

Jefferson Beauregard Sessions: Bush's Alabama 'knuckle-dragger'

by Suzanne Klebe

Alabama's Attorney General, Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III, is currently the Newt Gingrich Republican crowd's candidate for U.S. Senate in Alabama, vying for the open seat left by retiring Sen. Howell Heflin. Sessions is running against Democrat Roger Bedford.

Sessions, 49, is running a campaign for the "Lost Cause"—a return to plantation politics of the racist Confederacy at its most vicious. His campaign and wished-for career threaten not only Alabama, but the entire nation, on three fronts:

First, Sessions fully backs the "Contract on Americans" agenda of massive cuts into the bone and marrow of the American economy, including deadly cuts in health care.

Second, Sessions is an outspoken proponent of the "Lost Cause" of the Confederate rebellion, echoing the would-be aristocrats of the Old South, who were used to attack the Union in the interests of the British Empire's colonial policies of the 19th century—policies which have continued deep into the 20th century in a new form.

Third, Sessions is a thug. He has used his career, as it was promoted by the Bush Justice Department, to attack political enemies, ranging from the Alabama Civil Rights movement, to his political opponents in the state. As a U.S. Attorney from 1981-93, when the Justice Department was dominated by Bush's minions, he attacked members of the Alabama Civil Rights movement as part of a nationwide Department of Justice (DOJ) policy to run African-Americans out of political life. This policy, code-named "Frühmenschen" ("primitive men"), was overseen by such corrupt members of the DOJ's permanent bureaucracy as Deputy Assistant Attorney General John Keeney, who backed Sessions's unsuccessful attempt to get himself appointed as a federal judge.

And, typical of the hypocrisy of the Bush Justice Department, Sessions, while trumpeting the need to combat white-collar crime and corruption, has remained in close association with those forces in the Bush apparatus that in fact *created* the worst drug epidemic in U.S. history.

Sessions is now campaigning to "curb the power of federal courts" altogether—a message which he propounds not merely out of sour grapes over his lost judgeship. He

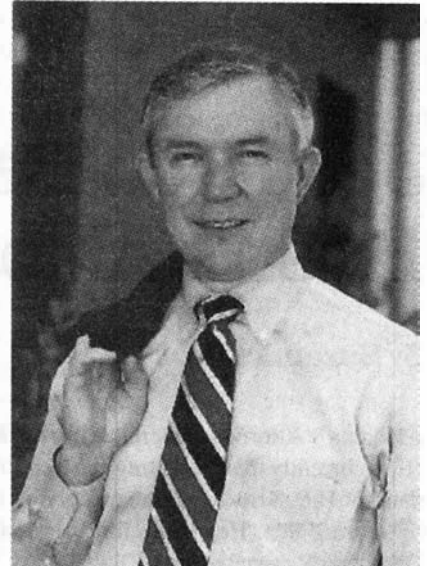
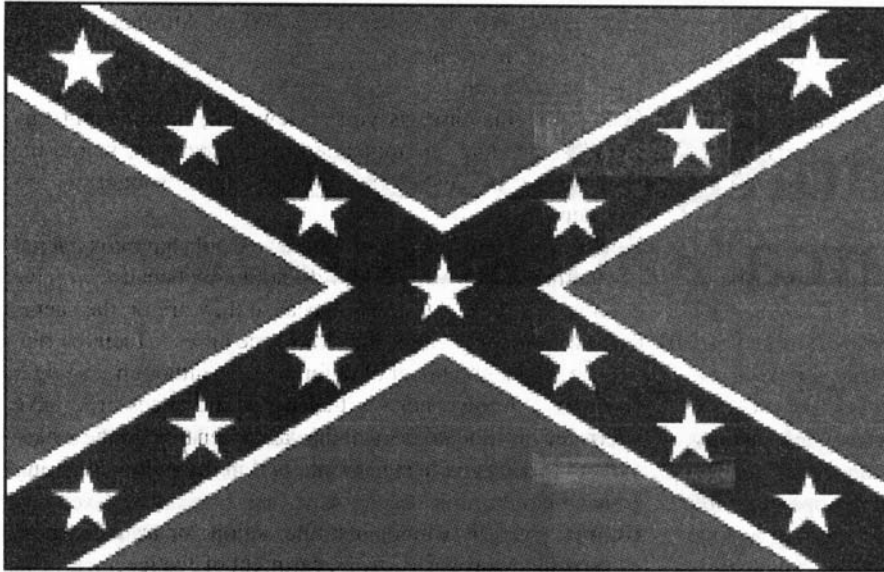
focussed on this issue as a speaker at a May 1995 "states' rights" conference. That conference was billed as a "National Leadership Summit" of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), a group which includes leading advocates of secession and destruction of the federal government. The conference's theme was "State Sovereignty: The Next American Revolution," and took place in Richmond, Virginia—a site which, as the conference's organizers pointed out to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, was selected because it was once the capital of Jefferson Davis's "Confederate States of America."

