

# PR WATCH

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## (UN)SAFE, (UN)SECURE, AND (NOT)VITAL: MARKETING A NUCLEAR POWER PLANT

by Lisa Rainwater van Suntum, Riverkeeper

Since al Qaeda terrorists commandeered two jumbo jets into the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, New York City has been on high alert. On any given day, residents and tourists alike see armed military personnel patrolling subway stations, notable landmarks and the City's financial district. While visitors to New York City may feel as if they've entered a war zone, the solemn military personnel make many who call New York home feel at least a bit safer since the towers fell.

In the months following the attacks, New York City officials attempted to draw visitors back to the Big Apple. The city was declared safe and secure; tourists were deemed vital to the City's economic recovery. After the initial fear and shock subsided, throngs of Americans from across the country have made their own pilgrimage to the World Trade Center site to honor the victims of the attacks and their families and to denounce the psychological reign of terror brought on by those who engage in violence.

What few visitors to the city realize, however, is that armed military guards standing at attention in Times Square are incapable of protecting the city from arguably the greatest terrorist threat to the region if not the country: the Indian Point nuclear power plant, located on the banks of the Hudson River 35 miles north of Midtown Manhattan.

## FLACK ATTACK

This issue of *PR Watch* features several articles on the reinvention of nuclear power PR. A decade ago, the building of new nuclear power plants while calling them a "clean, green energy source" seemed unimaginable. The nuclear industry, however, turned out to have quite a good imagination. Aided by global PR firms, the industry is filing permits for new plants and declaring a nuclear renaissance.

Lisa Rainwater van Suntum from the New York-based environmental group Riverkeeper examines the PR fight over energy giant Entergy's Indian Point nuclear power plant and the Nuclear Energy Institute's current marketing campaign. British-based Corporate Watch's Chris Grimshaw writes about the PR efforts to revive Britain's nuclear industry. The article "In

Their Own Words" features a Virginia-based PR firm's description of their work for a nuclear power plant.

Also in this issue, the Center for Media and Democracy's Diane Farsetta looks at the makeover the Indonesian military has received from U.S. PR firms. In post-tsunami Aceh, the same Indonesian military—often pictured handing out humanitarian aid—is escalating hostile operations. And *PR Watch* editor Laura Miller reports on the Republican- and business lobbyist-driven campaign to save Social Security (by destroying it).

We've also added a couple of new features. CMD office guru Kristian Knutsen shares his favorite recent PR industry press release. And if you missed *PR Watch* co-founders Sheldon Rampton and John Stauber's recent major media appearances, we've got them here.

Since 9/11, a movement to shut down Indian Point has evolved into a massive citizen-driven, bi-partisan effort to protect the region. To date, more than 70 local, regional and national organizations are working with more than 400 elected Republicans and Democrats to rid the area of this unpopular and unneeded nuclear power plant. While experts maintain that the plant is a safety and security risk, Entergy Nuclear Northeast—the owner and operator of the plant—has creatively co-opted

the tri-state area uninhabitable and indefinitely contaminate the watershed that supplies drinking water to nine million people in the region. That the plant sits atop an active fault line, daily destroys significant amounts of Hudson River aquatic life and has abysmal security, operations and safety records only compounds the arguments for closure.

Leading the drive to shut down Indian Point is my organization, Riverkeeper, a New York environmental watchdog group that works to protect the Hudson River from polluters. Working in conjunction with the Indian Point Safe Energy Coalition—an alliance of over 70 environmental, civic, health and public policy groups—Riverkeeper has sustained a hard-hitting campaign against Entergy for over three years.



*Entergy's Indian Point nuclear power plant sits on New York's Hudson River just 35 miles from Midtown Manhattan.*

city officials' words as its own. "Safe, Secure, Vital" has become the company's disingenuous mantra.

At the center of the Indian Point debate is a battle of words and images, much of which plays out in the New York metropolitan court of public opinion. With guidance from the global public relations firm Burson-Marsteller, Entergy has spearheaded an aggressive, misleading and expensive campaign to save the plant from being shut down.

## **THE FIGHT TO CLOSE INDIAN POINT**

Due to its proximity to the world's financial center and the severe consequences to public health, the environment and the economy that would result from a major accident or terrorist attack, Indian Point is a nuclear power plant that deserves special attention. Twenty million people live within a 50-mile radius of the plant—the highest population density within 50 miles of any nuclear power plant in the United States. A terrorist attack on either of Indian Point's two reactors or their spent fuel pools, or a large-scale accident, could render much of

whitewashing human rights violations by totalitarian regimes across the globe. With an expansive war chest, B-M has assisted Entergy in developing a multifaceted disinformation campaign that not only misrepresents the facts but also pits communities against each other and instills economic fears in those who are already suffering from a poor economy.

## **ENTERGY'S SPIN MACHINE**

Entergy and Burson-Marsteller have implemented nearly every type of corporate PR and marketing to curry favor with elected officials and their constituents. They have invested heavily in radio, television and print advertising. They have also spent substantial time and energy creating a chimera of community support, including a phony "grassroots" base, a business coalition and free advertising gimmicks typically associated with grassroots movements such as yard signs, bumper stickers, refrigerator magnets and lapel pins. In addition, Entergy hired New York's 9/11 hero, Rudolph Giuliani, as a paid security consultant, despite his lack of expertise in nuclear

power plant security. Most recently, Entergy was awarded the first-ever Edison Electric Institute's Advocacy Excellence Award, begging the question: Who came up with the idea and why has it taken so long to create such an award, considering electricity has been around for over a century?

Just how much money Entergy has invested in public relations is unknown, but their apparent close attention to PR instead of safety and security issues has drawn ire from many elected officials, including Westchester County Executive Andy Spano, in whose county the plant operates. When it was discovered that Indian Point's emergency sirens do not rotate properly, Spano declared, "If [Entergy] can advertise on the Yankee games, they have the money to fix the goddamn sirens."

Indeed, one of the biggest hurdles Riverkeeper and anti-Indian Point advocates have faced in their three-year campaign is Entergy's seemingly limitless budget. As *PR Watch's* John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton wryly note in their 1995 book *Toxic Sludge is Good for You*, "The polluter will always be able to outspend and outgun the environmentalists, and can bring virtually an unlimited amount of propaganda and lobby power to an issue, simply by writing a larger check or reaching out to other businesses similarly threatened by reform."

Politicking is also a large part of Entergy's efforts. A 2003 report by Common Cause/NY found that the company spent a grand total of \$3,498,315 on campaign contributions and lobbying on the New York local, New York state and federal levels from 1999 to 2003.

Whether the target audience is community members, local businesses or elected officials, Entergy's message has focused on three ideas: safety, security and energy reliability. Attempting to confuse, if not control, public opinion on the areas where it is most vulnerable, Entergy has run a series of ads that suggest a reality in stark opposition to the assessments made by environmental, security and energy experts:

- **Safety:** A full-page ad in the April 16, 2002 *New York Times* called "Why safety is synonymous with Indian Point Energy Center" features a father walking hand-in-hand with his toddler son, while their Labrador retriever accompanies them on a nature walk. This pastoral image appears as an attempt to divert parents' concerns away from Indian Point's abominable safety record spanning three decades to the beauty of the Hudson Valley.

