Left-wing Censorship Campaign Targets Conservative Media

by Cliff Kincaid
In his classic work about Washington double-standards that benefit the national Democratic Party, *It Didn’t Start With Watergate*, Victor Lasky described how Democratic administrations were guilty of some of the same things that forced the resignation of Republican President Richard Nixon, such as the use of “dirty tricks” against the opposition and compiling an “enemies list” of media critics.

In one notorious case, Lasky noted that the federal Fairness Doctrine was used by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations as part of a coordinated covert campaign, using front groups and money from the Democratic National Committee, to go after “right-wing critics in the broadcast media,” particularly during the 1964 presidential campaign. “It was a conspiracy, pure and simple,” Lasky notes, “one which was aimed at curbing free expression.”

This time, the “conspiracy” is out in the open, as Accuracy in Media (AIM), the nation’s oldest and most respected media watchdog organization, has uncovered a plan to silence conservative voices in the media. All of the progress that conservatives have made in the media over the last several decades is now in jeopardy.

### “Media Reform”

Reporting from Memphis, Tennessee, where a “National Conference on Media Reform” underwritten by billionaire George Soros and rich liberal foundations was held, AIM published a report exposing how powerful liberal members of Congress, led by Socialist Senator Bernie Sanders and Rep. Maurice Hinchey, plan to pass a new version of the so-called Fairness Doctrine targeting conservative media. Thousands of “progressive” activists were asked to build grassroots support for passage of the bill and the two current Democratic members of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Michael J. Copps and Jonathan S. Adelstein, were in attendance and spoke. Copps and Adelstein can be counted on to vote to bring back the Fairness Doctrine.

Some experts say that the FCC has the power to re-impose the doctrine without congressional or executive action. One said, however, that it would have to make a factual case that the Fairness Doctrine is not only needed but would not violate the First Amendment rights of broadcasters. Such a rationale would be needed because the FCC had found that the Fairness Doctrine was no longer needed (to ensure diversity of viewpoints) and that it violated broadcasters’ First Amendment rights. Making the contrary case today, with 900-channel cable, direct broadcast satellite, Sirius/XM satellite radio, podcasts, and the Internet, would be difficult but not impossible.

With a Democratic president, the FCC would have a 3-2 Democratic majority, capable of re-imposing the Fairness Doctrine on its own. Under the law, the FCC is directed by five Commissioners appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate for five-year terms, except when filling an unexpired term. The president designates one of the Commissioners to serve as Chairperson and only three Commissioners may be members of the same political party.

Perceiving a threat to their First Amendment rights, opponents of the Fairness Doctrine are mobilizing. The National Religious Broadcasters on February 16, 2007, passed a resolution noting that the Fairness Doctrine had “a chilling and stifling effect on broadcasters and programmers” but that “the new leadership of the U.S. Congress has signaled a propensity toward reinstating the ‘Fairness Doctrine’ during the upcoming 110th Congress.” The NRB said it “strongly opposes any attempt to reinstate or make the ‘Fairness Doctrine’ the law of the land and further pledges to vigorously oppose any such action.”

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George Soros: The billionaire leftist underwrites the “Free Press” organization that wants to bring back the Fairness Doctrine.

Socialist Senator Bernie Sanders: He believes there aren’t two sides to the global warming debate.
The American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ) has declared that the Fairness Doctrine “would have a significant and serious impact on Christian broadcasting.”

Jay Sekulow, chief counsel for the ACLJ, says that, under the Fairness Doctrine, “…the proclamation of the Gospel, the definition of marriage and the issue of abortion would all be deemed ‘controversial topics’” that require giving airtime to opposing views. Sekulow, who hosts his own show, adds that “Under this blatant form of compelled speech, broadcasters who air ‘Jay Sekulow Live!’ or ‘Focus on the Family’ with Dr. [James] Dobson could be compelled to run a counter-viewpoint to the positions we just advocated. Therefore, Christian broadcasters would be put in the uncomfortable position of having to air positions that violate their conscience and sincerely held religious beliefs.”

