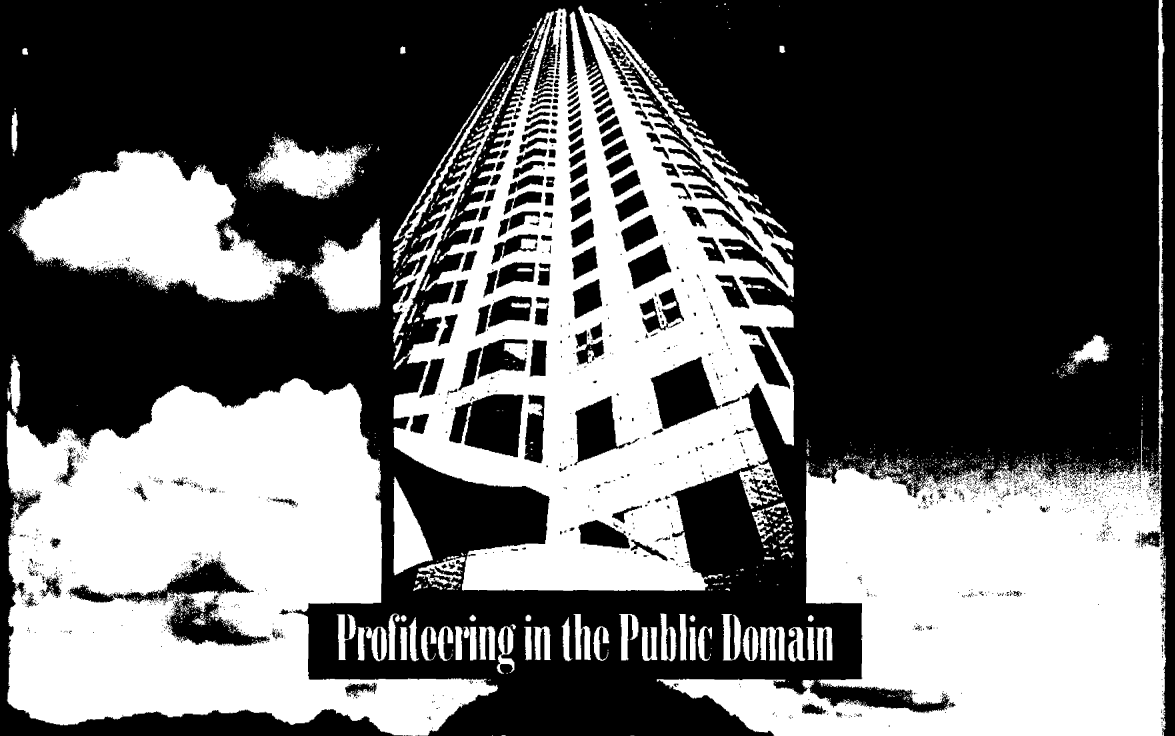


# THE PIRACY OF AMERICA



Profiteering in the Public Domain

Foreword by

THOMAS BERRY

Edited by

JUDITH SCHERFF

Includes

The United Nations' World Charter for Nature



# HOW INDUSTRY COMBATS EFFORTS TO PROTECT OUR CLIMATE

*John Passacantando*

---

*In a recent study, 2,500 of the world's preeminent atmospheric scientists examined current data and concluded that global warming has begun. (IPCC, 1995a). Some of this evidence is now familiar to many Americans: concentrations of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), the primary greenhouse gas, have risen nearly 30% in the last 100 years. The average global temperature has risen 1 degree Fahrenheit over the same period. The ten warmest years in the past 100 have occurred since 1980. Glacial ice is retreating on five continents due to rising temperatures. Other evidence includes "increased evidence of drought, above-normal temperatures, winter-time precipitation and heavy rainstorms in many areas of the United States" since 1980. (Stevens). The midwest heat wave during the summer of 1995, which killed 669 people (Star-Ledger Wire Services) came during one of the hottest summers on record.*

*While an average temperature change of only a few degrees Fahrenheit may not seem like much, consider by comparison that in the depths of the last ice age, when mile-high sheets of ice reached as far south as the Great Lakes, the Earth was only 5 to 9 degrees Fahrenheit cooler than it is today. (Stevens).*

*While precisely when and where the effects of global warming will occur is uncertain, each of us will face the impacts in one way or another. Some of the impacts are:*

*Changes in climate due to global warming are expected to have a major impact on human health. More extreme temperatures and precipitation and greater frequency and severity of storms, floods, and droughts will likely lead to increase deaths, illnesses and injuries. Increasing illness and death are predicted from diseases such as malaria, cholera, and dengue fever, whose range will spread as mosquitoes and other disease vectors migrate.*

*Rising sea levels resulting from warming oceans and melting glaciers, causing massive flooding in coastal areas, where over half of the U.S. population lives and which provide significant revenues and jobs.*

*Greater extremes in temperatures and precipitation, which will create greater variability in agricultural production. More moderate temperatures or increased precipitation may lead to a marginal gain in agricultural productivity in some regions. But increased heat stress, decreased soil moisture, greater frequency and severity of drought and floods, and the proliferation of harmful insects and disease will likely devastate agricultural yields in many others. These swings will disrupt markets for food and other agricultural commodities with potentially devastating consequences.*

---



*Warming waters and changing water flows, which will place numerous fish species at risk, affecting both commercial and recreational fishermen, the availability of food on the market, and the ecosystems in which the fish play an important role.*

*Scientists predict that global warming will have a significant effect on the function and composition of forests in many regions. Temperature extremes, changes in precipitation patterns, the increased intensity and frequency of wildlife and storms, pests and diseases, and even increases in air pollution will affect both forest survival and growth rates (Peters and Lovejoy, 1992, p. 245.)*

*Some analysts have estimated that global warming could cost as little as \$59 billion or as much as \$438 billion annually. However, the methodology used to determine these figures does not take into account several costly results including the effects on public health.*

Patricia Glick

"The High Costs of Inaction"

Sierra Club website [www.toowarm.org/resources/inaction.htm](http://www.toowarm.org/resources/inaction.htm)

One proud chapter of American history is the recurring theme of spirited innovation, of overcoming long odds to achieve victory. Examples include throwing the awesomely powerful British army off the continent in the 1770s with a rag tag group of patriots to the rapid rebuilding of our naval fleet, after near total loss at Pearl Harbor, to save the world from Axis aggression. In these, among many other examples, great threats are overcome by an educated and empowered citizenry. However, as the ying must be accompanied by the yang, there is a competing chapter, driven by the narrow special interests of a handful of corporations, their public relations machines, lobbyists and lawyers. One such example is the stunningly effective effort by auto, oil and coal companies to thwart U.S. leadership in addressing the threat of global climate change.

For context, consider the overwhelming consensus that has emerged regarding the threat of global warming. The above excerpt by Patricia Glick sheds succinct light on the problem. Thousands of scientists, including hundreds of Nobel Laureates, and members of the National Academy of Sciences, have lent their names to statements urging the U.S. to lead the world in averting climate change. In the peer-reviewed science journals, new research emerges weekly showing ever-stronger evidence of human-induced climate change and the wide range of negative impacts to our environment and the health of our children.

As a species, we are creating a global problem by our excessive burning of fossil fuels that experts tell us will throw a wrench into the stable climate upon which our civilization must rest for centuries, if not millennia. Impacts include the spread of infectious diseases, a rising sea level, disrupted agriculture and increasingly severe weather. More immediate are the direct, but externalized, costs from the burning of fossil fuels.

Expressed in terms of present day dollars, these direct costs of burning fossil fuels may comprise 2 to 5% of our Gross Domestic Product.<sup>1</sup>



According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention:

The number of Americans who suffer from asthma has risen 75 percent since 1980, to more than 15 million, in part due to pollution and other environmental factors.<sup>2</sup>

Worse still, an estimated 15,000 premature deaths occur each year due to particulate soot pollution.<sup>3</sup> Consider also the unnaturally fast rise of the oceans, projected to rise one to three feet during the next 100 years from global warming. Sea level rise accelerates the pace of beach erosion, which threatens the lifeblood of entire coastal communities. New York, California, Massachusetts, Texas, Florida, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia and every other coastal state already spend millions of dollars, supplemented with taxpayer dollars, pumping sand back on shore, just to give us a day at the beach.<sup>4</sup>

To see just how weak the U.S. response has been to the threat of climate change, we must look deeper than the swell sounding speeches given by President Clinton, Vice President Gore and their cabinet officials. The rubber meets the road at the esoteric international meetings that are part of the Framework Convention on Climate Change, meetings which reached a crescendo in Kyoto, Japan in December 1997 with an international agreement on climate change. The agreement, called the Kyoto Protocol, was considered a victory by some, simply because the collective forces of the fossil fuel industry had conspired to insure there would be no agreement. Scientists have told us that fossil fuel emissions must be reduced 50 to 80 percent immediately, simply to keep the greenhouse effect from further disrupting our climate. The Kyoto Protocol's baby step was to secure support from the industrialized countries to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 5.2 percent (below 1990 levels) by 2012. Add to this the powerful list of loopholes and it is questionable if the Kyoto Protocol will do much at all to avert climate change. The question then becomes why was the U.S. so weak in these negotiations?

We have had a few windows into the efforts by the fossil fuel industry to confuse the public on climate change. Several of these were highlighted in a series of reports and investigations by the environmental organization Ozone Action. The report series was entitled, *Ties That Bind*, and it was an attempt to unmask some of the more egregious attempts by the fossil fuel industry to distort the public debate on climate change. The first report documented the funding sources of two prominent climate change skeptics (Patrick Michaels and Robert Balling) which included U.S. coal, British coal, German coal and the Government of Kuwait. These scientists are well known around the world for showing up at the most important climate meetings, using their credentials and university affiliations (University of Virginia for Michaels and Arizona State University for Balling) to undermine the peer reviewed research showing that climate change is a real threat. According to testimony offered before the Minnesota Public



Utilities Commission on March 15, 1995, Dr. Michaels has received funding from Western Fuels Association (a consortium of coal interests), German and American coal interests and Cyprus Minerals Company. It is difficult to ascertain the amount of money Dr. Michaels has received to publish *World Climate Review* now called *World Climate Report*, one of his primary venues to attack measures designed to avert global warming.

Nonetheless, Dr. Michaels' own web page tells us the following about *World Climate Report*. *World Climate Report* is:

a research review edited by Dr. Patrick J. Michaels. *World Climate Report* provides policy makers, journalists, and the interested public with an ongoing and accurate portrayal of the science of global climate change which will function as an antidote to the vision of apocalypse promoted by the professional environmental community and by the United Nations. Funding for this publication is provided by Western Fuels Association, Inc. with additional funding by associated companies.<sup>5</sup>

This description is corroborated by Western Fuels 1995 *Annual Report*:

Our publication and distribution of *World Climate Review* has clearly had an impact on the climate change debate. After 11 quarterly editions, we are discontinuing the magazine and replacing it with *World Climate Report*. This bi-monthly newsletter will provide a rapid response to the spurious reports that try to create virtual climate reality, a phony picture of increasing weather catastrophes caused by carbon dioxide emissions."<sup>6</sup>

In addition to support from the Western Fuels Association and other coal and energy interests to fund *World Climate Review* and *World Climate Report*, Dr. Michaels received a \$63,000 grant from Western Fuels for research on global climate change. From the German Coal Mining Association, Dr. Michaels has received \$49,000 and from Edison Electric Institute he has received \$15,000. Dr. Michaels has received \$40,000 from Cyprus Minerals Company.

According to Ross Gelbspan's *The Heat is On*, Dr. Michaels has received more than \$115,000 from coal and oil interests over the past four years.<sup>7</sup> Ozone Action has confirmed that Dr. Michaels has received \$167,000 from undisclosed industry sources. This total does not include \$50,000 he received from an anonymous donor or funding for either of the publications discussed above.

According to testimony offered before the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission on March 15, 1995, Dr. Robert Balling has received significant levels of funding since 1989 from the Kuwait government, foreign coal/mining corporations and Cyprus Minerals Company.

The Kuwait government has actively participated in negotiations under the Framework Convention on Climate Change. Due to the large oil reserves in that country, the Kuwait delegation along with other Middle Eastern delegates, have opposed findings made by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and the effects climate change may have on living systems.



In his spoken testimony, Dr. Balling was cross-examined about funding he has received from the Kuwait government. The following is an excerpt:

Q: And the last one on this page is from the Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences, can you suggest why Kuwait, or rather the Kuwait Foundation might have any interest in global warming?

A: No, I can't. I know a Kuwaiti who did a Ph.D. with our group and the Kuwaiti said that he is well connected in Kuwait to funding sources. You have to understand, I'm the director of a research laboratory and there's never ending pressure to find research money. And when you discover that the Kuwaiti government has a research pool that is being allocated to scientists in my field, you would be crazy not to run out and make some attempt to put a proposal in to obtain funding from that source.<sup>8</sup> [Transcript page 111]

Dr. Balling was further questioned as to his links to the Kuwait government:

Q: With respect to your book, *The Heated Debate*, isn't it true, Dr. Balling that the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy was in fact founded to oppose environmental regulations?

A: I know nothing of their history. I'm aware that they have been a conservative public policy group. But I did not investigate who these people were that asked me to prepare a book for them.

Q: And they're also publishing a Middle Eastern version of your book, is that correct?

A: It has been published.

Q: It has been published. Is it published by this organization?

A: Yes

Q: Is it funded by the Kuwaiti government?

A: The Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement in Science gave Dr. Nasrallah a grant and money from that grant went toward the publication of this book.<sup>9</sup>

The Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Science is a "government establishment," according to *Moneyclips*, August 21, 1994, "Private University Gets Initial OK; 'Practical Steps Taken to Implement Project'" and the *Arab Times*.

Aside from funding received by the Kuwait government to reprint *The Heated Debate*, Dr. Balling also has received grants from the Kuwait



Foundation for the Advancement of Science (\$48,993) and the Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research (amount undisclosed).

Dr. Balling has received three grants from the British Coal Corporation for a total of \$103,544 and two grants from the German Coal Mining Association for a total of \$81,780. In addition, Dr. Balling has received five grants from Cyprus Minerals Company (totaling \$72,554) and one grant from Cyprus Minerals Chief Executive Officer (\$4,904). Cumulatively, Cyprus Minerals funding to Dr. Balling totals \$77,458.

According to *The Heat is On*, Dr. Balling has received nearly \$300,000 from coal and oil interests over the past six years.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Balling was confronted with Gelbspan's allegations by a reporter from *The Arizona Republic*; the following is an excerpt of that article:

One of the nation's leading skeptics is Robert Balling, director of the Office of Climatology at Arizona State University. He's treated none too gently in an article in the December issue of *Harper's* magazine. The essay, written by Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Ross Gelbspan, makes the case that global warming poses a far greater threat than most people realize. The problem, he says, isn't that the media are conspiring to downplay the threat but that we are being misused by people like Balling, whom he disparages as a kind of rent-a-scientist in the pocket of the energy companies.

News reports on the subject, Gelbspan writes, usually "come qualified with the observation that the question of global warming can never be conclusively resolved. The confusion is intentional, expensively gift-wrapped by energy industries." He wrote that oil and coal associations spend millions to spread contrary opinions, calling on Balling and a few others who are "interchangeable ornaments on the hood of a high-powered engine of disinformation."

Gelbspan says Balling "has received more than \$200,000 from coal and oil interests." Balling, author of a 1992 book, *The Heated Debate: Greenhouse Predictions Versus Climate Reality*, says that number is way off. "Actually, I've received more like \$700,000 over the past five years," he corrected.<sup>11</sup>

At present, Ozone Action is only able to confirm that Dr. Balling has received \$311,775 from coal and oil interests.

Another window into the workings of the fossil fuel industry came in 1991, when the strategy document for the Information Council for the Environment (ICE) was leaked out of a public relations firm. The documents stated that the goal of ICE was to "reposition global warming as theory (not fact)."

The ICE President, Gale Klappa of The Southern Company (an electric utility) and ICE Vice President, Frederick Palmer, Western Fuels Association worked with the Edison Electric Company to target key Congressional districts with information about climate change.

ICE also created a Science Advisory Panel which included Dr. Robert Balling, Dr. Patrick Michaels and Dr. Sherwood Idso. According to documents obtained by Ozone Action, several ICE strategies were laid



out including: the repositioning of global warming as theory, not fact; achieving broad participation across the entire electric utility industry, and using a spokesman from the scientific community. Media strategies included:

- targeting "older, less-educated males from larger households who are not typically active information seekers" and "younger, lower-income women;"
- using "technical source" (i.e. scientists) because they receive a higher credibility rating from the public;
- and proposed advertisements such as: "The most serious problem with catastrophic global warming is— it may not be true," "If the earth is getting warmer, why is Minneapolis getting colder?" "Who told you the earth was warming... Chicken Little?" and "Some say the earth is warming. Some also said the earth was flat."<sup>12</sup>

Sporting a budget of \$500,000, ICE worked with Simmons Advertising, Inc. in Grand Forks, ND to place a sixty second spot on the Rush Limbaugh Show. The text is as follows:

Global warming. I know you've been seeing more and more stories about the global warming theory. Stories that paint a horrible picture. Stories that say the polar ice caps will melt. Stories that [illegible] for catastrophe. Well get real! Stop panicking! I'm here to tell you that the facts simply don't jibe with the theory that catastrophic global warming is taking place.

Try this fact on for size. Minneapolis has actually gotten colder. So has Albany, New York. And the Department of Agriculture says that on both coasts of this country, winter temperatures are five to ten degrees cooler than previously reported. So folks, grab hold of yourselves and get the whole story before you make up your mind. Right now, you can get a free packet of easy-to-understand material about global warming. Just call this number: 1-800-346-6269 Extension 505. That's the Information Council for the Environment. After you read the free materials they send you, you'll have a better picture of what the facts are all about. That's 1-800-346-6269 Extension 505. Call Today. Because the best environmental policy is based on fact.<sup>13</sup>

The ICE public relations campaign targeted several congressional districts including Champaign, IL (Terry Bruce, House Energy and Commerce Committee) and Fargo, ND (Byron Dorgan, House Ways & Means Committee).

Another *Ties That Bind* report looked into the financing by the fossil fuel industry of a high profile economic model examining the costs of reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. This is a logical next step for the fossil fuel industry to take as it gets increasingly difficult to convince the public that climate change is not a problem. "Industry supports a reduction in greenhouse emissions but — in view of the uncertain science — wants to see better economic justification for energy curbs and wants to see those burdens shared worldwide, says John Schlaes, director of the Global Climate Coalition."<sup>14</sup>



In light of the significant media coverage recently given to the costs involved in reducing global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, Ozone Action's *Ties That Bind* reports a closer look at one of the models, frequently cited in the popular press, that is reflected in present U.S. climate models. Charles River Associates (CRA) is a Boston based consulting firm, commissioned by the American Petroleum Institute (a trade association comprised of oil companies including Ashland Oil, BP Oil, Chevron, Exxon, Phillips Petroleum and Shell) to develop a computer model to look at the economic costs of climate change. Dr. W. David Montgomery, an economist with CRA, developed the International Impact Assessment Model (IIAM) in collaboration with Paul M. Bernstein, also of CRA and Prof. Tom Rutherford, of the University of Colorado. The model was designed to determine the ways that climate change policies will affect various countries. We will not attempt a detailed rebuttal of this model. That will require another format. We will, however, point out the inherent weaknesses of relying too much on such a model.

Any good economist will tell you that economic models never tell us anything new, they just provide an analytical framework for articulating certain beliefs, assumptions and projections. So when the American Petroleum Institute finances David Montgomery to develop his model, one must look at the underlying assumptions. Only by making certain assumptions about the economy can Montgomery have come to the following conclusions:

Different studies of the economic cost of returning emissions in the year 2000 to 1990 levels concluded that those costs could range from 0.2% to 4.0% of GDP in 2010. This huge range, a factor of 20, underscores the economic risks of committing to a legally-binding target without having thought through what it will take to fulfill that commitment.<sup>15</sup>

...it is always less costly to allow emissions to rise for a while, then to make sufficiently larger reductions in later years to achieve the climate objective, than it is to begin with emission limits...<sup>16</sup>

The costs of legally-binding emissions targets in the near- to mid-term are likely to be large.<sup>17</sup>

Montgomery's conclusions rest on many assumptions, including the following:

- ecological or economic costs of inaction or delay are not represented;
- the discount rate [it's always cheaper to hang on to your money, invest it, and spend money on the emissions reductions years later];
- technologies to make use of carbon-free energy sources at a reasonable cost are not stimulated by well-structured policies. Rather, they appear many years later simply as a function of time. In other words, policies to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions don't create new markets or incentives and the resulting lower costs.<sup>18</sup>

Montgomery has had considerable exposure with his climate model and yet is rarely identified with the American Petroleum Institute, his



financial backer. Ozone Action found numerous citations for Montgomery and his model without any reference to the American Petroleum Institute.

The way Montgomery has set up his model is appropriate for the fossil fuel industry. The longer policymakers wait before CO<sub>2</sub> emissions are undertaken, the better it is for fossil fuel companies. Shareholders in these companies are well-served by Montgomery. Downplaying the enormous potential benefits of averting the worst climate change impacts and ignoring the importance of the rate at which climate change takes place are major flaws. It is not "cheaper" to wait to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions until several small island states have gone under from rising sea-level. It is not "cheaper" to wait until the spread of infectious diseases from climate change is at a fever pitch, so to speak. It is not "cheaper" to wait as property damage along our coasts escalates even further and it is not "cheaper" to have a declining freshwater supply.

Additionally, it is understandable that the fossil fuel industry would not want to incorporate into the model the benefits to society of supercharging the alternative energy industry. Or to make more generous assumptions about the benefits of running an economy in a more energy efficient manner. Ironically, Montgomery's assumption that cost-effective alternative energy sources appear magically in the future goes against recent history.

David Montgomery has considerable international influence as well. For example, at the December 11, 1996 Geneva round of negotiations he spoke about the economic impacts of climate change mitigation. In the advertisement for this briefing, he is not identified with the American Petroleum Institute, but rather, is identified as vice president of Charles River Associates and "a lead author in the IPCC Working Group III Assessment." This briefing was sponsored by the U.S. Council for International Business and chaired by Clement B. Malin who is the head of the International Chamber of Commerce which represents Shell International, Dow Europe, Texaco, Elf Atochem, Korea Electric Power Corporation, and DuPont among others. In this briefing, Montgomery stated that "What happens to the rates of emissions is irrelevant." Ironically, the IPCC couldn't be more clear on this point.

Decisions taken during the next few years may limit the range of possible policy options in the future because high near-term emissions would require deeper reductions in the future to meet any given target concentration. Delaying action might reduce the overall costs of mitigation because of potential technological advances but could increase both the rate and the eventual magnitude of climate change, hence the adaptation and damage costs.<sup>19</sup>

Montgomery and his fossil fuel backers have also contributed to policy gridlock, which has become more obvious at the international negotiations. While on the one hand, Montgomery uses his model to convince the U.S. to do nothing unless significant commitments are secured from the developing



nations, he also uses his model to convince developing countries that any CO<sub>2</sub> reductions will hinder their economic development. This produces an impasse from which the only policy that can emerge is inaction.

Examples abound of industries about to be regulated, crying that the American economy will be dealt a deathblow. In numerous cases, new regulations, when implemented, result in new industrial innovations and significant environmental benefits. Preregulatory cost estimates always seem to exceed actual costs. When it was first learned that CFCs could damage the stratospheric ozone layer and a ban on the chemicals was considered, DuPont and other CFC producers, along with most aerosol-makers, fought any change claiming that the theory was unproven, more research needed to be done and that the jobs of hundreds of thousands of people would be at risk.

DuPont, the world's leading CFC maker— argued that 'there is no concrete evidence to show that the ozone-depleting reaction with chlorine takes place' and that government regulation would trigger 'tremendous dislocation' in the CFC industry, which he estimated contributed \$8 billion to the U.S. economy and employed 200,000 people.<sup>20</sup>

However,

Despite predictions to the contrary, the 1978 CFC ban has produced significant economic benefits, and net cost savings to the U.S. economy. One mid-1980s study concluded that the switch to hydrocarbon propellants — which in 1986 cost one-third less than CFCs — saved American businesses and consumers more than \$1.25 billion (in current dollars) from 1974 to 1983.<sup>21</sup>

What we have learned from history is that our actions and policies help create our future and strong environmental guidelines lead to the creation of previously unseen markets and technologies. If one sets real environmental goals, well structured policies will stimulate innovations and quickly bring down the cost of compliance. Despite the inappropriateness of models funded by the fossil fuel industry, their spokespeople continue to make the rounds at the international negotiations. A similar model by the WEFA Group, also with funding from the American Petroleum Institute, was being paraded around the journalists in Ohio as recently as September 1998.

Into the category of dirty tricks by the fossil fuel industry, is a short lived campaign run in early 1998 by a brand new organization called the Committee to Preserve American Security and Sovereignty (COMPASS). The campaign consisted of a letter that was signed by senior members of the defense establishment which was then turned into an ad with the headline: "Foreign Policy Experts Say Kyoto Is Bad For America". The letter goes on to say that the "Treaty on Global Warming signed in Kyoto, Japan threatens American security and sovereignty even if the treaty is never officially signed by the President or ratified by the Senate."



The ads, paid for by COMPASS, list the same address as the offices of Kelley Swofford Roy Helmke, Inc. This firm also represented Colombia's President Ernesto Samper, who is referred to by Assistant Secretary of State Robert Gelbard as a "clearly corrupt president" whose campaign received millions of dollars from drug interests. The phone number of Kelly Swofford, is answered as "Office of Mark Helmke." The secretary acknowledges that it is the office of COMPASS, but when asked if it is also the office of Kelly Swofford, she said no. When I pursued the question further and asked if they shared office space with Kelly Swofford, she said "I don't know how to answer that." A brass sign on the wall of the building at 1002 King St. clearly says "Kelly Swofford Roy Helmke, Inc." Many of the signatories have direct ties to fossil fuel interests including Texaco, Amoco, The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, General Motors, Halliburton Company and Phillips Petroleum.

Industry funded misinformation campaigns reached a fever pitch just prior to the important international climate meeting in Japan in December 1997. The auto and oil companies in the U.S. were determined to keep any climate treaty from emerging in Japan. One single campaign spent \$13 million to convince the American public that U.S. emissions reductions without developing country participation will lead to our competitive and economic downfall. Exxon Chairman Lee Raymond became the poster child of hypocrisy, starting his day arguing against any climate treaty that lacked developing country participation at home, and finishing with a trip to China to threaten the Chinese not to sign on if they wanted foreign investment. [For the record, the fossil fuel industry's position stands in sharp contrast with the majority of Americans, 74% of whom said they support the global warming treaty according to a December 17, 1997 Harris poll.]

The most recent smoking gun showing the fossil fuel industry's desire to distort the public debate was revealed in a memo leaked out of the American Petroleum Institute that showed up in *The New York Times* on April 26, 1998, entitled, "Industrial Group Plans to Battle Climate Treaty: Aims to Recruit Skeptics: Draft Proposal Seeks to Depict Global Warming as a Case of Bad Science." The draft plan, worked up by industry representatives including participants from Exxon, Chevron and the Southern Company, "calls for spending \$5 million over two years to 'maximize' the impact of scientific views consistent with ours on Congress, the media and other key audiences."