What Entergy doesn't want the public to know is how many safety problems have plagued the two reactors since they went online in the 1970s. Most recently, Indian Point has had radioactive releases, nine unplanned shut downs in an 18-month period (the national average is less than one per reactor), a fire at Unit 3 and broken emergency sirens. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has given Indian Point's Unit 2 the commission's lowest safety rating for a reactor. Unit 2's "red" rating resulted from a February 2000 release of 20,000 gallons of radioactive coolant into the plant from a ruptured steam generator tube.

- **Security:** Many of Entergy's security ads are testimonials showcasing security guards who make non-com-

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520 University Avenue, Suite 227

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Phone: 608-260-9713; Fax: 608-260-9714

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Web site: <http://www.prwatch.org/>

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Research Director: Sheldon Rampton

PR Watch Editor: Laura Miller

Senior Researcher: Diane Farsetta

Administrative Assistant: Kristian Knutsen

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mittal claims that the plant is safe. As one guard states, “I know because it’s my job to make it that way.” These ads ignore the fact that a number of current and former Indian Point security guards have turned whistleblowers in an effort to alert public officials of grave security problems at the plant.

Substantiating the whistleblowers’ claims is a 2002 Entergy-commissioned report that found only 19 percent of security guards felt they could protect Indian Point from a terrorist attack. Many guards were physically unfit to perform their duties, and many repeatedly failed their annual marksmanship tests.

- **Energy reliability:** Several studies commissioned by Riverkeeper show the region can not only maintain energy reliability without Indian Point’s power but also without exorbitant increases in energy bills. But when Entergy realized that the public was not necessarily buying into its claims that the plant is safe and secure, it shifted focus to a much more complicated—and controversial—issue: energy reliability. It sought to transfer

the public’s safety and security fears to fears of economic and energy security. In a February 2002 ad, Entergy implied that with Indian Point closed, New York could “head for an energy crisis of California proportions.” Ironically, the company offered, “We thought you should know the following. So that your opinion on this important issue can be based on fact, not fear.” Not only were their claims not based on fact but they also evoked a fear in the public that has yet to be alleviated: loss of electricity and economic hardship.

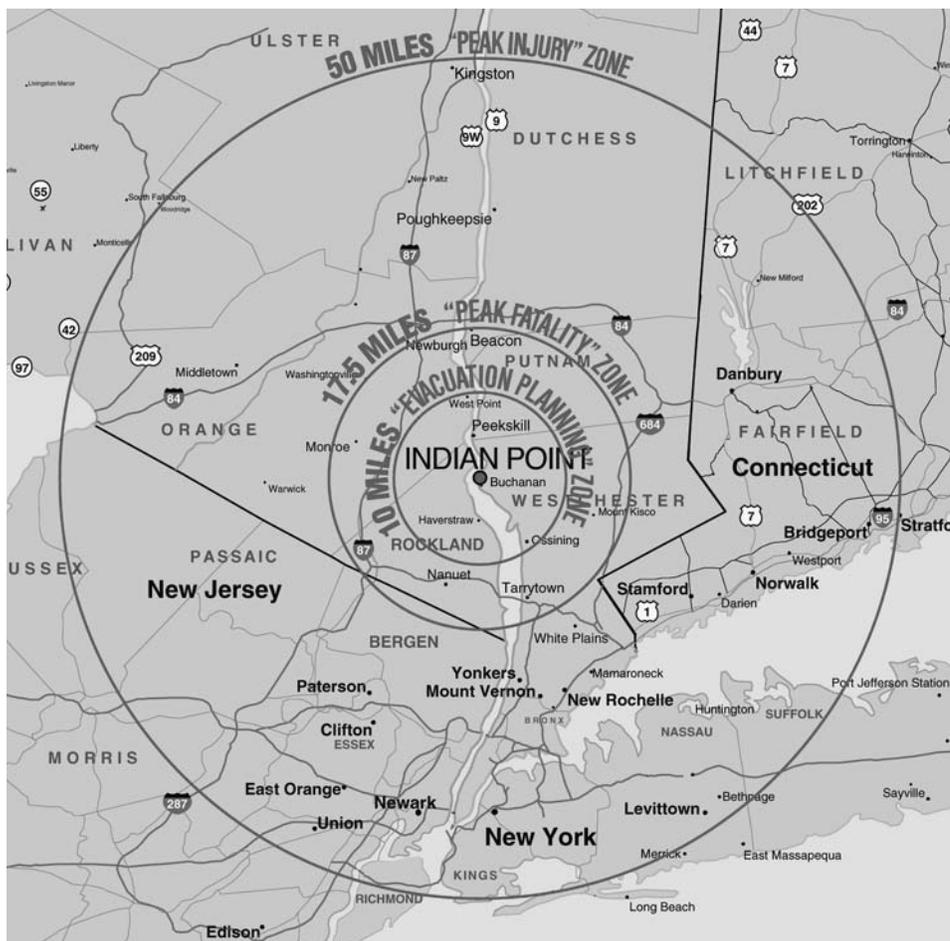
For some, this economic fear prevents them from supporting the closure of Indian Point. When Entergy discovered that they had identified the one issue that could—through precise public relations—confuse the public and stall the closure of their aged plants, they forged ahead with a comprehensive PR plan. To thwart the growing movement to close Indian Point, Entergy issued threats of rolling blackouts, skyrocketing energy bills and economic uncertainty to a region already suffering from the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

While Riverkeeper has managed to raise money to run ads countering Entergy’s deceptive ads and PR, the environmental group’s efforts pale in comparison to the number of ads bought by the multi-billion dollar corporation.

## DIVIDE & CONQUER

In fall 2003, two key components of this new PR tactic were unleashed on the public: a phony “grassroots” campaign and NY AREA, a coalition comprised of “business, labor and community leaders committed to finding clean, low-cost and reliable electricity solutions that foster prosperity for all.” Forming a “grassroots” campaign is a common PR tactic used by corporations under attack. This practice of creating fake grassroots organizations is sometimes referred to as “astroturf” campaigning.

Shortly before regional elections in October, Entergy launched a campaign targeting African-American, Latino and low-income communities. Under the rubric of community outreach and grassroots mobilization, the corporation engaged the



*A terrorist attack on the Indian Point nuclear power plant could potentially expose millions of people to deadly radiation poison and cause trillions of dollars of damage. (Map provided by Riverkeeper.)*

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help of a front group, the Campaign for Affordable Energy, Environmental and Economic Justice. Riverkeeper could find no evidence of the Campaign's existence prior to its work protecting Indian Point. The astroturf group disseminated bilingual brochures, circulated "Keep Indian Point Open" petitions and orchestrated citizen phone calls to local officials who were in highly contested re-election campaigns. One of these

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***"Now, in addition to our concerns about the plant's safety, we can all wonder about Entergy's integrity and ethics. I cannot for the life of me understand how a major company like Entergy would resort to tactics that are so offensive."—Andy Spano, Westchester, NY county executive in a public letter to Entergy Nuclear Northeast's president.***

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phone calls, placed by a confused citizen who was being fed information during the call, prompted an elected official to investigate the issue. This investigation led to a complete disclosure of Entergy's latest scheme to hoodwink the public.

This targeted approach was an attempt to divide communities by race, ethnicity and class. Their new, bilingual brochure was filled with hyperbole and fear-mongering, warning that if Indian Point were to close, residents would face skyrocketing electric bills, loss of power to public and private buildings, and the building of dirty power plants in low-income communities and communities of color.

