

policies, including deterrence and containment.

The communists try to capitalize on all movements regardless of whether those propose policies which are beneficial or harmful to U.S. interests. The fact that communists support a policy of peace does not mean that this policy is wrong; it might just as well be right. But it is necessary for the promoters of any communist-supported policy to separate themselves sharply from the communists and to identify those points where objectives diverge. Close analysis would show to any patriot and non-communist that while he advocates peace to help the United States, the communists advocate "peace" to advance communism and harm the United States. Once this is understood, policies furthering national interest can be sorted out from those provoking national ruin.

The communists have excellent chances to make united front tactics prevail as long as an issue like war or peace is argued in a cloud of passionate emotionalism. A rational debate, by itself, would significantly lower American vulnerability to communist psychological warfare.

I have full confidence in American common sense. But I must point out that the successes of communist psychological warfare are visible. And I must warn that a fateful shift in U.S. policy cannot be discussed rationally if the decision-makers are not cognizant of the relevant enemy tactics. If those tactics are ignored altogether, then the enemy already has gained much of the influence he is seeking.

A Free World defeat in Indochina would have many aspects, foreign and domestic. Its primary meaning could be that the weary Trojans of the New World would pull the wooden horse into the bastion of America and enable the enemy to cross the Pacific and Atlantic, not in ships or planes, but on the waves of the brain.

American defeatism has been nourished by the slogan that we cannot win the war in Vietnam. Our objective is to stop aggression. If we are unable to attain this objective in Vietnam, we cannot be sure that we would be able to attain it elsewhere and under more difficult conditions. But if we can't stop aggression, there will be incessant war—or we must get ready to surrender. Is that what we want?

Sooner or later this country will free itself from the captivity of defeatism. The task of Congress, it seems to me, is to ensure that the costs of our defeatist disorder remain minimal.

But at this hour of our history the supreme task of Congress is to lead the nation in its liberation from mental enslavement.

#### FOOTNOTE

\*Jerry Rubin puts it this way: "Give us an inch—and we'll take a mile. Satisfy our demands and we get 12 more." In view of this tactic and the communist notion of "incessant struggle", giving in to demands does not passify the revolutionaries. The hope that by stopping the war we would end unrest in the United States is entirely unreal: communist organizers will continue to instigate trouble and may be able, because of an American defeat, to fasten their pace.

#### TELEVISION AND THE MASS SLICKS

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 1970, page 31405 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I had extended remarks

on "The Free Press" to include an analytical report covering the newspaper industry by the celebrated journalist and lecturer, Mr. Gary Allen.

Mr. Allen has now followed that knowledgeable report with a like factual, documented and interpretive analysis of television and the slick paper magazines.

Many American people behold to that ancient maxim that the "policies of the king are those of his creditors." For certain, Mr. Allen's research into the ownership and finance of the organs of communication is so revealing that it constitutes must reading for everyone concerned about why today's news is so one-sided and distorted.

I submit Mr. Allen's article, "Teleslick," which appears in the October 1970 edition of American Opinion, Belmont, Mass., to follow my remarks:

#### TELESLICK—TELEVISION AND THE MASS SLICKS

(Editor's Note.—Gary Allen, a graduate of Stanford University and one of the nation's top authorities on civil turmoil and the New Left, is author of *Communist Revolution In The Streets*—a highly praised and definitive volume on revolutionary tactics and strategies, published by Western Islands. Mr. Allen, a former instructor of both history and English, is active in anti-Communist and other humanitarian causes. Now a film writer, author, and journalist, he is a Contributing Editor to *American Opinion*. Gary Allen is also nationally celebrated as a lecturer.)

"Communication is power," proclaimed Chairman ——. He was talking about television, upon which the great masses of Americans rely so heavily for their hard news. This, despite the fact that such news is both distorted and limited. As Dean Burch, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, declared on July 20, 1970: "The entire contents of a typical TV evening news show would take only three columns in a newspaper."

Even so, television in America has become almost as influential as the schools and churches in creating public opinion. There are in the United States an estimated 57.5 million homes with television, and somewhere between 40 and 50 million Americans watch television network news each night.

The ideological slant of television "news and commentary" has recently produced much indignant comment. But months before Spiro Agnew became a household word by shouting at the thunder of television's surf, a number of media newsmen had already complained to *TV Guide's* Edith Efron about the Leftist bent of their comrades. As Fred Freed of N.B.C. News put it:

"This generation of newsmen is a product of the New Deal. These beliefs that were sacred to the New Deal are the beliefs that news has grown on. This is true of the networks, of *Newsweek*, of the *New York Times*, of all media. Men of like mind are in the news. It's provincial. The blue- and white-collar people who are in revolt now do have cause for complaint against us. We've ignored their point of view. It's bad to pretend they don't exist. We did this because we tend to be upper-middle-class liberals. . . ."

Bill Leonard of C.B.S. says that television newsmen are not only "Liberals," but they are bad reporters. Speaking of his TV news colleagues, Leonard notes:

"Most reporting is lousy. It's lousy because people are lazy, because people don't think ahead, because they approach things in rote ways. We have these kinds of reporters here, unfortunately. The worst problem of all is the reporter who doesn't ask the next question—the cheap, lousy reporter who'll quote

an attack but doesn't go to the other side because the answer might kill his story. . . ."

The severest criticism of television's Leftist bias came from one of the least-expected sources, A.B.C. anchorman Howard K. Smith. Mr. Smith, who describes himself as "left of center" and a "semi-socialist," is well remembered as the commentator who brought Soviet spy Alger Hiss onto nationwide TV to discuss "The Political Death Of Richard Nixon." Just what motivated Smith to become the Joe Valachi of the television industry, we do not pretend to know. The inference in his confession, published in *TV Guide* for February 28, 1970, is that while he is himself a "Liberal," he is not like some of his colleagues an anti-American. Interviewer Edith Efron writes of Smith:

"He is generally in disagreement with political Conservatives on virtually everything. And, for that matter, he finds it psychologically easier to defend TV news departments than to criticize them. But on this issue of anti-American, pro-New-Left bias in the network news departments, his observations are identical to those coming from the right.

"Many of my colleagues," Smith says, "have the depth of a saucer. They cling to the tag, 'Liberal' that grew popular in the time of Franklin Roosevelt, even though they've forgotten its content. They've really forgotten it. They don't know what 'liberal' and 'conservative' mean any more! They're forgotten it because the liberal cause has triumphed. Once it was hard to be a liberal. Today it's 'in.' The ex-underdogs, the ex-outcasts, the ex-rebels are satisfied bourgeois today, who pay \$150 a plate at Americans for Democratic Action dinners. They don't know what they stand for any more, and they're hunting for a new voice to give them new bearings."

