

Smoke, Mirrors & Hot Air

**How ExxonMobil Uses Big Tobacco's Tactics
to Manufacture Uncertainty on Climate Science**

Union of Concerned Scientists
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The Union of Concerned Scientists is the leading science-based nonprofit working for a healthy environment and a safer world.

UCS combines independent scientific research and citizen action to develop innovative, practical solutions and secure responsible changes in government policy, corporate practices, and consumer choices.

Union of Concerned Scientists
Two Brattle Square
Cambridge, MA 02238-9105

Phone: 617-547-5552
Fax: 617-864-9405
Email: ucs@ucsusa.org

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In an effort to deceive the public about the reality of global warming, ExxonMobil has underwritten the most sophisticated and most successful disinformation campaign since the tobacco industry misled the public about the scientific evidence linking smoking to lung cancer and heart disease. As this report documents, the two disinformation campaigns are strikingly similar. ExxonMobil has drawn upon the tactics and even some of the organizations and actors involved in the callous disinformation campaign the tobacco industry waged for 40 years. Like the tobacco industry, ExxonMobil has:

- ***Manufactured uncertainty*** by raising doubts about even the most indisputable scientific evidence.
- Adopted a strategy of ***information laundering*** by using seemingly independent front organizations to publicly further its desired message and thereby confuse the public.
- ***Promoted scientific spokespeople*** who misrepresent peer-reviewed scientific findings or cherry-pick facts in their attempts to persuade the media and the public that there is still serious debate among scientists that burning fossil fuels has contributed to global warming and that human-caused warming will have serious consequences.
- ***Attempted to shift the focus*** away from meaningful action on global warming with misleading charges about the need for “sound science.”
- ***Used its extraordinary access to the Bush administration*** to block federal policies and shape government communications on global warming.

The report documents that, despite the scientific consensus about the fundamental understanding that global warming is caused by carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping emissions, ExxonMobil has funneled about \$16 million between 1998 and 2005 to a network of ideological and advocacy organizations that manufacture uncertainty on the issue. Many of these organizations have an overlapping—sometimes identical—collection of spokespeople serving as staff, board members, and scientific advisors. By publishing and republishing the non-peer-reviewed works of a small group of scientific spokespeople, ExxonMobil-funded organizations have propped up and amplified work that has been discredited by reputable climate scientists.

ExxonMobil’s funding of established research institutions that seek to better understand science, policies, and technologies to address global warming has given the corporation “cover,” while its funding of ideological and advocacy organizations to conduct a disinformation campaign works to confuse that understanding. This seemingly inconsistent activity makes sense when looked at through a broader lens. Like the tobacco companies in previous decades, this strategy provides a positive “pro-science” public stance for ExxonMobil that masks their activity to delay meaningful action on global warming and helps keep the public debate

stalled on the science rather than focused on policy options to address the problem.

In addition, like Big Tobacco before it, ExxonMobil has been enormously successful at influencing the current administration and key members of Congress. Documents highlighted in this report, coupled with subsequent events, provide evidence of ExxonMobil's cozy relationship with government officials, which enables

the corporation to work behind the scenes to gain access to key decision makers. In some cases, the company's proxies have directly shaped the global warming message put forth by federal agencies. Finally, this report provides a set of steps elected officials, investors, and citizens can take to neutralize ExxonMobil's disinformation campaign and remove this roadblock to sensible action for reducing global warming emissions.

INTRODUCTION

ExxonMobil, the world's largest publicly traded corporation, doesn't want you to know the facts about global warming. The company vehemently opposes any governmental regulation that would require significantly expanded investments in clean energy technologies or reductions in global warming emissions. That is what the public and policy-makers are likely to demand when they know the truth about climate science. Consequently, the corporation has spent millions of dollars to deceive the public about global warming. In so doing, ExxonMobil has underwritten the most sophisticated and successful disinformation campaign since Big Tobacco misled the public about the incontrovertible scientific evidence linking smoking to lung cancer and heart disease. In fact, as this report shows, many of the tactics, and even some of the same organizations and actors used by ExxonMobil to mislead the public, draw upon

the tobacco industry's 40-year disinformation campaign.

This report documents ExxonMobil's central role in the current disinformation campaign about climate science, identifying the campaign's rationale, who's behind it, and how it has been able—so far—to successfully mislead the public, influence government policies, and forestall federal action to reduce global warming emissions.

ExxonMobil's cynical strategy is built around the notion that public opinion can be easily manipulated because climate science is complex, because people tend not to notice where their information comes from, and because the effects of global warming are just beginning to become visible. But ExxonMobil may well have underestimated the public. The company's strategy quickly unravels when people understand it for what it is: an active campaign of disinformation.

*Background***THE FACTS ABOUT EXXONMOBIL**

ExxonMobil is a powerful player on the world stage. It is the world's largest publicly traded company: at \$339 billion,¹ its 2005 revenues exceeded the gross domestic products of most of the world's nations.² It is the most profitable corporation in history. In 2005, the company netted \$36 billion³—nearly \$100 million in profit *each day*.

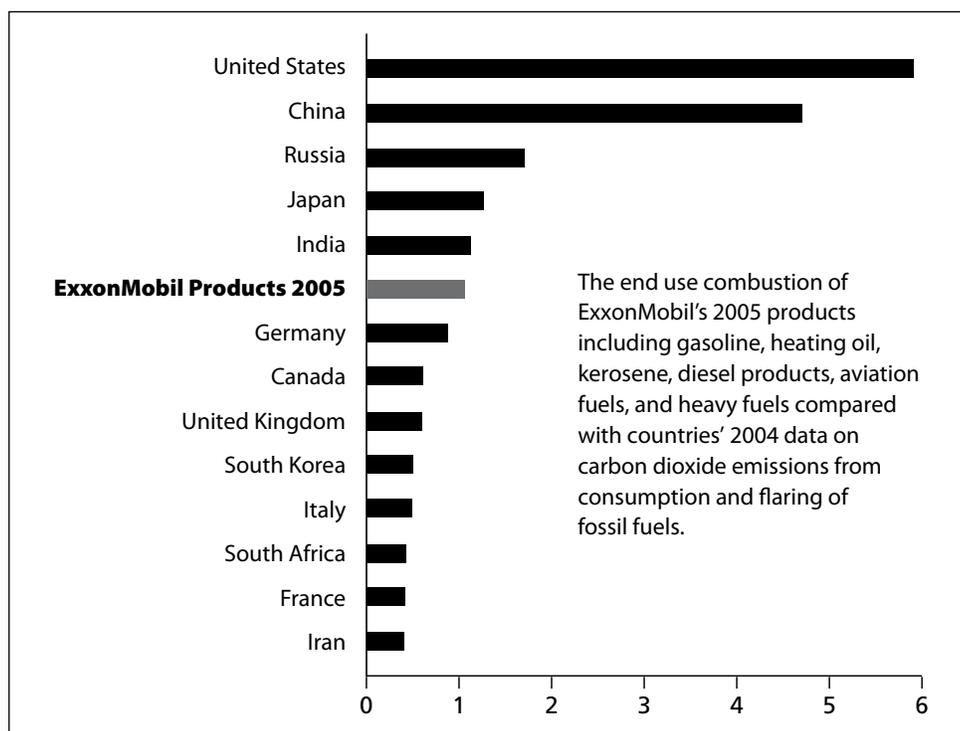
As the biggest player in the world's gas and oil business, ExxonMobil is also one of the world's largest producers of global warming pollution. Company operations alone pumped the equivalent of 138 million metric tons of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere in 2004⁴ and roughly the same level of emissions in 2005, according to

company reporting.⁵ In 2005, the end use combustion of ExxonMobil's products—gasoline, heating oil, kerosene, diesel products, aviation fuels, and heavy fuels—resulted in 1,047 million metric tons of carbon dioxide-equivalent emissions.⁶ If it was a country, ExxonMobil would rank sixth in emissions.

While some oil companies like BP, Occidental Petroleum, and Shell have begun to invest in clean energy technologies and publicly committed to reduce their heat-trapping emissions, ExxonMobil has made no such commitment.

Lee Raymond, ExxonMobil's chief executive officer (CEO) until 2006, set a brazenly unapolo-

Annual Emissions of Carbon Dioxide (Gigatons)



* Country data available at <http://www.eia.doe.gov/iea/carbon.html>

getic corporate tone on global warming. During his nearly 13 years as ExxonMobil's leader, Raymond unabashedly opposed caps on carbon dioxide emissions and refused to acknowledge the scientific consensus on global warming. Under Raymond's direction, ExxonMobil positioned itself, as Paul Krugman of the *New York Times* recently put it, as "an enemy of the planet."⁷ Not only did he do nothing to curb his company's global warming emissions, during his tenure Raymond divested the company of nearly all its alternative energy holdings.⁸ During his time as CEO, ExxonMobil's board lavishly rewarded him with compensation amounting to more than \$686 million.⁹ When Raymond retired at the end of 2005, he received an exorbitant retirement package worth nearly \$400 million, prompting sharp criticism from shareholders.¹⁰ ExxonMobil is now headed by CEO Rex Tillerson, but the corporate policies Raymond forged so far remain largely intact.

ExxonMobil has played the world's most active corporate role in underwriting efforts to thwart and undermine climate change regulation. For instance, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, ExxonMobil's PAC—its political action committee—and individuals affiliated with the company made more than \$4 million in political contributions throughout the 2000 to 2006 election cycles. It was consistently among the top four energy sector contributors. In the 2004 election cycle alone, ExxonMobil's PAC and individuals affiliated with the company gave \$935,000 in political contributions, more than any other energy company. Much of that money went in

This report identifies how strategies and tactics used by ExxonMobil mirror the well-documented campaign by the tobacco industry to prevent government regulation by creating public confusion about the link between smoking and disease.

turn to President Bush's election campaign.¹¹ In addition, ExxonMobil paid lobbyists more than \$61 million between 1998 and 2005 to help gain access to key decision makers.¹²

This report does not attempt to shed light on all ExxonMobil activities related to global warming. Instead, it takes an in-depth look at how the relatively modest investment of about \$16 million between 1998 and 2004 to select political organizations¹³ has been remarkably effective at manufacturing uncertainty about the scientific consensus on global warming. It offers examples to illustrate how ExxonMobil's influence over key administration officials and members of Congress has fueled the disinformation campaign and helped forestall federal action to reduce global warming emissions. And this report identifies how strategies and tactics used by ExxonMobil mirror the well-documented campaign by the tobacco industry to prevent government regulation by creating public confusion about the link between smoking and disease.

THE ORIGINS OF A STRATEGY

*We will never produce and market a product shown
to be the cause of any serious human ailment.*

— TOBACCO INDUSTRY RESEARCH COMMITTEE,
“FRANK STATEMENT TO CIGARETTE SMOKERS,”
PUBLISHED IN 1954.¹⁴

In its campaign to sow uncertainty about the scientific evidence on global warming, Exxon-Mobil has followed a corporate strategy pioneered by the tobacco industry. Because ExxonMobil’s strategy, tactics, and even some personnel draw heavily from the tobacco industry’s playbook, it is useful to look briefly at this earlier campaign. The settlement of the lawsuit brought by the attorneys general of 46 states forced the major tobacco companies to place their enormous caches of internal documents online.¹⁵ Thanks to these archives, the details of the tobacco industry’s covert strategy are now clear.

The story begins in the mid-1950s when scientific evidence began to emerge linking smoking to cancer. The tobacco industry’s initial response was to fund a research consortium, initially called the Tobacco Industry Research Committee and later known as the U.S. Tobacco Institute, to “study the issue.” In 1954, Big Tobacco released a seminal public document called the “Frank Statement to Cigarette Smokers,” which set the industry’s tone for the coming decades. This document questioned the emerging scientific evidence of the harm caused by smoking but tried to appear concerned about the issue, pledging to the public that the industry would look closely at the scientific evidence and study it themselves.¹⁶

As we now know, tobacco industry lawyers advised the companies early on that they could

never admit they were selling a hazardous product without opening themselves to potentially crippling liability claims.¹⁷ So, rather than studying the health hazards posed by their products, the tobacco industry hired Hill & Knowlton, a leading public relations firm of the day to mount a public relations campaign on their behalf. In a key memo, Hill & Knowlton framed the issue this way: “There is only one problem—confidence and how to establish it; public assurance, and how to create it.”¹⁸ In other words, the tobacco companies should ignore the deadly health effects of smoking and focus instead on maintaining the public’s confidence in their products.

As time went on, a scientific consensus emerged about a multitude of serious dangers from smoking—and the tobacco manufacturers knew it. Despite the evidence, the industry developed a sophisticated disinformation campaign—one they knew to be misleading—to deceive the public about the hazards of smoking and to forestall governmental controls on tobacco consumption.

HOW BIG TOBACCO’S CAMPAIGN WORKED

In executing their calculated strategy over the course of decades, tobacco industry executives employed five main tactics:

- They sought to *manufacture uncertainty* by raising doubts about even the most indisputable scientific evidence showing their products to be hazardous to human health.
- They pioneered a strategy of “*information laundering*” in which they used—and even covertly established—seemingly independent front organizations to make the industry’s own case and confuse the public.
- They *promoted scientific spokespeople* and invested in scientific research in an attempt to lend legitimacy to their public relations efforts.
- They attempted to *recast the debate* by charging that the wholly legitimate health concerns raised about smoking were not based upon “sound science.”
- Finally, they *cultivated close ties with government officials* and members of Congress. While many corporations and institutions seek access to government, Tobacco’s size and power gave it enormous leverage.

In reviewing the tobacco industry’s disinformation campaign, the first thing to note is that the tobacco companies quickly realized they did not need to prove their products were safe. Rather, as internal documents have long since revealed, they had only to “maintain doubt” on the scientific front as a calculated strategy. As one famous internal memo from the Brown & Williamson tobacco company put it: “Doubt is our product, since it is the best means of competing with the ‘body of fact’ that exists in the minds of the general public. It is also the means of establishing a controversy.”¹⁹ David Michaels, professor of occupational and environmental health at George Washington University School of Public Health and former assistant secretary for the environment, safety and health at the Department of Energy during

the Clinton administration, has dubbed the strategy one of “manufacturing uncertainty.”²⁰ As Michaels has documented, Big Tobacco pioneered the strategy and many opponents of public health and environmental regulations have emulated it.

From the start, the goal of the tobacco industry’s disinformation campaign was simple: to

“Doubt is our product, since it is the best means of competing with the ‘body of fact’ that exists in the minds of the general public. It is also the means of establishing a controversy.”

— BROWN & WILLIAMSON

undermine scientific evidence of the health risks of smoking in any way possible. Thus, for forty years, the tobacco companies strove to manufacture doubt, uncertainty, and controversy about the dangers of smoking where increasingly none existed. The companies publicly fought the evidence of a link between smoking and lung cancer. They disputed the evidence of a link between smoking and heart disease. They questioned the scientific evidence showing that nicotine was highly addictive. And they tried to raise uncertainty about the scientific evidence showing the dangers of secondhand smoke. No researcher or institution was immune from their tactics. For instance, as a 2000 report from the World Health Organization details, the tobacco companies went to extraordinary lengths to try to undermine the scientific evidence at that institution. They paid WHO employees to spread misinformation, hired institutions and individuals to discredit the international organization, secretly funded reports designed to distort scientific studies, and even covertly monitored WHO meetings and conferences.²¹

Big Tobacco's strategy proved remarkably successful; "doubt" turned out to be a relatively easy product to sell. Today, smoking continues to cause an estimated 5 million deaths per year worldwide²² and some 45 million people in the United States continue to smoke²³—both illustrations of the success of the tobacco companies' campaign to prevent governments from implementing strong tobacco control policies. Meanwhile, the tobacco

industry continues to be profitable despite the multi-billion-dollar settlement of the U.S. states' lawsuit against tobacco manufacturers. The "uncertainty" argument has also proved resilient. As Murray Walker, former Vice President of the U.S. Tobacco Institute put it when he testified under oath in a 1998 trial brought against the tobacco firms: "We don't believe it's ever been established that smoking is the cause of disease."²⁴

EXXONMOBIL'S DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

Victory will be achieved when average citizens “understand” (recognize) uncertainties in climate science.

