

Attachment One

**Edward Bernays, the Father of Modern
Mind Manipulation**

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Introduction

Throughout civilisation's history, man has tried to manipulate others in his favour. But the domain of manipulation was limited to people around the manipulators.

The Industrial Revolution changed almost everything, allowing humans to go from limited production to mass production and from restricted manipulation to "mass manipulation."

The Industrial Revolution also developed old communication like Newspapers, giving birth to modern media like Radio, Television, and the Internet. Besides these devices, a modern phenomenon like psychology was born.

The father of psychology, Sigmund Freud, revealed the existence of the most profound desires and fears in man's unconscious. And Freud's nephew Edward Bernays (1891-1995) abused modern mass media and human "desires and fears", which gave birth to modern manipulating or mass manipulating that calls Public Relations.

Our world, as it is now, could be different if new methods

of mass brainwashing at the beginning of the 20th century didn't appear by a group of people who call themselves "Public Relations Counselors."

Public Relations is a euphemism for manipulating minds or plain-spoken "mass brainwashing."

This business can shape public opinion to support the interests of big companies and push people toward launching a coup d'état, as it did in Guatemala in 1954, and "war" as it did in the first Persian Gulf War (2 August 1990 – 28 February 1991). Or persuades people to consume the goods they don't need at all, as it did with the expansion of smoking cigarettes among women.

Humanity confronts Climate Change, Losing Biodiversity, and Land Degradation as trial cataclysms. We must choose between exerting Constructive Change and extinction.

If we choose Constructive Change, it is necessary to have sufficient knowledge about Destructive Changes that have caused us to fall into this predicament.

Without understanding Public Relations and its mechanism, it would be impossible to deal with Destructive Changes as a real danger to humanity. Behind the Destructive Changes, there are Public Relations practitioners, and behind them, big companies' interests could be found by us. *

* *"Just 90 companies caused two-thirds of man-made global warming emissions"* , The Guardian, Wed 20 Nov 2013.

We cannot understand the mechanism of Destructive Change without knowing the mechanism used by Public Relations Counselors. And To understand Public Relations Business, we need to know Edward Bernays, who has been called the father of Public Relations.

Bernays was coined "Public Relations Counselor" as a business, and his theoretical defence of manipulating people's minds inspired Public Relations practitioners and politicians.

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Some people call themselves Public Relations Counselors, agents or men but do not manipulate people's minds. I am afraid to say these persons have chosen the wrong name for their profession. Everybody should know "Public Relations Counselor" is a term that coined by Edward Bernays.

Larry Tye, the author of "*The Father of Spin*," on page 53 of that book, explained how Bernays made the Public Relations Counselor term.

Bernays coined PR and gave meaning and content to it with his activities. When a man who knows history hears PR, he remembers Bernays' doings.

If somebody says: I am National Socialist, we recall automatically Adolf Hitler, who coined National Socialism or Nazism, and by his activities, gave the meaning to that term as an ideology.

But Suppose the man who calls himself "Nazi" or National Socialist doesn't mean what this term holds, and he thinks and acts differently than Hitler and the Nazis did. In that case, he should choose another name for his political opinion and activity.

Public Relations Counselors or agents who don't think and act like Edward Bernays, it is better to call themselves something else, for instance, "Public Liaison", that makes a difference between their job and the genuine Public Relations that Bernays created.

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For the first time in my life, when I was 20 years old, one of my older friends told me stories about Edward Bernays. He explained how Bernays and his fellow Public Relations practitioners manipulate people's minds and force them to do what big companies want.

He said: Public Relations men believe humans are like hens, they believe human society is a henhouse, and they are farmers who own hens and henhouse, and they have the right to exploit them how they will and when they want.

I was young and naive and couldn't believe my ears. However, my friend was an honest guy, but so many conspiracies were out of my mind's capacity for grasping

them. Even now, after 42 years from that time, and my own research and experiences, I cannot absorb Bernays opinions about people and his scrambles for manipulating humans' minds, for instance, his attempt to change American people's taste for colour to green, because one of American Tobacco Company's product "Lucky Strike" package colour was green, such conspiracy is unbelievable yet for me.

So much consideration to details for the promotion of smoking cigarettes among women —as you will see in this book— is incredible for ordinary people like you and me. But I am afraid to say such things are harsh realities and a part of our world.

Once, Shelley Spector, a PR woman, said that Bernays "*had as much impact on twentieth-century society as his uncle Sigmund Freud had on his field of psychology.*"¹

I agree with her, but I must add that Bernays' impact is beyond "*twentieth-century society.*" It is forming our society in the 21st Century too.

However, Edward Bernays died in 1995 at age 103. But he is alive with his legacy and methods, and his disciples continue his way and shape the world and our lifestyle.

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In this book, I quote from "*The Father of Spin*" and its author Larry Tye. If you want to study more about Public

¹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 248

Relations and its father, Edward Bernays, I recommend you read "*The Father of Spin.*"

Also, a BBC documentary titled "*The Century of the Self,*" available on YouTube is a documentary that everyone must watch if she or he cares about Humanity.

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During his forty years of full-time practice, Edward Bernays had over 435 clients. In this book, I pay attention only to the American Tobacco Company and the United Fruit Company. In touch with the first company, he expanded smoking cigarettes among women, and with United Fruit, he launched a coup in Guatemala.

Chapter One

The Man and His Business

Edward Louis Bernays(1891-1995) was born to a Jewish family, the son of Ely Bernays and Anna Freud Bernays.

Edward was a "double nephew" of Sigmund Freud. His mother was Freud's sister, and his father's sister, Martha, married Sigmund Freud.

The Bernays family moved from Vienna to the United States in the 1890s. Ely Bernays became a grain exporter at the Manhattan Produce Exchange.

In 1892, Edward's family moved to New York City, where he attended DeWitt Clinton High School. In 1912 he graduated from Cornell University with a degree in agriculture but chose journalism as his first career. He married Doris Fleischman in 1922. They had two daughters, Doris and Anne.

Bernays started his public relations office in 1919 with Doris Fleischman, his partner and later his wife. He was not the first in the PR business; Ivy Lee and a few pioneers were before him. But they manipulated people's minds by their conspiratorial instinct when Edward Bernays taught Public Relations Counselors the importance of applying Social Science techniques to influence people's behaviour.

Because Edward's mother was Sigmund Freud's sister, he grew up with dinner-table social science discussions. Edward Bernays *“was one of Freud's most faithful students and most frequent imitators.”*²

As a nephew of Sigmund Freud, Edward Bernays was the supervisor of translating and publishing Freud's articles and books in the USA. Then he was the first man in America who read Freud's psychoanalytic theories. Bernays became a defender of his uncle's theories in the USA. *“Over the years Eddie made it his mission to collect materials on his uncle and defend him against his many critics.”*³

But psychoanalytic theories for Bernays was a tool to know the mind's functions of man in order to manipulate it better. *“While Freud sought to liberate people from their subconscious drives and desires, Eddie sought to exploit those passions.”*⁴

When Eddie's wife Doris complained about the mental problems, their older daughter, who was a therapist and named Doris too —after her mother's name— gave the name of a psychiatrist to her mother to receive help. *“She went and seemed to be improving, but Eddie wasn't happy about his wife needing therapy. First he insisted on attending one of her sessions; then he made her stop.”*⁵

² The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 197

³ Ibid. Page 193

⁴ Ibid. Page 197

⁵ Ibid. Page 213

His daughter Doris about that event says: *“He [Edward] could see psychoanalytic theory or Freudian theory in its applicability to groups, its sociological applicability, and he was a very quick it that sense. In a more personal sense, he didn’t have a clue what it was all about. He never understood it.”*⁶

From its beginning by Edward Bernays and later by his disciples, it seems Psychology has created more mental problems for people than healing because PR men have abused Psychology to exert more Psychological stress on people.

