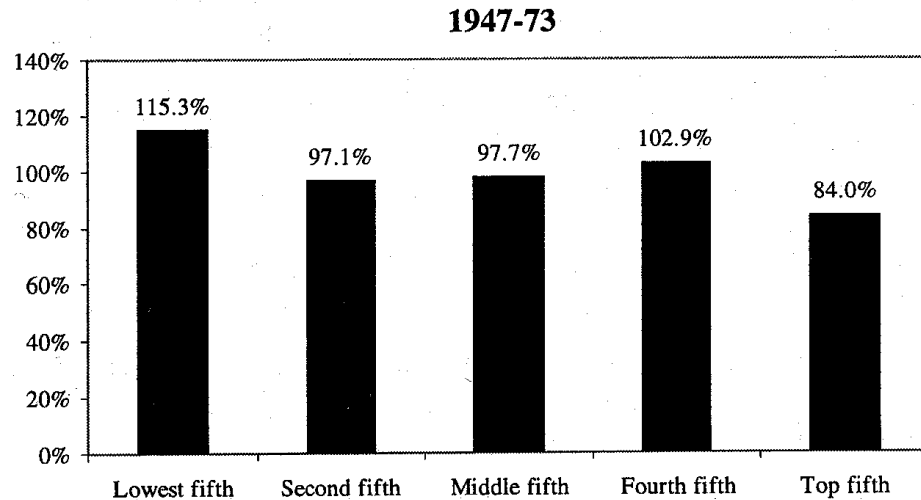


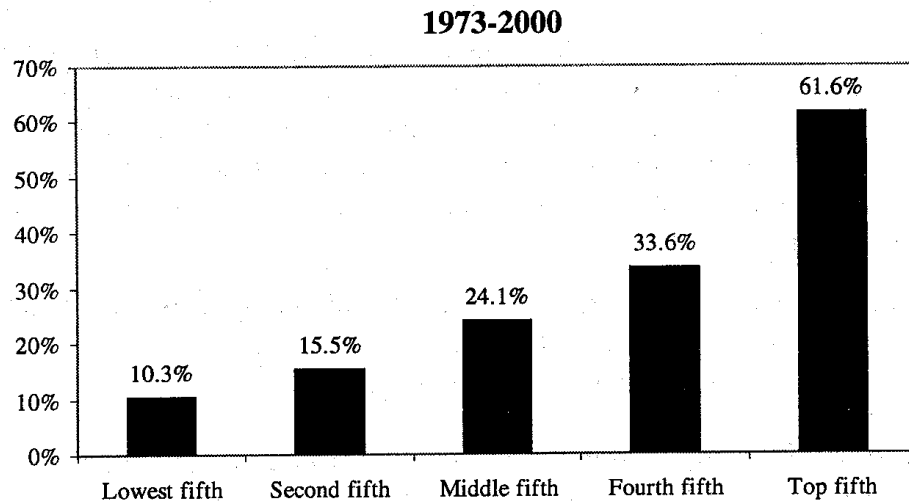
Intro

- This presentation is about the fundamental changes in world's political and economic orientation in the last 100 years
- Big topic, but simple => Simple, but not easy
- What ideas are now popular, and, are they new?
- What ideas support the current climate?
- Ideas can be sold just like CDs or tennis shoes
- If those ideas are being sold...who sells them and why?
- What impact do they have?

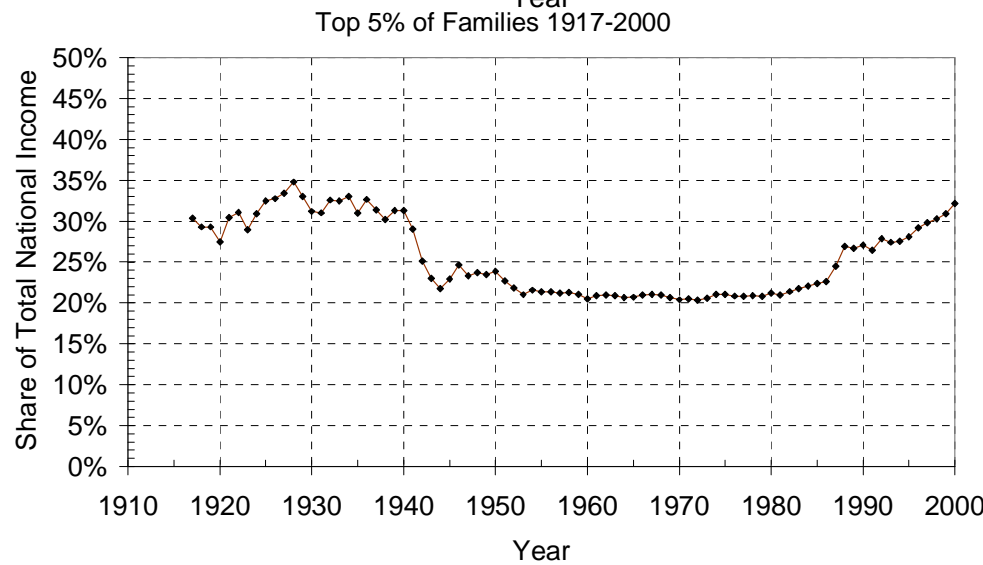
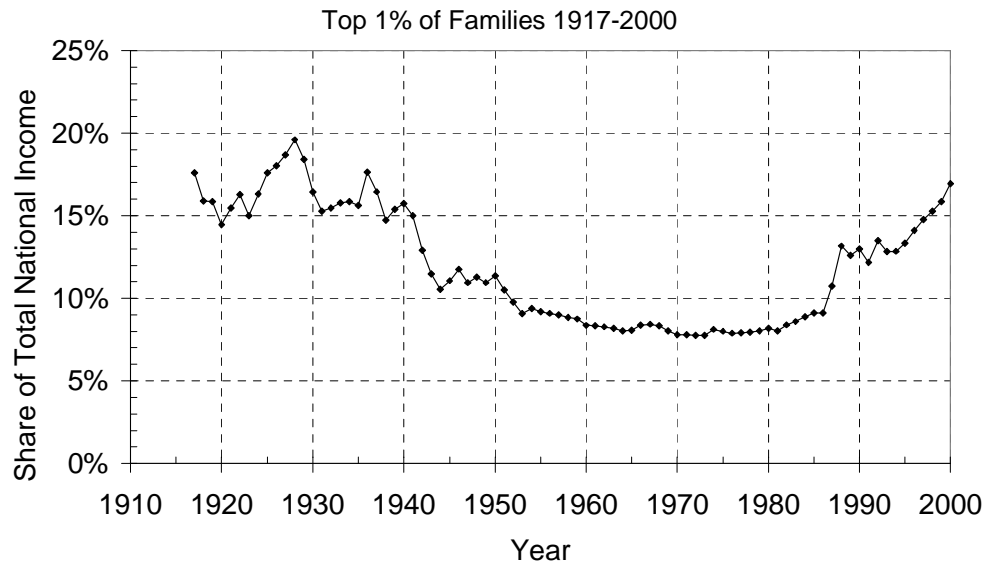
Economics: Where are we?



- From 1947 to 1973, all quintiles gained equally
- From 1973 to 2000, the top fifth, or 20% gained 61.6% ¹



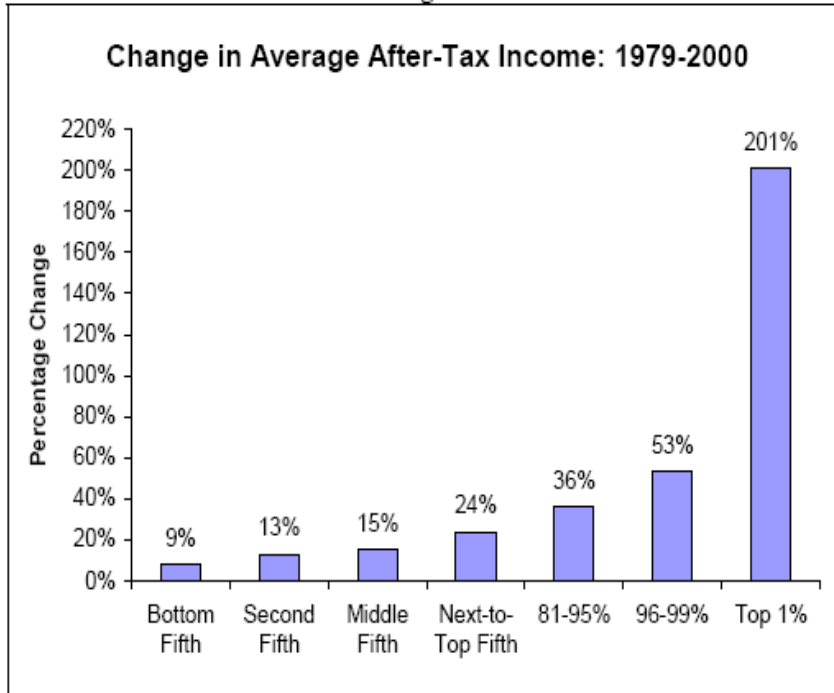
Income, c.1917-2000



- 1913 progressive income tax, and estate taxes, capital gains taxes redistributed income
- The period of equal growth is the bottom of the “U”²
- 1917 top 5% got ~30%
- 1979: top 5% got ~20%
- 2000: top 5% got ~30% again³

