both provide wire service stories and features to newspapers throughout the world. Pearson owns half of the U.S.-based Economist Group, which publishes a number of specialized journals aimed at corporate leaders and other influentials, including CFO, directed at financial executives; it also owns Capital Publications, which prints 41 newsletters nationally, while its Federal Publications specializes in U.S. government procurement and immigration law. The most important Capitol Hill journal, Roll Call, is published by the Economist Group. In 1995, Pearson took controlling interest in the daily Journal of Commerce, and its related services and publications. Pearson also owns the Penguin publishing house and the major supplier of U.S. textbooks, Addison-Wesley.

History at a glance: The Pearson empire evolved from nineteenth-century building and contracting relationships, for which the British Crown and government were big clients; among its many construction projects in the United States were the subway and other tunnels under New York's East River. Pearson became a major player in overseas petroleumlooting operations, under the direction of its chairman, Weetman Dickinson Pearson; after oil was discovered on its vast holdings in Mexico, it established Anglo Mexican Petroleum in 1912, supplying the British government with oil during World War I. The discovery helped push Pearson into Britain's oligarchical circles; he was made Viscount Cowdray in 1917, and moved in circles of British intelligence. In 1919, the firm's Mexican holdings were purchased by Royal Dutch Shell/Transport Group. Also in 1919, Pearson set up a financing arm, Whitehall Trust, Ltd., which acquired a substantial interest in the London branch of the merchant bankers Lazard Frères, Lazard Brothers & Co. During World War II, Pearson made a killing as the British government purchased its strategic assets, including the takeover of the Amerada Hess Petroleum interests in the United States.

Pearson moved into media interests early in this century, and has continued acquisitions ever since. The third Lord Cowdray became Pearson's chairman of the board in 1954 and began reshaping the company, selling its industrial and contracting-engineering operations, and placing emphasis on its publishing and financial services operations. In 1969, its accountants reorganized the company into a publicly held enterprise, for tax and fiscal purposes. However, control of the firm remains in the hands of oligarchs, with the Cowdray family maintaining a 20% interest; the company is headed by

Viscount Blakenham, a descendant of Viscount Cowdray. Rupert Murdoch of News Corp. is the next leading share-holder

Key personnel:

Viscount Blakenham—with Lazard Brothers, 1961-63, partner, 1984-, director, 1975-; director, Sotheby's Holdings Inc. 1987-; director, U.K.-Japan 2000 Group, 1990-; member, House of Lords Select Committee on Science and Technology, 1983-86; member, Nature Conservancy Council, 1986-90.

Pehr Gyllenhammer—see biography under Reuters.

Frank Barlow—CBE; chairman, British Sky Broadcasting, 1991-; Financial Times Group, 1993-; with Nigerian Electrical Supply Corp., 1952-59; director, Economist, 1983-; Westminster Press, 1975-83; director, Elsevier (U.K.), 1991-; director, Press Association, 1985-93.

Michel David-Weill—senior partner, Lazard Frères (New York), 1977-; deputy chairman, Lazard Brothers & Co. (London), 1991-; partner, Lazard Frères et Cie. (Paris), 1965-; with Brown Brothers Harriman (New York), 1954-55; with Lehman Brothers (New York), 1955-56.

Sir Simon Hornby—director, 1974-94, chairman, 1982-94, W.H. Smith Group; director, Lloyds Bank 1988-; Lloyds Abbey Life plc, 1991-; council, Royal Society for the Arts, 1985-90; member, Court of Assistants, 1990-; Goldsmiths' Co.

The News Corporation Ltd.

Headquarters: London and New York.

Media ownership: Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. owns some 80 newspapers in key U.S. and international markets, and 11 magazines, including the London Times; the New York Post; Britain's leading tabloid, The Sun; TV Guide; and Australia's leading tabloid, The Australian. The combined international readership of Murdoch's publications is several score millions. In addition, Murdoch owns 20th Century Fox, from which he spawned the fourth national television network, Fox-TV, which has outlets in all major U.S. markets and has the contract for coverage of the National Football League's National Conference, as well the contract for Major League Baseball and the National Hockey League; previously Murdoch had purchased the Metromedia television operation of John Kluge, which gave him access to several markets. Murdoch has also purchased the American publishing house Harper & Row, merging it with the British house William Collins, to create the world's largest publisher, HarperCollins. Murdoch also owns a 20% share of the Reuters news service. Other ventures include BSkyB, a satellite television service, which has 4 million subscribers in the United Kingdom and Ireland; STAR TV, a Hongkong-based satellite operation, with feeds to 220 million viewers in 53 countries; and,

in partnership with the Globo television empire in Brazil, a satellite service aimed at all of Ibero-America and the Caribbean Basin.

History at a glance: The Australian Rupert Murdoch (he didn't become a U.S. citizen until 1985, when he purchased Metromedia), comes from a family of press barons. His father, Sir Keith Murdoch, was the most influential of Australian media owners until his death in 1952. By the time of the elder Murdoch's death, the family's press empire was in a state of decline, with only one remaining paper. The young Murdoch, who took over from his father, had been apprenticed under Lord Beaverbrook, the British press lord, at the London Daily Express, where he learned what Beaverbrook referred to as the "black art of journalism." Rupert Murdoch took the declining family empire in Australia, revived it, and expanded its operation. But Murdoch was not satisfied with being a power in Australia: He started buying up papers in the United States, then Britain, and finally in Asia. While Murdoch, like his father, has had a love-hate relationship with the British monarchy, he is to his core a British imperialist, and was an ardent supporter of Margaret Thatcher; like Prince Philip and Prince Charles, Murdoch calls himself a "one-world citizen" of the new post-industrial, Information Age. In America, Murdoch affixed himself to the dirty side of British operations, becoming close with the late mob lawyer and homosexual political fixer Roy Cohn and his machine in New York.

Murdoch's purchase in 1985 of Metromedia marked his first major steps into broadcast media; his purchase of 20th Century Fox opened the door for the creation of a new television network, pandering to the declining moral values of the baby boomers. But Murdoch's rapid expansion, highly leveraged as it was, brought him to the brink of bankruptcy in the early 1990s. By 1991, he faced the need to roll over some \$7.6 billion in notes that had come due; more than 146 financial institutions around the globe were owed large sums of money by Murdoch. Rather than allow this British asset to go under—and possibly bring down several financial institutions with him—a bailout was arranged through Citibank, then itself under federal supervision. The mechanisms of the bailout were similar to the tranches that are used to bail out bankrupt countries—after all, Murdoch's debt dwarfed that of several countries. News Corporation lived, to pour out its daily doses of British propaganda.

Key personnel:

Keith Rupert Murdoch—AC, chairman and chief executive officer, The News Corporation Ltd.; chairman, News American Publication, 1974-; chairman, News International Ltd. Group; managing director, News Ltd. Group & Associated Companies;



Rupert Murdoch

chairman, 20th Century Fox Productions, 1985-; chairman, chief executive officer, News Corp. Ltd., 1991-.

Reuters News Agency

Headquarters: London

Media ownership: Reuters operates the largest newswire service in the world, with the world's most extensive international private satellite and cable communications network. Its news services are produced in 19 languages, with nearly every major news media outlet in the world taking one or more of its feeds. In addition, Reuters provides packaged coverage to hundreds of thousands of media outlets worldwide, providing features as well as news materials. Reuters Television is the world's largest international television news agency, reaching 500 million households, through 650 broadcasters in over 80 countries. To support this operation, Reuters has an infrastructure that includes 198 branch offices in 86 countries, with over 4,000 intelligence-gathering data contributors and 1,600 news service journalists, with direct coverage in 149 countries.

History at a glance: Reuters had its beginnings when Julius Reuter moved to London from Germany in 1850, to what had become the financial and communications center of the Victorian world. As changes in British law promoted the expansion of daily newspapers, Reuter approached this market with subscriptions to a news service that could provide them with coverage beyond their physical and financial means. When the transatlantic cable was laid in 1866, Reuter seized control of that medium to such an extent that he was exposed to charges of seeking a monopoly over news supply. Through the 1930s, Reuters provided virtually all news of the world, outside of North America, with its London office becoming a clearinghouse for international news.

Reuters was always under the control of the Crown and its allied intelligence agencies, with its correspondents often serving double roles as British Secret Intelligence officers. During World War I, Reuters was charged with being in the direct pay of the British government—a charge difficult to deny, since its managing director, Roderick Jones, served as head of the Ministry of Information's Department of Propaganda. In 1925, the British Press Association, which was dominated by the "Lords of Fleet Street," took majority control of Reuters. During World War II, the Crown sought to distance itself from its press agent by having a Reuters Trust established, ostensibly to preserve the news agency's "independence, integrity and freedom from bias." The trust was jointly owned by the Press Association and Newspaper Proprietors Association; later, some Commonwealth representatives were added.

Reuters moved into the Information Age in the mid-1960s, gaining a strong foothold in the emerging computerized information market; this helped transform the company, with greater emphasis placed on real-time financial services. In 1984, Reuters was floated as a public holding company, with Reuters Founders Share Co., Ltd. formed to maintain control by the trust's principals. Lately, Reuters has moved heavily into satellite-based distribution with its Integrated Date Network becoming the delivery medium for many Reuters services.

Key personnel:

Sir Christopher Hogg—non-executive chairman, 1985-; director, Bank of England; former chairman, Courtaulds plc, Courtaulds Textiles plc; director, SmithKline Beecham plc; member, international council, J.P. Morgan; trustee, Ford Foundation.

Sir David Walker—director, 1994-; director, Bank of England; chairman, British Securities and Investments Board; chairman, Morgan Stanley Group (Europe) plc; deputy chairman Lloyd's Bank plc.

Pehr Gyllenhammer—director, 1984-; member, Trilateral Commission; director, Kissinger Associates; chairman, Volvo 1983-93; advisory board member, Chase Manhattan Bank 1962-.

Charles Sinclair—director, 1994-; group chief executive, Daily Mail and General Trust plc; director, Euromoney Publications plc; director, Schroders plc.

Rt. Hon. the Lord McGregor of Durris—trustee; chairman, British Press Complaints Commission, 1991-94; University of London, professor of Social Institutions, 1964-85.

Rt. Hon. the Lord Browne-Wilkinson—trustee; called to Queen's Council, 1972; vice-chancellor of the Supreme Court, 1985-91.

Rt. Hon. the Viscount Rothermere—trustee; president, Commonwealth Press Union, 1983-89; president, London Press Club 1976-81; president, Euromoney Publications plc; director, Power Corp. (Canada).