As we know, Psychotherapy is a luxury treatment that many people worldwide cannot afford. But suffering from a mental problem is free and accessible for people worldwide. For instance, when the USA and the United Kingdom invaded Iraq in 2003, the result was approximately 500,000 death of Iraqis, and millions of Iraqis suffered from posttraumatic stress.

Where can millions of Iraqis receive Psychotherapists' help?

Now, the men of Public Relations use the latest achievements of Psychology in practice even before they could be used for helping people by Psychotherapists.

When Edward Bernays started his Public Relations office in 1919, only a handful of others were in that business; in 1990, more or less 2,000 PR firms with 125,000 practitioners were active, only in the USA.

⁶ Ibid. Page 213

Not only in the USA but also in other countries, Public Relations Counselors are active. For example, "Hill & Knowlton Strategies" is a global public relations consulting company. Its headquarter is in New York City, United States, with over 80 offices in more than 40 countries, including Sweden.

The activities of public relations offices are legal. Because they, as lobbyists, are an essential part of law legislation's process in the parliaments.

They are everywhere for forming public opinion and leading people where they want. You cannot see them, maybe, but lobbyists impose on you the will of big companies as real masters of human societies via laws.

When, in 1949, Mack Trucks approached him for handling the competition between truck-makers and railroads, Bernays created a new model for lobbying.

With the help of Edward Bernays's lobbying, the truck-makers won the game.

*"Bernays' s Mack campaign also set a model for lobbying that is still used in today's world of high-priced political action committees."*⁷

Now, we know using the railroad for transporting goods is better for the Earth, but trucks that use diesel fuel are causing carbon dioxide emissions as the main reason for Global Warming.

⁷ Ibid. Page 58

Public Relations practitioners are “*professional poisoners of the public mind*”, as Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter wrote in a letter to President Franklin Roosevelt about Edward Bernays and fellow PR pioneer Ivy Lee.⁸

*“Edward Bernays and a band of colleagues were skillfully manipulating symbols and trends in ways that affected what average American ate for breakfast, what sorts of homes they bought, and what colors they chose. And they did them so adeptly that most people never realized it was happening and couldn’t have conceived of how it was transforming country.”*⁹

Edward Bernays manipulated feminists like Ruth Hale for believing women smoking on the street is a right of women that men have confiscated. At that time, smoking cigarettes by women on the streets was a social taboo.

George Washington Hill, head of the American Tobacco Company, wanted to sell more cigarettes, and women would be a potential market if the taboo of smoking could remove. He said to Bernays:

*“It will be like opening a new gold mine, right in our front yard.”*¹⁰

With a sophisticated plan, Edward Bernays fulfilled George Washington Hill's dream about opening a new gold mine.

⁸ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 63

⁹ Ibid. Page 53 - 54

¹⁰ Ibid. Page 23

Manipulating feminism was a part of Bernays' plan for promoting cigarettes. As a clever student of Freud, he was aware of the role of symbols that motivate people. He made "Torches of Freedom" as a symbol and handed it to feminists like Ruth Hale.

In 1929 Edward Bernays planned to launch a smoking parade by women on Easter Sunday in New York. Ruth Hale called for women to join the march, saying, "*Women! Light another torch of freedom! Fight another sex taboo!*"

Ruth Hale was an intelligent, fearless, and honest person.

As an American journalist who worked for women's rights in New York City, Ruth Hale had enough common knowledge about American society. Still, she had no notion about Public Relations manipulating' s methods, like most of us have not yet.

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Public Relations practitioners are shadow men. People—the subject of manipulation— shouldn't be aware of the manipulation's process and methods. PR practitioners, like magicians, don't like to reveal their tricks to people. However, Edward Bernays complied with that rule for a while, but he couldn't keep the secrets forever.

During the manipulating process, he was very cautious. For instance, in giving cigarettes as “*torches of freedom*” in women's hands, nobody could detect the fingerprints of either Edward Bernays or his tobacco company client. But after approaching the target, he liked to tell the story and share his masterpiece with others.

Bernays was pretentious, and during his long life, he was retelling his wondrous works in many interviews.

Bernays knew his abilities, and the other PR practitioners should know it. Either they confess to his supremacy or envy him; he was the most intelligent man in the PR business. He had extended psychology and sociology knowledge and could speak German and French when most of his PR colleagues in America did not have these abilities. Larry Tye says:

*“It didn’t take long for his audience to realize how much he knew about almost everything and to understand that was worth listening to.”*¹¹

*“Eddie established himself as public relation’s most prolific —and articulated— philosopher and spokesman.”*¹²

His opponents in PR will emphasize Ivy Lee as the first man in the PR business, but *“Lee was tongue-tied when asked to explain his job, but Bernays sallied forth in books, articles, and speeches not only to define public relations counseling (a term he coined in 1920) but to outline its methodology and suggest a code of ethics.*

¹¹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 143

¹² Ibid. Page 232

While Lee thought of his trade as an art which would not outlive his career, Bernays conceived of public relations as the ongoing science of the 'group mind' and 'herd reaction.' ¹³

Edward Bernays had no modesty and, aware of his theoretical supremacy, tried to establish his position as the father of Public Relations. He tried to gather Public Relations practitioners for making organization of them. The last attempt was in 1938. He invited his home twenty or so leading PR men to build an organization, but that effort was defeated because of Bernays' manner as the owner of the PR business.

The 1938 meeting inspired John W. Hill(1890 - 1977), founder of the vast Hill and Knowlton public relations firm, to form an elite association of PR professionals called Wisemen. Of course, they didn't invite Bernays to create the "*Wisemen association.*" They didn't like Bernays, and Jon W. Hill's disciples even now show their aversion to Bernays.

On the website of "PRSA-NY" (The New York Chapter of the Public Relations Society of America), when they wrote a biography about John W. Hill and Hill & Knowlton, one can see their feeling about Bernays, after so many years:

"Hill's former colleagues and clients talked warmly about his legacy, often referring to him as a pioneer.

¹³The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 233

*He emphasized teamwork and strove to create networks of accomplished professionals. He was a deeply likable man, with a marked aversion to flamboyance. Throughout his life, he repeatedly expressed disdain for those he called “**the great I-am’s.**”*

However, the writer of that text has not explicitly mentioned Edward Bernays. Still, any researcher of RP can understand “*the great I-am’s*” is him, and Hill “*repeatedly expressed disdain*” turned toward Bernays.

In another PR association, they “*had a rule that when a member mentioned Bernay’s, he had to drop a quarter[25 cents] in a pot. The money was used to buy drinks at the end of the year.*”¹⁴

Edward Bernays, according to people of "PRSA-NY," was flamboyant. He talked and wrote a lot during his long life. And after his death, he left 805 boxes of documents at the Library of Congress.

Those records are necessary materials for any research about Edward Bernays, Public Relations, and the methods used by PR practitioners to manipulate people's minds. So many documents could be dangerous for the future of the PR business if ordinary people, for any reason, pay attention to PR.

When injustice reaches its climax, corruption among politicians maximizes, or "climate change" starts to take its massive death toll, the academic papers and books written by researchers—using Bernays' legacy— could be

¹⁴ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 235

a reference to everybody.

Now, academic papers and books about PR have limited readers, but sometimes in the future, they will be read vastly by people who will find the hands behind humanity's problems.