Westchester County Executive Andy Spano found the campaign so "reprehensible" that he wrote a public letter to Michael Kansler, Entergy Nuclear Northeast's President. "Contrary to your intention, what you have really accomplished is to make the people of Westchester even more concerned about Indian Point. Now, in addition to our concerns about the plant's safety, we can all wonder about Entergy's integrity and ethics. I cannot for the life of me understand how a major company like Entergy would resort to tactics that are so offensive."

Despite the scolding, Entergy has refused to withdraw its "grassroots" campaign.

To counter Entergy's PR campaign, Riverkeeper, the Indian Point Safe Energy Coalition, and Communities United for Responsible Energy—one of New York City's largest environmental justice organizations—are provid-

ing information about Indian Point and energy reliability to community members. By engaging with the broader community, our alliance is working to bridge the rift that Entergy created with its dubious public relations.

### **SOLIDIFYING THE BASE**

Unfortunately, Entergy's divide and conquer tactics have been somewhat successful. Some who received their misleading literature remain convinced that Indian Point's closure would be devastating to the region. But we at Riverkeeper believe corporate PR campaigns and "grassroots" movements can be countered with real community organizing. By meeting with people in their neighborhood coffee houses and school auditoriums, advocacy groups like ours—with strong social networks and proven track records—are helping build the anti-Indian Point citizen's movement.

With over 20 million people living in the area, there are too many lives at stake to not continue educating the public about the risks associated with Indian Point. "Chernobyl on the Hudson? The Health and Economic Impacts of a Terrorist Attack at Indian Point Power Plant" is a Riverkeeper-commissioned study authored by Dr. Edwin Lyman of Union of Concerned Scientists. Lyman concludes that a successful terrorist attack on Indian Point could cause as many as 518,000 long-term deaths from cancer and as many as 44,000 short-term deaths from acute radiation poisoning within the 50-mile radius of Indian Point, depending on weather conditions. In addition to severe health consequences from a worst-case scenario at Indian Point, the study predicts that economic damages within 100 miles could be as great as \$2.1 trillion based on Environmental Protection Agency guidance for population relocation and cleanup. ■

To learn more about Indian Point and Riverkeeper's campaign to shut it down or to receive a copy of "Chernobyl on the Hudson?," visit Riverkeeper's website [http://riverkeeper.org/campaign.php/indian\\_point](http://riverkeeper.org/campaign.php/indian_point).

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# SPINNING NUCLEAR POWER INTO GREEN

by Lisa Rainwater van Suntum, Riverkeeper

After the partial meltdown of a nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania on March 28, 1979, concerned citizens from across the United States banded together to stop nuclear power in its tracks. Perhaps the most effective anti-nuclear gathering in U.S. history was the five-day No Nukes concert series held in New York City in September 1979. On the last day, 250,000 people rallied in Lower Manhattan—just across from the World Trade Center—to protest nuclear power. This massive battle cry was heard in Washington, DC. Plans to build new U.S. nuclear power plants were put on hold. And after the 1986 Chernobyl catastrophe in Ukraine, plans for new U.S. nuclear plants were abandoned.

It seemed that nuclear power had become an energy dinosaur of the past.

## NUCLEAR REBIRTH

As the twentieth century came to an end and many of the United States' 103 nuclear power plants were reaching the end of their 40-year licenses, experts predicted that nuclear power plant owners would opt to shut down their nuclear plants in favor of natural gas-fired plants.

But the owners had other ideas. Now on its last leg, the nuclear industry is battling to avoid extinction.

With an ardently pro-nuclear administration in the White House and a rise in natural gas prices, nuclear power plant owners have changed gears, applying for license extensions at a rapid rate. To date 30 U.S. nuclear power plants have been granted 20-year license extensions, 18 are currently under review and nearly 30 are slated to enter the relicensing process in the near future. Entergy, one of the largest nuclear plant operators, is expected in the near future to file for 20-year license extensions for Indian Point, its facilities located just 35 miles from downtown New York City.

Behind this nuclear resurgence is the Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI), the lobbying arm of the nuclear industry. NEI and Entergy have a close relationship. The company's president, Don Hintz, chaired NEI's board of directors from 2002 to 2004. Gary J. Taylor, chief executive office for Entergy Operations, was elected in 2004

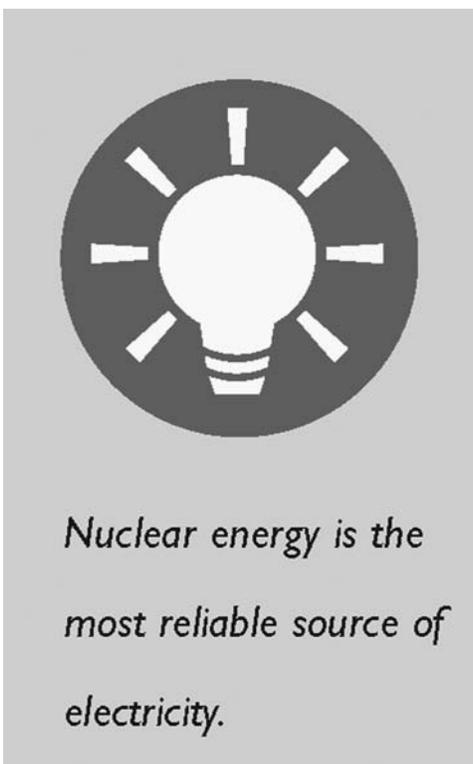
to NEI's executive committee. Also in 2004, NEI released Vision 2020, a report calling for the building of 50 new nuclear power plants by the year 2020 and labeling nuclear power "an environmentally clean source [that] should be linked directly to the production of alternative clean fuels."

NEI's goal is to promote nuclear power as "clean energy." This message directly defies a 1998 ruling by the National Advertising Division (NAD) of the Council of Better Business Bureaus, which stated that the Nuclear Energy Institute should "discontinue" its "inaccurate" advertisements that claim nuclear power is clean. The NAD called on NEI to terminate its advertisements to "avoid any potential for consumer confusion and that broad, unqualified claims that nuclear energy is 'Environmentally Clean' or produces electricity 'without polluting the environment' be discontinued."

In their decision, the NAD noted that nuclear energy cannot be considered "environmentally clean" for several reasons. First, the uranium enrichment process relies heavily on electricity generated from coal-burning plants that produce "a significant amount of greenhouse gases." And perhaps most importantly, unlike other forms of energy, nuclear power produces toxic, radioactive waste, for which no safe method of disposal has been approved. U.S. nuclear plants have produced over 40,000 metric tons of high-level radioactive waste, which is deadly for hundreds

of thousands of years. Yucca Mountain—the federal government's chosen national repository—continues to face legal, scientific and political setbacks. If approved, the site could begin receiving shipments by 2010, but experts predict it could be much longer, if ever, before the site opens. Meanwhile across the country, communities located near nuclear plants are forced to live in close proximity to one of the deadliest materials on the planet.

While the public may not (yet) be persuaded that nuclear power is clean, President Bush has bought into NEI's propaganda. In his 2005 State of the Union address, the President referred to his "comprehensive energy strategy" which includes "safe, clean nuclear



*A detail from an advertisement by the nuclear industry-funded National Energy Institute that emphasizes the "reliability" of nuclear power.*

energy.” With strong financial backing from the nuclear industry in both the 2000 and 2004 presidential campaigns as well as a notable donation from NEI to his 2004 inaugural festivities, President Bush is now traveling across the country promoting construction of new nuclear power plants. His budget includes \$511 million in taxpayer subsidies for the building of new nuclear power plants and \$56 million for a new project called “Nuclear Power 2010.” Meanwhile, truly clean and green renewable energy sources such as wind and solar continued to receive much less financial support from the federal government. In the last 50 years, nuclear energy subsidies have totaled close to \$145 billion; renewable energy subsidies total close to \$5 billion.