The proposed campaign would "recruit a cadre of scientists who share the industry's views of climate science and to train them in public relations so they can help convince journalists, politicians and the public that the risk of global warming is too uncertain to justify controls on greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide that traps the sun's heat near Earth." It's the same old tricks to deny reality, similar to years of campaigns by the tobacco industry to convince us that smoking wouldn't cause cancer.<sup>22</sup>

Despite these ongoing heavy handed efforts, a treaty was struck in Kyoto, Japan in December 1997, the first step towards global reductions of



greenhouse gas emissions. The negotiations are still on going, as details to the climate agreement are worked out. Still, it is a very weak agreement, no doubt due, in large part, to the efforts of the fossil fuel industry. Weak, as Abraham Lincoln once said, "as the soup made from the shadow of a crow that had died of starvation." Weak, in that if all nations comply with the commitments made, we will still have severe, human-induced climate change. And weaker still, considering that the relentless misinformation campaigns against this agreement continue.

Nevertheless, the Kyoto Protocol sent a signal. European carmakers recently proposed voluntarily increasing their emissions standards by 25%. GM's Chairman and CEO John F. Smith overnight became a vocal promoter of Detroit's forthcoming high-mileage vehicles. U.S. automakers are starting to see that the future belongs to the Japanese and the Europeans unless they can recover lost time — time spent lobbying and advertising against change — time they couldn't recover in the 1970s after fuel prices shot up and they only had gas guzzlers to offer the American public. In fact, Smith's chief general counsel, Thomas Gottschalk, said publicly at GM's annual meeting in Wilmington, Delaware that "They are actively looking at whether they should continue membership in the Global Climate Coalition."<sup>23</sup>

Industry is starting to turn. No longer can one assume large companies are against leadership to avert climate change. British Petroleum has come out for efforts to avert climate change, the Royal Dutch/Shell Group has held some dues back from the American Petroleum Institute because of the proposed misinformation campaign and Sun Oil Company recently joined a new business coalition that supports efforts to combat climate change; coalition members include Toyota, American Electric Power, Enron, BP, Boeing, Whirlpool, Maytag, 3M, Lockheed-Martin and United Technologies.

But two problems remain. First, as long as some of the major fossil fuel and auto companies that are not on the above list continue to fund efforts to hold the world back, critical time will be lost in combating this global threat. Weather will be more severe, infectious diseases will spread further and coastal communities will watch the seas climb further up their vanishing beaches. Ultimately, however, we will all use far less energy from fossil fuels in our daily lives. We will do it and we will live better for it. This leads to the second problem. If our auto and oil companies remain the last holdouts in this global conversion to a more efficient future, we Americans will be buying our cars from foreign companies that looked to the future and we'll get our renewable energy from technologies that Exxon and Texaco were too entrenched to capitalize on.

### **RECOMMENDED READING:**

Gelbspan, Ross (1997) *The Heat is On: The High Stakes Battle Over Earth's Threatened Climate*. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing.



# DON'T BE FOOLED!

Only after the last tree has been cut down,  
only after the last river has been poisoned,  
only after the last fish has been caught,  
only then will you realize that money cannot be eaten.  
--The Cree People

Big Business is terrified of the environmental movement, which remains the single most popular left-wing movement in the US. The dirty secret of Big Business is that it is principally responsible for pollution and environmental degradation around the world. The majority of Americans *want* a safer, cleaner environment.

They know that, and have taken extensive countermeasures to protect themselves from the people at large, including pouring money into bogus environmental groups designed to further industry causes while *appearing* to be environmentally conscious. They also launch massive PR campaigns to paint themselves green.

These anti-environmental initiatives are, in essence, efforts to *thwart* democracy.

It's important to note that the only **green** behind these efforts is money, not concern for the environment. These groups are very well-financed, backed, as they are, by corporations and other capitalist interests. What they lack in public support, they make up for in resources and powerful connections.

Going over the list, you can see the copious use of buzzwords by the anti-environmental movement, as they strive to create the *appearance* of a broad mandate and public support. However, these groups are funded and controlled by economic and political **elites**, with a vested (financial) interest in thwarting and reversing environmental reforms.

The following is excerpted from *The Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations*, put out by the excellent Odonian Press, Box 32375, Tucson, AZ 85751, and is part of their Real Story series

## TACTICS

- **Greenwashing:** When a company adopts marketing strategies whereby the company *appears* to be adopting a more environmentally-conscious stance, when really it's simply doing its usual routine.

Examples:

1. **Mobil Chemical** added a small amount of starch to the plastic in Hefty trash bags and called them "biodegradable" (however, the bags would not degrade if buried in landfills, but only if left out in the sun; moreover, the bags didn't degrade, but rather broke up into smaller plastic pieces -- not the same thing!) A Mobil Chemical pitch man said, "degradability is just a marketing tool. We're talking out of both sides of our mouth because we want to sell our bags."
  2. **Coors Brewing** sponsors a greenwashing campaign called Pure Water 2000 that funds "grassroots organizations [engaged in] river cleanups, water habitat improvements, water quality monitoring, wetland protection, and pollution prevention." In 1992, however, Coors pleaded guilty to charges that it had dumped carcinogenic chemicals into a local waterway for 18 years!
- **Astroturf organizing:** These are industry-funded organizations meant to function like environment grassroots groups, except that they are heavily financed by industry and seek to manipulate public opinion by distorting facts. They seek to put environmentalists in an unfavorable light by launching personal attacks against them, charging that activists are "anti-family," "anti-American," and pitting jobs and the economy *against* environmental reform. They are termed "astroturf" because they are designed to *look* like they are genuine grassroots movements.
  - **Physical violence:** Activists are routinely harassed by the FBI, which considers any progressive movements "terrorist" in nature, justifying surveillance, break-ins, arrests, and worse. Activists find themselves the victims of assaults, sabotage, death threats, and worse.

Examples:

1. 1990: Earth First! activists Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney were nearly killed by a car bomb -- incredibly, the authorities arrested *them* and accused them of transporting a bomb, which was later thrown out for lack



of evidence. The actual perpetrators were never apprehended.

2. 1992: Activist Stephanie McGuire of Florida was assaulted by three men for opposing a Procter & Gamble pulp mill's practice of dumping toxins into the Fenholloway River (this mill still does this, btw). They beat her, burned her with a lit cigar, and cut her with a straight razor, while saying "now you have something to sue us over." No one was arrested in this crime.
  3. The Center for Investigative Reporting noted 104 violent attacks on environmentalists from January 1989 to January 1993, averaging one every two weeks.
- **Government involvement:** Through official government channels, whether Congress or the courts or the Executive Branch, government has been shown to regularly side with Big Business where environmental issues are concerned. The conservative 104th Congress recently showed this in its efforts to weaken endangered species laws, open up wetlands and parklands for economic exploitation, and lessening clean air, food, and water legislation. They also cut the funding for the EPA to the bone, all of which pleased industry greatly!

## SIX TYPES OF ANTI-ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

Most industries will rely on a combination of the following to undermine and roll back environmental reforms, lavishly spending money on campaigns to secure *their* financial gain at *our* expense!

- **Public relations firms**
- **Corporate front groups**
- **Think tanks**
- **Legal foundations**
- **Endowments and charities**
- **Wise Use and Share groups**

Of these, the misnamed "Wise Use" and "Share" groups need the most explanation. This anti-environmental movement is mostly a western phenomenon where timber, mining, ranching, chemical, and recreation companies banded together to fight the environmental movement. Ron Arnold, the movement's founder, is a self-described reformed environmentalist, one who has "seen the light". As he puts it:

"We want to be able to exploit the environment for private gain, absolutely."

Makes you wonder what kind of environmentalist he must have been, with an attitude like that!

"Wise Use" and "Share" (Canadian version of "Wise Use") act basically as stormtroopers for industry, because, according to Arnold, the "Wise Use" movement can "do things the industry can't. It can stress the sanctity of the family, the virtue of the close-knit community. And it can turn the public against your enemies."

Wiseguys are recruited from the ranks of workers at company meetings (typically compulsory meetings, by the way), and through door-to-door canvassers claiming environmentalists are responsible for unemployment.

Here you see a classic tactic of **capitalists**, turning the working class against itself when they should be fighting their common enemies, the capitalists themselves! News flash, folks -- capitalists cause unemployment, environmentalists don't!

What the wiseguys want was hammered out in their 1988 conference in Reno, Nevada, where they created a 25 point platform cementing their goal to destroy the environmental movement. Below are eight of their "lofty" goals:

- "immediate development of the petroleum resources of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska"
- opening "all public lands, including wilderness areas and national parks" to mineral and energy exploitation and to recreational vehicles
- exempting from the Endangered Species Act any species whose protection would interfere with resource exploitation (buzzword for "capitalist profit", I'd say)
- opening 70 million acres of wilderness that is currently protected by the **Wilderness Act** to commercial exploitation



- logging 3.4 million acres of the Tongass National Forest in Alaska
- making environmentalists pay industry back if they lose cases in court, as well as to pay for lost industry profits (this is the classic "big guy" versus "little guy" tactic, where the industry hopes to scare off potential suits because they know that while they have the money to fight a successful court battle, environmentalists don't -- it's not unlike a wealthy incumbent's campaign war chest scaring off would-be challengers)
- giving anti-environmental groups the right to sue environmentalists on behalf of the industry (this is a real gem, where industry uses these goons as dupes to do their dirty work, while the industry keeps its nose clean -- ever the capitalist way!)
- implementing free-trade agreements (e.g., NAFTA and GATT) that will grant US industry access to natural resources (e.g., raw materials) globally

Looking at these, one wonders where the "Wise Use" comes in! Far from being populists, these wise guys are snugly in the vest pockets of their capitalist employers. They are what you'd call "ruling class heroes," I suppose, making the world safe for wealth, power, and privilege -- and they even get paid for their effort!

## ANTI-ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS

- The Abundant Wildlife Society of North America
- Accuracy in Media
- Alaska "Support Industry" Alliance
- Alliance for America
- Alliance for Environment and Resources
- American Freedom Coalition
- Blue Ribbon Coalition
- B.C. Forest Alliance
- Business Council for Sustainable Development
- California Desert Coalition
- The Cato Institute
- Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise
- Citizens Coalition for Sustainable Development
- Citizens for the Environment
- Citizens for Total Energy
- Coalition for Vehicle Choice
- Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow
- Consumer Alert
- Defenders of Property Rights
- Environmental Conservation Organization
- The Evergreen Foundation
- Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment
- The Global Climate Coalition
- The Heritage Foundation
- Information Council for the Environment
- The Institute for Justice
- Keep America Beautiful
- Mothers' Watch
- Mountain States Legal Foundation
- Multiple Use Land Alliance
- National Federal Lands Conference
- National Inholders Association
- National Legal Center for the Public Interest
- National Wetlands Coalition
- Northern Community Advocates for Resource Equity
- Oregon Lands Coalition
- Oregonians for Food and Shelter
- Pacific Legal Foundation
- People for the West!
- Political Economy Research Center
- The President's Council on Competitiveness
- Public Lands Council
- Putting People First



- The Reason Foundation
- Sahara Club USA
- Science and Environmental Policy Report
- Scientists and Engineers for Secure Energy (SE2)
- The Sea Lion Defense Fund
- Share B.C.
- Society for Environmental Truth
- US Council for Energy Awareness
- Wilderness Impact Research Foundation
- Yellow Ribbon Coalition

Capitalism can no more be 'persuaded' to limit growth than a human being can be 'persuaded' to stop breathing. Attempts to 'green' capitalism, to make it 'ecological', are doomed by the very nature of the system as a system of endless growth. --Murray Bookchin

As you go through these groups, it's important to note a few things:

Doublespeak is rampant as the industry seeks to mislead, confuse, and otherwise befuddle citizens into accepting anti-environmental stances without realizing the full implications of their decisions. It's reflected in the names these organizations -- take the Sea Lion Defense Fund, for example, which is responsible for depleting the sea lion's principal food supply, pollock, for industry gain.

**These are not popular organizations, meaning enjoying broad social support -- rather, they are extremely well-funded, tightly organized groups representing the interests of a *very wealthy elite* in our society.** The only trump card they have in our society is their enormous wealth, which they put to effective use in the creation of these front groups. It's easy to become a defender of wealth, property, and privilege -- it's a prestigious, well-paying line of work with many famous names and faces behind it. **All you have to sacrifice is your good sense, honor, and integrity, and you're well on your way to becoming a catspaw for Capital.**

**And that's the most important thing to remember: industry has a vested interest, a financial interest, in forwarding a viewpoint that will bring their investors the highest profit, so you must take their claims with a heaping spoonful of salt, or risk being completely hoodwinked.** *This is why they hide behind benevolent-sounding names and words while pushing hurtful agendas -- they seek to push themselves away from the reality that they're simply out to make money.* That's what industry groups are all about -- working to ensure that their masters make more money, which, for these anti-environmental groups, means at the expense of our health and that of the environment.

**That's the key difference between these propaganda organs and nonprofit organizations -- these people are paid to defend their employers, whether the timber, automobile, mining, or nuclear industries, or others.** They aren't doing what they're doing out of a concern for social justice -- they are doing what they do because they are paid to do it.

*So, look to the source of the information.* Corporations work overtime to distance themselves from many of the groups they finance, to create the illusion of objectivity on the part of these front groups -- so you don't know you're being scammed by them. The best propaganda is that which isn't recognized as propaganda!

The other thing that's important to note is that the right wing love to invoke the image of the lobbyist in loafers walking the corridors of power, peddling influence and subverting "democracy." **What these pawns for Capital don't want you to do is look too closely at *who* these lobbyists represent -- that's because Big Business keeps the lobbying industry alive and well. Lobbyists don't simply come out of the woodwork, folks -- they are employed to represent their clients' financial interests.** As the saying goes, it takes money to make money. Lobbying requires significant money -- how many of *you* have a lobbyist representing you in DC? Look at how many of these anti-environmental groups have DC addresses, and think about that the next time some right-wing clown waxes rhetorical about lobbyists in the capital!

Return to the [www-personal.usyd.edu.au/~sfraser/cat/a4a/fakes.html](http://www-personal.usyd.edu.au/~sfraser/cat/a4a/fakes.html) for Anybody Homepage.



Date: 23 Nov 98 16:44:48 -0500  
From: Kymberly Escobar <kescobar@ozone.org>  
Subject: Eskew and Goddard  
To: Chris Ball <cball@ozone.org>, Kert Davies <kdavies@ozone.org>,  
Art Farrance <farrance@ozone.org>,  
Brandon MacGillis <brandon@ozone.org>,  
John Passacantando <cantando@ozone.org>  
CC: Mike Casey <mcasey@envirotrust.com>, David King <dking@envirotrust.com>  
X-Mailer: QuickMail Pro 1.5.3 (Windows32)  
Reply-To: Kymberly Escobar <kescobar@ozone.org>  
X-MIME-Autoconverted: from quoted-printable to 8bit by essential.essential.org id  
QAA26720

For the Bastards file

from Fortune, December 7, 1998

Headline: The Influence Merchants; Lobbyists are a permanent establishment in Washington, and FORTUNE's Power 25 ranking is its undisputed "A" list. New to this year's survey: the best of the hired guns.

... Carter Eskew of Bozell/Eskew Advertising of Washington, D.C., and Ben Goddard of Goddard Claussen/First Tuesday of Malibu, Calif., are the go-to guys in issue-advocacy advertising, the fastest-growing segment of the influence industry. Eskew, 44, and Goddard, 55, are former Democratic campaign consultants (Eskew for Al Gore, Goddard for Gary Hart) and are social liberals. But some of their clients are the sort that make good Democrats twitch. For example, the commercials that Eskew created for the tobacco companies this year helped kill anti-cigarette legislation; in the past he has worked for business groups to battle a bill favored by the trial lawyers, a basic Democratic constituency. Goddard, meanwhile, is the father of the Health Insurance Association of America's famous "Harry and Louise" ads that deep-sixed the Clinton health plan in 1994. Last year he cut ads for a business coalition opposed to the treaty to end global warming.



Date: Tue, 02 Jun 1998 18:59:36 -0700  
Subject: [Fwd: Solar and climate news]  
Date: Sun, 31 May 1998 13:36:03 -0700

Hello, climate scientists:

May 31, 1998

Dr. Theo Landscheidt (Schroeter Institute for Research in Cycles of Solar Activity, Canada) had placed two interesting contributions in ESEF Vol.II about solar cyclic climate impacts and forecasts (even of Niños) from solar cycles that depend on swings around the moving mass center of our planet system. Based on his presentation in Nov 1997 at the climate symposium in Bonn, Theo now completed an extensive webfile containing 24 jpg-figures and 120 references, titled

**SOLAR ACTIVITY: A DOMINANT FACTOR IN CLIMATE DYNAMICS**

at <http://www.vision.net.au/~daly/guests.htm> or  
<http://www.microtech.com.au:80/daly/solar/solar.htm> and fig1..24.jpg

You may know, the basics of solar climate affects are in the paper of H. Svensmark & E. Friis-Christensen "Variation of cosmic ray flux and global cloud coverage -- a missing link in solar-climate relationships" which appeared in 1997 in the Journal of Terrestrial and Solar-Terrestrial Physics, Vol. 59, pp. 1225-1232.

In April was a breakthrough in the British press for the Svensmark & Friis-Christensen discovery about cosmic rays and cloud cover – exactly one year after publication of Nigel Calder's book "The Manic Sun" (Germany: "Die launische Sonne", Denmark: "Den Maniske Sol", Netherlands: "De Grillige Zon"). The Economist magazine (issue of April 11-17 1998, p. 97) had a full-page article headed "Global Warming: In Flux". The Observer newspaper (issue of April 12 1998, pp. 1, 9 and 24) had a front-page piece headed "Man 'not to blame' for global warming", half a page inside "Solar wind blows away theories", and an editorial comment, "So much hot air".

Now a CERN team headed by Jasper Kirkby is planning to conduct an experiment: Together with Frank Close, Kirkby wants to build a large cloud detector that will simulate the effects of cosmic rays on the atmosphere and measure their ability to initiate cloud cover.

This may prove the correlation discovered by Svensmark and Friis-Christensen, suggesting that solar activity modifies the flux of cosmic rays which affects cloud coverage. When I consider Forbusch events after proton flares (see e.g. Genrikichsky in ESEF Vol.I), Svensmark's findings seem plausible. Harry van Loon recently mentioned

I cannot deny that Svensmark and Friis may be right---but it is also possible that they are looking at two quantities, the rays and the clouds, which are both correlated causally with the sun and thus with each other



Apart from solar wind there may be another simple amplifying effect. I think, increasing sun radiation dissolves clouds and mist (early morning observation), specially when the air is just vapour-saturated. It takes some time till the oceans warm up and the air moisture increases.

Btw, H.H.Ramm found a somewhat IPCC-critical solar related NOAA filem that may be interesting for you at

<http://www.ngdc.noaa.gov/stp/SOLAR/solarda3.html>

Acc. to Fred Singer's weekly report for April 27-May 2 at <http://www.sepp.org> the anti-Kyoto Oregon 'Petition Project' now got signed by some 17,000 scientists (about 2/3 with advanced academic degrees). The petition urges the US government to reject the treaty that will force drastic cuts in energy use on the United States - they are said to be already 13% over the 1990 level and would be obliged to cut another 7%. By the year 2010 that would represent a cut of about 40 percent. At <http://zwr.oism.org/pproject> you can find the petition, the list of signers and an extensive paper with 24 figures, titled "Environmental Effects of Increased Atmospheric Carbon Dioxide" by ARTHUR B. ROBINSON, SALLIE L. BALIUNAS, WILLIE SOON, and ZACHARY W. ROBINSON

And here are some other websites worth to be read:

THE ROAD TO KYOTO: HOW THE GLOBAL CLIMATE TREATY  
FOSTERS ECONOMIC IMPOVERISHMENT AND ENDANGERS U.S. SECURITY

<http://www.heritage.org/heritage/library/categories/enviro/bg1143.html> Statistical CO2 Analysis

<http://www.microtech.com.au:80/daly/ahlbeck.htm> "The IPCC Carbon Dioxide Predictions are Erroneous"

<http://www.microtech.com.au:80/daly/ipcc-co2.htm> "Global Warming: Fact, Hypothesis, or Myth?"

<http://www.erols.com/dhoyt1/index.html> "The end of global warming"

<http://www.microtech.com.au/daly/bull95.htm> "What's Wrong with the Surface Record?"

<http://www.vision.net.au/~daly/surftemp.htm> "Errors and Bias in the Surface Temperature"

<http://www.microtech.com.au:80/daly/bull112.htm> "A Discernible Human Influence ..." (The real origin of that IPCC claim)

<http://www.vision.net.au/~daly/sonde.htm>

"A Lukewarm Greenhouse" <http://www.vision.net.au/~daly/miniwarm.htm>

"Global Warming Is a Myth" <http://www.junkscience.com/news/robinson.htm>

"Ironies grown in Kyoto" <http://www.sepp.org/glwarm/ironies.html>

Singer's book "Hot Talk.." <http://www.sepp.org/books/hotcold.html>

Moreover I want to mention a few interesting articles:

- National Geographic, May 1998: An extensive report about climate
- SCIENCE, Oct 31, 1997: "El Niño Slows Greenhouse Gas Buildup?"



- NATURE, May 21, 1998: "The carbon equation" by David S. Schimel
- NATURE, May 21, 1998: "Simulated response of the ocean carbon cycle.." by Jorge Sarmiento, Tertia Hughes, Ronald Stouffer and Syukuru Manabe
- SCIENCE, April 10, 1998. "Advocacy Mailing Draws Fire" by David Malakoff (about the anti-Kyoto petition, see above)
- NATURE, April 30, 1998: "Oil industry lobby plans rival to UN climate science panel" (news in brief) Reporting that public relation officials of Exxon, Chevron and the American Petroleum Institute are suggesting to spend \$5 million recruiting 20 scientists to set up a Global Climate Science Data Center as a 'sound scientific alternative' to the IPCC and to attack the theory of man-made climate change. This came out after BP and Shell left the Global Climate Coalition
- NATURE, May 14, 1998: "UN agency chief seeks advice from environment groups" (about Klaus Töpfer, head of UNEP)- 21st CENTURY, Nov 1997: "The Coming Ice Age"

I am not sure whether you know Jonathan Baert Wiener ([wiener@faculty.law.duke.edu](mailto:wiener@faculty.law.duke.edu)) who was involved in drafting and implementing the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change. He outlines the intended (somewhat unrealistic) planet-saving climate policy and 'emission trading' after Kyoto/Buenos Aires in

- "Designing Global Climate Policy: Efficient Markets versus Political Markets":  
<http://csab.wustl.edu/papers/environment/ps143.htm>
- "Global Trade in Greenhouse Gas Control":  
[http://www.rff.org/resources\\_articles/files/ghgcontrol.htm](http://www.rff.org/resources_articles/files/ghgcontrol.htm)

With Emission Trading I see several practical problems: I suppose it will be done nationwide (between Annex I only). So no financial transfer goes to developing countries - as they are not restricted, they have no rights to sell (and can only profit from JI projects).

J.B. Wiener has not mentioned the problem of how the emission rights will be distributed onto individual counties, industries, companies (or even owners of buildings?), who may have to pay their share and what will happen if not the necessary amount of rights can be purchased or the government refuses to buy.

I dare not imagine the (legal) trouble arising when some officials (may be during a strong winter with excess energy demand) have to decide which airlines, power or heating plants, highways and universities have to be closed. Soon people will discuss about the unjustified approach to grant emissions acc. to the level the nations have already obtained and the fact that the IPCC Climate Council, a sort of world government, has never been elected by people. They who decide about billions of \$ will be pestered with tremendous pressure, attempts of bribery etc.

What surely turns out later: The IPCC Climate Council will issue in total too few emission rights so that no papers can be bought. Will controllers run around and sanction



the government or fine whom? Will the individual emissions have to be measured or will the total emission be calculated? How will the carbon sinks (e.g. lakes/rivers, forests) be coped for? What about paper and timber treatment?

What will be done if a country oversells rights and cannot rebuy or refuses to pay or cannot get hold of those people who have to pay (everybody will say NOT ME!) and still runs its industry and traffic and army??? Or should governments better always fine-tune the demand by (very high) variable energy taxes? The disadvantage would be that even people who save energy and are matching their limits, are fined. And this consumptive tax will be without income tax progression, so the poor people will suffer most. And industries like steel, cement, glass, aluminium will go bankrupt (or abroad) whereas the bureaucracy will waste that excess money and ruin the country.

What will be with the energy taxation included in all the goods that we export into developing countries? How could the total 'energy content' be calculated and refunded? Otherwise these countries have to pay our energy taxes. And will our emission rights be upgraded by this exported amount? How will import/export among Annex I be treated? What happens with electricity interchange? The receiving country may say it is most from nuclear, the sending country may insist it is most from fossil. What is with imported or reimported goods? If their energy content is not taxed, they will be too cheap, so own goods lose market competitiveness.

Wiener has hardly mentioned any of these important points in the two web files. But we don't have to worry, actually the fossil reserves are limiting the CO<sub>2</sub> to double concentration - however we waste or save. The future CO<sub>2</sub> concentration and the warming sensitivity are likely to be considerably less than assumed by IPCC. So indeed NO MEASURES AT ALL ARE NECESSARY to avoid a 'dangerous' climate change - and we can save all that trouble and go on being productive.

Sincerely,  
Peter Dietze

Phone&Fax +49/9133-5371

Email [091335371@t-online.de](mailto:091335371@t-online.de)

"Little Warming with new Global Carbon Cycle Model"

<http://www.microtech.com.au:80/daly/carbon.htm>



# Religious Right, Frustrated, Trying New Tactic on G.O.P.

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

WASHINGTON — Early in March, Paul Weyrich, the godfather of social conservatives, summoned about 25 prominent leaders from the religious and political right for a secret meeting in his office here overlooking the rail yards behind Union Station.

They fumed that they had been used and abused, like some cheap date. In one election after another, they said, conservative foot soldiers had dutifully worked the phone banks, walked the precincts and turned out masses of voters for Republican candidates who had promised action on issues like abortion, pornography and homosexuality. And the Republicans, they complained, had consistently failed to deliver.

In private meetings like Mr. Weyrich's, at conferences and on radio call-in shows, the talk among conservative Christian organizers these days is of frustration and betrayal. They say they have run out of patience as they watch their social agenda pushed to the back burner year after year, or bargained away in legislative deals.

"There is virtually nothing to show for an 18-year commitment," laments Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, who once served in the Reagan White House.

"What I hear these days," said Tom Jipping, a co-host of the program "Capitol Watch," which appears on the conservative network America's Voice, "is a huge dissatisfaction with the assumption made 20 years ago that the Republican Party was the best vehicle for achieving public policy goals."

Such talk might sound surprising, given the Republicans' promotion of conservative Christian priorities like

ending late-term abortion, instituting a \$500-a-child tax credit and stemming the tide of Internet smut.

But many of them believe the Republicans they have helped to elect have been too timid and too passive at every crucial juncture. Far from having too much power in the Republican Party, as many moderate Republicans assert, leaders of the religious right assert they have much too little.

The "good soldier" strategy, of compromising with moderates in the party and settling for incremental gains, was a failure, in the view of many religious conservatives, and

*Continued on Page A12*

Copyright © 1998 The New York Times

MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1998

# The New York Times





Gary Bauer, the president of the Family Research Council, in his office in Washington. "I call this the semi-Oval Office," he said recently.



# Christian Leaders Adopt Tougher Tactic on G.C

Continued From Page A1

they are calling for a new militancy.