"The search for a 'new voice,' he says, has catapulted such men into the arms of the New Left. They want to cling to the label 'liberal,' and they cling to those who seem strong—namely, the New Left. The New Left shouts tirades, rather than offering reasoned arguments. People bow down to them, so they have come to seem strong, to seem sure of themselves. As a result, there's a gravitation to them by the liberals who are not sure of themselves. This has given the New Left grave power over the old Left. It is this New Left 'power' over many of the Nation's liberal reporters, he says, that underlies an anti-American and pro-radical bias in network coverage. . . ."

The remarkable Mr. Smith went so far as to confirm that the term "effete snobs," applied to television newsmen by the Vice President, fits media reporters like a pink glove. The self-proclaimed sophisticates of network news are, he said, seriously self-deluded about the intentions of the Communists. Howard Smith explains:

"Some [newsmen and commentators] have gone overboard in a wish to believe that our opponent has exclusively peaceful aims, and that there is no need for armaments and national security. The danger of Russian aggression is unreal to many of them, although some have begun to rethink since the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But there is a kind of basic bias in the left-wing soul that gives the Russians the benefit of the doubt."

The Leftist bigotry of the networks is not unappreciated by the Communists. In his incredible book, *Do It!* published by the Establishment firm of Simon and Schuster, self-proclaimed Communist Jerry Rubin writes that "every revolution needs a color TV." He cites Walter Cronkite of C.B.S. News as "the S.D.S.'s best organizer," and goes on to cheer about the way Cronkite "brings out the map of the U.S. with circles around the campuses that blew up today." Rubin calls these the "battle reports." He notes that "the first

Footnotes at end of article.

'student demonstration' flashed across the TV tubes of the nation as a myth in 1964. That year the first generation being raised from birth on TV was 9, 10, and 11 years old. 'First chance I get,' they thought, 'I wanna do that too.' The first chance they got was when they got to junior high and high school five years later—1969! And that was the year America's junior high and high schools exploded! . . . TV is raising generations of kids who want to grow up and become demonstrators."

Jerry Rublin calls television news "a commercial for the revolution." And, he knows what he is talking about.

Alan Dale is a well-known singer and television entertainer who has recently become a newspaper columnist and television critic in New York. He noted in a recent column that the TV networks are a propaganda machine "engaged in psychological warfare against the American people." Alan Dale says the networks "are waging the greatest advertising campaign in history—selling the propaganda of the Left to our children." Mr. Dale lays it on the line:

"You believe that communism cannot co-exist with free nations. The philosophy and doctrine that is communism tells you that; the communist conquests and enslavement of the peoples of 28 nations tell you that; the communist leaders tell you that. But the voices of TV say there is nothing to fear from communism. Your children buy it!

"You believe that Revolution must be resisted by loyalists, and that treason is punishable by death. But the voices of TV say treason is an American tradition called "dis-sent" and America was founded on Revolution. The voices of TV compare Americans with the British of 1776. You think that's insane, but your children buy it!

"You believe that only criminals 'shoot it out' with the police. But the voices of TV say that certain groups are justified to shoot it out with the police. These groups wear uniforms and have their own 'minister of defense' within our own nation. You believe only a sucker would fall for that trick twice in 30 years. But the voices of TV say that the police should be investigated for participating in such a shoot out. Your children buy it!

"You know drugs have been around since you can remember, so you believe that it is the climate of permissiveness and indoctrination that is now turning on a generation, including your own children. But the voices of TV say that if you can drink, the kids can turn on. Your children buy it!

"You believe that in a nuclear age we need defense against nuclear attack—that such defense has probably prevented World War III. The voices of TV say America should forget about missiles and defense. Your children buy it!

"You believe that socialism and a 'one-world order' mean the end of individuality and freedom. You believe that a 'one-world order' under socialism is the consummate dream of the communists. Your dictionary tells you that is correct. But the voices of TV say socialism and a 'one-world order' will be the salvation of mankind. Your children buy it!"

If there is a fault in Alan Dale's analysis, it is that he underrates the vulnerability of adult viewers. Many of them also buy the propaganda line. Most would not recognize a Communist plot if you showed them the grave of Karl Marx. The media sell Marxists to the public as innocent and idealistic reformers, even as they depict Conservative anti-Communists as diabolical conspirators.

The Vietnam War, for example, would have been forced to a successful conclusion five years ago had the networks presented their audience of over 40 million Americans with the truth about the situation. Instead, they have propagandized for the Vietnicks, Marxists, and Communists. One remembers that during World War II the media devoted

themselves to creating heroes out of every military figure from G.I. Joe to our generals and admirals. But they would have us believe there are no heroes in Vietnam. Every mistake, every possible situation in which our military or our allies can be made to look low, incompetent, or corrupt is magnified a hundredfold. Howard K. Smith cites one example of the thousands available:

"The networks have never given a complete picture of the war. For example: that terrible siege of Khe Sanh went on for five weeks before newsmen revealed that the South Vietnamese were fighting at our sides, and that they had higher casualties. And the Vietcong's casualties were 100 times ours. But we never told that. We just showed pictures day after day of Americans getting the hell kicked out of them. That was enough to break America apart: That's also what it did."

And what applies to Vietnam applies to every other serious problem faced by our nation. It is no wonder that Vice President Agnew's attack on the media was received with enthusiasm by so many Americans. He dared to tell the truth—that the country is being psychologically sabotaged from within. What seems to have caused the most frenzy among the media, however, is the fact that the Vice President indicated the slanting of the news is conspiratorial in nature. He spoke of a "tiny, enclosed fraternity of privileged men in New York and Washington, whose power is absolute." As Mr. Agnew observed:

"They decide what 40 to 50 million Americans will learn of the day's events in the nation and the world.

"We cannot measure this power and influence by traditional democratic standards for these men can create national issues overnight. They can make or break—by their coverage and commentary—a moratorium on the war. They can elevate men from local obscurity to national prominence within a week. They can reward some politicians with national exposure and ignore others. For millions of Americans, the network reporter who covers a continuing issue like A.B.M. or civil rights, becomes in effect the presiding judge in a national trial by jury."

The Vice President then wondered aloud "whether a form of censorship already exists when the news that 40 million Americans receive each night . . . is filtered through a handful of commentators who admit to their own set of biases." It was a rhetorical question so obvious that many wondered why they had never heard it asked before. Theodore H. White, himself a member of the Establishment's Council on Foreign Relations, comments:

"The increasing concentration of the cultural pattern of the U.S. is in fewer hands. You can take a compass with a one-mile radius and put it down at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 51st Street in Manhattan and you have control of 95% of the entire opinion-and-influence-making in the U.S."