Income, 1970-2000

Figure 1

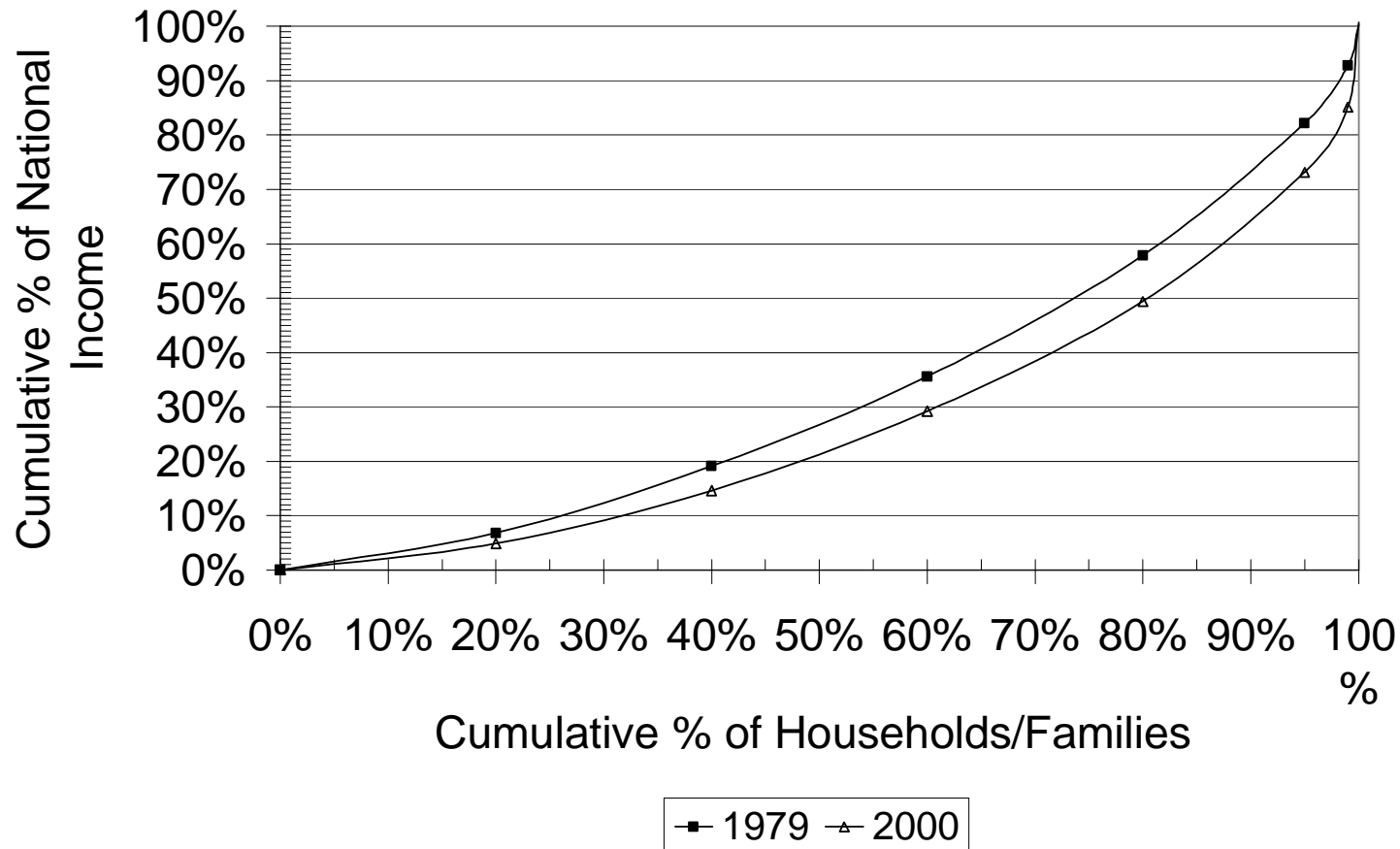


Source: CBO (For 81st-95th and 96th-99th percentiles, CBPP calculations from the CBO data.)

Average after tax income in 2000 dollars ³

Income Category	1979	1989	2000
Lowest fifth	\$12,600	\$12,100	\$13,700
Second fifth	25,600	25,100	29,000
Middle fifth	36,400	37,500	41,900
Fourth fifth	47,700	51,800	59,200
Highest fifth	84,000	108,000	141,400
81 st -95 th Percentile	65,300	75,800	88,700
96 th -99 th Percentile	103,600	129,100	158,600
Top 1 Percent	286,300	506,500	862,700
Overall Average	40,700	46,700	57,000

Income Distribution, 1979-2000³



Income, 1970-2000

CEOs: Forbes Annual Compensation Survey⁴

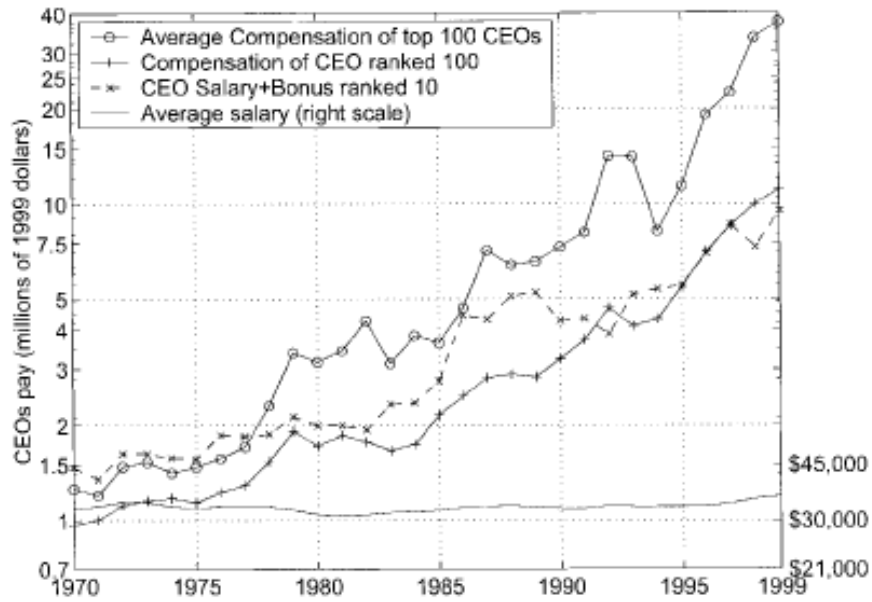
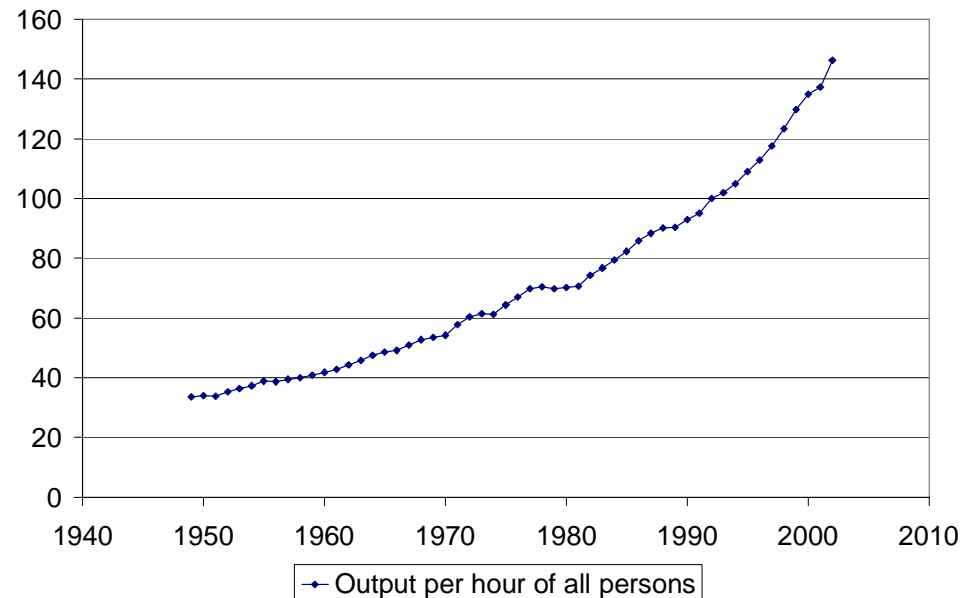


FIGURE XI

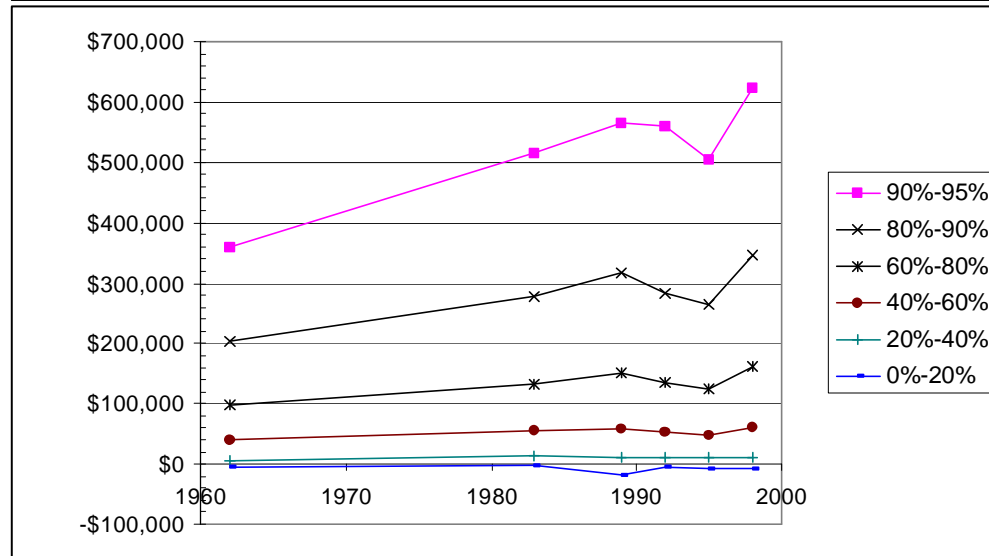
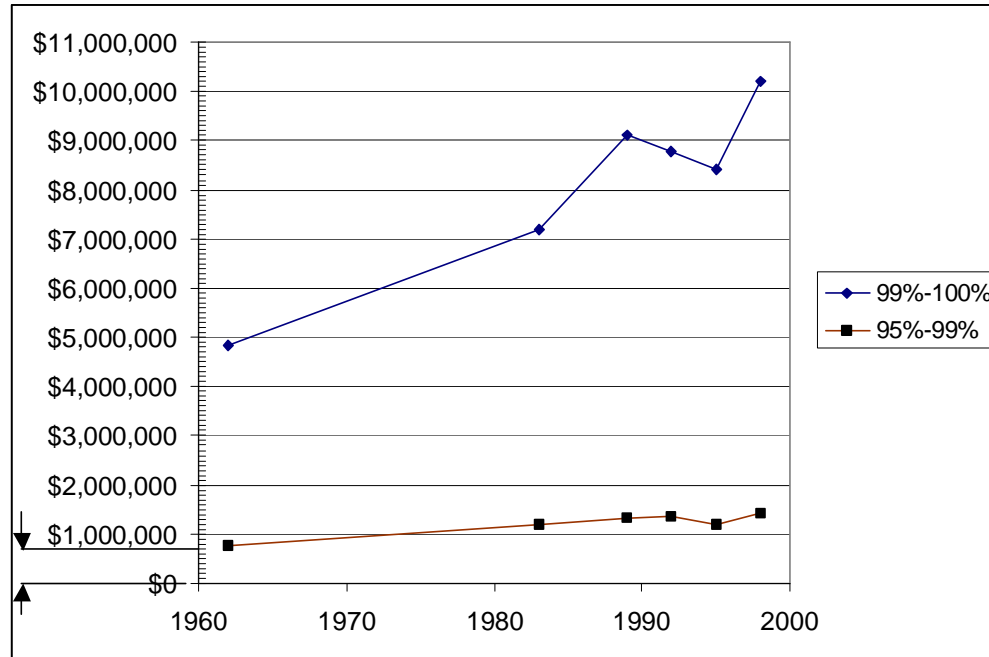
CEOs' Pay versus Average Wages, 1970-1999

Source: Forbes Annual Compensation surveys of CEOs in top 800 companies; Average wages of full-time employees are from National Income Accounts.

