

Selling Empire, War, and Capitalism

Public Relations Propaganda Firms in Service to the Transnational Capitalist Class

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If those in charge of our society—politicians, corporate executives, and owners of press and television—can dominate our ideas, they will be secure in their power. They will not need soldiers patrolling the streets. We will control ourselves.

—Howard Zinn¹

In his 1952 book *Public Relations*, Edward Bernays, one of the primary founders of public relations (PR) in the US, defined PR as information provided to the public to modify attitudes and actions towards various institutions.² Bernays stated that PR creates favorable opinions towards ideas, products, and persons, which could include good will between people, and increased sales of products. More commonly the practice of public relations is referred to as “helping an organization and its public adapt mutually to each other.”³ Bernays explained the nature of the business of public relations in his chapter entitled the “The Engineering of Consent”:

it is impossible to overestimate the importance of engineering consent, it affects almost every aspect of our daily

lives. When used for social purposes, it is among our most valuable contributions to the efficient functioning of society. But the techniques can be subverted: demagogues can utilize them for antidemocratic purposes as successfully as those who employ them for socially desirable ends.⁴

In the shadow of World War II, Bernays clearly discerned the possibilities of the dark side of PR.⁵

Propaganda, a tool closely aligned with public relations, is defined as the dissemination of ideas and information for the purpose of inducing or intensifying specific attitudes and actions.⁶ Propaganda is generally categorized into various subgroups, including religious, political, commercial, literary, wartime, and Cold War varieties, and has been widely used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other government agencies to advance political, social, and economic interests.⁷

The war propaganda film *The Green Berets*, released in 1968 at the height of the Vietnam War, demonstrates Hollywood's relentless production of propaganda in support of US military policies. The US Department of Defense (DoD) was concerned that *The Green Berets* would look so much like propaganda that they asked the producers to remove credits at the end thanking the Department of Defense and the US Army for their generous assistance.⁸ The influence of the government, and especially the Pentagon, on Hollywood is long-standing and continues to this day. Recent films such as *Argo*, *Zero Dark Thirty*, and *The Interview* are just a few examples of ongoing and deliberate US government propaganda efforts accomplished via Hollywood's willing participation.⁹

Propaganda is particularly prevalent in the lead-up to war, when governments attempt to persuade the public of the necessity and desirability of wide-scale destruction at massive public costs, and the involvement of public relations firms in spreading pro-war propaganda has been well-documented.¹⁰ The Rendon Group has been cited as one of the primary PR firms supporting US propaganda efforts in Iraq. In the 1980s, the Rendon Group created public relations propaganda for the ousting of President Manuel Noriega in Panama. They shaped international support for the first Gulf War, and in the

1990s helped to create the Iraqi National Congress political party. The Rendon Group also provided the images that shaped support for a permanent war on terror, including the toppling of the statue of Saddam, the fabricated heroic rescue of Private Jessica Lynch, and various dramatic tales of weapons of mass destruction. Pentagon documents show thirty-five contracts with the Rendon Group between 2000 and 2004 worth a total of fifty to one hundred million dollars.¹¹

David Altheide and Jennifer Grimes trace the history of how the Project for the New American Century, a neoconservative think tank, helped plan the propaganda campaign for the Iraq War.¹² A recent journal article by David Guth reports on the history of the debate over propaganda and public diplomacy, focusing on the diversion stories and outright lies employed by the George W. Bush Administration to build support for the Iraq War. This issue has been the focus of numerous books over the past decade, including some by scholars at the Center for Public Integrity and PR Watch.¹³

By definition, propaganda and public relations both attempt to change the public's views, beliefs, and feelings about various issues, ideas, and products. Both propaganda and PR seek to change behaviors and ideas among the masses in support of the agendas of the institutions initiating the actions.

A number of researchers have asserted that the focus of propaganda and public relations is really the same.¹⁴ Corporate Watch writes:

powerful and pervasive public relations firms ensure that pro-corporate stories and perspectives dominate journalistic output. PR firms and other corporate lobbying agencies ensure that corporate-friendly messages are given preferential treatment within the corridors of power. The upshot is a climate in which market dominance over ever increasing aspects of our lives is often accepted as common-sense, rather than challenged as a cause of suffering and inequality.¹⁵

In addition, Ryszard Lawniczak believes that this pro-corporate perspective extends internationally, giving the public relations industry a global role in the political economy of marketing.¹⁶ Public relations

firms and governments have increasingly overlapped, especially since 9/11. In this regard, it makes perfect sense to study the transnational impacts of propaganda and public relations, not in isolation (as they no longer tend to be mutually exclusive), but by combining studies of the two fields into the term “Public Relations Propaganda.”

The public relations propaganda (PRP) industry has experienced phenomenal growth since 2001 after several years of steady consolidation. There are three publicly traded mega-PRP corporations. In order of largesse, the firms are Omnicom Group, WPP, and Interpublic Group of Companies (IPG). Together, these firms employ 214,000 people in over 170 countries, annually collecting some thirty-five billion dollars in revenue. Not only do these firms control a massive amount of wealth, they possess a network of connections in powerful international institutions with direct links to the corporate media, governments, multinational corporations, and global policy-making bodies.

PROPAGANDA MODEL OF CORPORATE MEDIA AND PRP FIRMS

In *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky claim that, because media is firmly imbedded in the market system, it reflects the class values and concerns of its owners and advertisers.¹⁷ According to Herman and Chomsky, the media maintain a corporate class bias through five systemic filters: concentrated private ownership; a strict bottom-line profit orientation; overreliance on governmental and corporate sources for news; a primary tendency to avoid offending the powerful; and an almost religious worship of the market economy, strongly opposing alternative beliefs and ideologies. These filters limit what will become news in society and set parameters on acceptable coverage of daily events.

Media consolidation and the expansion of PRP firms inside news corporations in the world today have resulted in a far more deliberate form of news management. The corporate media is deeply interlocked with the military-industrial complex and policy elites in the US/European/Asian transnational corporate class, and the media is increasingly dependent upon various governmental and PRP sources

to generate news. Maintenance of a continuous news cycle requires a constant feed and an ever-entertaining supply of stimulating events and breaking news clips and sound bites. The twenty-four-hour news shows on MSNBC, Fox, and CNN maintain constant contact with the White House, Pentagon, and PRP companies representing both government and private corporations.