All of which raises the question of who owns and controls the opinion makers—selecting the membership of that little fraternity of "electronic journalists" which controls what 40 million Americans will or will not know about the day's news? It is a question worthy of investigation.

#### CONTROL OF C.B.S.

At the apex of the networks stands the Columbia Broadcasting System. The gargantuan C.B.S. network consists of wholly owned television outlets in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis plus over two hundred affiliate stations scattered throughout the continental United States. The network also owns radio outlets in a number of key cities and has 255 affiliated radio stations.

Chairman of the Board and key man at C.B.S. is William S. Paley. Mr. Paley is the son of Samuel and Gold Palinsky, who immigrated to America from Russia before the

turn of the century. Sam Paley became a wealthy cigar manufacturer. As he did not want his son in the cigar business he arranged purchase of fifty percent of C.B.S. from Paramount for \$5 million. The year was 1928, and William Paley was twenty-one years old. The system had only twenty radio stations when young Paley took control. He was interested in social causes and saw great potential in radio for furthering them.

Another group interested in "social causes," the international banking firm of Lehman Brothers, a satellite of the worldwide Rothschild investment network, also became a major investor in C.B.S. Paley and his brother-in-law, Dr. Leon Levy, are however, the largest C.B.S. stockholders.

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

Paley is an important member of what is called the American Establishment. A devout internationalist, he is on the Advisory Council of the U.S. Committee for U.N. Day. He serves on the racial Ford Foundation's Fund for Resources for the Future. Mr. Paley is also listed in the Hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on the Institute of Pacific Relations as "one of those to be invited to appropriate small dinners" held by the I.P.R.'s Edward C. Carter to arrange a pro-Maoist policy for America. The I.P.R. was a subsidiary of the Council on Foreign Relations, of which Paley is a member, and was primarily responsible for delivering China to the Communists. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has noted of it:

"The Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda, and military intelligence.

"The IPR disseminated and sought to popularize false information originating from Soviet and Communist sources.

"Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communists or pro-Communist.

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

Not surprisingly, the C.B.S. Foundation has been a major financial donor to the C.F.R. monolith through which the I.P.R. was spawned. Mr. Paley is reputed to be very generous to radical causes. Despite the fact that his parents came from Russia, Paley is a member of The Pilgrim Society, sometimes called the world's most secret organization, which has as its goal the reuniting of England and America.

*Current Biography* says of William S. Paley that "CBS policy continues to reflect his own personality, principles and taste." From his involvement with the C.F.R., the Pilgrims, the Ford Foundation, and the U.N. Day Committee, one must assume that the views of the corps of Leftist reporters at C.B.S. are indeed an extension of those of its Chairman of the Board. And those radical views reach into the homes of tens of millions of Americans every night.

The president of C.B.S. is Dr. Frank Stanton, whose Ph.D. in psychology is from Ohio State. He became president of the network at thirty-eight when William Paley moved upstairs. Under the Paley-Stanton team, C.B.S. has become the largest advertising and communication medium in the world.

Stanton is, like Paley, a "limousine Leftist." He is a long-time member of the C.F.R. and has been chairman of the Rand Corporation, a highly secretive think-tank whose Orwellian radicalism has periodically pro-

duced international scandals. He also serves as a trustee of the Carnegie Institution and is a trustee and on the executive committee of the Rockefeller Foundation, as well as a director of the William S. Paley Foundation (where Paley hides some of the enormous profits he makes from preaching socialism). Dr. Stanton is also a director of Pan American Airways, headed by the notorious Leftist, Najeeb Halaby; is a trustee and former chairman of the radical Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences; and, has served as chairman of the United States Advisory Committee on Information.

According to Zygmund Dobbs, perhaps the world's foremost expert on the Fabian Socialist movement, "Frank Stanton has been a Fabian socialist all of his adult life." He has, for example, been active with the Tamiment Institute (formerly the Rand School of Social Science) in New York City. The Rand School has for decades been notorious as a training ground for Marxist revolutionaries of every stripe.

Columbian Sarah McClendon has noted that Frank Stanton is a close friend of Lyndon Johnson. In 1964, while Senator Barry Goldwater was seeking the Presidency, Stanton addressed the National Broadcast Editorial Conference, declaring that TV networks ought to take sides in political controversies. He demanded they commence a continuing editorial crusade to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and suggested that C.B.S. might formally endorse particular Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates.

The power and influence of C.B.S. ranges far beyond its television and radio networks. From its original base in broadcasting, it has expanded into theatrical motion pictures and film syndication, direct marketing services, the manufacture of guitars and drums, publishing; educational services, materials, and systems; research and development for industry, the military, and space technology; and, it even owns the New York Yankees.

The Columbia Broadcasting System is, in fact, the world's leading producer of phonograph records through its Columbia and Epic labels. Employing extensive full-page advertisements in "underground" newspapers around the country, the C.B.S. recording firms keep many of these revolutionary sheets afloat. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, a wholly-owned C.B.S. subsidiary, is one of the nation's largest producers of textbooks and a major publisher of contemporary "literature." C.B.S. is also the world's largest exporter of films produced especially for television. It has broadcast or record producing facilities in Sweden, Australia, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Israel, Belgium, Costa Rica, Mexico, Brazil, Canada, England, Austria, France, Italy, Japan, Argentina, and Columbia. Paley's firm owns thirteen subsidiary corporations within the United States and sixty-six corporations abroad.

While C.B.S. was originally backed by the international banking firm of Lehman Brothers, it now seems to have a lot of Harriman money behind it. W. Averell Harriman (C.F.R.) received numerous concessions from the Soviets during the Twenties to develop the mineral resources of Communist Russia.<sup>3</sup> His father had worked closely with Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, one of the chief financiers of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Among the directors of C.B.S. is Robert Lovett of the Harriman Bank, and several others are closely allied with the Rockefellers.<sup>4</sup>

#### CONTROL OF N.B.C.

The Avis of network television is the National Broadcasting Company, a subsidiary of the Radio Corporation of America. (Another subsidiary, coincidentally, Hertz Auto Rentals.) In the N.B.C. constellation are 207 television stations and 219 radio outlets.

Footnotes at end of article.