Sessions's Gingrichite economics

Like his fellow Confederates in the Gingrichite Conservative Revolution, Sessions wants, in effect, to do away with the "General Welfare" clause of the U.S. Constitution, which reads: "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, ensure Domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common Defence, *promote the General Welfare*, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity. . . ." The old Confederate constitution not only struck that clause, arguing against any idea of national well-being as a responsibility of government, but also outlawed any national investment in infrastructure, with the one exception of improvements in the harbors, which the British cotton traders were demanding.

Over the 19th century, the free trade cotton-trading policies the British Empire demanded of the Old South, impoverished black and white alike; yet, these policies are fully back on Sessions's agenda, as he campaigns in support of the North American Free Trade Agreement. As a direct result of such free trade policies, for example, 21 factories left Alabama in 1995 alone, seeking even lower wages than available from this very poor state. Many areas in Alabama are still without running water, and the state ranks near the bottom of all economic categories, with fully one-third of the state's adults lacking a high school diploma.

Alabama's poor people, however, are irrelevant to Sessions, who states that he is campaigning for the rights of the middle class—a class that is disappearing under the economic



Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III, candidate for Senate in Alabama, and an outspoken advocate of the "Lost Cause" of the Confederacy.

policies of the get-rich-quick speculators who dominate the Conservative Revolution.

And, watch out when even middle-class people become sick or elderly: Sessions is fully in line with the Gingrichite philosophy of eliminating the weak and the elderly through medical cuts. He has not only called for cuts in Medicare and Medicaid (reorganizing the system at "the lowest possible cost," and advising that senior citizens go into health maintenance organizations), but has endorsed a call to privatize those programs altogether. This spells trouble for anyone whose illness is not a profitable one in the eyes of health providers (or, "health refusers," as is more frequently becoming the case nowadays).

Sessions chants the Gingrich mantra, calling for a balanced budget amendment, major reductions in the size of the federal government, and shutting down the U.S. Department of Commerce. In the same breath, he calls for supporting Alabama's defense installations and NASA programs—promises he clearly has no intention of keeping, given the Conservative Revolution's budgetary assaults on NASA, defense, and research and development budgets in last year's Congress.

On "church and state" issues, Sessions calls for prayer in the schools, and runs as the poster-boy of the so-called Christian Coalition. But on the actual *practice* of Christian charity (or *agapē*), Sessions is immoral, having this to say about what he would do for the average Alabama citizen: "We need to quit taking money from them and giving it to people who don't work and don't do right. It's not good for the person who receives the money . . . over a period of years to receive benefit after benefit, with no demands being made on them, and then giving nothing in return."

Sessions considers his bashing of welfare as politically correct in the view of his Conservative Revolution cronies. But, even as he contends that his top two legislative priorities include "enhanc[ing] the economic security of middle-class Alabamans," he seems oblivious to the fact that many of those individuals are themselves within only a couple of paychecks of falling into dire economic straits. And, if a victim complains, Sessions will tell him or her to blame someone even worse off than they are, and not the London-centered financial interests, the real culprits in pushing the world economy into the abyss.