Bernays' interviews, articles, books, and what he left to the Library of Congress, including notes, letters, etc., are the best resource to know him, his business, and above all, the mentality of Bernays himself and people like him who have chosen PR as a business.

Bernays opponents in the RP business don't want to reveal their opinions and methods to people. As Bernays said in one of his books, they prefer to stay in the shadows and play an "*invisible government*" role.¹⁵

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Edward Bernays, in his books, especially "*Crystallizing Public Opinion*" (published 1923) and "*Propaganda*" (published 1928), explained his opinion. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda chief, used the first book. Bernays learned Goebbels was his disciple in 1933, when Karl von Wiegand, a foreign correspondent for the

¹⁵ Propaganda, by Edward Bernays, 1928, page 20

Hearst Papers, visited Goebbels in Germany and was given a tour of his library.

Goebbels did employ techniques that Bernays explained in "*Crystallizing Public Opinion*," especially using symbols and making Jews into scapegoats and Hitler into the embodiment of righteousness.

Goebbels learned to manipulate the media by trumpeting Nazi triumphs on the battlefield, hiding Jewish people's extermination, and vesting unheard-of power in state propagandists just as Bernays had advised in "*Crystallizing Public Opinion*."

How did Bernays feel when he heard about what he wrote in "*Crystallizing Public Opinion*" used by Goebbels in the destructive campaign against the Jews in Germany?

A healthy human is born with an "Instinct of Sympathy" that causes him to become a combination of "Self-interest" and "Selflessness".

Care about "Self-interest" and "Selflessness" is a part of the "Innate Morality" that we are born with. But Anti-wise persons like Edward Bernays have only "Self-interest". That means they have no morality; in other words, they suffer from immorality and don't care about others.

In the mind of the immoral persons, there is no place for "Selflessness." They are nothing except machinery that cares only about their "Self-interest." But to cheat others, they need to pretend to believe in morality.

This pretension forces them to show hypocritical behaviour. Immoral men say something and do the opposite thing. Larry Tye reveals a part of Bernays hypocrisy:

*“But Bernays was also a bundle of contradictions. He rode roughshod over young staffers even as he ballyhooed the virtues of tolerance and democracy. He promoted cigarettes, which he suspected were deadly; at the same time, he was promoting national health insurance. He espoused women’s rights but often treated his female employees, and even his wife, like indentured servants.”*¹⁶

Bernays verbally supported women's rights, but his wife felt in his house like a prisoner. *“She[Doris Bernays] confessed to her son-in-law, Justin Kaplan, that she sometimes felt like a prisoner.”*¹⁷

Maybe anti-Semitic people emphasize Edward Bernays' Jewishness to justify their hatred for Jewish people. Suppose someone can blame Christianity because Joseph Goebbels and his boss Adolf Hitler were born in Christian families.

In Bernays' case, anti-Semitists, with the same logic, can blame Jewishness because Edward Bernays was merely born into a Jewish family.

¹⁶ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Preface page X [Ten]

¹⁷ Ibid. Page 212

All these people —Goebbels, Hitler and Bernays— are deprived of the morality that exists in Christianity and Jewishness. They were "Nothing", as Bernays confessed himself:

*“Anne, his younger daughter, was confused about her Jewishness and asked when she was five, “What am I?” Eddie, she wrote years later, “answered with admirable simplicity that I was ‘nothing,’ adding, ‘You can choose when you grow up.’”*¹⁸

Bernays had neither tolerance nor belief in democracy. He wanted people to choose what elites selected, and he was an avowed elitist.

In his book *Propaganda*, he envies that time the kings had absolute power and the people had nothing:

*“IN the days when kings were kings, Louis XIV made his modest remark, “L'Etat c'est moi.” He was nearly right. * But times have changed. The steam engine, the multiple press, and the public school, that trio of the industrial revolution, have taken the power away from kings and given it to the people. The people actually gained power which the king lost. For economic power tends to draw after it political power; and the history of the industrial revolution shows how that power passed from the king and the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie. Universal suffrage and universal schooling reinforced this tendency, and at last even the bourgeoisie stood in fear of the common people. For the masses promised to become king.*

¹⁸ Tye, Larry, *The Father of Spin*, page 113-114

* L'état, c'est moi means “I myself am the nation.”

*To-day, however, a reaction has set in. The minority has discovered a powerful help in influencing majorities. 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.”*¹⁹

Trying to Know Reality as it is and manipulating it for Self-interest is a specific trait of an Anti-wise man, and Bernays, aware of the human mind's flaws, abused those flaws.

*“Edward Bernays had been the first to convince American corporations that they could sell products by connecting them with people's unconscious feelings.”*²⁰

Also:

“Bernays have manipulated the American people but he had done so because he like many others of time, believe that interests of business and interests of America were indivisible, especially when faced with the threat of Communism.

*But Bernays was convinced that to explain this rationally to the American people was impossible because they were not rational, instead one had to touch on their inner fears and manipulate them in the interests of a higher truth. He called it, the engineering of consent.”*²¹

Because only big businesses can run the country, they must take control of society by manipulating mass minds.

¹⁹ Propaganda, by Edward Bernays, 1928, page 19

²⁰ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009,

²¹ Ibid

The big companies shall act as the *“invisible government”* and PR men as *“the executive arm of the invisible government.”*

Bernays' explicit statement is: *“Propaganda is the executive arm of the invisible government.”*²²

In an interview with BBC, Edward Bernays' younger daughter Anne said:

*“He was doing it for the American way of life and when to which he was devoted so this is sincerely devoted, and yet he felt the people were really pretty stupid and that is the paradox. If you don't leave it up to the people themselves but force them to choose what you want them to choose, however, suddenly, then it is not a democracy anymore. It is something else it is being told what to do it's being. It's that old authoritarianism.”*²³

Like other elites, Edward Bernays showed his disdain for ordinary people and wrote his opinion. PR men have desired the *“invisible government”* of big companies and their unconditioned power since the beginning of the 20th century.

²² Propaganda, by Edward Bernays, 1928, Page 20

²³ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009,

Chapter Two

The Man Promotes Cigarettes

Background of Cigarettes

Since Christopher Columbus discovered that continent, potato, maize, tomato, and tobacco are four souvenirs from America.

Indigenous peoples in America used tobacco in three different ways: Chewing it, smoking it by pipe, and smoking in the form of a cigar with twisted, dried tobacco leaves rolled in other sheets.

European sailors learned those smoking methods from native Americans and spread them in Europe and other continents.

Later, white men added a new way of smoking. They rolled the dried tobacco in a piece of paper, then overlapped paper edges affixed to each other by saliva and named it the cigarette. The making of cigarettes by an individual smoker requested skill and took time. But smoking cigars or pipes was more accessible.

James Buchanan Duke (1856 - 1925) —most known as Buck Duke— caused a change in cigarettes.

With the help of a young mechanic, he started machine-made cigarettes in 1884. The machine produced over 200 cigarettes per minute, the equivalent of what a skilled hand roller could make in a shift, and reduced the cost of rolling cigarettes by 50%.

Besides these advantages, machine-made cigarettes were neatly rolled, perfectly symmetrical, modern-looking, and more hygienic because they were manufactured without using human hands and saliva.

Buck Duke's new machine produced 120,000 cigarettes daily, about a fifth of US consumption. *"The problem was he produced more cigarettes than he could sell",* says Jordan Goodman, the author of *"Tobacco in History."* *"He had to work out how to capture this market."*²⁴

He found the answer in advertising and marketing. Duke sponsored races, gave his cigarettes for free at beauty contests, and placed ads in the new "glossies" —the first magazines.