BLS: Productivity index, 1992=100⁵

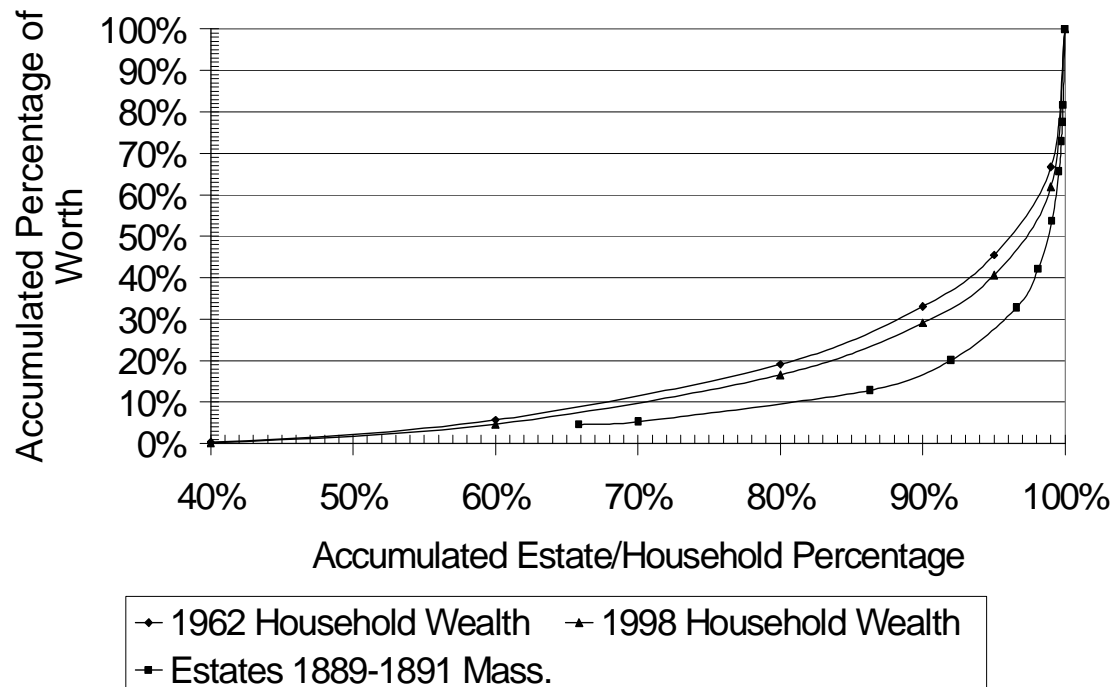


Wealth



Ref. 6

Household Wealth Distribution, c. 1900-1998

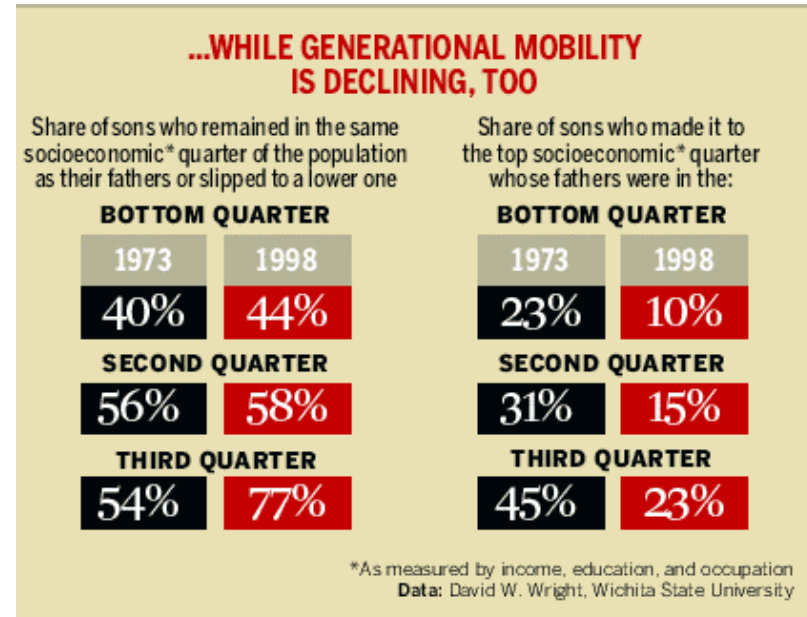
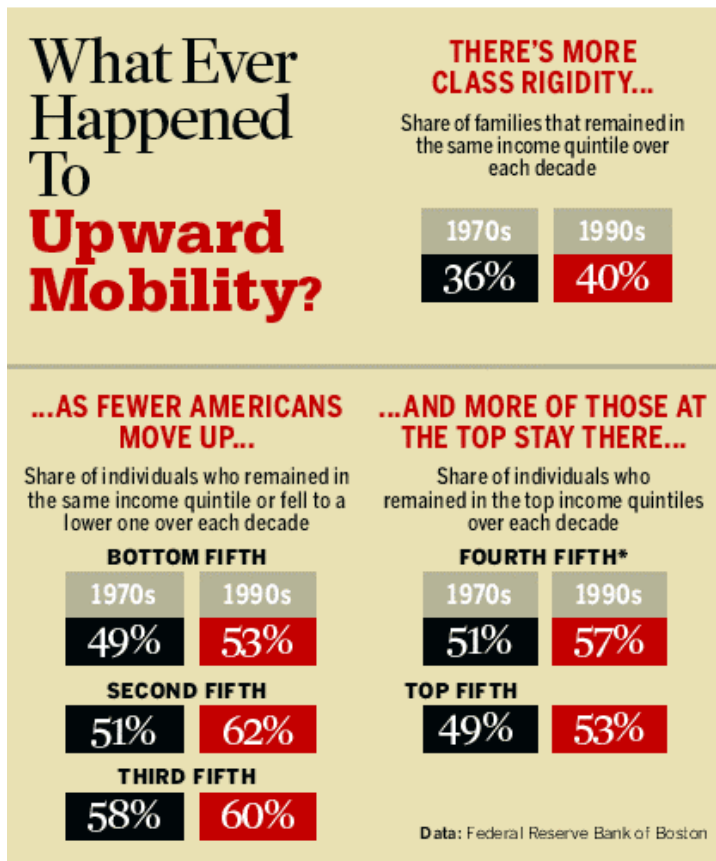


- wealth concentration 1800's, bottom 80% of households held between 8% and 14% of total wealth ^{7,8}
- In 1962, the bottom 80% held almost 20% of the nation's wealth, 1998 had dropped to under 17%. ⁹

1889-1891 Wealth see ref. 7

1962-1998 Wealth see ref. 9

Class Mobility



- 62% for second-fifth vs. 51%
- 51% vs. 57% fourth fifth
- Longitudinal study: more falling, less are achieving ¹⁰

The “New Economy”

**The Working Poor:
Who's In The Ranks**

The majority are white, female,
and high school educated

	LOW-WAGE* WORKFORCE	TOTAL WORKFORCE
	24%	100%
AVERAGE HOURLY WAGE 2003		
	\$7.09	\$17.15
GENDER		
Female	58%	45%
Male	42%	55%
RACE		
White	58%	73%
Hispanic	22%	11%
Black	14%	10%
Asian/other	6%	6%

EDUCATION		
Less than High School	23%	6%
High School	37%	29%
Some college	31%	29%
College or more	9%	36%
AGE		
18-25	37%	10%
26-35	22%	25%
36 plus	41%	65%
OCCUPATION		
Services	50%	18%
Operations	21%	24%
Clerical	15%	16%
Managers	12%	41%
Others	2%	1%

*Low-wage refers to hourly wage rate necessary for a family of four to just surpass the poverty line (weighted) with full-time, full-year work. In 2003, this wage was \$9.04.
Data: Economic Policy Institute

*\$18,800/yr for a family of four = \$9.04/hr ¹¹

Where we are (US)

- Business Week: “Some companies use the mere threat of overseas job shifts against workers who try to unionize to raise their pay” and 62% of manufacturers threaten to close plants during union recruitment drives ¹²
- Business Week also notes “the growing investor class will keep the squeeze on labor,” as investors demand increasing profits. ¹³
- “creative destruction” keeps wages low. Greenspan: “A typical restraint on compensation increases...appears to be mainly the consequence of greater worker insecurity” ¹⁴
- Barron’s: the current administration is “gradually taking capital out of the tax base...Bush is transforming the income tax into a pure tax on wages.” ¹⁵

Where we are (US)



- Corporate revenues represented only 7.4 percent of all federal tax receipts in 2003.
- With the exception of 1983, this represents the lowest level on record (these data go back to 1934).¹⁶

“New Economy” jobs



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Table 3c. The 10 occupations with the largest job growth, 2002-12

Table 3c. The 10 occupations with the largest job growth, 2002-12
(Numbers in thousands of jobs)