Soros Calls Hinchey’s Tune

Hinchey, the founder and chairman of the Future of American Media Caucus, is one of many liberal members of Congress who receive campaign contributions from George Soros. Hinchey recently joined with Democratic Reps. Lynn Woolsey, Tammy Baldwin, and Marcy Kaptur in calling on the major television networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox) to address the findings of a Media Matters for America study purporting to show that Republican and conservative voices were “dominating the influential Sunday-morning talk shows.” Media Matters, also subsidized by Soros, is headed by David Brock, a former conservative and closeted homosexual who wrote a book that was so soft on Hillary Clinton that it bombed.

Brock claims that the perception of liberal media bias is the result of a Republican spin or “noise” machine that has to be silenced. But when he made that claim on a CNBC program, another guest, Newsweek senior writer Charles Gasparino, was flabbergasted. Gasparino explained, “We sow the seeds of our own demise. Journalists have been advocates of the liberal attitude for way too long, and now we’re paying the price—Fox News.”

Gasparino was saying something that should be quite obvious—that Fox News, the most successful cable news network, is a response to the overwhelming liberal media bias. Gasparino said, “Journalists are generally liberal. That does come out in the reporting…It comes out in the stories that they do.”

Ignoring the abundant evidence of the liberal media bias which gave rise to Fox News, Brock and his Capitol Hill collaborators, like Hinchey, want the public to believe the problem is Fox News and other “conservative” media.

Left-wing “progressive” activists recently forced the Democratic Party to abandon plans to hold a presidential debate under the sponsorship of Fox News Channel (FNC), on the pretext that FNC was too conservative and that Democrats should not be associating with such a news organization. One activist, Robert Greenwald of Brave New Films, who did the film “Outfoxed,” urged Democrats not even to appear on the channel. FNC responded to the pressure by announcing the hiring of former liberal Democratic Rep. Harold Ford, Jr., a close associate of Senator Hillary Clinton, as a Fox News analyst and commentator. Rupert Murdoch, chairman of the Fox News parent company, News Corporation, contributed to the Hillary Clinton for Senate campaign and his New York Post newspaper endorsed her.

One of the complaints from the critics of Fox News was that allegations in a story published by the on-line Insight magazine were repeated on the air by Fox News. The story was that Hillary Clinton operatives were looking into Senator and presidential candidate Barack Obama’s alleged attendance at a radical Islamic school in Indonesia, a mostly Muslim country where he was raised.
The “progressives” were angry the subject was even mentioned. One liberal paper, the Freeport (Illinois) Journal-Standard, declared that “while few read Insight, the lie quickly spread to the talk-radio instigators, who repeated it ad nauseam, with no equal time given to opposing views, much less the truth.” The paper said restoration of the Fairness Doctrine would rein in the “partisan noise machine” that targets Democrats.

But the story was never proven to be a lie, and legitimate questions remain about Obama’s Muslim past. It is certainly the case that “progressives” wanted to use this controversy to make conservative media pay for running the story. Lacking a Fairness Doctrine, Cenk Uygur on the Huffington Post website suggested the use of liberal political pressure, such as a refusal by Democratic Party politicians to appear on Fox News or a boycott of the channel’s advertisers. Ironically, the Huffington Post had treated Insight magazine as a legitimate source of political news in the past.

Clearly, what the organized left wants to accomplish is the intimidation of the media, especially Fox News, into not reporting on news items embarrassing to the Democrats. They desperately want to keep Fox News in line because the channel has been, on occasion, a source of news and information that people can’t find anywhere else. Except for Fox News, for example, there has been no coverage of Obama’s membership in a black nationalist church.

The pressure worked in this case. After first defending the coverage of the Insight story, Fox News vice president Bill Shine said that his channel “gave too much credence” to it and “spent far too long discussing its premise on the air.” The left-wing critics of Fox News had scored a victory. The Fairness Doctrine holds out the hope for these activists of using the federal government to further intimidate the channel.

In regard to the other leading Democratic presidential candidate, Senator Clinton, it is not reassuring to reflect upon the fact that Fox News gave little attention to the explosive book, The Truth About Hillary, by Edward Klein, which raised questions about Senator Clinton’s “sexual preference,” or lifestyle. Like Obama’s Muslim past, this is a taboo topic for the “progressive” left.