—INTERNAL MEMO BY THE AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE, 1998

In the late 1980s, when the public first began to hear about global warming, scientists had already conducted more than a century of research on the impact of carbon dioxide on earth's climate (see Appendix A for more information). As the science matured in the late 1980s, debate, a key component of the scientific process, surfaced among reputable scientists about the scope of the problem and the extent to which human activity was responsible. Much like the status of scientific knowledge about the health effects of smoking in the early 1950s, emerging studies suggested cause for concern but many scientists justifiably argued that more research needed to be done.²⁵

Exxon (and later ExxonMobil), concerned about potential repercussions for its business, argued from the start that no global warming trend existed and that a link between human activity and climate change could not be established.²⁶ Just as the tobacco companies initially responded with a coalition to address the health effects of smoking, Exxon and the American Petroleum Institute (an organization twice chaired by former Exxon CEO Lee Raymond) joined with other energy, automotive, and industrial companies in 1989 to form the Global Climate Coalition.²⁷ The coalition responded aggressively to the emerging scientific studies about global warming by opposing governmental action designed to address the problem.

Drawing on a handful of scientific spokespeople during the early and mid-1990s, the Global Climate Coalition emphasized the remaining uncertainties in climate science.²⁸ Exxon and other members of the coalition challenged the need for action on global warming by denying its existence as well as characterizing global warming as a natural phenomenon.²⁹ As Exxon and its proxies mobilized forces to cast doubt on global warming, however, a scientific consensus was emerging that put their arguments on exceptionally shaky scientific ground (see Appendix A).

MANUFACTURING UNCERTAINTY

By 1997, scientific understanding that human-caused emissions of heat-trapping gases were causing global warming led to the Kyoto Protocol, in which the majority of the world's industrialized nations committed to begin reducing their global warming emissions on a specified timetable. In response to both the strength of the scientific evidence on global warming and the governmental action pledged to address it, leading oil companies such as British Petroleum, Shell, and Texaco changed their stance on climate science and abandoned the Global Climate Coalition.³⁰

ExxonMobil chose a different path.

In 1998, ExxonMobil helped create a small task force calling itself the “Global Climate Science Team” (GCST). Members included Randy Randol,

ExxonMobil's senior environmental lobbyist at the time, and Joe Walker, the public relations representative of the American Petroleum Institute.³¹ One member of the GCST task force, Steven Milloy, headed a nonprofit organization called the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, which had been covertly created by the tobacco company Philip Morris in 1993 to manufacture uncertainty about the health hazards posed by second-hand smoke.³²

A 1998 GCST task force memo outlined an explicit strategy to invest millions of dollars to manufacture uncertainty on the issue of global warming³³—a strategy that directly emulated Big Tobacco's disinformation campaign. Despite mounting scientific evidence of the changing climate, the goal the team outlined was simple and familiar. As the memo put it, "Victory will be achieved when average citizens understand (recognize) uncertainties in climate science" and when public "recognition of uncertainty becomes part of the 'conventional wisdom.'"³⁴ (For full text of the memo, see Appendix C.)

Regardless of the mounting scientific evidence, the 1998 GCST memo contended that "if we can show that science does not support the Kyoto treaty...this puts the United States in a stronger moral position and frees its negotiators from the need to make concessions as a defense against perceived selfish economic concerns."³⁵

ExxonMobil and its partners no doubt understood that, with the scientific evidence against them, they would not be able to influence reputable scientists. The 1998 memo proposed that ExxonMobil and its public relations partners "develop and implement a national media relations program to inform the media about uncertainties in climate science."³⁶ In the years that followed, ExxonMobil executed the strategy as planned underwriting a wide array of front organizations to publish in-house articles by select

scientists and other like-minded individuals to raise objections about legitimate climate science research that has withstood rigorous peer review and has been replicated in multiple independent peer-reviewed studies—in other words, to attack research findings that were well established in the scientific community. The network ExxonMobil created masqueraded as a credible scientific alternative, but it publicized discredited studies and cherry-picked information to present misleading conclusions.

INFORMATION LAUNDERING

A close review reveals the company's effort at what some have called "information laundering": projecting the company's desired message through ostensibly independent nonprofit organizations. First, ExxonMobil underwrites well-established groups such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute that actively oppose mandatory action on global warming as well as many other environmental standards. But the funding doesn't stop there. ExxonMobil also supports a number of lesser-known organizations that help to market and distribute global warming disinformation. Few of these are household names. For instance, most people are probably not familiar with the American Council for Capital Formation Center for Policy Research, the American Legislative Exchange Council, the Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, or the International Policy Network, to name just a few. Yet these organizations—and many others like them—have received sizable donations from ExxonMobil for their climate change activities.³⁷

Between 1998 and 2005 (the most recent year for which company figures are publicly available), ExxonMobil has funneled approximately \$16 million to carefully chosen organizations that promote disinformation on global warming.³⁸ As the *New*

York Times has reported, ExxonMobil is often the single largest corporate donor to many of these nonprofit organizations, frequently accounting for more than 10 percent of their annual budgets.³⁹ (For more detailed information, see Appendix B, Table 1.)

A close look at the work of these organizations exposes ExxonMobil's strategy. Virtually all of them publish and publicize the work of a nearly identical group of spokespeople, including scientists who misrepresent peer-reviewed climate findings and confuse the public's understanding of global warming. Most of these organizations also include these same individuals as board members or scientific advisers.

Why would ExxonMobil opt to fund so many groups with overlapping spokespeople and programs? By generously funding a web of organizations with redundant personnel, advisors, or spokespeople, ExxonMobil can quietly and effectively provide the appearance of a broad platform for a tight-knit group of vocal climate science contrarians. The seeming diversity of the organizations creates an "echo chamber" that amplifies and sustains scientific disinformation even though many of the assertions have been repeatedly debunked by the scientific community.

Take, for example, ExxonMobil's funding of a Washington, DC-based organization called Frontiers of Freedom.⁴⁰ Begun in 1996 by former Senator Malcolm Wallop, Frontiers of Freedom was founded to promote property rights and critique environmental regulations like the Endangered Species Act.⁴¹ One of the group's staff members, an economist named Myron Ebell, later served as a member of the Global Climate Science Team, the small task force that laid out ExxonMobil's 1998 message strategy on global warming. Following the outline of the task force's plan in 1998, ExxonMobil began funding Frontiers of Freedom—a group that Vice President Dick Cheney

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recently called "an active, intelligent, and needed presence in the national debate."⁴²

Since 1998, ExxonMobil has spent \$857,000 to underwrite the Frontiers of Freedom's climate change efforts.⁴³ In 2002, for example, ExxonMobil made a grant to Frontiers of Freedom of \$232,000⁴⁴ (nearly a third of the organization's annual budget) to help launch a new branch of the organization called the Center for Science and Public Policy, which would focus primarily on climate change.

A recent visit to the organization's website finds little information about the background or work of the Center for Science and Public Policy.⁴⁵ The website offers no mention of its staff or board members other than its current executive director Robert Ferguson, for whom it offers no biographical information. As of September 2006, however, the website did prominently feature a 38-page non-peer-reviewed report by Ferguson on climate science, heavily laden with maps, graphs, and charts, entitled "Issues in the Current State of Climate Science: A Guide for Policy Makers and Opinion Leaders."⁴⁶ The document offers a hodgepodge of distortions and distractions posing as a serious scientific review. Ferguson questions the clear data showing that the majority of the globe's glaciers are in retreat by feebly arguing that not all glaciers have been inventoried, despite the monitoring of thousands of glaciers worldwide.⁴⁷

And, in an attempt to dispute solid scientific evidence that climate change is causing extinctions of animal species, Ferguson offers the non sequitur that several new butterfly and frog species were recently discovered in New Guinea.⁴⁸

Perhaps most notable are Ferguson's references, citing a familiar collection of climate science contrarians such as Willie Soon (see p. 30 for more on Soon). In fact, although his title is not listed on the organization's website, Soon is the Center for Science and Public Policy's "chief science researcher," according to a biographical note accompanying a 2005 *Wall Street Journal* op-ed co-authored by Ferguson and Soon.⁴⁹ Ferguson's report was not subject to peer review, but it is nonetheless presented under the auspices of the authoritative-sounding Center for Science and Public Policy.

Another organization used to launder information is the George C. Marshall Institute. During the 1990s, the Marshall Institute had been known primarily for its work advocating a "Star Wars" missile defense program. However, it soon became an important home for industry-financed "climate contrarians," thanks in part to ExxonMobil's financial backing. Since 1998, ExxonMobil has paid \$630,000 primarily to underwrite the Marshall Institute's climate change effort.⁵⁰ William O'Keefe, CEO of the Marshall Institute, formerly worked as executive vice president and chief operating officer of the American Petroleum Institute, served on the board of directors of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, and is chairman emeritus of the Global Climate Coalition.⁵¹

Since ExxonMobil began to support its efforts, the Marshall Institute has served as a clearinghouse for global warming contrarians, conducting round-table events and producing frequent publications. Most recently, the Marshall Institute has been touting its new book, *Shattered Consensus: The True State of Global Warming*, edited by long-

time climate contrarian Patrick Michaels (a meteorologist). Michaels has, over the past several years, been affiliated with at least ten organizations funded by ExxonMobil.⁵² Contributors to the book include others with similar affiliations with Exxon-funded groups: Sallie Baliunas, Robert Balling, John Christy, Ross McKittrick, and Willie Soon⁵³ (for details, see Appendix B, Table 2).

The pattern of information laundering is repeated at virtually all the private, nonprofit climate change programs ExxonMobil funds. The website of the Chicago-based Heartland Institute, which received \$119,000 from ExxonMobil in 2005,⁵⁴ offers recent articles by the same set of scientists. A visit to the climate section of the website of the American Legislative Exchange Council, which received \$241,500 from ExxonMobil in 2005,⁵⁵ turns up yet another non-peer-reviewed paper by Patrick Michaels.⁵⁶ The Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, which received \$215,000 from ExxonMobil over the past two funding cycles of 2004 and 2005,⁵⁷ boasts a similar lineup of articles and a scientific advisory panel that includes Sallie Baliunas, Robert Balling, Roger Bate, Sherwood Idso, Patrick Michaels, and Frederick Seitz—all affiliated with other ExxonMobil-funded organizations.⁵⁸

A more prominent organization funded by ExxonMobil is the Washington, DC-based Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI). Founded in 1984 to fight government regulation on business, CEI started to attract significant ExxonMobil funding when Myron Ebell moved there from Frontiers of Freedom in 1999. Since then, CEI has not only produced a steady flow of vituperative articles and commentaries attacking global warming science, often using the same set of global warming contrarians; it has also sued the federal government to stop the dissemination of a National Assessment Synthesis Team report extensively documenting the region-by-region

impacts of climate change in the United States.⁵⁹ For its efforts, CEI has received more than \$2 million in funding from ExxonMobil from 1998 through 2005.⁶⁰

The irony of all these efforts is that ExxonMobil, a company that claims it is dedicated to supporting organizations favoring “free market solutions to public policy problems,”⁶¹ is actively propping up discredited studies and misleading information that would otherwise never thrive in the scientific marketplace of ideas. The tactic is seen clearly in ExxonMobil’s backing of a website called Tech Central Station, which portrays itself as a media outlet but is, in fact, part of a corporate PR machine that helps corporations like ExxonMobil to get their message out.

Tech Central Station (which received \$95,000 in funding from ExxonMobil in 2003) is a web-based hybrid of quasi-journalism and lobbying that helps ExxonMobil complete the circle of its disinformation campaign.⁶² The website is nominally “hosted” by James K. Glassman, a former journalist.⁶³ But despite Glassman’s public face, Tech Central Station was published (until it was sold in September 2006) by a public relations firm called the DCI Group, which is a registered ExxonMobil lobbying firm.⁶⁴

A Tech Central Station disclaimer states that the online journal is proud of its corporate sponsors (including ExxonMobil) but that “the opinions expressed on these pages are solely those of the writers and not necessarily of any corporation or other organization.”⁶⁵ In practice, the opposite is true. Although Tech Central Station’s content is dressed up as independent news articles, the DCI Group established the outfit to allow corporate clients and their surrogates to communicate directly to the public. Predictably, Tech Central Station contributors on the global warming issue are the familiar spokespeople from ExxonMobil-

Although Tech Central Station’s content is dressed up as independent news articles, the DCI Group established the outfit to allow corporate clients and their surrogates to communicate directly to the public.

funded organizations, including Sallie Baliunas, Robert Balling, David Legates, Patrick Michaels, Willie Soon, George Taylor, and others.⁶⁶

It is also no surprise that the DCI Group’s own literature boasts that it specializes in what it calls “corporate grassroots campaigns” and “third party support” for corporate clients, both code words for the establishment and use of front organizations to disseminate a company’s message.⁶⁷ The group’s managing partners, Tom Synhorst, Doug Goodyear, and Tim Hyde, each honed their skills in this area over the course of nearly a decade working for the tobacco firm R.J. Reynolds.⁶⁸ Synhorst was a “field coordinator” for R.J. Reynolds, heading up work for the company on issues such as state, local, and workplace smoking bans.⁶⁹ Goodyear worked for a PR firm called Walt Klein and Associates that helped set up a fake grassroots operations on behalf of R.J. Reynolds.⁷⁰ And Hyde served as senior director of public issues at R.J. Reynolds from 1988 to 1997, overseeing all of the company’s PR campaigns.⁷¹

Confounding the matter further is ExxonMobil’s funding of established research institutions that seek to better understand science, policies, and technologies to address global warming. For example, ExxonMobil’s corporate citizen report for 2005 states:

Our climate research is designed to improve scientific understanding, assess policy options, and achieve technological breakthroughs that reduce GHG [green house gas or global warming] emissions in both industrial and developing countries. Major projects have been supported at institutions including the Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics, Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratory, Carnegie Mellon, Charles River Associates, the Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction, International Energy Agency Greenhouse Gas R&D Programme, Lamont Doherty Earth Observatory at Columbia University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton, Stanford, The University of Texas, and Yale.⁷²

In its most significant effort of this kind, ExxonMobil has pledged \$100 million over ten years to help underwrite Stanford University's Global Climate and Energy Project.⁷³ According to the program's literature, the effort seeks to develop new energy technologies that will permit the development of global energy systems with significantly lower global warming emissions.⁷⁴

The funding of academic research activity has provided the corporation legitimacy, while it actively funds ideological and advocacy organizations to conduct a disinformation campaign.

PROMOTING SCIENTIFIC SPOKESPEOPLE

Inextricably intertwined with ExxonMobil's information laundering strategy of underwriting multiple organizations with overlapping staff is the corporation's promotion of a small handful of scientific spokespeople. Scientists are trusted messengers among the American public. Scientists can and do play an important and legitimate role in educating the public and policymakers about issues that have a scientific component, including global warming. Early on, Exxon (and later

ExxonMobil) sought to support groups that worked with the handful of scientists, such as Frederick Singer (a physicist), John Christy (an atmospheric scientist), and Patrick Michaels, who had persistently voiced doubt about human-caused global warming and its consequences, despite mounting evidence.⁷⁵

However, to pull off the disinformation campaign outlined in the 1998 GCST task force memo, ExxonMobil and its public relations partners recognized they would need to cultivate new scientific spokespeople to create a sense among the public that there was still serious debate among scientists. Toward that end, the memo suggested that the team "identify, recruit and train a team of five independent scientists to participate in media outreach. These will be individuals who do not have a long history of visibility and/or participation in the climate change debate. Rather, this team will consist of new faces who will add their voices to those recognized scientists who already are vocal."⁷⁶

By the late 1990s, the scientific evidence on global warming was so strong that it became difficult to find scientists who disputed the reality of human-caused climate change. But ExxonMobil and its public relations partners persevered. The case of scientists Willie Soon and Sallie Baliunas is illustrative.