Until his recent retirement the head man at Radio Corporation (and therefore at N.B.C.) has been Brigadier General David Sarnoff.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Sarnoff is generally credited with founding R.C.A. As Arthur Howden Smith notes in *Men Who Run America*, it was not that simple:

"R.C.A., it should be stated, however, was not Sarnoff's brainchild. It came about because the Navy Department wanted American wireless American-owned—American Marconi was an affiliate of British Marconi. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, took up the matter with Owen D. Young, of General Electric, and in October, 1919, General Electric bought over complete control of American Marconi and reorganized it as Radio Corporation of America. A.T.&T. bought into it in July, 1920, swapping radio patents for devices helpful in telephony. . . . Then, in November, Westinghouse electrified the country by broadcasting from an experimental station in Pittsburgh the Harding-Cox election returns. The United States became radio-minded in a week. And Westinghouse joined R.C.A. in return for a sizable block of Radio stock.

"Obviously, R.C.A. was no more than a selling agency to work up a market for the instruments the two manufacturing companies were commencing to turn out. It controlled practically every patent of value required to build such instruments. . . .

"General J. C. Harbord had been elected president on the company's organization. He was the front for the corporation. But David Sarnoff, practical radio man, general manager, was the 'works.' It was he who made the wheels go round—and in 1920 he was twenty-nine years old. He . . . shoved broadcasting as hard as he could. National Broadcasting Company was the result. In 1926, he persuaded Radio to buy station WEA from A.T. & T. for one million dollars, and broadcasting as we know it today had its birth."

Navy Intelligence was more than slightly naive if it thought that in getting American Marconi away from the Rothschild-owned British Marconi it was freeing American broadcasting from control by the Rothschild clique and the international financiers. Since its inception, "His Master's Voice" at R.C.A.-N.B.C. came from the Rothschild's new world affiliates—Kuhn, Loeb & Company, Lehman Brothers, and Lazard Freres. Sarnoff, like his counterpart William Paiey at C.B.S., was a bright young man backed by the banking *Insiders*.

In 1969, André Meyer of Lazard Freres, who had been a member of the board of directors of R.C.A. since 1947, retired. André, who was married to Bella Lehman, was replaced by Donald A. Petrie of Lazard Freres. One goes off, another comes on. The "Big Boys" are not about to relinquish control of so powerful a conglomerate as R.C.A. At the same time, Stephen M. DuBrul of Lehman Brothers joined the board of directors. Lewis L. Strauss, a partner at Kuhn, Loeb & Company, has been a board member for many years. He was also a trustee of the subversive Institute of Pacific Relations. The Chairman and chief executive officer at N.B.C. is Walter Scott, a partner in Lehman Brothers.

As radio mushroomed, the ambitious Sarnoff and his backers began looking at related fields to conquer. Arthur Howden Smith tells us how N.B.C. got into the movie business:

"Radio's laboratories had developed a device they called Photophone, and in seeking an opening for it Sarnoff came upon the twin companies of Keith-Albee-Orpheum, operator of a chain of two hundred theaters, and Film Booking Office Production, makers of motion-pictures. Both were in difficulties because they hadn't got in on the new sound equipment, and Sarnoff succeeded in obtaining a substantial interest for R.C.A.

without spending a dollar or a share of stock. The theater chain became Radio-Keith-Orpheum (R.K.O.), the producing company R.K.O. Productions, later simplified to Radio Pictures."

R.C.A. subsequently sold R.K.O. to the Atlas Corporation and Lehman Brothers.

Much of what we can learn about Sarnoff comes from his biography by Eugene Lyons, the former editor of *Soviet Russia Pictorial* and a director of the Soviets' TASS news agency who had a fight with Stalin and was until recently a senior editor at *Reader's Digest*. One suspects, however, that there may be considerable eyewash involved as Lyons is Sarnoff's cousin (a matter the biography neglects to mention). Eugene Lyons was born in Uzlian, Minsk, Russia to one Minne Privin. Sarnoff was born in Uzlin, Minsk, Russia, the son of Lena Privin. Mr. Lyons writes of his cousin's political and ideological proclivities that "Sarnoff is not a man of intense political feeling or overmastering convictions outside his business-scientific preserves."

Yet, we are asked to believe that David Sarnoff was at one time a fierce opponent of Communism. In 1955, he prepared a detailed memorandum boldly entitled *Program For a Political Offensive Against World Communism*. "On May 9, 1955," writes Lyons, "James Hagerty, the press secretary, released it to White House correspondents, with the implication at least of presidential blessings." You may judge how far to the Right this plan was by the fact that it was read into the *Congressional Record* with laudatory remarks by Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson. Mr. Johnson later traveled to New York to address a dinner at the Waldorf Astoria in Sarnoff's honor. There L.B.J. praised the Sarnoff memorandum and called for "the greatest political offensive in history . . . to win the cold war." The scheme was as phony as a rubber cane.

Although the Sarnoff thesis advocated an end to cream-puff appeasement of the Russians, it presented the "Liberal" line that the only threat is external and that Communism can best be thwarted by a massive redistribution of wealth in the non-Communist world and the creation of a socialist World Government to oppose the Soviet bloc. As usual, Americans were presented with false alternatives: One side (Atlantic Unionists and related groups) was proposing a socialist World Government to stop the spread of Communism, while the other (United World Federalists and similar organizations) advocated World Government with the Communists. Upon the election of John F. Kennedy, Establishment Group II came into the ascendency and Sarnoff dropped his scheme. Cousin Lyons writes:

"Around 1961 David Sarnoff ceased to talk publicly about Communism. Tacitly he acknowledged that the 'hard' line of the cold war, of which he had been so determined an exponent, no longer had much chance—that his crusade had failed . . ."

For a man without "intense political feeling," David Sarnoff has strayed into some very intense political associations. For many years he has been a member of the Establishment *Insiders'* Council on Foreign Relations—about as intensely political a group as you could hope to assemble. (R.C.A. has been a major financial contributor to the C.F.R.) Also, at the urging of President Kennedy, Sarnoff in 1961 became vice chairman of the Citizens Committee for International Development. "Its objective," writes Lyons, "was to help generate public support for the Foreign Aid Program. An equivalent organization, in which Sarnoff served as a member of the board of directors, was constituted by President Johnson in February, 1965."

The public is supposed to believe that the lobbying for foreign aid is a product of the efforts of average citizens who see the need to help America's neighbors. Far from it! The *Insiders* of international banking prof-

ited enormously from America's foreign aid program—which has cost us over \$182 billion since 1946. Both J.F.K. and L.B.J. knew that Sarnoff has been a lifelong front man for the international banking fraternity, and accordingly selected him for the International Development post.