### CLEAN & GREEN BAMBOOZLEMENT

One of the most audacious disinformation campaigns coming from the nuclear industry is its slow but steady attempt to corner the energy market as a “clean, green energy source.” As global warming became a household term, and attention focused on carbon dioxide emissions from coal-fired plants as a major contributing factor to climate change, the nuclear industry recreated itself as the cure to global warming.

During 2001, NEI released three different print advertisements that circulated 49 times, primarily in Capitol Hill news sources such as *Roll Call*, *CongressDaily AM*, and *The Hill*. The ads also ran in the *Washington Post*. These ads promoted Yucca Mountain as the national repository for high-level radioactive waste, and branded nuclear power as “the Clean Air Energy.”

In addition to 92 print ads and 55 television spots on nuclear plant security, NEI continued to promote nuclear power as clean energy. Perhaps the most disingenuous of these pro-nuclear “clean energy” advertisements focuses on children. In one print ad, NEI states, “Kids today are part of the most

energy-intensive generation in history. They demand lots of electricity. And they deserve clean air. . . . We need secure, domestic sources of electricity for the 21st Century—and we also need clean air. With nuclear energy, we can have both.” The ad copy accompanies three idealized images of children—jumping in a lake, sitting on a lawn while working on a laptop, and swinging from a tire. Health statistics from the Chernobyl region, however, have shown nuclear power is far from innocent, especially for children. A dramatic increase in leukemia and thyroid cancer among other health problems is seen in children exposed to radiation released by the 1986 Chernobyl accident. ■

*Lisa Rainwater van Suntum, PhD, directs the Riverkeeper Indian Point Campaign. To learn more about the campaign, visit [http://www.riverkeeper.org/campaign.php/indian\\_point/](http://www.riverkeeper.org/campaign.php/indian_point/). Riverkeeper reports on their website that their current annual budget is “just over \$2 million. Approximately 45% of that amount comes from private foundations, 2% from government drinking water protection grants, and the rest from members and individual contributors.”*

**NUCLEAR .**

## Electricity & Clean Air Today & Tomorrow.



Kids today are part of the most energy-intensive generation in history. They demand lots of electricity. And they deserve clean air.

***Part of an advertisement from a National Energy Institute campaign, promoting the “clear air” benefits of nuclear power.***

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# 'NO DARK MACHIAVELLIAN CONSPIRACY' FOR NEW BRITISH NUKE PLANTS

by Chris Grimshaw, *Corporate Watch*

Regaining public acceptance of nuclear power will be one of the PR world's biggest challenges, according to PR guru Dejan Vercic. Speaking at a 2004 meeting of the UK's Institute of Public Relations, he said that within five to ten years public relations agencies would have to win back the nuclear industry's (and biotechnology's) "license to operate."

It appears, however, that the opening salvos in the British campaign have come rather sooner. Summer 2004 saw an extraordinary wave of media interest in a possible nuclear power revival. The "debate" was opened by environmental scientist Dr. James Lovelock's article in the *Independent* advocating nuclear power as a solution to climate change. It was quickly followed by Tony Blair's indications in July that Britain may build new nuclear power stations.

Nuclear industry PR, previously antagonistic to renewable energy, is now stressing that the two are complementary. At the same time, Lovelock's, and several other famous environmentalists' pro-nuclear statements were portrayed as dividing green opinion. For a few days every news channel was covering the issue, and Lovelock's name was everywhere.

Corporate Watch was interested to see how the nuclear industry's PR activity helped to stoke the media. We approached British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. (BNFL), operators of Sellafield—the location of a spent nuclear fuel processing plant—and of the UK's aging Magnox reactors. We also approached British Energy (BE), the privatized operator of the more modern AGR and PWR reactors. We wanted to know how much money, including public funding, they spend on propaganda. We asked: What are the budgets for their in-house PR department, external agency fees and the Sellafield Exhibition Centre?

BNFL's press department likes to use an answering machine as its first contact with journalists and the company employs a number of PR agencies, including the world's largest consultancy Weber Shandwick, Edelman subsidiary PR21 and financial PR company Finsbury. Their corporate affairs director, Philip Dewhurst, was previously CEO of Weber Shandwick UK. However, after two weeks they still had provided no answers.

British Energy's very existence as a private company depended on extensive PR work to win over skeptical politicians, the public and the financial community. Hill & Knowlton, the notorious multinational PR consultancy, proudly describes their campaign for BE's 1996 privatization on their web site. It was one of the "most demanding challenges we've ever had to face. ... A privatized nuclear industry in Britain would once have been unthinkable. That such a business, British Energy, was

successfully floated in 1996 is in no small measure thanks to the efforts of a talented group of individuals at Hill & Knowlton who were able to create a very substantial movement in public and political opinion."

Their spokesman told us that they do very little media relations work now. Given their precarious financial state (having nearly gone bankrupt), British Energy feel that "we haven't been in a position to talk about the future." He told us that they let the industry "umbrella groups," the Nuclear Industry Association (NIA) and the British Nuclear Energy Society (BNES), handle most proactive press work. BE uses only one external agency, Financial Dynamics, which handles PR about their financial situation.

BE's spokesman suggested that the current media debate is the result of a very long-term issues management campaign, saying, "ground work done [with journalists] two or three years ago has really paid off."

The Nuclear Industry Association is a trade association funded by more than 100 member companies that work in the nuclear industry. They denied conducting any proactive media relations work at all. They claim that their PR strategy is purely reactive, simply handling inquiries from journalists. Spokeswoman Ruth Stanway insisted that there is "no dark Machiavellian conspiracy" pushing for new nuclear power stations. She attributed the high media profile of the issue to rising oil prices, Russia's signing of the Kyoto Protocol and Lovelock's public utterances. She said she did not know what inspired the timing of Lovelock's article.

Despite this blanket denial, BNES spokesman, Ian Andrews, admits they have collaborated with the NIA in press work. "We are obviously proactive," he said. One of their strategies is to hold dinners and conferences with famous pro-nuclear speakers, creating an event for journalists to attend and report on (with a free lunch). When interviewed they were preparing, along with the NIA, for a conference entitled "Energy Choices" held in Westminster on the December 2. British Energy Minister Mike O'Brien was the main speaker at the event.

Both the NIA and the BNES are in touch with the group Supporters of Nuclear Energy (SONE), of which Sir Bernard Ingham is the secretary. Ingham is well known not only for his staunch support of nuclear power but also for his implacable opposition to wind power. Both he and SONE are involved in the anti-wind power campaign group Country Guardian and has boasted of personally halting two thirds of proposed wind farms in the UK.

When asked about SONE and Ingham, Andrews claimed to be busy and ended the interview. He stressed

that SONE was “totally separate,” though he did admit, “we know [Ingham] very well and meet occasionally.”