A similar left-wing pressure campaign was launched against the Congressional Black Caucus Institute for announcing that it would partner with FNC to co-host presidential debates. The campaign wanted all Democratic presidential candidates to avoid the debate on Fox and instead to appear on one sponsored by CNN.

The Sordid History

The use of the Fairness Doctrine for partisan political purposes, including intimidation and harassment, was documented in Fred Friendly’s 1975 book, The Good Guys, the Bad Guys and the First Amendment. Friendly, a president of CBS news who became the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Journalism at the Columbia School of Journalism, shows how Kennedy and Johnson Administration officials, working with Democratic congressional staffers, the Democratic National Committee, and a liberal journalist by the name of Fred Cook, countered the influence of and even silenced conservative radio personalities. Bill Ruder, a Kennedy Administration official, admitted, “Our massive strategy was to use the Fairness Doctrine to challenge and harass right-wing broadcasters and hope that the challenges would be so costly to them that they would be inhibited and decide it was too expensive to continue.”

A similar strategy is being used today, even without an actual Fairness Doctrine in place. Indeed, during the 2004 presidential campaign, many of the same groups seeking the return of the Fairness Doctrine pressured Sinclair Broadcasting to drop plans to air a 90-minute documentary critical of John Kerry. The film, “Stolen Honor: Wounds That Never Heal,” was about Kerry’s anti-Vietnam war activity contributing to the torture of our POWs. The film was going to air on all of Sinclair’s 62 stations, reaching 25 percent of the nation’s households, many of them in voter “swing” states before the election.

In a letter to the FCC, 19 Democratic Senators called the film “an anti-Kerry attack ad” and insisted that its airing would represent an improper use of the public airwaves and might “violate fairness rules now in place.” The 19 Democratic Senators were Dianne Feinstein, Ted Kennedy, Patrick Leahy, Frank R. Lautenberg, Byron Dorgan, Dick Durbin, Jack Reed, Tim Johnson, Bill Nelson, Harry Reid, Debbie Stabenow, Carl Levin, Daniel Inouye, Ron Wyden, Blanche Lincoln, Bob Graham, Fritz Hollings, Patty Murray, and Mark Pryor.

FCC commissioner Copps was also critical of Sinclair, saying, “This is an abuse of the public trust…And it is proof positive of media consolidation run amok when one owner can use the public airwaves to blanket the country with its political ideology—whether liberal or conservative.”

Following the controversy, Tom Athans of Democracy Radio (the husband of Democratic Senator Stabenow),
David Brock of Media Matters for America, and Andrew Jay Schwartzman of the Democracy Access Project announced they were launching a campaign to bring back the Fairness Doctrine. Media Matters released a poll purporting to find that 77 percent of respondents said that TV and radio stations that use public airwaves should be required to present both sides of an issue. A Democracy Radio survey claimed that 90 percent of all broadcast hours on talk radio are fairly characterized as conservative.

Another Fairness Doctrine supporter, Steve Rendall of Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), wrote a piece entitled, “The Fairness Doctrine: How we lost it, and why we need it back.” He noted that Robert F. Kennedy Jr., in his book, *Crimes Against Nature*, “probes the failure of broadcasters to cover the environment,” and that Kennedy wrote that “The FCC’s pro-industry, anti-regulatory philosophy has effectively ended the right of access to broadcast television by any but the moneyed interests.” Kennedy has also declared that “The decline in the American journalism began in 1988 when Reagan abolished the Fairness Doctrine.”

Yet Kennedy’s viewpoint on global warming and the environment is so widely accepted by the media that even the “conservative” Fox News Channel hired him as a special correspondent to do a November 2005 special program on global warming. Kennedy said that he personally convinced Fox News chairman Roger Ailes to air the program and that they had been friends for years. Eventually, under pressure from conservatives, Fox aired another program expressing some doubts about the man-made global warming theory.

Rather than propose that the media present both sides of controversial issues of public importance, Kennedy tells student audiences that there are not two sides to the global warming debate. Obviously, he wants to bring back the Fairness Doctrine not to ensure true fairness and balance in journalism but to intimidate and censor those expressing a view contrary to his own. This is the real agenda of the radical left and the “media reform” movement.