David Cole—CBE; trustee; former deputy managing director, International Thomson Organisation plc; chairman, Thomson Foundation, 1986-.

Arthur Ochs Sulzburger—trustee; former chairman, publisher, the *New York Times*.

London's Fellow-Travellers

The New York Times

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: The \$3.4 billion *New York Times* empire has its anchor with the nationally and internationally distributed newspaper, whose domestic circulation is 1.2 million. The *New York Times* has the largest news-gathering

force in the world and is twice as big as its nearest competitor. It owns nearly two dozen other papers in both major and smaller markets, especially in Florida, including the *Boston Globe* (the 12th largest daily in the United States). The *Times* also owns the *International Herald Tribune*, which is sold in 164 countries, with a daily circulation of several million. It also owns several specialty magazines, geared mostly to the upper crust's sporting instincts, such as *Golf World, Snow Country*, and *Tennis*. The *Times* owns several radio stations, including New York City's last remaining Classical music station, WQXR. The New York Times News Service is the largest supplemental news service in the world, providing wire stories, features, and each day sending the entire *Times* newspaper, along with material from 57 other papers, to more than 650 customers in 53 countries.

History at a glance: The *Times* has always been a British intelligence and British Crown propaganda channel, since the paper's origin in the 1850s. The *Times* was controlled in the 1870s and 1880s by Leonard Jerome, a Wall Street speculator and political partner of August Belmont, in managing British covert political operations in America. Jerome's daughter married the degenerate Tory schemer Randolph Churchill; their son was Winston Churchill.

By the 1890s, the *Times* had fallen in circulation and influence, and had strayed from the Tory editorial line. The London banking outlets in New York, led by J.P. Morgan, gave control of their paper to Adolph Ochs, whose descendants have owned the *Times* ever since. The British perhaps considered the Jewish Ochs an "honorary Aryan": He was an Anglomaniac and White Supremacy advocate, whose parents had intrigued with Confederate intelligence, the anti-Union copperheads, and the Scottish Rite Masonic leaders running the Ku Klux Klan. Between 1899 and 1903, Ochs's *New York Times* was the leading Northern paper calling for taking away the right to vote from southern Negroes. The *Times* called for changing the laws and constitutions of the Southern states to overturn the civil rights gains of the Civil War.

The *Times* became the leading pro-British paper in the United States, helping to create the climate for U.S. intervention in World War I—a move which greatly benefitted the Morgans, and the other *Times* investor, the Dodge family, owners of Remington Arms Co.

It was widely rumored that *Times* editorial policy and even copy were controlled by Ochs's friend Lord Northcliffe, the director of British intelligence's propaganda machine. This erupted into a New York scandal in 1915, when Adolph Ochs was publicly attacked as an agent of the British Crown. During the 1930s, white supremacist Adolph Ochs was a member of the pro-Nazi "Cliveden set" around Lady Astor. *Times* editorials and news stories promoted the Hitler regime as under the responsible management of banker Hjalmar Schacht. Ochs was a bitter opponent of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, and his paper's editorial policy reflected that hatred, shared by the Morgan interests, of Roosevelt.

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TABLE 1
The 20 largest U.S. newspapers

	Average weekday circulation	Parent company
1. Wall Street Journal	1,823,207	Dow Jones and Co.
2. USA Today	1,570,624	Gannett
3. New York Times	1,170,869	New York Times Co.
4. Los Angeles Times	1,058,498	Times Mirror
5. Washington Post	840,232	Washington Post Co.
6. New York Daily News	725,599	Mortimer Zuckerman
7. Chicago Tribune	691,283	Tribune Co.
8. Newsday	669,739	Times Mirror
9. Dallas Morning News	539,114	A.H. Belo Corp.
10. Detroit Free Press	531,825	Knight Ridder
11. Chicago Sun Times	500,969	Sun Times Corp./ Hollinger Corp.
12. Boston Globe	500,587	New York Times Co.
13. San Francisco Chronicle	499,526	Chronicle Publishing
14. Philadelphia Inquirer	470,693	Knight Ridder
15. Newark Star Ledger	450,316	Advance Publications
16. Houston Chronicle	413,717	Hearst
17. New York Post	408,204	News Corp.
18. Minneapolis Star- Tribune	404,757	Cowles Media
19. Cleveland Plain Dealer	404,400	Adavance Publications
20. Arizona Republic	399,702	Phoenix Newspapers

The 12 largest U.S. magazines

	1993 revenues (\$ millions)	Paid circulation	Parent company
1. TV Guide	1,037	14,037,062	News Corp.
2. People	762.7	3,424,858	Time Warner
3. Sports Illustrated	d 653.8	3,252,641	Time Warner
4. Time	638.6	4,063,100	Time Warner
5. Reader's Digest	477.8	15,126,664	Reader's
			Digest Assn.
6. Parade	447.7	37,610,000	Advance
			Publications
7. Newsweek	427.7	3,158,617	Washington
			Post Co.
8. Better Homes	353.5	7,613,661	Meredith Corp.
and Gardens			
9. PC Magazine	325.7	1,051,381	Ziff-Davis
10. Good	315.3	5,223,935	Hearst
Housekeeping			
11. U.S. News and	315	2,240,710	Mortimer
World Report			Zuckerman
12. Business Week	279.2	880,357	McGraw-Hill

Source: 1996 Hoover's Handbook of American Business/Advertising Age, May 8, 1995.

At Ochs's death in 1935, his son-in-law Arthur Hays Sulzberger took over the paper. Sulzberger directed the *Times* into "human interest" and "news features," and promoted its first broadcast media acquisition of New York radio stations. He also unsuccessfully opposed unionization efforts.

Sulzberger retired in 1961, to be succeeded by his son-in-law Orvil Dryfoos, who pushed the *Times* to favorably cover the civil rights movement. Dryfoos suddenly died in 1963, and Sulzberger's son Arthur Ochs "Punch" Sulzberger became publisher. He took a hard line against all labor leaders and provoked a bitter newspaper strike in 1965, following which the *Times* embarked on a major diversification program.

The *Times* followed British intelligence scripts on coverage of the Vietnam War, helping to build the controlled elements of the anti-war movement, with reports on bombing of North Vietnamese civilian targets, and later the publication of the "Pentagon Papers."

In 1971, the *Times* used its stock to purchase Cowles Communications, giving it a substantial newspaper, magazine, and television empire. It is in this period that the *Times* was transformed into a media conglomerate, under the direction of anti-labor whiz kids; during labor disputes in 1974, they demonstrated that new technologies provided enormous strike-breaking potentials. By 1978, it had one of the first fully electronic newsrooms and had established a major wire service of its own. After acquiring Cowles and its properties, including the popular *Family Circle* magazine, it later purchased *McCalls* magazine, as well as a cable television network in New Jersey. By 1980, it was printing a national edition, with satellite transmission to a Chicago printing plant. It now has nine printing plants nationally, to produce the Tory "newspaper of record" for the United States.

Key personnel:

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger—chairman, chief executive officer; trustee emeritus, Columbia University.

Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Jr.—publisher; correspondent, AP London, 1976-78.

Louis V. Gerstner, Jr.—director; chief executive officer, IBM; former CEO, RJR Nabisco Holdings Corp.; former president, American Express Co.; director, The Japan Society, New American Schools Development Corp.; advisory board, Center for Strategic and International Studies; member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Cyrus R. Vance—director, 1989-93; chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 1989-91; director, vice chairman, 1985-87, Council on Foreign Relations; personal envoy of UN secretary general on Yugoslavia crisis, 1991-92; personal envoy of UN secretary general on South Africa and Nagorno-Karabakh, 1991-92; co-chairman, UN-EC International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, 1991-92; member, Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues; trustee, former chairman, Rockefeller Foundation; chairman

American Ditchley Foundation, 1991-92; U.S. secretary of state, 1991-92; partner, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett (New York); trustee, Church of St. John the Divine (Episcopalian), New York City.

George L. Shinn—director; investment banking consultant, 1990-; former chairman, First Boston Corp., First Boston, Inc.; member, executive committee, President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control (the Grace Commission), 1990-; director, CS First Boston, New York Life, Colonial Group Mutual Funds, Phelps Dodge, Inc.; director, 1977-83, vice chairman, 1981-83, New York Stock Exchange; trustee, 1981-83, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; Rockefeller Family Office Trust, 1989-; fellow, Century Association.

Charles H. Price II—director; U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, 1983-89; U.S. ambassador to Belgium, 1981-83; chairman, Mercantile Bank (Kansas City, Missouri), 1981-83; director, Hansen PLC, British Airways, Sprint Corp., Texaco, Mercantile Bancorp.

John F. Akers—director; director, former chief executive, IBM Corp.; director, PepsiCo.

George B. Munroe—director; former chief executive, Phelps Dodge Corp.; director, New York Life Insurance Co., Santa Fe Pacific Gold Corp.; vice chairman, Academy of Political Science; member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Abraham M. Rosenthal—member, Council on Foreign Relations; 1946-54 correspondent to the United Nations.

The Washington Post Company

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Media ownership: This \$1.75 billion conglomerate has holdings in many newspapers, magazines, radio, and television stations. In the metropolitan Washington area, besides the Washington Post, it owns the 15 weekly papers, mostly in Maryland, of the Gazette Newspapers, Inc.; it also owns the Everett, Washington Herald, which serves an area whose principal industry is Boeing. The Post Co. controls 50% of the International Herald Tribune (with the New York Times) and 28% of Cowles Media, Inc., which publishes the Minneapolis Star-Tribune and owns several cable franchises. The Post also owns and controls Newsweek magazine, with a domestic circulation of 3.2 million, and international editions with more than 1.2 million circulation. The *Post* is co-owner with the Los Angeles Times of the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service, Inc., which has more than 500 clients in 51 countries. Legi-Slate Inc., another Post operation, is the leading domestic on-line service providing information on Congressional legislation and federal regulations. Post-Newsweek Cable has more than half a million subscribers in 15 Midwestern, Southern, and Western states. The company also owns six television stations in major media markets, including Detroit, Houston, and Miami.

History at a glance: The modern Washington Post dates from June 1, 1933, when Eugene Meyer, Jr., of the British-controlled Lazard Frères investment bank, a leader of the most reactionary wing of the Republican Party, bought the Post in a bankruptcy auction; until that time, it had played a relatively minor role in national politics. Meyer's daughter Katharine Meyer Graham is the present Post boss. He had been chairman of the Federal Reserve Board under President Herbert Hoover since 1930, helping to impose Bank of England Governor Montagu Norman's austerity policies on a depression-wracked world. Meyer resigned as Fed chairman after the May 1933 inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Like Adolph Ochs at the *New York Times*, Meyer was a Jewish associate of Britain's pro-Nazi "Cliveden set." According to Meyer, Hitler was an unfortunate necessity, while austerity needed to be imposed, whereas President Roosevelt was a menace to be combatted. The *Post*, under Meyer, editorialized in favor of Hitler and the fascist economic policies of his economics minister and Reichsbank head, Hjalmar Schacht, while pouring editorial vitriol on the Roosevelt administration.