Occupation	Employment		Change		Most significant source of education or training(1)
	2002	2012	Number	Percent	
Registered nurses	2,284	2,908	623	27	Associate degree
Postsecondary teachers	1,581	2,184	603	38	Doctoral degree
Retail salespersons	4,076	4,672	596	15	Short-term on-the-job tra
Customer service representatives	1,894	2,354	460	24	Moderate-term on-the-job
Combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food	1,990	2,444	454	23	Short-term on-the-job tra
Cashiers, except gaming	3,432	3,886	454	13	Short-term on-the-job tra
Janitors and cleaners, except maids and housekeeping cleaners	2,267	2,681	414	18	Short-term on-the-job tra
General and operations managers	2,049	2,425	376	18	Bachelor's or higher degr
Waiters and waitresses	2,097	2,464	367	18	Short-term on-the-job tra
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	1,375	1,718	343	25	Short-term on-the-job tra

- The “Wal-Martization” of America: projected job growth¹⁷

Where we are (world and US)

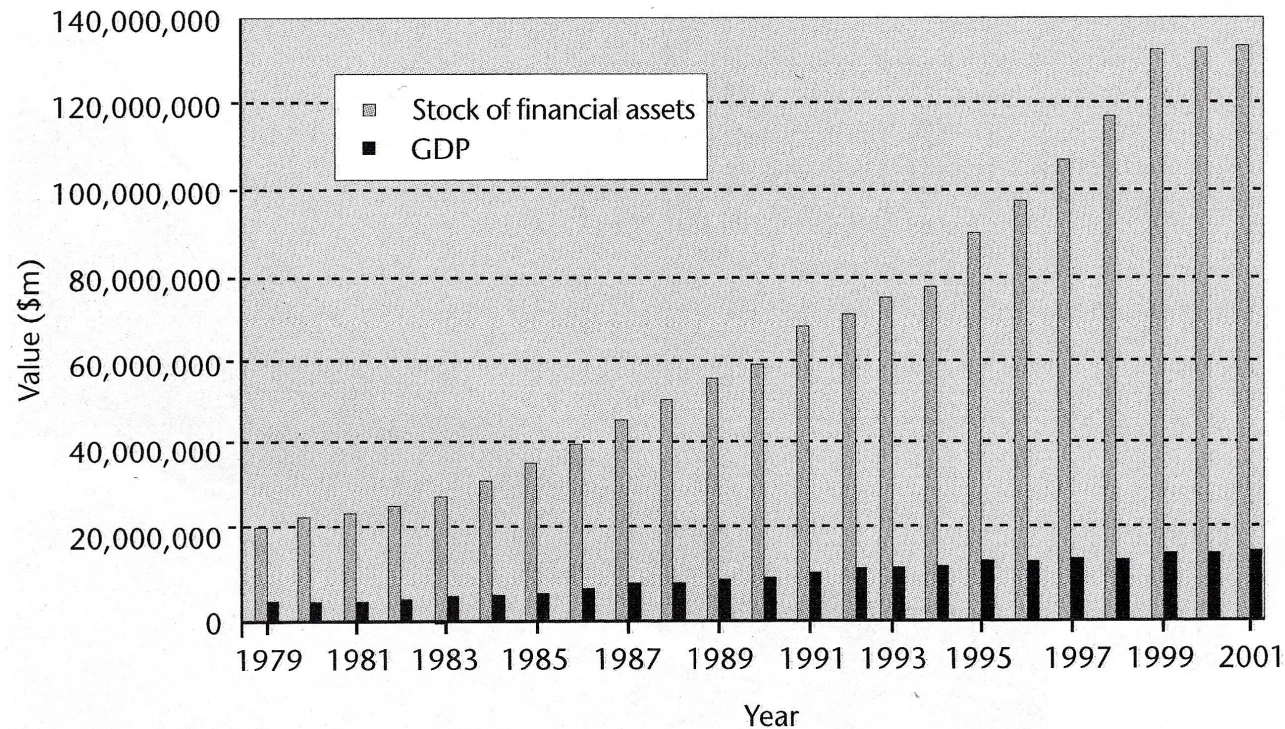
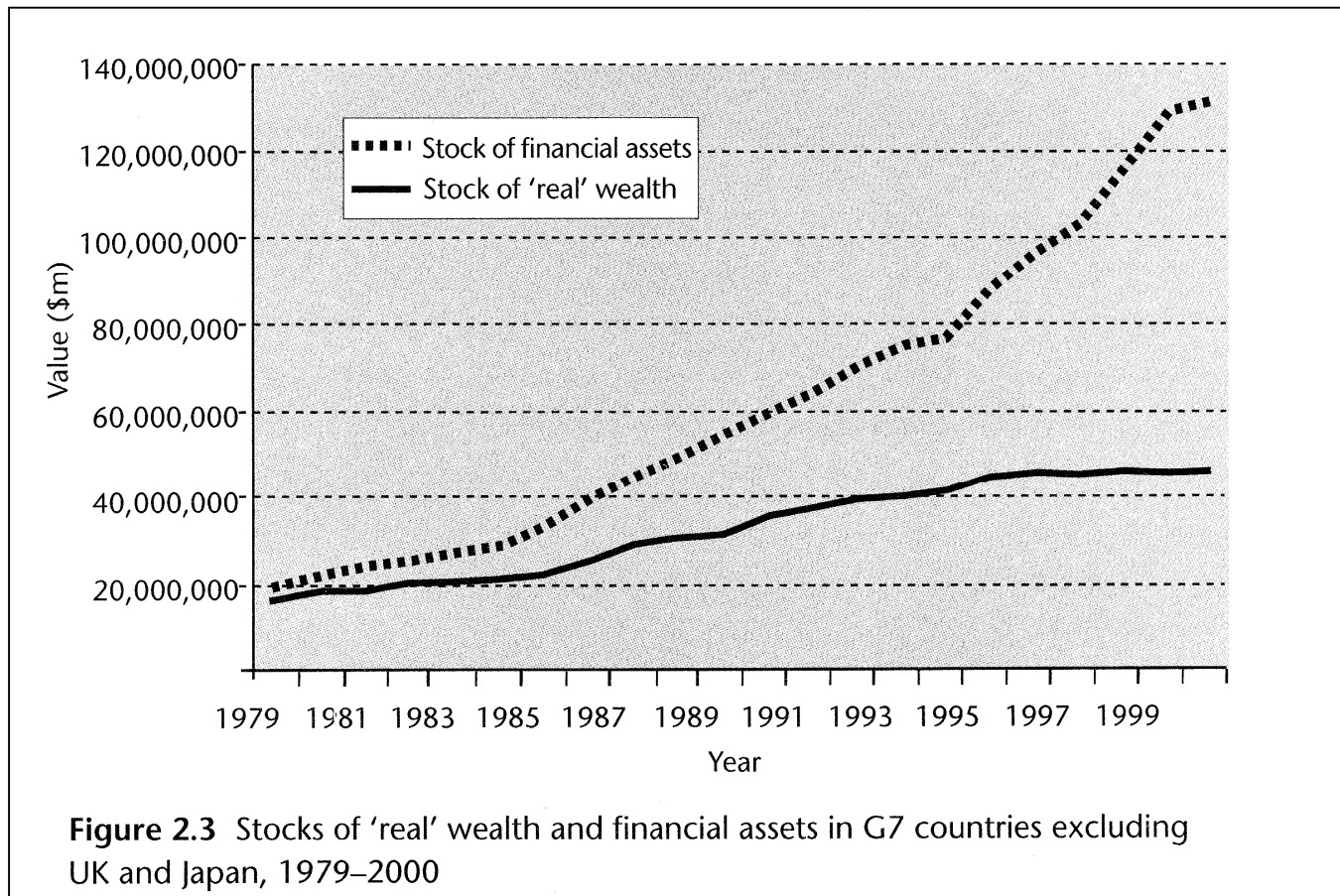


Figure 2.1 GDP and the stock of financial assets in G7 countries excluding UK and Japan

- 1980 \$20 trillion financial assets 5x GDP by 2000, 8 times
- Bonds, shares, bank loans, mortgages, derivatives, options ¹⁸
- 1971 US abandons Bretton Woods fixed rates => floating rates, systemic risk, complex financial instruments: derivatives and options
- Capital leaves real economy, squeezes productive investment ¹⁹
- In 1970, 90% of international transactions were trade and 10% were capital flows. Today, 10% of international transactions are trade and 90% are capital flows. ²⁰

Globally: Triumph of Capital



- Real economy: physical capital, human capital, R&D exp. Old rich: Warren Buffet, blue-chip, value and jobs added
- New rich: hedge funds, arbitrage and speculation²¹: George Soros, East Asia crisis