**ABC’s “The Path to 9/11”**

Their agenda was demonstrated when the Democratic Party and 20 senators sent letters to the FCC in protest over ABC running its “The Path to 9/11” miniseries, which aired on the nights of September 10 and 11, 2006. They regarded it as an unflattering portrait of former President Clinton and his administration’s handling of the terrorism problem. Howard Wolfson, then a senior adviser to the Democratic National Committee (and now a top adviser to Democratic Senator and presidential candidate Hillary Clinton), claimed that the program would constitute an illegal in-kind contribution to Republicans.

In a letter to Robert Iger, president and CEO of the Walt Disney Company, the parent of ABC, then-Senate Democratic Leader Harry Reid, Assistant Democratic Leader Dick Durbin, Senator Debbie Stabenow, Senator Charles Schumer, and Senator Byron Dorgan urged the Disney CEO to cancel the film, saying, “The Communications Act of 1934 provides your network with a free broadcast license predicated on the fundamental understanding of your principle [sic] obligation to act as a trustee of the public airwaves in serving the public interest. Nowhere is this public interest obligation more apparent than in the duty of broadcasters to serve the civic needs of a democracy by promoting an open and accurate discussion of political ideas and events.”

The message was unmistakable: change the film to please us or face legal and congressional consequences. That was an implied threat to revoke ABC’s broadcasting license unless it censored the ABC drama. The Democratic Party also urged supporters to sign petitions to Iger calling the miniseries “a bald-faced attempt to slander Democrats.” Some changes to the film were made before airing.
Two weeks later, Chris Wallace, host of Fox News Sunday, was viciously attacked for grilling former President Clinton over his handling of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Clinton told Wallace, “So you did Fox’s bidding on this show. You did your nice little conservative hit job on me.”

Conservative radio host Rush Limbaugh commented that, in one sense, the Democrats were acting silly, as if they were afraid of Fox News. But he saw another motive in their attacks. “These people are Stalinists,” he said. “They are not going to tolerate anything that dissents from their views. It’s out there and it’s wide open for everybody to see.”

The Current Campaign

The Free Press, the group behind the Memphis “media reform” conference, is carefully laying the groundwork for the return of the Fairness Doctrine. It recently staged “Media Reform in Your Living Room” house parties around the country. Activists in charge of the house parties were provided with the following materials:

- Media Reform’s Moment: Highlights from the National Conference for Media Reform DVD.
- Free Press E-Activist, Media Reform Regional and Daily sign-up sheets.
- “Stop Big Media” postcards.
- Act Now! Handouts.
- Donating to the Free Press Action Fund Talking Points.
- Free Press Action Fund Donation Forms and envelopes.

Its “Media Reform Action Guide” describes in detail how to “Launch a Targeted Campaign Against a Media Outlet.” It explains:

“More effective than a single complaint, a coordinated campaign may succeed in pressuring media outlets to alter their news coverage, air a popular program, or make other changes. If you and others in your community share the same complaint about your media, join forces and ramp up the pressure.”

Some of the tactics include a letter-writing campaign, meetings with media management, compiling a report about the station’s misbehavior and sending it to people “in authority” in your community, working with other media, distributing fliers, organizing a boycott of companies advertising on the station, and holding a demonstration in front of the station’s headquarters.

It is also advised to complain to the FCC about how a station is allegedly violating FCC rules and by filing objections when TV and radio licenses are up for renewal.

The Free Press “Action Guide” urges “progressive” activists to connect with local media reform groups, and cites six local and regional media activist groups. It also lists “talking points for a presentation on media reform.”

In a sample letter to members of Congress, the Free Press declares that,

“We have a Constitutional right to a media system that offers a diversity of voices over mainstream channels. We have a Constitutional right to open up the public airwaves to as many speakers as technology will permit, and a responsibility to ensure that our communications systems are open and accessible to all public speakers, great and small.”

Needless to say, there is no such “Constitutional right” in the U.S. Constitution. What the Free Press is saying is that the federal government should control the media and give the “progressives” special access. This runs directly contrary to the First Amendment, which prohibits congressional interference with the right of free speech.
History Repeats Itself

The Kennedy and Johnson Administration campaigns against conservative media may provide some indications of how the current campaign may be played out.