Through the mid-1950s, the *Post* continued to be known as a reactionary paper. The *Post* briefly changed from this British-dictated line when Meyer's son-in-law Philip Graham controlled the paper, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Phil Graham supported labor and civil rights; he was a warm supporter and adviser to President John F. Kennedy (whom the Meyer family despised), and a promoter of the space program. After he left his wife and willed the *Post* to his new fiancée, Phil Graham was thrown into a mental hospital, then released into his estranged wife's custody; he was found shot to death in her bathtub in 1963. Attorney Edward Bennett Williams corruptly aided "black widow" Katharine Graham to obtain control of the Post, nullifying the will which Williams had drawn up for his client, Phil Graham. Katharine Graham declared that Phil had shot himself. She resumed the British propaganda line her father had brought to the Post. When President Kennedy was murdered three months later, the Post did not demand a real investigation.

Mrs. Graham formed a strong alliance with the British power structure and their U.S. high-flyers, who grabbed U.S. political power after the JFK murder—Averell Harriman, Robert McNamara, Henry Kissinger, and, later, the George Bush machine. The *Post* gained its reputation as a national newspaper, and demonstrated its power, with the Watergate scandal, which the paper helped steer away from Kissinger and others who organized and orchestrated the break-in, and toward the destruction of the Nixon Presidency. It was also under Kate Graham that the company expanded and diversified its media holdings, while becoming a national paper, with

distribution in major cities. The paper also established, as a collaborative venture with the *Los Angeles Times*, its own news service, and took over the *International Herald Tribune*, jointly with the *New York Times*.

Key personnel:

Donald E. Graham—son of Katharine and Philip Graham; chairman, CEO; member, American Antiquarian Society.

Katharine Graham—chair, executive committee; co-chairman, *International Herald Tribune*; independent trustee, Reuters Founders Share Co., Ltd.; vice chairman, Urban Institute; member, Council on Foreign Relations, Overseas Development Council; life trustee, University of Chicago; honorary trustee,



Katharine Meyer Graham

George Washington University; active in D.C. Commission on Public Education; member, Trilateral Commission.

Martin Cohen—vice president; director, International Herald Tribune S.A. (Paris).

Warren Buffett—chairman, Berkshire Hathaway, Inc.; director, Capital Cities/ABC, Salomon Brothers, Inc., Coca-Cola Co., *Omaha World-Herald;* trustee, Urban Institute (Washington, D.C.); owns 15% of Class B stock in the Washington Post Company.

George J. Gillespie III—partner, Cravath Swain and Moore, 1963-; secretary-treasurer, John M. Olin Foundation; president, Pinkerton Foundation; trustee, Arthur Ross Foundation; is a trustee of over 25% of Class A stock in the company.

Richard D. Simmons—director, J.P. Morgan and Co., Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Union Pacific Corp.; president, *International Herald Tribune*; equity advisory board, GE Investment Corp.

George W. Wilson—president and chief executive officer, Newspapers of New England, Inc.; president and CEO, Newspapers of New Hampshire, Inc.; president and CEO, Newspapers of Massachusetts, Inc.; president, Concord Monitor (New Hampshire); director, the Bakersfield Californian; director, Associated Press.

James E. Burke—chairman and CEO, Procter and Gamble; chairman, Business Enterprise Trust; director, Council on Foreign Relations, IBM; trustee, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; vice chairman, Conference Board.

Donald R. Keough—former president, CEO, director, adviser to board, Coca-Cola Co.; director, H.J. Heinz Co., McDonald's Corp.

Barbara Scott Preiskel—senior vice president and general counsel, Motion Picture Association of America, 1977-; director, General Electric Co.; director, Massachusetts General Life Insurance Co.

Dow Jones and Co., Inc.

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: Dow Jones is best known for its publication of the Wall Street Journal, which is the national financial "bible." Aside from its nearly 1.8 million daily domestic circulation, there is also the Wall Street Journal European edition, and the Asian Wall Street Journal. Dow Jones provides a news service which gives Journal stories to thousands of outlets in the United States. Dow Jones publishes the weekly Far Eastern Economic Review, a mouthpiece for the British Foreign Office. Dow Jones also owns 19 daily newspapers, mostly in New England, with a daily circulation of nearly 600,000. Another of its assets is Barron's Financial Weekly. Recently, the company has become involved in television programming, mostly financial news shows, which are syndicated to outlets throughout the country; it owns 50% of WNYC, a television station in New York City.

History at a glance: The Wall Street Journal has its origins in 1882, when two young reporters from one of the early Wall Street news agencies, Charles H. Dow and Edward D. Jones, decided to form their own news service—Dow Jones and Company. A year later, they started circulating a daily bulletin, to paid subscribers, known as the Afternoon Letter, which, in 1889, became the Wall Street Journal. The paper was hardly literate, and almost unreadable, but became known for its access to Wall Street power brokers, and for its indexes of stocks, the now-infamous Dow Jones index, purporting to measure the strength of the stock market. From its beginnings, the paper was used as a leak sheet for stock manipulations, usually serving the powerful British-allied investment banking interests, such as the Morgans; it has been caught doing this several times, including, in the 1980s, in the case of its "Heard on the Street" columnist R. Foster Winans, and the broker Peter Brant.

The paper's pro-British, free-market editorial policy traces from the era of Charles W. Barron, the flamboyant Wall Street personality who owned financial newspapers in Philadelphia and Boston and founded the financial weekly that bears his name; he took control of the Dow Jones in 1902. By 1912, he had taken control of editorial policy of the *Journal*, dictating the paper's diatribes, preaching the free market, and celebrating speculators; a diehard Anglophile, Barron had access to top bankers and oligarchs, including England's Montagu Norman and Germany's Hjalmar Schacht. Barron died in 1928, one year before the Great Crash.

With the crash, the paper and Dow Jones's fortunes began to sag; subscriptions plummetted and the operation was kept afloat on the strength of the company's news service. In 1932, Barron's heirs entrusted the fate of their empire to Kenneth Hogate, who had formerly served as Barron's business manager. He started the overhaul of operations that led, in 1941, to the hiring of Barney Kilgore, its most famous columnist,

as managing editor. Kilgore told the paper's staff that they had to write so that "normal people" could understand what was being said. He also pushed the *Journal* into becoming a national paper, which made it the financial newspaper of record in the country; as such, the *Journal* now took on a much larger propaganda role for British free-market ideology. However, such plans had to be put on hold during World War II, due to newsprint rationing. When Hogate suffered a stroke in 1942, Kilgore and allies staged a palace coup that placed Kilgore as general manager of Dow Jones.

After the war, the Journal renewed its push onto the national scene, and increased its circulation outside of New York. Its vast expansion to a paper with a circulation in excess of 1 million (more than 2 million by 1985) came under the stewardship of business manager Robert Feemster, with financing from Morgan interests. To accomplish this expansion smoothly, the paper, despite its generally anti-labor editorial policy, maintained good relations with its unions—although it deliberately located its printing facilities far outside cities, to avoid paying higher wage scales. In 1961, Kilgore, still running Dow Jones, launched a national weekly newspaper directed at non-financial interests, the National Observer; it never quite caught on, and the plug was pulled on it in 1977. Kilgore had died ten years earlier, and his position was taken over by Bill Kerby. The Journal had been devoting more and more space to "investigative reporting," usually providing controlled leaks of certain stories (such as about swindler Robert Vesco), which left out critical information about connections to higher-level Anglo-American figures and operations. Later, in the 1970s, under its editorial page editor Robert Bartley, and his assistant, Jude Wanniski, the paper practically invented the quackery known as "supply-side economics" and became the leading preacher of the "Reagan Revolution."

Key personnel:

Peter R. Kann—chairman, chief executive officer; trustee, Asia Society; former chairman, *Far East Economic Review;* married to Karen Elliott House, of the family of Col. Edward House, 1984-.

Karen Elliott House-vice president.

Rand V. Araskog—director; chairman and CEO, ITT Corp.; director, Shell Oil Co., New York Stock Exchange, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Alcatel Alsthom; member, Trilateral Commission, Council on Foreign Relations, Business Roundtable, Business Council, Competitiveness Policy Council.

Irvine O. Hockaday, Jr.—director; CEO, Hallmark Cards, Inc.; trustee, Aspen Institute; director, Ford Motor Co., Continental Corp.; past chairman, 10th District Federal Reserve Bank, Midwest Research Institute.

David K.P. Li—director; CEO, Bank of East Asia, Ltd.

Richard D. Wood—director; director, former president and CEO, Eli Lilly and Co.; director, Amoco Corp., The Chubb Corp., Chemical Banking Corp.; former director,

Mortimer Zuckerman, a would-be Press Lord

Mortimer Zuckerman, a leading funder of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and real estate developer, is a latecomer to media ownership. The son of an orthodox rabbi in Montreal, Canada, Zuckerman was the first Jew elected to head McGill University's Skull and Bones society. Later he attended the Wharton School of business and finance, and became the chief financial officer of the Boston "Vault's" leading real estate firm, Cabot, Cabot and Forbes; in 1969 he established his own firm, and, by 1986, he had acquired hundreds of millions of dollars in commercial real estate in 15 cities across the United States.

But the Anglophile Zuckerman had always aspired to be a media mogul, and, in 1980, made his first acquisition, *Atlantic Monthly* magazine. Zuckerman changed the profile of the magazine to promote "neo-conservative" ideology and the free market; later, he would bring in the pseudo-Hamiltonian James Fallows to edit the magazine. In 1984, he paid nearly \$185 million to purchase the third largest American news weekly, *U.S. News and World Report*, replacing 80% of the staff within five years and changing editors four times, bringing in Bush White House communications director David Gergen torun the show (he has since shifted Fallows to *U.S. News*).

Zuckerman writes a signed editorial, and has often called the shots on editorial policy; for example, he ordered a story on financial swindler Michael Milken to reflect Zuckerman's view that Milken was a "besieged financial genius." During the 1996 U.S. election campaign, Zuckerman was sympathetic to the views of Steve Forbes, and the magazine's coverage reflected this. In 1992, Zuckerman acquired the nation's largest daily newspaper, the *New York Daily News*, from the estate of the late Robert Maxwell. Zuckerman immediately moved against the newspaper's labor unions, dismissing nearly 200 employees. He also got into a war with Rupert Murdoch, whose News Corp. owns the *New York Post*. This fight with the British-controlled media cartel continues.