Corporate media consolidation has provided the opportunity for PRP firms to emerge as orchestrators of global information and news. Journalists are taking an increasingly dependent secondary position to PRP firms and government press releases in corporate news media. The world today faces a PRP-military-industrial media empire so powerful and complex that, in the majority of news venues, basic truths about world events are concealed, skewed, or simply not reported at all. The result is news managed by government and PRP firms—often interlocked—including the release of specific stories intended to build public support as well as the deliberate non-coverage of news stories that may undermine capitalist goals. It was estimated thirteen years ago that up to 80 percent of all news stories in corporate media were sourced from or directly influenced by PRP firms.¹⁸ PRP penetration into corporate media has only increased to the present day.

PRP firms provide a variety of services to major corporations and institutions in the world. Brand enhancement and sales is undoubtedly one of the key services. However, companies also offer much more, including research and crisis management for corporations and governments, public information campaigns, web design and promotions, and corporate media placement. Hill & Knowlton Strategies of WPP proudly brags on their website that they service 50 percent of the *Fortune* Global 500 companies from their offices in forty countries.¹⁹ Hill & Knowlton, along with Omnicom Group's Fleishman and Hillard, have been the key PRP firms working with Monsanto to protect its brand Roundup, which contains the herbicide glyphosate, recently declared a probable human carcinogen by the World Health Organization. Roundup is the most widely used herbicide in the world, being sold in over 130 countries. As countries begin to restrict its use, PRP firms gear up to protect Monsanto's profits.²⁰

WPP's Hill & Knowlton is also well known for its early involve-

ment with the Council for Tobacco Research (CTR), originally set up in 1954 to counter the *Reader's Digest* 1952 report linking tobacco smoking to cancer. The CTR was described by the *Wall Street Journal* in 1993 as producing the “longest running misinformation campaigns in US business history.”²¹

It was WPP's Burson-Marsteller that created the front group Global Climate Coalition (GCC), which operated from 1989 to 2001.²² The GCC was set up to help the oil and auto industries downplay the dangers of global warming. Initial members of the coalition included Amoco, American Petroleum Institute, Chevron, Chrysler, Exxon, Ford, General Motors, Shell, and Texaco. In addition, Burson-Marsteller created the front group Californians for Realistic Vehicle Standards in 1998 to oppose restrictions on car emissions.²³ PRP firms continue to this day to offer services and front groups designed to block public safety laws or progressive legislation that might interfere with corporate profits.

Global Counsel, a WPP advisory firm, provides political consultation to investors regarding risk, regulations, and policymaking in various regions of the world. In a recent report, Global Counsel described the results of the World Trade Organization's 10th Ministerial Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, in December 2015. World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements in 2015 were described as the “most significant package of reforms in trade of agricultural goods ever agreed.” Declines in tariffs and expansion of free trade were key elements of the agreements, reproducing precisely the exploitative conditions that have kept Africa impoverished and beholden to Western powers for decades.²⁴ In another report on their website, Global Counsel offers insider information on private equity investment in Africa.

The PRP industry continuously promotes products that are a danger to humanity. PRP firms offer brand enhancement worldwide for numerous tobacco, alcohol, junk food, and pharmaceutical products. As we examine the lists of clients for the big three PRP firms below, it is clear that unhealthy foods constitute the largest category of products PRP firms advertise worldwide.

GOVERNMENT PRP CONTRACTING

The PRP industry holds significant power. The ease with which the American population accepted the invasion of Iraq was the outcome of a concerted effort involving the government, DoD contractors, PRP firms, and the corporate media. Public relations and propaganda were crucial in selling the 2003 Iraq War.²⁵ These institutions are the instigators and main beneficiaries of a permanent war on terror. The importance of these companies' connections lies in the fact that prominent segments of the power elite and the US national security state have the money and resources to articulate their propaganda repeatedly to the American people and the world, until those messages become self-evident truths and conventional wisdom.

From 2007 to 2015 the US federal government spent over \$4 billion on PRP services.²⁶ The US employs 3,092 public relations officers in 139 agencies. An additional \$2.2 billion goes to outside firms for PRP, polling, research, and market consulting.²⁷ The top PRP firms in the world reaped hundreds of millions of US dollars in 2014: Laughlin, Marinaccio & Owens made \$87.98 million,²⁸ WPP's Young & Rubicam Group made \$57.5 million, WPP's Ogilvy Public Relations Worldwide made \$47.93 million, Omnicom Group's Fleishman-Hillard made \$42.4 million, Gallup made \$42 million—and those are only the most well-known firms. It was WPP's Burson-Marsteller who won a \$4.6 million contract with the US Department of Homeland Security in 2005 to develop public awareness and education for a major emergency, disaster, or terrorist attack in Washington, DC.²⁹

Before the first Gulf War, a propaganda spectacle took place courtesy of WPP's Hill & Knowlton. The firm was hired by Citizens for a Free Kuwait and eventually received nearly \$10.8 million to conduct one of the largest and most effective public relations campaigns in history. Hill & Knowlton helped create a national outrage against Iraq by the public recounting of horrifying events supposedly caused by Iraqi soldiers after they had invaded Kuwait. A young woman named Nayirah claimed in congressional testimony, and before a national audience, that she saw "Iraqi soldiers come into the [Kuwait] hospital with guns, and go into the room where 15 babies were in incubators. They took the babies out of the incubators, and left the babies on

the cold floor to die.”³⁰ What the public was not told is that Nayirah was the daughter of Kuwait’s ambassador to the US. The public also wasn’t told that her performance was coordinated by the White House and choreographed by the US public relations firm Hill & Knowlton on behalf of the Kuwait government.³¹

Johan Carlisle, the author of the *Covert Action Quarterly* article quoted in the previous paragraph, went on to write that “. . . [f]ormer CIA official Robert T. Crowley, the Agency’s long-time liaison with corporations,” acknowledged that “Hill & Knowlton’s overseas offices . . . were perfect ‘cover’ for the ever-expanding CIA. Unlike other cover jobs, being a public relations specialist did not require technical training for CIA officers.” Furthermore, the CIA, Crowley admitted, used its Hill & Knowlton connections to “put out press releases and make media contacts to further its positions . . . Hill & Knowlton employees at the small Washington office and elsewhere distributed this material through CIA assets working in the United States news media.”³² Carlisle emphasized that,