In September 1965, Sarnoff addressed three thousand delegates from more than one hundred nations at a privately sponsored World Conference on Peace Through Law, a Front promoting socialist World Government. Earl Warren was its honorary chairman, former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower were co-chairmen, and Lyndon Johnson was a featured speaker. Sarnoff advocated that world "control" (a monopoly for the *Insiders*) be arranged over international television. The "General" even served on the Rockefeller Committee on Department of Defense Organization, created by President Eisenhower to reduce control by the military over the nation's defense policies. Little wonder that Sarnoff received a medal from the Communist-dominated United Nations "for his contribution to the field of human rights."

David Sarnoff is also a member of the super-secret Pilgrim Society, whose official logo is entwined American and British flags. This group, which is dedicated to merging Britain and America, has a number of internationalist members like Paley, Sarnoff, and John Schiff whose ancestors were not British. Cousin Eugene forgot to mention Cousin David's C.F.R. and Pilgrim activities.

Over a period of a decade, David Sarnoff's vice president at N.B.C. and chairman of N.B.C. International was Alfred R. Stern. Mr. Stern's mother is Marion Rosenwald Stern, daughter of Julius Rosenwald of the Sears Roebuck fortune. In 1851, his great-grandfather immigrated to America from Germany. He is reported to have been a veteran of the Red Revolution of 1848. The *National Encyclopedia of American Biography* says (Volume 26, Page 111) that Alfred's grandfather, Julius Rosenwald, gave \$6 million to Stalin for "recolonization" within the Soviet Union. Included in the Rosenwald group sending millions to finance "farm development" in the workers' paradise was international financiers Felix Warburg, Louis Marshall, Herbert Lehman, and John D. Rockefeller. It has been estimated that Rosenwald's total gifts to Josef Stalin exceeded \$18 million.

On August 1, 1951, Congressman Eugene Cox placed in the *Congressional Record* a report detailing the millions Alfred R. Stern's grandfather spent financing U.S. Communists. Like many of the financiers of the revolution in America today, Stern's grandfather set up a tax-free foundation to finance his pet Communist causes. Among those he backed with large sums of cash were W.E.B. DuBois, a Communist and a founder of the N.A.A.C.P., Red poet Langston Hughes, Communist James Dombrowski of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the late editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Ralph McGill.

In 1957, while Alfred R. Stern was chairman of N.B.C. International, his father—Alfred K. Stern—fled behind the Iron Curtain with his second wife, Martha Dodd. A federal grand jury had returned a three-count indictment against them for spying for Soviet Russia, which could have brought the death penalty had they been brought to trial. Both were charged with being members of a Soviet spy ring that included Boris Morros, a U.S. double agent, and Vassili Zuhilin, former second secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington. The senior Stern and his second wife had been subpoenaed on March 14, 1957, to appear before the same grand jury which indicted the Sobels and other Soviet spies. Martha Dodd Stern is the

daughter of a former U.S. Ambassador to Germany and brags of once trying to seduce Adolph Hitler.

After fleeing justice, the father of the N.B.C. International chairman set about training black revolutionaries and saboteurs in Communist Cuba. Alfred K. Stern's latest activities were indicated over a Vietnam radio station in Hanoi during August 1966. He announced a gift of \$5,000 to Communist troops.

The nephew of Soviet spy Alfred K. Stern (and cousin of television executive Alfred R. Stern) is Washington Leftist Phillip Stern, who helped staff the Kennedy State Department and was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs at the time the Bay of Pigs debacle was planned. Cousin Stern sat in on the planning. His top aide was Leftist Carl T. Rowan, for whom he later arranged an appointment as Director of the U.S. Information Agency. Phillip Stern also played an important role in the persecution of Senator Joseph McCarthy while an assistant to Senator Henry Jackson during the Army-McCarthy Hearings.

Like other members of the family, Cousin Phillip promotes Leftist causes in the media through a tax-free foundation. In a glorifying article titled "The Happy Philanthropist—Phillip Stern" the *Washington Star* details in its issue of February 1, 1970, some of the pro-Communist activities to which Phillip Stern devotes himself. The *Star* notes:

"The Stern grant that made the biggest splash of 1969 was money given Seymour Hersh to research reports of a massacre of Vietnamese civilians by soldiers at My Lai. Hersh's research, aided by a special [Stern] fund to promote investigative reporting, led to stories that shocked the nation and the world."

Besides bankrolling the radical Fund for Investigative Journalism, Phillip Stern has also been a major benefactor of the Far Left's Institute for Policy Studies and is also author of *The Case of J. Robert Oppenheimer*, which glorifies the late Communist and "security risk."

Phillip's mother (the aunt of TV's Alfred R. Stern) is Edith Rosenwald Stern, who sits on 690,000 shares of Sears Roebuck and Company—which not only keeps the wolf away from the mansion door, but allows her to indulge the Communists. When New Orleans police raided the headquarters of the Communist Southern Conference Educational Fund, for instance, they discovered a cancelled check for \$5,000—a token of Mrs. Stern's esteem. Mrs. Stern also uses the media to promote her radical interests—she openly owns WDSU television and radio in New Orleans, but has otherwise chosen to finance others in the purchase of newspapers and radio and television stations.

Edith Stern's son, Edgar B. Stern Jr., is a member of the board of directors of Sears Roebuck and Company—which may explain why many newspapers, anxious for advertising revenue, are reluctant to make editorial connections between the World Communist Movement and the American Establishment. Edith's sister Marion, formerly wed to Red spy Alfred K. Stern and the mother of television's Alfred R. Stern, is currently married to Max Ascoli (C.F.R.). Mr. Ascoli was brought to this country from Italy in 1931 when the Rockefeller Foundation interceded in his behalf after he had been arrested for Red activities. Max Ascoli dumped his Italian wife to marry the wealthy Mrs. Rosenwald Stern, who financed his establishment of the radical *Reporter* magazine.

Alfred R. Stern, who was for many years chairman of N.B.C. International and vice president of N.B.C. Enterprises Division, has himself kept out of overtly Communist activities, but being raised in a home where his father was a Russian spy, his mother a committed Leftist, his grandfather and many of his relatives leading pro-Communists and

financial supporters of Josef Stalin, is not the sort of environment which produces screaming eagles. Mr. Stern is currently Chairman of the Board of Television Communications Corporation, 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City.

Succeeding David Sarnoff at R.C.A. is his son Robert, a director of the Advertising Council, another avatar of the Council on Foreign Relations. After graduating from Harvard and studying law at Columbia, Robert Sarnoff served as an assistant to Gardner Cowles (C.F.R.), publisher of *Look* magazine. He also spent several years on the *Look* staff before joining R.C.A. He is a director of Random House Publishers, which is owned by R.C.A. (Random House's Bennett Cerf is a director of R.C.A.) and he is a director of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company.