U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade and Economic Council; trustee, American Enterprise Institute, Committee for Economic Development; member, The Conference Board.

Carlos Salinas de Gortari—director; former President of Mexico.

The Times Mirror Corporation

Headquarters: Los Angeles

Media ownership: With assets of nearly \$4 billion, the Times Mirror Corporation owns print media in key U.S. markets, including the Los Angeles Times, the Houston Chronicle, New York Newsday (Long Island, New York), the Baltimore Sun, the Hartford Courant, and several smaller papers in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, as well as magazines and journals, including Popular Science, Sporting News, and several journals directed at executives and political leaders, including the National Journal. The total daily readership of its newspapers is in the several millions.

History at a glance: The Los Angeles Times was started in 1881, and shortly after its creation, Ohio newspaperman Col. Harrison Gray Otis was named its editor. Otis came from a Boston family notorious for its loyalty to the British. His ancestors had sided with the British enemy in the War of 1812, attempting to break New England states away from the Union and reunite them with the British Empire. A little over a decade after Otis took over the Times, Harry Chandler was named business manager, soon after marrying Otis's daughter. Thus, began a newspaper dynasty, involving the Chandler and Otis families, which to this day retain effective control over the billion-dollar corporation.

The Otis-Chandler families have always been involved in British-connected financial speculation, especially involving real estate, and most directly in California, where Harry Chandler had acquired several hundred thousand acres of what became prime real estate. The Chandlers were active in creating the Pacific Coast version of the New York Council on Foreign Relations, the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, and have been involved in various manipulations of the government of Mexico, dating back to the 1920s. In the last three decades, under the stewardship of Otis Chandler, the company's flagship paper, the Los Angeles Times, has been pushed to a prominence that placed it on a par with the Washington Post and the New York Times as one of the nation's elite newspapers. While the Chandler family retains control of the company and the Los Angeles Times, many other interests have purchased a piece of the action; at this point, financial speculator George Soros is the fourth largest shareholder.

Key personnel:

Robert F. Erburu—chairman, Times-Mirror Co.; trustee, Brookings Institution, J. Paul Getty Trust; director, New York Council on Foreign Relations.

C. Michael Armstrong—chairman and CEO, Hughes Electronics Corp.; director, Travellers, Inc.; chairman, World Trade Corp.; member, Council on Foreign Relations; supervisor, Thyssen-Bornemisza Group.

Donald R. Beall—chairman and CEO, Rockwell International Corp.; director, Amoco Corp., Procter and Gamble Co.,

Business Roundtable, Stanford Research Institute Advisory

John E. Bryson—chairman and CEO, Edison International Co./Southern California Edison Co.; director, Boeing Co.; director, First Interstate Bancorp; chairman, California Business Roundtable; director, World Resources Institute.

Clayton W. Frye, Jr.—senior associate of Laurance S. Rockefeller since 1973, directing Rockefeller's business, real estate, and investment interests.

David A. Laventhol—see Associated Press.

Mark H. Willes—president, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 1977-80; vice chairman, General Mills, Inc.

Harold M. Williams—president and CEO, J. Paul Getty Trust; member, American Security Council.

The Tribune Company

Headquarters: Chicago

Media ownership: The \$3.3 billion company controls newspapers with a daily circulation of 1.3 million, including the Chicago Tribune and Florida's Orlando Sentinel. Tribune Media Services provides customized features to newspapers around the country, including television listings, and publishes the only Spanish entertainment weekly in the United States. The Tribune Entertainment Group owns 11 television stations in major media markets, including WPIX in New York and "superstation" WGN in Chicago, which is carried to millions of cable subscribers around the country; the group also produces syndicated television shows, including "Geraldo." Tribune Broadcasting owns five radio stations in major media, as well as syndicated programming including "The Farm Journal" (produced through Farm Journal, Inc.). Tribune Education supplies various educational materials to schools throughout the country, including the publication of course curricula and supplemental materials for grade school through high school, and language arts materials. Tribune Ventures, the company's investment arm, owns about 5% of the Internet provider America On-Line, and has invested \$25 million in an Asian venture, Baring Communications Equity, Ltd., which invests in cable and other systems in Asia.

History at a glance: Founded as the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1847, the paper and its founder, Joseph Medill, were supporters of Abraham Lincoln and opponents of the British-backed Confederate rebellion; most notably, Medill, through his paper, promoted the American System economic outlook of Alexander Hamilton and Mathew and Henry Carey. Its coverage of the Civil War justly earned it a national reputation for excellence. However, by the end of the war, a coup was staged, and Medill was forced to yield control to a combination which included the man he had hired as

editor, Horace White, and Alfred Cowles, Jr. Medill remained politically active in Chicago, continuing to fight, often against the paper he founded, for investment in internal improvements and for protectionist policies; he was elected mayor in the wake of the Great Chicago Fire, supervising the rebuilding and rebirth of the city. Ultimately, White was forced out, and, in 1874, Medill once again assumed editorial control of the paper. In 1883, Medill's son-in-law, Robert Patterson, became managing editor and took over as editorin-chief when Medill died in 1899. But it was another branch of Medill's family that directed the Tribune's fortunes in this century. Robert McCormick, Medill's grandson and an heir to the McCormick fortune created by the invention of the reaper and the marketing of other agricultural implements, became president of the Tribune Co. in 1910. McCormick, a hard-boiled Anglophile, was raised in England (his father, Cyrus McCormick's son, was appointed head of the U.S. legation to London in 1889), where he cultivated an English accent and English society. This Anglophilia was masked, just as it is in modern times, as neo-conservative "Americanism." This led to support for various anti-American policies, including violent opposition to Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal, and purported backing for an aborted, violent Morgan-backed coup against the Roosevelt government in 1933-34. It also included racialism and support for the Immigration Restriction League, and the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan, covering it favorably in the 1920s. The current *Tribune* continues its Anglophilia, with the McCormick Foundation still owning nearly 20% of the company's stock.

Key personnel:

Donald H. Rumsfeld—director; chairman, the RAND Corp.; director, Allstate Corp.; director, Kellogg Co.; director, Sears Roebuck & Co.; economic adviser to 1996 Dole Presidential campaign.

Robert E. La Blanc—director; director or trustee, Prudential Global Fund, and three other Prudential funds.

Andrew J. McKenna—director; director, the First National Bank of Chicago; governor, Chicago Stock Exchange.

James J. O'Connor—director, First Chicago NBD Corp.; director, Corning, Inc.; director, the First National Bank of Chicago; chairman, Commonwealth Edison Co.; former chairman, Nuclear Power Oversight Committee.

Nancy Hick Maynard—director; chairman, the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center; member, Global Business Network; deputy publisher and co-owner, Oakland Tribune.

Stanton R. Cook—member, former director, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations; former chairman, director, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

Newton N. Minow—former governor, chairman, Public Broadcasting System; trustee chair, Carnegie Corporation of New York; of counsel, Sidley & Austin (Chicago); director, Sara Lee; director, Manpower, Inc.; former chairman, FCC; former chairman, RAND Corp.

Advance Publications (Newhouse)

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: Advance Publications is the centerpiece of the largest privately held media conglomerate in the country. The Newhouse family owns assets that are estimated to be worth \$12 billion. It owns more than two dozen newspapers, in small and large markets, including the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Newark Star Ledger, and the New Orleans Times-Picayune; it also owns Parade magazine, the Sunday newspaper supplement with a circulation in the several score million. Newhouse Broadcasting owns cable franchises around the country with more than 1 million subscribers and a total estimated value of \$3 billion. Condé Nast, a Newhouse subsidiary, owns up-scale pro-Anglophile magazines, including The New Yorker, Vogue, Vanity Fair, Self, and Details, with total circulation of several million. Newhouse also owns the huge book publishing empire, Random House, valued at several billion dollars.

History at a glance: The Newhouse media empire is the creation of a combination of British-linked mob and financial interests, who elevated a "small guy," Seymour Newhouse, Sr. and propelled him, by the 1960s, into a media mogul. It started small, with the New Jersey Bayonne Times, in 1922. But Newhouse was given major help from people like Henry Garfinkle and his Union News distribution outfit (which eventually controlled 50% of the newspaper distribution in the United States and was reputed to be linked to the Bonanno mob.) The lawyer for Garfinkle was Roy Cohn, the unsavory homosexual and operative for dirty British interests in the United States. Cohn was close to the Newhouse family, having gone to school with Seymour's son, and his successor, S.I. Newhouse. After Cohn was nationally disgraced for his work for Sen. Joseph McCarthy, following the Army-McCarthy hearings, Seymour Newhouse gave him a \$500,000 "loan," not to be paid back; this brought Cohn into Newhouse's inner circle, and cemented a relationship between Newhouse and the Anglo-American interests that controlled Cohn, and used him for their operations. Funds were apparently made available to Seymour Newhouse from these Cohnlinked circles that helped provide the capital for a mediabuying spree throughout the United States that, by 1960, left him with ownership of newspapers in major markets. Wherever he went, he sought to bust the newspaper unions and to try to drive competition papers out of business. In 1977, Newhouse purchased the Booth newspaper chain and Parade magazine; soon thereafter, he bought Condé Nast, and then Street and Smith, which publishes such magazines as Mademoiselle. When Seymour Newhouse died in 1979, the family avoided the payment of estate taxes through a scheme that had all the pawmarks of that master tax swindler, Roy Cohn, involving moves to conceal ownership, and changes in company structure. The IRS sued to collect hundreds of millions in taxes, but the claim was settled in 1989, when the Bush Justice Department threw the case out, and the Newhouse family got off with a minimal payment. On the death of the Newhouse patriarch in 1979, Cohn's boyhood friend, S.I. Newhouse, Jr., took over the operations; he completed the transformation of the empire's profile into a glitzy, "high society" one, especially in their magazine operations. He imported editors and journalists from London with society and other pedigrees, so much so, that one author reported that the headquarters in New York "looked like a boarding school for transplanted Brits." Its publications had always had intense pro-British sympathies, now it had Brits directing the editorial product.

Key personnel:

Si Newhouse, Jr.

Gannett Co., Inc.