“Free Market” Globalization

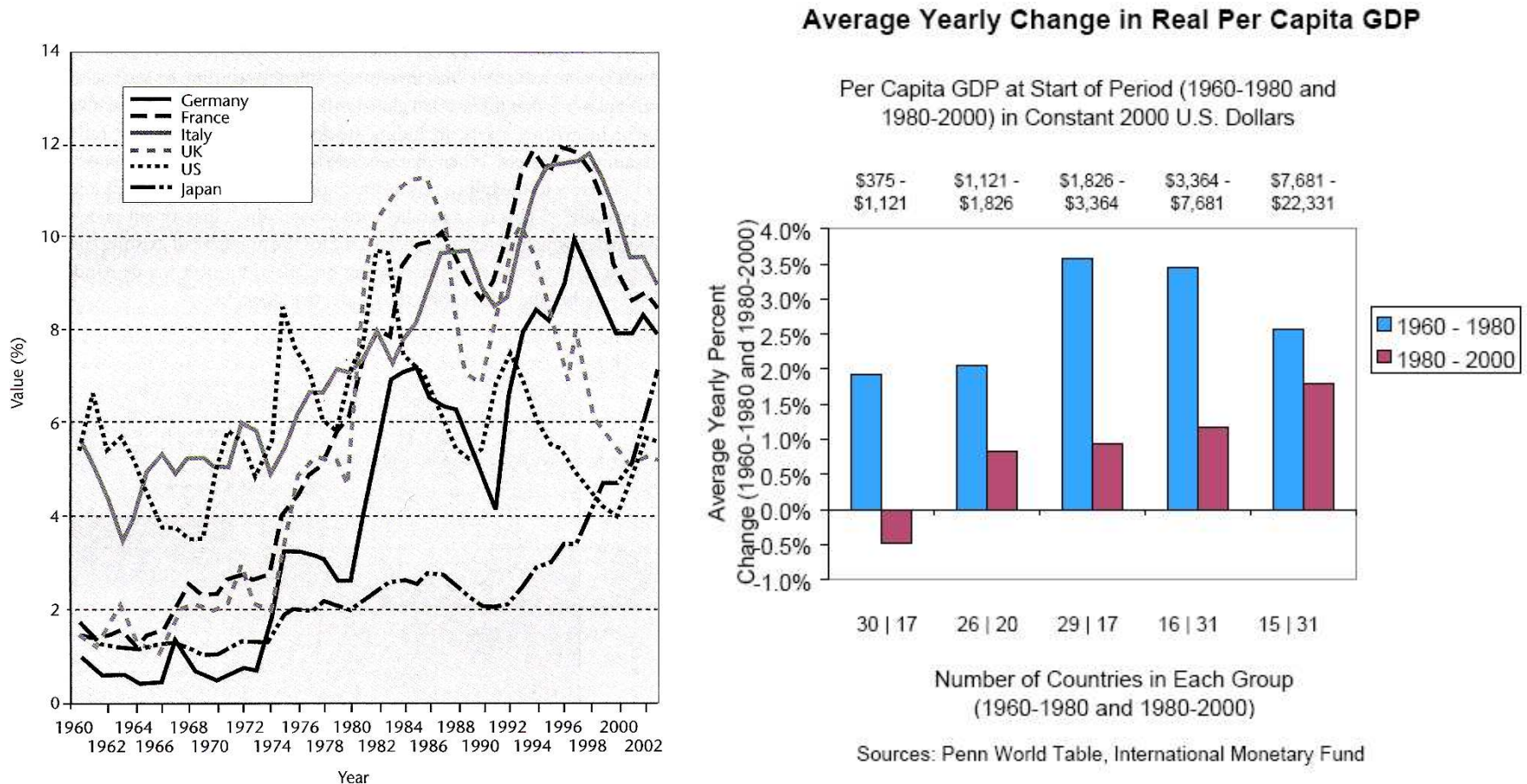
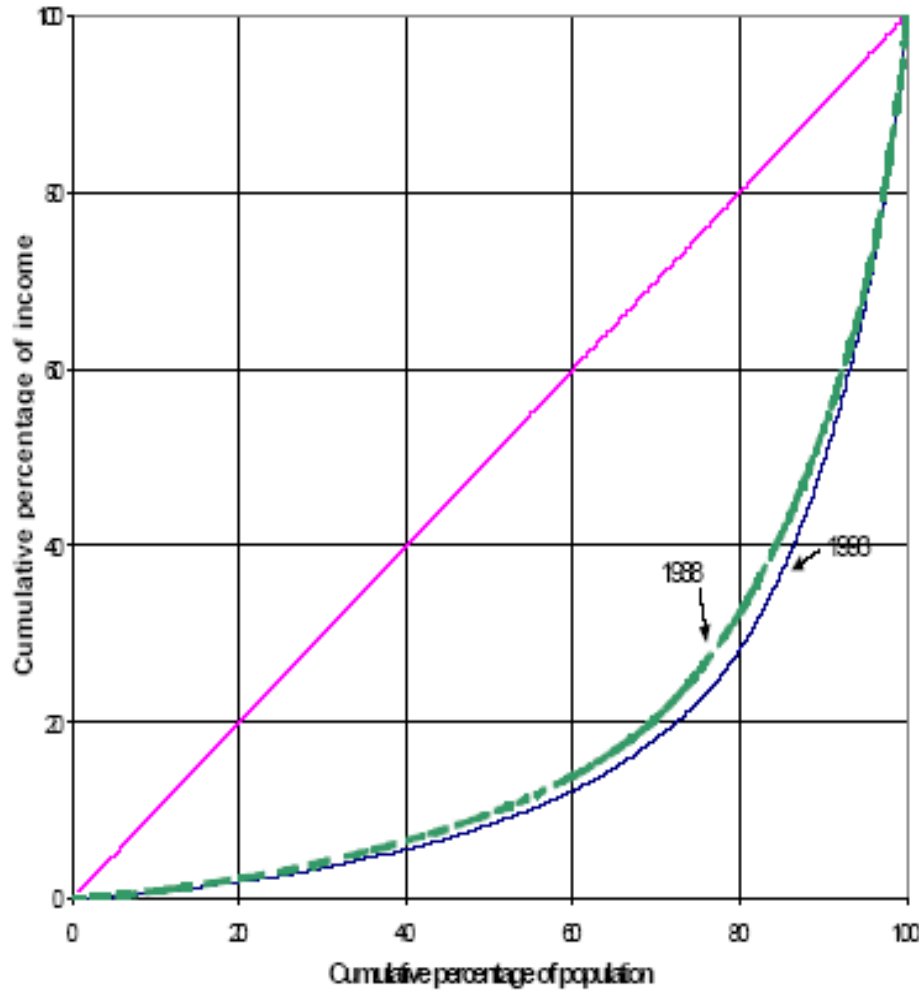


Figure 2.10 Unemployment rates in major economies, 1960–2003

- Trend: stagnation in the real economy, unemployment rate²² and GDP growth²³
- Deregulation = “freedom”: clear the way for unrestricted short term finance capital flows. For example, Depression era Glass Steagall Act repealed²⁴

“Poor” World

Figure 5. Lorenz curves for 1988 and 1993



Ref. 25

- “By 1993 an American on the average income of the poorest 10% of the population was better off than two-thirds of the world’s people.”
- But, China and India have made some gains (mostly in urban areas though)²⁶
- One reason they have avoided crises: They insulate themselves from capital flows
- Developing countries, on aggregate, export capital to rich countries, in the form of debt or capital flight, plus keep huge currency reserves they could be using for development²⁷

Where we are: Culture

- Kevin Phillips, former Nixon staffer: “philosophic corruption of the era [1890’s] produced a cult of markets and laissez faire, social Darwinism and survival of the fittest.” ²⁸
- Science is now “leftist”: the Union of Concerned Scientists recently issued a condemnation of Bush administration, which has: ²⁹
 - Misrepresented the findings of the National Academy of Sciences and other experts on climate change.
 - Suppressed climate change section from an Environmental Protection Agency report
 - Suppressed EPA study showing that the administration's Clear Skies Act would allow increased air pollution and mercury contamination of fish.
 - Dropped independent scientists from advisory committees on lead poisoning and drug abuse in favor of ones with ties to industry.
 - The Department of Health and Human Services deleted information from its Web sites that runs contrary to the president's preference for “abstinence only” sex education programs.

Where we are: Culture

- Pundits openly preach hatred of political opponents
 - “We need to execute people like John Walker in order to physically intimidate liberals by making them realize that they could be killed, too.”- Ann Coulter³⁰
 - “I tell people don’t kill all the liberals. Leave enough so we can have two on every campus - living fossils - so we will never forget what these people stood for.”- Rush Limbaugh³¹
 - “To fight only the al-Qaida scum is to miss the terrorist network operating within our own borders...Who are these traitors? Every rotten radical left-winger in this country, that’s who.”- Michael Savage³²
- Rockford, Il: Michael Breit: stockpiling weapons “to use them against liberals.” Police say they found essay “Revolutionary Strike Force,” which outlined plan to kill 1,500 people at Democratic presidential caucus. Was released on bond.³³

Ominous Parallels: Hating the “Liberal Press”

- “But what food did the...press of the pre-War period dish out to the people? ...Wasn't the worst kind of pacifism injected into the heart of our people...? Did it not help to teach our people a miserable immorality? Did it not ridicule morality and ethics ...until our people finally became ‘modern’? Did it not with its constant attacks undermine the foundations of the state's authority until a single thrust sufficed to make the edifice collapse? ...Did it not belittle the army with constant criticism...?”
- “The activity of the so-called liberal press was the work of gravediggers for the German people and the German Reich.”
 - Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*³⁴

Mussolini: “The Doctrine of Fascism”

- “In Democracy Fascism rejects the absurd conventional philosophy of political equality.”
- “Fascism becomes the emphatic negation of that doctrine which constituted...Socialism or Marxism.”
- “Fascism above all does not believe either in the possibility or utility of universal peace...War alone ... sets a seal of nobility on the peoples who have the virtue to face it.”
- Fascism is the “reaction...against the languid and materialistic positivism [Enlightenment] of the Eighteenth Century”
- “fascism is opposed to the unions of the labouring classes.”
- “The one who can resolve the dramatic contradictions of capital is the state.”³⁵
- The last is sometimes used to argue that fascists, Hitler were “leftists”³⁶
- IG Farben, Gustav and Alfried Krupp, and other German industrialists saved the Nazi party in 1932-33; some served jail time³⁷

Reflecting...

- The comparison to fascism has been made
- Is it valid?
- Those were the similarities: What are the differences?
- Germany, Italy: open street warfare between Communists, Anarchists, Fascists, labor unions, police.
- Germany: 1920's: Friekorps and an Army with powerful anti-democratic sentiments ³⁸
- US: fortunately has strong tradition of freedom
- Compared to other nations, weak legacy of internal state repression, no gestapos, KGB, Soviet show trials...
- Which is why we have PR: the history of persuasion
- But first: an example

Persuasion

- ABC's 20/20 - John Stossel - reported "studies" that organic lettuce contained higher levels of E. Coli bacteria than factory farm lettuce
- two strains of bacteria exist, but organic contained harmless strain
- Said factory farm lettuce contained no pesticides, but there were no tests done for pesticides ³⁹
- "investigator" was author of *Saving the Planet with Pesticide and Plastic*, employee at right wing/libertarian think tank, the Hudson Institute.
- Hudson funders: Dow, Monsanto, ConAgra, Novartis, John M. Olin Foundation.⁴⁰

Persuasion

- Olin contributes to anti-consumer think tanks and front groups; provided over \$200 million to several hundred such groups from 1985 to 2002 ⁴¹
- ABC's *Stossel in the Classroom*, "educational" videotapes sold in 200 schools uses mostly references from other corporate front groups: Cato, Heritage, Hoover, Young America Foundation, all funded in part by Olin Found. ^{42,43}
- Young America Found. web site: "Young America's Foundation is committed to ensuring that increasing numbers of young Americans understand and are inspired by the ideas of individual freedom, a strong national defense, free enterprise, and traditional values." ⁴⁴

Persuasion

- YAF's National Journalism Center (NJC): Phillip Morris court document “[NJC] was developed to train budding journalists in free market political and economic principles. As a direct result of our support we have been able to work with alumni of this program...to get across our side of the story”; mentions other fronts: AEI, Cato, CSE, Heritage, and NAM; defeated Clinton's health tax plan⁴⁵
- NJC “graduate” Michael Fumento:⁴⁶ nationally syndicated columnist who claimed that second hand smoke produced “a small effect”⁴⁷
- Fumento: “Senior Fellow” at Hudson Institute ⁴⁸
- NAM: a century of propaganda

History: NAM

- A leader in the offensive to win people's hearts and minds over to the capitalist system was the NAM.
- NAM: Founded: 1895, to promote "Unit Thinking and Unit Acting on the Part of American Industry."⁴⁹
- NAM and associated business elites would mount tremendous opposition to "unit thinking and unit acting" for wage earners
- fight against labor would expand to truly epic proportions, and the story, unfortunately, is far from over
- rhetoric of the new right = rhetoric of the reactionary business elite at turn of century and New Deal period
- History of propaganda and main use in the U.S.