In 1950, Robert Sarnoff married Felicia Schiff Warburg, daughter of Kuhn, Loeb & Company's Paul Felix Warburg. She is the great granddaughter of Trotsky's financial angel, Jacob Schiff. The Sarnoff-Warburg merger wound up in the Mexican courts early this year and Felicia married F.D.R. Jr. in July.

#### THE LITTLE ONE

The American Broadcasting Company is the Tag-Along Tooloo of the Big Three networks. It has 153 primary television affiliates and owns a chain of 399 motion picture theaters, the largest such chain in the country. A.B.C. is also very big in the record business under the Dunhill, Impulse, A.B.C., Command, and Westminster labels. Like N.B.C. and C.B.S., it is a heavy supporter of "underground" revolutionary papers through its ads promoting acid-rock music.

A.B.C. specializes in escapist entertainment and generally leaves the documentary propaganda to the Big Two. Its news audience amounts to only 7 million, while the other networks divide up the remaining 35 million or so news watchers. It does not have the ties to the C.F.R. and international banking establishment that C.B.S. and N.B.C. do, but seems content to try to imitate their radicalism.

#### SLICK MAGAZINES

Although the advent of television has somewhat diminished the influence of the slick magazines upon mass opinion, their importance is still significant. The nation's second leading magazine in circulation is *Look*, with 7,750,000 copies distributed per issue. *Look* is owned by Cowles Communications, headed by Gardner and John Cowles.

The Cowles publishing empire encompasses *Harper's*, a list of trade journals, a string of newspapers and television stations, and Harper & Row publishers. Running Harper & Row for the Cowles family is Cass Canfield of the C.F.R., World Federalists, and The Pilgrims. John Cowles is married to Canfield's daughter. Both Cowles brothers are members of the *Insiders' Council* on Foreign Relations.

John Cowles runs the *Minneapolis Tribune* and *Des Moines Register*. He is a trustee of the Establishment's subversive Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and of the Ford Foundation, and he is a member of the National Policy Board of American Assembly—a Front created by Averell Harriman, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and the C.F.R. to run propaganda seminars for leaders in American business, labor, communications, and the academy. He is on the Advisory Council of the U.S. Committee for the U.N. and the ultra-Leftist National Committee for an Effective Congress, which operates a "be kind to the Communists" lobby in Washington.

According to the American Legion's *Firing Line* of August 15, 1954, John Cowles joined twenty-three others signing telegrams to U.S. Senators "asking support of measures which would stifle all Congressional Investigations of Communism." Little wonder, Brother John is very serious about merging

America into a World Government with the Communists. The following is from a U.P.I. dispatch of June 7, 1959:

"John Cowles, publisher of *The Minneapolis Star and Tribune*' said today that the traditional American concept of national sovereignty is obsolete. Mr. Cowles, speaking at the 109th annual commencement of the University of Rochester, said Americans have believed so deeply in the principle of national sovereignty that they have instinctively opposed anything which it could be claimed might impair national sovereignty. "I suggest for your open-minded consideration the proposition that national sovereignty in its traditional meaning no longer exists. It has become obsolete," he said."

Gardner Cowles, chairman of the board of *Look*, works hard to keep up with the Leftist activities of his brother. Besides being a member of the C.F.R., he is also a member of the Atlantic Union Committee which advocates scrapping the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and forming a political union with England and the countries of Western Europe as a first step toward a World Government. He is a member of *The Pilgrims*. Cowles was also head of fund-raising for the American Assembly's Freedom House, set up in honor of Wendell Wilkie by A.D.A. founder Russell Davenport of *Fortune* and notorious Communist-frontier Rex Stout.

Gardner Cowles became a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations (officially cited as "an instrument of Communist policy") at the recommendation of Alger Hiss (C.F.R.). During World War II, Gardner was deputy director of the O.W.I., where he played a role in placing the foreign language press within the U.S. under the domination of the Communist-controlled Victory Council.

Running *Look* magazine for the Cowles boys is William Attwood (C.F.R.), who once wrote that we could "thank our lucky stars that Castro is not a Communist."

What Americans can thank their lucky stars about is that *Look*, which has published more smears against anti-Communists than any other publication outside the official Communist Press, is reportedly going broke. The magazine has now become so thin that one might almost shave with it. Corporate advertisers have cut back on their budgets and the slick magazines have been hit very hard. Also, the ad men are pouring a higher percentage of their budgets into television. The Cowles have already been forced to sell a valuable newspaper in Puerto Rico to pump the \$10 million proceeds into keeping *Look* afloat. Those close to the scene say *Look* could go under.

And things aren't any better over at *Life*, despite a whopping circulation of 8.5 million. *Life* is now down to 68 pages, less than half its former self. *Time*, the leading newsweekly, with a circulation of 4.2 million (as compared to *Newsweek's* 2.5 million and *U.S. News & World Report's* 1.8) is healthy, as are *Time Inc.'s Sports Illustrated* and *Fortune*.

The *Time* corporation recently bought its first newspaper, the *Newark Evening News*, for \$34 million—then turned around and bought thirty-two more in the Chicago suburbs. It also owns Little, Brown & Company, an Establishment book publisher; 300,000 shares of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer; 600,000 acres of timberland; and, is part owner of media in South America, West Germany, Hong Kong, and Australia. In addition to all this, *Time Inc.* owns some thirty television stations in America, giving this mammoth conglomerate a voice in every form of mass media—newspapers, magazines, movies, television, book publishing, and even teaching machines.

The bulder of this empire was the late Henry Luce, whose impact on American

thinking has been incalculable. As Theodore White (C.F.R.) has noted, "He . . . revolutionized the thinking of American readers." Luce started his rise to publishing glory with loans from Establishmentarians Thomas Lamont and Dwight Morrow (like Lamont, a J. P. Morgan partner), Harvey Firestone, E. Roland Harriman, and various members of the Harkness family (Standard Oil fortune). Their influence became especially apparent when he started his business magazine, *Fortune*, in the middle of the depression. As John Kobler writes in *The First Tycoon*:

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

"Under the managing editorship of Russell Davenport, a progressive [sic] Republican, *Fortune* appeared to favor a mixed economy. It was Davenport who saw presidential qualities in Wendell Wilkie, and interested Luce in backing him against Roosevelt. . . ."

Apparently that is what Luce's financial angels wanted. And, although he later seemed to oppose F.D.R., Henry Luce cheered his accomplishments: "I didn't vote for F.D.R. but it was all right with me that he won. He accomplished a lot of necessary social reform."