Unfit for federal judgeship

Sessions has been Alabama Attorney General since 1994. Before that, he was U.S. Attorney in Alabama's Southern District from 1981-93, functioning as a crucial player in, and protégé of, the Bush-era Justice Department. Earlier, during the Ford and Carter administrations, from 1975-77, he was Assistant U.S. Attorney in the same district.

Ironically, Sessions's current Senate run is an attempt to replace the man who denied him an earlier ambition: a coveted federal judgeship, which he lost after rancorous U.S. Senate hearings in 1986. The Reagan-Bush administration nominated Sessions in 1986 for a position as district court judge. Outgoing Sen. Howell Heflin, who, before his Senate career, had been a chief judge of the Alabama State Supreme Court, voted that Sessions's character rendered him incapable of being trusted with a lifetime appointment to the federal District Court. According to the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, at the time, the rejection of Sessions was only the second such rejection in 48 years.

The 1986 hearings concerning Sessions's nomination fo-

cussed heavily on racist statements Sessions had made, including his claim that he had supported the Ku Klux Klan until he found out that they smoked marijuana, and his assertion that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were “un-American organizations with anti-traditional American values.”

Sessions, who is from Wilcox County, near Selma, was 18 years old when Martin Luther King led the famous March from Selma, across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, to the state capitol in Montgomery. That march was for the right to vote. In the Senate hearings, Sessions was quoted as having asserted that “the Voting Rights Act is an intrusive piece of legislation, and black and white people could work out any problems without having civil rights forced down their throats”—a typical argument used at the time by racist politicians intent on “getting the Feds off our backs.”

The Montgomery march, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, were directly associated with another episode that dashed Sessions’s hopes for joining the federal bench. In 1985, Sessions led a federal prosecution in Perry County of three civil rights leaders. One of the defendants was Albert Turner, who had been a state leader of the SCLC in Alabama in the 1960s, had been in the second row of the march that attempted to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge on “Bloody Sunday” on March 7, 1965, and had led the mule train that pulled Dr. King’s coffin at his funeral in 1968. The other two defendants were Turner’s wife Evelyn, and well-known activist Spencer Hogue. The defendants were charged with vote fraud.

Sessions ultimately lost the case, amid defense charges of selective prosecution, FBI intimidation of witnesses, laws that support “proxy voting,” and questions as to why the federal government had brought suit in a case involving a local, not a federal, primary, in which the candidates backed by the defendants had been defeated.

The real reason why the DOJ pursued the case, was revealed in part at the Senate hearings, from the mouth of Deputy Assistant Attorney General John Keeney. Testifying in support of Sessions’s appointment, Keeney said that “at every stage of this process [the Perry County prosecution], the Department of Justice, Criminal Division, Public Integrity Section was involved. We approved the investigation, as we are required to do. We approved the indictment. As a matter of fact, one of our people was down there and worked on the indictment and presentation.”

In an exchange, Senator Heflin queried Keeney as to the responsibility of his section of the Justice Department in the decision to prosecute:

Heflin: . . . Now, in order to properly put it in perspective, what is the procedure when you start one [move toward prosecution], and the relationship of the U.S. Attorney and the Department of Justice? You say you receive complaints.

These could have been received by the U.S. Attorney, or could be received in Washington.

Keeney: Yes, sir. . . .

Heflin: In this case, as you reviewed it, in the event that Mr. Sessions had recommended no prosecution, would the Department of Justice nevertheless have sought an indictment?

Keeney: I do not know. Certainly, we would have considered it, whether or not we would, I do not know because we give deference to U.S. Attorneys, because they are on the scene, they know the witnesses, they know the juries in their district, and we give a great deal of deference. So although we might consider it, I could not say that we would necessarily have overruled him and taken over the case, even though the strike-over allegations were significant, and in my judgment pretty good evidence.