Key officials involved in the campaign were Kenneth O’Donnell, a trusted friend and appointment secretary of President Kennedy, and Wayne Phillips, a former reporter for the New York Times who had joined the Kennedy Administration as special assistant to the Administrator of the Housing Administration. The key Capitol Hill staffer was Nick Zapple, counsel to the Senate Communications subcommittee, headed by Senator John O. Pastore.

A key part of their campaign was a Cook article in The Nation magazine, “Radio Right: Hate Clubs of the Air.” Fred Friendly confirmed that Phillips, who later became director of News and Information for the Democratic National Committee, had proposed the article and made “major contributions” to its content. Cook also wrote a book, subsidized by the Democratic National Committee, attacking 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater. Another key aspect of the campaign was the use of a Washington organization known as Group Research, Inc., which monitored right-wing publications and broadcasters and was run by a long-time Democratic Party aide, Wesley McCune. Its modern equivalent is the Media Matters group.

The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations saw the Fairness Doctrine as a useful and effective tool to silence opponents of the liberal agenda and “provide support for the President’s programs” and other “high-priority legislation,” Friendly notes. One such campaign was launched in support of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, using a bipartisan front organization organized by the Democratic National Committee and backed by the White House. Arthur Larson, one of those involved in the campaign, is quoted by Friendly as saying that “…we decided to use the Fairness Doctrine to harass the extreme right. In the light of Watergate, it was wrong. We felt the ends justified the means. They never do.” In the end, the campaign had produced 1,035 letters to stations, producing a total of 1,678 hours of free time from stations carrying conservative media personalities.

The “Hate Clubs of the Air” article explained how the campaign would proceed, advising liberals to “demand free time to counter some of the radical right’s wild-swinging charges.” Victor Lasky explained that “These demands for equal time, which stations would have to provide gratis, were regarded by most of their executives as harassments they’d rather avoid. This many of them did, either by dropping the commentaries or by censoring them.”

We can expect the same modus operandi under a new Fairness Doctrine.

Once dubbed the “Hush Rush” bill, the new version of the Fairness Doctrine would actually go far beyond Rush Limbaugh and target hundreds of conservative talk-show hosts on the local, regional and national levels. Sean Hannity, Laura Ingraham, Michael Savage and TV personalities such as Bill O’Reilly and Neil Cavuto could be forced by federal bureaucrats to turn over part of their programs to liberals and left-wingers who disagree with them. If they refuse, their stations or companies could be fined by the FCC, their broadcasting licenses threatened or revoked, and the shows even taken off the air. This plan is also a direct threat to the Christian radio and TV broadcasters who present a conservative or Christian message to the American people.

Don’t think it can’t happen here, because this is the plan that was laid out at the “National Conference on Media Reform.”

In addition to Sen. Sanders and Rep. Hinchey, speakers at the event included Bill Moyers of public TV, Jesse Jackson, and Hollywood celebrities such as Jane Fonda.

The talking points of the new left-wing censors have already filtered down to the grassroots. One activist on the liberal website www.bluesunbelt.com declared,

“We can pass legislation that will restore local media ownership, the Fairness Doctrine and Equal Time Protection
in broadcasting and demand the return of anti-monopoly regulations for all media outlets.

“Democrats can start publishing local community newsletters. We can organize Letter to the Editor campaigns and talk-radio call-in campaigns in every community. Democrats should complain to radio stations, TV stations and newspapers about unfair articles, stories and editorials. Demand balance. If you have to petition or picket a media outlet, do it and contact competitors to publicize your efforts. Seek allies from the union movement and reform organizations.”

The Cover-Up

The deep involvement of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations in the organized assault on the conservative media wasn’t disclosed until Fred W. Friendly wrote his 1975 book, examining the background to and circumstances surrounding the Supreme Court’s 1969 Red Lion decision upholding the federal Fairness Doctrine. As Victor Lasky notes, Friendly disclosed that the decision was “tainted” in that the Supreme Court was unaware that the case resulted from a White House effort to suppress conservative voices in the media.