Soon and Baliunas are astrophysicists affiliated with the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics who study solar variation (i.e., changes in the amount of energy emitted by the Sun). Solar variation is one of the many factors influencing Earth's climate, although according to the IPCC it is one of the minor influences over the last century.⁷⁷ In the mid-1990s, ExxonMobil-funded groups had already begun to spotlight the work of Soon and Baliunas to raise doubts about the human causes of global warming. To accomplish this, Baliunas was initially commissioned to write

several articles for the Marshall Institute positing that solar activity might be responsible for global warming.⁷⁸ With the Baliunas articles, the Marshall Institute skillfully amplified an issue of minor scientific importance and implied that it was a major driver of recent warming trends.

In 2003, Baliunas and Soon were catapulted into a higher profile debate when they published a controversial review article about global warming in the peer-reviewed scientific literature. Writing in the journal *Climate Research*, the two contrarians reviewed the work of a number of previous scientists and alleged that the twentieth century was not the warmest century of the past 1,000 years and that the climate had not changed significantly over that period.⁷⁹ The Soon-Baliunas paper was trumpeted widely by organizations and individuals funded by ExxonMobil.⁸⁰ It was also seized upon by like-minded politicians, most notably James Inhofe (R-OK), chair (until January 2007) of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, who has repeatedly asserted that global warming is a hoax. Inhofe cited the Soon-Baliunas review as proof that natural variability, not human activity, was the “overwhelming factor” influencing climate change.⁸¹

Less widely publicized was the fact that three of the editors of *Climate Research*—including incoming editor-in-chief Hans von Storch—resigned in protest over the Soon-Baliunas paper. Storch stated that he suspected that “some of the skeptics had identified *Climate Research* as a journal where some editors were not as rigorous in the review process as is otherwise common” and described the manuscript as “flawed.”⁸² In addition, thirteen of the scientists cited in the paper published a rebuttal explaining that Soon and Baliunas had seriously misinterpreted their research.⁸³

The National Research Council recently examined the large body of published research on this topic and concluded that, “It can be said with a

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high level of confidence that global mean surface temperature was higher during the last few decades of the 20th century than during any comparable period during the preceding four centuries...Presently available proxy evidence indicates that temperatures at many, but not all, individual locations were higher in the past 25 years than during any period of comparable length since A.D. 900.”⁸⁴ The brouhaha in the scientific community had little public impact. The echo chamber had already been set in motion reverberating among the mainstream media,⁸⁵ while the correction became merely a footnote buried in the science sections of a few media outlets.

This controversy did not stop Soon and Baliunas from becoming central “new voices” in ExxonMobil's effort to manufacture uncertainty about global warming. Both scientists quickly established relationships with a network of organizations underwritten by the corporation. Over the past several years, for example, Baliunas has been formally affiliated with no fewer than nine organizations receiving funding from ExxonMobil.⁸⁶ Among her other affiliations, she is now a board member and senior scientist at the Marshall Institute, a scientific advisor to the Annapolis Center for Science-Based Public Policy, an advisory board member of the Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, and a contributing scientist

to the online forum Tech Central Station, all of which are underwritten by ExxonMobil.⁸⁷ (For more, see Appendix B, Table 2.)

Another notable case is that of Frederick Seitz, who has ties to both Big Tobacco and ExxonMobil. Seitz is the emeritus chair of the Marshall Institute. He is also a prominent solid state physicist who was president of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) from 1962 to 1969.⁸⁸

In an example of the tobacco industry's efforts to buy legitimacy, the cigarette company R.J. Reynolds hired Seitz in 1979.⁸⁹ His role was to oversee a tobacco industry-sponsored medical research program in the 1970s and 1980s.⁹⁰ "They didn't want us looking at the health effects of cigarette smoking," Seitz, who is now 95, admitted recently in an article in *Vanity Fair*, but he said he felt no compunction about dispensing the tobacco company's money.⁹¹

While working for R.J. Reynolds, Seitz oversaw the funding of tens of millions of dollars worth of research.⁹² Most of this research was legitimate. For instance, his team looked at the way stress, genetics, and lifestyle issues can contribute to disease.⁹³ But the program Seitz oversaw served an important dual purpose for R.J. Reynolds. It allowed the company to tout the fact that it was funding health research (even if it specifically proscribed research on the health effects of smoking) and it helped generate a steady collection of ideas and hypotheses that provided "red herrings" the company could use to disingenuously suggest that factors other than tobacco might be causing smokers' cancers and heart disease.

Aside from giving the tobacco companies' disinformation campaign an aura of scientific credibility, Seitz is also notable because he has returned from retirement to play a prominent role as a global warming contrarian involved in organi-

zations funded by ExxonMobil. Consider, for instance, one of Seitz's most controversial efforts. In 1998, he wrote and circulated a letter asking scientists to sign a petition from a virtually unheard-of group called the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine calling upon the U.S. government to reject the Kyoto Protocol.⁹⁴ Seitz signed the letter identifying himself as a former NAS president. He also enclosed with his letter a report co-authored by a team including Soon and Baliunas asserting that carbon dioxide emissions pose no warming threat.⁹⁵ The report was not peer reviewed. But it was formatted to look like an article from *The Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (PNAS), a leading scientific journal.

The petition's organizers publicly claimed that the effort had attracted the signatures of some 17,000 scientists. But it was soon discovered that the list contained few credentialed climate scientists. For example, the list was riddled with the names of numerous fictional characters.⁹⁶ Likewise, after investigating a random sample of the small number of signers who claimed to have a Ph.D. in a climate-related field, *Scientific American* estimated that approximately one percent of the petition signatories might actually have a Ph.D. in a field related to climate science.⁹⁷ In a highly unusual response, NAS issued a statement disavowing Seitz's petition and disassociating the academy from the PNAS-formatted paper.⁹⁸ None of these facts, however, have stopped organizations, including those funded by ExxonMobil, from touting the petition as evidence of widespread disagreement over the issue of global warming. For instance, in the spring of 2006, the discredited petition surfaced again when it was cited in a letter to California legislators by a group calling itself "Doctors for Disaster Preparedness," a project of the Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine.

SHIFTING THE FOCUS OF THE DEBATE

One prominent component of ExxonMobil's disinformation campaign on global warming is the almost unanimous call for "sound science" by the organizations it funds.⁹⁹ Like the Bush administration's "Healthy Forests" program, which masks a plan to augment logging, the rallying call for "sound science" by ExxonMobil-funded organizations is a clever and manipulative cover. It shifts the focus of the debate away from ExxonMobil's irresponsible behavior regarding global warming toward a positive concept of "sound science." By keeping the discussion focused on refining scientific understanding, ExxonMobil helps delay action to reduce heat-trapping emissions from its company and products indefinitely. For example, like the company itself, ExxonMobil-funded organizations routinely contend, despite all the solid evidence to the contrary, that scientists don't know enough about global warming to justify substantial reductions in heat-trapping emissions. As ExxonMobil explains prominently on the company's website:

*While assessments such as those of the IPCC [Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change] have expressed growing confidence that recent warming can be attributed to increases in greenhouse gases, these conclusions rely on expert judgment rather than objective, reproducible statistical methods. Taken together, gaps in the scientific basis for theoretical climate models and the interplay of significant natural variability make it very difficult to determine objectively the extent to which recent climate changes might be the result of human actions.*¹⁰⁰

In contrast, 11 of the world's major national scientific academies issued a joint statement in 2005 that declared, "The scientific understanding of climate change is now sufficiently clear to

The rallying call for "sound science" by ExxonMobil-funded organizations is a clever and manipulative cover.

justify nations taking prompt action. It is vital that all nations identify cost-effective steps that they can take now to contribute to substantial and long-term reduction in net global greenhouse gas emissions."¹⁰¹

There is no denying that the tactic of demanding "certainty" in every aspect of our scientific understanding of global warming is a rhetorically effective one. If manufactured uncertainty and governmental inaction is the goal, science will arguably never be "sound enough," or 100 percent certain, to justify action to protect public health or the environment.

Again, the tobacco industry paved the way. The calculated call for "sound science" was successfully used by tobacco firms as an integral part of a tobacco company's pioneering "information laundering" scheme. As we now know from internal tobacco industry documents, a campaign to demand "sound science" was a key part of a strategy by the cigarette manufacturer Philip Morris to create uncertainty about the scientific evidence linking disease to "second-hand" tobacco smoke, known in the industry as "environmental tobacco smoke" or ETS.¹⁰² Toward this end, in 1993, Philip Morris covertly created a front organization called "The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition" or TASSC.¹⁰³

In setting up the organization, Philip Morris took every precaution. The company opted not to use its regular public relations firm, Burson-Marsteller, choosing instead APCO Associates, a subsidiary of the international advertising and PR

firm of GCI/Grey Associates. For a sizable retainer, APCO agreed to handle every aspect of the front organization.

As part of the plan, APCO focused on expanding TASSC's ersatz "membership" and raising small amounts of additional outside money in order to conceal Philip Morris's role as its founder and exclusive underwriter. A 1993 letter from APCO on the eve of TASSC's public unveiling explains that, despite the appearance of an independent nonprofit group, APCO would "oversee day-to-day administrative responsibility" for running the organization and would draft "boilerplate speeches, press releases and op-eds to be utilized by TASSC field representatives" to further Philip Morris' goals.¹⁰⁴

The public relations firm introduced TASSC to the public through a decentralized launch outside the large markets of Washington, DC, and New York in order to "avoid cynical reporters from major media" who might discover the truth that the organization was nothing more than a front group created by Philip Morris. Top Philip Morris media managers compiled lists of reporters they deemed most sympathetic to TASSC's message.¹⁰⁵ But they left all press relations to APCO so as to, in the words of one internal memo, "remove any possible link to PM."¹⁰⁶

The TASSC campaign was a particularly obvious example of information laundering. But it also represented an important messaging strategy by using the concept of "sound science" to attach Philip Morris's disinformation about second-hand smoke to a host of other antiregulation battles. Philip Morris sought to foil any effort by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to promulgate regulations to protect the public from the dangers of ETS. But the company realized that it could build more support for its discredited position that ETS was safe by raising the broader "sound science" banner. As a result, it took stands

against government efforts to set safety regulations on everything from asbestos to radon. "The credibility of EPA is defeatable," one Philip Morris strategy document explained, "but not on the basis of ETS alone. It must be part of a large mosaic that concentrates all of the EPA's enemies against it at one time."¹⁰⁷

The important point in reviewing this history is that it is not a coincidence that ExxonMobil and its surrogates have adopted the mantle of "sound science." In so doing, the company is simply emulating a proven corporate strategy for successfully deflecting attention when one's cause lacks credible scientific evidence. From the start in 1993, in TASSC's search for other antiregulation efforts to provide political cover, the organization actively welcomed global warming contrarians like Frederick Seitz, Fred Singer, and Patrick Michaels to its scientific board of advisors. Thanks to the online archive of tobacco documents, we know that in 1994, when Philip Morris developed plans with APCO to launch a TASSC-like group in Europe, "global warming" was listed first among suggested topics with which the tobacco firm's cynical "sound science" campaign could profitably ally itself.¹⁰⁸

Given these historical connections, it is disturbing that ExxonMobil would continue to associate with some of the very same TASSC personnel who had overseen such a blatant and shameful disinformation campaign for Big Tobacco. The most glaring of ExxonMobil's associations in this regard is with Steven Milloy, the former executive director of TASSC. Milloy's involvement with ExxonMobil is more than casual. He served as a member of the small 1998 Global Climate Science Team task force that mapped out ExxonMobil's disinformation strategy on global warming.

Milloy officially closed TASSC's offices in 1998 as evidence of its role as a front organization

began to surface in the discovery process of litigation against Big Tobacco. Thanks in part to ExxonMobil, however, the “sound science” disinformation campaign continued unabated. Resuscitating TASSC under the slightly altered name The Advancement of Sound Science *Center* (rather than Coalition), Milloy continues to operate out of his home in Maryland. Between 2000 and 2004, ExxonMobil gave \$50,000 to Milloy’s Advancement of Sound Science Center, and another \$60,000 to an organization called the Free Enterprise Education Institute (a.k.a. Free Enterprise Action Institute), which is also registered to Milloy’s home address.¹⁰⁹ According to its 2004 tax return, this group was founded to “educate the public about the American system of free enterprise,” employed no staff, and incurred approximately \$48,000 in expenses categorized as “professional services.”¹¹⁰

In addition to serving as a columnist on *FoxNews.com*, Milloy is also a contributor to Tech Central Station and an adjunct scholar at the Competitive Enterprise Institute, both funded by ExxonMobil.

The irony of the involvement of tobacco disinformation veterans like Milloy in the current campaign against global warming science is not lost on close watchers. Representative Henry Waxman (D-CA), for instance, chaired the 1994 hearings where tobacco executives unanimously declared under oath that cigarettes were not addictive. As Waxman marveled recently about the vocal contrarians like Milloy on global warming science: “Not only are we seeing the same tactics the tobacco industry used, we’re seeing some of the same groups.”¹¹¹ Of course, unlike the tobacco companies, ExxonMobil has yet to receive a court order to force to light internal documents pertaining to its climate change activities. Nonetheless, even absent this information, the case could hardly be clearer: ExxonMobil is waging a calcu-

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lated and familiar disinformation campaign to mislead the public and forestall government action on global warming.

BUYING GOVERNMENT ACCESS

Tobacco companies have historically been very successful at cultivating close ties in government and hiring former government officials to lobby on their behalf. This list includes, among others, Craig Fuller, who served in the Reagan and Bush administrations, and former GOP chair Haley Barbour as well as former Senate majority leader George Mitchell, who was recruited in 1997 by the tobacco industry firm Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson, and Hand to help negotiate a settlement.¹¹²

When it comes to exerting influence over government policy, however, ExxonMobil, in its global warming disinformation campaign, may have even surpassed the tobacco industry it so clearly emulates. During the 2000 to 2006 election cycles, ExxonMobil’s PAC and individuals affiliated with the company gave more than \$4 million to federal candidates and parties.¹¹³ Shortly after President Bush’s inauguration, ExxonMobil, like other large corporate backers in the energy sector, participated in Vice President Dick Cheney’s “Energy Task Force” to set the

administration's goals for a national energy plan.¹¹⁴ ExxonMobil successfully urged the Bush administration to renege on the commitments to the Kyoto Protocol made by previous administrations.¹¹⁵ Paula Dobriansky, who currently serves as undersecretary for global affairs in the State Department and who has headed U.S. delegations negotiating follow-ons to the Kyoto Protocol in Buenos Aires and Montreal, explicitly said as much in 2001. Just months after she had been confirmed by the U.S. Senate, Dobriansky met with ExxonMobil lobbyist Randy Randol and other members of the Global Climate Coalition. Her prepared talking points, uncovered through a Freedom of Information Act request, reveal that Dobriansky thanked the group for their input on global warming policy. One of her notes reads: "POTUS [the President of the United States] rejected Kyoto, in part, based on input from you."¹¹⁶

A Freedom of Information Act request also revealed that in February 2001, immediately following the release of the authoritative 2001 report on global warming from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC),¹¹⁷ ExxonMobil successfully lobbied the Bush administration to try to oust the chair of the IPCC. In a memo sent to the White House, Randol complained that Robert Watson, who had chaired the IPCC since 1996, had been "hand-picked by Al Gore."¹¹⁸ Watson is an internationally respected scientist who has served as the director of the science division at NASA and as chief scientist at the World Bank. His work at the IPCC had met with widespread international approval and acclaim. Nonetheless, the ExxonMobil memo urged: "Can Watson be replaced now at the request of the U.S.?"¹¹⁹ At its next opportunity, the Bush administration's State Department refused to re-nominate Dr. Watson for a second five-year term as head of the IPCC, instead backing an Indian engineer-economist for the

post. In April 2002, lacking U.S. support, Dr. Watson lost his position as chair.¹²⁰ The Bush administration's move outraged many in the scientific community who saw it as a blatantly political attempt to undermine an international scientific effort.¹²¹ At the time, however, ExxonMobil's behind-the-scenes role in the incident remained secret.