Jeanne Harmon, a former *Life* staff writer, tells in *Such Is Life* how tolerant Luce was of the Communist cell openly working at *Time-Life*. Mrs. Harmon relates how headlines were suddenly altered to convey meanings never intended, and how she and her fellow reporters were subjected to pressures to ignore some stories and push others. She also reveals that Whittaker Chambers was not welcomed back to *Time-Life* after he had testified against Alger Hiss (C.F.R.) Mrs. Harmon's description of life with Luce was considered important enough to be reproduced by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Luce, like William Paley and Gardner Cowles, was a member of the I.P.R. (the officially cited "instrument of Communist policy"), and he and his corporation provided it with large financial contributions. The I.P.R. Hearings revealed that Henry Luce had done everything possible to bury evidence that Communists were working within the I.P.R. to ensure the sellout of Chiang to the Chinese Reds—even as he pretended to be a friend and supporter of Chiang Kai-shek.

Luce's involvement with the Communist I.P.R. helps explain why his magazines went to every length to smear Senator Joseph McCarthy. *Life* and *Time* have always attacked and ridiculed anyone who pointed out that the successes of Communism around the world have been a result of the policies of our own government. The fact that Luce was himself deeply involved with the men making those disastrous policies was undoubtedly a motivating factor.

Henry Luce was at one time actually considered an anti-Communist. Yet he always bitterly opposed anyone like Robert Taft, General Douglas MacArthur, or Barry Goldwater, whom he thought might actually do something about Communist subversion in the United States. Luce's bogus anti-Communism was used to promote his World Government crusades. Besides his I.P.R. membership, he was a member of the C.F.R. and the Atlantic Union. Henry Luce was also a strong supporter of the United Nations, even after Alger Hiss's role in its establishment was revealed.

In the late Fifties, Henry Luce switched from the "World Government to oppose Communism" line to the "peaceful coexistence and World Government with Communism" line, and *Life* went back to glorifying the Soviet Union as it had done during

World War II. In 1966, Luce and *Time's* publisher James Linen (a sponsor of the occult Temple of Understanding and a member of the C.F.R., Atlantic Union, and The Pilgrim Society) took a group of forty-three U.S. businessmen behind the Iron Curtain to promote aid and trade with the enemy.

Editor-in-chief of all *Time Inc.* publications, is Hedley Donovan, a Rhodes Scholar, former reporter for the Leftist *Washington Post*, and a member of the C.F.R. and The Pilgrim Society. Other Establishmentarians in the *Time Inc.* hierarchy are vice chairman Roy Larsen (C.F.R.) and directors John Gardner (C.F.R.) and Sol Linowitz (C.F.R.). The late C.D. "Jackson" (C.F.R.) divided his time between the Luce interests and his role in President Eisenhower's "palace guard," where he was leader in the "get McCarthy" movement.

The man who is now reported to be leading the march of *Time* is a Canadian named Edgar Bronfman, head of the worldwide Seagram's whiskey empire, who controls *Time Inc.* through ownership of M-G-M. Bronfman inherited great wealth from his father Samuel Bronfman, who made his fortune as Al Capone's supplier during prohibition; Edgar Bronfman, one of those who accompanied Luce behind the Iron Curtain in 1966, is married to Ann Loeb of the Kuhn, Loeb international banking families. She is the daughter of Frances Lehman and her father is J. F. Loeb Sr. (C.F.R.), a senior partner in Loeb, Rhodes and Company, a firm with historic ties to the Rothschilds.

Bronfman, a contributor to Hubert Humphrey in 1968, is part of John Kenneth Galbraith's "Referendum '70," the goal of which is to support Vietnik candidates who are to the Left of the general Democratic Party. As Galbraith puts it: "The Democratic Party must henceforth use the word *socialism*. It describes what we need."

It is clear that the mass media in America, whether it be the newspapers we discussed in the September issue of *American Opinion*, network television, or the slick magazines, are disproportionately in the hands of the radicals of the Establishment. It is also clear that same Establishment is committed to the formation of a One World Government which it intends to rule—thereby gaining control of all the wealth of the world. The Establishment uses its mass media to promote that end.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The enormously profitable *TV Guide* is owned by Walter Annenberg, Richard Nixon's Ambassador to the Court of St. James'. Annenberg, who until recently was owner of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, also inherited ownership of *The Daily Racing Form* from his father Moe, a quasi-hood who spent many years in prison as a result of conviction on tax evasion. Walter Annenberg is a recent addition to the board of directors of the Times-Mirror Company (*Los Angeles Times, Newsday, etc.*) along with Keith Funston (C.F.R.), former president of the New York Stock Exchange and a member of the conspiratorial Pilgrim Society.

<sup>2</sup> Readers may wish to write C.B.S. News suggesting production of a documentary on Aid and Trade With the Communist Enemy, discussing how America finances and equips the Vietcong and North Vietnamese through loans, gifts, and transfusions of technology to Russia and her satellites—the very arsenal of an enemy killing our sons in the field. Perhaps N.B.C. would be interested in putting together one of its famous White Papers on the Treason Road we are building to link Russia with Southeast Asia, or the Rockefeller-Eaton combine to build factories behind the Iron Curtain.

<sup>3</sup> See Anthony Sutton's *Western Technology And Soviet Economic Development, 1917 to 1930* Hoover Institute, Stanford, 1968.

<sup>4</sup> In the issue of *Reality—The Real Estate Newspaper Of New York* for September 18,

1951, columnist Elias Cohen tells of his personal experiences in dealing with Schiff and Kuhn, Loeb & Company when they were in the process of maneuvering to establish the Federal Reserve System. Cohen drops this information about the relationship between Schiff and John D. Rockefeller:

"At that time, Mr. Schiff, the senior member of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, still held, together with one (James) Stillman, the power of attorney over the fortune of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr.; he had been pronounced so ill that he could not, at that time, attend to any business at all and it had been necessary to turn over the direction of his affairs to these two men." Rockefeller had worked closely with the financiers of the Communist takeover of Russia since his early days in the oil business when Kuhn, Loeb & Company granted him a secret rebate on oil shipped over their Pennsylvania Railroad.

Sarnoff is not a military man; F.D.R. made him an instant general during World War II.

According to the group's 1969 membership list, other members in the United States of The Pilgrims, 74 Trinity Place, New York 10006, are: Frank Altschul, John Astor, Hugh D. Auchincloss, George W. Ball, Rudolph Bing, Douglas M. Black, Roger M. Blough, Brigadier General George A. Brownell, David K. E. Bruce, Ellsworth Bunker, Admiral Arleigh Burke, Arthur F. Burns, Gardner Cowles, Thomas E. Dewey, Thomas E. Dewey Jr., Clarence Dillon, C. Douglas Dillon, Hedley Donovan, Captain Douglas Fairbanks Jr., G. Keith Funston, Leonard W. Hall, Lyndon B. Johnson, James A. Linen, William McChesney Martin, The Reverend Norman Vincent Peale, Elmo Roper, Dean Rusk, and Henry M. Wriston.