Heflin: Well, he cannot institute action for an indictment without the approval of the Department of Justice?

Keeney: That is right.

Heflin: In other words, if he desired on his own to do something, under the procedures that you have outlined, he could not do it unless the Department of Justice put the stamp of approval on it?

Keeney: That is right, Senator.

Later in his testimony, Keeney defended the DOJ’s pursuit of the ill-fated Perry County prosecutions, and gave Sessions his full endorsement:

“In answer to your question, there is no question about my dealings with Mr. Sessions. They have been first-rate. He is a good lawyer, and every dealing I have had with him has been fine. I know nothing derogatory about Mr. Sessions, except obviously I read the papers in the last few days.” (Source: Hearings for Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III Appointment as District Judge, Y4.J89/2:S.hrg.99-1047, p. 179.)

DOJ ‘permanent bureaucracy’

Keeney’s admission places the Perry County case in the same box with the other dirty tricks run by the “permanent bureaucracy” of the Justice Department with which Keeney was associated during those years. Keeney, a 44-year veteran of the Justice Department, is a key player in units that have been used to intimidate, prosecute, and in some cases, eliminate perceived political enemies.

In the 1970s, this same corrupt unit ran the Abscam and Brilab prosecutions, in which hardened criminals were hired to entrap and attempt to bribe targeted lawmakers (and later, labor leaders), thus ushering in a reign of terror against the entire Legislative branch. Then, beginning in at least 1977, this Justice Department unit began to target black elected officials for selective prosecution and removal, in a campaign code-named “Operation Frühmenschen.” In 1979, the same

unit established the Office of Special Investigations (OSI), which began a witchhunt against retired Cleveland auto worker John Demjanjuk, accusing him of being the Nazi criminal “Ivan the Terrible,” *even though the DOJ knew that they had the wrong man*. An appeals court subsequently deemed the prosecution “false and malicious,” but only after Demjanjuk had been deported to Israel to face trial and execution.

In 1984, this unit escalated their judicial railroading of Lyndon LaRouche, first in Boston, and later, in the prosecution against LaRouche in 1988, which took place over the signature of John Keeney.

In 1992-93, Keeney et al. were deeply involved in the massacre against the Branch Davidian group in Waco, Texas, and, earlier in 1992, the murder of Randy Weaver’s son and wife at Ruby Ridge, Idaho.

The operations against LaRouche continued into 1996, as John Keeney’s son represented Democratic National Committee Chairman Donald Fowler in a Voting Rights Act suit, in which several duly elected delegates pledged to LaRouche in the Democratic primaries, are suing Fowler and other Democratic officials for their refusal to seat them at the Democratic National Convention.

And, to top it off, in 1995, Sessions re-opened the old voting rights cases in Perry County, Greene County, and elsewhere, in conjunction with the same DOJ Criminal Division, in an effort to exact revenge for his 1986 defeat, and to disenfranchise black voters in western Alabama.

Inside a reactionary mind

More light is shed on Sessions’s continued pursuit of these cases, by reading an author whom Sessions has described as a major influence on his thinking, Russell Kirk. In his 1990 book, *The Conservative Constitution*, Kirk writes: “The American Constitution and the American economy were analyzed acutely by a Christian thinker of remarkable endowments, Orestes Brownson. . . . As for the Fifteenth Amendment, which deprived the states of power to determine who should vote and who should not, Brownson thundered that this ‘is to destroy the state as a body politic.’ ”

The Fifteenth Amendment is the Reconstruction amendment, which gave freed slaves the right to vote, and mandated Congress to ensure that right. It reads: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. . . . The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

Sessions dreams of a nation of prison-camps

As a true Conservative Revolution advocate, Sessions believes that government has little responsibility for the welfare of the population—*except* in cases of surveillance and incarceration. During his campaign for attorney general, according

to the April 6, 1994 *Mobile Press Register*, Sessions stated that “the number-one civil right of Americans to be safe in their homes and on the streets, is a fundamental responsibility of government.” The article explains that, “Some reforms he proposes are reducing time from arrest to trial to less than 90 days, locking up repeat offenders, doing away with unnecessary delays in the death penalty, eliminating early release from prison and lowering the juvenile criminal age.” Sessions also supports lessening controls of evidence in trials, and denial of bail in cases still on appeal.