Meanwhile, in an equally consequential recommendation, the 2001 ExxonMobil memo suggested that President Bush's climate team hire Harlan Watson (no relation), a staff member on the House Science Committee who had served as a climate negotiator at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit for the administration of George Bush Senior and had worked closely with members of Congress who opposed action on global warming.¹²² Shortly thereafter, the Bush administration announced Harlan Watson's appointment as its chief climate negotiator. He has steadfastly opposed any U.S. engagement in the Kyoto process.¹²³

As successful as ExxonMobil's efforts to lobby the Bush administration have been, perhaps even more striking is the way the company's disinformation campaign on global warming science has managed to permeate the highest echelons of the federal government. Between 2001 and 2005, the nerve center for much of this censorship and control resided in the office of Philip Cooney, who served during this time as chief of staff in the White House Council on Environmental Quality. Thanks to a whistle-blowing researcher named Rick Piltz in the U.S. government's interagency Climate Change Science Program who resigned in protest over the practice, we now know that Cooney spent a significant amount of time censoring and distorting government reports so as to exaggerate scientific uncertainty about global warming.¹²⁴

Cooney, a lawyer with an undergraduate degree in economics, had no scientific credentials

that might qualify him to rewrite the findings of top government scientists. Rather, before coming to the Bush administration in 2001, Cooney had spent roughly a decade as a lawyer for the American Petroleum Institute, the oil industry lobby that worked with ExxonMobil in 1998 to develop a global warming disinformation campaign. In that capacity, Cooney served as a “climate team leader” seeking to prevent the U.S. government from entering into any kind of international agreement or enacting any domestic legislation that might lead to mandatory limits on global warming emissions.¹²⁵ After joining the White House staff in 2001, Cooney furthered much the same work agenda from the top ranks of the Bush administration.

During his tenure, Cooney altered and compromised the accuracy of numerous official scientific reports on climate change issued by agencies of the federal government.¹²⁶ For instance, in 2002, as U.S. government scientists struggled to finalize the Climate Change Science Program’s strategic plan, Cooney dramatically altered the document, editing it heavily and repeatedly inserting qualifying words to create an unwarranted aura of scientific uncertainty about global warming and its implications.¹²⁷ (See Appendix C for sample edit.)

As Rick Piltz explained in his resignation letter when he exposed Cooney’s efforts, the government agencies had adapted to the environment created within the Bush administration by “engaging in a kind of anticipatory self-censorship on this and various other matters seen as politically sensitive under this administration.” Even beyond the outright suppression and distortion by Cooney and others, according to Piltz, this self-censorship on the part of career professionals marked one of the most insidious and “deleterious influences of the administration” on climate research efforts within the government.¹²⁸

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On June 10, 2005, Cooney resigned, two days after the *New York Times* first reported Piltz’s revelations. Despite the suspicious timing, the White House claimed that Cooney’s resignation was unrelated to Piltz’s disclosures.¹²⁹ But it was not surprising when Cooney announced, one week after he left the White House, that he was accepting a high-ranking public relations position at ExxonMobil.¹³⁰

One of the most damning incidents involving Cooney also illustrates the extent of ExxonMobil’s influence over the Bush administration policy on global warming. In May 2002, the administration issued the “U.S. Climate Action Report,” which the U.S. State Department was obligated by treaty to file with the United Nations. Major elements of the report were based on an in-depth, peer-reviewed government research report analyzing the potential effects of global warming in the United States. That report, titled “U.S. National Assessment of the Potential Consequences of Climate Variability and Change,”¹³¹ predates the Bush administration and had already been attacked by ExxonMobil.¹³² The report generated widespread headlines such as one in the *New York Times* proclaiming: “Climate Changing, US Says in Report.”¹³³

Not surprisingly, ExxonMobil vociferously objected to the conclusion of the multiagency “Climate Action Report” that climate change posed a significant risk and was caused by human-made emissions.¹³⁴ Concerned about the matter, Cooney contacted Myron Ebell at the Exxon-Mobil-funded Competitive Enterprise Institute. “Thanks for calling and asking for our help,” Ebell responded in a June 3, 2002, email to Cooney that surfaced as a result of a Freedom of Information Act request.¹³⁵ Ebell urged that the President distance himself from the report. Within days, President Bush did exactly that, denigrating the report in question as having been “put out by the bureaucracy.”¹³⁶

In the June 3 email, Ebell explicitly suggests the ouster of then-EPA head Christine Todd Whitman. “It seems to me that the folks at the EPA are the obvious fall guys and we would only hope that the fall guy (or gal) should be as high up as possible,” Ebell wrote. “Perhaps tomorrow we will call for Whitman to be fired.”¹³⁷ Sure enough, Whitman would last for less than a year in her post, resigning in May 2003.¹³⁸ Finally, Ebell pledged he would do what he could to respond to the White House’s request to “clean up this mess.”¹³⁹

A major piece of Ebell’s “clean-up” effort presumably came on August 6, 2003, when the Competitive Enterprise Institute filed the second of two lawsuits calling for the Bush administration to invalidate the National Assessment (a peer-reviewed synthesis report upon which the U.S. Climate Action Report was based). The CEI lawsuit called for it to be withdrawn because it was not based upon “sound science.”¹⁴⁰

Given the close, conspiratorial communication between Ebell and Cooney that had come to light, the lawsuit prompted the attorneys general of Maine and Connecticut to call upon the U.S. Justice Department to investigate the matter.¹⁴¹

However, the Bush administration Justice Department, then led by John Ashcroft, refused to launch such an investigation, despite the fact that the Maine and Connecticut attorneys general stated forcefully that the evidence suggested that Cooney had conspired with Ebell to cause the Competitive Enterprise Institute to sue the federal government. As Maine Attorney General Steven Rowe noted: “The idea that the Bush administration may have invited a lawsuit from a special interest group in order to undermine the federal government’s own work under an international treaty is very troubling.”¹⁴²

A key piece of evidence, unnoticed at the time, strongly suggests just how the scheme fit together. In 2002, in a move virtually unprecedented in its corporate giving program, Exxon-Mobil offered an additional \$60,000 in support for the Competitive Enterprise Institute — specifically earmarked to cover the organization’s unspecified “legal activities.”¹⁴³

In addition to a high level of administration access, ExxonMobil has cultivated close relationships with members of Congress. In July 2005, ExxonMobil’s generous campaign contributions paid off when Congress passed the Energy Policy Act of 2005. This bill, modeled on the President’s 2001 energy plan, provides more than \$7.4 billion in tax breaks and subsidies to the oil and gas industry over 10 years and excludes any provisions that would mandate reductions in U.S. global warming emissions.¹⁴⁴

Joe Barton (R-TX), chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee from 2004 through 2006 and the lead author of the 2005 energy bill, has received more than \$1 million from the oil and gas industry over the course of his career, including \$22,000 in PAC contributions from ExxonMobil between 2000 and 2006.¹⁴⁵ In addition to shepherding through the massive oil and gas subsidies in that bill, Representative Barton

has played a key role in elevating misleading information and delaying congressional action on global warming. Before he became chair of the full committee in 2004, Barton chaired the Energy and Air Quality Subcommittee. In that capacity, he stated at a March 2001 hearing that as long as he was the subcommittee chair, regulation of global warming emissions would be “off the table indefinitely.” As Barton put it: “I don’t want there to be any uncertainty about that.”¹⁴⁶ In his capacity as chair of the full committee, Barton has held true to his word, holding only two climate-related hearings, both aimed at attacking reputable climate scientists.¹⁴⁷

In February 2005, the American Petroleum Institute—of which ExxonMobil is a powerful member¹⁴⁸—contacted members of Congress to raise questions about aspects of two climate studies from 1998 and 1999.¹⁴⁹ In June 2005, Representative Barton followed the oil industry’s lead, sending letters to three climate scientists—Drs. Michael Mann, Raymond Bradley, and Malcolm Hughes—as well as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and the National Science Foundation, questioning many aspects of these studies. The letter to the scientists requested a vast amount of data and information related to their research over the past 15 years. While Rep. Barton’s request specifically targeted the results of the so-called “hockey stick” studies (a 2,000-year record of Northern Hemisphere temperature), it also demanded a significant amount of data irrelevant to that set of peer-reviewed studies.

While a spokesman for the representative claims he was only “seeking scientific truth,”¹⁵⁰ Barton seems to willfully misunderstand that the findings of the study in question are only one among a large body of evidence that support the scientific consensus that global warming is under way and that human activity is contributing significantly over the past several decades. Rather

“The idea that the Bush administration may have invited a lawsuit from a special interest group (ExxonMobil-funded CEI) in order to undermine the federal government’s own work under an international treaty is very troubling.”

— STEVEN ROWE,
ATTORNEY GENERAL, MAINE

than basing his inquiry on a careful review of peer-reviewed scientific literature or documents from leading scientific bodies like the National Academy of Sciences, Barton cited a *Wall Street Journal* editorial as his primary source of global warming information.

The scientific community has weighed in strongly. The National Academy of Sciences and the American Association for the Advancement of Science—which rarely take stands on Congressional investigations—sent letters of concern to Barton, as did twenty leading climate scientists. Representative Sherwood Boehlert (R-NY), chair of the House Science Committee, and Representative Waxman (D-CA), then ranking member on the House Government Reform Committee, both submitted letters protesting the tone and content of this investigation.

Despite this response, Representative Barton held two hearings in July 2006, both aimed at attacking the Mann study. Not surprisingly, the witnesses invited to testify at the second hearing included John Christy, who, as detailed earlier, is one of the scientists affiliated with ExxonMobil funded organizations—the Competitive Enterprise Institute and the George C. Marshall Insti-

tute—and Stephen McIntyre, a mining executive also affiliated with the Marshall Institute.

Meanwhile, the most vocal opponent to climate action in the Senate is James Inhofe (R-OK), chair—until January 2007—of the Environment and Public Works Committee. He adamantly denies the reality of global warming and has prevented consideration of climate bills by his committee during his tenure as chair from 2003 to 2006. In September 2005, he went so far as to invite Michael Crichton, a science fiction writer, to testify at a hearing on climate science and policy. Despite Crichton's lack of expertise, he attempted to undermine peer-reviewed climate science in his testimony. Inhofe was also a coplaintiff in the first Competitive Enterprise Institute lawsuit, filed in 2000, which attempted to bar the distribution or use of the National Assessment. Senator Inhofe has received a total of

\$847,123 from ExxonMobil and others in the oil and gas industry over the course of his career.¹⁵¹ Like Big Tobacco before it, ExxonMobil has been enormously successful at influencing the current administration and key members of Congress. From successfully recommending the appointment of key personnel in the Bush administration, to coordinating its disinformation tactics on global warming with high-ranking Bush administration personnel, to funding climate change contrarians in Congress, ExxonMobil and its proxies have exerted extraordinary influence over the policies of the U.S. government during the Bush administration. The cozy relationship ExxonMobil enjoys with government officials has enabled the corporation to work effectively behind the scenes to block federal policies and shape government communications on global warming.

PUTTING THE BRAKES ON EXXONMOBIL'S DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

For more than two decades, ExxonMobil scientists have carefully studied and worked to increase understanding of the issue of global climate change.

—EXXONMOBIL WEBSITE, 2006 ¹⁵²

In September 2006, the Royal Society, Britain's premier scientific academy, sent a letter to ExxonMobil urging the company to stop funding the dozens of groups spreading disinformation on global warming and also strongly criticized the company's "inaccurate and misleading" public statements on global warming.¹⁵³ ExxonMobil responded by defending the statement in its 2005 Corporate Citizenship Report that scientific uncertainties make it "very difficult to determine objectively the extent to which recent climate changes might be the result of human actions."¹⁵⁴ However, ExxonMobil also stated that it has stopped funding the Competitive Enterprise Institute, although it is unclear whether its support is discontinued permanently. Either way, as of this publication date, this commitment leaves intact the rest of ExxonMobil's carefully constructed echo chamber of climate disinformation.

The unprecedented letter from the British Royal Society demonstrates the level of frustration among scientists about ExxonMobil's efforts to manufacture uncertainty about global warming. ExxonMobil's dismissive response shows that more pressure is needed to achieve a real change in the company's activities.

The time is ripe to call for a dramatic shift in ExxonMobil's stance on global warming. After nearly 13 years, Lee Raymond, an outspoken enemy of environmental regulation, stepped down at the end of 2005 and the company promoted

Rex Tillerson to the position of CEO. While Tillerson has been less confrontational than his predecessor on the global warming issue, he has yet to make real commitments on global warming. He has an opportunity to implement key changes in ExxonMobil's climate change activities and should be encouraged to do so through a wide variety of approaches: congressional action, shareholder engagement, media accountability, and consumer action.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

Elected officials can and should assert their independence from ExxonMobil in several ways.

Oversight

Lawmakers should conduct oversight of ExxonMobil's disinformation campaign as well as its effort to delay action on global warming. Congressional investigations played a key role in revealing the extent of Big Tobacco's work to hide the public health impacts of smoking. By requiring ExxonMobil executives to testify before Congress and by obtaining internal documents through subpoena, congressional investigators could expose additional information about ExxonMobil's strategic disinformation campaign on global warming.

Campaign Contributions

Lawmakers and candidates should reject campaign

contributions from ExxonMobil and its executives until the disinformation campaign ceases and the corporation ends its opposition to mandatory regulation of global warming emissions from fossil fuels.

Policy Action

The true signal that ExxonMobil's disinformation campaign has been defeated will come when Congress passes policies that ensure global warming emission reductions. Congress should bring stakeholders—including ExxonMobil—to the table, as lawmakers develop and enact a set of policies to achieve mandatory global warming emission reductions such as improved energy efficiency standards for appliances and vehicles, renewable electricity standards, and economywide caps on global warming emissions. In addition, Congress should shift government energy support and incentives away from conventional coal, oil, and gas and toward clean, renewable energy sources. Lawmakers should also encourage the integration of low carbon fuels into the supply chain by developing policies to ensure that more gas stations sell biofuels such as E85 and that flexible fuel vehicles comprise a greater percentage of the vehicle fleet.

These actions will not only reduce global warming emissions, but will help address national security concerns about our growing oil dependence, reduce demand pressures that are driving up natural gas prices, save energy consumers billions of dollars, and create hundreds of thousands of new jobs producing clean energy and vehicle technologies.¹⁵⁵

Through these and other efforts, our elected representatives can bring ExxonMobil's campaign of disinformation on global warming to an end.

SHAREHOLDER ENGAGEMENT

Investors will pay a steep price if ExxonMobil refuses to prepare to do business in a world where global warming emission reductions are required,

as they most certainly will be over the next several years. Investors can help shift ExxonMobil's position on global warming and clean energy solutions. ExxonMobil shareholders can join major institutional investors in calling on the company to begin to invest in clean energy options that would protect the long-term health of the corporation and the planet.¹⁵⁶

In 2006, shareholders offered a resolution calling on the ExxonMobil board to establish policies designed to achieve the long-term goal of making ExxonMobil the recognized leader in low-carbon emissions in both the company's production and products. In May 2006, 17 leading U.S. pension funds and other institutional investors holding \$6.75 billion in ExxonMobil shares asked for a face-to-face-meeting with members of the ExxonMobil board of directors. This request stemmed from growing concerns in the financial world that ExxonMobil is "a company that fails to acknowledge the potential for climate change to have a profound impact on global energy markets, and which lags far behind its competitors in developing a strategy to plan for and manage these impacts," as articulated in a letter to ExxonMobil from investors in May of 2006.¹⁵⁷ Connecticut State Treasurer Denise Nappier elaborated on the group's concerns, stating that "in effect, ExxonMobil is making a massive bet—with shareholders' money—that the world's addiction to oil will not abate for decades, even as its competitors are taking significant steps to prepare for a rapidly changing energy environment. As investors, we are concerned that ExxonMobil is not sufficiently preparing for 'tomorrow's energy' and runs the risk of lagging significantly behind its rivals."¹⁵⁸

ExxonMobil's competition is indeed moving forward in renewable energy research and deployment. In 2005, BP launched BP Alternative Energy, a project that plans to invest \$8 billion

over the next ten years to advance clean energy technologies such as solar, wind, and bioenergy.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Shell has invested \$1 billion in alternative energy development since 2000. It is a major biofuels distributor, a developer of the next generation of solar technology, and it has 350 MW of operational wind capacity.¹⁶⁰ While these companies could do more to address global warming, their actions represent an important step. Investors can encourage ExxonMobil to convert funds currently used for the disinformation campaign to add to the recent research and development investments ExxonMobil contributes to institutions devoted to legitimate climate science and solutions research.

