

Montonero-led General Labor Confederation in Resistance (CGTr). The recently published program of the CGTr represents the political core around which an anti-fascist movement can defeat Bessone's National Project. The CGTr program calls for: guaranteed minimum wage and defense of living standards; an end

to political persecution and labor repression; an end to military rule; cancellation of the foreign debt; decent health care, education and housing guaranteed by the State; and a broadening of international links with progressive governments and national liberation struggles around the world.

PRESS

Whose Voice Is It?

Exclusive to NSIPS

In October 1975 columnist Mary Perot Nichols submitted to her editor at the Village Voice a detailed exposé of New York's Urban Development Corporation, showing how the UDC was set up in 1968 by then Governor Nelson Rockefeller as a gigantic speculation designed to prop up his brother David's Chase Manhattan Bank.

Nichols' editor, Thomas Morgan, refused to print the story. In February 1975 the UDC went bankrupt, threatening to take the entire state with it. Nichols rewrote the story and submitted it again to Morgan. Again the story was rejected. Editor Morgan immediately thereafter took a weekend trip — to the Pocantico Hills estate of his father-in-law Nelson Rockefeller! When he returned Monday morning, Mary Perot Nichols, a featured writer at the Village Voice for more than ten years and an associate editor, was fired.

In any honest journalistic enterprise, an incident like the Nichols case would have provoked a mass exodus of protesting writers and editors.

Instead, within a week of Nichols' firing, Voice journalists Jack Newfield and Pete Hamill penned a slander piece for the nearby Villager newspaper defending the firing of Nichols because she "sounded like the Labor Party" and had become a right winger. Nichols recently won the first round of a legal battle against Morgan, Newfield and Hamill when a New York judge found the Voice reporters' characterization of her libelous.

The Nichols case spotlights one of the rawest hoaxes perpetrated on the American population by the Rockefeller family — in the name of journalism — the development of the so-called "alternate media."

Founded more than twenty years ago by counterculture hero Norman Mailer, the Village Voice is the grandfather of a whole slew of publications claiming to represent a "radical alternative" to the establishment press. The pages of the Voice are filled with supposed "anti-establishment" scandals and exposés; Voice writers constantly pat themselves on the back for printing stories the New York Times won't carry. A vast swamp of radical academics, collegiate rock fans, dope-smoking junior executives, and artists of the absurd certify their membership in the counterculture with the weekly purchase of the Voice, which now has a national circulation. And the establishment press rewards the Voice for its "stinging criticisms" by certifying its credentials as a "left-wing" organ.

In fact, as the Nichols case illustrates, the Village Voice is a private political intelligence operation run by the Rockefeller family for the New York banks.

Who Owns the Voice?

The *Village Voice* is owned by New York Magazine Co., Inc. (publishers of *New York* and *New West* magazines in addition to the Voice) which is controlled by assorted tentacles of the Rockefeller financial empire.

* 17 per cent of the corporation's stock is owned by CEDE and Co., a Wall St. dummy corporation through which individuals and banks anonomously own stock. CEDE is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Depository Trust Co. which is headed by William Dentzer, formerly the New York State Superintendent of Banking under Nelson Rockefeller and a top official in the CIA's Aid for International Development (AID) throughout the 1960s.

* New York Magazine Co. stock is floated by Unterberg-Towbin, a Chase Manhattan-linked securities brokerage. The younger Towbin brother, A. Robert, is on the board of the company and the older, Belmont (both are senior partners in the firm), has been a close personal friend of Laurence Rockefeller for 35 years. A. Robert Towbin is a major fund raiser for the New York Democratic Party.

* Among the other major stockholders are John Loeb, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a senior partner of Loeb-Rhodes, a large Wall St. investment bank, and Loeb's son-in-law, Edgar Bronfman. Loeb Rhodes partner Thomas Kempner is on New York Magazine's Board of Directors. Last fall Bronfman, along with J. Paul Austin of Coca Cola and Henry Ford II, introduced Jimmy Carter to Wall Street at a "21" Club luncheon in Carter's honor.

Riding on top of this sea of Rockefeller money and Carter backers are Voice publisher Clay Felker and Carter Burden, the Kennedy team New York socialite who masquerades as a city councilman. In 1967 Felker started New York magazine, a slick publication selling chic to New York's social-climbing petty bourgeoisie, after a career with Time-Life, Inc. and the New York Herald-Tribune. In 1963 he served with Gloria Steinem as the U.S. delegate to the CIA-run International Cultural Youth Festival. In 1974 Felker bought the Voice from Burden and proceeded to install Rockefeller-in-law Thomas Morgan as

editor. Burden has continued to tag along as a major stockholder.