[s]ince the CIA is prohibited from disseminating propaganda inside the US, this type of ‘blowback’—which former CIA officer John Stockwell and other researchers have often traced to the Agency—is illegal. While the use of US media by the CIA has a long and well-documented history, the covert involvement of PR firms may be news to many.³³

The CIA invests in a PRP firm that monitors social media as part of the CIA’s effort to access more “open source intelligence.” The firm is known as Visible Technologies and has offices in New York, Seattle, and Boston. The firm was created in 2005, and in 2006 developed a partnership with WPP. Visible Technologies helps the CIA monitor information that gets overlooked in the massive number of online activities. The company is keeping track of influential Internet posters and how foreign posters view news events. Although the CIA gathers information through this firm that is legally open for anyone to view, media outlets have raised concerns over the possibility that the CIA may use the information for illegal political purposes. These political purposes could include unauthorized domestic investiga-

tions into public figures. Visible Technologies can monitor over half a million sites every day. These sites include any open social websites, such as Twitter or Flickr. Visible Technologies already works with companies such as Microsoft and Verizon, keeping track of positive and negative feedback on their products.³⁴

Omnicom's PRP firm Ketchum was recently hired by the Honduran government to whitewash its dismal human rights record after the US-backed military coup in 2009. Ketchum is now providing crisis management PRP services to Honduras after the assassination of renowned human rights movement leader Berta Cáceres. Ketchum also runs two front groups promoting the safety of GMOs, paid for by Monsanto, DuPont, and other biotech firms.³⁵

University of California, Davis hired PRP firm Nevins & Associates in 2013 for the "eradication of references to the pepper spray incident in search results on Google for the University and the Chancellor." UC Davis spent \$175,000 to diminish Internet coverage of the widely reported brutal pepper spraying of student protestors on November 18, 2011.³⁶

THE PRP INDUSTRY AND TRANSNATIONAL CAPITALISM

The American ruling class has long been determined to be a mostly self-perpetuating elite that maintains its influence through policy-making institutions such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the US Chamber of Commerce, the Business Council, Business Roundtable, the Conference Board, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, the Council on Foreign Relations, and other business-centered groups and think tanks.³⁷ These associations have long dominated policy decisions within the US government.³⁸

Capitalist power elites exist around the world. The globalization of trade and capital brings the world's elites into increasingly interconnected relationships—to the point that sociologists now theorize the development of a transnational capitalist class (TCC). In one of the pathbreaking works in this field, *The Transnational Capitalist Class* (2000), Leslie Sklair argued that globalization elevated transnational corporations to more influential international roles, with the result

that nation-states became less significant than international agreements developed through the World Trade Organization and other international institutions.³⁹ Emerging from these multinational corporations was a transnational capitalist class, whose loyalties and interests, while still rooted in their corporations, were increasingly international in scope.

William Robinson further investigated these conditions in his books, *A Theory of Global Capitalism: Production, Class, and State in a Transnational World* (2004) and *Global Capitalism and the Crisis of Humanity* (2014).⁴⁰ Robinson claimed that 500 years of capitalism had led to a global epochal shift in which all human activity is transformed into capital. In this view, the world has become a single market, in which social relationships are privatized. He saw the TCC as increasingly sharing similar lifestyles, patterns of higher education, and consumption. The global circulation of capital is at the core of this international bourgeoisie, who operate in oligopolistic clusters around the world. These clusters of elites form strategic transnational alliances through mergers and acquisitions with the goal of increased concentration of wealth and capital. The process creates a polyarchy of hegemonic elites. The concentration of wealth and power at this level tends to over-accumulate, leading to speculative investments and manufactured wars. The TCC makes efforts to correct and protect its interests through global organizations like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the Group of Seven (G7) and the Group of Twenty (G20), World Social Forum, Trilateral Commission, Bilderberg Group, Bank for International Settlements, and other transnational associations. Robinson claims that within this system nation-states become little more than population containment zones, and the real power lies with the decision makers who control global capital.⁴¹

At the head of the transnational capitalist class is what David Rothkopf calls the “superclass.” In his book, *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They are Making* (2008), Rothkopf argued that the superclass constitutes 6,000 to 7,000 people, or 0.0001 percent of the world’s population.⁴² They are the Davos-attending, private jet-flying, megacorporation-interlocking, policy-building elites of the world—people at the absolute peak of the global power pyramid.

Another recent work on the TCC is William K. Carroll's *The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class* (2010).⁴³ Carroll's work focused on the consolidation of the transnational corporate-policy networks between 1996 and 2006. He used a database of the boards of directors of the world's 500 largest corporations, showing the concentrated interconnectedness of key corporations and increasingly small number of people involved. According to this analysis, the average size of corporate boards has dropped from 20.2 to 14.0 during the ten years of his study. Furthermore, financial organizations have increasingly become the center of these networks. Carroll argued that the TCC at the centers of these networks benefit from extensive ties to each other, thus providing both the structural capacity and class consciousness necessary for effective political solidarity. It is for this segment of the TCC that PRP firms are providing services, propagandizing the globe with messages reflecting the ideologies, class interests, and core values of the TCC global empire of power and wealth.

In 2014, my students and I decided to identify the people on the boards of directors of the top ten asset management firms and the top ten most centralized corporations. Because of overlaps, this amounts to a total of thirteen firms, which collectively have 161 directors on their boards. We think that this group of 161 individuals represents the financial core of the world's transnational capitalist class. They collectively manage \$23.91 trillion (2014) in funds and operate in nearly every country in the world. They are the center of the financial capital that powers the global economic system. Western governments and international policy bodies work in the interests of this financial core to protect the free flow of capital investment anywhere in the world. This group of 161 people, with a few thousand of their elite friends and colleagues, control \$100 trillion, or half the world's wealth.⁴⁴

The TCC represents the interests of several hundred thousand millionaires and billionaires who comprise the richest people in the top 1 percent of the world's wealth hierarchy. Ironically, this extreme accumulation of concentrated capital at the top creates a continuing problem for the TCC, who must scour the world for new investment opportunities that will yield adequate returns (7–10 percent). War is one use for over-accumulated capital. A permanent war on terror

offers a unique opportunity for the TCC to loan capital at a profit to governments for military actions, and to participate in rebuilding efforts made necessary by war. The collection of taxes on working peoples' incomes to pay for permanent war results in increasing pressure toward neoliberal governmental austerity measures, which further impoverishes the 99 percent and transfer yet more wealth to the world's 1 percent.