Shareholders should also support resolutions calling on ExxonMobil to disclose the physical, financial, and competitive risks that global warming poses to the corporation. For example, the 2005 hurricane season suggests that the country's oil refining infrastructure is vulnerable to an increase in the severity of extreme weather events that scientists project are likely to occur with continued warming. ExxonMobil's total natural gas production decreased in 2005 partly as a result of the impacts of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita in the Gulf of Mexico.¹⁶¹

Individuals who do not have a direct investment in ExxonMobil may own pension funds and mutual funds invested in ExxonMobil. These investors can insist that their fund managers assess the global warming risk of ExxonMobil investments and support global warming shareholder resolutions targeting ExxonMobil. While institutional investors increasingly support these resolutions, mutual fund companies are lagging behind and putting investors at risk. None of the top 100 U.S. mutual funds support climate change resolutions. For example, the three largest mutual fund companies: American Funds, Fidelity, and Vanguard all have major holdings in ExxonMobil,

Investors will pay a steep price if ExxonMobil refuses to prepare to do business in a world where global warming emission reductions are required.

but have not yet committed to support future climate resolutions. More pressure from investors is needed to influence these and other mutual fund companies.

MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY

Too often, journalists' inclination to provide political "balance" leads to inaccurate media reporting on scientific issues. Far from making news stories more balanced, quoting ExxonMobil-funded groups and spokespeople misleads the public by downplaying the strength of the scientific consensus on global warming and the urgency of the problem. Citizens must respond whenever the media provides a soapbox for these ExxonMobil-sponsored spokespeople, especially when the story fails to reveal their financial ties to ExxonMobil or those of their organizations.

Toward this end, citizens can send letters to the editor highlighting the financial ties that quoted "experts" have to ExxonMobil or ExxonMobil-funded organizations. They can also encourage individual reporters and media outlets to report science accurately. Well-established scientific information should be reported as such, and members of the press should distinguish clearly between those views of their sources that are supported in the peer-reviewed scientific literature versus those that have only been propped up in the ExxonMobil-financed echo chamber.

CONSUMER ACTION

Finally, consumers can exercise their influence in

the marketplace by refusing to purchase ExxonMobil's gasoline and other products until the company ends its disinformation campaign. ExxposeExxon, a collaborative campaign led by many of the nation's largest environmental and public interest advocacy organizations, has already gathered boycott pledges from more than 500,000 consumers who are calling on the company to change course on global warming.¹⁶² In particular, consumers should demand that ExxonMobil stop funding groups that disseminate discredited information on global warming and require the organizations it funds to disclose their funding sources and to subject their published, science-based information to peer review.

It is time for ExxonMobil customers to hold the corporation accountable for its environmental rhetoric. For example, ExxonMobil's 2005 Corporate Citizen Report states, "We seek to drive incidents with environmental impact to zero, and to operate in a manner that is not harmful to the environment."¹⁶³ Even while making such pronouncements, ExxonMobil has, as this report demonstrates, been engaged in a disinformation campaign to confuse the public on global warming. At the same time, heat-trapping emissions from its operations continue to grow.

It is critical that ExxonMobil impose strict standards on the groups that receive funding for climate-related activities. Not only should it cease funding groups who disseminate discredited information on global warming, it should require funded organizations to acknowledge ExxonMobil support for their work. An incident at a September 2005 National Press Club briefing indicates the importance of such disclosure. At the briefing, Indur Goklany, an analyst at the ExxonMobil-funded National Center for Policy Analysis, presented "Living with Global Warming," a paper that favors adapting to global warm-

ing over curbing the problem with emission reduction. Neither the paper nor Goklany advertised the organization's ties to ExxonMobil, which would have remained undisclosed had not an audience member asked Goklany about the organization's \$315,000 in funding from ExxonMobil between 1998 and 2004. Requiring individuals like Goklany to disclose this information will help the public more effectively evaluate the independence of their statements.

In June 2005, U.S. State department documents revealed that the White House considered ExxonMobil "among the companies most actively and prominently opposed to binding approaches [like Kyoto] to cut greenhouse gas emissions."¹⁶⁴ Customers should press ExxonMobil to end its opposition to federal policies that would ensure reductions in U.S. global warming emissions. Moreover, it should be urged to set a goal to reduce the total emissions from its products and operations and demonstrate steady progress toward that goal. Consumers should also call on ExxonMobil to prepare to comply with imminent national and international climate policies by transitioning to cleaner renewable fuels and investing in other clean energy technologies. In particular, ExxonMobil should develop a plan to increase production of low-carbon cellulosic ethanol and make it available at its fueling stations.

To make their actions visible to the company, consumers should relay their demands directly to Rex Tillerson at ExxonMobil's corporate headquarters (5959 Las Colinas Boulevard, Irving, Texas 75039-2298; phone number 972-444-1000).

To access web tools focused on holding ExxonMobil accountable for its activities on global warming, visit www.ExxposeExxon.com. The site includes sample letters to Rex Tillerson and members of Congress.

Appendix A

THE SCIENTIFIC CONSENSUS ON GLOBAL WARMING

The scientific understanding of climate change is now sufficiently clear to justify nations taking prompt action. It is vital that all nations identify cost-effective steps that they can take now, to contribute to substantial and long-term reduction in net global greenhouse gas emissions.

—JOINT STATEMENT BY THE SCIENCE ACADEMIES
OF 11 NATIONS, JUNE 7, 2005

Ever since Svante Arrhenius published “On the influence of carbonic acid in the air upon the temperature of the ground” in 1896, scientists have appreciated the fundamental principle regarding heat-trapping emissions and their influence on Earth’s temperature. The burning of fossil fuels in power plants and vehicles releases heat-trapping emissions, principally carbon dioxide, which accumulates in the atmosphere. These emissions function much like a blanket, trapping heat and warming the planet. The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has already increased nearly 40 percent since the dawn of the industrial era and average global temperature is around 1 degree Fahrenheit higher than a century ago.

If global warming emissions grow unabated, climate scientists expect mean temperatures around the world will rise dramatically this century.¹⁶⁵ Without concerted human intervention to try to correct or at least stabilize this trend, researchers have identified a host of disruptive and possibly irreversible consequences, including coastal flooding caused by rising sea levels, an increase in powerful tropical storms, extreme heat waves in summer, and reduced productivity of farms, forests, and fisheries worldwide.¹⁶⁶

This unprecedented rate of recent warming is caused primarily by human activity. That, in a nutshell, is the overwhelming scientific consensus about global climate change, ever since the publication of a landmark review in 2001 by an international panel of leading climate experts under the auspices of the United Nations, called the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).¹⁶⁷ The 2001 IPCC assessment drew upon more than 1,200 scientists and approximately 120 countries. It quickly became a standard reference and solidified the scientific consensus about global warming internationally. Released just days after the inauguration of President George W. Bush, the IPCC report laid out the mounting and consistent scientific evidence of global warming. In May 2001, the White House officially asked the U.S. National Academy of Sciences (NAS) to conduct its own review of the IPCC assessment.¹⁶⁸ Within a month, in June 2001, the NAS confirmed the conclusions of the IPCC that global warming is occurring and that it is caused primarily by human activity.¹⁶⁹ More recently, 11 of the world’s major national scientific academies including those from the leading industrialized nations issued a joint statement that declared,

“The scientific understanding of climate change is now sufficiently clear to justify nations taking prompt action. It is vital that all nations identify cost-effective steps that they can take now to contribute to substantial and long-term reduction in net global greenhouse gas emissions.”¹⁷⁰

One of the reasons scientists consider the evidence so compelling is that it draws on such a broad range of sources. In addition to climate specialists who use sophisticated computer models to study climatic trends, researchers from an array of disciplines, including atmospheric scientists, paleoclimatologists, oceanographers, meteorologists, geologists, chemists, biologists, physicists, and ecologists have all corroborated global warming by studying everything from animal migration to the melting of glaciers. Evidence of a dramatic global warming trend has been found in ice cores pulled from the both polar regions, satellite imagery of the shrinking polar ice masses, tree rings, ocean temperature monitoring, and so on.

Ralph Cicerone, President of the National Academy of Sciences stated during a U.S. House of Representatives hearing for the Committee on Energy and Commerce on July 27, 2006: “I think we understand the mechanisms of CO₂ and climate better than we do of what causes lung

cancer...In fact, it is fair to say that global warming may be the most carefully and fully studied scientific topic in human history.”¹⁷¹ Similarly, Donald Kennedy, the editor of *Science*, has noted, “Consensus as strong as the one that has developed around [global warming] is rare in science.”¹⁷²

To get a sense of just how powerful the scientific consensus about global warming is, consider this: in a December 2004 article published in the journal *Science*, Naomi Oreskes, a historian of science at the University of California, San Diego, reviewed the peer-reviewed scientific literature for papers on global climate change published between 1993 and 2003. Oreskes reviewed a random sample of approximately 10 percent of the literature; of the 928 studies, *not one* disagreed with the consensus view that humans are contributing to global warming.¹⁷³

Despite what ExxonMobil might try to tell you, today, in 2006, there is widespread agreement among credentialed climate scientists around the world that human-caused global warming is well under way. Without a concerted effort to curb heat-trapping emissions, it spells trouble for the health and well-being of our planet.

Appendix B

GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS ASSOCIATED WITH EXXONMOBIL'S DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

Table 1 **Select ExxonMobil-Funded Organizations Providing Disinformation on Global Warming**¹⁷⁴

Organization	Total ExxonMobil Funding ¹⁷⁵ (1998–2005)	Illustrative Information
Africa Fighting Malaria	\$30,000	AFM received \$30,000 donation in 2004 for “climate change outreach.” This grant represents 10% of their total expenses for that year. AFM’s website has an extensive collection of articles and commentary that argue against urgent action on climate change. ¹⁷⁶
American Council for Capital Formation, Center for Policy Research	\$1,604,523	One-third of the total ExxonMobil grants to ACCF-CPR between 1998 and 2005 were specifically designated for climate change activities. ExxonMobil funds represent approximately 36% of their total expenses in 2005. ¹⁷⁷
American Council on Science and Health	\$125,000	ExxonMobil donated \$15,000 to ACSH in 2004 for “climate change issues.” A September 2006 Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance Charity Report concludes that the ACSH does not meet all the standards for charity accountability. ¹⁷⁸
American Enterprise Institute	\$1,625,000	Lee R. Raymond, retired chair and CEO of ExxonMobil, is vice chairman of AEI’s Board of Trustees. ¹⁷⁹
American Friends of the Institute of Economic Affairs	\$50,000	American Friends of the IEA received a \$50,000 ExxonMobil donation in 2004 for “climate change issues.” This grant represents 29% of their total expenses for that year. The 2004 IEA study, <i>Climate Alarmism Reconsidered</i> , “demonstrates how the balance of evidence supports a benign, enhanced greenhouse effect.” ¹⁸⁰
American Legislative Exchange Council	\$1,111,700	Of the total ExxonMobil grants to ALEC, \$327,000 was specifically for climate change projects. ALEC received \$241,500 in 2005 from ExxonMobil.
Annapolis Center for Science-Based Public Policy	\$763,500	In 2002, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 20% of their total expenses. The Annapolis Center’s climate work includes production of materials exaggerating the uncertainty about the human contribution to climate change. Climate contrarians Sallie Baliunas and Richard Lindzen serve as scientific advisors. ¹⁸¹
Arizona State University, Office of Climatology	\$49,500	The Office of Climatology at ASU received an ExxonMobil donation in 2001. Robert C. Balling, Jr., directed the office during this time. ¹⁸² ExxonMobil did not donate to any other offices of climatology between 1998 and 2005.
Atlantic Legal Foundation	\$20,000	The Atlantic Legal Foundation filed an <i>amicus</i> brief on behalf of climate contrarians, Sallie Baliunas, David Legates, and Patrick Michaels, in support of the EPA’s decision against the regulation of carbon dioxide emissions as a pollutant. ¹⁸³ The ALF received several ExxonMobil donations between 1998 and 2005.
Atlas Economic Research Foundation	\$680,000	Atlas Economic Research Foundation received \$65,000 in 1998 for a “global climate conference and other support.” In 2003, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 6% of their total expenses for that year.
Cato Institute	\$105,000	In 2002, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 0.2% of the total expenses.
Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise	\$230,000	From 2003 to 2005, ExxonMobil funds represent a significant percentage of the total expenses (2003: 61%, 2004: 143%, 2005: 95%). The largest grant (\$130,000 in 2004) was specified by ExxonMobil for “global climate change issues.”
Centre for the New Europe	\$170,000	ExxonMobil gave \$120,000 between 2004 and 2005 to support the centre’s climate change activities.
Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change	\$90,000	In 2003, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 14% of total expenses.
Citizens for a Sound Economy Educational Foundation [became FreedomWorks]	\$380,250	CSE received \$275,250 from ExxonMobil in 2001, an increase from \$30,000 the year before. CSE merged with Empower America and became FreedomWorks in 2004. ¹⁸⁴ FreedomWorks maintains that the science of climate change is “far from settled” and cites scientists such as Sallie Baliunas. ¹⁸⁵

Table 1 **Select ExxonMobil-Funded Organizations Providing Disinformation on Global Warming**¹⁷⁴
continued

Organization	Total ExxonMobil Funding ¹⁷⁵ (1998–2005)	Illustrative Information
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	\$472,000	Approximately 23% of the total ExxonMobil funding for the CCT was directed by ExxonMobil for climate change activities. The 2004 ExxonMobil grant represented approximately a quarter of their total expenses for that year.
Competitive Enterprise Institute	\$2,005,000	Of the organizations analyzed, CEI received 1.2 times more money from ExxonMobil since 1998 than the second most-funded organization, AEI. In FY 2003, ExxonMobil grants represented approximately 16% of CEI's total expenses.
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	\$235,000	In 2004, ExxonMobil donated \$135,000 for climate change activities. This organization is not required to file an annual return with the IRS because its income is reportedly less than \$25,000 annually. ¹⁸⁶
Consumer Alert, Inc.	\$70,000	In 2004, the ExxonMobil grants for climate change “opinion leader and public education efforts” and climate change “outreach to opinion leaders” represented approximately 14% of their total expenses for that year.
Federalist Society for Law & Public Policy Studies	\$90,000	S. Fred Singer is a featured expert for the Federalist Society, which received funding from ExxonMobil every year from 2000 to 2005.
Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment	\$210,000	FREE's federal judicial seminars in Montana, which were reported in a May 2006 <i>Washington Post</i> article as funded by ExxonMobil and other corporations, have been criticized for facilitating special interest lobbying. ¹⁸⁷ In 2004, ExxonMobil donated \$20,000 for a “climate seminar.”
Fraser Institute	\$120,000	All of the funds ExxonMobil donated to the Fraser Institute between 1998 and 2005 were for climate change work.
Free Enterprise Action Institute	\$130,000	The Free Enterprise Action Institute is registered under Steven Milloy's name and home address. In 2005, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 64% of total expenses. Tax filings from 2004 and 2005 reported no staff.
Frontiers of Freedom Institute	\$1,002,000	A May 2003 <i>New York Times</i> article reported that the \$232,000 ExxonMobil donation in 2002 (up from \$40,000 the year before) represented approximately one-third of FFI's annual budget. Almost half of their total ExxonMobil donations since 1998 were specifically designated by ExxonMobil for climate change projects. ¹⁸⁸
George C. Marshall Institute	\$630,000	The George C. Marshall Institute has received a steady stream of funding from ExxonMobil for its climate science program: \$405,000 between 2001 and 2004. In 2004, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 21% of total expenses. The Marshall Institute in turn donated \$12,602 to the Tech Central Science Foundation (Tech Central Station) in 2004. ¹⁸⁹
Heartland Institute	\$561,500	Nearly 40% of the total funds that the Heartland Institute has received from ExxonMobil since 1998 were specifically designated for climate change projects. ExxonMobil donated \$119,000 in 2005, its biggest gift to Heartland since 1998.
Heritage Foundation	\$460,000	ExxonMobil gave \$25,000 in 2002 for “climate change issues.”
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University	\$295,000	ExxonMobil donated \$30,000 in 2003 for “global climate change projects.” Climate contrarians Sallie Baliunas and S. Fred Singer were Wesson Fellows for the Hoover Institute, a public policy research center. ¹⁹⁰
Independent Institute	\$70,000	Climate contrarians S. Fred Singer, David Legates, and Frederick Seitz are all research fellows at the Independent Institute, which has received money from ExxonMobil from at least 1998 to 2005.
Institute for Energy Research	\$177,000	The Institute received \$45,000 in 2004 for “climate change and energy policy issues” from ExxonMobil. In 2005, ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 31% of total expenses.
International Policy Network	\$295,000	The International Policy Network's largest grant from ExxonMobil since 1998, \$115,000 in 2004, was specifically designated for “climate change” activities. This grant represented 16% of their total expenses for that year.
Lindenwood University	\$10,000	In 2004, ExxonMobil donated \$5,000 for “climate change outreach.” Lectures publicized on the university's Institute for Study of Economics and the Environment, for example, question the human contribution to global warming. ¹⁹¹
Media Research Center	\$150,000	\$100,000 of the total funds the Media Research Center received from ExxonMobil between 1998 and 2005 were specifically designated for climate change activities.