Expanding democracy and PR

- 1880-1920, number of eligible voters rose from 10-15% of the population to 40-50% ⁵⁰
- Edward Bernays, “father of public relations,”⁵¹ stated, “even the bourgeoisie stood in fear of the common people.”⁵²
- Gustave Le Bon: The masses wanted to “utterly destroy society as it now exists,” wanting “limitations of the hours of labour, the nationalisation of mines, railways, factories, and the soil,” and “the elimination of all the upper classes.” He continued, “our middle classes...display profound alarm at this new power which they see growing.”⁵³
- 1919: *Behavior of Crowds*, Everett Dean Martin, “We must become a cult, write our philosophy of life in flaming headlines, and sell our cause in the marketwe must strive to cajole the majority into imagining itself on our side...[O]nly with the majority with us...can we live.”⁵⁴

The CPI and Propaganda

- Bernays served Committee on Public Information: need to reverse American public opinion against US entry to WWI
- symbols of nationalism, religion, liberty, freedom, and fear, linked through pictures and posters.⁵⁵
- CPI lessons: emotional appeals, manipulation of symbols, scapegoating, atrocity stories, whipped up patriotic fervor
- “Freedom Fries” have distinguished history: In WWI, Dachshunds => “liberty dogs”; German Measles => “liberty measles”; Harassment, sporadic lynching of German-American immigrants ⁵⁶
- George Creel, CPI director, book: *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe.*⁵⁷

CPI and Bernays

- As early as 1913, US Congress: Senate Lobbying Investigation: business operated a campaign “so vast and far-reaching as to excite at once admiration and fear – admiration for the genius that conceived them and fear for the effects which the...accomplishment of all these ambitions might have in a government such as ours.”⁵⁸
- Bernays 1928 book, *Propaganda*: “practice of creating circumstances and of creating pictures in the minds of millions...is regimenting the public mind every bit as much as an army regiments the bodies of its soldiers.”⁵⁹
- Bernays: “business realized that the great public could now be harnessed to their cause as it had been harnessed during the [Great] war to the national cause, and the same methods would do the job.”⁶⁰

Lippman & Lasswell

- Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, “The creation of consent...was supposed to have died out with the appearance of democracy. But it has not died out. It has, in fact, improved enormously in technique...It is no longer possible ... to believe in the original dogma of democracy.”⁶¹
- Harold Lasswell, researcher, psychology, politics and public opinion, Essay, *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Lasswell: the modern propagandist’s “regard for men in the mass rests upon no democratic dogmatism about men being the best judges of their own interests.”⁶²

Post WWI

- Great Steel Strike: 1919, strike against 84-hour workweeks; terrible conditions
- Steel company targeted public opinion: newspaper advertisements: strikers were “trying to establish the red rule of anarchy and bolshevism,” strike was “un-American,” “the Huns [Germans] had a hand in fomenting the strike.”
- Interchurch World Movement report noted the “effective mobilization of public opinion against the strikers through the charges of radicalism, bolshevism and the closed shop. None of which were justified by the facts”⁶³
- admirer of propaganda offensive, “Two million businessmen have been looking for a formula like this and business has hoped for, dreamed of, and prayed for such an example as you have set.”⁶⁴

Consequently, by early 1930's

- NAM president to business leaders: “You will note especially that this is not a hit or miss program. It is skilfully [sic] coordinated...and...it pounds its message home with relentless determination.”⁶⁵
- 1936, NAM chairman of PR, “Frankly, I am always a bit breathless whenever I consider this N.A.M. public relations program...I am always amazed at its completeness and the way in which it reaches into every section of the country and all strata of society” to “reshaping the thinking of some 128,000,000 people.”⁶⁶
- Even so, in 1938 NAM board of dir.: “hazard facing industrialists” was still “the newly realized political power of the masses.”⁶⁵

New Deal

- A NAM news service carried editorial and news content, reaching 5,300 weekly papers and 260 daily papers.
- *Uncle Abner Says*, a NAM cartoon: 300 papers with a circulation of 2,000,000 readers. ⁶⁶
- By the early 1940's, NAM-sponsored billboards crossed the country, proclaiming "Prosperity Dwells Where Harmony Reigns."⁶⁷

LaFollette and NLRB hearings

- Continued use of propaganda in media; exert “economic pressure through threats to move the plant”
- Fake “back to work” movement, operated by a puppet Association of so-called “loyal employees” secretly organized by the employer⁶⁸
- PR firm Hill and Knowlton (H&K) executive testified that the so-called citizens groups were actually formed by H&K
- Republic campaign: 126,000 copies of booklet called “The Real Issues” to libraries, newspapers, colleges, bankers and Republic employees
- 39,000 copies pamphlet “CIO [Cong. Ind. Orgs.] Versus American Democracy”⁶⁹
- NAM, 1907: not “capital against labor” but “of good citizenship against bad citizenship...of Americanism and patriotism against demagogism and socialism.”⁷⁰

Mohawk Valley Formula Evolves

- end of 1930's: "Mohawk Valley Formula" became blueprint to convert society over to supporting interests of business.
- Researcher Richard Gable described NAM efforts: "The strategic goal is the creation of a climate of opinion within which the NAM's conception of individualism, free enterprise, and laissez faire will be habitually accepted as positive values and alternatives to them will be rejected."⁷¹

Other groups

- Liberty League was funded by J.P. Morgan, DuPont family, Andrew and Richard Mellon, initially formed to raise funds to destroy New Deal reforms⁷²
- Richard Mellon, father of Sarah Mellon Scaife: “You can’t run a coal mine without machineguns.”⁷³
- Comm. Const. Gov.: 1945, sent hundreds of thousands leaflets “What’s the Matter with America?” first line read: “Labor unions are wrecking the country.”⁷⁴
- Member Samuel S. McClure, wrote propaganda for the Mussolini regime.⁷⁵

Other groups: National Citizen's Political Action Committee

- The NCPAC's Newsletter of October 4, 1944 "We will win the war [World War II] by reducing taxes on corporations, high income brackets and increasing taxes on lower incomes, by removing unions from any power to tell industry how to produce...[and]...by destroying any and all government agencies that stand in the way of free enterprise."⁷⁶
- Tom DeLay, House Majority leader, 2003 "Nothing is more important in the face of a war than cutting taxes."⁷⁷

Business leaders during war

- W. J. Wier, Chicago's Lord and Thomas advertising and public relations agency: "Here we sit with the greatest force for moving mass psychology that the world has ever seen...Nothing that Goebbels has can hold a candle to it."⁷⁸
- Vernon Scott, leader of an anti tax group, described "the greatest ideological war of all times," in which "we must constantly preach and prove that a planned economy destroys free markets, shackles free enterprise, reduces the standard of living for all, beats down private initiative and cripples competition."⁷⁹

Post WWII

- Elmo Roper, a public relations expert, public ultimatums “[O]ne of the ultimatums is that never in the future shall property rights be placed above human rights.”
- “continued corporation dividends cannot be regarded as being as sacred as continued wages for labor.” The “American public wants the guaranteed annual wage...[and]...it believes the guaranteed annual wage can be achieved.”⁸⁰
- Russell Davenport, Fortune editorial consultant: New Deal had made “the curious assumption that the...initiative in social matters should lie with government,” causing “a trend toward giving the government more and more initiative on social matters”⁸¹
- To reverse, discredit government, extend benefits to employees

NAM and Ad council-cont'd

- 1946-1950, NAM distributed 8,640,270 pamphlets: 41 percent employees; 53 percent high school and college students ⁸²
- then-editor of Fortune magazine Daniel Bell noted “1,600 business periodicals, 577 commercial and financial digests, 2,500 advertising agencies, 500 public relations counsellors, 4,000 corporate public relations departments and more than 6,500 ‘house organs’ with a combined circulation of more than 70 million....The output is staggering. The Advertising Council alone, in 1950, inspired 7 million lines of newspaper advertising stressing free enterprise, 400,000 car cards, 2,500,000 radio impressions...By all odds it adds up to the most intensive ‘sales’ campaign in the history of industry.”⁸³
- Make people hate the government: AMA killed nat’l healthcare in late 40’s: big gov. = communism, “coercion”⁸⁴

The New American Right

- Essay by historian Richard Hofstadter in Bell, ed. *The New American Right*, 1955. There was “a dynamic of dissent in America today,” conservatives who “show signs of a serious and restless dissatisfaction with American life, traditions and institutions.”
- “their political reactions express ...a profound if largely unconscious hatred of our society and its ways – a hatred which one would hesitate to impute to them if one did not have suggestive clinical evidence.”
- “The pseudo conservative is a man who, in the name of upholding traditional American values and institutions... consciously or unconsciously aims at their abolition.”⁸⁵

Response to the 60's: Powell Memo

- Public opinion again started to turn against big business
- Lewis Powell, Supreme Court Justice appointee, *Attack on the Free Enterprise System*, 1971: “The American economic system is under broad attack,” by professors, politicians, churches, media, intellectual community, requiring “confrontational politics”
- “staffs of eminent scholars, writers, and speakers” needed to be created
- Second, books, journals, and other media were to be constantly monitored material must support system
- Third, increase the power and number of business friendly lobbyists.
- Finally, cultivate legal institutes which would lead attacks against consumer and environmental groups.⁸⁶

Setting the stage for neoliberalism, the international version of “neocon”