*"In 1889 alone, he spent \$800,000 on marketing (about \$25m in today's money)."*²⁵

Despite Buck Duke's efforts, most American men preferred to smoke pipes and cigars or chew tobacco until the First World War started in 1914, and American soldiers later joined their European allies. First World War was the catalyst for a massive shift in tobacco use.

Before the First World War, pipe smoking was the most common form of tobacco smoking in the militaries of America and Europe because pipe and cigar smoking was also associated with nineteenth-century ideas about masculinity.

²⁴ James Buchanan Duke: Father of the modern cigarette, a BBC website article by William Kremer, 13 November 2012

²⁵ Ibid.

As the war ground on, cigarette smoking increased in popularity. War conditions led to the eclipse of pipe smoking during this period. Pre-packaged cigarettes are much more convenient than a pipe in trench conditions.

A pipe smoker has to keep his shag tobacco (loose tobacco) dry, which muddy trench conditions in Flanders would have made difficult.

Although cigarettes had been regarded as a physical and moral hazard by early anti-tobacco movements around this time, by 1918, even previously anti-cigarette organizations began supporting efforts to distribute cigarettes to troops.

The New York Times garnered support for these efforts by stating that cigarettes “*lighten[ed] the inevitable hardships of war*”, and another popular periodical described cigarettes as the “*last and only solace of the wounded.*”²⁶

*“There was an anti-cigarette movement in the early 1900s, in America, but it was more concerned with morality than health. A rise in smoking among women and children fed into a wider concern about the moral decline of society. Cigarettes were prohibited in 16 different US states between 1890 and 1927.”*²⁷

²⁶ Brandt, Allan M. 2007. *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product that Defined America*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 50–53.

²⁷ James Buchanan Duke: Father of the modern cigarette, a BBC website article by William Kremer, 13 November 2012

That was taboo for women to smoke, but with starting the war, many men joined the army, and women needed to work in factories instead of men for the war effort. That was the first time in American history so many women worked in factories. That *“mobilization of women into the workforce and the destruction of large portions of the male populations in countries like France, Britain, and Germany gave women more of a say in their personal lives than they had in the prewar era. Tobacco companies also began targeting women in advertisements during this period. The increase of smoking women in the public eye during this period is but one of many manifestations of the changed world after 1918”*²⁸

Women's cigarette smoking habits continued to increase after the war. *“The share of cigarettes consumed by women more than doubled from 1923 to 1929, but it still was just 12 percent.”*²⁹

But "twelve percent" women's share of the cigarette market was not enough to satisfy tobacco company owners.

One of the most successful companies was the American Tobacco Company, which made America's fastest-growing brand of cigarettes, "Lucky Strikes."

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 24

With the lifting ban on the sale of cigarettes in sixteen states of the USA in 1927, that was time for George Washington Hill, the head of the American Tobacco Company, to promote cigarettes among women. Hill chose Edward Bernays for that mission in 1928.

Bernays and Hill “were a lot alike; Bernays was thirty-six when he went to work for American [American Tobacco Company], Hill just seven years older. Both had an abiding faith in American capitalism and rewards it could offer them. Both had demanding fathers before whom they were determined to prove themselves, both sensed they were at the cutting edge of an evolving profession, and both were anxious to test the limits.”³⁰

The Tactics of Cigarette Promotions

Before recruiting Edward Bernays to promote cigarettes among women, Hill monitored the changes in social mores after the war. He found many women who replaced men in factories or served abroad had taken up the habit, defying the taboo against female smoking, and college coeds were trying to tear down barriers against women smoking in public places.

³⁰ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 37

Another thing that happened in the 20s was the tendency of many women to slim. They wanted to avoid everything that made them fat. The cigarettes could be sold to this group of women as a fat-free way to satisfy their desire for slimness. Hill had already settled on a slogan: “*Reach for a Lucky instead of a Sweet*”³¹

Edward Bernays, aware of the role of symbols in their effects on man's mental, started to use two sorts of symbols:

1. An evil symbol or hostile symbol
2. A good symbol or friendly symbol

In the first place, he started with the second group of women who loved slimness. The hostile symbol that defined them was sweets, and the friendly symbol was the cigarette.

Bernays used to enlist experts in his missions. In the case of the evil and good symbols, he recruited photographer Nickolas Muray, Bernays' friend.

Nickolas Muray's mission was to gather other photographers and artists in order to launch the campaign against sweets and simultaneously adore slimness.

Slender women should be a new standard of female loveliness.

Who could argue that slender wasn't better than fat?

³¹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 24

Of course, some preferred fatness. Then let people talk about the issue in newspapers. The argument continued among actors, athletes, beautiful girls, society women, and dancers. Magazines and newspapers were also furnished with the latest finding on the get-thin trend.

The fashion magazine editors published photo after photo of the slender Parisian models.

Most women's tendency was toward slimness, and that tendency was bolstered by Bernays men's articles, photos, and illustrated advertisements.

Bernays even persuaded dancing-school entrepreneur Arthur Murray to sign a letter testifying that *“on the dance floor, results of over-indulgence are quickly revealed—causing embarrassment not only to one’s dancing partner but also to other dancers by encroaching on more than a fair share of space on a crowded or, as is often the case, on a dance floor of limited proportions. Dancers today, when tempted to overindulgence at the punch bowl or the buffet, reach for a cigarette instead.”*³²

Dr George F. Buchan, the former chief of the British Association of Medical Officers of Health, wrote about sweets that cause tooth decay and advised that *“The correct way to finish a meal is with fruit, coffee, and a cigarette. The fruit hardens the gums and cleans the teeth; the coffee stimulates the flow of saliva in the mouth and acts as a mouthwash; while finally, the cigarette disinfects the mouth and soothes the nerves.”*³³

³² The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 25

³³ Ibid.

How could a doctor like George Buchan, with such a position, recommend the cigarette?

How much did science know about the relationship between smoking with lung cancer in 1928?

*“During the 1920s, the first medical reports linking smoking to lung cancer began to appear. Many newspaper editors refused to report these findings as they did not want to offend tobacco companies who advertised heavily in the media.”*³⁴

But before that "medical report", even in 1602, the scientists considered and warned about tobacco. Cancer council website claims:

- *“In 1602 an anonymous English author published an essay titled *Work of Chimney Sweepers* (sic) which stated that illnesses often seen in chimney sweepers were caused by soot and that tobacco may have similar effects. This was one of the earliest known instances of smoking being linked to ill health.*

- *In 1795 Samuel Thomas von Soemmering of Mainz (Germany) reported that he was becoming more aware of cancers of the lip in pipe smokers.*

- *In 1798 the US physician Benjamin Rush wrote on the medical dangers of tobacco.*

³⁴ Cancer Council website: www.tobaccocontrol.bmj.com

The researchers' papers about the danger of tobacco remained in academic circles. Because the newspaper editors *“did not want to offend tobacco companies who advertised heavily in their newspaper.”*

How was it for Edward Bernays? Did he know about the effect of smoking on smokers' health?

*“papers at the Library of Congress, which became public upon his death in 1995, make clear he[Bernays] had good reason to suspect the perils of smoking as early as 1930.”*³⁵

We know Bernays didn't pay attention to Golf and other sports or entertainment. He was a workaholic, the reading, thinking, and planning occupied his time. However, the documents give us early 1930, but it isn't strange if he knew about the dangers of smoking even earlier.