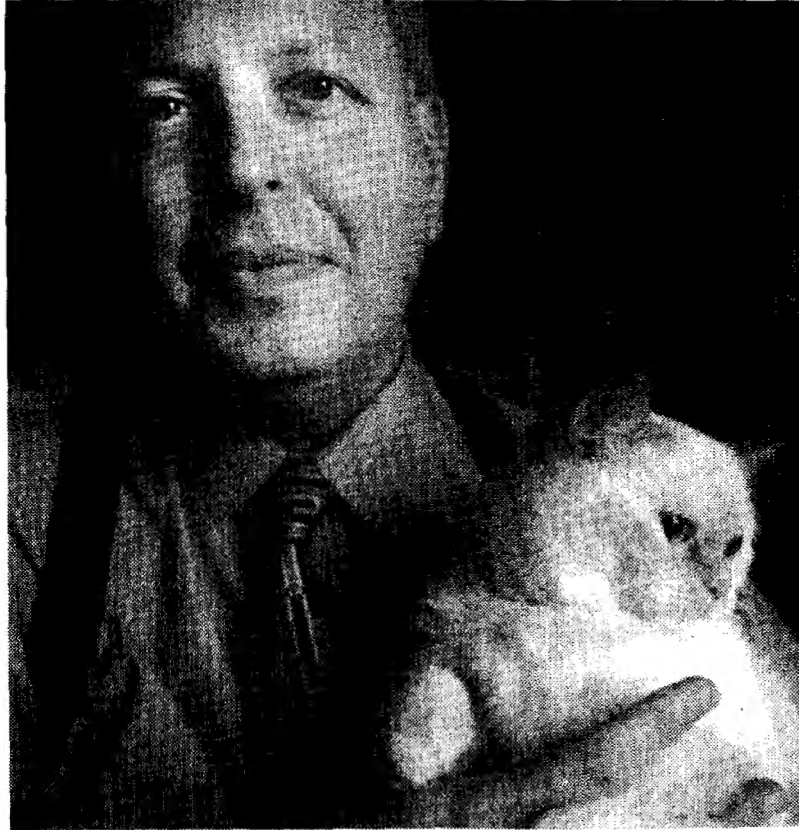
Some Christian conservatives like James Dobson, whose daily Focus on the Family radio show draws 5 million listeners, have threatened to bolt the Republican Party. But his colleagues acknowledge that abandoning the party is unlikely, and that much of the recent saber-rattling is intended to test the party's mettle. If the meeting in Mr. Weyrich's office is any indication, the movement's leaders are more likely to try to consolidate their forces and push the Republican Party to put issues like abortion, sexual morality and family values in the forefront of every campaign and legislative session.

"The go-along, get-along strategy is dead," said Richard Land, president of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. "No more engagement. We want a wedding ring, we want a ceremony, we want a consummation of the marriage."

Republican Party leaders appeared to be taking steps to quell the discontent. Last week, a Republican Party leader said, Speaker Newt Gingrich met with Pat Robertson, the Christian Coalition founder, and with, Ralph Reed, the former coalition president, and agreed to press three initiatives important to Christian conservatives: the religious freedom amendment, which Christian conservatives hope would reintroduce prayer in the schools; tax deferrals for tuition at religious and private schools; and elimination of financial support for the National Endowment for the Arts.

In the meeting, the party leader said, Mr. Gingrich made a commitment to involve party leaders in promoting these issues heavily, and to bring all three pieces of legislation to votes in the House before the November elections.

In a separate gathering last week, Mr. Dobson met with Representative Dick Armey of Texas, the majority leader, and other principal House Republicans, who also promised to put Christian conservative concerns at the top of their list. After that meeting, Mr. Dobson quickly canceled interviews he had arranged with reporters and editors at the Washington Bureau of The New York Times and the editorial board of The Washington Post, saying that he had been persuaded to hold his fire.



Paul Weyrich in his office in Washington, where he held a secret meeting with leaders from the political and religious right.

Back at the meeting in Mr. Weyrich's office, on March 2, the participants agreed that the time had come for a muscular strategy. Some favored forming a political party, but that was shot down as impractical and self-defeating, said two people who attended the meeting. Some urged Mr. Dobson to run for the Republican Presidential nomination, to which Mr. Dobson is said to have replied, "I'm not the savior, I'm John the Baptist" — the prophet who points the way.

They resolved to lay aside their past rivalries and form what they called an "independent political force" that would speak with one voice, line up behind one Presidential candidate and collaborate on finding state and local candidates to champion their agenda.

Mr. Weyrich was named the chairman. Lawyers are researching how to incorporate the group, and the participants planned to keep it all quiet until they could refine the proposal at the next meeting.

Mutual desperation is not the only reason for the collaboration. Another factor is that Mr. Reed, the pragmatist who pioneered the strategy of compromise and incremental progress, is no longer at the helm of the Christian Coalition. Mr. Reed and Mr. Bauer had been frequent rivals, clashing on matters of style and strategy, their colleagues say.

Mr. Bauer is more of a purist and less prone to compromise. Mr. Bauer consults regularly with Mr. Dobson, and their organizations operated together for several years.

Now, with Mr. Reed off pursuing his career as a political consultant, the opportunity arises for a meeting of both minds and methods. The new president of the Christian Coalition,



Donald P. Hodel, once worked for Mr. Dobson. Mr. Bauer made a point in a recent interview that he had spent a half hour on the telephone that morning talking congenially with Mr. Hodel.

"We really are working more closely together than I ever was willing to work with the previous leadership," Mr. Bauer said.

The impact of these personal ties has already been demonstrated in two recent House and Senate races in California and in Illinois. In both states, the Christian Coalition and Mr. Bauer's new political action committee, the Campaign for Working Families, invested heavily in the races of two upstart Republican candidates who beat more moderate Republicans backed by local party officials in the primaries.

In both states, Mr. Bauer's PAC

## For some, 'the go-along, get-along strategy is dead.'

paid for television advertisements (spending \$200,000 in California alone), while the Christian Coalition blanketed churches with voters guides. In both states, their candidates won the primaries, although one lost in the general election.

The Republican Party is built on an uneasy alliance of social conservatives, a constituency that includes the religious right, and economic conservatives, committed to a smaller-government, lower-tax agenda.

"The two constituencies are married to each other," said one Republican Party official who labors at keeping the peace between factions, and did not want to be named. "If one could survive without the other, you'd have seen a break long before now. If one component spins off, the party is marginalized."

But it is not an easy marriage. The social conservative forces suffered through disillusionment over how much was left undone by the Reagan Administration.

Conservative Christians sensed a second chance four years ago, when they played a major role in electing a Republican Congress. But Republican leaders, with the acquiescence of conservative Christian strategists led by Mr. Reed, pushed their economic and political agenda before tackling the social issues. Their "revolution" lost much of its energy in that first year, their majority narrowed in the 1996 elections and much of the social agenda was left unfinished.

Moreover, the Republican prima-

ry for President split open the fault lines underlying the movement. The purists backed Patrick J. Buchanan or Alan Keyes. The pragmatists backed former Senator Bob Dole, the party standard-bearer. Mr. Dole won the endorsement of Mr. Robertson, chairman of the Christian Coalition.

The disenchantment with the Republican Party deepened as Mr. Dole, in an effort to play to the center, remained mute on nearly every issue dear to Christian conservative voters. "Bob Dole did everything he could to insult" them, Mr. Dobson said in a recent speech in Arizona.

Earlier this month, at the headquarters of the Christian Coalition in Chesapeake, Va., the staff members who sit at computers answering letters said they were still getting mail from supporters angry that Mr. Robertson and the Christian Coalition squandered the election on Mr. Dole and were allied too closely with the Republican Party.

From its offices in an industrial park, the coalition is regrouping after a series of setbacks. The group lost much of its visibility when its ubiquitous leader, Mr. Reed, left last year. And the Federal Election Commission is investigating possible illegal in-kind contributions from the coalition to the Republican Party.

Donations to the coalition dropped to \$17 million last year from a high of \$26.2 million in 1996 (though a spokesman, Arne Owens, said that so far this year, contributions were rebounding). The group laid off about one-fifth of its staff, folded its magazine and discontinued two fledgling programs: the Catholic Alliance and the Samaritan Project, an outreach to black churches.

Replacing Mr. Reed are Randy Tate, the executive director, a boyish former Republican Congressman from Washington State, and Mr. Hodel, the president, who served as a Cabinet secretary in the Reagan Administration for seven years. The two said they would seek to avoid a repeat of 1996 when it appeared, because of Mr. Robertson's endorsement, that the coalition had thrown its weight behind a moderate Republican Presidential candidate.

"Both Randy and I have a great reluctance to repeat what was done in 1996," Mr. Hodel said in an interview in his office.

The highest priority right now, said several major leaders, is to identify, groom and promote the next generation of conservative politicians for local races.

"It's time," said Mr. Land of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, "for candidates who will not only work with us, but for candidates who are us." He added that they particularly needed to find women to run and to speak out against abortion.

But the Presidential race in 2000 is

nevertheless a major focus of energy and resources for the conservatives. Mr. Dobson says he is considering taking a leave from Focus on the Family, a nonprofit organization that cannot legally endorse candidates, so that he can campaign for candidates in local races and endorse a candidate for President.

Mr. Bauer is encouraging the speculation that he will run for President. "I call this the semi-Oval Office," Mr. Bauer said in a recent interview at his Family Research Council headquarters.

The council occupies a new six-story, marble-floored headquarters in Washington paid for by two Michigan families, including Helen and Rich DeVos. The late Mr. DeVos was a co-founder of the Amway Corporation. The building houses a radio studio and television taping room, a fitness center, 85 employees and 13 interns learning how to lobby.

Mr. Bauer says that his PAC, only 13 months old, has raised \$2.7 million, making it the 12th largest in the nation. He says he is considering whether to take a leave at the end of this year to form an exploratory committee for a Presidential run.

"We want to put these issues of what's happening with American values at the center of the campaign," Mr. Bauer said. "And if nobody's willing to do it, I'm interested. If I see someone else I think is serious, I would say, there he is, leave me alone."

Yet there is no shortage of bigger names who have signaled their interest in courting social conservatives, among them Senator John Ashcroft of Missouri, Rep. John R. Kasich of Ohio, former Vice President Dan Quayle, and Steve Forbes, the millionaire publisher who ran for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1996.

All of which prompts a question from some Republicans. "If you look at the potential field in 2000," said the Republican official, "everybody could be left scratching their heads saying, 'What more do you want?' There are two or three or maybe four credible candidates embracing their issues. What more could a movement want?"



# Confusion Watch Goes to Geneva

## Dogging the Dealers of Disinformation at International Forum

By Kelly Sims, Ozone Action

The appearance in Geneva at the Second Conference of Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change of well-worn science skeptic Patrick Michaels demonstrated the Global Climate Coalition's (GCC) desperation about the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. The IPCC provides regular updates on the state of science on global warming, the latest of which concluded that there is a "discernible human influence on the global climate." Heading into the negotiations, the fossil fuel industry spurred a brilliant debate about Chapter 8 of the IPCC in the US press. Chapter 8 deals with the fact that — surprise — burning fossil fuels causes the greenhouse effect. So, while industry and the GCC can't dispute the fact that we are already seeing the impacts of global warming in sea level rise, temperature change, glacial retreat, increase in disease and flooding, they just refuse to accept the fact that their industry is responsible for this planet-altering phenomenon.

However, once in Geneva, the fossil fuel industry was stymied. Their virulent attacks on the Chapter 8 scientists in the US popular press held no weight at the international level. Dr. Bert Bolin, Chairman of the IPCC, gave a serious and measured assessment report to the Plenary, and the Chairs of the three working groups were on hand to answer questions.

Using the same conference room as the Global Climate Coalition, Michaels handed out "fact" sheets to delegates and held press conferences throughout the negotiations. One of them "New Data Cast Doubt on Human Fingerprint" purported to present relevant scientific data, but in fact

was absolutely irrelevant to the issue. Michaels has disputed that the hundreds of thousands of dollars he receives in funding from the fossil fuel industry results in scientific bias. Nor does he believe that this money buys him and his ideas a larger audience. His so-called peer-reviewed "research reviews" are aimed at influencing policy makers and the general public,

Scientifically, Michaels' credibility barely passes muster. His work on pattern detection of climate change is seriously flawed, according to the IPCC consensus. Michaels believes that there is no signal for human induced climate change in the observed data. IPCC scientists (2,500 of them), however, conclude "There are a number of serious problems with this [Michaels'] analysis," and presented a detailed discussion of the matter in Working Group I of the Second Assessment Report.

In a recent statement, Dr. Tom Wigley (a lead author for Chapter 8) states, "Michaels' arguments are irrelevant, and merely expose his ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation" of the science. Wigley added, "Michaels' misguided attempt to shoot down a single swallow will not make the summer go away."

Michaels' real motivation is shown by his statement to the Coal Producer's Conference in Australia last May. He said, "Any attempt to force emissions reductions will impose

further stringencies on economic machines that are already well-oiled. There is clearly advantage to some, decadally stagnant economies [referring to European countries] if they can by force of the UN or other international law reduce the productivity of the competition" [referring to the USA and Australia]. It appears there has been plenty of oil going around.

Kelly Sims, Science Policy Director at Ozone Action, attended the Geneva talks last July. She can be reached at Ozone Action, 1621 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009; ph.(202)265-6738; fax: (202) 986-6041.



but are funded by the Western Fuels Association. He has also accepted funding from Edison Electric Institute, the German Coal Mining Association, and Cyprus Minerals Company.

In 1991, Michaels was on the Science Advisory Panel of the former Information Council on the Environment (ICE), an organization whose goal was to "reposition global warming as theory, not fact." The Southern Company, Western Fuels Association and Edison Electric Company ran ICE specifically to target key congressional districts in the US with misinformation about climate change.



# EBIC

Environmental Background Information Center  
204 E. Calder Way, Suite 305  
State College, PA 16801  
EBIC@envirolink.org

---

Kalee Kreider  
Ozone Action  
1621 Connecticut Ave, NW  
Washington, DC 20009

June 25, 1996

Dear Kalee:

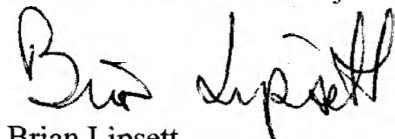
A while back, EBIC provided some research for you or your organization. We hope you found the information useful. Our goal is to provide timely and pertinent research to people who need it. Now we need to ask you to help us meet that goal.

Corporate research like that which we provide is usually quite expensive. We now provide our services for free, however, since we believe that communities urgently need this information in order to fight corporate power and abuse. If you feel that our work has served in any way to help you or your community, please consider returning the favor by making a financial contribution to EBIC. As I'm sure you know, we are a non-profit organization, and our operations are funded almost entirely by grants and charitable donations. Any amount you can contribute will help us to continue our efforts in the fight against environmental injustice.

Second, please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided. Also, feel free to send us any other comments, complements, or criticisms you may have about our services. Your feedback is important to us for two reasons: 1) It helps us to improve our services and provide the best quality research, and 2) It helps us to convince private foundations and funding organizations that our services are used and appreciated by local communities.

Thank you for your help, and best wishes in your endeavors.

Yours for environmental justice,



Brian Lipsett  
Executive Director



# EBIC

Environmental Background Information Center  
204 E. Calder Way, Suite 305  
State College, PA 16801  
EBIC@envirolink.org

---

## Evaluation Questionnaire

Some time ago, EBIC provided corporate research for you or your organization. Please help us improve our services by completing this brief evaluation questionnaire. Of course, we also welcome your comments, letters, phone calls, and financial contributions.

1. Were you satisfied with the time it took for us to provide the information?

☐ Yes. ☐ Somewhat, sooner would have helped. ☐ No, it took too long.

2. Was it clear to you what information was provided?

☐ Yes. ☐ Somewhat, it could have been clearer. ☐ No, it was unclear.

Did you experience any problems reviewing and understanding the research?

---

---

---

---

3. How did you use the research?

<input type="checkbox"/> Used it to inform the community.	<input type="checkbox"/> Used it to call for enforcement.
<input type="checkbox"/> Drowned local officials in paper.	<input type="checkbox"/> Confronted the company with it.
<input type="checkbox"/> Shared it with a reporter.	<input type="checkbox"/> Used it to develop additional research.

Please elaborate: 

---

---

---

---

(over)



89/24/97 22:41:38 Via Fax

->

+12829866841 John Passacantando Page 003

SEP-02-97 12:07 From:

T-006 P.02/03 Job-658

# *The Gallup Organization, Inc.*

MARKETING AND ATTITUDE RESEARCH

HARRY E. COTUGNO, Ph.D.  
Vice President

Suite 200  
100 Palmer Square  
P.O. Box 310  
Princeton, New Jersey 08542  
(609) 924-9600

September 2, 1997

Chuck Bernstein  
The Environmental Information Center  
1200 18th Street N.W., Suite 500  
Washington, D.C. 20036

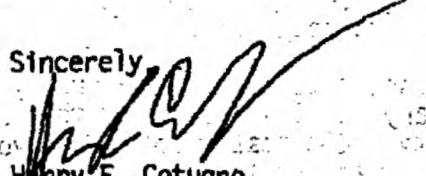
Dear Mr. Bernstein:

Thank you for your inquiry concerning an editorial and opinion piece by George Roche published in the Detroit News on August 29, 1997. With respect to the statement in the third paragraph, i.e., "A recent Gallup poll reported 83 percent of the respondents disagreed with the statement that human burning of fossil fuels causes global warming," is, as far as I can determine, totally inaccurate. The statement appears to refer to a Gallup survey conducted in October 1991, not a recent study; Gallup has not conducted any surveys on this subject with scientists since then. The study was not a Gallup poll but a study commissioned by a nonprofit organization (the Center for Science, Technology & Media). Finally, it would appear that the "83%" cited in the piece refers to a figure mentioned in a press release distributed by the Center for Science, Technology & Media in early 1992 and originally quoted by Ronald Bailey in the National Review to the effect that "of those scientists actively involved in global climate research, 53% do not believe global warming has occurred."

Since its original release Gallup has taken the position that the statement "53% do not believe global warming has occurred" is not a proper interpretation of the survey findings. Gallup asked both Ronald Bailey and George Will, who quoted the National Review article in his own column, to correct the error in 1992. We have also distributed the attached memo to other sources that have cited the same finding.

We, at Gallup, appreciate your bringing this article to our attention. I understand you will forward our comments to the editors at the Detroit News. If we may be of further assistance, please feel free to telephone me directly.

Sincerely,

  
Harry E. Cotugno





---

**■ LANGUAGE MATTERS**

# How to Out-Talk The Right

MICHAEL PERTSCHUK

**O**verheard during lunch in Washington: a right-wing think-tanker pitching a story to a receptive *Time* editor. The line? The compelling case for a *Time* cover featuring the intellectual triumph of the right—driven by the political leadership of credentialed academics and the intellectual bankruptcy of the left. Watch for it.

I see it slightly differently: small ideas, big mouth. The right's ascendancy—especially the libertarian/corporate right's ascendancy—owes its undoubted success in small part to some two-bit intellectuals, but in large part to a ten-dollar gold piece of a propaganda machine. You don't have to blame Newt Gingrich for the Oklahoma City bombing to remark on the ubiquity of the libertarian right's reach. From the Atlantic of the Heritage Foundation to the Rocky Mountains of the Militia of Montana to the Pacific of the Taxpayers' Revolt, the libertarian vision shines through. The National Rifle Association (freedom to defend one's family) and the tobacco industry (freedom of choice); the flourishing business lobby (freedom from oppressive regulation) and the medical right (freedom from socialized medicine); mining, timber and real estate interests (freedom from unjust "takings") and opponents of civil rights law (freedom from quotas)—all have adapted libertarian themes and language to cloak their political objectives.

Triumph of ideas? No; triumph of words. On the left our ranks are hardly bereft of good thoughts, but we are sorely lacking in the resources and will to develop, test and propagate political rhetoric that effectively challenges the right's vision.

Let us be clear: The libertarian right has found fertile ground not simply because it researches and deploys emotion-

---

*Michael Pertschuk is co-director of the Advocacy Institute, which is developing a program to help progressive groups talk back to the libertarian right.*



upon will be harmed or eliminated; the libertarian regulatory "reforms," for example, will put family health and safety at the mercy of transnational corporations.

§ Republicans don't give a damn. Worries Luntz: "A number of Americans . . . believe Republicans are 'mean' and 'uncaring.' As one woman not-so-delicately put it, 'The Republicans don't give a damn about the average person.' " We must hammer home the fact that the agenda of the right will harm the average person.

§ stories have power. Luntz observes: "Our enemies are already gathering their stones. *The New York Times* has taken the lead, running two full pages of pictures of homeless people sifting through dumpsters for food." We must continue telling these stories, showing the faces of the victims and thus dramatizing the loss of essential programs and regulations.

Advice to *Time* editors: If you must do a cover on the triumph of the right, for goodness' sake don't attribute it to the power of their ideas but to the skill with which they have manipulated language. As for liberals and the left: Sure, we need strong ideas, and maybe new ideas, to combat the libertarians. But we also need to learn at least one lesson from the right: not lying or hatemongering but respect for the emotive power of carefully crafted language to evoke responsive chords in unlikely allies. □





MAKE  
YOUR VOICE  
HEARD



Working Assets  
Long Distance

MOTHER JONES

HELLRAISER CENTRAL

COIN-OP CONGRESS

LIVE WIRE



# Astroturf Troopers

Dec. 2 - 8  
on the  
MoJo Wire:

How the polluters' lobby is using phony front groups and New World Order wackos to attack the Kyoto global warming treaty.

Plus: Meet the real interests behind the anti-enviro wingnuts.

## Astroturf Troopers

by Keith Hammond

December 4, 1997

The polluters' lobby is using phony front groups and New World Order wackos to attack the Kyoto global warming treaty.

In the battle to shape public opinion on global warming, the big polluters are fighting dirty. In tandem with their air war of bogus advertising, the major carbon-emitting industries are mobilizing phony grassroots troops on the ground to lobby against the global Climate Change Treaty being negotiated this week in Kyoto, Japan. And some of those troops would be right at home in Tim McVeigh's militia unit.



## Barbie's New Bod:

### BFD

The new Barbie mimics the fashion of our times -- what's so healthy about that?

The Global Climate Coalition (GCC), run by Washington P.R. firm Ruder Finn, represents the big oil, gas, coal, and auto corporations. And while its stated mission is to coordinate "the active involvement of U.S. business in the scientific and policy debates," a MoJo Wire investigation found that GCC is also coordinating a secret coalition of extreme right-wingers and astroturf groups -- fake grassroots lobbyists funded by conservative foundations and corporations -- including so-called "Wise Use" radicals, John Birchers, Lyndon LaRouchites, and anti-U.N. New World Order conspiracy kooks.

## Your Government

### Official™

Still looking for that perfect gift for your special someone? Why not

GCC chairman William O'Keefe, an executive with the American Petroleum Institute, kickstarted this secret coalition in 1996 when he hired former lobbyist Susan Moya to set up a national network of "grassroots" groups, a network that now includes dozens of industry-funded astroturf groups in several states.

Moya denied the existence of her astroturf network, but the MoJo Wire



Why not  
buy them  
their very  
own  
politician?

### **Unkool**

Hey kids!  
Smokers are  
hip, sexy,  
and not yet  
diagnosed  
with  
hideous  
tumors!  
Adbusters  
busts  
tobacco.

### **Front Page**

### **Live Wire**

### **Search**

has obtained a memo that says otherwise, written by Moya herself. Moya and GCC refused to answer questions about their grassroots setup, but some of the corporate-funded astroturf groups named in her memo, including Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy and People for the West, confirmed that they were part of Moya's network of "state grassroots leaders," and that they received this memo. Moya's network also includes right-wing extremist groups, some of them downright wacky:

- At a GCC "grassroots" strategy meeting this spring -- held at the swank Washington offices of the American Automobile Manufacturers Association -- executives and lobbyists from the oil, auto, and utilities industries listened intently as **Sovereignty International** chairman Henry Lamb boasted that his Wise Use anti-environmental network could deliver thousands of astroturf phone calls urging Congress to spike the Kyoto treaty, says a business lobbyist who attended the meeting. (Lamb also labeled Sen. John Chafee (R-R.I.) a "socialist" for his efforts to curb pollution in New England.) Duly impressed, GCC chairman O'Keefe, who was directing the meeting, pledged to give Lamb whatever resources he needed for astroturf lobbying.

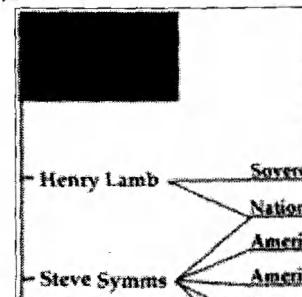
So what? So Sovereignty International is a leading promoter of United Nations paranoia, claiming that environmentalism is part of a plot to establish a "one world government." The group was founded in 1988 by Lamb; Tom McDonnell of the American Sheep Industry Association, who has collaborated with Lyndon LaRouche followers; and Dr. Michael Coffman, a self-styled expert on global environmentalism who did a national speaking tour this summer sponsored by the John Birch Society. His topic: The U.N.-corporate-environmentalist conspiracy to seize private land in America, hand it over to wild animals, and herd all the humans into crowded communities.

- In June, GCC President Gail McDonald was an unscheduled speaker at the seventh annual Fly-In for Freedom, the anti-environment lobbying blitz on Washington run by the **Alliance for America**, which networks more than 600 Wise Use groups nationwide. Though her name didn't appear on Fly-In materials, McDonald appeared on a panel on global environmental issues, and gave a presentation to the assembled anti-enviros. Her message was familiar: Global warming is just a theory, and even if it's real, it can't be blamed on the CO<sub>2</sub> polluter industries. McDonald, a former Clinton appointee turned corporate lobbyist, also spoke briefly at a Fly-In luncheon sponsored by **People for the West** -- a mining industry front that blames environmentalists for Western economic woes.

- In November, GCC organized a "national conference" in Washington, D.C. opposing the Clinton administration's position on global warming.



Invited speakers, representing groups like the United Mine Workers and the South Carolina Black Chamber of Commerce, complained that the Kyoto treaty "could raise taxes, drive up consumer prices and change American lifestyles." But while the guest list seemed pretty mainstream, GCC's conference was sponsored by radical anti-enviros and astroturfers, including Clean Water Act foes the **American Farm Bureau Federation**, mining front group **People For the West**, and the **Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO)**, an anti-environmental umbrella group run by New World Order crank Henry Lamb. Founded and funded by land developers, ECO claims to network more than 300 Wise Use groups, most of them funded by the extractive industries. For an in-depth look at ECO and its ties to other right-wing and corporate astroturf groups fighting the Kyoto treaty, click [here](#).



- Dogging the EPA's regional workshops on global warming this year was **Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE)**, perhaps the premier corporate-funded astroturf crew. To protest the Kyoto treaty, CSE fielded handfuls of demonstrators in Dallas in October, Atlanta and Chicago in September, and Boston in June -- some of them sporting military camouflage, blue helmets, and signs saying "50 Cent U.N. Gas Tax." The Dallas stunt (see photo above) was co-sponsored by the **National Center for Policy Analysis**, a corporate-funded free-market think tank. CSE's Patrick Burns appears on Moya's contact list -- when the MoJo Wire asked Burns if his group had coordinated its "grassroots" demonstrations with the GCC, he hung up the phone.

**EPA's global warming Web site** offers in-depth explanations of the science and the treaty. **Corporate Watch's Kyoto site** tracks big-business influence on the treaty negotiations. The **Environmental Working Group's CLEAR site** tracks hundreds of anti-environmental groups and their funders, complete with a searchable database.

## Recently in News Wire:

### **Industry's Hot Air**

Global warming is a real threat, but you'd never know it from the propaganda emitted by the big polluters. David Helvarg debunks.

### **Burning for Your Dollar**

How you might be partly responsible for the fires in Indonesia and what you can do about it.