- Intellectual ammo:
 - Friedrich Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, 1944
 - Milton Friedman: *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962⁸⁷
- Welfare state was destroying America and even Western Civilization and Western values⁸⁸
- University of Chicago, “takings doctrine” is intellectual basis for NAFTA’s Chapter 11 procedure⁸⁹
- first neoconservative US president, Ronald Reagan, restructured the World Bank⁹⁰
- Margaret Thatcher in GB-privatizer
- “Structural Adjustment Loan,” also a favorite instrument of IFIs in spreading the neoliberal (laissez faire) economic regime throughout the developing world⁹¹

Winds of Change

- NYT, 1979: “Quietly, cautiously, but with growing success, the business community has been moving to influence legislation...it has already had a major impact on policies involving labor-management relations, the environment, consumer affairs, tax policy, trade, competitive practices, and monetary policy.”⁹²
- The Agents: William Simon, Sec. Tres. For Nixon and Ford, becomes president of John M. Olin Foundation⁹³
 - Book, *A time for Truth*, calls for a return to laissez-faire
 - At his Wall Street brokerage office, says that “businessmen have been financing their own destruction” by funding universities where scholars may criticize business

The agents: Paul Weyrich

- conservative activist Paul Weyrich, inspired by left, teamed up with Joseph Coors, agitated by Powell's memorandum⁹⁴
 - founded the Heritage Foundation, a neoconservative “think tank”
 - Heritage Foundation web site: “[our] mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.”⁹⁵
- “We are different from previous generations of conservatives. We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals, working to overturn the present power structure of this country.”⁹⁶
- Jack Abramoff, former College Republicans National Chairman:
 - “we are not just trying to win the next election....It's not our job to seek peaceful co-existence with the Left. Our job is to remove them from power permanently.”⁹⁷

Early think tank

- Heritage Foundation:
- Wrote Mandate for Leadership I and II for Reagan presidency, of which two thirds were adopted: third world anticommunist military intervention, cuts to social services⁹⁸
- 1985-2002: received \$17,235,000 from Sarah Scaife Foundation; \$12,961,000 from Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation; \$8,021,000 from John M. Olin Foundation; \$2,759,000 from Carthage Foundation, and others.⁹⁹

AEI

- “dedicated to preserving and strengthening the foundations of freedom--limited government, private enterprise, vital cultural and political institutions, and a strong foreign policy and national defense”
- personnel “are cited and reprinted in the national media more often than those of any other think tank.”
- “nonpartisan,” 501(c)3 “philanthropy”¹⁰⁰
- 1985-2002, received grants from Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, \$15,238,000; John M. Olin Foundation, \$6,830,000; Sarah Scaife Foundation, \$4,436,000; Smith Richardson Foundation, 3,930,000
- Staff: Robert Bork, Lynne Cheney, Charles Murray, Michael Novak, and approximately 30 other neoconservative public intellectuals and activists¹⁰¹

AEI cont'd

- Powell's early recommendations embodied in corporate think tanks. Some material on AEI site:
 - the judiciary: Robert Bork, *Coercing Virtue*, describing how courts in democratic nations always pursue “liberal agendas” ¹⁰²
 - Junk Science: *No Way Back*: claims that air pollution is increasing are false: problem is “regulators...[who]...continue to focus on expensive policies,” such as “electric vehicles, transit, and restrictions on suburbanization.” Policymakers should avoid “imposing costly and restrictive ongoing new requirements on the public” ¹⁰³

AEI: Glassman

- James K. Glassman, “resident fellow” at AEI,
 - columnist for Scripps Howard News Service & International Herald Tribune, syndicated financial columnist for Washington Post ¹⁰⁴
 - 4th out of 28 think tank scholars in media cites ¹⁰⁵
- Article: “The rise of the investor class”:
 - new “Investor Class” not interested in “social engineering by an activist government” advocates Social Security privatization
 - wants Individual Retirement Accounts, a development which would have “dire political consequences for the traditional left,” and would deliver a “fitting end to the welfare state.”¹⁰⁶
 - “investor class,” where 10% of all households own almost 90% of all stock, including pensions and 401(k) ¹⁰⁷

The “Investor Class”

- claims of diffused corporate ownership rehash of '50s ¹⁰⁸
- In turn, rehash of “worker control” because of stock ownership in the 20's, when wage earners owned 1.5% of all common stock ^{109,110}
- Fall of 1999, Book: *Dow 36,000*: “Stock prices could double, triple, or even quadruple tomorrow and still not be too high.”
- A few expressed skepticism
- NYT bestseller, talk of financial press
- Market: 3,000 point two-year nose dive ¹¹¹
- David Brock, a former self-described right wing journalist, wrote in his book *Blinded by the Right*, “In twelve years of right wing journalism, my work had never been fact checked.” ¹¹²

AEI: racism

- Dinesh D'Souza, a former John M. Olin “Research Fellow” at AEI, *The End of Racism* in 1995
- Segregation was practiced “to assure that [they], like the handicapped, would be ...permitted to perform to the capacity of their arrested development.” ^{113,114}
- D'Souza has received \$1,520,000 from the John M. Olin Foundation from 1988 to 2002. ¹¹⁵
- Charles Murray, *The Bell Curve*, asserted a correlation between race and intelligence using “research” produced by the Pioneer Fund, whose first president advocated sterilizing the genetically unfit¹¹⁶
- “one of the foremost social thinkers in the country.” -Michael Joyce, former Bradley Foundation President ¹¹⁷
- Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation supported Murray’s “work” from 1986 to 2000 with \$885,000 and funded Charles Murray “fellowship” at AEI from 2000 to 2002 with at least \$1,476,000 ¹¹⁸

AEI: other funders

- board of directors includes the CEOs of such corporations as ExxonMobil, Motorola, American Express, State Farm Insurance, and Dow Chemical.
- Its board of trustees has included Richard Cheney and Kenneth Lay
- Donors: General Electric, AT&T, Ford, General Motors, Amoco, Shell, Morgan Guarantee Trust, American Express
- AEI houses Project for a New American Century (PNAC)
- PNAC's Executive Director Gary Schmitt "We... have the advantage of an echo effect—if I write something, it may be picked up by the Weekly Standard or repeated by Bill [Kristol] or Bob [Novak] in various media forums." ¹¹⁹

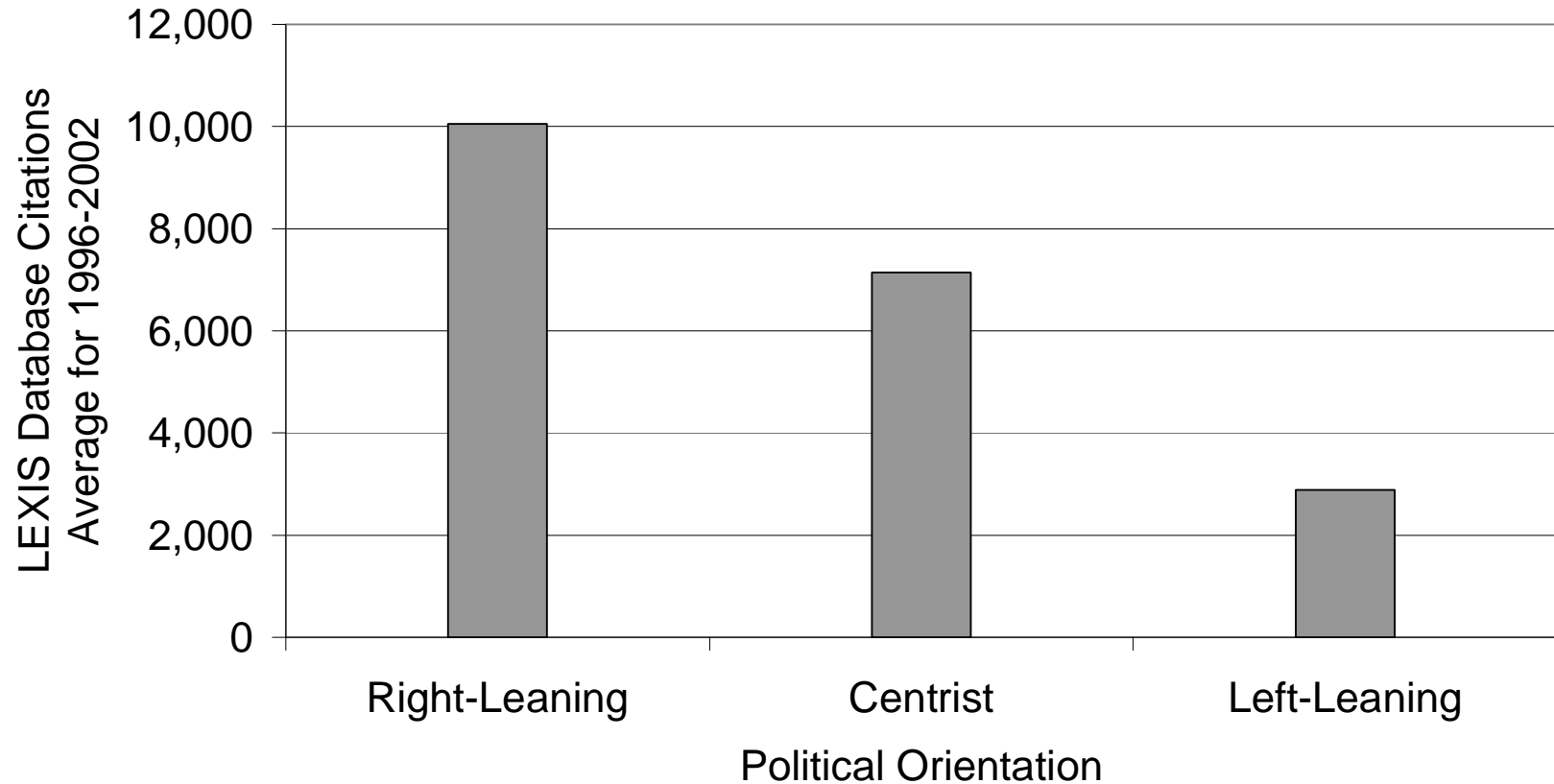
World war of ideas

- Coulter, lawyer, founded local chapter of Federalist Society while at University of Michigan Law School.¹²⁰
 - web site: “Law schools and the legal profession” are dominated by “orthodox liberal ideology which advocates a centralized and uniform society...”¹²¹
 - Members: 40,000 lawyers, policy analysts, and business leaders; 5,000 law students at roughly 140 law schools.¹²²
- Strategy: challenge the constitutionality of SEC, EPA, civil rights law¹²³
- Undermine equal protection, general welfare, and commerce clause legal basis
- A 2001 Federalist Society Conference was entitled “Rolling Back the New Deal.”¹²⁴