Table 1 **Select ExxonMobil-Funded Organizations Providing Disinformation on Global Warming**¹⁷⁴
continued

Organization	Total ExxonMobil Funding ¹⁷⁵ (1998–2005)	Illustrative Information
Mercatus Center, George Mason University	\$80,000	ExxonMobil funded \$40,000 in 2004 to support the Mercatus Center's work on climate change regulation.
National Association of Neighborhoods	\$100,000	In 2004, an ExxonMobil grant for work on climate change issues represented approximately 6% of total expenses.
National Center for Policy Analysis	\$420,900	The NCPA received funding from ExxonMobil every year from 2000 to 2005. NCPA climate work includes, for example, a paper authored by climate contrarian David Legates that argued the arctic polar bear population was not threatened by global warming. ¹⁹² The NCPA also cites the work of Robert Balling, Jr., John Christy, and other climate contrarians.
National Center for Public Policy Research	\$280,000	In 2003, ExxonMobil gave the center \$30,000 to fund the EnviroTruth website (www.envirotruth.org), which purportedly provides information on the "truths and falsehoods" of a variety of environmental issues, including climate change. ¹⁹³
National Environmental Policy Institute	\$75,000	Steven Milloy is the former director of the NEPI. ¹⁹⁴ ExxonMobil funds in 2000 represented 3% of their total expenses that year. The activities of NEPI's Global Climate Science Project included a Congressional roundtable and white paper referencing several climate contrarians. ¹⁹⁵
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy	\$355,000	PRI's largest donation from ExxonMobil since 1998 is \$100,000 in 2004 (up from \$45,000 for each of the two previous years). ExxonMobil allocated half of this grant for "climate change and environmental quality research."
Science and Environmental Policy Project	\$20,000	SEPP was founded by climate contrarian S. Fred Singer. ¹⁹⁶ ExxonMobil donated \$10,000 in 2000 for project support.
The Advancement of Sound Science Center, Inc.	\$50,000	ExxonMobil funds represented approximately 65% of total expenses in FY 2002.
Tech Central Station	\$95,000	The DCI Group ran TCS until TCS was sold in September 2006. ¹⁹⁷ The DCI Group is a registered ExxonMobil lobbying firm. ¹⁹⁸
Weidenbaum Center, Washington University (formerly Center for the Study of American Business)	\$345,000	Murray Weidenbaum, honorary chair, has written about the "great uncertainty" of the human contribution to global warming. ¹⁹⁹ The center received \$70,000 from ExxonMobil in 1998 for "Global Climate Change and other support" and published papers by climate contrarians Patrick Michaels (1998) and S. Frederick Singer (1999).

TOTAL: \$15,837,873

Table 2 **Scientific Spokespeople Affiliated with ExxonMobil-Funded Groups**

Name	Affiliation With ExxonMobil-Funded Organizations	Title/Role
Sallie Baliunas	Annapolis Center for Science Based Public Policy	<i>Science and Economic Advisory Council Member</i> ²⁰⁰
	Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	<i>Academic and Scientific Advisory Board Member</i> ²⁰¹
	Competitive Enterprise Institute	<i>Report Author</i> ²⁰²
	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Senior Scientist</i> , ²⁰³ and <i>Chair of Science Advisory Board</i> ²⁰⁴
	Global Climate Coalition	<i>Featured Scientist</i> ²⁰⁵
	Heartland Institute	<i>Writer/contributor</i> ²⁰⁶
	Heritage Foundation	<i>Writer/contributor</i> ²⁰⁷
	Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace	<i>Robert Wesson Endowment Fund Fellow (1993-4)</i> ²⁰⁸
Robert C. Balling, Jr.	Tech Central Station	<i>Science Round Table Member</i> ²⁰⁹
	Cato Institute	<i>Book Author</i> ²¹⁰
	Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	<i>Academic and Scientific Advisory Board Member</i> ²¹¹
	Heritage Foundation	<i>Policy Expert</i> ²¹²
	International Policy Network	<i>Writer/contributor</i> ²¹³
John Christy	Tech Central Station	<i>Science Roundtable Member</i> ²¹⁴
	Competitive Enterprise Institute	<i>Report and Article Authors</i> ²¹⁵
Hugh Ellsaesser	Independent Institute	<i>Report Author</i> ²¹⁶
	Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	<i>Academic and Scientific Advisory Board Member</i> ²¹⁷
Sherwood B. Idso	Consumer Alert	<i>Advisory Council Member</i> ²¹⁸
	Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change	<i>President</i> ²¹⁹
	Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	<i>Academic and Scientific Advisory Board Member</i> ²²⁰
David R. Legates	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Report Author</i> ²²¹
	Competitive Enterprise Institute	<i>Former Adjunct Scholar</i> ²²²
	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Report Author</i> ²²³
	Heartland Institute	<i>Featured Author</i> ²²⁴
	Independent Institute	<i>Research Fellow</i> ²²⁵
	National Center for Policy Analysis	<i>Adjunct Scholar and E-team Expert</i> ²²⁶
Richard Lindzen	Tech Central Station	<i>Science Roundtable Member</i> ²²⁷
	Annapolis Center for Science Based Public Policy	<i>Science and Economic Advisory Council Member</i> ²²⁸
	Cato Institute	<i>Contributing Expert</i> ²²⁹
	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Report Author</i> ²³⁰

Table 2 **Scientific Spokespeople Affiliated with ExxonMobil-Funded Groups** continued

Name	Affiliation With ExxonMobil-Funded Organizations	Title/Role
Patrick J. Michaels	American Council on Science and Health	<i>Scientific Advisor</i> ²³¹
	American Legislative Exchange Council	<i>Report Author</i> ²³²
	Cato Institute	<i>Senior Fellow in Environmental Studies</i> ²³³
	Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	<i>Academic and Scientific Advisory Board Member</i> ²³⁴
	Competitive Enterprise Institute	<i>CEI expert</i> ²³⁵
	Consumer Alert	<i>Advisory Council Member</i> ²³⁶
	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Book Editor and Contributor</i> ²³⁷
	Heartland Institute	<i>Writer/contributor</i> ²³⁸
	Heritage Foundation	<i>Policy Expert</i> ²³⁹
	Tech Central Station	<i>Science Roundtable member</i> ²⁴⁰
	Weidenbaum Center	<i>Study Author</i> ²⁴¹
Fredrick Seitz	Atlantic Legal Foundation	<i>Director Emeritus</i> ²⁴²
	Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	<i>Academic and Scientific Advisory Board Member</i> ²⁴³
	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Chairman Emeritus and Member of the Board of Directors</i> ²⁴⁴
	Independent Institute	<i>Research Fellow</i> ²⁴⁵
	Science and Environmental Policy Project	<i>Chairman of the Board of Directors</i> ²⁴⁶
S. Fred Singer	American Council on Science and Health	<i>Scientific Advisor</i> ²⁴⁷
	Cato Institute	<i>Writer/contributor</i> ²⁴⁸
	Centre for the New Europe	<i>Featured Expert</i> ²⁴⁹
	Federalist Society for Law and Public Policy Studies	<i>Featured Expert</i> ²⁵⁰
	Frontiers of Freedom	<i>Adjunct Fellow</i> ²⁵¹
	Heritage Foundation	<i>Senior Fellow</i> ²⁵²
	Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace	<i>Robert Wesson Endowment Fund Fellow and Featured Author</i> ²⁵³
	Independent Institute	<i>Research Fellow</i> ²⁵⁴
	National Center for Policy Analysis	<i>Adjunct Scholar</i> ²⁵⁵ and <i>E-team Expert</i> ²⁵⁶
	Science and Environmental Policy Project	<i>President</i> ²⁵⁷
Willie Soon	Fraser Institute	<i>Featured Expert</i> ²⁵⁹
	Frontiers of Freedom	<i>Chief Scientific Researcher for the Organization's Center for Science and Public Policy</i> ²⁶⁰
	George C. Marshall Institute	<i>Senior Scientist</i> ²⁶¹
	Heartland Institute	<i>Writer/contributor</i> ²⁶²
	Tech Central Station	<i>Science Roundtable member</i> ²⁶³

Table 3 **Key Personnel Overlap between Tobacco and Climate Disinformation Campaigns**

Person	Tobacco Company Affiliation	Climate Campaign Role*
Doug Goodyear	VP, Walt Klein and Associates, PR firm for R.J. Reynolds tobacco company (RJR) Cofounder, Ramhurst, an ostensibly grassroots organization for “smokers’ rights” that received funding from RJR ²⁶⁴	CEO, DCI Group, a registered ExxonMobil lobbying firm that created Tech Central Station, an on-line journal that publishes articles by climate contrarians. Director, Tech Central Science Foundation, funding arm of Tech Central Station ²⁶⁵
Timothy N. Hyde	Senior Director of Public Issues, RJR, 1988 to 1997 ²⁶⁶	Managing Partner, DCI Group
Steven Milloy	Headed The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (TASSC), a group that the Philip Morris tobacco company covertly created in 1993 to manufacture uncertainty about the health hazards posed by secondhand smoke ²⁶⁷	Member, Global Climate Science Team (GCST), a group created in part by ExxonMobil that outlined an explicit strategy to invest millions of dollars to manufacture uncertainty on the issue of global warming ²⁶⁸ Home address listed for the slightly renamed The Advancement of Sound Science <i>Center</i> (TASSC) and the Free Enterprise Action Institute, both funded by ExxonMobil ²⁶⁹
Frederick Seitz	Employed by RJR to oversee the company’s medical research funding, 1979 to 1989 ²⁷⁰	Emeritus chair of the ExxonMobil-funded George C. Marshall Institute ²⁷¹ Wrote and circulated a letter asking scientists to sign a petition calling upon the U.S. government to reject the Kyoto Protocol ²⁷²
Tom Synhorst	Midwestern Field Coordinator, RJR ²⁷³	Chair, DCI Group

* Major climate campaign roles were identified; this is not a comprehensive list.

Appendix C

KEY INTERNAL DOCUMENTS

- 1998 “Global Climate Science Team” memo
- APCO memo to Philip Morris regarding the creation of TASC
- Dobriansky talking points
- Randy Randol’s February 6, 2001, fax to the Bush team calling for Watson’s dismissal
- Sample mark up of Draft Strategic Plan for the Climate Change Science Program by Philip Cooney
- Email from Mryon Ebell, Competitive Enterprise Institute, to Phil Cooney

1998 "Global Climate Science Team" memo

Global warming: The campaign by the American Petroleum Institute

Page 1 of 6

This is meant as a discussion item within Shell.

The material below contains a memo by the API from April 1998.

Memo

Joe Walker

To: Global Climate Science Team

Cc: Michelle Ross; Susan Moya

Subject: Draft Global Climate Science Communications plan

As promised, attached is the draft Global Climate Science Communications Plan that we developed during our workshop last Friday. Thanks especially to those of you who participated in the workshop, and in particular to John Adams for his very helpful thoughts following up our meeting, and Alan Caudill for turning around the notes from our workshop so quickly.

Please review the plan and get back to me with your comments as soon as possible.

As those of you who were at the workshop know, we have scheduled a follow-up team meeting to review the plan in person on Friday, April 17, from 1 to 3 p.m. at the API headquarters. After that, we hope to have a "plan champion" help us move it forward to potential funding sources, perhaps starting with the global climate "Coordinating Council." That will be an item for discussion on April 17.

Again, thanks for your hard work on this project. Please e-mail me, call or fax me with your comments. Thanks.

*Regards,
Joe Walker*

Global Climate Science Communications

Action Plan

Situation Analysis

In December 1997, the Clinton Administration agreed in Kyoto, Japan, to a treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to prevent what it purports to be changes in the global climate caused by the continuing release of such emissions. The so-called green house gases have many sources. For example, water vapor is a greenhouse gas. But the Clinton Administration's action, if eventually approved by the U.S. Senate, will mainly affect emissions from fossil fuel (gasoline, coal, natural gas, etc.) combustion.

As the climate change debate has evolved, those who oppose action have argued mainly that signing such a treaty will place the U.S. at a competitive disadvantage with most other nations, and will be extremely expensive to implement. Much of the cost will be borne by American consumers who will pay higher prices for most energy and transportation.

The climate change theory being advanced by the treaty supporters is based primarily on forecasting models with a very high degree of uncertainty. In fact, it's not known for sure whether (a) climate change actually is

occurring, or (b) if it is, whether humans really have any influence on it.

Despite these weaknesses in scientific understanding, those who oppose the treaty have done little to build a case against precipitous action on climate change based on the scientific uncertainty. As a result, The Clinton Administration and environmental groups essentially have had the field to themselves. They have conducted an effective public relations program to convince the American public that the climate is changing, we humans are at fault, and we must do something about it before calamity strikes.

The environmental groups know they have been successful. Commenting after the Kyoto negotiations about recent media coverage of climate change, Tom Wathen, executive vice president of the National Environmental Trust, wrote:

"...As important as the extent of the coverage was the tone and tenor of it. In a change from just six months ago, most media stories no longer presented global warming as just a theory over which reasonable scientists could differ. Most stories described predictions of global warming as the position of the overwhelming number of mainstream scientists. That the environmental community had, to a great extent, settled the scientific issue with the U.S. media is the other great success that began perhaps several months earlier but became apparent during Kyoto."

Because the science underpinning the global climate change theory has not been challenged effectively in the media or through other vehicles reaching the American public, there is widespread ignorance, which works in favor of the Kyoto treaty and against the best interests of the United States. Indeed, the public has been highly receptive to the Clinton Administrations plans. There has been little, if any, public resistance or pressure applied to Congress to reject the treaty, except by those "inside the Beltway" with vested interests.

Moreover, from the political viewpoint, it is difficult for the United States to oppose the treaty solely on economic grounds, valid as the economic issues are. It makes it too easy for others to portray the United States as putting preservation of its own lifestyle above the greater concerns of mankind. This argument, in turn, forces our negotiators to make concessions that have not been well thought through, and in the end may do far more harm than good. This is the process that unfolded at Kyoto, and is very likely to be repeated in Buenos Aires in November 1998.

The advocates of global warming have been successful on the basis of skillfully misrepresenting the science and the extent of agreement on the science, while industry and its partners ceded the science and fought on the economic issues. Yet if we can show that science does not support the Kyoto treaty - which most true climate scientists believe to be the case - this puts the United States in a stronger moral position and frees its negotiators from the need to make concessions as a defense against perceived selfish economic concerns.

Upon this tableau, the Global Climate Science Communications Team (GCSCCT) developed an action plan to inform the American public that science does not support the precipitous actions Kyoto would dictate, thereby providing a climate for the right policy decisions to be made. The team considered results from a new public opinion survey in developing the plan.