Hersh wrote speeches for Eugene McCarthy in his primary battles, then berated the Senator as just a "Liberal" with no feeling for the "revolution." Mr. Hersh was also connected with the notoriously pro-Communist Pacifica Foundation. In October, 1969, he was a speaker for the Vietcong Moratorium in support of the Vietcong. † Edith Rosenwald Stern's late husband Edgar was a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and treasurer of Lehman, Stern & Company. The Sterns and Lehmans are related. The Lehman ancestors helped start the family fortune—which now allows them to finance "Civil Rights" causes—by dealing in slaves in Montgomery, Alabama.

While *Time* dominates the newsmagazine field, competitors *Newsweek* and *U.S. News* are also closely connected with the C.F.R. *Newsweek* is owned by the *Washington Post* (whose ownership and control was discussed in detail last month). Chairman of the board Frederick Beebe is a member of the C.F.R. as was the late Philip Graham. Retired editor Malcolm Muir is a C.F.R. member, as is current editor Osborn Elliott. Other C.F.R. men at *Newsweek* include columnist Stewart Alsop, contributing editor Carl Spaatz, and Atlanta Bureau chief William Anderson. The top man at *U.S. News*, David Lawrence, is also a member of the C.F.R.

#### ITALIAN-AMERICAN TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS HAVE BROUGHT PAGEANTRY AND PROGRESS TO AMERICA

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 22, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, September 19 marked the final day of the 10-day "Feast of San Gen-

naro"—a feast celebrated by Italian communities commemorating the martyrdom of San Gennaro.

It is said that in the third century, the Bishop of Naples was to have visited imprisoned Christians in Sossino during the persecution of Diocletian. He was arrested and he and his colleagues were beheaded at Possuoli. Relics of the bishop were brought to the Church of San Gennaro and later removed to the Abbey of Monte Vergine. In 1947, they were returned to Naples and enshrined in the Cathedral Church.

Mr. Speaker, our culture is a composite of the customs and traditions of many races, creeds, and nationalities. The Italian immigrants who came to America brought with them, not only the Feast of San Gennaro, but also other significant traditions. Indeed, our Nation is, to a large extent, what it is today due to the foresight, imagination, and hard work of Italian-Americans.

Men of Italian descent have been in the forefront of this Nation's progress literally from the very beginning. For example, the voyages and explorations of Christopher Columbus are the kind of progress and achievement of which I am thinking.

Admiral Morison, a noted Columbus scholar, expressed the importance of Columbus's feats in this striking assertion:

His four voyages—the first in 1492-93; the second, in which the lesser Antilles and southern Cuba were discovered, in 1493-94; the third, in which he first touched the mainland, in 1497-98; and the fourth, in 1502-04, in which he discovered the unknown shores of the western Caribbean—are the most important in modern history.

Of all the famous and brilliant Italians whose deeds have made an imperishable record in the hearts and minds of men and women through the ages, it is Columbus whose fame will last forever. His feat is, perhaps, even more meaningful to us today as we face the vastness of space somewhat in the same manner as Columbus faced the unknown expanse of the Atlantic Ocean.

Columbus, however, was soon followed by other courageous Italian explorers. A few years after Columbus' initial voyage, an Italian navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, embarked on a voyage to these far-off shores and through his account of those wondrous lands gave his name to our two great continents and the isthmus which joins them.

On April 17, 1524, Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing for the King of France, entered what is now New York Harbor. Thus, 60 years before the Englishmen sent out by Raleigh, 85 years before Hudson, 95 years before the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, Verrazano came to the shores of North America, explored them carefully, and reported his discoveries to his fellow Europeans.

The Italian contribution to the discovery and exploration of America is even more significant than the numbers of ships' captains and crew members indicate. Italy was the unquestioned leader in the fields of cartography, mathematics, ship design, and building in 15th and 16th century Europe. The dissemination

of this seafaring expertise by Italian emigrants immensely aided the exploration and colonization efforts of the other European countries.

When colonies were first formed, Italians became early settlers. The first Italians to tread American soil were missionaries and soldiers. Long before the first pilgrims landed here, Fra Marco da Nizza performed his missionary duties in North America. While France and England were still struggling for domination of the new continent, Enrico Tonti was journeying through the unknown Mississippi region, and Father Eusebio Chino was exploring the unfamiliar lands of the great southwest, both in the area we now know as the State of Arizona and in the region of my own State, California.

Italians had come to Florida by 1565, and had received grants of land in Virginia by the early years of the 17th century. Father Blount, a descendant of the Blondi of Italy, assisted Lord Calvert in securing the Maryland charter. Men and women from the Piedmont settled in Delaware in 1656. An Italian built Fort Saint Louis, in what is now Illinois, in 1683.

Everywhere, Italian priests advanced along the frontier. They were devoted to the spiritual welfare of the Indian tribes, and often, therefore, they went where soldiers dared not go. The maps and descriptions of the new lands which the priests produced were invaluable aids to later explorers.

Of the 52 priests of the Society of Jesus who labored in California from 1767 to 1787, eight were natives of Italy. One of the first of the great California missions was founded at Loreto in 1697 by Father Salvatierra.

On the frontier, many Italians became fur traders. Many made their headquarters near New Orleans, but they ranged as far north as Quebec. The most successful was Joseph Vigo, who became the leading merchant in the Northwest by the time of the Revolution.

In 1778, Vigo, together with George Rogers Clark and the Canadian missionary, Father Gibault, undertook the great adventure of conquering the vast Northwestern Territory for the United States. Vigo not only joined Clark, he lent him all savings of \$11,387—a fortune in those days—to equip a body of men. Captured by an Indian patrol under British command, Vigo was held hostage at the English fort of Vincennes. Upon being released, he hastened to join the American forces and on February 25, 1779, American troops, with the arms, uniforms, and powder supplied by Vigo, and with Vigo himself at the side of Clark, captured Vincennes, thereby freeing the entire Middle West from British domination. Vigo was made a colonel and left in command of Vincennes.

In the Civil War, Italians were again prominent in the defense of the Union. Generals De Cesnola, Spinola, Fardella, and Ferrero were noted for their gallantry. General Spinola later became a Member of Congress from New York. Congressional Medal of Honor winners in the Civil War included Joseph Sova,