LEXIS·NEXIS

MOTHER JONES

HELLRAISER CENTRAL

COIN-OP CONGRESS

NEWSWIRE

LIVE WIRE

Dec. 2 - 8  
on the

MoJo Wire:

**Astroturf  
Troopers**

The  
polluters'  
lobby is  
using phony  
front groups  
and New  
World Order  
wackos to  
attack the  
Kyoto  
global  
warming  
treaty.

**Barbie's  
New Bod:  
BFD**

The new  
Barbie  
mimics the  
fashion of

# Wingnuts in Sheep's Clothing

Meet the kooks and corporations behind the astroturf group called ECO.

by Keith Hammond

December 4, 1997

It's not easy being green -- the brown opposition is well-funded and sneaky, with fake populist tactics that make it hard to spot the wolf in sheep's clothing. To learn more about the astroturf groups who are lobbying against the Kyoto global warming treaty, we contacted the Clearinghouse on Environmental Advocacy and Research (CLEAR). A project of the Environmental Working Group in Washington, D.C., CLEAR ferrets out anti-environmental groups and their funders: the mining, logging, petrochemical, and land-developing industries who profit from pollution and wilderness destruction. Starting with Henry Lamb's perversely named Environmental Conservation Organization, we trace here the interlocking directorates -- and corporate sponsors -- of some of the extremist groups who'll give up their carbon-spewing smokestack when you pry it out of their cold, dead hands:

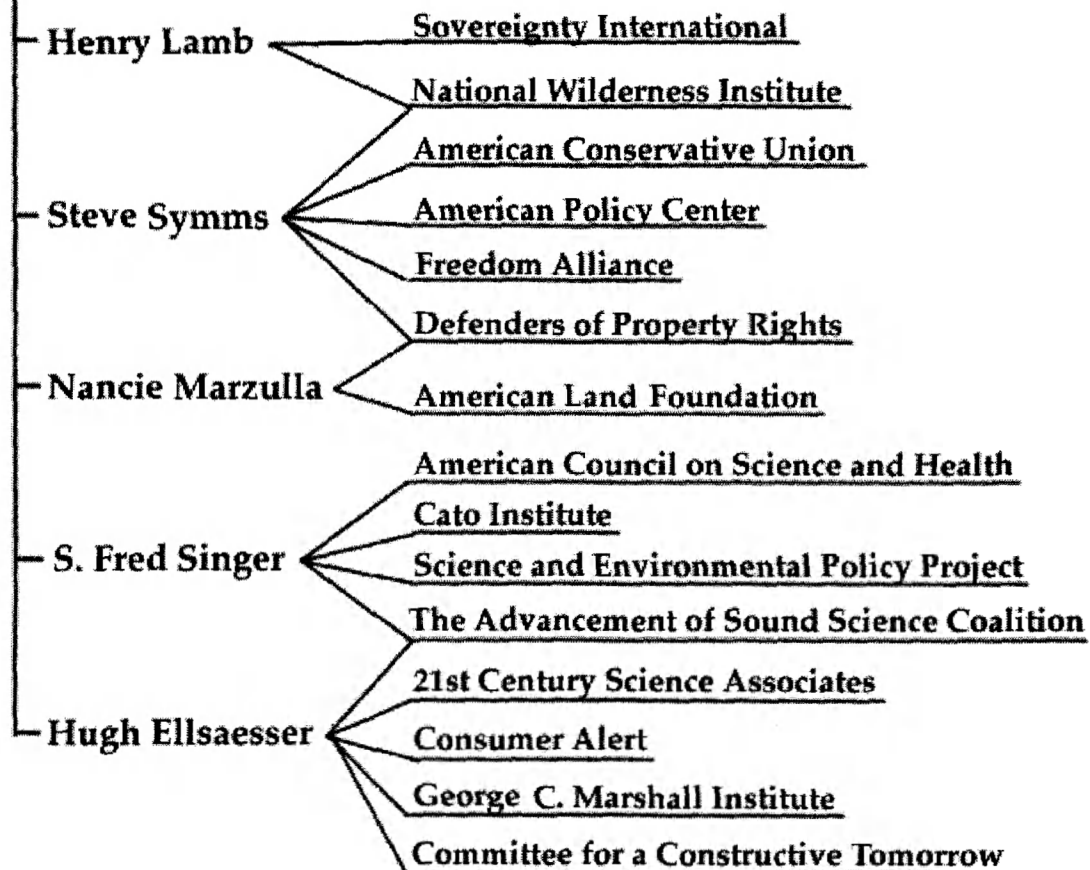


fashion of  
our times --  
what's so  
healthy  
about that?



**Your  
Government  
Official™**

Still looking  
for that  
perfect gift  
for your  
special  
someone?  
Why not  
buy them  
their very  
own  
politician?



**Unkool**  
Hey kids!  
Smokers are  
hip, sexy,  
and not yet  
diagnosed  
with  
hideous  
tumors!  
Adbusters  
busts  
tobacco.

**Front Page**

**Live Wire**

CHART COMPILED BY DAN BARRY, CLEARINGHOUSE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL  
ADVOCACY AND RESEARCH (CLEAR)

**Search**

**Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO)** The brainchild of property-rights firebrand Henry Lamb, ECO is an anti-environmental umbrella outfit counting more than 300 Wise Use groups as members, with a phone and fax network and a monthly newsletter called *Eco-logic*, which promotes Wise Use efforts to stop the global warming treaty, and Lamb's conspiracy theories of a United Nations New World Order. Funded by: Allnet Telecommunications, Land Improvement Contractors of America, American Farm Bureau Federation.

**Henry Lamb** A former executive with the Land Improvement Contractors of America, Lamb co-founded Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO) in 1990 as a front group for land developers to fight Clean Water Act protections for wetlands, then turned it into a network for Wise Use groups nationwide. He recently co-founded



Sovereignty International Inc., an anti-United Nations property-rights group. Prominent in the anti-environmental and property-rights movements, Lamb publishes newsletters and gives radio interviews attacking the U.N.'s Man and the Biosphere Program, World Heritage Treaty, Convention on Biological Diversity, and Convention on Climate Change.

**Staff Member of:**

Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO), Executive Vice President

**Board Member of:**

Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO), Board of Directors  
National Wilderness Institute, National Advisory Board  
Sovereignty International, Chairman of the Board

**Steve Symms** The former U.S. senator from Idaho, elected in the 1980 "Reagan Revolution," was the voice of the anti-environmental movement on Capitol Hill and the champion of various failed "takings" bills. His signal achievement was a bill that built new off-road vehicle (ORV) trails in the national forests. Retired in 1992, today he sits on the boards of a half-dozen of the most arch-conservative, anti-environmental groups in the country. Symms' specialty is defending individual property rights at any cost.

**Staff Member of:**

Freedom Alliance, President

**Board Member of:**

Defenders of Property Rights, National Advisory Board  
Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO), Board of Advisors  
National Wilderness Institute, National Advisory Board  
Freedom Alliance, Board  
American Conservative Union, Board of Directors  
American Policy Center, Chair of the Board

**Nancie Marzulla** A Justice Department attorney in the Reagan administration and a veteran of the Wise Use litigators the Mountain States Legal Foundation, Nancie Marzulla co-founded the Defenders of Property Rights (DPR) in 1991 with her husband Roger, who served as assistant attorney general under Ed Meese.

**Staff Member of:**

Defenders of Property Rights, President and Chief Legal Counsel

**Board Member of:**

Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO), Board of Advisors  
American Land Foundation, Property Rights Task Force Member

**Fred Singer** A former University of Virginia professor and former chief scientist for the U.S. Department of Transportation, Dr. S. Fred Singer is one of a half-dozen preeminent doubters of ozone depletion and global warming science. Singer claims science skeptics like him are



being silenced by a conspiracy of feds, enviros, and liberal journalists. Today he heads the Science and Environmental Policy Project, advises several corporate-funded science mills, and rails against global warming science. For this he's amply rewarded: In 1994 *Nightline* revealed that Singer has accepted consulting fees from Exxon, Shell, Arco, Unocal, and Sun Oil.

**Staff Member of:**

Science and Environmental Policy Project, Director

**Board Member of:**

American Council on Science and Health, Board of Scientific and Policy Advisors

The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, Scientist Advisor

Cato Institute, Editorial Advisory Board

Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO), Board of Advisors

National Policy Forum, Member of Environment Committee

Science and Environmental Policy Project, Board of Directors

**Hugh Ellsaesser** A meteorologist and guest scientist at California's Lawrence Livermore nuclear laboratory, Dr. Hugh Ellsaesser is another widely quoted global warming skeptic. He doesn't deny that CO<sub>2</sub> buildup causes global warming -- he argues that we should just sit back and enjoy it. He's also a scientific advisor to the Lyndon LaRouche group 21st Century Science Associates, which publishes an anti-environmental magazine promoting LaRouche's wacky Neo-Nazi cult.

**Board Member of:**

21st Century Science Associates, Scientific Advisory Board

Consumer Alert, Advisory Board

Environmental Conservation Organization (ECO), Board of Advisors

George C. Marshall Institute, Science Advisory Board

The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, Advisor

Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, Scientific Advisor

**Sovereignty International Inc.**

Property-rights group Sovereignty International Inc. (SII) is a leading promoter of United Nations paranoia, claiming that environmental regulations are part of a plot to establish a "one world government" -- a theme echoed by militia groups nationwide. SII was founded by ECO's Henry Lamb; the American Sheep Industry Association's Tom McDonnell, who has collaborated with LaRouche propagandist Rogelio Maduro to attack U.N. biodiversity programs; and Dr. Michael Coffman, who did a speaking tour this summer sponsored by the John Birch Society. His topic: The U.N.-corporate-environmentalist conspiracy to seize control of private land in America, hand it over to wild animals, and herd all the humans into crowded communities. SII's Web site consists of a single malfunctioning page on the server of Liberty Matters, a property-rights project. Funded by: Unknown.



**National Wilderness Institute**

Dedicated to wilderness destruction, NWI boasts a board of heavy hitters including Sen. Larry Craig (R-Idaho), Reps. Dick Armey (R-Texas) and Richard Pombo (R-Calif.), and former Bureau of Land Management honcho Don Hodel, architect of the famed Hodel policy which allowed county governments to bulldoze new roads across federal wilderness lands. Today NWI attacks the Endangered Species Act and the U.N. Biodiversity Convention, defends the petroleum economy, and publishes NWI Resource magazine, with articles like "The Magic of Property Rights" and "Ecosystems: Where Do They End?" Funded by: Hardwood Manufacturers Association.

**American Conservative Union**

With board members like Ralph Reed, Becky Norton Dunlop, Tom Clancy, Jesse Helms, and Newt mentor Grover Norquist, you pretty much know where the ACU is coming from, but on global warming they've staked out a unique position: "I can just see it now -- some guy in the Pentagon says, 'I'm sorry, Mr. President. If you want to send that extra carrier battle group into the area, we'll have to shut down the electric power grid to California for two weeks to stay under our emission caps.'" Funded by: Unknown.

**American Policy Center**

Chaired by another extreme-right demagogue, Thomas DeWeese, this property-rights propaganda mill makes no bones about it: There is no global warming, there's a global leftist conspiracy to deceive the American people and wreck our economy -- for reasons that remain unclear. To protest the treaty negotiations in Kyoto, APC has called a nationwide "Strike for Liberty" on Dec. 6; patriotic citizens "can participate simply by wearing red, white and blue arm bands, or driving their cars with the lights on, blowing the horn." Web site bonus: An amazing screed accusing Al Gore of genocide. APC also publishes *EPA Watch*, a survey of environmental regulatory activities, and *Foreign Policy Focus*, an anti-U.N. nativist newsletter. Funded by: Unknown.

**Freedom Alliance**

Founded by Oliver North, the Freedom Alliance passes as a right-wing think-tank and citizens group, but mostly it's the direct-mail fundraising machine that grew out of Ollie North's legal defense mailings in the Iran-contra affair. Its newsletter, *The Free American*, promotes North's political ambitions and attacks gays and other unholy types. In one issue, Freedom Alliance president and former Senator Steve Symms attacked the Supreme Court for overturning Colorado's anti-gay Amendment 2 ballot measure: "Now, because of their perverted lifestyle, a minority of citizens is granted special treatment in soliciting state contracts. Does this make sense?" Funded by: Unknown.

**Defenders of Property Rights**



Founded by Reagan Justice Department lawyers Roger and Nancie Marzulla in 1991, Defenders of Property Rights is part of a national network of right-wing law firms and legal foundations that serve as a *pro bono* Wise Use legal defense fund. DPR pursues anti-environmental lawsuits through the U.S. Court of Federal Claims, a conservative court whose 16 judges were all appointed by Reagan and Bush; DPR's directors reportedly plan strategy at an annual meeting sponsored by the Heritage Foundation. Funded by: Carthage Foundation, Hardwood Manufacturers Association.

#### **American Land Foundation**

Founded by property rights leader Dan Byfield, ALF (formerly the Farm Credit Property Rights Foundation) underwrites anti-environmental research and boasts a who's who of the movement on its property rights task force. Last year ALF teamed with two other Wise Use groups to form Liberty Matters Inc., yet another Wise Use networking effort, with a fax news service and a focus on feeding stories to small-town and conservative media about the evils of environmentalism, especially when it bears the taint of the U.N. Today Liberty Matters sponsors two segments -- and chooses the guests -- on the program "Morning View" on Paul Weyrich's conservative NET cable channel. Appearing this Friday: Dr. Michael Coffman of Sovereignty International. Funded by: Unknown

#### **American Council on Science and Health**

Led by Dr. Elizabeth Whelan, this corporate-funded science mill stoutly defends silicone breast implants, DDT, and of course, the polluting technologies that cause global warming. In a new report, ACSH scientists accept global warming as real, but argue that we should just "adapt" to climate change and learn to live with any increase in catastrophic weather and infectious diseases -- for the sake of the "global economic system." Incredibly, one of the authors is an M.D. Funded by: Scores of major corporations and conservative foundations, including Exxon, Mobil, Ford, and the Olin and Scaife foundations.

#### **Cato Institute**

This libertarian think-tank is well-known for defending private property and the unmitigated free market. It's also home to Dr. Patrick Michaels, a leading skeptic who argues that global warming models are fatally flawed, and that we should take no action because new technologies will soon replace those that emit greenhouse gases. Funded by: Scores of major corporations and conservative foundations, including Amoco, ARCO, Dow Chemical, and the Koch family foundation.

#### **Science and Environmental Policy Project**

This corporate science mill began in 1990 as an offshoot of the Moonie-funded think-tank Washington Institute for Values in Public Policy. Its goal is to discredit global warming, ozone depletion, and



acid rain. Its director, physicist Dr. S. Fred Singer, is a former chief scientist for the Department of Transportation who has received thousands of dollars in "consulting fees" from Exxon, Shell, Arco, Unocal, and Sunoco. Singer lambastes global warming science in regular editorials in the *Wall Street Journal* and *Washington Times*. Funded by: Monsanto, Texaco, Philip Morris, and the Bradley, Forbes, and Smith Richardson foundations.

### **The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition**

TASCC director Steven Milloy, a cheerleader for rolling back environmental regulations in the 104th Congress, calls himself "The Junkman," and his Web site "Junk Science" sounds that familiar refrain: Thousands of scientists are wrong about global warming, and a handful of polluter-funded scientists have it all figured out. Funded by: 3M, Amoco, Chevron, Dow, Exxon, General Motors, Philip Morris and other big corporations.

### **21st Century Science Associates**

This Lyndon LaRouche group publishes the anti-environmental magazine *21st Century Science & Technology*, which in addition to promoting LaRouche's wacky Neo-Nazi cult and global conspiracy theories, is home to associate editor Rogelio Maduro, author of *The Holes in the Ozone Scare*. That book became Rush Limbaugh's ozone bible. Funded by: Unknown.

### **Consumer Alert**

This astroturf group calls global warming science "scare stories" and funds the Web site Globalwarming.org, with a bi-weekly update called "May Cooler Heads Prevail." Consumer Alert's networking project, the National Consumer Coalition, formed the so-called Cooler Heads Coalition in May, "to dispel the myths of global warming." Cooler Heads is run by a vice president from the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a longtime sponsor of the Wise Use movement. Funded by: American Cyanamid, Chemical Manufacturers Association, Chevron, Monsanto, Philip Morris, and other big corporations.

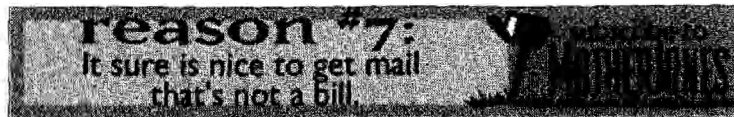
### **George C. Marshall Institute**

As David Helvarg reported in last week's MoJo Wire, the George C. Marshall Institute is another conservative think-tank, a long-time "Star Wars" promoter and the first player to attack the U.N. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's 1995 finding that human activity is probably changing the climate already. Funded by: Scaife and Bradley foundations.

### **Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow**

A pseudoscience think-tank funded in part by the nuclear industry, CFACT says the real disaster would be the Climate Change Treaty, because "any proposed cuts in greenhouse gases...would have a major,





MOTHER JONES

HELLRAISER CENTRAL

COIN OF CONGRESS

MOTHER JONES

LIVEWIRE



# Thank You, Mr. President

Dec. 2 - 8  
on the  
MoJo Wire:

An oil company kisses up to Bill and his weak global warming proposal

by Keith Hammond

## Astroturf Troopers

The polluters' lobby is using phony front groups and New World Order wackos to attack the Kyoto global warming treaty.

## Barbie's

November 25, 1997

The environmentalists are pissed and the oil companies are pleased -- last month Bill Clinton announced the U.S. negotiating position for the U.N. global warming treaty, and it was the weakest one on the table. His White House advisers had split on the issue, the enviros urging the strongest cuts in emissions, the Wall Street types urging the weakest. Guess who won.

The big oil firms are more than relieved; some of them seem downright enthusiastic. From a source in Washington, the MoJo Wire obtained this letter written by Sunoco CEO Bill Campbell, thanking the president profusely for going so easy on his polluting industry. You might say he gushed.



**Barbie's**  
**New Bod:**  
**BFD**

The new  
Barbie  
mimics the  
fashion of  
our times --  
what's so  
healthy  
about that?



Robert H Campbell  
Chairman  
Chief Executive Officer

Sun Company, Inc.  
Ten Penn Center  
1801 Market Street  
Philadelphia PA 19103-1801  
215 977 3871  
215 977 3856 FAX

October 30, 1997

**Your**  
**Government**  
**Official™**

Still looking  
for that  
perfect gift  
for your  
special  
someone?  
Why not  
buy them  
their very  
own  
politician?

The Honorable William J. Clinton  
President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I had the privilege of attending the recent White House Conference on Global Climate Change. This experience reinforced my view that there is sufficient scientific concern about man-made climate impacts to justify initiation of prudent mitigation measures now.

You obviously have labored long and hard over the decision of selecting the proper policy options to be advanced at Kyoto. I appreciate the level of personal attention you have devoted to this critical issue.

I would like to go on record in support of your October 22, 1997 proposal. In particular, I believe that you are right on target on the following fundamental points:

- You make technology-driven conservation the centerpiece of your plan, and this takes advantage of the innovative strength of U.S. industry;
- You reject the unrealistic CO<sub>2</sub> reduction targets and timetables proposed by many of our global competitors;
- You provide tax incentives for voluntary early action;
- You make protection of the U.S. economy a priority in any mitigation plan; and
- You insist that the entire world community share in the commitment to greenhouse gas reduction efforts.

**Unkool**  
Hey kids!  
Smokers are  
hip, sexy,  
and not yet  
diagnosed  
with  
hideous  
tumors!  
Adbusters  
busts  
tobacco.

October 30, 1997  
Page 2

**Front Page**

**Live Wire**

**Search**

At Sun we are committed to doing our part to support your proposal. To date, we have focused on energy conservation in our refineries, where we have reduced energy consumption per barrel of crude oil processed by approximately 16% since 1990. This not only helps the environment, but also provides increased value to our shareholders. We will continue to search for opportunities to manufacture and market our products in a more energy-efficient and economical fashion.

By sharing my views with you, I want to suggest that there is more support for your proposal than may be apparent from recent media coverage. I believe that as the public comes to a greater understanding of the vast array of issues surrounding global climate change, they will also realize that your proposal is reasonable, workable and equitable.

I wish you and the U.S. negotiating team every success in Kyoto.

Sincerely,





MOTHER JONES

HELLRAISER CENTRAL

COIN OF CONGRESS

LIVE WIRE



# Thank You, Mr. President

Dec. 2 - 8  
on the  
MoJo Wire:

An oil company kisses up to Bill and his weak global warming proposal

by Keith Hammond

## Astroturf Troopers

November 25, 1997

The polluters' lobby is using phony front groups and New World Order wackos to attack the Kyoto global warming treaty.

The environmentalists are pissed and the oil companies are pleased -- last month Bill Clinton announced the U.S. negotiating position for the U.N. global warming treaty, and it was the weakest one on the table. His White House advisers had split on the issue, the enviros urging the strongest cuts in emissions, the Wall Street types urging the weakest. Guess who won.

The big oil firms are more than relieved; some of them seem downright enthusiastic. From a source in Washington, the MoJo Wire obtained this letter written by Sunoco CEO Bill Campbell, thanking the president profusely for going so easy on his polluting industry. You might say he gushed.

## Barbie's



Unkool!  
Hey kids!

Smokers are  
hip, sexy,  
and not yet  
diagnosed  
with  
hideous  
tumors!  
Adbusters  
busts  
tobacco.

Front Page

Live Wire

Search

- You make technology-driven conservation the centerpiece of your plan, and this takes advantage of the innovative strength of U.S. industry;
- You reject the unrealistic CO<sub>2</sub> reduction targets and timetables proposed by many of our global competitors;
- You provide tax incentives for voluntary early action;
- You make protection of the U.S. economy a priority in any mitigation plan; and
- You insist that the entire world community share in the commitment to greenhouse gas reduction efforts.

October 30, 1997  
Page 2

At Sun we are committed to doing our part to support your proposal. To date, we have focused on energy conservation in our refineries, where we have reduced energy consumption per barrel of crude oil processed by approximately 15% since 1990. This not only helps the environment, but also provides increased value to our shareholders. We will continue to search for opportunities to manufacture and market our products in a more energy-efficient and economical fashion.

By sharing my views with you, I want to suggest that there is more support for your proposal than may be apparent from recent media coverage. I believe that as the public comes to a greater understanding of the vast array of issues surrounding global climate change, they will also realize that your proposal is reasonable, workable and equitable.

I wish you and the U.S. negotiating team every success in Kyoto.

Sincerely,

[http://www.motherjones.com/news\\_wire/sunoco.html](http://www.motherjones.com/news_wire/sunoco.html)

12/5/97





LEXIS·NEXIS®

MOTHER JONES

HELLRAISER CENTRAL

COIN OF CONGRESS

HELLRAISER

LIVE WIRE



Dec. 2 - 8  
on the  
MoJo Wire:

### Astroturf Troopers

The polluters' lobby is using phony front groups and New World Order wackos to attack the Kyoto global warming treaty.

### Barbie's New Bod: BFD

The new Barbie mimics the fashion of our times -- what's so healthy about that?

### Your Government Official™

Still looking for that perfect gift for your special someone? Why not buy them

#### Media Contacts for Kyoto Treaty

Following is a list of spokespersons who will be available for comment in the U.S. during the Kyoto negotiations. All have been prominent spokespersons on this issue leading up to the Kyoto event.

#### All Aspects of Global Climate Change Policies

Eric Licht	Coalitions For America	202/546-3005
Diane Steed	CVC	202/628-5164
Ron DePore	CVC	202/628-5164
Jeff Miller	CVC	202/628-5164

#### In the States - Greenroots

Bruce Vincent	Alliance for America	406/293-8844	406/293-8844 (O)
Steve Miller	The Center for Energy & Economic Development	703/684-6283	703/684-6283 (P)
Susan Christy	People for the West	719/543-4421	719/543-9473 (O)
Michael Coffman	Sovereignty International	207/643-9878	207/643-6465 (O)
Cindy Morphet	Texas Oil & Gas Association	512/472-6631	512/472-5839 (O)
Floy Lilley	University of Texas at Austin	512/471-7501	512/471-5120 (O)
Randy Hainiger	Center for Energy and Economic Development	806/359-6520	806/359-9155 (O)
Lydia Robertson	CVC-Arkansas	501/664-6269	
John Federico	CVC-Kansas	785/232-2557	
Don Madison	CVC-Missouri	314/949-4445	
Bob Underwood	CVC-Ohio	614/876-9719	
Pat Nolan	CVC-Tennessee	15/780-3307	
Chuck Costigan	American Land Rights Association	360/687-3087	360/687-2973 (O)
Sen. Malcolm Wallop (former)	Frontiers of Freedom Institute	703/527-3282	703/527-8318 (O)
H. Sterling Burnett	National Center for Policy Analysis	972/386-4272	972/386-0904 (O)
Foggy M. Vaneble	Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy	512/476-5906	512/476-5906 (O)
Duggan Pinesmith	Environmental Compliance Reporter, Inc.	713/469-3406	713/469-3406 (O)
David R. Pinks	Small Business United of TX	512/416-1707	512/477-9097 (O)
Carol Kester Rylander (The Housewife)	Texas Railroad Commission	512/463-7144	512/480-8873 (O)
Steve Reeves	Greater Houston Partnership	713/844-3600	713/844-0302 (O)
Carol Jones	Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy	830/598-8912	830/598-6232 (O)
Gene Short	Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy	214/343-3443	214/343-2343 (O)

[Page 1](#) | [Page 2](#)

[Back to Article](#)



  
Robert H. Campbell

**Recently in News Wire:**

**Industry's Hot Air**

Global warming is a real threat, but you'd never know it from the propaganda emitted by the big polluters. David Helvarg debunks.

**Burning for Your Dollar**

How you might be partly responsible for the fires in Indonesia and what you can do about it.

**A Timber Tycoon's Trophies**

Why is one of Asia's most unscrupulous foresters winning environmental awards?

**News Wire Archive**

MOTHER JONES

HELLRAISER CENTRAL

COIN OF CONGRESS

NEWS WIRE

LIVE WIRE



[Home](#) | [Subscribe](#) | [MoJoWorld](#) | [About Us](#) | [All Rights Reserved](#) | [Search](#) | [Archive](#)

The MoJo Wire and *Mother Jones* are projects of the [Foundation for National Progress](#), a nonprofit 501(c)3 organization, founded in 1975 to educate and empower people to work toward progressive change.



Dec. 2 - 8  
on the  
MoJo Wire:

### Astroturf Troopers

The polluters' lobby is using phony front groups and New World Order wackos to attack the Kyoto global warming treaty.

### Barbie's New Bod: BFD

The new Barbie mimics the fashion of our times -- what's so healthy about that?

### Your Government Official™

Still looking for that perfect gift for your special someone? Why not buy them their very own politician?