Charlton Research's survey of 1,100 "informed Americans" suggests that while Americans currently perceive climate change to be a great threat, public opinion is open enough to change on climate science. When informed that "some scientists believe there is not enough evidence to suggest that [what is called global climate change] is a long-term change due to human behavior and activities," 58 percent of those surveyed said they were more likely to oppose the Kyoto treaty. Moreover, half the respondents harbored doubts about climate science.

GCSCCT members who contributed to the development of the plan are A. John Adams, John Adams Associates; Candace Crandall, Science and Environmental Policy Project; David Rothbard, Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow; Jeffrey Salmon, The Marshall Institute; Lee Garrigan, environmental issues Council; Lynn Bouchey and Myron Ebell, Frontiers of Freedom; Peter Cleary, Americans for Tax Reform; Randy Randol, Exxon Corp.; Robert Gehri, The Southern Company; Sharon Kneiss, Chevron Corp; Steve Milloy, The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition; and Joseph Walker, American Petroleum Institute.

The action plan is detailed on the following pages.

Global Climate Science Communications

Action Plan

Project Goal

A majority of the American public, including industry leadership, recognizes that significant uncertainties exist in climate science, and therefore raises questions among those (e.g. Congress) who chart the future U.S. course on global climate change.

Progress will be measured toward the goal. A measurement of the public's perspective on climate science will be taken before the plan is launched, and the same measurement will be taken at one or more as-yet-to-be-determined intervals as the plan is implemented.

Victory Will Be Achieved When

- Average citizens "understand" (recognize) uncertainties in climate science; recognition of uncertainties becomes part of the "conventional wisdom"
- Media "understands" (recognizes) uncertainties in climate science
- Media coverage reflects balance on climate science and recognition of the validity of viewpoints that challenge the current "conventional wisdom"
- Industry senior leadership understands uncertainties in climate science, making them stronger ambassadors to those who shape climate policy
- Those promoting the Kyoto treaty on the basis of extent science appears to be out of touch with reality.

Current Reality

Unless "climate change" becomes a non-issue, meaning that the Kyoto proposal is defeated and there are no further initiatives to thwart the threat of climate change, there may be no moment when we can declare victory for our efforts. It will be necessary to establish measurements for the science effort to track progress toward achieving the goal and strategic success.

Strategies and Tactics

I. National Media Relations Program: Develop and implement a national media relations program to inform the media about uncertainties in climate science; to generate national, regional and local media coverage on the scientific uncertainties, and thereby educate and inform the public, stimulating them to raise questions with policy makers.

Tactics: These tactics will be undertaken between now and the next climate meeting in Buenos Aires/Argentina, in November 1998, and will be continued thereafter, as appropriate. Activities will be launched as soon as the plan is approved, funding obtained, and the necessary resources (e.g., public relations counsel) arranged and deployed. In all cases, tactical implementation will be fully integrated with other elements of this action plan, most especially Strategy II (National Climate Science Data Center).

Identify, recruit and train a team of five independent scientists to participate in media outreach. These will be individuals who do not have a long history of visibility and/or participation in the climate change debate. Rather, this team will consist of new faces who will add their voices to those recognized scientists who already are vocal.

- Develop a global climate science information kit for media including peer-reviewed papers that undercut the "conventional wisdom" on climate science. This kit also will include understandable communications,

including simple fact sheets that present scientific uncertainties in language that the media and public can understand.

- Conduct briefings by media-trained scientists for science writers in the top 20 media markets, using the information kits. Distribute the information kits to daily newspapers nationwide with offer of scientists to brief reporters at each paper. Develop, disseminate radio news releases featuring scientists nationwide, and offer scientists to appear on radio talk shows across the country.
- Produce, distribute a steady stream of climate science information via facsimile and e-mail to science writers around the country.
- Produce, distribute via syndicate and directly to newspapers nationwide a steady stream of op-ed columns and letters to the editor authored by scientists.
- Convince one of the major news national TV journalists (e.g., John Stossel) to produce a report examining the scientific underpinnings of the Kyoto treaty.
- Organize, promote and conduct through grassroots organizations a series of campus/community workshops/debates on climate science in 10 most important states during the period mid-August through October, 1998.
- Consider advertising the scientific uncertainties in select markets to support national, regional and local (e.g., workshops / debates), as appropriate.

National Media Program Budget -- \$600,000 plus paid advertising

II. Global Climate Science Information Source: Develop and implement a program to inject credible science and scientific accountability into the global climate debate, thereby raising questions about and undercutting the "prevailing scientific wisdom." The strategy will have the added benefit of providing a platform for credible, constructive criticism of the opposition's position on the science.

Tactics: As with the National Media Relations Program, these activities will be undertaken between now and the next climate meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in November 1998, and will continue thereafter. Initiatives will be launched as soon as the plan is approved, funding obtained, and the necessary resources arranged and deployed.

- Establish a Global Climate Science Data Center. The GCSDC will be established in Washington as a non-profit educational foundation with an advisory board of respected climate scientists. It will be staffed initially with professionals on loan from various companies and associations with a major interest in the climate issue. These executives will bring with them knowledge and experience in the following areas.
 - Overall history of climate research and the IPCC process;
 - Congressional relations and knowledge of where individual Senators stand on the climate issue;
 - Knowledge of key climate scientists and where they stand;
 - Ability to identify and recruit as many as 20 respected climate scientists to serve on the science advisory board;
 - Knowledge and expertise in media relations and with established relationships with science and energy writers, columnists and editorial writers;
 - Expertise in grassroots organization; and
 - Campaign organization and administration.

The GCSDC will be led by dynamic senior executive with a major personal commitment to the goals of the campaign and easy access to business leaders at the CEO level. The Center will be run on a day-to-day basis by an executive director with responsibility for ensuring targets are met. The Center will be funded at a level that will permit it to succeed, including funding for research contracts that may be deemed appropriate to fill gaps in climate science (e.g., a complete scientific critique of the IPCC research and its conclusions).

- The GCSDC will become a one-stop resource on climate science for members of Congress, the media, industry and all others concerned. It will be in constant contact with the best climate scientists and ensure that their findings and views receive appropriate attention. It will provide them with the logistical and moral support they have been lacking. In short, it will be a sound scientific alternative to the IPCC. Its functions will include:
 - Providing as an easily accessible database (including a website) of all mainstream climate science information.
 - Identifying and establishing cooperative relationships with all major scientists whose research in this field supports our position.
 - Establishing cooperative relationships with other mainstream scientific organizations (e.g., meteorologists, geophysicists) to bring their perspectives to bear on the debate, as appropriate.
 - Developing opportunities to maximize the impact of scientific views consistent with ours with Congress, the media and other key audiences.
 - Monitoring and serving as an early warning system for scientific developments with the potential to impact on the climate science debate, pro and con.
 - Responding to claims from the scientific alarmists and media.
 - Providing grants for advocacy on climate science, as deemed appropriate.

Global Climate Science Data Center Budget --- \$5,000,000 (Spread over two years minimum)

III. National Direct Outreach and Education: Develop and implement a direct outreach program to inform and educate members of Congress, state officials, industry leadership, and school teachers/students about uncertainties in climate science. This strategy will enable Congress, state officials and industry leaders will be able to raise such serious questions about the Kyoto treaty's scientific underpinnings that American policy-makers not only will refuse to endorse it, they will seek to prevent progress toward implementation at the Buenos Aires meeting in November or through other ways. Informing teachers/students about uncertainties in climate science will begin to erect a barrier against further efforts to impose Kyoto-like measures in the future.

Tactics: Informing and educating members of Congress, state officials and industry leaders will be undertaken as soon as the plan is approved, funding is obtained, and the necessary resources are arrayed and will continue through Buenos Aires and for the foreseeable future. The teachers/students outreach program will be developed and launched in early 1999. In all cases, tactical implementation will be fully integrated with other elements of this action plan.

- Develop and conduct through the Global Climate Science Data Center science briefings for Congress, governors, state legislators, and industry leaders by August 1998.
- Develop information kits on climate science targeted specifically at the needs of government officials and industry leaders, to be used in conjunction with and separately from the in-person briefings to further disseminate information on climate science uncertainties and thereby arm these influentials to raise

serious questions on the science issue.

- Organize under the GCSDC a "Science Education Task Group" that will serve as the point of outreach to the National Science Teachers Association (NSTA) and other influential science education organizations. Work with NSTA to develop school materials that present a credible, balanced picture of climate science for use in classrooms nationwide.
- Distribute educational materials directly to schools and through grassroots organizations of climate science partners (companies, organizations that participate in this effort).

National Direct Outreach Program Budget ---- \$300,000

IV. Funding/Fund Allocation: Develop and implement program to obtain funding, and to allocate funds to ensure that the program is carried out effectively.

Tactics: This strategy will be implemented as soon as we have the go-ahead to proceed.

- Potential funding sources were identified as American Petroleum Institute (API) and its members; Business Round Table (BRT) and its members, Edison Electric Institute (EEI) and its members; Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA) and its members; and the National Mining Association (NMA) and its members.
- Potential fund allocators were identified as the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow (CTA), Competitive Enterprise Institute, Frontiers of Freedom and The Marshall Institute.

Total Funds Required to Implement Program through November 1998 ---- \$2,000,000 (A significant portion of funding for the GCSDC will be deferred until 1999 and beyond)

Measurements

Various metrics will be used to track progress. These measurements will have to be determined in fleshing out the action plan and may include:

- Baseline public / government official opinion surveys and periodic follow-up surveys on the percentage of Americans and government officials who recognize significant uncertainties in climate science.
- Tracking the percent of media articles that raise questions about climate science.
- Number of Members of Congress exposed to our materials on climate science.
- Number of communications on climate science received by Members of Congress from their constituents.
- Number of radio talk show appearances by scientists questioning the "prevailing wisdom" on climate science.
- Number of school teachers / students reached with our information on climate science.
- Number of science writers briefed and who report upon climate science uncertainties.
- Total audience exposed to newspaper, radio, television coverage of science uncertainties.

APCO memo to Philip Morris regarding the creation of TASSC
(available at <http://tobaccodocuments.org/pm/2024233698-3702.html#images>)

APCO ASSOCIATES INC.
A GCI Group Company

September 23, 1993

Mr. Vic Han
Director of Communications
Philip Morris, USA
120 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Margery Kraus
President and
Chief Executive Officer

Dear Vic:

I am pleased to present you with an outline of APCO Associates Inc.'s (APCO) proposed activities on behalf of Philip Morris, USA for 1994. This proposal outlines (i) our work with *The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition* (TASSC); (ii) the development of a media relations strategy and (iii) APCO's role in assisting Philip Morris and its Regional Directors in targeted states.

APCO is very excited about the development and progress of TASSC. The national coalition currently has over 300 members, with representation from business and industry, the scientific and academic communities, and public officials. We are looking forward to the successful launching of TASSC this fall. We believe the groundwork we conduct to complete the launch will enable TASSC to expand and assist Philip Morris in its efforts with issues in targeted states in 1994.

(We also are in the process of preparing a separate proposal to fund the official launching of TASSC this Fall and appropriate media relations activities. This proposal will be provided under separate cover prior to our October 4 meeting with Ellen Merlo.)

We have recently conducted a survey of current TASSC members to enlist their input on issues, programs and activities. As a result of the responses to date, we believe that the following proposal most effectively capitalizes on their support and enthusiasm.

- 2 -

SCOPE OF WORK

APCO proposes three levels of assistance that it can provide to Philip Morris: (i) expanding and overseeing TASSC and its programs; (ii) developing and implementing a comprehensive media relations strategy; and (iii) assisting Philip Morris's Regional Directors in targeted states. Each of these levels are outlined below.

I. EXPANDING AND OVERSEEING TASSC AND ITS PROGRAMS.

APCO proposes services that cover six critical components to the success of TASSC: (i) expanding the membership of TASSC; (ii) broadening the funding base of TASSC; (iii) conducting an on-going and comprehensive research program; (iv) directing the activities and involvement of Garrey Carruthers and other key leaders; (v) coordinating and directing outreach to the scientific and academic communities; and (vi) overseeing and implementing the administrative responsibilities of TASSC.

(i) *Expanding the membership of TASSC.*

APCO will continue its efforts to develop the direction of TASSC and to expand the membership of the coalition. We will continue to implement a multi-tiered program involving intensive recruitment of high-profile representatives from business and industry, scientists, public officials, and other individuals interested in promoting the use of sound science. This program includes identifying key individuals and groups, researching appropriate issues of importance to them, and developing and implementing the most effective recruitment mechanism. Much of this effort will include extensive research, personal meetings and presentations, and an on-going direct mail membership effort to expand and broaden TASSC's membership.

(ii) *Broadening the funding base of TASSC.*

APCO will expand its efforts to: (i) enlist additional financial support for TASSC; and (ii) ensure a continuing broad-based source of funds for the national coalition. This effort will require ongoing solicitation of support from Fortune 500 companies and other targeted business and industry groups. The fundraising campaign will include targeting select companies and groups for solicitation, analyzing the most effective way to solicit their support, and conducting personal presentations and "sales pitches". The fundraising effort also will include working closely with Philip Morris to leverage support from its corporate contacts and allies. To ensure that TASSC has a diverse group of contributors, APCO will include a comprehensive direct mail fundraising element in this program.

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- 3 -

(iii) Conducting an ongoing and comprehensive research program.

APCO will conduct a research program which includes monitoring current issues and collecting additional examples of unsound science to ensure that TASSC has the latest information and resources on the issue of unsound science. We also will monitor and maximize leverage with third parties to build and expand the TASSC database of potential allies.

(iv) Directing the activities of Garrey Carruthers and other key leaders.

APCO will direct and manage the activities of Garrey Carruthers and other key leaders participating in TASSC. This includes developing and maintaining his schedule, prioritizing his time and energies, and briefing Carruthers and other appropriate TASSC representatives.

(v) Coordinating and directing outreach to the scientific and academic communities.

APCO will conduct an on-going program of outreach to credible scientists and academicians to enlist their support and participation with TASSC and its related issues. In this regard, APCO will identify and recruit targeted individuals by matching scientists and academicians to key TASSC issues. The scientists and academicians will be encouraged to participate in TASSC media activities.

(vi) Overseeing and implementing the administrative responsibilities of TASSC.

APCO will oversee the day-to-day administrative responsibilities of running the national coalition. This includes the maintenance of member lists and records, directing necessary correspondence on behalf of the coalition, maintaining financial records, and preparing all necessary records and reports.

II. DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING A COMPREHENSIVE MEDIA RELATIONS STRATEGY.

As a follow-up to the launching of TASSC, APCO will implement a comprehensive media relations effort which would include the development of a TASSC Public Information Bureau. The primary objective of the TASSC Public Information Bureau is to (i) maximize coverage of the coalition; (ii) disseminate key messages of the coalition; and (iii) maximize the use of TASSC and its members into Philip Morris's issues in targeted states.

*Broader
develop PR
Public info
low*

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- 4 -

Our local and regional media efforts will be supplemented with a roll-out of nationally issued press releases. TASSC's Public Information Bureau will release press announcements, news alerts and serve as the "on call" headquarters for coordinating TASSC public information activities. The Bureau's activities will include:

- * Publishing and distributing a monthly update report for all TASSC members, which will quantify media impressions made the prior month and discuss new examples of unsound science.
- * Monitoring the alternative press (i.e., "public interest groups" newsletters and activities) and informing TASSC members of any upcoming studies and relevant news.
- * Arranging media tours.
- * Issuing news releases on a regular basis to news wire services, members, allies, and targeted reporters.
- * Issuing quarterly national "mat" releases to smaller media markets to build grassroots support.
- * Acting as a clearinghouse for speaking requests of TASSC scientists or other members and maintaining a Speakers Bureau to provide speakers for allies and interested groups.
- * Drafting "boilerplate" speeches, press releases and op-eds to be utilized by TASSC field representatives.
- * Placing articles/op-eds in trade publications to serve as a member recruitment tool in targeted industries, such as the agriculture, chemical, food additive, and biotechnology fields.
- * Monitoring the field and serving as a management central command for any crises that occur.