The consolidation of global capitalism and the emerging formation of a transnational capitalist class creates ever-greater opportunities for PRP firms. As capital consolidates, there are increasing needs for new investment opportunities, concentrated surplus capital, and continued growth and expansion. PRP firms provide market stimulation for growing sales and the creation of psychological demands for various goods among the world's masses. Even the 3.5 billion people living on less than three dollars a day are encouraged to spend wages on feel-good products like Coke and cigarettes.

A global war on terrorism requires a continuing ideological justification aimed at the mass of people who instinctively favor peace. PRP firms provide an ongoing rationalization for war by servicing government propaganda activities, military contractors, pro-war Hollywood films, and the marketing of war toys, cartoons, and related products. The techniques for marketing brands are essentially the same as for marketing war. Creative, emotional, and visually stimulating ads are continually cranked out, featuring families with loving young children in danger from foreign threats, and protected by official authorities, homeland security, police, or military. *America's Navy—the Shield* is a perfect example of such a blatantly propagandistic, fear-mongering ad, first aired, uncoincidentally, during the 2014 Army-Navy football game.⁴⁵

OMNICOM GROUP, WPP, INTERPUBLIC GROUP—GLOBAL BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION AND MIND CONTROL

The big three global PRP firms are key contributors to the total hegemony of capitalism in the world today. PRP firms and their corporate media partners aid corporations, governments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in an unrelenting ideological assault

on and pacification of the minds of the masses throughout the world. The overall message encourages the continued acquisition of material products and consumption, expanded desire for a life of luxury, fear of others (including terrorists, criminals, and any other usefully threatening peoples), the support of police states, acceptance of a permanent war on terror, and a view of private corporations as essential elements of democracy. This is what Noam Chomsky called engineering opinion and parading enemies.⁴⁶

Additionally, PRP firms offer continuing brand enhancement worldwide for numerous tobacco, alcohol, junk food, and pharmaceutical products. They work to skew the facts of urgent crises in health and the environment to not only maintain but also increase the sales and production of indisputably harmful commodities.

WPP's TNS Company reveals its propagandist reach when it states that

the needs of citizens are changing rapidly. Government policies and social programs need to respond to these changing needs. And in an age of economic uncertainty there is increased pressure for accountability of expenditure—on governments, political parties and NGOs. TNS has the leading political and social research unit in the world. With over 500 dedicated social researchers in more than 40 countries, TNS Political & Social is uniquely placed to conduct research on any social issue, in any environment. We assist decision makers in a wide range of policy areas: health, education, social services, environment, labor market, family policy, public transport, road safety, justice, community integration—to name a few. We provide political parties with strategic advice during elections and conduct social polling in many countries around the world.⁴⁷

Likewise, WPP's Glover Park Group (GPG) in Washington, DC, does not shy away from flaunting their abilities as corporate power brokers, reporting on their website under "Understanding and Influencing Washington:"

No other firm is as effective at achieving winning policy outcomes for its clients. We know the issues inside and out. We have decades of experience in government, from the halls of Congress to the upper echelons of Democratic and Republican administrations. We fundamentally understand today's decision-makers and what drives them. . . . GPG's Government Affairs group helps clients develop and execute legislative and regulatory strategies to advance their goals in Washington at every level and in every branch and agency of government.⁴⁸

Without telling us the brands they promote, WPP's Sudler and Hennessey claim on their website that they have been "proudly pushing drugs for 75 years."⁴⁹

The following data on the big three PRP firms was acquired through extensive research from the hundreds of websites they control. It is a consolidated view of the core brands, agencies, and services offered by Omnicom Group, WPP, and Interpublic Group, the three largest PRP firms shaping consumer habits and socioeconomic policies throughout the world today.

OMNICOM GROUP

Omnicom Group, based in New York, had an annual revenue of \$15.1 billion in 2015, with 74,000 employees in over 200 agencies representing a group of subsidiaries, affiliates, and quasi-independent agencies such as BBDO Worldwide, DDB Worldwide, TBWA Worldwide, GSD&M, Merkle & Partners, and Zimmerman & Partners Advertising, as well as Fleishman-Hillard, Integer Group, and Rapp through Omnicom's Diversified Agency Services division. Omnicom is represented at the Council of Foreign Relations in the US.⁵⁰

The inception of Omnicom Group has roots back to 1891 when George Batten opened the George Batten Company in New York. The following year, Batten hired William Johns as his assistant. Johns became the first president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, and, upon Batten's death in 1918, took the position as president of the Batten Company. The George Batten Company merged

with BDO in 1928, and the group was renamed Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn (BBDO). BBDO went on to expand around the world, merging with other PRP agencies and forming Omnicom in the 1980s. In 1991, Omnicom's revenue increased to \$1.2 billion, and it has progressively increased since then, year after year. Presently, Omnicom serves over 5,000 brands among every sector of service and has over 1500 agencies in over 100 countries.

OMNICOM GROUP—MAJOR CLIENTS

Governments and Government-Funded Organizations

Alberta, Barcelona, Brazil, British Columbia, Brooklyn, Royal Brunei Airlines, California Housing Finance Agency, California Lottery, Chicago, China, Colombia, Congo, Dubai Tourism, Ecuador, Egypt, Georgia (country), Houston Airport, Illinois Lottery, Korea Tourism Organization, Library of Congress, Los Angeles, Mauritius, Mexico, Miami-Dade County, Montreal, Munich Airport, New Orleans, New York Police Department, New York State Energy Research and Development Authority, Tourism New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, Portugal, Qatar, Spain, Toronto Transit, UNICEF, US Mint, Veterans Affairs, Vienna, Washington State Department of Health, Zurich

NGOs, Nonprofits, and Universities

Ad Council, Alcola Foundation, American Academy of Actuaries, American International University, American Lung Association, American Petroleum Institute, American Public Transportation Association, American Red Cross, Argosy University, Big Sisters, Boy Scouts of America, California Almond Board, California Endowment, California Raisin Marketing Board, California Table Grape Commission, Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, Canadian Cancer Society, Canadian Nuclear Association, Canadian Tourism Commission, Cancer Research Center, Cancer Research UK, Catholic Health Council, Chiropractic Association, Cincinnati Children's Hospital, College of the Holy Cross, Cornell University, Council on Foreign