### Unkool

Hey kids! Smokers are hip, sexy, and not yet diagnosed with hideous

Memo to: Coordinating Council Participants and State Leaders  
From: Susan Moya ~~Stor~~  
Date: November 24, 1997  
Subject: (1) Media/Information Coordination During Kyoto  
(2) December 5 "Strike for Liberty"  
(3) Letter Sent by Food Industry to President and House/Senate Observers  
(4) November 21 Edition of "Climate Times"

#### (1) Media/Information Coordination During Kyoto

Look to me for daily updates and information on the Kyoto negotiations. I am part of a team which has been established that will be updated daily on information received overnight from Kyoto. (Kyoto is 14 hours ahead of Washington). I will be receiving reports which I will immediately fax to the Coordinating Council. Here's what's planned:

- 2 On a daily basis, a comprehensive synopsis of each day's events will be produced by Earth Negotiations Bulletin and made available on the Internet so detailed information can be accessed. The site will be <http://www.fed.ca/links/climate/kyoto/index.html>. In addition, the Global Climate Coalition plans to daily update its web site, which is [www.globalclimate.org](http://www.globalclimate.org).
- On a daily basis, talking points about COP-related developments will be provided. They will be written in a style which we can use for media activities and send to radio talk show hosts and others who might find them useful.
- On a periodic basis, the Global Climate Coalition intends to issue news releases and statements.
- In addition, ~~GROUP BRIEFINGS~~ by phone are planned for us on December 5 and December 10. Mark your calendars. I don't have times or other details yet, but this will be our chance to hear directly from Kyoto and get our questions answered. I'll keep you posted, but most likely this will be in the morning, Washington time.
- The team is also promoting the availability of spokespersons to U.S. news media. Many of you have sent me names of people statewide who are willing to talk with the media. I'll keep you posted on this aspect and share a list of potential spokespersons as soon as it is finalized. Thanks to all who sent me names.

(2) The American Policy Center is actively promoting a December 5 nation-wide "Strike for Liberty" to protest the climate change treaty. In the event that you have not heard about it or wish to participate, attached is the most recent information I have.

(3) and (4) Attached is a letter to the President signed by 18 food industry groups. A similar letter was sent by them to the House and Senate observers. Finally, attached is the November 21 edition of "Climate Times."

If anyone has any questions or needs additional information, please give me a call at (202) 682-8284.

attachments

Page 1 | Page 2

Back to Article



1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 Guardian Newspapers Limited  
The Guardian

July 3, 1996

SECTION: THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1827 words

HEADLINE: ENVIRONMENT: CHANGE IN CLIMATE OF OPINION;

Paul Brown names the guilty at next week's top-level talks on global warming

BYLINE: Qsubhead: Paul Brown

BODY:

OVER THE 10 years since world leaders first seriously began to tackle climate change, some of the planet's most sophisticated lobbyists have been employed to try (and often succeed) to obstruct the process.

Next week's crucial climate talks in Geneva have 150 countries discussing the next stage for the Climate Change Convention, and the plans to limit the emissions of greenhouse gases which are basically causing the problem. Those attending will encounter more black propaganda: but there are signs of both a political and business backlash against this corporate anti-social behaviour.

For those who have attended the dozens of scientific meetings of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), and the parallel political gatherings, the fossil fuel lobby have been a constant burden. As scientists and politicians try to agree internationally on addressing the greenhouse problem, there are men in suits making objections - they interrupt every meeting, stalk delegates in coffee bars and corridors, all to delay, obscure and if possible stop action. Their perseverance and dedication, backed by unlimited resources, show the importance of their mission to preserve the short term interests of the fossil fuel lobby at all costs.

In the last few months, scientists have finally concluded that human activities are having a discernable effect on the climate and there is no more legitimacy in the argument that there is still enough scientific uncertainty to warrant delay in action.

So if we are to stop the predicted catastrophe to our world, the fossil fuel economy faces obsolescence, and the lobbyists know it. They represent what Merylin McKenzie Hedger, of the World Wide Fund for Nature, calls optimistically "death row industries." There is still a lot of obstruction left in them, as the Geneva talks will show, but matched by signs that they will not be allowed to get away with it much longer. Scientists, environmentalists, and businesses, notably insurance, are resisting.

Hedger says: " People seem shocked that these industries are prepared to sacrifice our children's future so they can continue to make money now. But that is blatantly what they are doing."

There have been two main groups of lobbyists. One is run by an American lawyer, Don Pearlman, who has repeatedly challenged the wording of documents, removing as much certainty as possible from the scientific consensus designed



The Guardian, July 3, 1996

to guide politicians. He has repeatedly objected to graphics which illustrate best to politicians with little time what is happening. While Pearlman refuses to say directly who he represents, his links with oil -producing states are obvious by the company he keeps: he is mainly seen with representatives from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Approached by the Guardian about his purposes, he will not speak, even to say no comment.

But the giants of the lobbying business are the vast Global Climate Coalition, registered as a non-government organisation, an "NGO", with the same status at the talks as Greenpeace and the World Wide Fund for Nature, and the very green Climate Change Network. (Note the name similarities.) The GCC is prepared to talk to journalists. It has a reasonable sounding mission statement which involves "co-ordinating" business participation in the scientific and policy debate on change. So far it still refuses to accept the IPCC science and says there is an "open question" about climate change. Its membership has roots in American business, and outside the talks, its main activities are convincing the US Congress that global warming is bad for business and action should not be taken until the middle of the next century at the earliest.

The membership roll contains multi-national corporations high on any environmentalists' top 10 most unpopular companies. There are the oil giants, Shell, Texaco, Exxon, British Petroleum, Amoco, Chevron and Mobil. Then there is the coal industry, the American Automobile Manufacturers, Ford and General Motors, electric companies, and the Air Transport Association. Other members, all big power users, are aluminium manufacturers, plastics, Dow chemicals and our old friend Union Carbide of Bhopal fame.

These groups spend heavily not just on lobbying but on scientists, not the mainstream kind - but what are known now as the "contrarians". Their work is legitimate science but unorthodox - they are often in a minority of one. Yet they are given immense backing and publicity out of all proportion to their weight by the lobby group.

FOR example, Frederick Seitz was given prime space in the authoritative Wall Street Journal to attack all 1,000 scientists who had spent five years examining all possible evidence on climate change. Seitz is not a climate scientist himself, nor part of the IPCC process, yet he describes minor changes in the text of the scientists' report (intended to make it clearer) as a corruption of the process, "an attempt to deceive policy makers and the public into believing that the scientific evidence shows human activities are causing global warming".

He was attacking the single truth that the fossil-fuel lobby hates most - that global warming is already here. Five years' work had concluded just that, but Seitz was given space to attack this and call for an abandonment of the whole project. Seitz is chairman of the George C Marshall Institute in Washington, which has appeared in GCC documents before.

Seitz named in his piece Dr Benjamin D Santer, from the prestigious Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Santer was shocked at such an attack and said it would be a "tragedy" if it was to destroy the work of so many scientists. Sir John Houghton, former head of the UK's Met Office and co-chair of Working Group 1 of IPCC, not inclined to florid language, described the attack as "scurrilous." And Seitz's piece was only one of many which have appeared in the US and here. The journal Nature was not fooled and accused the GCC of bad behaviour.



The Guardian, July 3, 1996

Interestingly, the insurance industry is beginning to fight back, and has told the International Chamber of Commerce, which until recently also ignored climate change, to become more neutral or lose powerful friends and members. There are signs that even the administration in Washington is beginning to grow impatient with the powerful industrial lobby. Eileen Claussion, leading for the US administration at the climate talks said: "They are a very strong group of people who muddy the science. We call them the Naysayers."

Environment groups, once frightened by being labelled scaremongers, are finding more courage and the WWF is playing tougher and calling on companies like BP, which claim to be environmentally friendly and have a solar power division, to resign from the GCC. Hedger says: "Any claim of BP to care about the environment, while supporting this kind of underhand behaviour, is hypocritical. We shall be calling on them to withdraw their membership and support from GCC. If they don't we shall know where they really stand."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 3, 1996



## Silencing Spring Public Relations and Private Interests

by John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton

More than any other modern American, author Rachel Carson is credited with giving birth to populist ecological awareness. *Silent Spring*, her bombshell 1962 best-seller, gave a dramatic, prophetic and factual account of massive agrochemical poisoning from the chemical industry's sales (\$300 million a year in 1962) of DDT, lindane, heptachlor and other dangerous toxins. Written with the goal of shocking the public, government and industry into action, it sowed seeds of consciousness that burst forth eight years later when some 20 million Americans interrupted their "business as usual" to participate in the first Earth Day, April 22, 1970.

*Silent Spring* created a PR crisis for the powerful agricultural chemical industry that had emerged after World War II, based in large part on the military's widespread use of DDT and its development of 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T herbicides. The agrochemical industry retaliated against Carson with the PR equivalent of a prolonged carpet-bombing campaign. Velsicol chemical company tried unsuccessfully to intimidate the publisher into changing the book or canceling its publication. The National Agricultural Chemical Association doubled its PR budget and distributed thousands of book reviews trashing *Silent Spring*. Monsanto chemical company published *The Desolate Year*, a parody in which failure to use pesticides causes a plague of insects that devastate America.

A rising young PR executive named E. Bruce Harrison was appointed "manager of environmental information" and assigned to coordinate the industry's attack on the book. In their campaign, Harrison and his cohorts used "crisis management" techniques, including emotional appeals, scientific misinformation, front groups, extensive mailings to the media and opinion leaders, and the recruitment of doctors and scientists as "objective" third-party defenders of agrochemicals.

Rachel Carson succumbed to cancer on April 14, 1964, never seeing herself venerated as the founder of modern environmentalism. But her old nemesis, E. Bruce

Harrison, is alive and thriving. He even has his own book out, a PR how-to guide titled *Going Green: How to Communicate Your Company's Environmental Commitment*.

### Going, Going Greenwash

In 1973, Harrison established his own PR company, drawing in such clients as Monsanto and Dow Chemical, who were among the sponsors of the campaign against *Silent Spring*. In 1990, he declared "green PR" to be his firm's sole specialty.

The E. Bruce Harrison Company now has offices in Washington, DC, Dallas, Austin, New York and San Francisco, and recently opened a new office in Brussels, Belgium that will, in the words of *Inside PR*, "help its transnational clients work through the complexity" of Europe's new environmental regulations. The company employs more than 50 staff and nets \$6.5 million annually working for about 80 of

### The PR industry's campaign to discredit industry's critics began with Rachel Carson

the world's largest corporations, including Coors, Clorox, RJ Reynolds and the American Medical Association. Harrison's clients include corporate front groups like the Global Climate Coalition (which opposes environmental action to prevent global warming) and the Coalition for Vehicle Choice (which opposes emission-control regulations for automakers).

In the perverse world of corporate public relations, propagandizing and lobbying against environmental protection is called "environmental" or "green" PR. "Greenwashing" is the term now commonly used to describe the ways that polluters employ deceptive PR to paint themselves an environmentally responsible public image while covering-up their of the biosphere and public health.

Today a virulent, pro-industry anti-environmentalism is on the rise, propelled by some of the same industries and PR practitioners that battled Rachel Carson. PR experts at Burson-Marsteller, Ketchum, Shandwick, E. Bruce Harrison and other firms are waging and winning a war against environmentalists on behalf of corporate clients in the chemical, energy,

Do people really pay millions of dollars to public relations firms to falsely reassure the public with fuzzy, feel-good advertising propaganda?



People Do

food, auto, forestry and mining industries.

US businesses spend an estimated \$1 billion a year on the services of anti-environmental PR professionals and on greenwashing their corporate images. O'Dwyer's PR Services has termed the environmental struggle, "the life and death PR battle of the 1990s."

In *Going Green*, E. Bruce Harrison declares that environmental activism is dead and that its death presents savvy PR practitioners with an opportunity to redefine environmentalism in pro-business ways.

As defined by Harrison, "success" boils down to money and access to power in the nation's capital. After the first Earth Day in 1970, Harrison points out, ecological activism transformed itself from a popular grassroots movement into competing, professionally run nonprofit enterprises — a multi-million dollar environmental bureaucracy, maintaining expensive offices in downtown Washington and divorced from its activist roots and any meaningful grassroots accountability.

In the meantime, anti-environmental PR practitioners have refined a "good cop, bad cop" strategy — a two-pronged approach that skillfully creates and exploits divisions within the environmental movement. This strategy of "divide and conquer" co-opts and compromises mainstream environmental organizations, while simultaneously orchestrating extremist attacks against grassroots activists and others not willing to "behave respectably" in exchange for industry cash.

### Democracy: Safely Packaged

The public relations industry did not even exist prior to the 20th century, but it has grown steadily and appears poised for even more dramatic growth in the future. No one knows exactly how much money is spent each year in the US on public relations, but \$10 billion is considered a conservative estimate. "Publicity" was once the work of carnival hawkers and penny-ante hustlers smoking cheap cigars and

Excerpted with permission from *Toxic Sludge is Good For You: Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry* by John Stauber and Sheldon Rampton. Common Courage Press, Box 702, Monroe, ME 04951; (207) 525-0900; fax: (202) 525-3068.



wearing cheap suits. Today's PR professionals are recruited from the ranks of former journalists, retired politicians and eager-beaver college graduates anxious to rise in the corporate world. They hobnob internationally with corporate CEOs, senators and US presidents. They use sophisticated psychological techniques, opinion polling and complex computer databases so refined that they can pinpoint the prevailing "psychographics" of individual city neighborhoods.

The PR industry also orchestrates many of the so-called "grassroots citizen campaigns" that lobby Washington, as well as state and local governments. Lloyd Bentsen, himself a long-time Washington and Wall Street insider, has coined the term "astroturf lobbying" to describe the synthetic grassroots movements that now can be manufactured for a fee by companies like Hill & Knowlton, Direct Impact, Optima Direct, National Grassroots & Communications, Beckel Cowan, Burson-Marsteller, Davies Communications or Bonner & Associates. *Campaigns & Elections* magazine defines "astroturf" as a "grassroots program that involves the instant manufacturing of public support for a point of view in which either uninformed activists are recruited or means of deception are used to recruit them."

Grassroots organizing is industry's weapon of choice against the "Not In My Back Yard" (NIMBY) movement. NIMBYs

## THIS MODERN WORLD

IT'S TIME FOR YET ANOTHER LOOK AT HOW THE NEWS WORKS...STEP ONE: A CORPORATION WHICH HAS BEEN CAUGHT ENGAGING IN SOME ILLEGAL OR UNETHICAL ACT HIRES A PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRM...

PEOPLE ARE UPSET BECAUSE WE'VE BEEN DUMPING TOXIC SLUDGE INTO THE WATER SUPPLY!

WELL--BY THE TIME WE'RE THROUGH, THEY'LL THANK YOU FOR IT!



...AS WELL AS SENDING OUT SLICKLY-PRODUCED "VIDEO NEWS RELEASES" WHICH MANY CASH-STRAPPED LOCAL NEWS DEPARTMENTS AIR VIRTUALLY UNEDITED...GIVING CORPORATE PROPAGANDA THE APPEARANCE OF OBJECTIVE REPORTING...



are the white blood cells of the democratic body politic — small, quickly mobilized community groups that have proven effective at killing off foreign intrusions, be they toxic waste dumps or porno book-stores.

## The PR Industry's Dirty Tricks

John Davies helps neutralize these groups on behalf of corporate clients like Mobil Oil, Hyatt Hotels, Exxon, American Express and Pacific Gas & Electric. He describes himself as "one of America's premier grassroots consultants."

Davies' promotional material claims that "he can make a strategically planned program look like a spontaneous explosion of community support." Davies has turned grassroots communications into an art form.

He explained how his telemarketers turn passive supporters into what appear to be advocates: "We get them on the phone and while we're on the phone we say, 'Will you write a letter?' 'Sure.' 'Do you have time to write it?' 'Not really.' 'Could we write the letter for you?'"

"If they're close by, we hand-deliver it. We hand-write it out on 'little kitty cat stationery' if it's a little old lady. If it's a business, we take it over to be photocopied on someone's letterhead. [We] use

by Tom Tomorrow

STEP TWO: THE P.R. FIRM PROCEEDS TO MANIPULATE PUBLIC OPINION IN A VARIETY OF DEVISIVE, UNDERHANDED WAYS--SUCH AS ANONYMOUSLY PLANTING OP-ED PIECES IN THE NATION'S NEWSPAPERS...



STEP THREE: PUBLIC OPINION IS SWAYED BY THIS ONSLAUGHT OF MEDIA MANIPULATION MASQUERADING AS NEWS...SINCE, AS P.R. FIRMS WELL UNDERSTAND, ANY LIE REPEATED OFTEN ENOUGH BECOMES TRUE...



different stamps, different envelopes.... Getting a pile of personalized letters that have a different look to them is what you want to strive for."

Pamela Whitney, the CEO of National Grassroots & Communications, also specializes in fighting local community groups. "My company basically works for major corporations..." she explained, "Wal-Mart is one of our clients. We take on the NIMBYs and environmentalists."

The stakes were high for Ketchum's client, the California Raisin Advisory Board (CALRAB), the business association of California raisin growers. In 1986, CALRAB had scored big with a series of clever TV commercials using the singing, dancing, "California Raisins." The Claymation-animated raisins were so popular that they transcended their TV commercial origins. A research poll found that the Raisins were second in popularity only to comedian Bill Cosby.

For CALRAB, of course, the real payoff came in raisin sales, which had risen 17 percent since the Dancing Raisins were first introduced. Behind the scenes, however, trouble was brewing.

Science writer David Steinman had uncovered evidence that hundreds of toxic carcinogens and pesticide contaminants are found routinely in US foods, from yogurt to beef to raisins. According to

## Let Those Foreign Kids Die

In October following an outcry over the \$400 billion tobacco industry's targeting of underage smokers, Philip Morris (PM) placed full-page newspaper ads pleading for "balance." Adults have a "right to choose whether or not to smoke," argued the corporate druglords, "but we also believe that minors should not smoke."

The PR campaign announced PM's "Action Against Access" program to "prevent minors from having access to cigarettes." Outside the US, however, it's business as usual.

Paul Wengal, a World Health Organization consultant, notes that Philip Morris (Marlboro) and RJ Reynolds Nabisco (Camel) advertising helps hook 4000 Third World children each day in Korea, the number of teenaged girl smokers jumped 450 percent in one year.

In Taipei, RJR pays schoolgirls to distribute free packs of Salem. In Buenos Aires, Salem Karatula is handed out at lunchtime. In Eastern Europe, teens dressed as "cowgirls" distribute free Marlboro at rock concerts.

"Northern groups must collaborate with us to stop these tactics [transnational corporations] from infiltrating the South with tobacco," Wengal declared.

—GS



## Toxic PR

Steinman's research, government inspectors found "raisins had 110 industrial chemical and pesticide residues in 16 samples." In his book, *Diet for a Poisoned Planet*, Steinman recommended that people avoid any but organically grown raisins.

The information in *Diet for a Poisoned Planet* enables readers to make safer food choices. But before shoppers can use the information, they must first hear about the book, through media reviews and book-tour interviews. CALRAB wanted to make sure that Steinman's book was dead-on-arrival.

Ketchum assigned senior vice-president Betsy Gullickson (a graduate of Northwestern University's prestigious Medill School of Journalism) to "manage the crisis." Despite Gullickson's pointed reminder that "we have a shredder," a copy of her September 1990 strategy memo reached the press. It revealed that, months before the publication of *Diet for a Poisoned Planet*, Ketchum sought to "obtain [a] copy of [the] book galleys or manuscript and publisher's tour schedule." Gullickson recommended that spokespeople "conduct one-on-one briefings/interviews with the trade and general consumer media in the markets most acutely interested in the issue.... The Ketchum agency is currently attempting to get a tour schedule so that we can 'shadow' Steinman's appearances. Best scenario: we will have our spokesman in town prior to or in conjunction with Steinman's appearances."

Elizabeth M. Whelan is a prominent anti-environmentalist who heads the American Council on Science and Health (ACSH), a group funded largely by the chemical industry. The ACSH is also a client of Ketchum. In July, 1990, Whelan wrote a letter to then-White House Chief of Staff John Sununu warning that Steinman and others "who specialize in terrifying consumers" were "threatening the US standard of living and, indeed, may pose a future threat to national security." Whelan's letter was copied to the heads of the government's Food and Drug Administration, Department of Agriculture, Department of Health and Human Services, Environmental Protection Agency and the Surgeon General.

Dr. William Marcus, who was then a senior science advisor to the Environmental Protection Agency, wrote the introduction to *Diet for a Poisoned Planet*. Marcus' views were his own, but they greatly angered Whelan, who asked White House Chief of Staff Sununu to personally investigate the matter. Marcus resisted pressure to have his introduction removed from the book and was later fired from the EPA.

### Public Relations, Private Attacks

*Diet for a Poisoned Planet* is a serious, important contribution to the public debate over public health, the environment and food safety, but it fell victim to a PR campaign designed to prevent it from ever reaching the "marketplace of ideas." And it was not alone.

In 1992, John Robbins was promoting his book, *May All Be Fed*, which advocates a strict vegetarian diet. He became the target of an anti-book campaign by

*The big corporations, our clients, are scared shitless of the environmental movement.... The corporations are wrong about that. I think the companies will have to give in only at insignificant levels. Because the companies are too strong, they are the establishment.*

*The environmentalists are going to have to be like the mob in the square in Rumania before they prevail.*

— Frank Mankiewicz,  
Vice Chairman, Hill & Knowlton

Morgan & Myers PR, working on behalf of the world's largest milk-promotion group, the National Dairy Board.

As with Ketchum's California Raisins campaign, Morgan & Myers used behind-the-scenes contacts to undermine Robbins' publicity tour, thereby limiting his book's public exposure and readership.

PR firms also campaigned against the book *Beyond Beef* by activist Jeremy Rifkin. *Beyond Beef* recommends that people stop eating beef for ethical, health and environmental reasons. Its message

has been loudly denounced by both the Beef Council and the National Dairy Board, clients of Ketchum and Morgan & Myers, respectively. Rifkin's enemies hired an infiltrator to pose as a volunteer in his office.

In *The War Against the Greens*, author David Helvarg reports that Rifkin's spring 1992 national book tour "had to be canceled" after it was repeatedly sabotaged. Melinda Mullin, *Beyond Beef* publicist at Dutton Books, said radio and TV producers who had scheduled Rifkin to appear began receiving calls from a woman, claiming to be Mullin, canceling or misrepresenting Rifkin's plans.

### The Media's Complicity

Critics note that the media habitually fails to report on itself. It also fails to report on the PR industry. To do so would reveal the extent of its dependency on PR for access, sources, quotes, stories and ideas. Meanwhile, like an alcoholic who cannot believe he has a drinking problem, members of the press are too close to their own PR addiction to realize there is anything wrong.

Corporate advertisers have enormous power to influence news coverage, despite editors' statements to the contrary. Large corporations pump \$100 billion in advertising dollars into the coffers of the US media each year. Journalism professor Ben Bagdikian points out that "selecting news in order to make advertising more effective is becoming so common that it has achieved the status of scientific precision and publishing wisdom."

PR executive Robert Dilenschneider admits that "the notion that business and editorial decisions in the press and media are totally separate is largely a myth."

### A Toast to the "Independent Press"

In 1958, John Swinton of The New York Times was asked to toast the independent press at a private gathering at the National Press Club. He reportedly responded (off the record) as follows:

"There is no such thing as this date of the world's history in America as an independent press. You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who dares to write his honest opinion, and if you did, you know beforehand it would never appear in print."

"I am paid weekly for keeping my honest opinion out of his paper. Others of you are paid similar salaries for similar things. And any of you who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would be out on the streets looking for another job. If I allow my honest opinions to appear in one issue of my paper, before 24 hours my occupation would be gone."

"The business of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread. You know it, and I know it, and what folly is this toasting an independent press?"

"We are the fools and the vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks. They pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

— Via EcoNet



## Greenwash, GOP-Style

The *Journal's* Towering Achievement in Cynicism Award goes to the strategist at the Republican Policy Committee who authored a smarmy tract for House Republicans called *Think Globally, Act Locally: A Pro-Active, Pro-Environment Agenda*. The internal GOP document was leaked to the press (presumably by a conscience-stricken Republican moderate) shortly after it was released for in-House circulation last October.

The memo advises Republicans to "build credibility" by getting involved in "pro-environment projects," such as tree plantings and recycling programs. Such projects will "help further insulate [Republicans] from the attacks of the green extremists." No need to worry if Bruce Babbitt "comes to your district and canoes down a river as a media stunt," the memo argues, "if reporters have been to your boss' adopt-a-highway clean-up [or] two of his tree plantings... they'll just laugh Babbitt back to Washington."

"During the year, there are at least two days when the 'environment' is a major news story," the document instructs — Earth Day and Arbor Day. Look for a group "somewhere in your district" that is sponsoring an event and "plan on releasing a statement of support." This search for the green-spin is not intended to win over "the most extreme in the environmental movement;" it is designed to appeal to "subur-

ban women and young people."

Tree planting "provides [Congressional] members with excellent media opportunities," the report says, but always remember that "when participating in tree-planting programs, you should include both children and seniors." And don't worry about actually paying for these trees, the memo notes, since there are always "local nurseries who [sic] may donate trees for the cause." This advice is followed by a precautionary caveat: "(Contact the ethics committee prior to undertaking this activity.)"

In addition to "adopting" highways, GOPsters are also encouraged to adopt walking trails and bike paths. But don't forget to "make sure to announce your participation at the site... and have plenty of supporters on site [sic] at the press conference."

Another solid-gold tip is to establish a yearly "Teddy Roosevelt Conservation Award" for people in your district. The memo observes that Roosevelt was the GOP's "most famous environmentalist." (The memo fails to note that Teddy was also famous for creating the national parks system — a system that would be defunded and privatized under GOP proposals. Roosevelt abandoned the GOP when he ran for a second term as President in 1912 as the Progressive Party nominee.)

"If you have an environmental company in your district... arrange for a tour" and "invite the media to participate." Invite "local environmentalists and sportsmen [sic]" to join a Conservation Task Force. "Groups to contact include: garden club members, 4H representatives, Ducks Unlimited members, Audubon [sic] members" and any other "grassroots organizations that are sympathetic to your common-sense environmental agenda" — i.e., "reform[ing] the Endangered Species Act, Superfund, and Clean Water legislation."

"One of the best ways to show your concern" the agenda proposes, "is to announce... a recycling program in your office. When announcing this new office policy be sure to include local environmentalists who will praise your actions."

Offer to become a "guest lecturer" at local schools and address "your commitment to a clean environment."

Produce public service announcements (PSAs). "Suggested environmental PSAs could include: proper battery disposal; encouraging recycling at home; proper motor oil disposal; encouraging respect for nature when camping or hunting; keeping lakes, rivers and beaches clean by putting

### THINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY

A Pro-Active, Pro-Environment Agenda For House Republicans.



October 17, 1995

Republican Policy Committee

garbage in its place." To save money, the memo suggests taping these politically motivated PSAs at the taxpayer-supported House Recording Studio.

A campaigning Republican could demonstrate "commitment to the environment" by "passing out tree saplings with [his or her] door-to-door pamphlet." Participating in beach or park clean-ups "will provide you with an opportunity to gain positive media exposure...." And, finally: "Become active in your local zoo."

All of this may well have come across as merely an awkward attempt to co-opt legitimate environmental concerns. But there is a darker, more troubling side to the GOP's *Think Globally* document. In the first sentence of the introduction, the author confides to his GOP colleagues: "As we all know, the environmentalist lobby and their extremist friends in the eco-terrorist underworld have been working overtime to define Republicans and their agenda as anti-environment, pro-polluter, and hostile to the survival of every cuddly critter roaming God's green earth."

The memo goes on to warn that "the extremist environmental movement will stop at nothing to distort the facts, lie about our legislative agenda, and paint you and your fellow Republicans as the insensitive extremists in this fight."

— GS

### The "Nicotine Nine"

Everyone knows the world's top two tobacco companies — Philip Morris and R.J.R. Nabisco — but now the watchdog group INFACT (256 Hanover St., Boston, MA 02113; 617/742-4583; fax: 617/367-0197) has identified the top nine politicians who suck up to the smoke-peddlers. While nearly 80 percent of all Congress members pocket tobacco money (nearly \$2.5 million through 1994, up 10 percent from the previous election cycle), the "Nicotine Nine" stand apart. They are:

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-KS) — \$45,300 in tobacco (TABAC) money; House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA) — \$41,000 in TABAC funds; House Commerce Committee Chair Tom Bliley (R-VA) — \$11,476; Charlie Rose (D-NC) — \$96,800; Senate Minority Whip Wendell Ford (D-NY) — \$87,067; Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Jesse Helms (R-NC) — \$69,500; Louis Payne (D-VA) — \$88,149; House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt (D-MO) — \$54,259; House Minority Whip Tom DeLay (R-TX) — \$36,700.