In the Red Lion case, Fred Cook, a liberal author and contributor to The Nation magazine, claimed that a Philadelphia radio station, WGCW, had unfairly attacked him by airing a commentary from a conservative preacher. The FCC was asked to intervene and ordered the station to give Cook free reply time under the Fairness Doctrine. The station’s owner, Red Lion Broadcasting Company, refused, and the case went to court. As Lasky notes, this ruling upheld the right of the FCC “to order a broadcaster to grant reply time to a person or group claiming to have suffered from a broadcast.”

The Fairness Doctrine was abolished under the Reagan Administration.

But because the abolition of the Fairness Doctrine led to the expansion of talk radio, featuring conservative voices, the “progressives” have been trying to figure out a way to bring it back. The advent of cable news, whose most popular channel, Fox News, includes conservative voices, has only added to liberal frustration with the “new media.”

Hinchey, in his remarks to the Media Reform conference, said the survival of America was itself at stake because “neo-fascist” and “neo-con” talk-show hosts led by Rush Limbaugh had facilitated the “illegal” war in Iraq and were complicit in President Bush’s repeated violations of the Constitution, such as by detaining terrorists. He warned that the “right-wing oriented media” were now preparing the way for Bush to wage war on Iran and Syria.

Congressional Action

His answer, a bill titled the “Media Ownership Reform Act,” would reinstate the Fairness Doctrine and authorize bureaucrats at the FCC to monitor and alter the content of radio and television programs. With passage of his bill, Hinchey said that “progressives” would be able to demand and get “equal access” to programs hosted by conservatives and rebut the “baloney” of people like Limbaugh. “All of that stuff will end,” Hinchey said about the influence of conservative media. By name, he also denounced Fox News and Sinclair Broadcasting.

The Hinchey bill was cosponsored by 16 legislators in the last session of Congress. All of them were Democrats except for independent Rep. Bernard Sanders, who was subsequently elected as an independent Senator from Vermont; Reps. Peter A. DeFazio (Or.), Bob Filner (Ca.), Alcee Hastings (Fl.), Marcy Kaptur (Oh.), Barbara Lee (Ca.), Jim McDermott (Wa.), James P. Moran (Va.), Major Owens (NY), Janice Schakowsky (Il.), Louise Slaughter (NY), Hilda L.
Solis (Ca.), Fortney Stark (Ca.), Maxine Waters (Ca.), Diane Watson (Ca.), and Lynn C. Woolsey (Ca.).

Slaughter had her own Fairness and Accountability in Broadcasting Act. Its cosponsors were all Democrats except for independent socialist Rep. Bernard Sanders.

On January 26, 2005, Slaughter had hosted a panel on the subject of “Should the Congress reinstitute media standards through the creation of a Media and Fairness in Broadcasting Act?” The panel included Mark Lloyd, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress; David Brock of Media Matters; Gloria Tristani, former FCC Commissioner; Chellie Pingree, President and CEO, Common Cause; Tom Athans of Democracy Radio; and Sam Seder, co-host of Air America’s Majority Report.

AIM anticipates that the push for the Fairness Doctrine will include stacked hearings before various Democratic-controlled congressional committees or subcommittees. These include the House Subcommittee on Telecommunications and the Internet, chaired by Rep. Edward Markey (Mass.). However, Rep. Dennis Kucinich (D-Oh.), has announced that he will hold hearings on restoring the Fairness Doctrine through the Domestic Policy subcommittee of the Government Reform Committee. Kucinich, chair of the subcommittee, claims his jurisdiction includes telecommunications and that he will have oversight over the FCC.

Interestingly, Kucinich has not succumbed to the “progressive” campaign to boycott Fox News. The Fox News Channel, he says, “is a legitimate news agency that has the ability to reach out to millions of Americans…” He says that liberals and Democrats have to be able to “stand the scrutiny” of the channel and be able to go toe-to-toe with its news anchors. That is part of the test of leadership, he says.

But leadership, in his view, also involves bringing back the Fairness Doctrine. “We are now in a position to move a progressive agenda to where it is visible,” he says.