Relations, Dairy Association, Democratic Governors Association, Doctors Without Borders, Ford Foundation, Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, Howard University, Impact Iran, International Pharmaceutical Federation, James Irvine Foundation, John F. Kennedy Center, Kaiser Permanente, Lupus Foundation of America, Montanans for Free and Fair Elections, Mt. Sinai Medical Center, National Association of Broadcasters, National Audubon Society, National Breast Cancer Foundation, National Hockey League, Packard Foundation, Pew Center, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Rotary International, Ryukoku University, Salvation Army, San Francisco Bowl, Sydney Opera House, Special Olympics, Sundance Film Festival, Telecom Italia, Tony Awards, United Nations Foundation, University of California, Berkeley, University of Phoenix, University of Washington, US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Vancouver Convention Center, World Bank, World Health Organization, YMCA

Major Corporations and Brands

3M, 7-Eleven, 7 Up, A&E Entertainment, AAA, Adidas, Adobe, Aetna, AirAsia, Air France, Alaska Airlines, Albertsons, Alka-Seltzer, American Airlines, American Express, Amstel, Anheuser-Busch, Anthem, Apple, Arby's, Argos, Arm & Hammer, Arthur Andersen, Aspen Holdings, AT&T, Bacardi, Bank of America, Barnes & Noble, Bayer, Ben and Jerry's, Berkshire Hathaway, Best Buy, Best Western, BlackBerry, BlackRock, Blue Diamond Almonds, BMW, Bose, Bridgestone, British Airlines, Burger King, Cadillac, Campbell's, Canadian Pacific, Canon, Capital One, Captain Morgan, Carta Blanca, Chase Bank, Cheetos, Chevrolet, Chrysler, Cisco, Citibank, Clorox, Coca-Cola, Colgate, Comcast, ConocoPhillips, Converse, Coppertone, Corning, Costco, Covergirl, Crown Royal, CVS, Dicks Sporting Goods, DirecTV, Disney, Dole, Downy, Dreyer's, Dr Pepper, Dunlop, Duracell, Dutch National Bank, eBay, The Economist, Embassy Suites, Equinox, ESPN, ExxonMobil, Facebook, FedEx, Ford, Fry's Electronics, G4S, Gatorade, General Electric, General Mills, Genentech, Gillette, Glad, Godiva, Goodyear, Google, Gucci, H&R Block, Häagen-Dazs, Hallmark, Hampton Inn, Harley-Davidson, HBO, Head & Shoulders, Heineken, Heinz, Hen-

nessy, Hertz, Hewlett-Packard, Hilton, Holiday Inn, Horizon Organic, Hormel, Hovis, Humana, Hyatt Hotels, Hyundai, IBM, IKEA, Ingersoll Rand, Instagram, Intel, Jack Daniels, JCPenny, Jeep, Johnnie Walker, Johnson & Johnson, Kellogg's, Kia, Kimberly-Clark, Kleenex, Kmart, Kotex, Land Rover, Lay's, Levi's, Lexus, Lowe's, Macy's, Madison Square Garden, Major League Baseball, Marathon, Marriott, Mars, Marshalls, MasterCard, Maxwell House, Mazda, McDonald's, McGraw-Hill, Mercedes-Benz, Merck, Microsoft, MillerCoors, Mitsubishi, Monsanto, Morgan Stanley, Motorola, Nasdaq, National Car Rental, NBC, Nestea, Nestlé, Netflix, Newcastle Brown Ale, Newman's Own, Nice 'N Easy, Nickelodeon, Nike, Nintendo, Nissan, Nokia, Novartis, Pacific Gas and Electric, Panasonic, Panda Express, PayPal, Peet's Coffee & Tea, Pepsi, PetSmart, Pfizer, Philips, Pizza Hut, PlayStation, PNC Bank, Popeyes, Porsche, Prada, Procter & Gamble, Quaker Oats, RadioShack, Ritz, Rolex, Safeway, Saks Fifth Avenue, Sam's Club, Samsung, Sears, Sharp, Siemens, Sirius Satellite Radio, Smirnoff, Sol, Sony, Southwest Airlines, Sprint, Staples, Starbucks, State Farm, Subaru, Subway, Sun Life, Tanqueray, Target, Telenet, Telstra, Teva, Thai Airlines, Thomson Reuters, Thrifty Car Rental, Tide, Time Warner Cable, T-Mobile, TNT (network), Toshiba, Toyota, Toys "R" Us, Twitter, Uncle Ben's, Unilever, United Airlines, UPS, U.S. Bank, Verizon, Virgin, Visa, Volkswagen, Walgreens, Wall Street Journal, Walmart, Wells Fargo, Wendy's, Western Union, Whirlpool, Whole Foods, Williams-Sonoma, Wrigley, Xerox, Yahoo, YouTube, Zenith, Ziploc

WPP

WPP is a conglomerate of over 125 of the world's leading PRP and marketing firms, in fields that include advertising, media investment management, consumer insight, branding and identity, health care communications, direct digital promotion, and relationship marketing. WPP, a London-based conglomerate with an annual revenue of \$12.2 billion for 2015, employs around 190,000 people in 3,000 offices across 112 countries. WPP is a strategic partner with the World Economic Forum.

WPP was formed in 1985 when Martin Sorrell took control of a shell company, Wire & Plastic Products PLC. It made its first acquisitions in

1986, buying ten marketing services companies by year-end. In 1987, WPP bought the J. Walter Thompson agency and, in 1989, the Ogilvy Group.⁵¹ During 2000–2002, WPP acquired Young & Rubicam Inc. and The Tempus Group, and continued to buy up stakes in a number of Chinese and other Asian businesses. The Group continues to expand its reach through acquisitions, joint ventures, and partnerships, with investments in China, Brazil, Singapore, the UK, and the US. Primary subsidiaries of WPP include Blanc & Otus, Burson-Marsteller, Cohn & Wolfe, Dewey Square Group, Finsbury, Grey Group, Hill & Knowlton, National Public Relations, and Ogilvy Public Relations.

While over half of the 125 websites for WPP subsidiaries only mention a few of their clients, if any, many make proud boasts when it comes to their largest clients. WPP represents several thousand brands worldwide, and our list below is but a sampling of those brands to give readers an idea of how far their influence reaches in the global capitalist market.