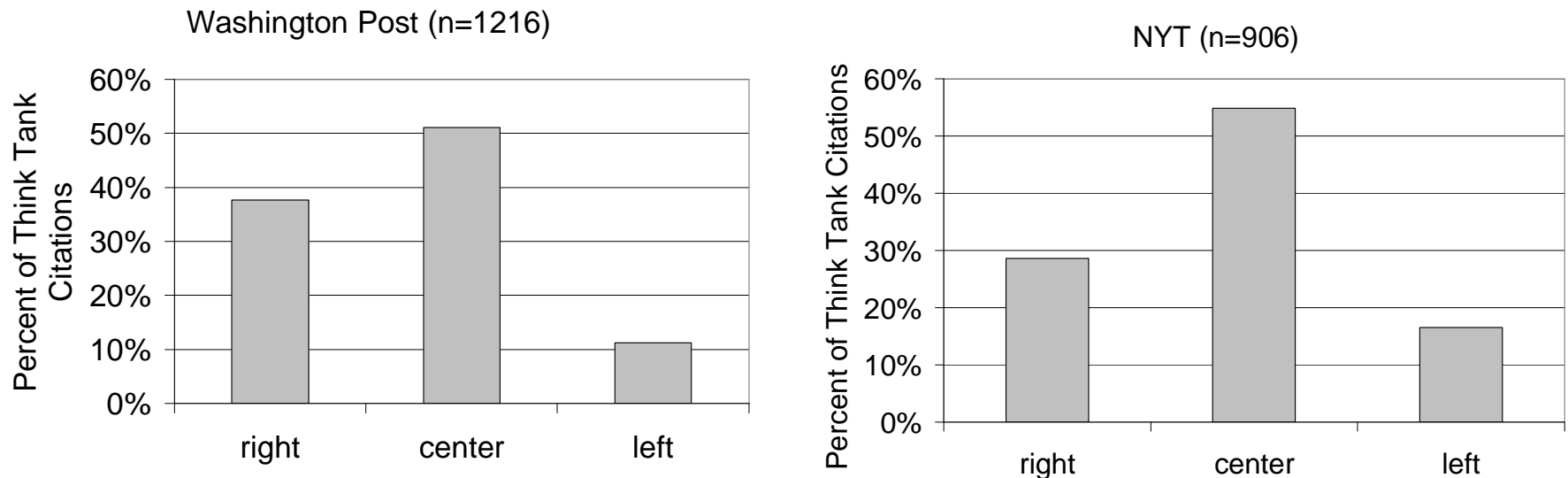
State of “war”

- \$2-3 billion spent on 40 conservative philanthropies ¹²⁵
- About 20,000 think tank citations a year. Right wing think tank citations 50% of total, versus 14% for “left leaning” ¹²⁶

Think Tank Citations 1996-2002 Average



Think Tank Economists in the Press 1997-2002¹²⁷



- Left: Key Words: working people, fair economy, inequality, progressive. Funding: likely to come from unions or other foundations, such as Ford, Rockefeller, Open Society Institute
- Right: Key Words: free market, individual responsibility, traditional values, strong defense. Funding is likely to include at least one of the “Four Sisters.”

State of “war”

- Alan Ehrenhalt, Executive Editor of Governing Magazine, AEI Bradley lecture titled “The Vast Right-Wing Conspiracy and How It Grew”:¹²⁸
 - “You know, this is interesting in view of all the continuing talk of the liberal media elite. People are still selling a lot of books, based on the notion of the liberal media elite. And it's not totally crazy. If you're talking about religion, abortion, social issues, sure there's a liberal media elite. And it does reinforce values that are associated with the democratic party.”
 - “...But by 1996 I would say the intellectual left had been neutralized on economics and foreign policy...there wasn't much organized support for...left positions of any kind.”
- Kate O' Beirne, formerly of Heritage “We've largely won the battle of ideas. We are in the implementation stage now.”¹²⁹
- Norquist: “I think the smart guys on the left have known for a long time they are in trouble — and that we are going to dig out their whole structure of programs and power.”¹³⁰

The “liberal” Bill Clinton

- In June of 1991, Clinton met with Wall Street execs
- “What was discussed was the need for the Democratic Party to have a new and much more forward-looking economic policy...The Democratic Party needed to move into a new economic world.”
 - Roger Altman, investment banker
- Clinton continued and pushed the free-market policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, Sr.¹³¹
 - “Our task is to knock down barriers to trade and foreign investment and the free movement of capital” - Ronald Reagan
 - George Bush’s Latin America program: Enterprise for Americas Initiative, was a commitment to “free markets and to the free flow of capital, central to achieving economic growth and lasting prosperity.”
- The “Progressive” Policy Institute received 350,000 from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation from 1997 to 2002.¹³²
- The PPI and DLC leadership provide the pressure for Democrats to abandon “left” or “populist” initiatives.¹³³

Social Security “failing”

- “...the largest supporter of Cato’s study of Social Security privatization is the U.S. insurance company AIG, which manages privatized retirement systems abroad and stands to benefit if- -as Cato is recommending--such an option is put in place here.”¹³⁴
- Trustee’s Report: System is fully solvent until 2042¹³⁵
- “without any changes at all, the system will be able to pay full benefits for the next 30 years and more than 70 percent of those benefits for 75 years.”¹³⁶
- Cato Institute says: “By most accounts, the Chilean privatization has been a great success.”¹³⁷
 - “Half The Pension Contributions Of The Average Chilean Worker Who Retired In 2000 Went To Management Fees.”¹³⁸
 - Fees in Argentina, Peru, and Chile range from 15% to 35% of the money paid into the system¹³⁹

Social Security “crumbling”

- Other “grassroots” organizations: “Citizens for a Sound Economy” web site
 - “For 18 years in the House of Representatives, Dick Armey fought tirelessly for lower taxes, less government, and more freedom. Now, he’s joining CSE to lead the same political revolution at the grassroots level.”
 - “During my time as Majority Leader on Capitol Hill, I came to recognize that grassroots action is the most important factor to winning at politics. That’s what CSE is all about.”¹⁴⁰
 - CSE Co-Chairman and former House Majority Leader Dick Armey
- In 1998 alone, CSE received \$15.5 million from corporate donors. Activities might include:¹³⁴
 - Showing that global warming is junk science-funded by Exxon Corp.
 - Restricting antitrust enforcement-funded by Microsoft
 - Tort reform to cap liabilities-funded by auto insurance companies
- Also in 1998, received over \$1 million in “philanthropy” from Olin, Scaife others¹⁴¹

PIPA media study

- examined public knowledge of three basic questions of fact about the Iraq war in the summer and fall of 2003
- 67% Fox viewers believed connection to al Qaeda had been found; 16% of NPR/PBS users made this error; other: 48%
- 33% Fox viewers believed WMDs had been found, while 11% of NPR/PBS believed this; other: 20%.
- 35% Fox viewers believed world opinion favored the war, while only 5% of NPR/PBS users believed this; other: 23%.
- Support: those who had no misperception was 23%.
- Support: those with all three misperceptions was 86%.¹⁴²
- Bernays, *Propaganda*, 1928, “The minority has discovered powerful help...It has been found possible so to mold the mind of the masses that they will throw their newly gained strength in the desired direction.”¹⁴³

Effects-promoting, or retarding action

- 59%: regulation of Wall Street should be tighter ¹⁴⁴
- 70-80%: big companies too much influence in policymaking ¹⁴⁵
- 80%: Enter., Pop. culture dominated by corporate money
- 85%: “Marketing and advertising puts too much pressure on children to buy things that are too expensive, unhealthy or unnecessary.”
- 95% thought that corporations “also owe something to their workers and the communities in which they operate.” ¹⁴⁶
- Nothing Happens

Inducing hopelessness

- 1998 poll, 71% responded that they had heard about global warming “A great deal” or “some.”¹⁴⁷
- after Kyoto conference, 24.1% said they had heard about conference “a great deal” or “some.”¹⁴⁸
- when informed about Kyoto treaty, 71% supported proposals as they were (7-8% below 1990 levels) or thought they did not go far enough.¹⁴⁹
- 68% thought that they personally were more supportive of taking steps than the average American.¹⁵⁰
- An gap between actual public opinion and what people perceive to be public opinion: no action demanded on global warming even though people want it

Promote or prevent

- foreign policy survey: in solving world problems, 71% thought “America should do its fair share.”
- 16% supported “the US should continue to be the preeminent world leader.”
- 13 % supported “the US should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.”
- The 16% of those favoring the “preeminent leader” position thought that 54% of the public supported their view
- the 71% supporting the “fair share” statement only believed that 49% of the public supported that view.
- actual minority group is 4 times smaller than actual majority, but the actual minority thinks that its view predominates.¹⁵¹
- Aggressive and vocal minority convinces people they are isolated in their opinion and preference

Inducing confusion-estate tax

- Larry Bartels, Princeton, *Homer Gets a Tax Cut*, report that examined public opinion about the repeal of the estate tax
- think all cuts automatically benefit them
- “among those with family incomes of less than \$50,000 who want more spending on government programs *and* said income inequality has increased *and* said that is a bad thing *and* said that government policy contributes to income inequality *and* said that rich people pay less than they should in federal income taxes...66% favored repeal.”¹⁵²
- cognitive psychologist U. of Mich., Norbert Schwartz: “a powerful illustration of how the combination of low factual information and good political spin creates preferences that aren’t in people’s interest.”¹⁵³
- Everett Dean Martin, 1919, “we must strive to cajole the majority into imagining itself on our side.”

Conclusion

- An atomized society, everyone is just out for themselves
- Society incapable of recognizing its own force and ability to change things for the better
- is not an accident or artifact of history
- Preparing the country for hardships and inequities of pure laissez faire and “economic freedom”
- How did far right come to dominate public discourse?
- Propaganda: associating free enterprise to positive symbols and emotions which are not connected
- Infiltration of institutions like media and government

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