### Bottled Watergate

USA — Thanks to the ever-vigilant Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), 79 members of the House found themselves in hot water for voting against clean water bills. What brought PSR's indignation to a boil was the discovery that these same feckless reps (63 Republicans and six Democrats), while denying access to clean water to their constituents, had spent a total of \$2296 a month purchasing clean bottled water for their district offices. In 1994, the EPA concluded that 60 million Americans — one in four — were drinking water that failed to meet federal health standards. To see if your representative is a "Tap Water hypocrite," contact PSR [1101 14th Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 898-0150].



June 27, 1996

## *Conservative Foundations Get High Ratings for Influence*

Conservative foundations have been better organized and more effective in their attempts to influence public policy than have liberal or progressive funds, says People For the American Way in a new publication.

The report by the Washington-based advocacy group says one reason for the difference "is that while progressive groups commonly provide direct services to the poor, disabled, or disadvantaged, conservative groups rarely do."

But James Piereson, executive director of the John M. Olin Foundation, one of the conservative funds whose activities are detailed in the report, says that while he is "very pleased that People For the American Way thinks we have been effective," he disagrees with many of its other conclusions.

"I don't believe that liberal foundations fund direct services," he says. "What they do is fund groups that engage in advocacy for the government to provide those services, which is an important distinction."

The report says the Olin Foundation and a handful of other funds exert power by making numerous grants of \$1-million or more to think tanks, conservative publications, and other political groups to promote conservative views. The other grant makers named

Foundation, and the Koch and Scaife family foundations.

"We're trying to point out that the right-wing foundations have been able to buy themselves a movement," says Matthew Freeman, research director at People For the American Way. "They've done all of the strategic things to help get their message out and create the impression that there's this grassroots swell of right-wing extremism bubbling up from the land. In fact, in many cases it's just right-wing money being used to create that impression."

The report, which was paid for from the advocacy group's general budget and not with a foundation grant, urges liberal grant makers to promote public-policy issues and make countering conservative views a top priority.

"There's a message here for mainstream foundations, as well as mainstream media and progressive organizations out fighting the fight," says Mr. Freeman. "It's important for them to know what is fueling so many of these right-wing organizations. And that may suggest a bit more collaboration."

Copies of the report, "Buying a Movement: Right-Wing Foundations and American Politics," cost \$5 each and can be ordered from People For the American Way.



---

# THE GREENING OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

With public demands growing for a cleaner environment, more businesses say they're turning "green." Is it rhetoric, or a revolution?

By S.L. Smith

I don't believe we have to compromise environmental quality for economic quantity," declared Bruce Olszewski, director of the Center for Development of Recycling, San Jose State University. "Industry people are in a position where they want to do what's good for business and they are understanding that things that are good for the environment are good for business.

"Industry is understanding and agreeing that the economic good and the environmental good don't have to take diverse paths. The reason that's happening is not necessarily that industry has become green-hearted. They're doing it because society has recognized that environmental hazards are things it doesn't want to deal with," Olszewski continued.

"I don't think there's any doubt we're seeing social change take place," claimed Jerry Martin, director of environmental affairs, Dow U.S.A. "People are much more conscious of recycling and emissions reduction and the long-term impact of something on the environment. I think understanding that long-term impact will be a growing marketplace concern. Companies have got to deal with that."

Although many companies are taking actions to protect the environment, their rhetoric still outpaces their cleanup achievements in many cases. Glance at the annual report from almost any one of the nation's biggest polluters, for example, and you'll find upbeat discussions about the company's environmental policy and its plans to reduce emissions.

"In the boardroom, the executives and public relations people have all started packaging their companies in green rhetoric," said Jack Doyle of Friends of the Earth. "At this stage, perhaps, it may be premature to be judgmental. However, when you look at some promises and some flowery speeches being made by corporate executives, and what the companies are actually emitting in terms of air pollution, water pollution, and solid waste, the two are not consistent."

Doyle, senior analyst in technology and corporate policy with Friends of the Earth, did admit that "some commendable changes are taking place" in industry. A spokesperson for Natural Resources Defense Council expressed cautious optimism that American businesses are moving forward on environmental issues

and policies. However, said the spokesperson, "There's a long way to go. Most environmentalists will tell you that while business was very quick to jump on the [green] bandwagon, you have to continue to monitor them."

Many companies still perceive environmental issues and communication about environmental policies as frills. Those companies, when disseminating information, do so through a public relations or advertising firm, which try to sell the companies' environmental policies to the public, claimed Barbara Barnett, owner of Environmental Communication Inc., Wheeling, Ill. Barnett has sat on both sides of the environmental issue, with over 14 years experience in state government as an environmental microbiologist, a writer covering government regulations, and as a compliance officer for a chemical company.

"As a consumer, I am offended by companies which use the environment only as a marketing tool," said Barnett. She admitted, however, that some companies are changing the way they do business in order to become more environmentally friendly. "When a company is doing something good for the environment, then it



should be shouted from the rooftops," Barnett stressed.

### P & G

Proctor & Gamble Co., headquartered in Cincinnati, has made a number of changes to its products which reflect a commitment to the environment. Refill packages of some products, like Downy Fabric Softener, have reduced packaging by up to 85 percent. Compact versions of Ultra Tide and Ultra Cheer powder detergents require 30 percent less packaging.

The volume of material used in Pampers and Luvs disposable diapers has been reduced by 50 percent through the introduction of superabsorbent materials. Secret and Sure deodorant containers

have been redesigned so that cartons are no longer necessary. This action alone will save 6 million lb of paper pulp a year, according to the company.

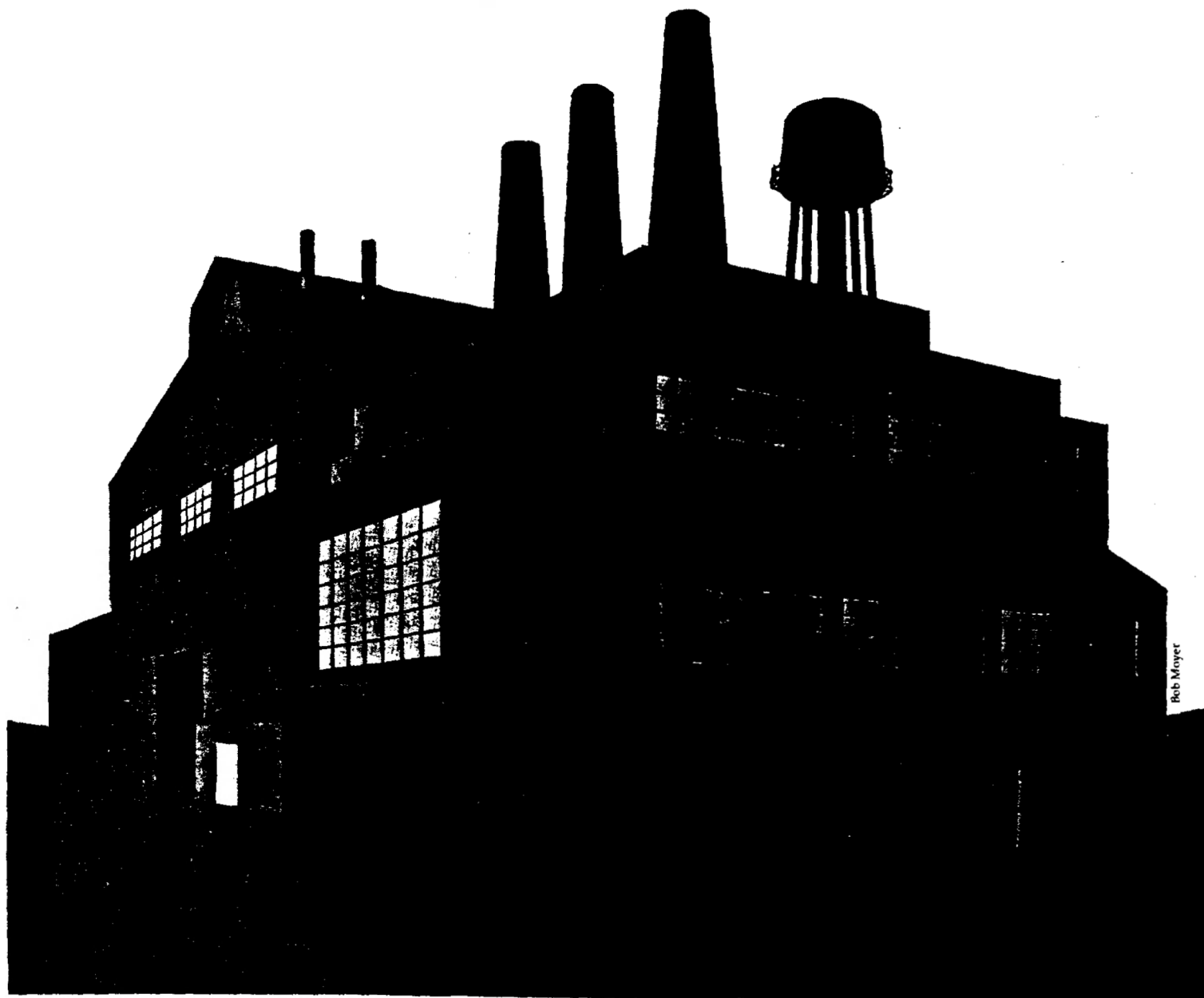
Recycled plastics are used in the manufacturing of bottles for several different products, which helps create a market for, and encourages recycling of, plastics. Recycled paperboard is used in 90 percent of paper packaging by Proctor & Gamble. The company has even sponsored pioneering composting programs for solid waste like disposable diapers in the U.S. and Europe.

Edwin L. Artzt, chairman and chief executive of Proctor & Gamble, said the firm "will continue to take a leadership role in developing and implementing innovative

approaches to environmental issues around the world." Such an approach, he added, was "important to our consumers, our retail and nonretail customers, our communities, and our common future."

Even P&G's corporate offices recycle, said spokesperson Elaine Matthews, collecting over 1 million lb of paper and aluminum cans in a year.

Individual Proctor & Gamble facilities are encouraged to develop programs to save, recycle, and reuse materials. A paper plant found a way to turn waste paper fibers into pelletized boiler fuel, thereby reducing landfilled waste by 75 percent. A coffee plant donates solid waste to the composting program of a local city government. In



Bob Moyer



## MANAGING ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

When companies change environmental policies, the employees most affected by those changes are the ones in charge of environmental compliance.

Mark MacFadyen is safety, health, and ecology coordinator for BASF Corp., Grand Rapids, Mich. Said MacFadyen, "My job changes each week as I get notices of interpretations of laws and regulations. We were told about three years ago we'd be facing a wave of regulations. I thought there were a lot of regulations at that time. Now, this is a tidal wave."

Some major companies such as Dow Chemical Co. have realized that mounting environmental regulation puts a tremendous strain on small-to-medium-size firms. In response, it developed the Product Stewardship Program which assists Dow customers in using products in a safe manner. A number of services are offered through the program, including: literature on safe product use; Dow personnel assisting in the unloading of chemicals at customer sites; industrial hygiene monitoring services; regulatory seminars; and advice on the best disposal methods for Dow products after use.

Richard S. Sayad, health, environmental, and regulatory affairs manager, Dow Plastics, noted, "Many companies have one or two people in their organizations which help them comply and they're just overwhelmed with all the regulations for air, water, land, labeling, and MSDSs. When you only have one or two people, that's a big job."

"We're all trying to work together and cooperate so that we can use products in a safe manner and meet government regulations," he added.

Environmental protection increasingly has been linked with industrial safety at many companies. Two workers were

killed at a BASF facility in Cincinnati when a volatile solvent they were using led to an explosion. Now, efforts are being made to eliminate or greatly reduce the use of methylene chloride and several solvents which are highly volatile. This year, BASF's Grand Rapids facility, which makes paints and coatings, has eliminated all lead-based paints. The company is working to eliminate benzene, a component of some solvents, and is moving toward paints which are water-based, rather than solvent-based.

"Safety in the workplace is very much related to what kinds of things are produced," said Jack Doyle of Friends of the Earth. "Very often, if alternative

*Sayad: "We're all trying to work together and cooperate so that we can use products in a safe manner and meet standards."*



processes can be found, or new technologies employed, you reduce both inside health risks and outside pollution at the same time."

A BASF quality improvement team studied waste recovery and recycling at the Grand Rapids facility. Subsequently, solid waste trash has been reduced by 50 percent. MacFadyen said that he is involved in a groundwater remediation project, testing water for storm water compliance, and applying for new air permits for new process tanks.

As a result of actions taken at the facility, the level of employee awareness about the environment and recycling has increased. Many have begun recycling at home. This in turn will lead to more changes, be-

lieves MacFadyen, since employees are part of the public and public awareness has driven environmentally based regulations and increased enforcement.

### Recycling

Environmental Action Coalition (EAC) is a New York City-based organization dedicated to helping people recycle.

Sean Hecht, coordinator of the household waste project at EAC, said, "If you have an office or business that makes recycling easy, then it becomes second nature." Companies can interest employees in recycling, insisted Hecht. He pointed out that wearing safety equipment isn't always second nature and employees wear it because companies have strict safety policies. Just as safer workplaces often lead to better safety habits in the home, workplace emphasis on the environment is often echoed in the home and in private lives.

Recycling at work helps Dow employees "feel good about protecting the environment," said Jerry Martin, Dow's director of environmental affairs. "Some small things become very important because they become a part of the culture."

Environmental concerns are not limited to giant corporations like Dow or BASF. In Dalton, Ga., Joe Elliot is the environmental protection coordinator at World Carpets Inc. He too has noticed more emphasis on environmental compliance at his company. For example, the firm has cut back on the use of some chemicals in its manufacturing processes. According to Elliot, the company saves cardboard, aluminum, metal drums, and is constantly looking for other items to reuse or recycle. Recycling, said Elliot, will be good for business, since it saves money, reduces waste, and is environmentally sound.



fact, Proctor & Gamble has committed \$20 million to advance municipal composting programs worldwide. A project has been initiated between the company and the U.S. Bureau of Mines to use solid waste compost to reclaim open-pit ore mines.

According to Matthews, environmental quality is as important to the process of developing new products at Proctor & Gamble as consumer acceptability. Environmentally beneficial ideas are shared between plants, brands, and divisions. As a result of process changes aimed at improving the environment, the company has reduced scrap, rework, and discharges into the environment, and manages energy more efficiently.

### Becoming Better Neighbors

Dow Chemical USA has had a waste reduction program for many years. In 1986, the program was given the moniker WRAP, which stands for Waste Reduction Always Pays. Emissions of several chemicals from Dow facilities have been reduced by 50 percent between 1984 and 1988, and plans are in the works to reduce the 1988 emission figures by another 50 percent by 1995.

"The thing that's been the most powerful in motivating us and others in industry to reduce emissions has been the SARA Title III community right-to-know laws," said environmental affairs director Jerry Martin. He added that he thinks industry has moved into an era of significant emission reduction.

Communication between government, industry, and the public is essential to the development of environmental protection laws that are fair to industry, said Olzewski. Industry employs the public and provides necessary goods and services, while the government has the job of protecting the public safety and health while helping industry stay productive and healthy.

"Business doesn't score any public relations points by disagreeing with emissions laws," stated Olzewski. "They do add a real sense

of credibility to themselves when they ask that these laws be reasonable. I have no quarrel with that. We need that industry perspective to strike a fair balance."

Martin admitted that, at least at Dow, "There was an era when we felt what we did inside our fence line was our business as long as it was legal and permitted. That's not true today. There's been a change of philosophy relative to public accountability." Tours, visitor centers, and community and employee advisory panels have been developed to make the company more responsive to the environmental concerns of the public.

Richard Sayad, health, environmental, and regulatory affairs manager, Dow Plastics, observed that in the past, chemical companies were less open about what was going on in the facilities. Now, he claimed, "We want to be

good neighbors. We're not bad guys. We want to work with the people who live near our facilities and with the media."

Historically, said Martin, chemical companies looked at the health impact of pollution discharges before reductions were considered. Now, companies have to reduce waste and emissions regardless of impact because it is expected of them by the public.

Pressure on chemical firms to reduce pollution is also coming from its own trade organization. The Responsible Care Program of the Chemical Manufacturers Assn. (CMA) states that participating companies must have a plan to reduce waste and emissions.

Participants in the program must inventory waste and releases, and their impact on employees and the public must be examined. Discussions must be held



Dow Chemical Company



with employees and the public to determine their concerns, and goals and priorities set with those concerns in mind. That pollution prevention ethic must then be included when companies plan new facilities, facility redesign, and product design.

EPA's 33/50 industrial toxics project targets 17 chemicals for voluntary emission reduction. Companies which sign up for the program must reduce emissions by one-third by 1992 and by one-half by 1995. Under a new proposal made by EPA in June, companies which voluntarily reduce toxic air emissions 90 percent by Jan. 1, 1994, would receive a six-year waiver of Clean Air Act requirements to meet maximum achievable control technology standards.

According to Ann Mason, associate director, environmental div., CMA, members are encouraged to follow the reductions proposed in EPA's 33/50 program. In fact, said Mason, 95 percent of CMA members invited to participate in the program have done so.

"What we're saying to the public is track us. You don't have to trust us, just tell us when we're going off track and let us know. Hopefully, in that way, we'll be able to maintain a strong U.S. economy by keeping manufacturing jobs, but we'll also get to the point where the public wants us to be in these days of chemophobia," said Mason.

Unfortunately, the desire to look good in the eyes of the public has led some companies to play a shell game with pollutants. Companies move pollutants out of a visible medium like water or air pollution and into other disposal methods, like deep well injection.

"Out of sight, out of mind — if you can't see it, it's not there. But in reality, it is there," complained Doyle. "Some companies are claiming wonderful achievements in two or three years' time, but when you examine the numbers, they're just moving the pollution around."

### Million Dollar Mistakes

With a myriad of new laws and

## BECOMING A GOOD NEIGHBOR

One of the most important steps toward becoming a green company is community outreach — talking with the public, sharing company objectives, and building trust. A company's community might mean employees, neighbors of a facility, the population of a city, product consumers, or the world.

According to Wilma I. Delaney, manager of environmental services for Michigan Div., Dow U.S.A., "To survive and prosper during the 1990s and beyond, business needs to learn and relearn an important truth: A company stays in business or continues to grow only with the support and consent of the community it serves."

No company today is surrounded by a wall, said Delaney. Companies must be more publicly accountable for policies and actions in order to do business and stay in business.

An effective community outreach program must include several steps:

- **Know the Community** — Understand key issues and concerns facing the community. Learn how your company is perceived in the community, and how your products and facilities affect the community.

- **Build Relationships with Community Leaders** — Know the people you will be dealing with in the event of an emer-

gency situation or incident. Offer information and facility tours to people who can, through their actions, affect your facility or industry.

- **Develop Community Service Projects** — Employees are your company's best ambassadors. Encourage them to become involved in community organizations and to volunteer for community projects. Support projects like wildlife protection, recycling efforts, and resource conservation, which benefit the environment and your community.

- **Inform the Media** — Let the media know when your company is doing something positive for the environment. Too often, media coverage of companies centers around a tragedy. When news is good, let the media know about it.

- **Establish a Community Advisory Board** — Meet regularly with a diverse group of people from your community. The group can include legislators, business representatives, community activists, educators, scientists, health officials, private citizens, and local government officials. Encourage the board to give your company honest feedback on products, facilities, and policies. Most importantly, act on the information gathered at community advisory board meetings.

regulations aimed at protecting the worker, the environment, and the public from pollution and toxic substances, companies had better do more than just talk a good environmental game. Polluters paid \$61.3 million in civil penalties in 1990, an increase of 74 percent over 1989, according to EPA figures.

United Technologies Corp., Hartford, recently paid a record \$3 million fine for violations of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) stemming from

improper disposal of solvents at its Sikorsky Aircraft Div., located in Stratford, Conn., in 1986. As part of a standard work practice dating back to 1982, employees routinely had swept a mixture of cleaning solvent, oil, and transmission fluid out the doors of the plant and onto the company grounds.

United Technologies (UTC) pled guilty to the six felony violations of RCRA, and paid the fine within 15 days. A statement released by the company claimed that accepting responsibility for



the situation was critical if UTC was to establish credentials as an environmentally sound company.

UTC is also pursuing what it terms "expanded environmental initiatives." These initiatives include:

- Training to provide an increased level of awareness and responsibility at all levels of management and to provide detailed compliance instruction for every employee directly involved in meeting regulatory requirements.

- Auditing and assessment, by both local and corporate-led teams, of the environmental performance for each of the company's operations.

- Collection of environmental data from all UTC facilities which will be used to monitor performance and meet regulatory reporting requirements.

- Identification of materials, processes, and techniques which can be developed or adopted to reduce the amount of waste materials and pollutants produced in the design, manufacture, sale, and use of UTC products.

### Reaping Rewards

Companies which sow the seeds of good environmental policies often quickly reap rewards. Waste is eliminated. Landfill costs decrease. Businesses are run more ef-

ficiently. And, most importantly for anyone in business, consumer goodwill is built.

Said Olszewski, "Industry is realizing it has to be a friend to the



*Martin: "I don't think there's any doubt we're seeing a social change take place."*

environment or it has to pay the cost. It's going to be hit with fines for polluting the atmosphere. It's going to be hit with higher fees for producing external costs [like the costs of landfilling solid waste and disposing of hazardous wastes]

that society's not willing to pay."

Barnett, of Environmental Communication Inc., stressed that "good, reasonable environmental policies, a good reputation on environmental issues, mean a lot to many consumers. As a consumer, and, granted, I'm more aware than many, I look on the package to see if it's made of recycled materials. It's a subtle little thing. It's not a big advertising campaign, but it's good policy."

"In the last three years or so, corporations have been reading the tea leaves of public opinion and market surveys very carefully," Doyle, of Friends of the Earth, pointed out. "The reality is that consumers are making their choices based on corporate environmental policies."

Seventy to 80 percent of consumers, said Doyle, have said that environmental policies affect their purchasing. Gallup and Harris polls have found that many consumers are willing to pay more for "environmentally correct" products, Doyle added.

### The Valdez Principles

Activists such as Doyle are urging labor groups, the environmental community, and regulatory agencies to band together and become more vigilant and more insistent on accurate disclosure of toxic emissions. A new

*Proctor & Gamble has earmarked \$20 million to fund research and projects aimed at increasing municipal composting.*

*The company is currently working with the U.S. Bureau of Mines to use solid waste compost to reclaim open-pit ore mines.*



Proctor & Gamble Co.



trend in environmentalism is the creation of coalitions of groups concerned about the environment. One example is the coalition formed by environmental groups and a group of religious investors to develop the Valdez Principles.

The Valdez Principles, developed by the Coalition for Environmentally Responsible Economics (CERES) and the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR), are a list of 10 principles of corporate environmental conduct. Shareholder resolutions, demanding that companies adhere to the Valdez Principles, have been filed with a number of companies. The resolutions ask that the companies either make an environmental report public, or, in some cases, actually sign the principles.

Not all shareholders wish their companies to sign the principles. Although General Motors shareholders defeated a proposal that the corporation sign the Valdez Principles, Doyle said that 25 small companies have signed. Doyle added that CERES antici-

pates that several Fortune 500 companies will sign by year's end.

Pension and retirement funds have \$2.5 trillion in assets and own 40 percent of American common stock, according to a recent article in *Harvard Business Review*. CERES members include representatives from two of the largest pension funds in the country, representing employees of New York City and the state of California.

"It's important for people who own shares in companies making environmental promises to become involved and become active in pushing management to adopt very sound environmental policies. Good environmental policies are in the best economic interest of shareholders," said Doyle.

Regardless of the motivations fueling changes — government regulations, pressure from shareholders, or consumer awareness — adoption of sound environmental policies, and taking action on those policies, makes good business sense.

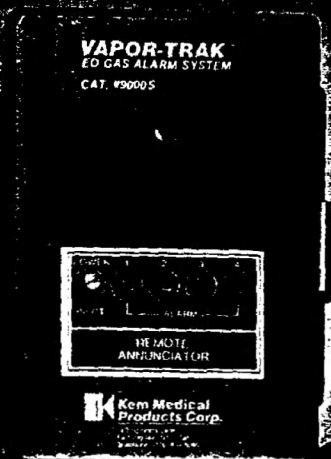
"The less external costs that are

internalized, the more profitable that product will be," said Olaszewski. "Industry is recognizing that and products are changing. Industry needs to change processes so it doesn't have to deal with the problem of hazardous waste management, solid waste management, or air pollution."

Cutting out waste, selling recycled products, and conserving energy lead to greater profits. Obeying government regulations can save a company from million dollar fines, not to mention the attendant bad publicity. Openness about environmental policies and an honest effort to keep the environment clean result in consumer acceptance of products.

"Environmentalism is a bottom-line consideration," Doyle flatly stated. "Finally, the free ride for pollution is over. For years and years, it's all been dumped into the great beyond. The price tag has come full circle. Pollution is now being forced back on companies as a cost, the cost of doing business." □

## TOXIC VAPOR MONITORING



Comply with OSHA's requirements to measure exposure to toxic vapors. Passive dosimeters for ethylene oxide, formaldehyde, nitrous oxide and xylene. Emergency alarm systems and "source" leak testers also available. For further information, please call or write:



**Kem Medical  
Products Corp.**

14 Engineers Lane, Farmingdale, NY 11735  
Telephone (516) 454-8585 • (800) 553-0330



## Revenues, Expenses, and Net Assets

Anti Environmental group	1992	1992	1992	1993	1993	1993
	Revenue	Expenses	Net Assets	Revenue	Expenses	Net Assets
American Petroleum Institute						
Business Roundtable						
Cato Institute	\$ 4,789,366.00			\$ 4,600,000.00		\$ 7,250,699.00
Coalition for Vehicle Choice						
Competitive Enterprise Institute	\$ 700,000.00			\$ 347,257.00		
Global Climate Coalition						
The Heritage Foundation			\$ 30,180,955.00	\$ 22,460,539.00	\$ 20,244,690.00	\$ 32,432,993.00
Western Fuels Association (minus Coal costs)				\$ 34,633,137.00	\$ 34,656,957.00	\$ 4,178,579.00
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$ 5,489,366.00</b>		<b>\$ 30,180,955.00</b>	<b>\$ 62,040,933.00</b>	<b>\$ 54,901,647.00</b>	<b>\$ 43,862,271.00</b>
Sources:						
API	1997 990 Form	1996 990 form				
Business Roundtable	1997 990 Form	1996 990 form	1995 990 Form			
Cato Institute	1997 990 Form	1994 990 form	<i>The Right Guide</i>	1997 Annual Report	www.guidestar.org	
CVC	1996 990 Form	1995 990 Form	(They have not yet released 1997 990)			
CEI	1997 990 Form	1996 990 form	<i>The Right Guide</i>	1997 Annual Report		
GCC	1997 990 Form	1996 990 form				
Heritage	1993 990 Form	<i>The Right Guide</i>	www.nonprofits.org			
WFA	1998 Annual Report	1997 Annual Report	1996 Annual Report	1995 Annual Report		



## Revenues, Expenses, and Net Assets

[illegible]



## Revenues, Expenses, and Net Assets

[illegible]



From: WALTER KERNS <KERNS.WALTER@EPAMAIL.EPA.GOV>  
Date: Thu, 08 Aug 1996 16:15:54 -0400  
To: ksims@essential.org  
Subject: St. Petersburg Times -Reply

Other known facts:

Over 80% of newspapers are liberal and would like to scare the public to sell papers  
( Just because its in the paper, it may not be true. As you know, via statistics, you can  
take any chart or graph and interrupt it anyway you want. )

El Nino, volcanoes, sun spots, nuclear tests, forest fires, cutting down the rain forests,  
and the natural speed-up of the earth rotation do more to affect the global warming than just  
fossil fuels.