WPP Client List

GOVERNMENTS AND GOVERNMENT-FUNDED ORGANIZATIONS

Australian Defense Force, BBC, BC Hydro, British Council, British Library, British Olympic Association, Citizens Information Board (Dublin), Disability Federation of Ireland, Dubai Food Festival, Dubai Shopping Festival, Failte Ireland, India Ministry of Tourism, Insolvency Services of Ireland, International Monetary Fund, Kansas City Union Station, Jordan, Lobbying (Regulator of Lobbying in Ireland), Minnesota State Lottery, NATO, Natural History Museum (London), New Jersey State Lottery, Referendum Commission (Ireland), Rio 2016 Olympics, Royal Mail, Tennessee Department of Tourism, UNICEF, UPS, US Marine Corps, US State Department, Washington Lottery

NGOS, NONPROFITS, AND UNIVERSITIES

AARP, Amsterdam Gay Pride, Australian Museum, Bangor University, Bath Rugby, Beirut Digital District, British Lung Association, Campaign for Tobacco-Free Kids, Canadian Breast Cancer Foundation, Clinton Foundation, Danish Football Association, DeVry University, English Athletics, Global Entrepreneurship Summit, GB

Rowing Team, Hamburg AIDS Foundation, International Olympic Committee, Irish Blood Transfusion Service, Irish Cancer Society, James Beard Foundation, Jewish Colorado, LTA British Tennis, Minnesota State Lottery, Mobile World Congress, Museum of London, National September 11 Memorial and Museum, National Standards Authority of Ireland, NFL, Obama for America, Open Connectivity Foundation, Population Services International, The Prince's Trust, Psykiatrifonden, Rotary Club, Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, Sons of Norway, Strayer University, Trinity College Dublin, University of Wales, World Economic Forum, World Rugby, Wounded Warrior Project, Youth Sports Trust (UK)

MAJOR CORPORATIONS AND BRANDS

3M, 7-Eleven, A&W Restaurants, Abbot Downing, Absolut, Adidas, Adobe, Advertising Age, Aetna, Allegheny Health Network, Allegiance Health, Allstate, Amazon, American Express, American Swiss, Amtrak, ANGA (America's Natural Gas Alliance), AOL, Argos, Ascot, Ask.com, AstraZeneca, Audi, Avis, Avon, AXA Life Invest, Bank of America, Bank of England, Bankers Life, Barclays, Baxter International, Bayer, Belvedere Vodka, Bentley, Berghaus, Best Buy, BG Group, Blinkbox, Blue Cross Blue Shield Association, BMW, Boeing, Bose, Boxfresh, British American Tobacco, British Gas, Brown-Forman, British Land, Britvic, Budweiser, Bulleit Bourbon, Bupa, Cadillac, Campbell's, Canon, Capital One, Cargill, Castle Lite, Carlsberg, Carphone Warehouse, CBS, Chase Bank, Chivas Regal, Choice Hotels, Cirque du Soleil, Cisco, Citibank, Citroën, Club Orange, CNN, Coca-Cola, Colgate, Comcast, Commonwealth Bank, Converse, Crayola, Credit Suisse, Dailymotion, Danone, Darden Restaurants, Dasani, Datalex, Del Monte, Dell, Direct Energy, DirecTV, Discover, Disney, Downy, Ducati, Dunkin' Donuts, Dunlop, DuPont, ECCO, Evans Cycles, EVA Air, European Tour (golf), Eurostar, Facebook, Fanagans Funeral Directors, Fanta, Ferrari, Ferrero, Fiat, Finansbank, Fine Gael, Finlandia, Forbes, Ford, Gap, General Electric, General Mills, Gillette, Ginsters, Geocon (engineering), GlaxoSmithKline, Glenlivet, Golden Globes, Goodyear, Google, Grammy Awards, Grey Goose, GroupM, Halls, Hasbro, Hawaiian Airlines, Hawaiian Gardens Casino, Healthline Networks, Hearst, Heineken,

Hennessy, Hershey's, Hertz, HIHO, Hobart Corporation, Holiday Inn, Hollywood Fashion Secrets, Home Depot, Honda, Honeywell, Hootsuite, Hotel Tonight, HSBC, Hyundai, IKEA, Imperial Tobacco, Infiniti, Intel, Intelligent Energy, Ipsen, Isuzu, Interpublic Group, iProspect (digital media), *Irish Examiner*, J&B Scotch, Jack Daniel's, Jägermeister, Jaguar, Japan Tobacco International, Johnnie Walker, Johnson & Johnson, Kellogg's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Kenwood, Khashoggi Holding, Kimberly-Clark, Kmart, Kraft, Kubota, Lady Speed Stick, Lamborghini, Levi's, LexisNexis, Lexus, Lincoln, L.L. Bean, L'Oréal, Lotus Cars, Lowe's, Lumber Liquidators, Luxgen, Macy's, MasterCard, Match.com, Mattel, Maxim, Mazda, McDonald's, Med 4 Home, Merck, Microsoft, MillerCoors, Mitsubishi, Mobile Marketer, Moccona, Mondelēz International, Monsanto, Motorola, MTM, Mundipharma International, NBC, Nedbank, Nestea, Nestlé, Netmarble, Network Rail (UK), New York Life Insurance Company, Nextel, Nike, Nissan, Nobia, Nokia, Novant Health, Novartis, Nu Finish, Office Depot, Olay, Old Spice, Opel, Oracle, P&G, Panasonic, Penguin Random House, Pentland Group, PepsiCo, Pernod Ricard, Peroni, Pfizer, PGA Tour, Pond's, Porsche, Qudrah National Holding, Quicken Loans, Popular Science, Pringles, Prudential, RBS, Red Bull, Reebok, Renault, Reverie, Revlon, Rite Aid, Roche Pharmaceuticals, Rockwell Automation, Rolls-Royce, Royal Exchange Theatre, Russian Standard Vodka, Safeway, Samsung, SAP, Saxo Bank, Scania, Schick, Schwan's, ScoreSense, Sears, Seattle Seahawks, Siemens, Shell, Silk (beverages), Smucker's, Snapfish, Soreen, Southern Comfort, Snip-Snap, Sony, South African Airways, Speedo, Sprite, Standard Bank, Standard Life, Staples, Starbucks, Stoli Vodka, Stouffer's, Subway, Sunbites, Super 8 Motels, Swisscom, Symantec, Tang, Target, Taste Inc., Tesco, The North Face, The Partners (media), The Times, Tidal (music streaming), Time, T-Mobile, Toyota, Travelocity, Travelodge, Travel Republic, UBS, Unilever, United Bankers' Bank, Universal, USA Today, U.S. Bank, Valspar, Vans, Vaseline, Verizon, Viacom, Vimeo, Visa, Vitaminwater, Volkswagen, Volvo, Wall Street Journal, Warner Brothers, Washington Post, Weight Watchers, Wells Fargo, Western Digital, Wrigley, Wyeth, Xactly Corporation, Xaxis, Xbox, Xfinity, Xoom, Yahoo, YOU Technology, Zurich Insurance Group

Interpublic Group of Companies

Interpublic Group of Companies (IPG) is based in New York, and had \$7.6 billion in revenue for 2015, with 49,700 employees working in eighty-eight agencies worldwide. IPG is owned by major investment firms including The Bank of New York Mellon Corporation, Vanguard Group, and Lord Abbett & Co. IPG is represented at the Business Roundtable in the US.