SONE, which was founded with public money from BNFL, is highly critical of wind power and therefore somewhat out of tune with the new reconciliation with renewables. Embarrassingly the group collects its mail from the BNES’ headquarters, and “maybe” uses BNES

office space elsewhere. Sir James Lovelock, who is listed on SONE’s web site as a patron, appears to have made some strange alliances for a man recently hyped as the father of the environmental movement. ■

*This article first appeared in the Corporate Watch Newsletter, Issue 21, December 2004. For more on UK-based Corporate Watch, visit <http://www.corporatewatch.org.uk/>.*

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS: NUCLEAR PR CASE STUDY

*Legislative Demographic Services, based in Fairfax, Virginia, “is a government affairs consulting and technology company that provides communications services, technology and applied data products.” The company was established in 1982 and is a subsidiary of Identix, Inc., which is a biometrics company “offering finger print and facial [identification] technologies and products.” Illustrating its public affairs capacity, LDS features on its website twelve “case studies” that broadly discuss work on behalf of their various clients. The case study below describes their work to counter a citizen’s movement to shut down an unnamed nuclear power plant.*

### SAVING A BILLION-DOLLAR INVESTMENT

Security concerns in the post-9/11 world have rekindled debate in many parts of the U.S. about the safety of nuclear power plants. One pointed campaign by well-organized anti-nuclear activists was directed at a major energy provider’s highly profitable and efficient \$1 billion facility. While the plant had an outstanding safety record and was being further secured against acts of terrorism, the persistent negative publicity worried state and local legislators even though a shutdown would seriously compromise the region’s long-term economic stability and possibly increase energy costs to consumers.

With the assistance of LDS’s consulting and communications experts, the energy provider successfully countered the negative publicity through a well-planned and implemented third-party grassroots strategy. Drawing on focus groups and other information sources, LDS identified motivational messages and respected advocates who could effectively mobilize individuals and organizations to support the plant’s continued operation. The firm also organized rallies to recruit volunteers, and provided training for advocacy coordinators and speakers.

To help manage the campaign, LDS’s enhanced mapping and tracking reports helped organizers monitor progress on volunteer recruitment by districts, and illustrate district-specific effects of a plant shutdown. These tools provided up-to-the-minute assessments of the campaign’s success, and prioritized areas for resources and attention.

LDS-developed communications tools included legislative action guides, newsletters, campaign materials (lawn signs, bumper stickers, and buttons), volunteer sign-up cards, talking points and issue briefs, and sample letters to legislators and elected officials. LDS’s District Match Data Set made it easy to match volunteers with their political districts, enabling the campaign to tailor efforts to specific officials and ancillary issues.

Although the campaign is considered ongoing, the intensity of the plant shutdown campaign has waned substantially. In addition to having the grassroots infrastructure in place to act in the event of subsequent anti-nuclear publicity, the energy provider is now better able to convey its messages on other key issues to state and local officials. *From [http://www.lds-inc.com/about/case\\_cc.cfm](http://www.lds-inc.com/about/case_cc.cfm), visited March 14, 2005.*



*A partial screen shot of LDS’s web page that features a case study of work done for an unnamed nuclear power plant.*

# TSUNAMI WASHES AWAY INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

by Diane Farsetta

“I hope that, as a result of our efforts, as a result of our helicopter pilots’ being seen by the citizens of Indonesia helping them, that value system of ours will be reinforced,” said Colin Powell, one week after the December 2004 tsunami wrought havoc across South and Southeast Asia.

Contemplating the public relations benefits of aid efforts following so many deaths may seem callous, but the United States wasn’t the only country hoping to benefit from images of uniform-clad do-gooders distributing food and water to traumatized villagers.

The Indonesian province of Aceh, “Ground Zero” for the tsunami, has been under declared or de facto martial law since mid-2003 (and through most of the 1990’s before that). In May 2003, the Indonesian military launched its largest offensive in nearly 30 years, in Aceh. Weeks later, Indonesian Communications and Information Minister Syamsul Muarif complained that the news from Aceh focused on “soldiers dragging corpses” instead of efforts to rehabilitate schools. “We are weak in international public relations, and because of that, reports by foreign media are often damaging,” he explained.

Most observers say it’s a well-deserved bad rap.

Indonesia insists its Aceh offensive is targeted at armed pro-independence forces (the Free Aceh Movement, known by its Indonesian acronym, GAM). However, the organization Human Rights Watch found “extrajudicial killings, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, and torture” of young men the military believes, “often without evidence, to be members or supporters of GAM.” Amnesty International documented “human rights abuses so pervasive that there is virtually no part of life in the province which remains untouched.” They concluded, “The Indonesian security forces bear primary responsibility for these human rights violations, although GAM has also committed serious human rights abuses.”

Over the years, a litany of well-documented human rights concerns has increasingly isolated the Indonesian

military on the world stage. To help clean up its image, the Indonesian government has turned to U.S.-based public relations and lobbying firms.

Hill & Knowlton and White & Case contributed to Indonesia’s lobbying bill for mid-1991 through 1992, which totaled \$6.8 million. Based on a 1991 communications plan commissioned from the Robinson Lake Sawyer Miller firm, Indonesia “gave foreign journalists information kits, with T-shirts and calendars, which try to explain its side of ‘negative stories,’” reported the *Australian*. Following the Indonesian military’s 1991 massacre of hundreds of peaceful protesters in East Timor, the government paid Burson-Marsteller \$5 million “to help improve the country’s human rights and environmental image,” according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. In 1996, Indonesia signed another \$5 million contract with Burson-Marsteller.

In early 2001, Indonesia’s Sekar Mahoni Sakti Foundation hired Advantage Associates “to create a positive view of Indonesia with the U.S. Congress, Administration, and Department of Defense,” as described in U.S. Foreign Agents Registration Act filings. One goal was “to lift an embargo on spare parts for the C-130 military aircraft.”

More recently, the war on terror has been Indonesia’s PR theme. Then-Indonesian president Megawati Sukarnoputri was the first foreign leader to visit the United States after September 11, 2001, arriving one week after the attacks. “Jakarta had considered postponing the trip,” Stanford professor Donald Emmerson told a Congressional hearing. “In the end, the American side decided it wanted to proceed, knowing the public relations value of early and visible support by the ruler of the world’s largest Muslim population.”

Indonesia also realized the PR potential. The government retained APCO Worldwide in 2003, to pitch its importance as a “front-line state in the war on terrorism,” wrote the PR trade publication *O’Dwyer’s*. The deal included media outreach and legislative meetings. In 2004, Alston & Bird contracted with an Indonesian log-



***CMD senior researcher Diane Farsetta with members of the Indonesian military outside a polling station on the day of the East Timor independence referendum in August 1999. Farsetta was an election observer with the International Federation for East Timor.***

ging magnate to “position” the country “as a solid ally in President Bush’s war on terror and one that is committed to democracy and human rights.” In addition to policymakers and reporters, Alston & Bird was directed to sway other U.S. “opinion-shapers,” including “think tanks and academia.”

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***Over the years, a litany of well-documented human rights concerns has increasingly isolated the Indonesian military on the world stage. To help clean up its image, the Indonesian government has turned to U.S.-based public relations and lobbying firms.***

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Indonesia’s most influential ally may be former U.S. Senator—and current Alston & Bird special counsel—Bob Dole. In January 2004, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that Indonesia had hired Dole as a lobbyist. “Among the issues Dole might address is the restoration of a program to train Indonesian military officers in the United States,” according to *National Journal’s CongressDaily*.

Shortly afterwards, Indonesia denied having a “blanket contract” with Dole. Government spokesperson Marty Natalegawa said, “There is an expression of readiness from the gentleman to help Indonesia on a case-by-case basis.”