Bernays never smoked, but he helped to persuade tens of thousands of Americans to give up sweets in favour of cigarettes. Later, in 1984, in an interview with Saint Petersburg Times, he said: *“I didn't like the taste [of tobacco]. I prefer chocolate.”*³⁶

But his wife Doris smoked. *“Whatever his attitude in public, at home he did all he could to persuade his wife, Doris, to give up her pack-a-day habit.”*

Bernays older daughter remembered: *“He used to hide my mother's cigarettes and make us hide the cigarettes. He didn't think they were good for mother.”*³⁷

³⁵ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 46

³⁶ Ibid. page 27

³⁷ Ibid. Page 48

Anne, his younger daughter, recalled that when her father found a pack of her mother cigarettes, *“he’d pull them all out and just snap them like bones, just snap them in half and throw them in the toilet. He hated her smoking.”*³⁸

Edward Bernays knew smoking cigarettes was not good for his wife's health, but he paid money to several doctors to deceive people about the benefits of cigarettes. Above, we became familiar with Dr George F. Buchan and his statement, *“the cigarette disinfects the mouth and soothes the nerves.”*

Here we should consider the observations of Dr Clarence W. Lieb, who American Tobacco Company paid:

“men worship at various shrines: Venus(love), Bacchus(liquor), Mars(war), Ceres(sweets, starchy foods), and Lady Nicotine(tobacco). The least harmful is the latter. ...

*The benefits of tobacco are: (1) It is a pleasure. (2) A good laxative after breakfast. (3) Checks obesity by lessening the appetite. (4) Aids nutrition by stimulating the secretory functions of the stomach. (5) It consoles the lonely. (6) It aids contemplation. (7) It is a manual as well as oral activity. (8) It promotes sociability.”*³⁹

Dr Clarence W. Lieb's article concedes:

“smoking is not good for: (1) The young. (2) The aged. (3) Those suffering from hyperacidity. (4) Those suffering from malnutrition. (5) Those having loose bowels.

³⁸ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 48

*(6) Those having asthma. (7) Those having any chronic disease, except when tobacco acts as a placebo. (8) Those individuals, of whom there are some, who have an idiosyncrasy against strawberries or cucumbers.”*⁴⁰

Bernays knew the Psychology of humans. Some individuals' "inferiority complex" causes them to buy the words of others with superior positions, like Doctors or famous people.

Doctor after doctor, article after article in different newspapers and magazines emphasized on positive effects of cigarettes. But people didn't know these names and titles were paid by a tobacco company to advertise the benefits of cigarettes.

In an ad, Bernays claimed 20,679 physicians confirm "Luckies".

Bernays offered \$5,000 as a donation to the favourite charity of Mrs Charles Dana Gibson, wife of the creator of the renowned Gibson Girl illustrations, if she would agree to sign a statement saying *“she smoked Luckies and that they were kind to her throat.”*⁴¹

Besides the statements of Doctors and famous people who tried to prove that cigarette was a good thing and sweets were a bad thing, Bernays' office even took to writing jokes about sweets. For instance: *“A moment in the*

⁴⁰ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 48

⁴¹ Ibid. Page 32

*mouth and ten years upon the hips.”*⁴²

Of course, the making slogans weren't forgotten by Bernays, like: “*gives you a cigarette free from harsh irritants*” and “*kind to your throat.*”⁴³

Or: “*Reach for a Lucky Instead of a Sweet*”

Any smoker who heard the jocks and slogans and retold them to others was an unpaid agent of “*The American Tobacco Company.*”

Meanwhile, Bernays' expert agents worked on newspapers and magazines; he worked directly to change how people ate.

Hotels were urged to add cigarettes to their dessert lists. The Bernays office widely distributed a series of menus prepared by an editor of “*House and Garden*”,* designed to “*save you from the danger of overeating.*”

⁴² The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 26

⁴³ Ibid. Page 45

* “*House & Garden*” was an American magazine launched in 1901 as a journal devoted to architecture.

They suggested a sensible mix of vegetables, meats, and carbohydrates for lunch and dinner, followed by the advice to *“reach for a cigarette instead of dessert.”*⁴⁴

Bernays also proposed that homemakers hire kitchen cabinet-makers to provide extraordinary spaces to hold cigarettes the same as they did for flour and sugar, urged container makers to provide labelled tins for smokes just as they did for tea and coffee, and encouraged home economics writers to *“stress the importance of cigarettes in home-making... Just as the young and inexperienced housewife is cautioned not to let her supplies of sugar or salt or tea or coffee run low, so she should be advised that the same holds true of cigarettes.”*⁴⁵

Edward Bernays' tricks gave their results. George Washington Hill was delighted over his company's successfulness, wrote a letter to Bernays in December 1928, and informed him American Tobacco's revenues rose by \$32 million[equivalent to \$478 million of today] that year, and Luckies *“show a greater increase than all other Cigarettes combined.”*⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 25

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Page 27

The Breaking a Taboo

When the initiation of the role of cigarettes as an enemy of fatness among women started to yield profits for George Washington Hill, he thought it was time to break the taboo of women smoking on the streets. So early in 1929, he said to Bernays:

*“How can we get women to smoke on the street? They’re smoking indoors. But, damn it, if they spend half the time outdoors and we can get ’em to smoke outdoors, we’ll damn near double our female market. Do something. Act!”*⁴⁷

Bernays knew that going against a social taboo is challenging and needs more contemplation.

Without the advice of another expert in Psychology, he wasn't assured of overcoming the issue and finding a solution.

When Bernays explained the subject to Hill, he agreed to pay for a psychotherapist.

Bernays chose Abraham Arden Brill (1874-1948).

A. A. Brill was one of Freud's pupils.

Brill advised Bernays: The cigarette was a symbol of male power. If women could see it as a symbol of their own power and independence, then they would take up smoking. Cigarettes would be held out to women as *“torches of freedom”*.

⁴⁷ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 28

That was Bernays' inspiration. To get young feminists to light up cigarettes —torches of freedom— in public as an act of emancipation during New York's Easter Sunday Parade.

Easter holiday symbolizes the freedom of the spirit. The parade on Fifth Avenue would be the most prestigious promenade. That parade would make its way into the nation's newspapers.

Edward Bernays needed a group of debutantes or "fashion girls" for that parade. Those girls used to follow the latest mode and by wearing such clothes go among the people.

One of his friends in Vogue(a fashion and lifestyle magazine) gave him a list of thirty debutantes.

Bernays wanted no one could be able to detect the fingerprints of either him or American Tobacco in the events.

Bernays' secretary Miss Bertha Hunt should be a visible character of that movement. Of course, under Bernays' direct instructions. She had to pass herself off as a women's rights advocate and drum up comrades-in-arms for the "*feminist torches of freedom campaign*"; as was told, no inference to American Tobacco was to be permitted. Bertha Hunt fulfilled her role professionally as the purported initiator of the campaign.

In January 1929, the listed fashion girls received the same telegram from Miss Bertha Hunt: "*In the interests of*

*equality of the sexes and fight another sex taboo, I and other young women will light another torch of freedom by smoking cigarettes while strolling on Fifth Avenue Easter Sunday.”*⁴⁸

The debutantes interested in the cause were in touch with Bertha Hunt. Bernays (through Bertha Hunt) chose ten young women who would seem elegant and proper, even with their cigarettes in their hands.

In breaking a social taboo and doing so as a group, such women would create a dramatic and startling image that the media could not pass it up. An event picked up by the news has the approval of reality.

Bertha Hunt continued her feminist activities, alongside working on the fashion girls and making them ready for parade according to the instructions of her boss, Bernays.