Interpublic Group of Companies Clients

GOVERNMENTS AND GOVERNMENT-FUNDED ORGANIZATIONS

Boston 2024 Partnership (Olympics bid), California Lottery, Copenhagen Airport, Covered California, El Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo (Peru), Port of Corpus Christi, UNICEF, US Army

NGOS, NONPROFITS, AND UNIVERSITIES

Ad Council, Bayer HealthCare, BJC HealthCare, Fuels America, National Cancer Institute, National Trauma Institute, NCAA Football, Open Space Institute, Peruvian Cancer Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trust, Singapore Red Cross, Society of Actuaries, St. John Ambulance, Tata Consultancy Services, University of Alabama, University of Pittsburgh Medical Center, University of Southern Mississippi, University of Technology and Engineering (Peru)

MAJOR CORPORATIONS AND BRANDS

4C (media marketing), ABC, Acava Limited, Adelphic, ADmantX, Airbus Group, Amazon, American Standard, America Superconductor, AOL, Applebee's, Atlas Solutions, Bang & Olufsen, BBC America, Bertolucci (watches), Betty Crocker, Bisquick, BJ's Restaurant, BJC HealthCare, BMW, Boehringer Ingelheim, Brand Networks (social advertising), British Airways, Cadbury, Carrera y Carrera, Carrick Brain Centers, Chevrolet, Cisco, Clorox, Coca-Cola, Coffeemate, Columbia Records, Comfort Inn, comScore, Cross Pixel Media, Crunch Fitness, Daiichi Sankyo, Datonics, Denny's, Depomed, Dr. Phil, Dynamic Glass, eBay, Electronic Arts, Eli Lilly and Company, Entertainment Tonight, Equus (golf), ESPN (Latin America), Expedia,

Experian, ExxonMobil, Eyeota, Facebook, Factual (data management), General Motors, General Mills, Genentech, Gilead Sciences, Glaxo-SmithKline, GOJO Industries, Hamburger Helper, Hot Pockets, Hyundai, IAG Cargo, iHeartRadio, IMS Health, Intel, Inside Edition, Janssen Pharmaceutica, Johnson & Johnson, Juicy Juice, Kaiser Permanente, Kaspersky Lab, Kia, Kohl's, Kwekkeboom, Lancel, Linde North America, LG Electronics, LinkedIn, Machinima, Marriott, MasterCard, McDonald's, Mercedes-Benz, Merrimack Pharmaceuticals, Microsoft, The Mirage (hotel and casino), Nature Valley, NBC, NCR Corporation, Nesquik, Nestlé, New York Sports Clubs, Nielsen, Nintendo, Noble Energy, Norse (cybersecurity), Ocean Spray, Oracle BlueKai, Ormat Technologies, Patrón Tequila, Peer39, Pfizer, Pine-Sol, Purina, Roche, Rocket Fuel, Samsung, Sierra Trading Post (online retailer), Simple Mobile, Sony, St. Regis Hotels, Stouffer's, Subaru, Tesco, The Insider, The Trade Desk, Tiffany & Co., Triad Retail Media, TVTY, TubeMogul, Tumi, TurboTax, Twitter, Unilever, US Bank, VisualDNA, William Hill, Yahoo, Zenith, Zippo

A detailed reading of the above clients lists helps one realize how far the influence of just three firms has spread through market capitalism, governments, and corporate media in the world today.

PRP FIRMS IN SERVICE TO THE TRANSNATIONAL CAPITALIST CLASS

The US/NATO global military empire is the police force for concentrated transnational capitalism. A few hundred individuals control tens of trillions of dollars. The core agenda for the global empire is the protection of capital growth and the elimination of barriers and restrictions to the free movement of capital. Public relations propaganda firms play a vital role in the continuation of the global capitalist empire. Only thirty-four directors control the three mega-PRP firms. (See the Appendix for a listing of these directors and their remarkably similar backgrounds.) These directors are part of the super class within the global .0001 percent—6,000-plus elites who control half the world's wealth. These people interact in many of same transnational organizations, including the WTO, IMF, World Bank, Council

on Foreign Relations, World Economic Forum, Business Roundtable, Trilateral Commission, and Bilderberg Group. They share a common bias for private accumulation, and a deep dislike for public democracies interfering with business practices and profits. The entire PRP industry reflects these leaders' orientation.

The PRP industry is highly concentrated and fully global. Its primary goal is the promotion of capital growth through the hegemonic psychological control of human desires, emotions, beliefs, and values. PRP firms do this by manipulating feelings and cognitions of human beings worldwide. With \$35 billion in annual revenue, the big three PRP firms are a key component of the transnational capitalist class. Due to both their global corporate media influence and their increasingly embedded role in the production of government propaganda (including, especially, psychological operations in support of a permanent war on terror), PRP firms are capitalism's ideological engine.

Perhaps democracy movements can offer us some hope for the future. Consciousness of the dark side of PRP and its unrestricted power to warp minds is an important first step. Among some recent positive steps taken by activists to limit the power of the PRP firms, Quebec has become one of the first areas to ban commercial advertising to children under the age of 13.⁵² For that matter, three generations of people in Cuba have grown up without product advertising in their lives. A group of graduate students from the University of Havana simply laughed when I asked them four years ago if they ever wanted a "Happy Meal." It seemed absurd to them to even consider the idea. We too need to understand the absurdity, and dangers, of the PRP industry, and move to eliminate its influence from our lives, our cultures, and our world.