Who Runs the Voice

The make-up of the Voice's Board of Directors gives some indication of the political policies the Voice backs:

* Peter Tufo — A founding member of the law firm of Tufo, Johnston and Zucotti with his close associate John Zucotti. Zucotti, Deputy Mayor of New York City, is Lazard Frères banker Felix Rohatyn's inside man in the city government. One aide to Mayor Abe Beame said of Zucotti, "I walk into Zucotti's office and it's like I'm in the enemy camp." Tufo also serves as head of New York's Department of Corrections and was responsible last winter for fingering Daniel Schorr in the leaking of the Pike Report on the CIA.

✓ * Theodore Kheel — Kheel is the founder and president of the Automation House, a brainwashing center for labor unions affiliated with Nelson Rockefeller's Cornell School of Industrial and Labor Relations; a director of the Ford Foundation's Metropolitan Applied Research Council (MARC) and a director of the New York City Rand Institute. Kheel has been a key figure in wrecking any union resistance to Rockefeller austerity proposals for New York.

* James Q. Wilson — The "neo-conservative" writer on the Editorial Board of Public Interest magazine, which is a mouthpiece for right-wing Social Democratic circles around Daniel Moynihan, Lane Kirkland and the Committee on the Present Danger. Wilson has co-authored several books with the racist urbanologist Edward Banfield which urge that inner cities be abandoned and ghetto youth be taken out of school at age 14 and put in menial jobs.

Who Writes the Voice — And Why

The editorial policy of the *Village Voice* is entirely consistent with the political policies of its controllers.

The Village Voice endorsed Carter for President, painting him as the Great White Hope for New York. Columnist Ken Auletta, who replaced Nichols, wrote a stream of pro-Carter and anti-Ford material during the campaign. Auletta is a former campaign manager for Carter backer Howard Samuels and was a Deputy Mayor under John Lindsay. Even Voice "Marxist" Alex Cockburn (widely rumored to be a British MI-5 Intelligence agent) gave his stamp of approval to Carter.

In January, 1976 the Voice published the Pike Committee report on the CIA, allegedly in the name of the "public's right to know." In fact, the Voice publication was the beginning of a CIA-directed campaign to terrorize Congress, the press and the population to stop further investigations. Voice Director Peter Tufo conned CBS reporter Dan Schorr (who had the report) into giving it to Clay Felker. Felker then printed the report, the

contents of which had already been fully revealed. What the *Voice* didn't say was that the original leak of the report came from the CIA's own lawyer, Mitchell Rogovin! The CIA investigations were terminated, Schorr was fired and the *Voice* had a bigger anti-establishment reputation.

In October 1976 the Voice began to go after the City's Patrolmen's Benevolent Association in a classic Theodore Kheel operation. "Who's Policing the Police?," Voice reporter Denis Hamill asked, and then proposed that "they (PBA) clearly need a professional civilian who understands bargaining and union politics to represent them — as Victor Gotbaum represents District 37." Gotbaum, who learned to "bargain" as a State Department union organizer in Turkey in the 1950s, has been the leader in forcing a wage freeze and Big MAC bonds down his own and other unions' throats. This week counterinsurgents purporting to represent black policemen threatened to split the union on racial lines.

A leading sponsor of local control, the *Voice* feels that the smaller and more atomized a population is, the better. *Voice* writers not only write about it, they practice it. James Ridgeway, who splits his time between the Voice and the Fabian Institute for Policy Studies, played a key role in destroying the United Mine Workers while he was a "community activist" in Appalachia in the 1960s. Geoff Stokes, whose more recent work includes calling the Labor Party "fascistic and dangerous" was an official in the administration of John Lindsay carrying out Ford Foundation "community control" projects in New York's racially tense lower East Side.

In January 1974 *Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff libeled the Labor Party in a column entitled "Of Thugs and Liars." Hentoff is, according to reliable sources, an intelligence operative who serves both as controller of the degenerate Socialist Workers Party and the leader of a slander network against the Labor Party.

Sisters in Crime

Voice czar Felker also publishes *New York* magazine and its California counterpart *New West* as part of the same corporation as the Voice. Felker and his financial backers bankrolled *Ms.* magazine in 1971-72, the magazine of Felker's old CIA cohort, Gloria Steinem. Felker recently did the same for Michael Kramer, a former *New York* writer and son of a top New York State official under Rockefeller, who bought out *MORE* magazine, which styles itself as a reporters' watchdog on the press. Among the top stockholders of New York Magazine Co. is George Hirsch, who owns the swampy periodical *New Times*. Rockefeller son-in-law Thomas Morgan just left the *Voice* using some of his wife's inheritance to buy *The Nation*, a nest of Jimmy Carter liberals. Finally, the Voice's main East Coast "competition," Boston's *Real Paper*, has been owned by David Rockefeller, Jr., since 1974.

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