Headquarters: Arlington, Virginia

Media ownership: With the recent acquisition of Multimedia, Inc. (based in Greenville, South Carolina), Gannett has become the largest newspaper group, in terms of circulation, in the United States. The daily paid circulation of its newspapers is 6.6 million; USA Today, the nationally distributed daily, with color printing, has the second largest circulation of any domestic newspaper, with nearly 1.6 million, and has an international edition that is available in 90 countries. Gannett owns some 92 daily newspapers, in nearly all major media markets, in 44 states and the District of Columbia, as well as the Virgin Islands and Guam, and in foreign countries, including Great Britain, Germany, Hongkong, and Switzerland. Gannett also owns 16 television stations, 13 radio stations, and various cable systems in major media markets; it also produces nationally syndicated programming, including several talk shows, including Conservative Revolutionary Rush Limbaugh's. In recent years, Gannett has invested heavily in various on-line services, including the major service for putting newspapers on line.

History at a glance: The Gannett chain was founded earlier this century by Frank Gannett. It was transformed under the direction of Al Neuharth, a free-market supporter who practiced what he preached, in reducing payroll costs among its journalists, and in driving competing papers out of business.

The chain expanded by Neuharth's design in the 1970s and 1980s, buying up weaker papers, and then moving, often in ways that skirted legality, to push the competition under. These efforts have led to a number of anti-trust investigations, and charges that the chain used "numerous illegal, unfair, and deceptive trade practices." Such charges often led to out-of-court settlements and paid silence on the part of former com-

petitors. As Neuharth demolished competition (one operation in Oregon was dubbed by Gannett memos "Operation Demolition.") The elimination of competition enabled Gannett to make more money by raising its advertising rates. All of this was done with Neuharth trumpeting his allegiance to "free enterprise" and the American flag. Gannett's policies led to a revolving door in its editorial rooms; one former employee described the company's *modus operandi* as that of "a colonial power exacting tribute."

Neuharth's crowning achievement was the creation in 1982 of USA Today, whose digest-like reporting and color graphics led it to be dubbed as the "McPaper." But Neuharth took this as a compliment: He had designed the paper to appeal to the tabloid and television news attention span of what he perceived to be the American public. When it began, USA Today also had a heavy emphasis on "good news" stories; it has since changed a bit. Few in the industry gave it a chance for survival when it started, but it is still around more than 14 years later. In 1989, Neuharth "retired" to head the Gannett Foundation, renamed it the Freedom Forum, and used his position to promote British free-market economics, and, supposedly, First Amendment freedoms. An autobiography, appropriately called Confessions of an S.O.B., boasted that money had bought Neuharth a "first class life." Its run on the bestseller lists was later revealed to be assisted a bit by Freedom Forum funds.

Neuharth's expansion of Gannett and its purchases of other media outlets, including television, were bankrolled by Wall Street's investment community, which include the Morgan and Harriman interests. Despite Neuharth's boasts about making it "against the grain," he and Gannett have been promoted by these British assets into a national power, which has assisted them in their overall cartelization plans.

Key personnel:

John J. Curley—chairman, president, chief executive officer.

Douglas H. McCorkingale—vice chairman, chief financial officer; director, The Global Government Plus Fund Inc., Prudential Global Genesis Fund Inc., Prudential Natural Resources Fund, Inc., Prudential Multi Sector Fund, Inc.; trustee, Prudential Equity Income Fund, Prudential Flexifund.

Rosalynn Carter—director; former First Lady, 1977-81; vice chairman, the Council on Foreign Relations' Global 2000; trustee, the Menninger Foundation; director, Carter Presidential Center (Emory University, Atlanta), Friendship Force International; adviser, Habitat for Humanity, Inc.; honorary chair, Project Interconnections.

Peter B. Clark—director; former chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Federal Reserve Bank of Detroit; past director, member, American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Drew Lewis—director; chairman, CEO, Union Pacific Corp.; director, American Express Co., AT&T, Ford Motor

Co., Union Pacific Resources Group, FPL Group Inc.; U.S. secretary of transportation, 1981-83.

Andrew F. Brimmer—director; chairman, District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority (imposed by 104th Congress, also dubbed the D.C. Financial Control Board); editorial board, *Challenge* magazine; president, Brimmer and Company, Inc.; director, Bank-America Corporation, Bank of America N.T. and S.A.

Karen Jurgensen—editorial page editor; chairman, American Society of Newspaper Editors; director, New Directions in the News.

E. Keith Fuller—director; former president, AP.

Knight-Ridder, Inc.

Headquarters: Miami, Florida

Media ownership: A \$3 billion company, Knight-Ridder's daily newspapers have a circulation of nearly 3 million, in major media and 21 smaller markets, and include the Philadelphia Inquirer, the Philadelphia Daily News, the Miami Herald, the San Jose Mercury News, the Charlotte Observer, and the Detroit Free Press (whose circulation has been combined with the *Detroit News*, in agreement with Gannett Co.). In addition, Knight-Ridder/Tribune Information Services (jointly operated with the Tribune Co.) provides wire service stories, features, graphics, and photos to some 500 media outlets worldwide. The company operates PressLink, an online media services company, providing graphics and photo images to thousands of media outlets. It also runs several business information services and formerly published the daily Journal of Commerce, until it sold its operation to the London Economist Group in 1995. Knight-Ridder also owns a 49.5% interest in the Seattle Times Co..

History at a glance: Knight-Ridder was formed in 1974 with the merger of two newspaper chains, Knight Newspapers and Ridder Publications, then respectively the number two and number three circulation American newspaper publishers; both had a long history of loyal support for British policy. The firm has remained primarily a newspaper publisher, increasing its acquisitions in recent years, while selling off some assets to British and British-related interests (e.g., the 1995 sale of the *Journal of Commerce*). The *Miami Herald* serves as the Knight-Ridder flagship daily, and the company's head-quarters is in Florida.

The Knight chain dates from the early part of this century. Georgia native Charles Landon Knight received his education from Vanderbilt and Columbia universities, and then studied politics and social institutions in Europe during 1891-93. Working in newspapers upon his return, the family moved to Akron, Ohio, where Knight took controlling interest of the *Beacon Journal* in 1915. Knight's fiery Anglophile editorials brought political notoriety, and positions within the Tory

wing of the Republican Party. Knight's 1933 death ceded control to sons John S., taking editorial responsibilities, and James L., covering business affairs. The Knights quickly expanded their interests, obtaining both the Miami *Herald* and *Tribune* in 1937, immediately closing the *Tribune* to make the *Herald* the city's only morning daily; a year later, they bought out their competition in Akron, making that city a "one newspaper town." In 1940, Michigan's oldest daily, the *Detroit Free Press*, was purchased by the Knights.

John Knight, long an Associated Press director, was appointed in 1943 to head the United States Office of Censorship in London, making him the chief press liaison between the United States and Britain. Upon his return from England in 1944, Knight took controlling interest of the *Chicago Daily News* from the estate of recently deceased Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, then appointing Allied Newspaper Council member Basil Walters as its executive editor. The paper was to be the Knight flagship for many years.

Like Knight, the Ridder group has a long history of support for Tory policies. It began in 1892 with the purchase by Herman Ridder of the preeminent American German-language daily, the New-Yorker Staat-Zeitung. His parents were Westphalian immigrants. Ridder had published the weekly Katholisches Volksblatt, aimed at German Catholics in the United States, which, in 1886, changed to Catholic News. In 1895, Ridder organized the German-American Reform Union, as part of the anti-Tamany Hall campaign. Ridder was president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association during 1907-11, while serving as one of the Associated Press's directors and one of its earliest members, during 1900-15. Ridder was an advocate of British free trade policies and editorially supported U.S. entry into World War I to support the British Empire.

Key personnel:

James I. Cash, Jr.—State Street Bank and Trust.

Jesse Hill, Jr.—chairman and CEO, Atlanta Life Insurance Co.

Thomas L. Phillips—former chairman, Raytheon Co.; director, John Hancock Financial Services.

P. Anthony Ridder—chairman.

Randall L. Tobias—chairman and CEO, Eli Lilly and Co.; trustee, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; vice chairman, American Enterprise Institute, Council on Economic Development; member, Council on Foreign Relations, Business Roundtable.

Peter C. Goldmark—president, The Rockefeller Foundation; director, Dreyfus Third Century Fund; Council on Foreign Relations; former senior vice president, Times-Mirror Co.

William S. Lee—Duke Power Co., former chairman; director, J.P. Morgan and Co., Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., American Nuclear Energy Council.

Gonzalo F. Valdes-Fauli—regional chief executive, Barclays Bank PLC.

John L. Weinberg—senior chairman, Goldman Sachs and Co.; director, Seagram Co. Ltd., E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Co.; member, Council on Foreign Relations.

The Associated Press

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: AP is the oldest and largest news agency in the world. On any given day, it delivers some 20 million words and thousands of visuals, globally. It also provides a selectable stock service, an array of audiotext and information services, and television graphics, and operates, via satellite, a nationwide radio news service for several hundred radio stations, making it one of the largest radio networks in the United States. Its domestic network includes 143 bureaus; if a story is deemed broad enough, it is fed to New York forediting, then transmitted back out to more than 1,700 domestic subscriber newspapers and over 6,000 radio stations, and, through its international feed, to thousands more outlets overseas. Overall, its products are sold to more than 15.000 outlets, worldwide. Its services include: AP-Dow Jones, AP Multimedia Services, AP-TV, AP Grand Central Stocks, and AP Network News for radio.

History at a glance: What became the New York Associated Press (NYAP) began in 1848, with six New York newspaper publishers seeking to form a joint news-gathering and information-sharing operation, to save money. NYAP maintained a Washington bureau, whose chief (and only) correspondent, Lawrence Gobright, stated the NYAP "philosophy" of "objective" journalism, only giving the "facts." The NYAP operated its headquarters from the Western Union building, and made an arrangement giving it exclusive rights over the majority of domestic U.S. telegraph lines, and later over the first transatlantic cable. In 1887, NYAP formally joined a cartel composed of Reuters, the French Havas agency, and the German Wolff agency, which divided the world's news coverage into imperial spheres of influence, with Reuters ceding to AP most of North America, except Canada, with shared arrangements for Ibero-America and the Caribbean. This arrangement stayed in effect, with AP "confined" to the United States, with its international news coming from Reuters, etc., until 1934, when Hitler ordered Wolff to break the cartel, for propaganda purposes. AP and Reuters had both been willing to continue the arrangement with the Nazis. Financially, AP continued, as it had begun, as a notfor-profit news cooperative, which, it claims to this day, has no private ownership or government funding. However, in the 1980s, when it became necessary to upgrade its technological base of operation, for computer and satellite-related services and news delivery, its "co-op" members couldn't meet the bill. Like its nominal rival the United Press International (UPI), it was running huge deficits and heading for bankruptcy. But AP received an infusion of capital and credit from its banker of more than 80 years—the British-linked Morgan Guaranty Trust and J.P. Morgan. While UPI was allowed to go under after a long death agony, AP, with British-linked money, survives.