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APPENDIX

PRP Big Three Boards of Directors

OMNICOM GROUP

Robert Charles Clark Director, Trustee. BA in Theology from Maryknoll College, PhD in Philosophy from Columbia University, and Juris Doctor from Harvard University. Boards: Independent Director of NewBridge Bancorp and Newbridge Bank.

Leonard S. Coleman, Jr. has held positions as Director, Independent Director, Commissioner, Chairman, Vice President, Member, and President. Undergraduate degree in History from Princeton University, Master's in Public Administration and Education/Social Policy from Harvard University.

Errol Cook has held positions as Director, Senior Advisor, Managing Director, Partner, Senior Partner, and Private Investor.

Bruce Crawford has held positions as Chief Operating Officer, Secretary, Senior Vice President, Interim Chief Financial Officer, President, Executive Vice President, Vice President, Director, Operations Consultant, Senior Advisor, and Chairman. He studied Finance at San Jose State University.

Susan S. Denison Founding Partner, Partner, Managing Director. BA in Psychology from Connecticut College, Master's in Psychology from the University of Rochester, and Master's in Business Administration from Harvard University.

Michael A. Henning has held positions as Chief Executive Officer, Managing Partner, Partner, Vice Chairman, Co-Chairman, Deputy Chairman, Independent Director, Director, and Trustee. Bachelor's in Business Administration from St. Francis College, and a certificate from Harvard University in Advanced Management. Co-Chairman of the Foreign Investment Advisory Board of Russia, where he co-

chaired a panel of twenty-five Chief Executive Officers from the G7 countries who advised the Russian government in adopting international accounting and tax standards.

John R. Murphy has held positions as Chief Financial Officer, Interim Chief Financial Officer, and Chief Executive Officer. BA in Accounting from Pennsylvania State University.

John R. Purcell has held positions as Chairman, Chief Executive Officer, President, Executive Vice President, Senior Vice President, and Director. Graduated from University of Virginia School of Law in 1959.

Linda Johnson Rice has held positions as Chief Executive Officer, President, Vice President, Chief Operating Officer, and Director. BA in Journalism from University of Southern California, and Master's in Business Administration from Northwestern University. Specializes in publishing. She was named one of Chicago's 100 Most Powerful Women and was voted one of the Top 10 Women in the Media.

Gary Roubous has held positions as Chief Executive Officer, Director, and Chairman. Bachelor of Science in Chemical Engineering from University of Colorado. Specializes in manufacturing and financial services.

John D. Wren has held positions as Director, Chief Executive Officer, President, Chairman, Vice Chairman, and Trustee. Bachelor's and Master's in Business Administration from Adelphi University. Specializes in interactive and digital marketing services, investing, and accounting.

WPP

Jacques Aigrain Non-Executive Director. Partner at Warburg Pincus LLP. He was on the Executive Committee of Swiss Re Group from 2001 to 2009, including CEO from 2006, and prior to that, he spent twenty years with JPMorgan Chase in New York, London, and Paris.

Charlene Begley Non-Executive Director. Served as a Senior Vice President of General Electric Company and the Chief Executive Officer and President of GE Home & Business Solutions at General Electric Company.

Sir John Hood Director. Formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford and the University of Auckland.

Roberto Quarta Director, Chairman.

Daniela Riccardi Director. A prominent FMCG, retail-and-fashion products executive, and Chief Executive Officer of Baccarat.

Paul Richardson Group Finance Director after four years as Director of Treasury.

Li Ruigang Director. Founding Chairman of CMC Capital Partners and CMC Holdings, China's platforms for media and entertainment investment and operations.

Nicole Seligman Director. Most recently, Ms. Seligman served as President of Sony Entertainment, Inc. and Sony Corporation of America.

Hugo Shong Director. Founding General Partner of IDG Capital Partners and President of IDG Asia/China 1993.

Timothy Shriver Chairman of Special Olympics. Member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Sir Martin Sorrell Director, Group Chief Executive. Non-Executive Director of Formula One and Alcoa Inc., and a member of the Trilateral Commission.

Sally Susman Director. Currently Executive Vice President of Corporate Affairs for Pfizer.

Sol Trujillo Director. Three decades of experience as CEO of high-cap global companies in the US, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the Asia-Pacific.

INTERPUBLIC GROUP OF COMPANIES (IPG)

Jocelyn E. Carter-Miller President of TechEd Ventures, a firm that develops and manages charter schools.

Deborah G. Ellinger Former Chief Executive Officer of the *Princeton Review*. Previously served as President of Restoration Hardware, and Chief Executive Officer of Wellness Pet Food.

H. John Greeniaus President of G-Force, LLC, an investment company. Served as President, Chairman, and Chief Executive Officer of Nabisco, Inc. Began his career with Procter & Gamble in Canada.

Mary J. Steele Guilfoile Chairman of MG Advisors, Inc., a privately-owned financial services merger and acquisition advisory and consulting services firm. Worked for twenty years on Wall Street, at times with JPMorgan Chase.

Dawn E. Hudson Chief Marketing Officer of the National Football League. Previously CEO of PepsiCo.

William T. Kerr Former President and Chief Executive Officer of Arbitron Inc., and Chairman of the Board of Directors of Meredith Corporation, a diversified media company.

Henry S. Miller Chairman of Marblegate Asset Management. Previously Cofounder, Chairman, and a Managing Director of Miller Buckfire & Co., an investment bank.

Jonathan F. Miller Previously Chairman and Chief Executive of News Corporation's digital media group.

Michael I. Roth Chairman and CEO. Previously Chairman and CEO of The MONY Group Inc. Currently a member of the Board of Directors for Pitney Bowes Inc., and the Ad Council.

David M. Thomas Former Chairman and CEO of IMS Health, which provides information and consulting for the pharmaceutical and healthcare industries.

Notes

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- 51 Corporate Watch, a UK-based journalism and research group that analyses the impact of corporations and corporate power on the environment, did a profile on one of the company's divi-

sions, Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide, in July 2002. They charged Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide with greenwashing the practices of BP and Ford. See "Ogilvy and Mather Worldwide: Corporate Crimes," Corporate Watch, completed July 2002, posted online June 14, 2005, <https://corporatewatch.org/news/2005/jun/13/ogilvy-mather-worldwide-corporate-crimes>.

52 Quebec Coalition on Weight-Related Problems, "Quebec Law," <http://www.cqpp.qc.ca/en/advertising-to-children/quebec-law>.

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