However, we must do what we can even though we only affect the warming by 5 %  
maybe.

Also, in another 10 million years, the earth falls into the sun anyway.

But, long before that , a meteor ( like the big one that kill the dinosaurs), has a better  
chance of hitting the earth before we can raise the average temperature another 20 degrees  
by fossil fuels alone.

Also, keep in mind, even if burn fossil fuels at the same rate for the next 50 years, we'll  
run out of oil and coal some day, and the problem will solve itself as we rely on chemical  
batteries.

I predict that within 20 years the cost of gasoline will be so expensive that battery cars will  
be the norm and we won't have to worry about cars anyway.

Also, in 30-40 years, minus government regulations, they'll invent save nuclear  
reactors for electricity that will end coal burning plants. We'll simply send the burnt fuel  
into outer space.

You've got to admit, someday scientist will put a large part of the EPA out of business  
except for our help in other countries without the current technologies.

So the last point is, do the little we can, learn, avoid the stress, don't create a world  
panic, and the problem will go away or be solved someday. In another 60 years we'll all  
be dead anyway. Yuk Yuk

I speak for myself with random thoughts just to make us think. This is not the EPA  
speaking.





Select News Here

Select section

Go

Select Features Here

Select feature

Go



Find any business.  
Anywhere, Anytime:

Search

## Sites: Cyberviews of the eco-fatigued

Thursday, December 11, 1997

By SETH SCHIESEL, N.Y. Times News Service

Many of the believers in global warming were in Kyoto, Japan, last week. Many of the skeptics were online.

As the nations of the world gathered to figure out how to save the planet from the various ills attributed to manmade greenhouse gases, environmental doubters were trying to figure how to convince people that all the concern is a lot of, well, hot air.

And like many other contrarians these days, the foes of environmental correctness have made a home on the Internet. Judging by all the furious debunking going on in cyberspace last week, there are more than a few people who think that most environmental regulation, Vice President Al Gore's claims to environmental credentials, and the Rio Declaration on global warming are little more than symptoms of a global hysteria that could bring down the global economy.

Following the Rio Declaration, agreed to in a sultry climate, the foes of environmental correctness chose to issue their own global-warming manifesto from a cooler clime - Leipzig, Germany.

The 1995 Leipzig Declaration is a cornerstone of the World Wide Web site run by the Science and Environmental Policy Project, which is a project of Fred Singer, "one of the nation's pre-eminent authorities on energy and environmental issues," and a staff member at the Environmental Protection Agency during Richard Nixon's first administration.

Like most of the anti-green material online, the declaration contends that global warming is not really happening, but that if it is, it's not such a bad thing anyway.

"Historically, climate has always been a factor in human affairs," it says, "with warmer periods, such as the medieval 'climate optimum,' playing an important role in economic expansion and in the welfare of nations that depend primarily on agriculture. Colder periods have caused crop failures, and led to famines, disease and other documented human misery."

The site reports that the latest signers of this declaration were a group of television weather forecasters. They could presumably have been among those worried that, as reported at the Web site of Citizens for a Sound Economy, roughly 4.9 million jobs could be jeopardized by regulatory measures being considered to curb global warming.

But there is no need to go hunting for obscure network addresses to find environmental skeptics online. Take Globalwarming.org, for instance, the easily remembered address for the Web page run by the Cooler Heads Coalition.

The Cooler Heads are members of a group established by the National Consumer Coalition, which is backed by a panoply of conservative and

John  
Kelly  
Art  
Erich  
Chris  
return to  
Brenda  
when  
done  
Katie



libertarian advocacy groups.

Tucked among the Cooler Heads' wealth of information are suggestions from a book called "Facts, Not Fear" on how to educate children about the environment.

"Explain to them that at the time dinosaurs lived, the atmosphere had CO2 levels that were at least five times greater than what we now have," the site says, using the scientific shorthand for carbon dioxide, the gas some scientists say helps cause global warming, "and that these high levels of CO2 contributed to the rich vegetation."

Serious science is also the theme at the Web site of the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, called the Junk Science Home Page.

The motto of the page is "All the junk that's fit to debunk," and it includes an essay that reads:

"As far as agriculture is concerned, a modest warming is bound to be beneficial for several reasons. The increase would register largely as warmer nighttime and winter temperatures, leading to fewer frosts and longer growing seasons, while increased CO2 will stimulate plant growth and lessen the plants' need for water."

The site is also running a \$1,000 lottery for those who send e-mail to President Clinton about global warming. But the site cautions that "if the president signs a global-warming treaty, you'll need the cash to pay the new energy tax."

The tone is only slightly more partisan at the Web site for World Climate Report, "the nation's leading publication covering the breaking news concerning the science and political science of global climate change."

One of the pressing political science questions featured at this site is whether the Republican Party can retake the White House on a platform that includes "No Car-bon Tax."

The Web site does disclose that the report is financed by the Western Fuels Association, which "promotes the importance of cheap electricity - coal-fired electricity - to the U.S. economy and its role in air quality improvements."

But perhaps the most sophisticated voice on global warming in the energy industry remains that of Mobil Corp., home of newspaper Op-Ed page advertisements across the United States.

In between ads for Mobil Masterpiece Theater and the Mobil Pegasus Prize for Literature (which was last awarded, coincidentally enough, for a book titled "A God Strolling in the Cool of the Evening"), the company advocates a cautious approach to environmental regulation.

"At Mobil, we do have a point of view on global climate change as well as views on many other issues," the page reads. "And we know they are not always the most popular. But we like the public to know where we stand."

WHERE TO GO:



THE SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY PROJECT

[http://www.his.com/\(TILDE\)sepp](http://www.his.com/(TILDE)sepp)

CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY

<http://www.cse.org/globwarm.htm>

COOLER HEADS COALITION

<http://www.globalwarming.org>

THE ADVANCEMENT OF SOUND SCIENCE COALITION/THE JUNK  
SCIENCE HOME PAGE

<http://www.junkscience.com>

MOBIL

<http://www.mobil.com>

-----  
*Copyright 1997, Naples Daily News. All rights reserved.*

[\[Main Page\]](#) [\[Local\]](#) [\[Bonita\]](#) [\[Marco\]](#) [\[Florida\]](#) [\[Nation/World\]](#) [\[Sports\]](#) [\[Business\]](#) [\[Editorial\]](#) [\[Neapolitan\]](#)  
[\[Entertainment\]](#) [\[Health & Science\]](#) [\[Computers\]](#) [\[Real Estate\]](#) [\[Classifieds\]](#) [\[Feedback\]](#)



A CLEAR View  
December 3, 1997  
Volume 4, Number 16  
Special Kyoto Issue

Global climate change is one of the more hotly contested environmental issues of 1997. In early December, representatives of over 150 nations will meet in Kyoto, Japan, to negotiate the conditions of an international treaty aimed at stemming global climate change. A result of the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the Kyoto conference will attempt to map out a strategy for reducing global greenhouse emissions, the pollutants that destroy the ozone layer, causing global warming.

As expected, the environmental backlash movement is active in the debate on the impact of global warming. The fax, e-mail and phone trees of "wise use" organizations like Chuck Cushman's American Land Rights Association and the American Policy Center are humming with activity as "wise use" leaders prod their members to lobby political leaders in opposition to the treaty. Tried and true methods of activism such as meetings and media-savvy protests have also been used by the organizations to draw attention to their concerns.

Yet the grassroots "wise use" campaign against the Kyoto conference has been largely ineffective, mimicking the lack of success in pushing a "wise use" domestic backlash agenda. Instead, much like the recent debate on new particulate air standards, it is the industry-funded faction of the anti-environmental lobby, including industry front groups, trade associations and free-market think tanks, that is coordinating the most comprehensive, effective lobbying campaign to undermine the global climate change treaty.

These organizations, many of which have strong ties to the industries and their trade associations, are the most active in promoting the big business line on the climate change issue. Their attack -- again like the particulate debate -- is multi-faceted in nature, employing some organizations to question the science behind global warming while others produce studies claiming to show the disastrous economic consequences that the U.S. would experience by reducing emissions.

The following organizations are the most prominent among those involved in the climate change backlash campaign.

Global Climate Information Project  
Global Climate Coalition  
Coalition for Vehicle Choice

---



## **Global Climate Information Project**

Launched on September 9, 1997, by some of the nation's most powerful trade associations, the Global Climate Information Project (GCIP) has rolled out an ambitious campaign for combating possible emission regulations courtesy of the Kyoto conference. Through an advertising campaign that, according to GCIP figures, has already spent more than \$3 million in newspaper and television spots and could spend as much as \$13 million, the GCIP aims to cast doubt upon the need for emissions controls by questioning the politics and the science behind a United Nation's agreement.

Writing on the media campaign unveiled by the GCIP, Bruce Clark of the Financial Times remarked that it "could become one of the most expensive lobbying efforts since the 'Harry and Louise' commercials that helped doom" the Clinton administration's health-care reform proposal.

The comparison is accurate in more than one way. The GCIP advertisements have been produced by Goddard\*Claussen/First Tuesday, a California-based public affairs and public relations firm whose clients include the Chlorine Chemistry Council, the Chemical Manufacturers Association, Dupont Merck Pharmaceuticals and the Vinyl Siding institute. Goddard\*Claussen produced the highly effective "Harry and Louise" series of television ads aimed at defeating the Clinton Administration's health care plan (Rampton and Stauber, Toxic Sludge Is Good For You, 1995 ). Writing in the New York Times, Robin Toner called the "Harry and Louise" campaign, "....a powerful advertising campaign, financed by the insurance industry, that played on people's fears and helped derail the process." The GCIP is clearly hoping that Goddard\*Claussen's track record of success will help derail the Kyoto process.

The tactics of the GCIP should be familiar to backlash watchers. The first tactic, predicting a "50 cent-per-gallon gasoline tax" and higher prices on everything from "heat to food to clothing," preys upon consumer economic fears. The other tactic, complaining that most developing nations will be exempt from the treaty, feeds into the xenophobia and U.N. bashing that is currently fashionable among the anti-environmental right. Finally, the front group claims that any treaty will hinder the competitiveness of American businesses. Jerry Jasinowski president of the National Association of Manufacturers (a member of the GCIP), said as much at the press conference that announced the formation of the GCIP.

The GCIP is represented by Richard Pollock, former director of the Naderite group Critical Mass (Washington Post, 9-25- 97). Pollock now works as a senior vice president for Shandwick Public Affairs, the second largest PR firm in the country with \$160 million in fees in 1994 (Rampton and Stauber, Toxic Sludge Is Good For You, 1995). Shandwick clients include Browning-Ferris Industries, Central Maine Power, Georgia-Pacific Corp., Monsanto Chemical Co., New York State Electric and Gas Co., Ciba-Geigy, Ford Motor Company, Hydro-Quebec, Pfizer, and Proctor & Gamble.



Shandwick netted over \$11 million in 1992 for "environmental public affairs services." Shandwick claimed a huge victory in the 103rd Congress, representing Western Livestock Producers Alliance in defeating the grazing reform effort that would have increased grazing fees on public lands. (Toxic Sludge Is Good For You, O'Dwyer's PR Services, Feb. 1996).

### **Global Climate Coalition**

A lobbying and public relations front for business interests, the Global Climate Coalition (GCC) was, since its founding in 1989 until the summer of 1997, located in the offices of the National Association of Manufacturers. GCC members include Amoco, the American Forest & Paper Association, American Petroleum Institute, Shell Oil, Texaco, Chevron, Chrysler, Cyprus AMAX Minerals, the United States Chamber of Commerce, Exxon, General Motors, and Ford Motor Company among others.

The GCC is represented by E. Bruce Harrison, whose industry-supported counterattack to Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* earned him the title "the founder of 'green' public relations (Rampton and Stauber, *Toxic Sludge Is Good For You*, 1995)." Harrison's eponymous PR firm was recently acquired by PR giant Ruder Finn, where Harrison now serves as a vice president. The GCC is also represented by the EOP Group, a Washington, DC-based public relations firm whose client list includes GCC members the American Petroleum Institute, Dow Chemical, the National Mining Association and the Edison Electric Institute.

In the current debate leading up to the conference in Kyoto, the GCC has begun to strengthen its ties with the radical anti-environmental lobby. GCC president Gail MacDonald was an unscheduled speaker at the Fly In For Freedom, the annual Washington, DC lobbying blitz conducted by the "wise use" umbrella organization the Alliance for America. MacDonald, speaking on global environmental issues, delivered a message that global warming is an unproven theory that, even if it were found to be true, cannot be pinned on industry. On November 5, the GCC coordinated a national conference opposing the Clinton Administration's involvement in the Kyoto conference. The conference was sponsored by a number of radical anti-environmental organizations, including the American Farm Bureau Federation, People For the West!, and the Environmental Conservation Organization.

### **Coalition for Vehicle Choice**

The Coalition for Vehicle Choice (CVC) was founded in 1991 as a front for automakers fighting efforts to raise Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards during the 101st Congress and continues to play a major role today in fighting to keep out strict emission reduction targets from any international global warming agreement.

CVC was founded by the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers of America (MVMA), the National Automobile Dealers Association and the Association of International Automobile Manufacturers (AIAM) in 1991, with initial funding from the



MVMA and the AIAM (Masks of Deception, Megalli and Friedman, 1991). From the beginning, CVC has been represented by Ron DeFore, a public relations professional who had served in the public affairs division of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) of the Department of Transportation (Washington Representatives, 1997). At the time the CVC was launched, DeFore was a vice president with E. Bruce Harrison, Co., the public relations firm founded by the father of "green PR." Today, the CVC is operated by DeFore at his own public relations firm, Strat@Comm. With DeFore at Strat@Comm is Diane Steed, another NHTSA alum whose involvement with CVC dates back to 1991.

From its inception, the CVC has maintained that CAFÉ standards will do little to address modern environmental or safety issues. Current literature from the CVC cites concerns over the efficacy of CAFE standards in reducing pollution, the increased consumer costs of more efficient vehicles, the effect of CAFE on international trade, the impact of fuel efficiency standards on auto safety and the role of automobile pollution in global warming.

In 1993, the CVC total revenue budget was reported to have been \$2,232,109, according to tax documents filed by the CVC. Of the reported income for CVC in 1993, \$2,180,334 of income was reported as "direct public support." Also revealed in the tax document was the fact that every penny of this "public support" came from the big three automakers. Ford Motor Company donated \$293,333, General Motors gave \$798,334, and Chrysler chipped in \$1,088,667. Subsequent tax documents for the years 1994 and 1995 do not reveal income sources, but indicate that the total CVC budget increased to \$2,951,770 in 1994 and fell to \$2,607,033 in 1995 (Internal Revenue Service forms 990 for CVC are available through CLEAR).

On October 6, 1997, a three-page advertisement sponsored by the CVC appeared in the Washington Post. The ad, bearing the banner headline "Mr. President: 95 U.S. Senators and Millions of Americans Can't Be Wrong," blasted the climate agreement as an assault on the US economy disguised as an environmental treaty. The ad suggested that the President take more time to study the issues before signing the treaty.

The sponsorship list for the advertisement included a listing of hundreds of oil and gas companies, auto dealers, parts stores, agricultural organizations and other groups. The address and phone number of the CVC appeared on the ad, but not CVC's name.

Interestingly, the ad also carried the names of a number of radical anti-environmental organizations, including the American Land Rights Association (WA), the American Legislative Exchange Council (DC), the BlueRibbon Coalition (ID), Communities for a Great Northwest (MT), Frontiers of Freedom (VA), the Maine Conservation Rights Institute and Sovereignty International (ME). Sovereignty International is a new organization dedicated to advancing the conspiracy theory that international environmental treaties are little more than a stepping stone for the institution of global, one world governance by the United Nations. The result of this "New World Order" will be the abolition of personal property and the elimination of personal freedoms, according



to Sovereignty International.

### Other Players in the Anti-Treaty Debate

A host of organizations and individuals are providing the second tier of the multi-faceted attack on climate change. These organizations are providing the grassroots foot soldiers, the Op-Ed writers, the academic studies and skeptical scientists to supply the lead groups with the ammunition necessary to wage the public relations battle. Many of these groups and personalities are also financed by the same industries who ponied up the moneys to finance the business front groups. The following are some of the more prominent of these groups.

#### **National Center for Public Policy Research**

The National Center for Public Policy Research (NCPPR) is considered to be the DC-based think tank most closely associated with the grassroots environmental backlash movement. In addition to convening regular meetings of the Environmental Policy Task Force, a forum established "to help arm conservatives with tools for the environmental policy debate it [sic] had been lacking," and publishing periodic reports dealing with environmental issues, NCPPR staff members participate in a number of backlash events ranging from sparsely attended demonstrations to conferences on specific issues.

In effect, the NCPPR appears to act as a bridge between the DC-based think tank element of the backlash movement, including such groups as the Cato Institute, the Competitive Enterprise Institute and Citizens for a Sound Economy, and the activist element, including Chuck Cushman's League of Property Rights Voters and American Land Rights Association, and Myron Ebell's Frontiers of Freedom Institute. NCPPR convenes regular "strategy lunches" that feature a who's who of conservative activists and members of Congress. NCPPR distributes a bulletin, called SCOOP, reporting on these sessions, and also posts this information on its web site (<http://www.nationalcenter.org>).

Having established a command center in Kyoto, NCPPR is broadcasting the environmental backlash message concerning the negotiations to limit global climate change.

NCPPR has created the Kyoto Earth Summit Information Center. It is billed as a technological hub for information on climate change. NCPPR has begun broadcasting a series of reports on climate change, including a daily e-mail description of conference events (courtesy of Bonner Cohen of EPA Watch, a project of the far-right American Policy Center).

NCPPR is also offering an "Earth Summit Fact Sheet" that includes: "Forecasts, past and present, of global warming and its impact on sea levels; satellite, weather balloon and ground measurements of the actual global temperatures; a summary and analysis of common misconceptions about the greenhouse effect and global warming; a layman's



description of the greenhouse effect; quotes from prominent scientists and politicians for and against the global warming theory; a detailed chronology of the history of global climate change negotiations; economic data on the costs of reducing greenhouse gas emissions; and more."

Additionally, NCPPR has offered a "free Interview Locator Service" that "offers assistance to journalists seeking interviews with leading scientists, economists and public policy experts on global warming." NCPPR claims to have "close to 150 environmental experts" in its locator service data base.

A recent CLEAR report, "Show Me The Science," criticized the credentials of many of the so-called experts that NCPPR calls upon for environmental issues. "Show Me The Science" also pointed out the corporate funding connections of many of the experts listed in NCPPR's directory. (to see "Show Me The Science," visit the CLEAR web pages at [www.ewg.org/pub/home/clear/clear.html](http://www.ewg.org/pub/home/clear/clear.html)).

### **Competitive Enterprise Institute**

The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI) advocates policy alternatives based upon a free enterprise, limited government ideology. CEI has a long history with the anti-environmental lobby, having been one of the sponsors of the 1988 conference that is considered to be the genesis for the "wise use" movement. CEI staff assert in their writings that there is "widespread disagreement" among climate scientists and that the proposed solutions are based upon faulty research. CEI hosted a one day conference in July 1997, billed as "The Costs of Kyoto," that featured prominent "science skeptics" Patrick Michaels, Ronald Bailey and Michael Fumento, along with U.S. Senators Chuck Hagel (R-NE) and Larry Craig (R-ID). The attendees heard dismissals of the scientific evidence for climate change and predictions of staggering economic costs for any new policies that might arise from the conference.

### **The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (TASSC)**

TASSC, a pro-industry coalition created in 1993 to promote "sound science" in policy decision making, is based in Washington, DC offices of the lobbying firm APCO Associates. TASSC's extensive advisory board contains well known "science skeptics" Bruce Ames, Hugh Ellsaesser, Patrick Michaels, and Alan Moghissi. Steven Milloy, recently hired as executive director of TASSC, is a self styled "junk science" critic who previously launched the Junk Science Page through the Environmental Policy Analysis Network (EPAN), a group he started in 1996. Milloy is also a lobbyist for the EOP Group, a DC-based lobbying firm that represents the American Crop Protection Association, the Chlorine Chemistry Council, Edison Electric Institute, Fort Howard Corp, Monsanto, and the International Food Additives Council, among others. Milloy's client list at the EOP Group includes Fort Howard Corp (paper), the International Food Additives Association (chemicals), Monsanto (more chemicals), and the National Mining Association.



On December 3, TASSC and the European Science and Environment Forum (ESEF) announced that more than 500 physicians and scientists have signed an open letter to world leaders opposing the climate change treaty now being negotiated in Kyoto.

TASSC is funded by 3M, Amoco, Chevron, Dow Chemical, Exxon, General Motors, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Lorillard Tobacco, Louisiana Chemical Association, National Pest Control Association, Occidental Petroleum, Philip Morris Companies, Procter & Gamble, Santa Fe Pacific Gold, and W.R. Grace.

### **Consumer Alert**

Consumer Alert (CA) promotes a free-market, libertarian approach to "consumer protection." Consumer Alert operates the National Consumer Coalition (NCC), a group of 24 non-profit organizations such as CEI, Citizens for a Sound Economy, and the National Center for Public Policy Research to promote private enterprise. A subgroup of the NCC has formed the "Cooler Heads Coalition" to address climate change issues. Marlo Lewis of CEI, head of the subgroup, characterizes climate change as "science fiction" and tries to inject a bit of populist rhetoric into the debate by railing against "UN jet setters" that he claims display a callous disregard for the poor (who Lewis states would suffer economic hardship courtesy of an international agreement). NCC members Karen Kerrigan of the Small Business Survival Committee, Joseph Bast of the Heartland Institute, and Fran Smith of CA held a briefing on climate change held in conjunction with the G-8 summit held in Denver in June, 1997.

### **Environmental Conservation Organization**

Formed in 1988 by the Land Improvement Contractors Association, ECO was originally established to act as the coordinating body of the nascent "wise use" movement. In the past year, ECO has become a leading proponent of the conspiratorial theory of the United Nations New World Order and the role of environmentalism in establishing a "one world government." The United Nations/new world order conspiracy was the impetus for the recent formation of Sovereignty International (SI), an anti-environmental organization devoted to outreach and advocacy aimed at stopping the globalization of environmentalism. SI was formed by ECO's Henry Lamb, Tom McDonnell of the American Sheep Industry Association, and Dr. Michael Coffman, a self-appointed "expert" of global environmentalism. Coffman is currently winding down a summer-long speaking tour sponsored by the John Birch Society during which he addressed dozens of communities across the nation on the topic of the United Nations conspiracy. On November 5, ECO was a sponsor of a national conference coordinated by the Global Climate Coalition in opposition to the Clinton Administration's involvement in the Kyoto conference. Other sponsors included the American Farm Bureau Federation, People For the West!, prominent organizations in the environmental backlash.



## **Frontiers of Freedom Institute**

Former Wyoming Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop founded the Frontiers of Freedom Institute (FOF) to target environmental regulations. FOF's main policy objectives have been repeal of the Endangered Species Act and the protection of property rights. In August, 1997, FOF co-sponsored a conference in Australia called "Countdown to Kyoto" that aimed to serve as a platform to coalesce international opposition to an emissions reduction treaty. The conference featured prominent climate change skeptics and anti-environmentalists Dr. Patrick Michaels and author Alston Chase, along with Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE), Representative John Dingell (D-MI), and Australian government officials.

## **People for the West!**

People For the West! (PFW!), an organization that attempts to pass itself off as grassroots but is in fact heavily funded by mining interests, began as a timber advocacy organization in 1988 has moved into lobbying on behalf of any and all extractive and recreational activities on public lands. Representatives from Independence Mining Co, Cambior, Placer Dome Inc., Magma Copper, and Hecla Mining sit on the board of PFW!. PFW! has been holding public meetings in an effort to inform the grassroots sector of the environmental backlash movement. In June, PFW! sponsored a panel at the Fly-In For Freedom, a pre-Denver Summit of the Eight satellite teleconference, and the "town hall meeting" along with the Center for Energy & Economic Development chaired by Marlo Lewis of CEI and NCC. PFW! also held a panel discussion at the Western States Coalition Summit VIII in Spokane. PFW! was a co-sponsor of a national conference held November 5 in Washington, DC in opposition to the Clinton Administration's involvement in the Kyoto conference. The conference was coordinated by the Global Climate Coalition.

## **Science and Environmental Policy Project**

The Science and Environmental Policy Project (SEPP), run by former University of Virginia professor Dr. S. Fred Singer, has extensive ties to fossil fuels industries. On a Nightline program in February, 1994, it was revealed that Singer has accepted "consulting fees from Exxon, Shell, Arco, Unocal and Sun Oil." According to Ozone Action, an environmental organization, SEPP has also received funding from Monsanto, Philip Morris, and Texaco. Singer appeared as a witness during a 1995 Congressional ozone depletion hearing, claiming to have published several peer-reviewed papers on his theories about the huge ozone hole over the South Pole. When Congressional staff checked his references, they found that Singer's only published work on ozone depletion during the past 20 years had been one letter to the editor of SCIENCE magazine, and two articles in magazines that are not peer reviewed. Singer is a regular columnist in the Washington Times, a publication owned by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon's far right Unification Church, where he has written many articles on climate change issues.



In fact, Rush Limbaugh claims to get his information about the ozone depletion from sources that have been traced back to Singer (Rachel's Environment & Health Weekly, #522, November 28, 1996).

#### **Robert Balling, Jr.**

Balling is director of the Office of Climatology at Arizona State University. In 1992 he penned "The Heated Debate" attacking what he calls the "science fiction" of the studies used to determine the effects of climate change. The book was published by the Pacific Institute for Public Policy in San Francisco, CA, a 501 (c)(3) non-profit think tank that analyzes policy issues from a free-market perspective. Balling contributed a condensed version of his treatise for inclusion in "The True State of the Planet," published by the Competitive Enterprise Institute in 1995. According to Ozone Action, Balling has received research grants from industry sources including Cyprus AMAX Minerals, British Coal Corp., the German Coal Mining Association, and the Kuwait government. The Kuwait government paid for the publishing of an Arabic language version of "The Heated Debate." (contact Ozone Action at 202-265-6738, or e-mail [ozone\\_action@essential.org](mailto:ozone_action@essential.org))

#### **Dr. Patrick Michaels**

One of the most widely cited "skeptics" on climate change topics, Dr. Michaels is an advisor to several groups active in the anti-environmental lobby including the American Council on Science and Health, The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, the American Policy Center and Consumer Alert. He is also the editor of World Climate Report, a magazine funded by the Western Fuels Association (WFA) to debunk the science and theory behind global warming. The magazine toes the industry line claiming emission reductions will involve tremendous economic costs while generating few positive health benefits. In testimony before the Minnesota Public Utilities Commission in 1995, Michaels admitted to receiving funding from a host of industry sources. Ozone Action's "Ties that Bind" lists some of the grants including one from the Edison Electric Institute (EEI). EEI is a contributor to American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), Information Council on the Environment, and the Western States Coalition (WSC), all organizations that are active in the anti-environmental backlash. Michaels also reported a grant from Cyprus AMAX Minerals, which helps fund ALEC, WSC and People for the West!.