There is nothing unique in these “reforms.” They were all outlined in a series of proposals made for the Bush Justice Department by William Barr, who went from a career as a CIA lawyer (put through law school by the CIA to write decisions that “legalized” their exploits), to becoming U.S. Attorney General during the last phase of George Bush’s Presidency. Since 1994, Barr has been criss-crossing the country, calling for ending parole and “cracking down” on criminals. Barr is a major promoter of private prisons, and Barr’s friends plan to personally gain from imprisoning more people for longer terms. Privatized prisons, currently listed on the New York Stock Exchange, are set to make windfall profits from the burgeoning prison population that Barr’s Justice Department policies helped to create. Barr’s “no-parole” collaborator and Justice Department associate, Richard Cullen, led a group of lawyers in endorsing Oliver North’s 1994 ill-fated campaign for the U.S. Senate in Virginia, perhaps in recognition of North’s co-responsibility for the drugs-for-guns Contra trade that has created so much of the prison population in the first place.

More dirty operations

Keeney and Barr’s backing of Sessions puts the latter smack in the middle of the Bush “knuckle-dragger” faction in the Justice Department. His career parallels and intersects those of Bush-era U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, who also spoke at the aforementioned May 1995 states’ rights conference in Richmond; and William Weld, the scion of the White Weld financial interests, who went directly from being head of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department to the governorship of Massachusetts. These prosecutors-turned-politicians have been able to use the Justice Department crusade against “white-collar crime” (which they substituted for any serious fight against the upper echelons of the drug trade) to run surveillance and indictments against their political enemies.

During his 1994 campaign for Alabama Attorney General, Sessions was responsible for “breaking a story” a month before the election, in which an investigator for Sessions flew to the Cayman Islands, and returned with flight records showing that the incumbent Democratic governor, Jim Folsom, had been flown to the islands in a jet owned by dog track owners operating in the state. Folsom’s campaign con-

tended that his family had paid to lease the jet, but the corruption charges that were broadcast in the press built upon months of other charges and innuendos. Gubernatorial candidate Fob James, Jr. attacked the governor, and Sessions attacked the incumbent attorney general for covering up. The resulting corruption scandal swept James and Sessions into office.

On July 30, 1996, however, a 15-page motion was filed in the Circuit Court of Montgomery, calling for recusing Sessions from any involvement in the subsequent corruption case, and calling for a separate grand jury investigation of the Folsom trip. The motion includes documentation that witnesses against Folsom had been paid and offered jobs by the James-Sessions campaign (and, later, administration), in return for their testimony and statements; also, charges are made that Sessions used FBI agents from the Mobile office to conduct investigations of Sessions's political opponent (Sessions was no longer U.S. Attorney at the time).

According to the document, on July 12, 1996, U.S. Attorney Pitt confirmed to the press that he had asked for an internal investigation to determine whether Mobile FBI agents were involved in investigating Folsom's Cayman trip for the political gain of Sessions. Pitt is quoted as saying, "If this is true, this is the gravest violation of the public trust. It actively undermines our constitutional government and courts of law." The motion also states that the "investigator" whom Sessions had dispatched to the Cayman Islands, Gene Tibbets, had "enlisted the help of Meno Habib, a former Israeli Intelligence Agent, who had met Tibbets while working as a mercenary in South Africa."

Sessions is currently refusing to cover the investigator's trip as a campaign expense, feigning ignorance of how the investigator got there. Retired FBI operatives who were involved in the surveillance against their opponents, were later given positions in the Attorney General's office under Sessions, despite the fact that drastic cuts in personnel was one of his stated accomplishments in his first year in office.