Key personnel:

Frank A. Daniels, Jr.—chairman; director, News and Observer Publishing Co., New Directions for the News; board of visitors, Stanford Institute of Policy Sciences.

Louis D. Boccardi—president, chief executive officer, head AP London bureau; member, Council on Foreign Relations; Newspaper Readership Council; Newspaper Publishers Association news research committee; 1959 B.S., Columbia School of Journalism.

Walter R. Mears—vice president; 1969-72 chief political writer; 1973-74 assistant bureau chief; 1977-83 Washington bureau chief; 1984-88 executive editor.

Claude E. Erbsen—vice president, AP World Services; 1980-87 director AP-Dow Jones News Services; 1970-75 administrative director, AP-Dow Jones Economic Report, London; 1965-69 Brazil AP bureau chief; member, Council on Foreign Relations; World Press Institute; International Press Institute.

Eric Ober—president, CBS News Division; 1987- president, CBS TV Stations; 1984-87 vice president, CBS News public affairs broadcasts; 1981-82 vice president for news, CBS TV Stations.

Donald E. Newhouse—chairman, AP finance committee; Newark Star Ledger; president, Advance Communications; son of Si Newhouse.

The Reader's Digest Association, Inc.

Headquarters: Pleasantville, New York

Media ownership: A \$2 billion international conglomerate, with more than \$3 billion in yearly revenue, the *Reader's Digest* empire spans the globe, publishing the world's most widely read magazine, with a paid circulation of 27 million and a monthly readership of 100 million. *Reader's Digest* serves as the front door to one of the world's most sophisticated information-gathering machines, with nearly 50 news bureaus in 21 countries, generating stories for its 48 editions in 19 languages; it also has used its subscription and marketing operations to create a data base on more than 100 million households in the United States and western Europe. In addition to the *Reader's Digest* magazine, it publishes several more magazines, including *American Health* and *Moneywise*, with a monthly circulation of 3 million, and a readership of 12 million.

History at a glance: The *Reader's Digest* publishing and media empire got its start as the brainchild of Dewitt Wallace,

an Anglophile and World Federalist, who, along with his wife, Lila Acheson, founded the monthly in 1922. Based on the premise that Americans would desire shortened versions of articles from popular magazines, the *Digest* was an instant success; it contained advertising only for itself and related companies, and was thus free to print whatever its editors desired.

By 1925, with its circulation growing, the company moved its headquarters from New York City to its current complex in suburban Westchester's Pleasantville; by the 1930s, it was established as a propaganda conduit. Wallace, whose father had been among the leading campaigners for Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, initially kept a low profile, but maintained strict control over content, which included a 1926 article by Hiram Wesley Evans, Grand Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, touting the Klan as a defender of "Americanism." By 1936, subscriptions had reached 1 million, and two years later, the first foreign edition appeared in England.

In the 1940s, the *Digest* opened bureaus and offices on five continents. Meanwhile, Wallace emerged from the shadows to promote free market, Tory policies, and the virtue of allying with Britain, writing articles for the *Digest* expressing these views. The Wallaces officially retired in 1973, but De-Witt Wallace continued his close supervision of editorial and business policy until his death in 1981; his wife died three years later, leaving most of their vast fortune to charities that promote their worldview. New management placed great emphasis on making money, which the company did by the billions.

The *Digest* remains the world's largest-selling magazine, with its condensed book division (founded in 1950 and now a division of the McGraw-Hill publishing conglomerate) dominating the market. The company's home-entertainment division is its largest profit center.

The Reader's Digest has always been closely linked to British and oligarchical propaganda and intelligence operations. Aside from the Wallaces' Anglophile and one-world government proclivities, they promoted the free-market idiocy of Mont Pelerin Society founder Friedrich von Hayek, publishing a condensed version of his book The Road to Serfdom in 1945, and circulating it to several million people. The Digest offices were stocked with former Anglo-American intelligence operatives, and its editors and reporters were stringers for these agencies.

The *Digest* was notorious as a leak sheet for such intelligence agencies. For example, during the 1950s and 1960s, the *Digest*'s Washington bureau served as a public relations firm for Dewitt Wallace's good friend "Gay" Edgar Hoover and the FBI. One of the leading stringers for the FBI and the James Jesus Angleton-Ted Shackley Anglophile networks within the CIA, was *Digest* Washington bureau staffer Eugene Methvin, who routinely published "research" submitted by the FBI-CIA networks under his byline. He continues to

do so, with the approval of *Digest* editors, to this day.

Key personnel:

James P. Schadt—chairman and CEO; Procter and Gamble Co. 1960-73, Pepsi, Inc. 1973-78, Continental Foods Corp. 1978-81; president and CEO, Cadbury-Schweppes, Inc., 1981-91.

Kenneth Y. Tomlinson—senior vice president and editor-in-chief; director, Voice of America, 1982-84; National Commission on Voluntary Service, 1981-83; U.S. Board of International Broadcasting (overseer of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty), 1987-; on leave as adviser to Robert Dole Presidential campaign, early 1996-; active with National Endowment for Democracy/Project Democracy.

Melvin R. Laird—chief counsel, vice president, 1974-; senior counsellor for national and international affairs; U.S. secretary of defense, 1969-73; domestic adviser to President Richard Nixon, 1973-74; director, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Northwest Airlines, IDS Mutual Fund Group, Scientific Applications International Inc., The Reader's Digest Fund, Lila Wallace Reader's Digest Fund, World Rehabilitation Fund, Airlie Foundation.

Lynne V. Cheney—director; W.H. Brady fellow, American Enterprise Institute; senior editor, *Washingtonian* magazine, 1983-86; chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1986-88.

William G. Bowen—director; president, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, 1988-; trustee, Stanford University's Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences; member, Industrial Relations Research Association, Council on Foreign Relations; former director of graduate studies, provost, president, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Walter V. Shipley—director; chairman and CEO, international division 1994-; executive vice president, international division, 1978-79; chairman, Chemical Bank, 1983-94; member, Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission, Business Roundtable, the Business Council.

Cecil J. Silas—director; past chairman, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; member, Council on Foreign Relations; patron counsellor, Atlantic Council of the U.S.; member, conference board, American Petroleum Institute; Phillips Petroleum Co., 1954-94, chairman and CEO, 1985-94; president, Europe-Africa, 1968-74; Brussels and London Phillips Petroleum Co., 1974-76; managing director, natural resource group Europe/Africa Phillips Petroleum Co. (London).

McGraw-Hill Companies

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: The \$3 billion company provides most of the magazines that are "required reading" for several professional fields, including aerospace, civil engineering,

and electric power generation and distribution, as well as the largest circulation business magazine in the world, *Business Week*. The company also owns Standard & Poors, the investor rating service, and the CUSIP Service Bureau, which assigns a number to every security in the United States.

History at a glance: McGraw-Hill was the result of the merger of two leading industrial publishers, Hill Publishing and the McGraw Publishing Co., in 1916. The merged company immediately became the largest technical publisher in the world. After receiving a boost from the demands of the U.S. Army for technical publications during World War I, the company branched out to become one the largest college textbook publishers. In 1928, the company purchased the publisher of the Magazine of Business, renaming the reorganized magazine Business Week. During World War II, McGraw-Hill's technical journals were considered so important, that the company received priority paper rations. In 1961, it purchased F.W. Dodge, the major source of information for the construction industry; in 1966, Shepard's Citations, the leading legal publisher, was acquired, and soon thereafter, Standard & Poors. The McGraw family successfully resisted a takeover by American Express in 1979; that same year, it acquired Data Resources, Inc., the world's most extensive collector of business and economic data, fully merging its operations, as DRI/McGraw-Hill. With the ascendancy of Joseph Dionne to CEO and president in 1983, the company committed itself to the post-industrial "Information Age," selling off many of its industrial-oriented magazines, such as Coal Age and the American Machinist; in their place came journals and magazines directed toward computerniks, such as Byte and LAN Times. In 1988, McGraw-Hill acquired the college division of Random House publishers; a year later, the company entered a joint venture with MacMillan in the publication of secondary education textbooks and teaching guides; in 1990, the company implemented the customized electronic design of textbooks, that allows for a 48-hour turnaround of product.

Key personnel:

Pedro Aspe—chairman, Vector Casa de Bolsa SA; Secretary of Finance and Public Credit of Mexico 1988-94.

Joseph L. Dionne—chairman and CEO 1988-; Equitable Companies Inc.; The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.; Harris Corp.; Ryder Systems Inc.; Alexander & Alexander Services Inc.

Don Johnston—chairman and CEO, JWT Group Inc. (J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency); The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.

Alva O. Wa—chairman, IBJ Schroder Bank & Trust Co.; Schroder PLC; 1979-81 vice chairman, 1981-83 president, American Express Co.; Ryder Systems Inc.; Eli Lilly & Co.

John T. Hartley—1987-95 chairman and CEO, Harris Corp.; Equitable Companies Inc.; The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.; former chairman, National Association of Manufacturers; member, National Security Telecom-

munications Advisory Committee under Reagan and Bush; former chairman, Defense Policy Advisory Committee on Trade.

Paul J. Rizzo—partner, Franklin Street Partners (investment firm); Johnson & Johnson; Ryder Systems Inc.; Morgan Stanley Group Inc.

James H. Ross—CEO and deputy chairman, Cable & Wireless PLC; 1991-92 British Petroleum; 1988-91 chairman and CEO, BP America Inc.; 1986-88 CEO, BP Oil International Ltd.; 1982-85 general manager for corporate planning, British Petroleum; advisory board member for the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.

Time Warner Turner

Headquarters: New York and Atlanta

Media ownership: With assets in excess of \$40 billion, the newly merged Time Warner and Turner Broadcasting operate a conglomerate that controls the top three magazines in the United States—People, Sports Illustrated, and Time as well as the WB Network television network, with outlets in most major markets, many smaller markets; Ted Turner's Atlanta-based "superstation" and cable interests, such as Cable News Network (CNN); and cable franchise interests around the country, through Turner Broadcasting's cable operation, and through the even larger Tele-Communications, Inc. (TCI). Through the production facilities of both Warner Brothers and Turner Communications, the conglomerate produces major network television shows, as well as shows for both Turner and the WB Network. John Mallone's TCI is moving, in association with Comcast, a satellite broadcast operation, the long-distance telecommunications carrier Sprint, and another cable outfit, Cox Enterprises, to set up a nationwide network of cable, telephone and wireless communications, including an Internet service.