Ruth Hale, a leading feminist, was manipulated by Bertha.

Bernays' secretary explained to women: *“We are doing this[smoking cigarettes on streets] to combat the silly prejudice that the cigarettes is suitable for the home, ... never for the sidewalk. Women smokers and their escorts will stroll from forty-Eight Street to Fifty-Fourth..... between Eleven-Thirty and One O’Clock.”*⁴⁹

⁴⁸ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 28- 29

⁴⁹ Ibid. page 29

Ruth Hale repeated Bertha Hunt's appeal through an advertisement in New York newspapers. *"Women! Light another torch of freedom!"* she wrote. *"Fight another sex taboo!"*

Bertha Hunt was paid by Bernays and the tobacco company for her activities, but Ruth Hale worked free for Bernays and George Washington Hill.

At last, it was time to break the taboo. Robert Greene depicts the parade in his book so:

"On Easter Sunday, March 31, 1929, New York churchgoers began to pour onto Fifth Avenue after the morning service for the annual Easter parade.

The streets were blocked off, and as had been the custom for years, people were wearing their finest outfits, women in particular showing off the latest in spring fashions. But this year the promenaders on Fifth Avenue noticed something else.

Two young women were coming down the steps of Saint Thomas's Church. At the bottom, they reached into their purses, took out cigarettes —Lucky Strikes— and lit up.

Then they walked down the avenue with their escorts, laughing and puffing away. A buzz went through the crowd. Women had only recently begun smoking cigarettes, and it was considered improper for a lady to be seen smoking in the street.

Only a certain kind of woman would do that. These two, however, were elegant and fashionable. People watched them intently, and were further astounded several minutes later when they reached the next church along the avenue.

Here two more young ladies —equally elegant and well bred— left the church, approached the two holding cigarettes, and, as if suddenly inspired to join them, pulled out Lucky Strikes of their own and asked for a light. Now the four women were marching together down the avenue.

They were steadily joined by more, and soon ten young women were holding cigarettes in public, as if nothing were more natural. Photographers appeared and took pictures of this novel sight.

Usually at the Easter parade, people would have been whispering about a new hat style or the new spring color. This year everyone was talking about the daring young women and their cigarettes.

The next day, photographs and articles appeared in the papers about them. A United Press dispatch read, "Just as Miss Federica Freylinghusen, conspicuous in a tailored outfit of dark grey, pushed her way through the jam in front of St. Patrick's, Miss Bertha Hunt and six colleagues struck another blow in behalf of the liberty of women.

Down Fifth Avenue they strolled, puffing at cigarettes. Miss Hunt issued the following communique from the smoke-clouded battlefield: 'I hope that we have started something and that these torches of freedom, with no particular brand favored, will smash the discriminatory taboo on cigarettes for women and that our sex will go on breaking down all discriminations.' The story was picked up by newspapers around the country, and soon women in other cities began to light up in the streets.”⁵⁰

When a reporter from the New York World approached Miss Hunt to ask how she had arrived at the idea of a women's smoking march, she answered that “*she first got the idea for this campaign when a man with her in the street asked her to extinguish her cigarette [sic] as it embarrassed him. ...I talked it over with my friends, and we decided it was high time something was done about the situation.*”⁵¹

Miss Bertha Hunt lied about arriving at the idea of a women's smoking march.

Telling lies, cheating, and concealing the real motivation for the activities are inseparable parts of Public Relations as a business.

The Easter Sunday parade was a successful effort. The next day and days after, the "Torches for Freedom" march in New York was hot news throughout the USA. Neither Bernays nor American Tobacco was mentioned by name in the press reports.

⁵⁰ The Art of Seduction, by Robert Greene, Page 448

⁵¹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 33

In the days after the event, the women in the main cities of America started to smoke cigarettes on the streets.

• • •

Tobacco companies paid movie actors and actresses from the 20s.

George Washington Hill was the initiator of dealing with movie stars and studios. He paid them to put scenes of cigarette smoking in movies. If one reviews "classic movies", he can find cigarette-smoking scenes almost in all "classic movies."

After the "Torches for Freedom" parade, Hollywood had more free hands to show the smoking of actresses on the streets.

Before Easter Sunday parade and after that, the cigarette smoking by beautiful slender actresses affected the women. Those actresses became idols of girls and women in the USA and other countries that promoted cigarette smoking among women and brought more revenues to tobacco companies.

The website of Tobacco Control has revealed, *“American Tobacco paid movie stars who endorsed Lucky Strike cigarettes \$218,750 in 1937–8 (equivalent to US\$3.2 million in 2008) for their testimonials.”*

Green Colour

In 1934, five years after the "Torches for Freedom" parade, when smoking cigarettes on streets by women was no longer a social taboo, and people accepted it; George W. Hill found his company's share of the women smoking market was not as much as he expected. His company's surveys revealed that *“many women wouldn't smoke Luckies because its green package with the red bull's-eye clashed with their favorite clothing.”*⁵²

Hill asked Bernays: *“What do you suggest?”*

The PR man replied: *“Change the Lucky package to a neutral color that will match anything they were. That was all Hill needed to set him off: I've spent millions of dollars advertising the package. Now you ask me to change it. That's lousy advice.*

*At which point Bernays offered advice that kicked off a campaign almost as legendary as the Torches of Freedom parade. “If you won't change the color of the package,” he reasoned, “change the color of fashion to green.”*⁵³

⁵² The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 38

⁵³ Ibid.

Changing the entire nation's taste to colour wasn't an easy task. Bernays needed to know about colours and their symbolic roles, then launch an event without hinting at Lucky Strike cigarette interference. In that event, he must settle green colour.

He put himself in the shoes of his uncle Sigmund and started to find a symbol. He found it in a book titled "*The Language of Color*." The book told him green was "*an emblem of hope, victory, and plenty and symbolical of solitude and peace.*"⁵⁴

Now, he needed a big event, like Green Ball, a significant formal occasion where people gathered to dance that should be dedicated to charity because such an event can attract more and more people. He thought the Women's infirmary of New York as a charity organization would be excellent camouflage.

Bernays contacted Mrs Frank A. Vanderlip, the chairwoman of the organization. He explained his plan to Mrs Vanderlip: "*that proceeds would buy milk for undernourished kids, furnish clothing to cardiac patients, and support other projects at the infirmary.*"⁵⁵

Bernays lied about nameless sponsors who would pay the costs up to \$25,000, and they also pay his services separately to promote the ball. The colour green would be the ball's motif and the obligatory colour of all the gowns worn at the ball.

⁵⁴ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 38

⁵⁵ Ibid. Page 39

When the agreement with Mrs Vanderlip was done, Bernays targeted the fashion and accessories industries. A Green Ball requires not just green gowns but also green gloves and green shoes, green handkerchiefs, and green jewellery.

Bernays began by approaching the "Onondaga Silk Company" and its enterprising president, Philip Vogelment, explaining Green Ball and reassuring him of the leading edge of the move to green. Vogelment joined him, and they went further to other businesses to change the colour of their productions to green.

Everything from clothes to the interior decoration of houses should pass to green because Bernays didn't want the new green clothing to clash with people's drapes, curtains, or other house decor.

A "Color Fashion Bureau" was organized with the help of Onondaga Silk. The Bureau sent 1,500 letters on the up-and-coming colour to interior decorators, home-furnishings buyers, art industry groups, and clubwomen. The Bureau also sent 5,000 announcements to department stores and merchandise managers.