Other U.S. image assistance followed. In December 2004, six U.S. Pacific Command officers led a three-day discussion for Indonesian Army, Navy and Air Force members, on “how to present information and news to the press.” The *Jakarta Post* reported, “The officers shared experiences in dealing with the media.” One U.S. officer “hailed the Indonesian military program to embed journalists during the operation to crush rebels in Aceh.” He remarked, “We did the same in Iraq.”

Yet the payoff has been slow in coming. A ban on U.S. military assistance for Indonesia, enacted after the military’s post-referendum devastation of East Timor in 1999, remained mostly intact, although it came under increasing attack from the Bush administration and some members of Congress.

Then came the tsunami. While the Indonesian military’s involvement in humanitarian efforts is necessary and normal, local and international observers have complained of aid obstruction and continued operations against supposed GAM rebels. Australian journalists

who witnessed a military attack were told by an Indonesian commander, “Your duties here are to observe the disaster, not the conflict.”

In a PR *faux pas*, Indonesia’s first head of relief operations in Aceh was Major General Adam Damiri, who has been indicted by a United Nations-backed tribunal for war crimes in East Timor. After he was replaced, the *Washington Post* remarked, “Damiri’s continued role at the air base could have complicated U.S. efforts to provide humanitarian assistance.”

Now, the momentum is on the Indonesian military’s side. In January 2005, Powell offered Indonesia spare parts for C-130 military aircraft. Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, long a proponent of close military ties, declared during a mid-January visit to the country, “Everybody loses a great deal ... when you cut off [Indonesia’s] contact with [our] military.” Reports in influential media like the *New York Times* wrongly claim, “Even proponents of the [Indonesian military]sanctions ... acknowledge that the best hope for developing an army whose conduct fits a democracy is to train officers in the United States.”

“The tsunami must not be used as an excuse to sweep away U.S. military restrictions on Indonesia,” warned the East Timor *Action Network’s* John Miller. But that’s just what happened. On February 25, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice certified to Congress that “Indonesia has satisfied legislative conditions for restarting its full International Military Education and Training program,” as a State Department spokesperson explained.

As hundreds of thousands of dollars begin to flow from Washington to Jakarta for military training, many U.S. PR firms share the blame. ■

*From 2000 to 2003, Diane was the National Field Organizer of the East Timor Action Network/U.S., working with local chapters and activists across the country on educational, protest and grassroots lobbying efforts in support of human rights and justice for East Timor and Indonesia. For more information, visit <http://www.etan.org/>.*



# THE FIX BEHIND FIXING SOCIAL SECURITY

by Laura Miller

The Bush administration ventriloquists are out in full force these days, breathlessly hyping “voluntary personal retirement accounts” as a way to save Social Security (by destroying it). For the average voter, getting a handle on what the Bush administration is proposing to do to Social Security is quite a challenge. The dozens of bobbing heads and clicking fingers, holding forth on cable news programming and the internet is enough to make anyone’s head spin. Is that spokesman from the Alliance for Worker Retirement Security speaking as an independent economics expert, a civic-minded individual or as a paid shill from a corporate-funded front group?

If you’re having trouble keeping track of all the players, our very own SourceWatch can help. It will tell you that the Alliance is sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the Business Roundtable, among other pro-business groups. You will also learn that it shares its executive director Derrick Max and a number of its members with the Coalition for the Modernization and Protection of America’s Social Security (COMPASS).

In late February, deputy White House chief of staff Karl Rove, National Economics Council director Al Hubbard, and Barry Jackson, a special assistant to the president who is handling Social Security reform, met with administration-friendly lobbyists for a “rah-rah” cheer-leading session on Social Security privatization. According to *The Hill*, representatives from COMPASS as well as the conservative 60 Plus Association, America’s Community Bankers, the National Retail Federation, the Mortgage Bankers Association and the Business Roundtable heard the trio reiterate George W. Bush’s commitment to “reform” Social Security. “Karl Rove talked about its importance to the president’s agenda, and Al Hubbard talked about its importance to the economy,” a spokesperson from the Roundtable told *Bloomberg News*.

“The White House is running this as if it’s a political campaign,” Free Enterprise Fund president Stephan

Moore told *Bloomberg*. “There are regular meetings the White House has with all the groups to make sure everyone is singing from the same hymnal.” To finance the campaign, business and trade association lobbyists are pressing their corporate members to fill the privatization collection plate. The *New York Times*’ Glen Justice reports that although “most groups are still raising money, and the spending figures they quote are still often just targets, the lobbying could amount to more than \$100 million.”

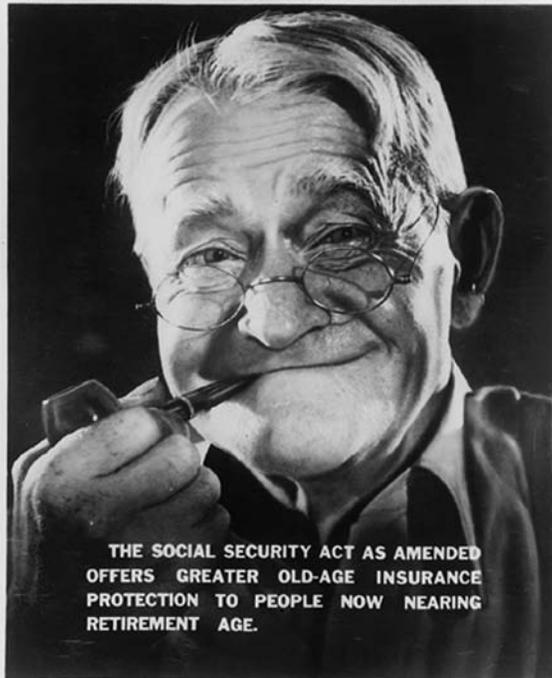
COMPASS launched its “Generations Together” outreach effort in February. The group expects to spend \$20 million on influencing public and Congressional opinion on Social Security privatization. The “grassroots” campaign will try to recruit more than 100,000 volunteers to voice their support for the President’s Social Security plan at town hall meetings and rallies as well as make phone calls and write letters to members of Congress, demanding action on Social Security.

Another group leading the privatization charge is USANext. Formerly known as the United Seniors Association (USA), this corporate-funded group is member of the Alliance for Worker Retirement Security and COMPASS in addition to another pro-privatization group, the Alliance for Worker Prosperity. As USA, it spent millions of drug company dollars, creating the appearance of grassroots support for the industry-sponsored version of

the 2003 Medicare bill that eventually passed.

In February, the *New York Times* reported that USANext had launched a campaign “to spend as much as \$10 million on commercials and other tactics assailing AARP, the powerhouse lobby opposing private investment accounts.” To oversee the operation, USANext hired Chris LaCivita, recently of the Republican 527 groups Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and Progress for America Voter Fund and an employee of the DCI Group, a well connected Republican firm specializing in astroturf. USANext’s opening salvo was an inter-

## MORE SECURITY FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY



THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT AS AMENDED OFFERS GREATER OLD-AGE INSURANCE PROTECTION TO PEOPLE NOW NEARING RETIREMENT AGE.

FOR INFORMATION WRITE OR CALL AT THE NEAREST FIELD OFFICE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD

*Historic Social Security poster from the National Archive.*

net ad that briefly appeared on the *American Spectator's* website. It equated the AARP with hating the military and loving gay marriage—sure signs of liberal decadence. The ad generated enormous online and print media attention for USANext and a lawsuit from the gay couple whose photograph was used in the ad without their permission. Despite being sued, USANext's campaign to steal AARP members and undermine its efforts to protect Social Security was off to a good start.