III. ASSISTANCE TO REGIONAL DIRECTORS IN TARGETED STATES

APCO will assist the Regional Directors in states targeted by Philip Morris. This includes utilizing TASSC as a tool in targeted legislative battles, developing and/or working with other coalitions and grassroots groups, and implementing approved campaign tactics and efforts.

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- 5 -

PROPOSED FEES

The proposed fees for each level of assistance is as follows:

I. Expanding and overseeing TASSC and its programs.

Fee of \$20,000 per month, plus appropriate out-of-pocket expenses. In addition to this fee, we will bill an additional amount of \$5,000 to compensate Garrey Carruthers.

II. Developing and implementing a comprehensive media relations strategy.

Fee of \$15,000 per month, plus appropriate out-of-pocket expenses. If there are special media-related projects beyond what currently is anticipated we will provide a special budget for your approval.

III. Assistance to PM's Regional Directors in targeted states.

APCO is currently under contract for \$12,500 per month to respond to the needs of Regional Directors. We hope to work with Tina Walls to understand the number of states targeted for 1994 and the level of assistance required in these states before a final proposed fee can be established.

* * *

We have been excited about the progress of TASSC to date and are committed to the continued development and success of the national coalition. If you have any questions, or if I can provide you with additional information, please let me know.

I look forward to discussing this proposal with you.

Sincerely,


Margery Kraus

2024233702

UNCLASSIFIED

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RELEASED IN FULL

Talking Points

Climate Change is a serious problem:

- Administration seeks realistic and effective policies.

Protocol was not appropriate response:

- No signal whatsoever that developing countries would have eventually participated.
- Potentially too costly and would never have been ratified. Better to start over now rather than continue charade.

Future constructs:

- Hold to Principles - response must be global, reasoned and flexible; include market incentives and incentives for technological innovation; sustain economic growth.
- Protect U.S. interests in the international negotiations.
- Guard against trade sanctions as means to force Protocol upon the United States.

Solicit views in developing an effective and market-based response:

- POTUS rejected Kyoto, in part, based on input from you.
- POTUS believes, however, we need to show leadership on this issue to advance U.S. domestic and international policy objectives.
- Interested in hearing from you, what type of international alternatives to Kyoto would you support?

UNCLASSIFIED

Randy Randol's February 6, 2001, fax to the Bush team calling for Watson's dismissal (obtained by Natural Resources Defense Council through FOIA request)

FEB-06-2001 10:12

EXXONMOBIL WASH DC

Facsimile Cover Sheet

TO: John Howard
Office: CEQ
FAX: 202.456.2710
Telephone: 202.456.6540

FROM: Randy Randol
Company: ExxonMobil - Washington Office
FAX: 202.862.0267 (Backup: 202.862.0268)
Telephone: 202.862.0220 (Backup: 202.862.0223)
E-Mail: arthur.g.randol@exxon.com

A. G. (Randy) Randol III, Ph.D.
Senior Environmental Advisor

ExxonMobil

Exxon Mobil Corporation
2001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, District of Columbia 20006-1813
202 862 0220 Telephone
202 862 0267 Facsimile
arthur.g.randol@exxon.com

Date/Time: 6 Feb 2001, 10:00 a.m.

Pages including Cover: 18

Regarding: Bush Team for IPCC Negotiations

Attached is a brief memo outlining the issues related to the on-going IPCC negotiations on the Third Assessment Report. I have also attached other material that may be useful to you.

I will call to discuss the recommendations regarding the team that can better represent the Bush Administration interests until key appointments and re-assessments are made.

Randy

Global Climate Science-Issues for 2001

A. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)

1. The IPCC is on schedule to issue in late September 2001 its Third Assessment Report (TAR), composed of three Working Group Reports on the science, impacts and mitigation of climate change and a Synthesis Report. The IPCC is headed by Robert Watson, an American who is also the chief science person at the World Bank (Director, Environment Dept.) Watson was hand picked by Al Gore and served in the Clinton/Gore White House Office of Science and Technology policy. His tenure at the IPCC ends with the completion of the TAR. However, he could be extended at an IPCC session this year or next.

During the Hague meeting in November, Watson presented a sneak preview of the Third Assessment Report with the following caveat "None of the conclusions presented in this report are taken from the TAR, but are consistent with the draft conclusions, which are subject to change until final government approval and acceptance early next year." His statement belied his real intent, which was to get media coverage of his views before there was a chance for the process to challenge his personal agenda.

Issue: Can Watson be replaced now at the request of the U.S.?

The Working Group Reports are prepared by scientists, economists, engineers, and others, including some persons from industry and environmental organizations. Each report includes a "Summary for Policy Makers" (SPM) that is approved by IPCC governments by consensus in a line-by-line review at a Working Group session with the underlying report (approx. 1000 pages) accepted by the Group at that session.

In the case of the Working Group I report on science, the Group met in plenary in Shanghai, China on January 17-20, approved the SPM, and accepted the report. The US delegation (Moiike lead) was satisfied to raise no objections on the tone and content of the report. To avoid accountability to the Bush Administration, the meeting actually ran until 1:00 a.m. on January 21 which was exactly January 20, 12:00 noon in the U.S. The U.S. was represented by Clinton/Gore carry-overs with aggressive agendas:

1. State Department: **Jeff Moiike**, Deputy Director, Global Change Office, Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (and Deputy Chief of Mission, Lesotho)
2. White House Office of Science and Technology Policy: **Rosina Bierbaum**, Associate Director, Environment,
3. White House U.S. Global Change Research Program: **Michael MacCracken**, Executive Director, National Assessment Coordination Office,

FEB-06-2001 10:13

EX-DONORIL WASH DC

202002000 P.03/16

Global Climate Science-Issues for 2001

Bierbaum and MacCracken were both actively involved in the production of the US National Assessment that has been roundly criticized for its political and scientific bias. The National Assessment was driven by a political schedule to help the Gore campaign. Several controlled leaks were used to get maximum media attention since Congressional oversight forced a delay in the release of the report.

Issue: Have Bierbaum and MacCracken been removed from their positions of influence?

Issue: What was the U.S. position on the WG1 Report? Did it reflect the comments received?

While the SPM was written to highlight the "human fingerprint", it also states that: "Further research is required to improve the ability to detect, attribute and understand climate change, to reduce uncertainties, and to project future climate changes."

According to an AP story, Watson, in commenting on the report, which was released by the Group, but which has not yet been accepted by the full IPCC, said:

"The United States is way off meeting its targets," said Watson. "A country like China has done more, in my opinion, than a country like the United States to move forward in economic development while remaining environmentally sensitive."

China, of course, has no commitments under the Kyoto Protocol and its greenhouse gas emissions are growing and will soon exceed those of the U.S.

2. Working Group II is scheduled to meet on the "Impacts of Climate Change" in plenary in Geneva, Switzerland, from February 12-16. Reportedly, the U.S. has submitted comments on the draft report by January 8, which was the deadline. Those comments have not been made public.

Issue: Who has reviewed those comments?

Issue: What is the U.S. position on the report?

Issue: Who will represent the U.S. at this meeting?

Global Climate Science-Issues for 2001

3. Working Group III is scheduled to meet on "Mitigation of Climate Change" in plenary in Accra, Ghana, from February 28 to March 3. Government comments on that draft report/SPM are due to be submitted by January 29.

Issue: *Who has reviewed those comments?*

Issue: *What is the U.S. position on the report?*

Issue: *Who will represent the U.S.? What is U.S. position?*

4. On April 4-8, 2001, the full IPCC is scheduled to meet in plenary in Nairobi, Kenya, to accept by consensus the results of the three Working Groups.

Issue: *Will the U.S. revisit the Working Group I comments of the Clinton/Gore representatives?*

Issue: *Who will represent the U.S. and what will be the U.S. position?*

Issue: *Can this report be deferred until the US has provided updated input(30-45 days)?*

5. The last element of the TAR is the Synthesis Report (SR) that is still being drafted under Robert Watson's control. A draft of the SR, including its SPM, is to be sent out for simultaneous expert and Government review and comment with a deadline of May 29. A second draft is scheduled to be given to Governments only for their review and comment on July 6 with a deadline of August 31. The IPCC plenary will meet in London from September 24-29 to adopt/approve the Synthesis Report by consensus.

Issue: *Can this report be deferred at least 45 days?*

Thereafter the entire TAR will be released(in time for political use at COP-7).

COP-6, held in The Hague last November, ended without finishing its work on implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and with an understanding that it would meet again in 2001, but with no date established. The SBI and SBSTA are scheduled to meet in Bonn, Germany, from May 21-June 1. Some Parties want COP-6 to reconvene during that time. COP-7 is scheduled to meet October 29-November 9 in Marrakech, Morocco, together with the subsidiary bodies.

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Global Climate Science-Issues for 2001

Recommendations:

1. Restructure the U.S. attendance at upcoming IPCC meetings to assure none of the Clinton/Gore proponents are involved in any decisional activities.

a. Appoint **Dr. John Christy**, University of Alabama-Huntsville(Lead Author-Working Group I) as science lead for the balance of the IPCC process. Phone: 258.981.7783
This replaces Bierbaum and MacCracken.

b. Appoint **Dr. Richard Lindzen**, MIT,(Lead Author-Working Group I) as a co-lead to conduct an immediate review of the comments on the Working Group reports(I, II and III) and to review the US comments to be submitted(II, III). Phone: 617.253.2432

c. Detail **Dr. Joe Friday**, National Research Council-Board on Atmospheric Sciences and Climate(Coordinated the "Research Pathways for the Next Decade" report that the Clinton Admin tried to bury), to work with Christy/Lindzen. Phone: 202.334.3512

d. Detail someone from the State Dept to work under the direction of Christy/Lindzen for the "consensus negotiations". This replaces Moltke.

2. Request that the April 4-6 full IPCC meeting be deferred at least 30 days until a re-assessment of US input can be made.

3. Request that all action related to the Third Assessment Report is deferred until the IPCC process is complete (30-45 days). This must include the Watson release of the draft Synthesis Report.

4. Explore the possibility of asking Speaker Hastert to make Dr. Harlan Watson, Hse Science Committee, available to work with the team. Dr. Watson has been recommended for the Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans position.

Sample mark up of Draft Strategic Plan for the Climate Change Science Program, p. 20,
by Philip Cooney, Chief of Staff, White House Council of Environmental Quality, October 2002.
(provided by Rick Piltz, Climate Science Watch)

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1 Representation of polar climate in climate models is not as advanced as that of the lower
2 latitudes. This arises in part because of the limited data available for model development,
3 refinement, and validation, and a limited understanding of the processes at work. An
4 enhanced observation system and the use of existing and future satellite data sets should
5 improve the representation of these areas in climate models, which is necessary to accurately
6 predict future climate changes and assess the potential for these changes to be abrupt.

7
8 Warming temperatures ^{will} also affect Arctic land areas. As continuous permafrost areas
9 become discontinuous and discontinuous areas experience complete summer thawing, the
10 hydrology of northern land areas will be substantially altered. Many of the wetlands,
11 marshes, and perched lakes in the Arctic are underlain by permanent ice. The reduction
12 of this ice ~~will~~ ^{would} lead to the infiltration of the water into the soil and widespread changes in
13 vegetation patterns. The release of greenhouse gases such as CH₄ associated with
14 wetlands will expand in areas where meltwater resulting from deeper and longer thaw
15 periods does not have a natural drainage path to the ocean.

16
17 Warming ~~will~~ ^{would} also cause reductions in mountain glaciers and advance the timing of the melt
18 of mountain snow packs in polar regions. In turn, runoff rates will change and flood
19 potential ~~will~~ ^{would} be altered in ways that are currently not well understood. There will be
20 significant shifts in the seasonality of runoff that will have serious impacts on native
21 populations that rely on fishing and hunting for their livelihood. These changes will be
22 further complicated by shifts in precipitation regimes and a possible intensification and
23 increased frequency of extreme hydrologic events. Reducing the uncertainties in current
24 understanding of the relationships between climate change and Arctic hydrology is critical
25 for evaluating the potential impacts of climate change on Arctic communities and their
26 infrastructure. Further, a better understanding of these relationships may allow the
27 development of monitoring procedures that use changes in the Arctic as a signal of the
28 progress of global climate warming.

29
30 **RESEARCH NEEDS**

- 31 • Determination of basin-wide Arctic sea ice thickness, particularly in the marginal seas for
- 32 a period sufficient to determine if observed historic changes are present across the basin.
- 33 • Modeling of observed sea ice changes to determine the relative role of transport versus
- 34 net loss.
- 35 • Establishing the mass balance and ice dynamic regime of the Thwaites/Pine Island
- 36 drainage system of the West Antarctic Ice Sheet and assessing its stability through
- 37 observationally-constrained models.
- 38 • Assessment of the mass balance of the Greenland ice sheet, its variability, and its
- 39 potential contributions to near-term sea level rise.
- 40 • Measurement of permafrost temperatures and thaw patterns in sufficient detail for five
- 41 years to establish regional thaw patterns.

42
43 **PRODUCTS AND PAYOFFS**

- 44 • Reduced uncertainty in estimates of the future state of the Arctic Ocean, its impact on
- 45 global climate, and its navigability for strategic and commercial purposes.

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Draft Date: October 21, 2002 20

Email from Myron Ebell, Competitive Enterprise Institute, to Phil Cooney
(obtained by ExxonSecrets.org through FOIA request)



Myron Ebell <mebell@cei.org>
06/03/2002 05:08:05 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Phil Cooney/CEQ/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Phil, thanks for calling and

Dear Phil,

Thanks for calling and asking for our help. I know you're in crisis mode, but from our end it is a most welcome change from the Administration's SOP, which is to tell conservatives to stop bothering them and to shut up. So it's nice to know we're needed once in a while. I want to help you cool things down, but after consulting with the team, I think that what we can do is limited until there is an official statement from the Administration repudiating the report to the UNFCCC and disavowing large parts of it.

As I said, we made the decision this morning to do as much as we could to deflect criticism by blaming EPA for freelancing. It seems to me that the folks at EPA are the obvious fall guys, and we would only hope that the fall guy (or gal) should be as high up as possible. I have done several interviews and have stressed that the president needs to get everyone rowing in the same direction. Perhaps tomorrow we will call for Whitman to be fired. I know that that doesn't sound like much help, but it seems to me that our only leverage to push you in the right direction is to drive a wedge between the President and those in the Administration who think that they are serving the president's best interests by pushing this rubbish.

The references to the National Assessment in the report are most hurtful to us because we dropped our lawsuit last September 6th after receiving a written assurance that the National Assessment did not represent "policy positions or official statements of the U. S. government." The previous communication from the U. S. government to the UNFCCC was a detailed criticism of the IPCC's Third Assessment Report that reflected that agreement and also implied a disavowal of the National Assessment. So the new transmittal to the UNCCC looks to us much like it looks to the New York Times.

So I'm willing and ready to help, but it won't be possible to do much without some sort of backtracking from the Administration. Unless that occurs, then you have handed an awful lot of ammunition to Jim Jeffords, and the only way we will be able to fight him and all his allies in the Congress is to get much more strident and noisy. Even if the Administration does move quickly to get back on the right side of the issue, it may be too late to save our side in the Senate from being squashed. If it were only this one little disaster we could all lock arms and weather the assault, but this Administration has managed, whether through incompetence or intention, to create one disaster after another and then to expect its allies to clean up the mess. I don't know whether we have the resources to clean up this one.

Best,
Myron.

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National Headquarters
Two Brattle Square
Cambridge, MA 02238-9105
Phone: (617) 547-5552
Fax: (617) 864-9405

West Coast Office
2397 Shattuck Ave., Ste. 203
Berkeley, CA 94704-1567
Phone: (510) 843-1872
Fax: (510) 843-3785

Washington, DC Office
1707 H St. NW, Ste. 600
Washington, DC 20006-3962
Phone: (202) 223-6133
Fax: (202) 223-6162



**Union of
Concerned
Scientists**

Website www.ucsusa.org

Email ucs@ucsusa.org