History at a glance: The merger of Time Warner with Turner Broadcasting has created a complex web of multimedia companies, capable of producing and mass-distributing varied television and related products nationally and globally. The oldest part of this operation is Warner, which had its start as Warner Brothers in 1917, with funding and other help coming from British-linked organized-crime networks. Warner ventured late into television production, but, starting in 1969, with its purchase of Atlantic Records, secured a major position in the so-called music business, under the direction of drug-connected Steve Ross. In 1989, a \$14 billion merger created Time Warner. Time has its origins in the same general period as Warner Brothers, with the 1923 founding of *Time* magazine by two members of Yale's Anglophile Skull & Bones Society, Henry Luce and Briton Hadden. Luce became a champion of Teddy Roosevelt's dream of an Anglo-American imperium, with America taking the lead, on a Brit-

ish leash, in what his publications promoted as "The American Century." By 1941, Time had almost 1 million subscribers, and another Luce creation, Life magazine, had 3.3 million. By 1991, three Time, Inc. magazines—People, Sports Illustrated, and Time-accounted for one-third of all magazine revenues in the United States. Luce, who died in 1967, had been accepted within the Anglo-American establishment, and had always received generous financial assistance through its U.S. banking interests and allies. After the merger in 1987, continued British influence was further enhanced in 1991, when the Bronfmans' Seagram interests purchased a large part of the merged company. With the addition of the Southern Agrarian Turner's interests, the conglomerate is even more securely in the Anglophile camp. Turner made a fortune for himself by recognizing the early possibilities of cable television, and promoting his small Atlanta television station into a "superstation" through satellite feeds into cable providers; later, in the 1980s, he created the first all-day, cable news station, Cable News Network (CNN), which, after inching its way into various cable systems, attained national prominence with its coverage of George Bush's Gulf War. But Turner, who, with his wife Jane Fonda, became a leading spokesman for various environmentalist and terrorist-linked indigenous people's causes, has always had eyes bigger than his resources could command. Some of his ventures were profitable-including the ownership of the Atlanta Hawks basketball team and the Atlanta Braves baseball team (which he promoted through his superstation as "America's Team"). Others were not successful, including his attempted takeover of MGM-UA in 1987. Turner appealed for and got a bailout from other players in the cable industry, who purchased 30% interest in Turner Communications. One of those was the self-described "Darth Vader of the cable industry," John Mallone of TCI. Mallone and TCI have bought over 150 cable companies and have a large interest in 91 others. TCI began as a small cable operation in Texas in 1965; Mallone was brought on board in 1972 and made the company into a giant, with financial help from Warner. In 1991, it emerged that TCI's founder, the former Texas rancher Bob Magness, was linked to the scandal around the Bank for Credit and Commerce International, as a large shareholder in the London-based BCCI front group, Capcom, which was used to cover for many of BCCI's fraudulent loans.

Key personnel:

The following should be noted about ownership of this conglomerate: the Bronfmans' Seagram Co., Ltd. owns 14.51% of the common stock, giving it 12.36% of the voting power; Five trusts of the Gray family own 100% of the Series C preferred stock; no voting power resides with ownership of this stock; a trust for C. Boyden Gray, former White House counsel under President George Bush, has 23.56% of the ownership; Henry Luce III owns 1.5% of the common stock. Some key directors:

Carla A. Hills-former U.S. Trade Representative under

Bush; American International Group Inc.; AT&T Corp.; Chevron Corp.; Trust Co. of the West.

Reuben Mark—chairman and CEO, Colgate-Palmolive Co.; Pearson PLC; New York Stock Exchange, Inc.

David T. Kearns—Chase Manhattan Corp.; Ryder System Inc.; chairman, Xerox Corp., 1985-91.

Richard D. Parsons—president; Philip Morris Companies Inc.

Westinghouse/Columbia Broadcasting System

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: In 1995, Westinghouse acquired CBS for \$5.4 billion, merging its operations with its own Group W network to create the largest broadcaster in the United States. It owns 14 television broadcast stations, covering all major markets; owns 21 FM and 18 AM radio stations; and has 33% ownership of the cable Country Music Network, as well as marketing the cable Nashville Network. In addition, some 1,900 radio and television stations carry CBS programming, and 450 carry CBS News.

History at a glance:
Founded in the late 1920s,
CBS is the world's second
oldest broadcasting network, after David Sarnoff's
National Broadcasting
Corporation (NBC, see profile). Originally owned by
the Columbia Phonograph
(records) company, CBS
received a fresh infusion of
cash from a young cigar



CBS anchorman Dan Rather

manufacturer, William Paley, who bought the controlling interest in the broadcaster. Under Paley's direction, CBS pioneered news broadcasting, creating a stable of newscasters and reporters, who, through the network's penetration, could not only report, but also shape the news. The Anglophile Paley gave backing to the creation of foreign news bureaus, including the largest European bureau, based out of London, in the late 1930s under the direction of Edward R. Murrow. To create the impression of "balanced" and extensive coverage, CBS pioneered a nightly newscast, featuring live reports from several European capitals. During the Nazi bombing of London, Murrow gave Americans firsthand reports and bulletins of the "blitz," using sources linked to British intelligence to glorify the "great Anglo-American alliance," as promoted by Churchill. In 1941, Paley himself joined the U.S. Office of War Information; ultimately, he was assigned to the Psychological Warfare Board, where he would become co-director with British psychological warfare expert Richard Crossman,

who described his unit's goal as "to out-Goebbels, Goebbels." Paley used his position to help out CBS, arranging for the U.S. government to purchase all of CBS's Ibero-American facilities, ostensibly because they would be useful for counterintelligence against the Nazis. After the war, Paley directed CBS's development of a major television network. Those efforts were delivered a blow in 1956, during the famous "quiz show scandals," when it was revealed that top CBS management was complicit in the rigging of the popular "\$64,000 Question," prompting Congressional investigations of television quiz show programming. In the early 1960s, CBS signed the contract to regularly broadcast National Football League games, which created huge profits for the network and made football the most popular media sport. By this time, Paley had put his protégé, Frank Stanton, into the top management position; Stanton, who, in the 1930s, had pioneered "market research" for the network, served as CBS president and chairman for 28 years. Under Stanton, CBS created the first "news magazine" show, the still-popular "60 Minutes," and prime-time feature film presentations. However, by the 1980s, the company found itself weakened financially, and, in 1985, was the target of a takeover bid by Ted Turner, of Turner Broadcasting. CBS fended off the challenge, but it was costly: CBS bought up 21% of its own stock, at a pricetag of nearly \$1 billion. In 1986, Lawrence Tisch, the chairman of the Loew's Corporation, which owned about 25% of CBS stock, became the chief executive officer of CBS, replacing Thomas Wynan. A bitter power struggle between Tisch and Wynan, who had remained as president, ensued. Stepping into the breach was Bill Paley, who returned from retirement as chairman, and engineered Wynan's exit. Following Paley's second retirement, CBS was purchased in 1995 by Westinghouse, then a large defense and electrical manufacturer, as part of the latter's moves to diversify.

Key personnel:

Michael H. Jordan—chairman and chief executive officer, Westinghouse Electric Corporation 1993-; executive vice president, CEO PepsiCo Inc., 1985-86.

Frank C. Carlucci—chairman, the Carlyle Group (merchant banking); director, Westinghouse Electric; with U.S. foreign service in various posts, including officer in charge of Congo political affairs, 1962-64; associate director, Office of Management and Budget, 1971; undersecretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972-74; deputy director of CIA, 1978-81; deputy secretary of defense, 1981-82; national security assistant, 1986-87; secretary of defense, 1987-89.

Disney/Capital Cities/ABC

Headquarters: New York and Los Angeles **Media ownership:** When Disney purchased Capital

Cities/ABC in 1995, it acquired 11 television stations, in 10 major markets; in addition, through a 14% interest in Young Broadcasting, it controls another 8 major market television stations. Its total television operation covers 24% of all U.S. households. Cap Cities/ABC/Disney now owns 21 radio stations in major media markets; it is the largest U.S. radio network, with 3,400 outlets, serving 24% of all American households. The conglomerate also has major impact on print media: It owns several major market newspapers, including the Fort Worth Star Telegram and the Kansas City Star, as well as papers in Michigan and New England; it also owns two publishing houses, and the varied Hollywood production and distribution interests of the Disney Empire: Walt Disney Pictures, Touchstone Pictures, Hollywood Pictures, Miramax Film Corporation, Buena Vista Pictures, Buena Vista Home Video. Added into the mix are the Anaheim Mighty Ducks of the National Hockey League, the American League baseball team the California Angels, as well as seven theme parks and resorts including Disneyland and Walt Disney World/Epcot Center. It is largest mass media/entertainment empire on the face of the globe.

History at a glance: Of the three major broadcast networks in the United States, ABC is the youngest. It was the outgrowth of the NBC radio network, which by the late 1920s, had grown so large that it split into two networks—the "red" and the "blue"; the latter ultimately became ABC. When NBC was ordered to divest its interests in one of the halves of its empire, it sold the less profitable "blue" network to Edward J. Noble, who had made his fortunes from "Life-Savers" candy; the new network company was renamed the American Broadcasting Company. ABC remained as solely a radio network until 1953, when it merged with United Paramount Theaters and formed a third television network. Paramount's President Leonard Goldenson became head of ABC, and one of his first "coups" was to secure a contract with Walt Disney to create a new television show, in exchange for funds that Disney needed to finish his Disneyland. "Walt Disney Presents," later known as "Disneyland," literally "made" the network, giving it credibility and attracting affiliates to the network. Beginning in 1960, ABC went big into sports broadcasting, when it won the right to broadcast NCAA college football and basketball games; its sports division was founded a year later, and soon was headed by Roone Arledge; after securing the rights to broadcast the Olympics, the network, still third behind CBS and NBC, became first in sports broadcasting. Losses at ABC mounted during the 1960s, and it hovered near bankruptcy. Then, two developments came to its rescue. In 1971, the Federal Communications Commission limited the amount of prime-time programming that networks could schedule on local affiliates; this was a blessing for ABC, since it couldn't profitably compete in production of shows with NBC and CBS. A year later, Arledge created "Monday Night Football," still one of ABC's profitable ventures. Revenues and profits soared. In 1975, ABC wooed Fred Silverman

away from CBS to run its network programming; he created several popular soap operas and sitcoms, and built ABC into the world's largest advertising medium, and the leader in day-time programming (soap operas), until he was lured to NBC in 1978. In 1985, the smaller Capital Cities Communications, Inc., with the backing of speculator Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway operation, bought ABC for \$3.5 billion. Ten years later, Disney, already one of the most powerful forces in entertainment, looking for a television outlet, acquired Capital Cities/ABC for \$19 billion, forming a \$50 billion media conglomerate, with influence into every household in the United States, and throughout much of the world.