Collaborating with COMPASS and USANext in their aggressive push for privatization is Progress for America (PFA), a group closely tied to the White House. The PFA Voter Fund spent nearly \$30 million on Bush's reelection. As part of its \$20 million Social Security reform campaign, PFA announced it had recruited Texas A&M University economics professor Thomas R. Saving as an advisor and spokesman. Saving, however, was appointed by Bush as one of seven trustees for the U.S. Social Security Administration. The trustees issue reports on the current and projected financial status of the program, raising questions about potential conflicts of interest between his advocacy work at PFA and his role as a trustee.

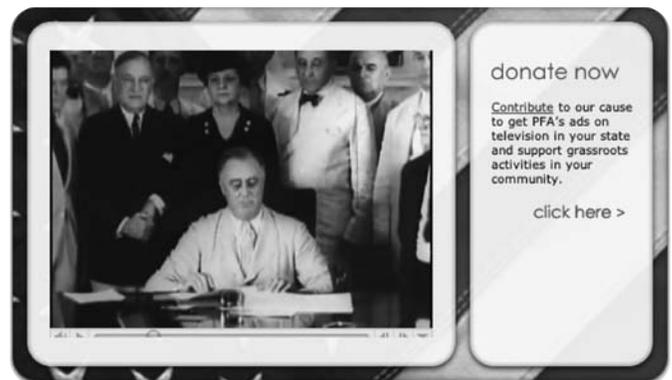
Other PFA recruits include former U.S. Treasurer Rosario Marin and 9-year-old Texan Noah McCullough, whose "encyclopedic command of presidential history" has earned him five appearances on Jay Leno's "Tonight" show, according to the *New York Times*. McCullough, whose mother describes him as "very patriotic and very Republican," has become a highly visible volunteer spokesman for the White House, traveling to several states ahead of the President's planned visits and doing radio interviews, answering trivia questions and pitching Social Security privatization.

PFA, which claims nonprofit status, was set up in 2000 and shares staff with the Washington-based DCI Group. Records show that the PFA Voter Fund paid DCI about \$800,000 during 2004 for work on the Bush reelection campaign. McCullough's media tour was "a brainchild" of Stuart Roy, a former aide to Representative Tom DeLay (R-Texas) who recently joined the DCI Group. "We'll have Noah there as the face of Social Security reform," the *Times* reports Roy as saying. "It's about the next generation."

PFA has also been airing television ads, one of which features footage of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The ad, which has drawn criticism, shows FDR signing Social Security into law while the voiceover says, "It took courage to create Social Security." Over an image of Bush signing a bill, the ads says "It'll take courage—and leadership—to protect it."

PFA told the *Houston Chronicle* that it will be asking past donors for money to fund its new campaign. Charles Schwab, the head of the prominent investment firm, contributed \$50,000 to the group's political arm in 2004. Schwab gave \$75,000 more to the Club for Growth, which also is lobbying for Social Security privatization and expects to spend \$10 million lobbying to promote private accounts. Peter J. Ferrara, an alumnus of the Cato Institute, Heritage Foundation and National Center for Policy Analysis, is heading the Club's Social Security Project.

While the business-funded lobby groups are busy in the PR trenches, President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney are barnstorming the country, speaking at carefully orchestrated town hall meetings where they relentlessly paint Social Security in the red and promote their "voluntary personal retirement accounts." Bush told an audience of hundreds of supporters at the New Jersey Army National Guard Armory in Westfield that he enjoyed campaigning for privatization—" [I] like going around the country, saying, 'Folks, we have got a problem.'"



***Progress for America's online appeal for donations to air their TV ad 'Courage'.***

The real problem, however, is not with the Social Security program. The so-called Social Security crisis is an invention of ideological think tanks and corporate-funded groups. The liberal foundation-funded Center for Economic and Policy Research writes, "Social Security is more financially sound today than it has been throughout most of its 69-year history." The real problem is how the lobbyist-driven campaign to privatize Social Security marginalizes and renders irrelevant actual democratic discussion on Social Security and its future solvency.

"The emergence of the center-right phalanx backing the Social Security proposal is a major victory for the Cato Institute, a prominent libertarian group," the *Washington Post's* Thomas Edsall wrote. "In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Cato was almost alone in its will-

ingness to challenge the legitimacy of the existing Social Security system, a politically sacrosanct retirement program. Recognizing the wariness of other conservatives to tackle Social Security, Cato in 1983 published an article calling for privatization of the system. The article argued that companies that stand to profit from privatization—‘the banks, insurance companies and other institutions that will gain’—had to be brought into alliance. Second, the article called for initiation of ‘guerilla warfare against both the current Social Security system and the coalition that supports it.’”

Clearly, the “warfare” has begun, although Republican strategists prefer more polite terms. “We’re setting up an operation that is employing a campaign-type infrastructure, campaign-style tactics and really bringing election-year intensity to the debate,” Republican National Committee communications director Brian Jones, referring to Social Security, told *Bloomberg News*. But as we’ve seen, “election year intensity” rarely, if ever, allows thoughtful dialogue on political issues. Instead, voters get the hard sell.

Nevertheless, Bush’s “personal accounts” plan becomes less appealing the more voters learn about it. Bush and company face a skeptical populace, similar to the challenge they faced when selling the Iraq war. Convincing the public to go along with the dismantling of a popular 70-year-old program is no small feat. And unlike Iraq, this time Americans can see a direct threat to their own wallets. Afraid of even less money for retirement, voters are asking tougher questions. And their Congressional representatives, afraid of mid-term losses, are starting to pay attention to those concerns.

While the right is coordinated in its attacks on Social Security, it is fighting an uphill battle. By tracking and exposing its movements on our online SourceWatch, you can help make a difference. So far, we’ve catalogued over two dozen articles on individuals and groups that are promoting Bush’s Social Security privatization plan. It’s a good start, but the privatizers aren’t even close to giving up, and neither are we. ■

*Help expose the fix behind fixing Social Security. Visit <http://www.SourceWatch.org/>.*

## FROM “Disinfopedia” TO “SOURCEWATCH”

If you’re wondering what happened to “Disinfopedia,” our wiki-based “encyclopedia of people, issues and groups shaping the public agenda,” it hasn’t disappeared. We’ve just renamed it. It’s now called SourceWatch, located at <http://www.sourcewatch.org/>.

Launched in March 2003, Disinfopedia has grown rapidly to include more than 6,600 articles about PR firms, think tanks, industry-friendly experts and many of the other individuals and institutions that play an important role in shaping public opinion and public policies. We’re very happy with the way volunteer supporters of our work have stepped forward to contribute information and insights to the project. Along the way, however, we began to hear complaints about the name, which some people felt sounded too “paranoid.” Others pointed out that as Disinfopedia grew, it came to include a range of people and organizations, some of which are indeed guilty of deceptive practices, but not all. We decided that these were legitimate criticisms.