*"Just months after opening Color Fashion Bureau, it was besieged with requests for information from 77 newspapers, 95 magazines, 29 syndicates, 301 department stores, 145 women's clubs, 175 radio-stations, 83 manufacturers of furniture and home decorations, 64 interior decorators, and 49 photographers and illustrators."*⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 39

Nobody wanted to remain alone on the Railway platform when all others boarded a specific train. The green wave reached even Camel cigarettes, the competitor of Lucky Strike. *“Camel cigarettes showed a girl wearing a green dress with red trimmings, the colors of the Lucky Strike package”* that delighted Edward Bernays particularly.⁵⁷

From the other side, Mrs Vanderlip enlisted for her invitation committee luminaries.

The presence of famous women and men on the "invitation committee" caused them to use green colour even before starting the ball, and the others followed them.

At last, the Green Ball came off as planned, maybe better than expected. It was *“a gay, vivid night, something to remember,”* *vogue* reported. Later in the same issue: *“We thought the lovely ladies who were all done up in green to take part in the pageant of paintings looked unusually lovely. ‘Green,’ we were murmuring to ourselves, ‘is a pretty difficult color to wear, taken by and large, when we discovered that each lady before she went out into the limelight, had been made up by Marie Earle so that her face and her dress made a beautiful harmony.”*⁵⁸

George Washington Hill attended the Green Ball as a guest.

⁵⁷ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 39

⁵⁸ Ibid. Page 41

Bernays said the tobacco tycoon seldom offered praise, and in the case of the Green Ball, *“I don’t recall bothering to check Hill’s reaction.” still, he adds, “the color green was so omnipresent that he could not escape it. ... [The ball] firmly established green’s predominance.”*⁵⁹

The Tip of an Iceberg

With the help of public relations agencies, the tobacco companies have manipulated the minds of billions since the beginning of the 20th Century.

What Edward Bernays revealed about George Washington Hill's Lucky Strike cigarette and its marketing is only the tip of the iceberg of what the tobacco companies have done to people.

Smoking cigarettes were a *“gold mine”* for Hill and Bernays but a disaster for people.

Robert Proctor of Stanford University says: *“The cigarette is the deadliest artifact in the history of human civilization,”* He adds, *“It killed about 100 million people in the 20th Century.”*⁶⁰

Also:

*“Although smoking in wealthy parts of the world is in decline, cigarette demand in developing countries is increasing by 3.4% a year, leading to an overall growth in cigarette consumption.”*⁶¹

⁵⁹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, page 41

⁶⁰ James Buchanan Duke: Father of the modern cigarette, a BBC website article by William Kremer, 13 November 2012

⁶¹ Ibid.

It means if tobacco-related diseases tolled 100 million people during the 20th Century, it would take the same number only to 2042 of the 21st Century. *“The WHO warns that unless preventative measures are taken, 100 million people will die of tobacco-related diseases over the next 30 years [the article released in 2012]- more than from Aids, tuberculosis, car accidents and suicide combined.”*⁶²

⁶² James Buchanan Duke: Father of the modern cigarette, a BBC website article by William Kremer, 13 November 2012

Chapter Three

The Man as a General

When in 1917, the USA entered the First World War, Edward Bernays wanted to join the fight, but the army denied him as a soldier.

In the war against democracy in Guatemala, Bernays could appear as a general, not as the simple soldier he wished for during WWI.

In 1952, as Larry Tye says: *“It was the chance to go to war he’d been denied thirty-five years before, and he was readier than ever.”*⁶³

Again he planned everything with details as always. The War was waged on behalf of United Fruit, one of the American companies, against the democratically elected government of Guatemala because the president of that country, Jacobo Arbenz (1913-1971), exerted Constructive Changes in order to enhance the lifestyle of the majorities of people of Guatemala.

President Arbenz's reforms clashed with the interests of United Fruit which had owned vast banana plantations in Guatemala. That country, like its neighbours, was the backyard of the USA's governments and American companies. Those countries were called Banana Republics.

⁶³ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 156

For decades United Fruit controlled Guatemala through pliable dictators who were settled and supported by that company. And dictators were paid back by allowing United Fruit to exploit their ordinary citizens.

As a result, Guatemala was separated into a tiny elite and impoverished peasant.

If Guatemala wanted to convert to a stable democracy, it was necessary for the broad chasm between the wealthy elite and poor peasants would be reduced to as narrow as possible. That meant the country needed a robust Middle Class.

Arbenz knew a strong Middle Class in a country guarantees a durable democratic regime to Guatemala.

The land reform and exerting control over United Fruit that expanded corruption in the country were necessary measures that Jacobo Arbenz promised to the people of Guatemala in 1951 when he was elected president.

Stephen Schlesinger, an adjunct fellow at the Century Foundation and co-author of *"Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala"* about the President, says: *"Mr. Arbenz was not a dictator, he was not a crypto-communist. He was simply trying to create a middle class in a country riven by extremes of wealth and poverty and racism."*⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The New York Times: Oct.20, 2011,

The United Fruit Company owned unused land and didn't pay the proper tax. Then, President Arbenz decided to fulfil his promises by confiscating unused land owned by the company and distributing them among landless peasants in order to fight against poverty and remove the company's control over Guatemala.

*“Between 1952 and 1954, the Arbenz government confiscated and turned over to 100,000 poor families 1.5 million acres—including, in March of 1953, some 210,000 acres of United Fruit Company holdings.”*⁶⁵

However, these measures made Arbenz popular among people but angered United Fruit which wasn't what was expected.

*“The fruit company had chosen Guatemala half a century earlier in large part because of its cooperative government. That choice had been reinforced over the years as Guatemala leaders exempted the company from internal taxation, let it import goods duty-free, helped it maintain control of the country's only Atlantic seaport and virtually every mile of railroad, and guaranteed that workers would earn no more than fifty cents a day. It was a capitalist's dream.”*⁶⁶

The company turned to Bernays to help get rid of Arbenz. Bernays worked for United Fruit years before the election of Arbenz. Indeed the company hired him in the early 1940s as a PR counsel. But the company dismissed him because Bernays, who United Fruit sent to Guatemala and Honduras in September 1947, recommended some reforms in the company's policy in those countries.

⁶⁵ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 166

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Bernays' recommendations annoyed Samuel Zemurray, head of the company, who hired him to sell more bananas inside the USA, not for interference in the company manager's job.

Bernays, in his report to the company, requested, "*American embassy might gain more power,*"⁶⁷

That request reveals the dimensions of strict control exerted over Guatemala by United Fruit.

When hadn't the American embassy in Guatemala had enough power to do its task, how could Guatemala's governmental authorities, for instance, a minister fulfil his duty faithfully?

Bernays loved the big companies because they paid him well. According to Bernays, "*the interests of big companies*" provides his interests and are also suitable for the people of America and its government.

When the interests of a company are threatened, the government shall remove the threats at the request of the people of America. Whereas "*mass is stupid*", as he believed, Public Relations men on behalf of the big businesses must lead them toward protecting "*the interests of big companies.*"

Edward Bernays, "*like his uncle Sigmund, was convinced that human being were driven by irrational forces the only to deal with the public was to connect with their unconscious desires and fears.*"⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 164

⁶⁸ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009

Stimulating people's "desires and fears" for providing or supporting the interests of big companies was the mission of Public Relations men, according to Bernays' opinion.

As we considered in Chapter Two, Bernays stimulated the "desires" of people by forcing them to smoke cigarettes which provided American Tobacco Company's profit. Now, in the case of Guatemala, that was time for stimulating the "fears" of people.