'The Governor's Gestapo'

Meanwhile, the existence of a secret surveillance and intelligence-gathering unit operating out of the Office of Public Safety has been revealed—a unit which State Rep. John Knight has dubbed "the Governor's Gestapo." This unit, formally called the Special Services Group, was recently involved in overseeing a selective tax audit of 24 out of 144 state legislators.

One legislator being audited was State Senate President Michael Figures, who had not only moved to strip funding from the Special Services Group, but whose brother Thomas had been a critical witness in the 1986 hearings that sank Sessions's judgeship nomination. During the period leading up to those hearings, Thomas Figures was an Assistant U.S. Attorney working with Sessions. According to an article in

Atlantic Monthly, Figures considered himself "a marked man" after his testimony. Ten weeks before Sessions left his post as U.S. Attorney following the election of Bill Clinton, Figures was indicted by a federal grand jury on a drug charge. It took until 1996, after his money and reputation had been exhausted, to overturn the indictment.

After the Special Services Group unit was uncovered, Sessions quipped that whoever had formed the clandestine group "probably had a good intention," but "I don't suggest it's the way to do investigations."

Protecting Dope, Inc.

Sessions was an active member of the Justice Department's anti-drug task force in the Southeast—a task force that somehow never noticed the planeloads of cocaine being run into the United States during this period, as part of the guns-for-drugs Contra operation run by Oliver North under George Bush's Special Situation Group (see *EIR*'s Sept. 13, 1996 feature, "George Bush: 'Crack' Kingpin of the 1980s"). In 1992, Sessions was presented the "U.S. Attorney General's Award by Attorney General William P. Barr for Significant Achievements in the War Against Drug Trafficking."

Barr was a unique authority on sabotaging any real war against drugs. It was his "Thornburgh Doctrine" which allowed the capture of Panama's Gen. Manuel Noriega—a move which was in violation of international law. At the time, the Bush administration described the war against Panama, dubbed "Operation Just Cause," as an assault against a major drug runner. But, since the kidnapping and imprisonment of Noriega, the drug trade has exploded in and through Panama, and, at the trial against Noriega, testimony came out—much to the chagrin of the Bush crowd—which opened up the question of drug running by the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan Contra guerrillas. Specifically, Carlos Lehder, the imprisoned head of the Medellín Cartel, shocked the court by testifying that he possessed letters from George Bush thanking him for his and the Medellín Cartel's support of the Contras. Lehder was quickly shut up by the judge, and it was suddenly suggested that he was "mentally incompetent," even though it had been the government which had called him as a witness.

From 1990-94, Sessions sent 728 African-Americans to prison from Mobile County on drug-related conspiracy charges, in compliance with the Bush policy of going after the small-fry user and dealer. But, as has been recently shown in court cases in California, the crack epidemic in this country, which took off during the Reagan-Bush years, had its source in the Bush deals to finance the Contras, despite a congressional ban on such activities. Recent exposés in the *San Jose Mercury News* in California on the use of the Los Angeles Crips and Bloods drug gangs to distribute crack cocaine imported by Bush's special operations, prompted Lyndon LaRouche to ask: "Why are all these people in prison doing George Bush's time?"

During the 1986 Senate hearings on Sessions's appointment as federal judge, as Sessions was trying to explain his designation of the NAACP and SCLC as "un-American," he stated it had nothing to do with these groups' domestic policies, but only with their "foreign policies." When asked to be specific, he cited their opposition to "the Contras."

Warped mentors

In a recent campaign questionnaire, Sessions was asked to list books he had recently read. According to the May 16 *Birmingham News*, he responded: "Just finished *The Downing Street Years* by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and recently read *Bus Ride to Justice* by Fred Gray; cites *Enemies of the Permanent Things* by conservative writer Russell Kirk as a formative influence on his thinking."