For additional information on any of the organizations or individuals mentioned above, contact CLEAR.

#### **Contributors:**

Sara Savitt, Editor  
Dan Barry, CLEAR Director  
Allison Daly, Grassroots Coordinator  
Mike Shelhamer, Research Assistant

=====



CLEAR  
Clearinghouse on Environmental Advocacy and Research  
1718 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 600  
Washington, DC 20009  
tel. 202-667-6982 = fax 202-232-2592 =  
= e-mail: [clear@ewg.org](mailto:clear@ewg.org) = www: <http://www.ewg.org>

4



Confidential

Do Not Distribute

Memorandum

Date: November 9, 1997  
To:  
From:  
Re: Lobbying activities of opponents of climate treaty

This memo is to follow up on your request of Thursday November 6th that I collect and organize information on groups lobbying against the creation of a climate treaty. This is a preliminary review, and more documents will be collected and reviewed this week.

Groups lobbying against the climate treaty include fossil fuel producers, energy intensive industries, labor unions, general business associations and political opponents of the Clinton Administration. They lobby the Administration, Congress, foreign nations participating in the UN negotiating process and the American public. This memo identifies some of these interests and their activities. In addition, key administration officials, particularly at the Department of Energy, have acted to forestall and weaken the treaty. It is unknown if these people acted autonomously or in complicity with senior White House officials, industry groups or both. This report memo does not consider the influence of campaign financing. These groups are represented by the largest and most experienced lobbying firms in town. For example, Cassidy & Associates, Patton Boggs and the Duberstein Group all represent one or more of these entities. The most recent edition of Mother Jones magazine includes a story about the Western Fuels Association hiring. In addition, many of these companies are members of more than one association lobbying against the treaty, such as the Global Climate Coalition (most recent membership list included) or the National Association of Manufacturers.

It is difficult to document a connection between Clinton administration officials and industry. Some of the information is anecdotal and not supported with on-the-record statements. For example, one congressional staffer reported to me that an industry lobbyist told him in Bonn that, "You have EPA and we have DOE in this fight." The key players in this seem to be Howard Grunspect and Abe Haspel. Grunspect is a Bush administration appointee who burrowed in at DOE. Haspel is reportedly Grunspect's strong ally. The first incident of DOE actively working against a treaty was in early 1997, when someone at DOE leaked an Argonne National Labs report to the press. The report concluded massive job loss in a small number of selected energy intensive industries. It was widely covered because it entered a void created when Administration delayed for months release of its economic analysis. I will further detail this information in a memo that will be finished by COB Tuesday.

This list focuses on groups that sent representatives to the most recent negotiations in Bonn, which seemed a logical way to pare this very long list of companies and associations. In the coming days more records will be collected and reviewed. I suggest we proceed by pulling foreign agent registrations for Patton Boggs and each OPEC nations plus China, lobbying disclosure forms for each member of the GCC and continuing to look at connections between Clinton administration officials and the fossil fuel lobby.

- On October 20th through October 31st the Ad Hoc Group on the Berlin Mandate met in Bonn, Germany for the last round of full talks before Kyoto. Several groups who oppose

DOE loved  
Russian  
paper tons

Faika  
was going  
to do  
that



a treaty sent representatives to Bonn, and each of them had to register with the UN under NGO status. I have included a the list of registrants, their affiliations and other relevant information. Below I listed some of the more leading players.

-Edison Electric Institute: Federal lobbying forms reveal that EEI spent \$11,180,000 in 1996 and \$5,000,000 in the first 6 months of 1997 lobbying on various issues. EEI lobbying disclosure forms for 1996 and 1997 are included. EEI staff that registered in Bonn are:

Robert Beck, Vice President Environmental Affairs  
William Fang, Deputy General Counsel  
Walker Nolan, Vice President, Policy & External Affairs  
John Novak, Director, Environmental Programs  
Edward Yawn, Director, Government Relations

-Global Climate Coalition: The coordinating group for industry efforts. Membership list is attached. Consistent with this role several entities registered in Bonn under the GCC, including American Petroleum Institute, Mobil, American Automobile Manufacturers Assn., Chevron and General Motors, among others. The only employee of the GCC who registered was President Gail McDonald. GCC's lobbying disclosures are included."

-Julian R. Spradley: "JR" Spradley is currently an employee in Campbell and Guaves LLP. Spradley registered in Bonn under the EEI. It is unclear who is paying Spradley. Spradley is not a registered lobbyist. Spradley worked in the Bush Administration and served on the US delegation to the climate talks. As a delegate, Spradley earned some notoriety when he said to the Bangladesh delegation, "This is not a disaster, it is merely a change. The area wont have disappeared, it will just be under water. Where you now have cows, you will have fish." (Washington Post, 12/30/90, enclosed)

-American Automobile Manufacturers Association: The AAMA sent 5 representatives to Bonn. The AAMA spent \$2,990,000 in 1996 and \$2,650,350 the first 6 months of 1997 on lobbying. AAMA's most recent lobbying disclosure is included. The following represented the AAMA in Bonn:

Steven Berry who is a registered lobbyist with Holland & Knight, a lobbying shop retained by AAMA. Other clients are diversified, including Fannie Mae, ESPN and ATLA.  
David Finnegan who is a registered lobbyist under his own name and with Mayer, Brown & Platt. Other clients listed to Finnegan are Briggs & Stratton, Deutsche Lufthansa and EEI. Finnegan is a former congressional staffer for Rep. John Dingell, longtime opponent of clean anything.

Robert McFadden, Manager at the AAMA.

Robert Moss, Vice President at the AAMA and former counsel to the House under Speaker Tip O'Neil.

Charles Sharp who is a registered lobbyist under his own name with AAMA as a client.

-Mayer Brown & Platt also sent John Schmitz who is a registered lobbyist representing, Marathon Oil Co., General Electric Aircraft Engines, Edison Mission Electric, Duetsche Lufthansa, and Better Hong Kong Foundation.

-Climate Council: The Climate Council is based in Patton Boggs, LLP and run by partner Donald Pearlman. Pearlman served as Exec. Asst. to the Sec. of Energy from 1982-85 and as Exec. Asst. to the Sec. of the Interior from 1985-89. Pearlman has provided counsel to several OPEC nations. He is a registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as representative of Abu Dhabi, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. (I will have his most recent filing from DOJ today.) Patton Boggs lists as clients Abu Dhabi, Oman, Pakistan and Qatar. His overall strategy is to counsel developing nations to insist that a

Had 4  
people  
there  
small  
sto



treaty require developed nations to make significant emissions cuts before they are required to—a condition that industry lobbies the congress, administration and public to reject. One report tells that Kuwait submitted a text to the negotiating body that was in Pearlman's handwriting. (Der Spiegel as reported in The Nation, 12/16/96.) Pearlman's activities are not limited to just counseling nations. In 1996, Pearlman instigated the false charge that Dr. Ben Santer doctored the IPCC reports, which is reported on in the Heat is On (p. 79-81). In the Heat is On, Pearlman contends his role is far smaller than these reports indicate. His contentions are not credible. Patton Boggs is one of the largest lobbying firms in DC. Its clients include ARCO, Bristol Myers Squibb, USAir and Infinity Broadcasting among dozens of others. It almost certainly bills clients by the hour. Some company, association, country or group of them must be paying Pearlman's travel cost and billable hours.

—Mobil Oil Corporation: Four people represented Mobil in Bonn. Two are registered lobbyists. Mobil spent \$4,720,000 in 1996 and \$2,540,000 in the first 6 months of 1997 on lobbying. Mobil's lobbying disclosure form on included. Representing Mobil were:  
Leonard Bernstein  
James Bott  
Jim Green, Government Relations Representative, a registered lobbyist  
Robert Haines, Manager, International Relations, a registered lobbyist

—General Motors: Three people represented GM in Bonn, all three are registered lobbyists. They are James Pasek, Terry Pritchett and John Williams.

—American Petroleum Institute was represented by David Banks and Thomas Kirlin, neither are registered lobbyists.

—Southern Company was represented by "Buddy" Eller who may be Burton Eller. Burton Eller is a registered lobbyist with McLeod Watkinson and Miller and represents the California Avacado Commission and the Coalition for Sugar Reform; and is registered with the National Cattlemen's Beef Association representing the association. I suspect that Southern Company is a new client Burton "Buddy" Eller. Also representing Southern Company was Robert Gehri and L.R. Harry, who are registered lobbyists. Southern Company's lobby disclosure forms list climate change as one of the issues they lobby. The company spent \$1,320,000 in 1996 and \$680,000 in the first 6 months of 1997 on lobbying. Southern Company's disclosure forms are included.

—Chevron was represented by Sharon Kneiss, who is not a registered lobbyist.

—American Farm Bureau was represented by Dennis Stolte, who is a registered lobbyist.

—Chrysler Corporation was represented by Marie Takemoto, who is not a registered lobbyist.

—Dow Chemical was represented by Dennis Heydanek and registered lobbyist Paul Cicio.

—Ford Motor Company was represented by John Shiller, who is not a registered lobbyist.

—National Mining Association: The NMA had three representatives in Bonn. The NMA spent \$500,000 lobbying in the first 6 months of 1997. Representatives were:  
Constance Holmes, a registered lobbyist with NMA.  
Robert Long, Vice President of Government Affairs, who is a registered lobbyist.  
Peter Sparber who is registered as a lobbyist with Sparber & Associates.

has  
been  
Climate  
Council



*didn't see him there*

-National Association of State Fire Marshals: I don't know why the association of firemarshals were represented in Bonn. The connection seems to be Sparber & Associates, who lobbies on behalf of Air Transportation Assn., Assn. of Home Appliance Manufacturers, Fire Equipment Manufacturers Assn., Great Lakes Chemical Corporation, National Fire Sprinkler Assn., Peabody Holding Company and Sleep Product Safety Company. Peter Sparber and Karen Suhr, both registered lobbyist from Sparber attended. Peter under the NMA and Karen with the firemarshalls as a representative of the Air Transport Association.

-Peabody Holding Company, a coal company, was represented by John Wooten who is a registered lobbyist and also by lobbyists from Sparber & Associates, who Peabody Holding has retained according to lobbying forms.

-United Mine Workers of America were represented by Fred Banig, Michael Buckner and Eugene Trisko, who are not registered lobbyists.

-Texaco was represented by James Pinto and Clement Malin, who are not registered lobbyists.

-Air Transport Association was represented by Karen Suhr and Michael Wascom. Karen Suhr is a lobbyist with Sparber & Associate. Wascom is a registered lobbyist with the National Automobile Dealer Assn.

-Susan Labombard of Union Electric Company registered with EEI: Labombard is registered as a federal lobbyist with Union Electric Company, Empire District Electric Power, Kansas City Power and Light and St. Joseph Power and Light.

*TC C made speech*



Date: Mon, 11 May 1998 13:37:32 -0400  
From: jmorgan@nrdc.org (Jennifer L Morgan)  
Sender: owner-uscan-talk@igc.org  
Subject: Rachel's env and health weekly  
To: uscan-talk@igc.apc.org

=====Electronic Edition=====

RACHEL'S ENVIRONMENT & HEALTH WEEKLY #596

---April 30, 1998---

HEADLINES:

A NEW DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

=====  
Environmental Research Foundation  
P.O. Box 5036, Annapolis, MD 21403  
Fax (410) 263-8944; Internet: erf@rachel.clark.net  
=====

Back issues available by E-mail; to get instructions, send  
E-mail to INFO@rachel.clark.net with the single word HELP  
in the message; back issues also available via ftp from  
ftp.std.com/periodicals/rachel and from gopher.std.com  
and from http://www.monitor.net/rachel/  
Subscribe: send E-mail to rachel-weekly-request@world.std.com  
with the single word SUBSCRIBE in the message. It's free.

=====

A NEW DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN

A new study concludes that this has been the warmest century in 600 years, and that the hottest years during this century have been 1990, 1995, and 1997.[1,2] This is further evidence that global warming is upon us, and that humans are contributing to it by burning coal and oil. (See REHW #430, #466.) "Our conclusion was that the warming of the past few decades appears to be closely tied to emission of greenhouse gases by humans and not [by] any of the natural factors," say Michael E. Mann, principal author of the new study.[1]

The global temperature varies as time passes because of natural changes in sunlight reaching the Earth, dust from volcanoes (which reflects sunlight back into space), and changing amounts of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

So-called greenhouse gases (mainly carbon dioxide [CO2], but also methane and a few others that are less important) allow sunlight to strike the Earth but don't allow heat to escape back into space as readily, thus trapping heat near the surface, just as the glass roof on a greenhouse does. Scientists have recognized the existence of this "greenhouse effect" for about 100 years and they know that, sooner or later, increasing the amount of "greenhouse gases" in the atmosphere must warm the planet. Thus scientists don't debate whether greenhouse gases will cause global warming. They debate when it will be noticeable, how big the warming will be, and what its consequences might be.

During the past 100 years, humans burning coal and oil have



increased the atmosphere's concentration of carbon dioxide [CO<sub>2</sub>] --the main greenhouse gas --by 25%, and the concentration is still rising.

Actual temperature measurements only go back about 150 years, so temperatures earlier than that must be inferred from tree rings, corals and fossils in the oceans, deposits left by glaciers, the chemical composition of ancient ice at the poles, and fossilized pollen found in lake sediments. The new study, published in the British journal NATURE, uses many of these techniques to reconstruct the Earth's temperature back to the year 1400 A.D.[2]

The new study bolsters the consensus reached in 1996 by an overwhelming majority of the world's climatologists, that (a) global warming is probably noticeable now; and (b) human activities are probably contributing to the rise in the planet's average temperature. That consensus conclusion was published in the second Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC),[3] which is an office of the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Meteorological Organization.

For their part, the coal and oil corporations are not taking this scientific consensus lying down. They are fighting back with a multi-million dollar public relations plan that was recently leaked to the NEW YORK TIMES.[4] These corporations stand to lose by the global climate-change agreement reached last December 11 in Kyoto, Japan. The Kyoto agreement binds the U.S. to reduce its carbon dioxide emissions to 7% below 1990 levels by the period 2008-2012. For a country like the U.S., which has steadily rising emissions, the Kyoto agreement will require cuts as great as 30% to 35% below where emissions would otherwise be by the year 2012. (See REHW #577.)

In an attempt to undermine the Kyoto agreement, the energy corporations plan "to recruit a cadre of scientists who share the industry's views of climate science and to train them in public relations so they can help convince journalists, politicians, and the public that the risk of global warming is too uncertain to justify controls on greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide that trap the sun's heat near Earth." [4] The plan is being spearheaded by Joe Walker, a public relations representative of the American Petroleum Institute.

The scientific talent for the public relations campaign is being recruited by Frederick Seitz, who is a physicist, not a climatologist, but who has an impressive scientific resume as former president of the American Physical Society, former president of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), and president emeritus of Rockefeller University. Dr. Seitz is also distinguished by being one of the last remaining scientists who insist that humans have not altered the stratospheric ozone layer, despite an overwhelming body of evidence to the contrary. He is currently associated with two libertarian think tanks, the George C. Marshall Institute and the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition (see [www.marshall.org](http://www.marshall.org), [www.tassc.org](http://www.tassc.org), and [www.junkscience.com](http://www.junkscience.com)).



Dr. Seitz injected himself into the climate debate forcefully by attacking the IPCC just days after publication of the IPCC's consensus conclusion that humans were probably contributing to global warming. Writing in the WALL STREET JOURNAL June 12, 1996, Dr. Seitz called the IPCC report a "major deception on global warming." He accused IPCC scientists of the most "disturbing corruption of the peer-review process" that he had ever witnessed. And he accused one particular scientist, Benjamin Santer, of having made "unauthorized changes" to the IPCC report for political purposes. It turned out that Seitz had not attended any of the IPCC meetings, and he had not contacted Santer to find out whether the changes to the IPCC document were "authorized" or not. It also turned out that all of Seitz's charges were wrong --the IPCC report had been peer-reviewed by roughly one thousand qualified scientists and all of the writing in the final report was fully authorized.[5]

Dr. Seitz and his associates at the George C. Marshall Institute are now preparing to release a petition that they reportedly sent to "virtually every scientist in every field" in the U.S.[6] There are 10 million people with undergraduate degrees in science in the U.S., and half a million with science Ph.D.s. Of these, 15,000 science graduates and 6000 with Ph.D. degrees have reportedly signed the petition, which rejects the Kyoto agreement and argues that increasing levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will benefit the planet. The mass mailing to scientists included a copy of an article formatted to look as if it had been published in the prestigious, peer-reviewed journal PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. It was not. The article, which had been neither peer-reviewed nor published, argued that the release of more carbon dioxide "will help to maintain and improve the health, longevity, prosperity, and productivity of all people." The Union of Concerned Scientists ([www.ucsusa.org](http://www.ucsusa.org)) has branded the exercise "a deliberate attempt to deceive the scientific community with misinformation on the subject of climate change."

According to the NEW YORK TIMES, the energy corporations plan to spend \$5 million over the next two years to "maximize the impact of scientific views consistent with ours on Congress, the media, and other key audiences." Their plan calls for spending \$600,000 (not including costs of advertising) on a media campaign to influence science writers, editors, columnists, and TV network correspondents using as many as 20 "respected climate scientists" recruited specifically "to inject credible science and scientific accountability into the climate science debate, thereby raising questions about and undercutting the 'prevailing scientific wisdom.'" The energy corporations say they intend to provide "a one-stop resource for members of Congress, the media industry, and all others concerned."

This latest plan to "educate" Americans about global warming will be paid for by Exxon, Chevron, and other supporters of the American Petroleum Institute. Previous similar attempts in recent years have been funded by Exxon, Shell Oil, Unocal, ARCO, the British Coal Corporation, the German Coal Mining Association,



and Cyprus Minerals, a western mining company that is the single biggest funder of the so-called Wise Use anti-environmental movement in the U.S.[7]

Who knows? With enough money, it may be possible to convince Congress and the media that global warming is not happening, despite the evidence, which is considerable (see REHW #430, #466):

- \*\* Average global air temperatures have risen this century.
- \*\* The oceans have warmed this century;
- \*\* The level of the oceans has been rising this century because water expands as it warms;
- \*\* Many glaciers have shrunk this century in response to warming;
- \*\* Plants are moving upward on mountainsides as temperatures rise;
- \*\* Rainfall --particularly torrential rainfall --has been increasing this century as global warming has put more water vapor into the air;
- \*\* Floods are increasing because of more rainfall;
- \*\* In England, where climatic records reach back several hundred years, spring has been arriving earlier in recent decades;
- \*\* The IPCC and the World Health Organization say that global warming is expanding the range of mosquitoes that carry malaria, yellow fever, and dengue fever, a trend that will put millions of additional humans at risk from these diseases. (See REHW #466.)
- \*\* Computer models predict that global warming will be accompanied by more storms and more intense storms, and, in fact, this has been happening. To protect itself the U.S. insurance industry in 1996 stopped insuring certain storm-prone areas on the eastern seaboard and along the Gulf coast.[8]

Already severe storms are hurting people in California, Alabama, the upper midwest, and New England, to mention only U.S. locations where extreme weather events have struck in recent months. Real people are suffering. Affected individuals, and all taxpayers, are paying large costs. If the world scientific consensus is correct, this will continue until our use of coal and oil is cut by 60% or 70% and the atmosphere can stabilize again. At present there is no possibility --none--of achieving such drastic cuts because the oil and coal companies are too powerful.

Global warming is the most important problem we face because it has the potential to disrupt every part of the global ecosystem. It is also the most important because it promises to reveal the fundamental flaws in the permissive way we treat corporations: (1) we give them the free-speech protections of the Bill of Rights, allowing them to spend millions on disinformation campaigns aimed at maintaining a harmful status quo. And (2) we



allow them to manipulate our most basic democratic institutions by pumping millions of dollars into election campaigns. It seems clear that if we are to solve the global warming problem, these two practices will have to change.

--Peter Montague

(National Writers Union, UAW Local 1981/AFL-CIO)

[1] William K. Stevens, "New Evidence Finds This is the Warmest Century in 600 years," NEW YORK TIMES April 28, 1998, pg. C3.

[2] Michael E. Mann and others, "Global-scale temperature patterns and climate forcing over the past six centuries," NATURE Vol. 392 (April 23, 1998), pgs. 779-787. See also, Gabriele Hegerl, "The past as a guide to the future," NATURE Vol. 392 (April 23, 1998), pgs. 758-759.

[3] J.J. Houghton and others, editors, CLIMATE CHANGE 1995: THE SCIENCE OF CLIMATE CHANGE (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[4] John H. Cushman, Jr., "Industrial Group Plans to Battle Climate Treaty," NEW YORK TIMES April 26, 1998, pgs. A1, A24.

[5] Paul N. Edwards and Stephen H. Schneider, "The 1995 IPCC Report: Broad Consensus or 'Scientific Cleansing,'" ECOFABLES/ECOSCIENCE No. 1 (Fall 1997), pgs. 3-9. ECOFABLES/ECOSCIENCE is published by the Center for Conservation Biology, Department of Biological Sciences, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5020. E-mail: [ecofable@bing.stanford.edu](mailto:ecofable@bing.stanford.edu); telephone (415) 723-5924; fax: (415) 723-5920.

[6] Colin Macilwain, "Petition strengthens hand of global warming skeptics," NATURE Vol. 392 (April 16, 1998), pg. 639.

[7] Ross Gelbspan, "Hot Air on Global Warming; Science and Academia in the Service of the Fossil Fuel Industry," MULTINATIONAL MONITOR Vol. 18, No. 11 (November 1997), pgs. 14-17.

[8] Joseph B. Treaster, "Insurer Curbing Sales of Policies in Storm Areas," NEW YORK TIMES October 10, 1996, pgs. A1, D6.

Descriptor terms: global warming; greenhouse effect; corporations; kyoto; insurance industry; libertarians; think tanks; ipcc;

#####

#### NOTICE

Environmental Research Foundation provides this electronic version of RACHEL'S ENVIRONMENT & HEALTH WEEKLY free of charge even though it costs our organization considerable time and money to produce it. We would like to continue to provide this service free. You could help by making a tax-deductible contribution (anything you can afford, whether \$5.00 or \$500.00). Please send your tax-deductible contribution to: Environmental Research Foundation, P.O. Box 5036, Annapolis, MD 21403-7036. Please do not send credit card information via E-mail. For further



information about making tax-deductible contributions to E.R.F.  
by credit card please phone us toll free at 1-888-2RACHEL.

--Peter Montague, Editor

#####

Received: from europe.std.com (199.172.62.20) by mail.nrdc.org with SMTP  
(IMA Internet Exchange 2.12 Enterprise) id 0007CD77; Tue, 5 May 98 23:25:13  
-0400

Received: by europe.std.com (8.7.6/BZS-8-1.0)  
id QAA25131; Tue, 5 May 1998 16:13:01 -0400 (EDT)

X-Authentication-Warning: clarknet.clark.net: Urachel set sender to  
rachel!rachel.clark.net!peter using -f

>Received: by rachel.clark.net (UUPC/extended 1.12r);  
Tue, 05 May 1998 16:02:15 -0400

Message-Id: <354f7047.rachel@rachel.clark.net>

Date: Tue, 5 May 98 16:02:14 -0500

From: Peter Montague <peter@rachel.clark.net>

To: rachel-weekly@world.std.com

X-Mailer: ELM [version 2.3 PL11] for OS/2

Content-Type: text

Sender: montague@world.std.com

Precedence: bulk

Reply-To: Peter Montague <peter@rachel.clark.net>





## Climate Change: *Waiting only makes* things worse

With a leaky roof, delaying repair only runs up the tab. The longer we wait to address climate change, the more costly the process will be to both the environment and the economy. That's why some in the private sector want to act early and want government to provide credit for early action.

**The cost of delay is significant.** Steps taken now represent an investment that will pay environmental and economic dividends into the future. Conversely, continued inaction will result in greater environmental impacts and increased costs down the line.

**U.S. leadership is imperative.** Since the U.S. has both the highest greenhouse gas emissions and per capita income, implementing a voluntary early action program demonstrates to the world our commitment to address the problem of climate change.

**Leadership must start with Congress.** Congress must provide the legislative framework to encourage early action.

Let's not put off until tomorrow what we should begin today.

Climate change is serious business. Early action is smart business.



For a copy of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change's report, *Early Action and Global Climate Change*, call 703-516-4145 or visit our web site at [WWW.PEWCLIMATE.ORG](http://WWW.PEWCLIMATE.ORG)

Air Products and Chemicals, Inc. • American Electric Power • Baxter International Inc. • Boeing Company • BP America • Enron Corp. • Holman Inc. • Intercontinental Energy Corporation • International Paper • Lockheed Martin • Maytag Corporation • The Sun Company • 3M • Toyota • United Technologies • U.S. Generating Company • Weyerhaeuser • Whirlpool

PAID FOR BY THE PEW CENTER ON GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE



ENVIRONMENTAL WORKING GROUP

## About CLEAR



Clearinghouse on Environmental Advocacy and Research

**EWG HOME**

**CLEAR HOME**

**CLEAR  
RESOURCES**

**WHERE  
YOU LIVE**

**ABOUT  
CLEAR**

**CLEAR  
NEWSLETTER**

**E-MAIL  
CLEAR**

**ABOUT CLEAR:** The Clearinghouse on Environmental Advocacy and Research (CLEAR) is a national clearinghouse for information on the growing anti-environmental "wise use" movement. CLEAR researchers have compiled an extensive library of materials and resources to help environmental groups and concerned individuals expose the truth about environmental backlash activists and their strategies and tactics. CLEAR distributes information to progressive environmental grassroots groups, national organizations, and individuals, which responds by sending out relevant materials free of charge.

**RESOURCE MATERIALS:** CLEAR staff has collected materials on the anti-environmental and anti-regulatory movement and has built a library that includes reports, fact sheets, newsletters, articles and other useful information. CLEAR has developed a database of over 2,100 "wise-use" groups, and subscribes to many of their newsletters. Participants in CLEAR's grassroots environmental network also contribute materials regarding the activities of local wise use groups for inclusion in our database.

**STRATEGIC ANALYSIS:** CLEAR distributes media and political analyses to help organizations and individuals understand and counteract the anti-environmental movement. CLEAR produces and distributes reports and analyses of wise-use tactics and strategies, and helps disseminate reports, publications and flyers developed by other organizations to its national network of activists and concerned individuals.

**NETWORKING AND INFORMATION  
DISSEMINATION:** CLEAR assists individuals and organizations in their efforts to



renew citizen concern, involvement and activism in the face of the growing anti-environmental backlash. CLEAR works with a network of environmental advocates to share the latest articles, reports, fact sheets, tips, and success and horror stories about resource and regulatory battles. CLEAR's database includes more than 2,100 grassroots groups and activists who have confronted \*wise use\* anti- environmental groups. This network is a vehicle through which progressive organizations confronting the environmental backlash can make their research and services known to others.

**A CLEAR VIEW:** CLEAR publishes a four-page alert, **A CLEAR View**, that provides a regular update on the activities and campaigns of "wise use" groups and efforts by environmental advocates to counter wise use politics. **A CLEAR View** is distributed monthly by e-mail and fax. For more information, contact CLEAR.

**Contact CLEAR at:**

Clearinghouse on Environmental  
Advocacy and Research  
1718 Connecticut Avenue, NW,  
Suite 600  
Washington, DC 20009

Phone: 202-667-6982  
FAX: 202-232-2592

*Emily Hayden*

E-mail CLEAR at [clear@ewg.org](mailto:clear@ewg.org)

---

CLEAR is a project of the Environmental Working Group, a not-for-profit 501(c)(3) environmental research and publishing organization based in Washington, D.C.