The Cold War starting was the best opportunity to establish "fear of communism" as the main concern for Americans. The "fear of communism" should be an omnipresent fear that threatened American citizens' freedom and democracy. No matter whether such fear was real or an illusion. It just worked, as it did in the case of Guatemala.

*"Bernays argued that instead of trying to reduce people's fear of communism, one should actually encourage and manipulate the fear. But in such a way as it became a weapon in Cold War rational argument was fruitless."*⁶⁹

Anne Bernays, in the same relationship, says:

"What my father understood about the group is that they are manipulable. They are malleable.

You can tap into their deepest desires or their deepest fears, and use up to your own purposes.

I don't think he felt that all those public's out there had a reliable judgment that they very easily might vote for the

⁶⁹ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009

*wrong man or want the wrong thing. So that they had to be guided from above.”*⁷⁰

■ ■ ■

Jacobo Arbenz was neither communist nor a dictator. But these facts could not stop Bernays from accusing Arbenz to a communist dictator in the first place and approving this accusation later by launching demonstrations on Guatemala City's streets where Bernays hired men who appeared as rigid communists.

Thomas McCann, a young United Fruit Company PR man, explains Bernays' formula for overthrowing an undesirable foreign government so:

*“add a wealthy and self-interested private sponsor to sympathetic U.S. operatives, then let a masterful propagandist stir the pot by firing up public opinion, and even toppling foreign governments seemed possible.”*⁷¹

And Bernays had a sufficient influence on the US political apparatus.

*“Edward Bernays was one of the most powerful PR men in America, he worked for most of the major corporations and advised politicians including President Eisenhower.”*⁷²

⁷⁰ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009

⁷¹ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 178

⁷² The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009

He also had extensive contacts with Media inside and outside of America.

Bernays started to feed American newspapers with information about Guatemala. He paid a foreign press like "Havana Herald" to publish his fabricated news. Then sent such reports to American newspapers for reprinting the stories and mentioned "Havana Herald" as a news source.

The message of the fake news was clear: President Arbenz is communist, and soon Guatemala would be a stronghold of the Soviet Union Red Army. Then, they will try to extend communism to other Latin American countries and reach the soil of the USA.

*"A surprising number of respected reporters seemed not to know or care about that orchestration or about the fact that Bernays worked for a firm with huge economic interests at stake. What mattered was that his releases were filled with facts they could quickly transform into stories."*⁷³

Edward Bernays completed the plot against Arbenz by taking a group of journalists on a two-week tour of the region in January 1952. *"With him were the publishers of **Newsweek**, the **Cincinnati Enquirer**, the **Nashville Banner**, and the **New Orleans Item**; a contributing editor from **Time**; ... and high-ranking officials from the **United Press**, the **San Francisco Chronicle**, the **Miami Herald**, and the **Christian Science Monitor**."*⁷⁴

⁷³ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 169

⁷⁴ Ibid. Page 170

Thomas McCann, the eyewitness of events in his memories, wrote so:

*“under the company’s careful guidance and, of course, at company expense ... The trips were ostensibly to gather information, but what the press would hear and see was carefully staged and regulated by host.”*⁷⁵

BBC documentary video about the event says:

“He[Bernays] organized a trip to Guatemala for influential American journalists. Few of them knew anything about the country or its politics.

Bernays arranged for them to be entertained and meet selected Guatemalan politicians who told them that Arbenz was a communist —controlled by Moscow.

During the trip, there was also a violent anti-American demonstration in the capital. Many of those who worked for United Fruit were convinced it had been organized by Bernays himself.

*He also created a fake independent news agency in America called the Middle American Information Bureau. It bombarded the American media with press releases saying that Moscow was planning to use Guatemala as a beachhead to attack America. All of these had the desired effect.”*⁷⁶

When the media expanded the "fear of Communism" sufficiently, that was time for Bernays to advise President Eisenhower to intervene in order to safeguard democracy

⁷⁵ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 170

⁷⁶ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009

and security in the USA from the danger of Communists. Hereafter CIA took the subject into its hands.

“On June 18, 1954, when Carlos Castillo Armas, an army officer living in exile, crossed the border from Honduras with two hundred men recruited and trained by the CIA—a band Bernays referred to as an ‘army of liberation’. This ‘invasion’ supported by CIA air attack, quickly achieved its goal, and on June 27 a military junta took control of Guatemala. Armas was named president a week later.”⁷⁷

The details of the coup are out of the issue of this book. Still, the Armas invasion was accompanied by an intense campaign of psychological warfare inside and outside of Guatemala that caused Carlos Enrique Diaz, the chief of the army, with the assistance of other senior army officers, to force Arbenz to resign.

After his resignation on June 27, 1954, Arbenz and his family went to the Mexican Embassy, seeking political asylum. They remained for 73 days at the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City.

“During this period, the CIA initiated a new set of operations against Arbenz, intended to discredit the former president and damage his reputation. ...

When they were finally allowed to leave the country, Jacobo Arbenz was publicly humiliated at the airport when the authorities made the former president strip before the cameras, claiming that he was carrying jewelry

⁷⁷ The Father of Spin, by Larry Tye, Page 176

he had bought for his wife, Maria Cristina Vilanova, at Tiffany's in New York City, using funds from the presidency; no jewelry was found but the interrogation lasted for an hour.”⁷⁸

At last, Jacobo Arbenz left Guatemala for exile forever. He died in 1971 in Mexico.

Within months after the coup, President Eisenhower sent his Vice President, Richard Nixon, to visit Guatemala. In an event staged by United Fruits PR men, Carlos Castillo Armas showed Nixon the piles of Marxist literature that allegedly belonged to Jacobo Arbenz and claimed had been found at the presidential palace.

Richard Nixon, affected by USA's victory, delivered a speech in Guatemala City:

“This is the first time in the history of the world that the Communist government has been overthrown by the people and for that we congratulate you [Nixon mentioned to Armas who stood beside him] and people of Guatemala for the support they have given and we are sure that under your leadership supported by the people whom I have met by the hundreds on my visit to Guatemala that Guatemala is going to enter a new era in which there will be prosperity for the people together with

⁷⁸ Garcia Ferreira, Roberto (2008). "The CIA and Jacobo Arbenz: The story of a disinformation campaign". *Journal of Third World Studies*. United States. XXV (2): 59.

*liberty for the people. Thank you very much for allowing us to see this exhibit of Communism [Nixon mentioned to RP and CIA “Marxist literature show”] in Guatemala.”*⁷⁹

Despite Nixon's eloquent anticipation —*Guatemala is going to enter a new era in which there will be prosperity— “Under a succession of military rulers who took power after the coup, Guatemala descended into three decades of a brutal civil war in which as many as 200,000 people died, many of them peasants killed by security forces.”*⁸⁰

Three decades after the coup, not only 200,000 people in Guatemala died, and many were arrested illegally, imprisoned, and then tortured, but also the Civil War that ran from 1960 to 1996 destroyed the infrastructure of Guatemala and increased poverty.

In 2011, President of Guatemala Alvaro Colom, in a muted ceremony at the National Palace in Guatemala City, turned to Mr Arbenz's son Juan Jacobo and asked for forgiveness on behalf of the state. He said:

*“That day changed Guatemala, and we have not recuperated from it yet,” he said. “It was a crime to Guatemalan society, and it was an act of aggression to a government starting its democratic spring.”*⁸¹

General Edward Bernays, the father of Public Relations, got his war and won it.

⁷⁹ The Century of the Self, BBC Documentary Video, 2009

⁸⁰ The New York Times: Oct.20, 2011,

⁸¹ Ibid.