The second book shows Sessions's continued obsession with his lost appointment: Fred Gray was the head of the National Bar Association, which personally helped sink Sessions's judgeship nomination in 1986.

As for the first book listed, Sessions's interest in Margaret Thatcher is understandable, given that Bush served as Thatcher's puppet during the Gulf war and other British-manipulated geopolitical exploits.

As to the third book, Russell Kirk's "formative influence" on Sessions is indicative of Sessions's Confederate, Conservative Revolution philosophy. Quotes from Kirk's book *The Conservative Constitution* give some background to issues Sessions has championed. Consider Kirk's comment concerning the federal courts: "Dr. James McClellan . . . looks upon the Reconstruction Amendments [Fourteenth and Fifteenth] much as Brownson did. 'Beginning with the Reconstruction Amendments,' McClellan writes, 'which enlarged the powers not only of the federal courts but of Congress as well, the radical Republicans cut the heart out of federalism by stripping the states of their sovereignty respecting citizenship, state criminal procedures, and voter qualification.'"

Consider, also, the hostility to the very idea of industrial economic progress, as Kirk again quotes Brownson: "'The great fault of our statesmen has been to make what should be a great agricultural and commercial people *unnaturally* a great manufacturing people.'" Kirk comments, "These being Brownson's convictions, we need not wonder that . . . *the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments made him almost despair for the American republic*. He perceived in the measures of the Radical Republicans a design to crush the agricultural South; to employ the power and resources of the federal government for the stimulation of heavy industry; to concentrate power in a central government" (emphasis added).

During Sessions's 1986 judgeship hearing, no one questioned him on his theory of law. If they had done so, they would have gotten a real scare. The Alabama electorate would therefore be well advised to make sure that the Sessions campaign becomes another in a long series of his "lost causes."

Britain's Media Sewer

Newhouse, Roy Cohn, and 'Union Jackie'

by Stuart Rosenblatt and Anton Chaitkin

Random House President Harold Evans announced on Sept. 3 that he will publish a "tell-all" book by fired White House consultant Richard S. "Dirty Dick" Morris. Though the announcement came five days after Morris was purged, this anti-Clinton book deal had been in the works for many months, while Dirty Dick was being lavishly paid to advise the President he was betraying.

The Lyndon LaRouche-commissioned exposé, published in *EIR* and elsewhere, that Morris is an asset of the Roy M. Cohn criminal apparatus and of related British Empire-linked assassins, forced Morris to come out of the shadows and procure favorable media coverage. In the open, Morris was easy prey for his many enemies, and he only had to be finished off by British Empire publisher Rupert Murdoch in a sex scandal aimed at hurting Bill Clinton.

Morris's publisher, Random House, is part of the Newhouse family's \$12 billion media holdings. This is, not surprisingly, an empire largely created by Morris's cousin Roy Cohn. And Random House president Harold Evans, the former editor of the London *Times*, typifies the decadent British feudalists whom owner Si Newhouse and his lawyer-fixer Cohn imported to run their show.

Last July, Evans stood with another of his scribblers, Joe Klein, at a press conference to reveal that Klein was the author of the anti-Clinton book *Primary Colors* which Evans and Newhouse had earlier issued as "by Anonymous."

Among Newhouse's newspapers are the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Newark Star-Ledger*, *Portland Oregonian*, the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Alabama's *Birmingham News*, the *Syracuse Post-Standard* (New York), the *Harrisburg Patriot* (Pennsylvania), and the *Staten Island Advance*. Newhouse owns *Parade* magazine, the national Sunday newspaper supplement. Random House subsidiaries include Random, Little Random, Ballantine, Crown Publishing Group, Alfred A. Knopf, Pantheon Press, and Vintage. Newhouse's Condé Nast, the Anglophile upscale magazine group, includes *The New Yorker*, *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair*, and *Self*.

Tawdry beginnings

This empire originated with Newhouse ownership of the *Bayonne Times* (New Jersey).