Key personnel:

Michael D. Eisner—chairman and chief executive officer, The Walt Disney Company; began career in CBS programming department; assistant to national programming director, ABC, 1966-68; manager of specials and talent, director program development East Coast, 1968-71; vice president, day-time programming, 1971-75; president, CEO, Paramount Pictures, 1976-84; chairman and CEO, Walt Disney Company, 1984-.

Roy E. Disney—vice chairman and member of the executive committee, The Walt Disney Company; nephew of founder, Walt Disney; assistant film editor, cameraman production assistant, writer, producer, Walt Disney Productions, 1954-77; director, 1967-; president Roy E. Disney Productions, 1978-; chairman of the board of Shamrock Holdings, 1980-.

Stephen F. Bollenbach—senior executive vice president and chief financial officer, The Walt Disney Company; chief financial officer, D.K. Ludwig Group, 1977-80; president, CEO, Host Marriott Corp., 1993-96.

National Broadcasting Corporation/RCA/General Electric

Headquarters: New York

Media ownership: The oldest broadcast network in the United States, NBC has affiliates in both radio and television in every major market in the United States, with several hundred outlets for its news and other programming. In recent years, it has sold off both radio and television properties, reducing its direct holdings to nine television stations, all in major markets. In addition, NBC, which is now a subsidiary of General Electric, is part owner of the cable/satellite channels, the American Movie Channel, A&E (Arts & Entertainment), and the History Channel.

History at a glance: NBC was the first permanent full-service radio network in the United States, created in the mid-1920s, effectively controlled by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), then the largest producer of American radio receivers and broadcasting equipment. Created by a young

RCA executive, David Sarnoff, the network pioneered live news broadcasting, and created the first network news department in 1933. Sarnoff maintained a close relationship with the highest circles of British intelligence, including Sir William Stephenson, who played a key role in the creation, in the same timeframe as NBC, of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). That relationship was maintained through World War II, when Stephenson, as British Security Coordinator, operated out of "Room 3603" in the RCA Building in Rockefeller Center, with Sarnoff's knowledge and assistance. Using RCA, with funding from Morgan interests, Sarnoff had helped initiate the first experimental work in television, back in the 1920s; NBC began the first regular television service in the United States, broadcasting the opening of the New York World's Fair in 1939. In 1941, an NBC-created affiliate in New York obtained the first U.S. commercial broadcast license, becoming the first commercial television station. Sarnoff, while continuing to build the NBC radio network, pushed even harder for the creation of a national television network, which NBC initiated in the late 1940s. Meanwhile, his research teams developed an even more compelling television medium—color—and NBC made the first commercial color broadcasts in the 1950s. The network was also the first to make major use of satellite transmissions, and the first in intercontinental broadcasting. However, after Sarnoff's death in 1966, NBC's fortunes began to decline. Those were reversed by shifts in management in the 1980s, which placed renewed emphasis on network programming, especially situation comedies, or "sitcoms." Meanwhile, NBC sold off most of its radio assets, which had become too costly, and concentrated on network news, sports, and other programming. RCA had been sole owner of NBC since 1930, when it bought out holdings of GE and Westinghouse. In 1986, the Morgancontrolled GE interests acquired RCA and its NBC subsidiary, for \$6.3 billion; GE ultimately pushed for a reorganization of the network, changing management teams, and making the network a subsidiary. The network had its most profitable year ever in 1995, marking the third consecutive year of double-digit earnings increases.

Key personnel:

John F. Welch, Jr.—chairman of the board and CEO, General Electric Company, 1980-.

John D. Opie—vice chairman of the board and executive officer, General Electric Company, 1995-.

Paolo Fresco—vice chairman of the board and CEO, General Electric Company, 1990-.

Robert C. Wright—president and CEO, National Broadcasting Company, Inc.; president, Cox Cable Communications, Atlanta, 1980-83; joins GE, 1969, and president NBC, 1986-.

Douglas A. Warner III—director, General Electric Company, 1992-; chairman of the board, president, CEO, J.P. Morgan & Co. Inc. and Morgan Guaranty Trust; board member, Anheuser-Busch, Inc.

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Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Media ownership: The CPB does not own anything, but instead uses its nearly \$300 million annual budget, derived from federal appropriations, to fund programming and operations of the Public Broadcasting System, National Public Radio, and Public Radio International, which comprise the nation's public broadcasting system. That system is notorious for its promotion of British culture, and the rebroadcast of British television and radio programming, and even the production of programs created by the British for American broadcast. Whatever else it might be, the public system is effectively a branch of the British propaganda machine; its programming is notoriously pro-environmentalist, pro-"human rights," and pushes political correctness and multiculturalism, including homosexuality. This has made its funding a subject of heated verbal wars between British "liberals" and British "conservatives" in this country.

History at a glance: The CPB was created, with the support of President Lyndon Johnson, by the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967. It was set up as a government-sponsored corporation whose funding came through the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW); however, its funding requests were not part of HEW's budget, but were made directly to Congress each year, by the CPB. A 15-member board was also set up—the equivalent of a corporate board of directors. Originally, CPB's funding was to come from a tax charged on the purchase of all television receivers, but this idea was quickly discarded, because of opposition from the television industry; the CPB's funding comes from general tax revenue funds.

Key personnel:

Richard W. Carlson—president and CEO; 1985, director of public affairs, U.S. Information Agency; 1986-91, director of public affairs, USIA/Voice of America; 1991-92, U.S. Ambassador to Seychelles; 1988-91, director, Fund for Animals; 1988-91, trustee, Fund for American Studies; recipient, 1988, Jose Martí award of Cuban American Political Society; 1988, Knights of Lithuania Friend of Lithuania award; member, Council of American Ambassadors.

Victor Gold—director (resigned year-end 1995); editorial board, the *American Spectator*; ghost-writer of George Bush's campaign autobiography, *Looking Forward*.

The Public Broadcasting System

Headquarters: Alexandria, Virginia

Media ownership: PBS is a not-for-profit cooperative network of nearly 200 publicly owned television stations, in

all major media markets, most small markets, and on many college and university campuses; it is owned by the stations themselves. It provides them programming services, enabling them to purchase programming at greatly reduced costs. PBS features a heavy dose of British programming, from the BBC and its affiliates, as well as from British commercial television. It is estimated that there are 101 million weekly U.S. viewers of PBS.

History at a glance: PBS emerged from the National Education Network, which fed programming to public television stations, numbering about 120 in the mid-1960s. Support for that effort came from the Ford and Rockefeller foundations. PBS came into being following a series of recommendations about funding and management of public television developed in the late 1960s by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. Today, it is the largest television service in the world, and has one of the most extensive broadcast satellite systems.

Key personnel:

Jim Lehrer—editor, anchor "The News Hour with Jim Lehrer"; member, Council on Foreign Relations; 1972-73, PBS public affairs coordinator; 1973-, correspondent, WETA-TV, Washington, D.C.; 1961-70, columnist, reporter, city editor, *Dallas Times Herald*; 1970-72, executive producer, KERA-TV, Dallas.

Ervin S. Duggan—president and CEO; 1990-92, commissioner, Federal Communications Commission; 1981-90, president, Ervin S. Duggan Association; special assistant, 1977-81, with departments of State and HEW; 1971-77, staff of Sen. Adlai Stevenson; 1965-69, staff assistant to President Lyndon Johnson; 1964-65, reporter, *Washington Post*.

National Public Radio

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Media ownership: NPR is a private, non-profit organization that produces and distributes programming, including news, for 524 public radio stations throughout the country. NPR operates a national satellite program distribution system, with regional uplinks for public radio stations and producers.

History at a glance: NPR was founded in 1970, with about 150 stations. It has steadily expanded its operations, helped by funding from the CPB and private foundations.

Key personnel:

Daniel Schorr—senior news analyst; member, Council on Foreign Relations; 1980-85, senior Washington correspondent, CNN; 1966-76, with CBS, including Washington correspondent (receiving ACLU award for publishing secret House intelligence report, and Emmy awards 1972-74 for Watergate coverage), 1960-66 chief German news bureau, 1955 reopening Moscow news bureau; 1948-53, free-lance assignments with *New York Times, Christian Science Moni-*

tor, London *Daily Mail*; 1941-48, editor, ANETA News Agency (the Netherlands), in New York; 1934-41, assistant editor, Jewish Telegraphic Agency; decorations, officer Orange Order of Nassau (Netherlands), Grand Cross of Merit (Germany).

Corrine "Cokie" Roberts—political correspondent (daughter of Warren Commission member Hale Boggs; White House correspondent and weekly commentator, offering "left" perspective, with ABC (and Hollinger Corp.-linked) program, "This Week with David Brinkley."

Public Radio International

Headquarters: Minneapolis, Minneapolis

Media ownership: PRI serves some 528 affiliated radio stations worldwide. It is a private, non-profit corporation, which receives CPB funding indirectly, through the CPB funding of programs it distributes. Among those programs are "PRI's The World," produced by the BBC World Service and the WGBH public radio station in Boston; "BBC World Service," produced by the BBC; "As It Happens," produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC); and "Sunday Morning," produced by the CBC. It receives major private funding from the Ford Foundation, GE, the Cummins Engine

Foundation, and the General Mills Foundation.

History at a Glance: PRI is a new kid on the block, founded in 1993. It evolved from American Public Radio, which was founded in 1983.

Key personnel:

H. Brewster Atwater—director; chairman, General Mills Inc.; member, secretary International Council of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.; director, General Electric Co.; director, Merck & Co.

Marjorie Scardino—director; chief executive, The Economist Group, London; 1985-93, president, The Economist Newspaper Inc., New York; 1992-93, worldwide managing director, Economist intelligence unit; director, The Economist Newspaper Ltd.; director, ConAgra; director, W.H. Smith; director, The Atlantic Council; member visitors committee, New School for Social Research, New York; her husband, Albert J. Scardino, is a former *New York Times* correspondent, and they live in London.

Jon B. Lovelace—director; member, Council on Foreign Relations, Sierra Club; vice chairman, Capital Research and Management Co., Los Angeles; chairman, Investment Company of America, American Mutual Fund; president, New Perspective Fund; trustee, Claremont McKenna College, Los Angeles; member advisory board, Stanford University N.E. Asia/U.S. Forum on International Policy.

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