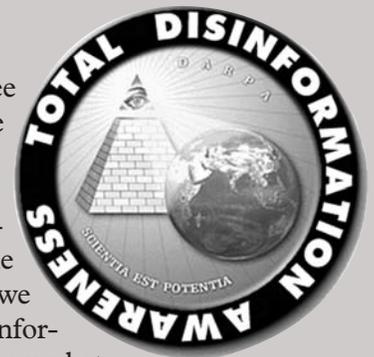
The name “Disinfopedia” was intended in part as a reference to the Wikipedia, a free, online, wiki-based encyclopedia that runs on the same software. It was also intended as a tongue-in-cheek commentary on the Bush administration’s ill-fated Total Information Awareness program. Our original logo for Disinfope-

dia, which you can see here, even mimicked the TIA’s own logo, with its all-seeing eye. Instead of the words “total information awareness,” the logo proclaimed that we were seeking “total disinformation awareness.” It seemed at

the time like a fun inside joke, but after it went up, the emails that arrived in our office helped us realize that the joke wasn’t obvious to all of our readers.

After surveying Disinfopedia users and consulting with a number of people who have been friends and advisors to the Center for Media and Democracy, we settled on the new name “SourceWatch.” We feel that this name accurately reflects the project’s expanded purpose: to track the people and organizations that serve as sources of information and ideas regarding important public issues.

We have done our best to make this transition as smooth as possible. All links to Disinfopedia articles should now automatically redirect to the same article on the new website. But if you encounter something that doesn’t seem to be working right on SourceWatch, please let us know so that we can fix it.



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# CH-CH-CH-CHANGES: THE WORLD OF PR INDUSTRY NEWS RELEASES

by Kristian Knutsen

Here at the Center for Media and Democracy, we regularly get press releases from a wide variety of public relations firms—from small groups we have never heard of before to the largest global PR firms about which we have reported extensively. These press releases come via email or fax, and there are often follow-up phone calls from the senders to verify our receipt of the releases. These press releases address a wide variety of things the firms wish to promote, but the majority deal with personnel changes (hires, transfers, etc.), and they are usually not very informative.

Once in a while, though, we receive an announcement that is more edifying, opening a window to the ways in which PR industry executives advertise themselves in the context of professional promotion, delivered in the deadpan phrases of industry lingo.

On January 24, we received a press release via email about two new hires at the Los Angeles office of Fleishman-Hillard, an international PR giant. If the association of Los Angeles with Fleishman-Hillard rings any bells, it is because that office of the firm was the subject of a significant scandal involving Fleishman-Hillard overbilling the city's Department of Water and Power by an estimated \$4.2 million.

Here's an excerpt of the press release:

“LOS ANGELES, January 24, 2005 – Iveliesse Malavé and Sara Jones have been named vice presidents at Fleishman-Hillard Los Angeles. ... Jones joins Fleishman-Hillard from APCO Worldwide, where she most recently served as vice president of public affairs. Jones brings an extensive background in managing crises and complex, high-risk issues, with a proven specialty in litigation support and labor relations. Over the course of her career, she has played an integral role in protecting and enhancing corporate and brand reputation for numerous Fortune 100 and Fortune 500 corporations including Wal-Mart, ExxonMobil, and Johnson & Johnson. ...

“Prior to joining APCO Worldwide, Jones worked at GCI (formerly Kamer-Singer) where she directed international efforts to preserve Nike's brand and business in the face of a prolonged anti-sweatshop campaign. Jones also directed short and long term communications planning for Levi Strauss & Co. as it reduced its workforce by 34 percent through the closure of 11 plants. The plant closures were ranked as ‘the number one managed crisis of the year’ and among ‘the best communications (programs) of the year’ by industry trade publications.” ■

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## CENTER FOR MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY IN THE NEWS

The Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) is at the forefront of identifying manipulative and deceptive PR and propaganda. Here are a few examples of recent actions and appearances by the Center and its staff:

- In a March 21, 2005 letter to the Federal Communications Commission, CMD and the nonpartisan group Free Press asked for an investigation of government-funded video news releases and of “all broadcasters who distribute government-sponsored news reports without properly identifying the source.”

- CMD executive director John Stauber was featured on National Public Radio's “On Point” on March 17, 2005, discussing government propaganda and TV “fake news.”

- Stauber appeared on Pacifica Radio's “Democracy Now!” on March 14, 2005, in the segment “State Propaganda: How Government Agencies Produce Hundreds of Pre-Packaged TV Segments the Media Runs as News.” “What this is, actually, is propaganda, because these are not news stories. They look like news stories, but they have a bias in favor of a political program or an ideology or a product. And the networks and stations that air these, and we're talking about thousands of these pro-

duced a year, are engaging simply in plagiarism and fraud ... saying this is news when it's not news,” Stauber told host Amy Goodman.

- PR Watch editor Laura Miller was a guest on Air America Radio's “Al Franken Show,” March 11, 2005, discussing the PR campaign behind Social Security privatization and SourceWatch's role in tracking it.

- CMD research director Sheldon Rampton was interviewed by the *New York Times*' Timothy L. O'Brien for his February 13, 2005 article “Spinning Frenzy: P.R.'s Bad Press.” “The Armstrong Williams scandal is an example of the close coordination between the advertiser and the commentator,” Rampton told the Times. “In terms of journalistic traditions, that violates disclosure and conflicts-of-interest principles.”

- Stauber was interviewed about mad cow disease on CNN's “American Morning” on January 3, 2005. “I hope the United States rethinks its [mad cow] policy. But the biggest problem we have is that we still haven't done here in the United States what we need to do to stop the spread of mad cow disease. We're still, for instance, feeding cattle blood to calves and we know blood can spread mad cow disease,” Stauber said. ■

# SUPPORT THE CENTER for Media & DEMOCRACY

The Center for Media and Democracy works to strengthen democracy by promoting media that are “of, by and for the people”—genuinely informative and broadly participatory—and by removing the barriers and distortions of the modern information environment that stem from government- or corporate-dominated, hierarchical media.

The Center for Media and Democracy serves social change activists, journalists, researchers, policymakers and the public at large in the following ways:

- Countering propaganda by investigating and reporting on behind-the-scenes public relations campaigns by corporations, industries, governments and other powerful institutions.
- Informing and assisting grassroots citizen activism that promotes public health, economic justice, ecological sustainability and human rights.
- Promoting media literacy to help the public recognize the forces shaping the information they receive about issues that affect their lives.
- Sponsoring “open content” media that enable citizens from all walks of life to “be the media” and to participate in creating media content.

*Banana Republicans: How the Right Wing Is Turning America Into a One-Party State*  
Tarcher/Penguin  
2004



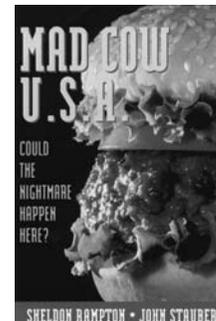
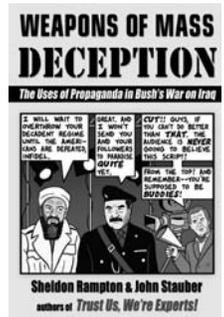
*Trust Us, We're Experts: How Industry Manipulates Science and Gambles With Your Future*  
Tarcher/Putnam  
2001

*Toxic Sludge Is Good For You: Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry*  
Common Courage Press  
1995



Founded in 1993, the Center for Media and Democracy remains the only organization dedicated to strengthening public interest reporting while investigating and exposing deceptive public relations and propaganda campaigns.

*Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq*  
Tarcher/Penguin  
2003



*Mad Cow USA*  
Common Courage Press  
1997, 2004

Books can be ordered from the Center on the form below.

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\_\_\_\_\_ *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You* \$15

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(Contributions of \$35 or more include a one-year subscription to PR Watch.)

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