

# **Evidence of Fossil Fuel Companies Funding of Climate Science Denial and Climate Policy Interference**

*Kert Davies - Climate Investigations Center*

Commission on Human Rights of the Philippines  
New York City  
September 27, 2018



# Themes of this presentation:

## **WHAT FOSSIL FUEL COMPANIES KNEW**

- Oil companies studied the science internally for decades and funded academic scientists.
- Companies deployed scientists into the UN IPCC process.
- Oil company scientists briefed other corporate representatives about the growing consensus.
- Simultaneously, they funded discredited climate denier scientists as a counter voice.

## **CORPORATE EFFORTS TO STALL THE CLIMATE POLICY PROCESS**

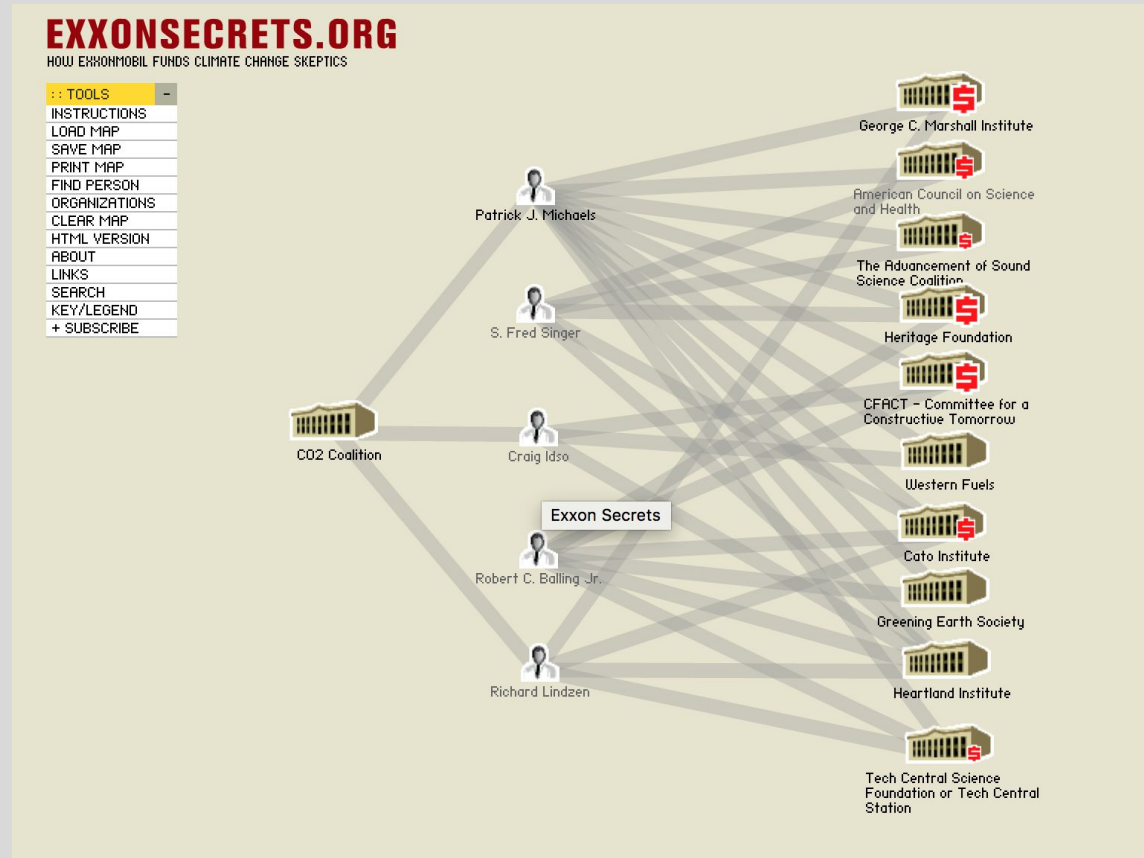
Focusing on the time period since the late 1980s. These include:

- **Climate science denial campaigns** aimed at discrediting climate science impacts assessments, attack individual scientists, specific studies, reports and institutions.
- **Campaigns aimed at destabilizing the UNFCCC process** starting with Rio Earth Summit and for example, undermining the Kyoto or Paris agreements
- **Campaigns against national greenhouse gas reduction measures** such as the Obama Clean Power Plan or McCain-Lieberman Climate Stewardship Act.

## **SPECIFIC EVIDENCE OF CORPORATE FUNDING OF CLIMATE DENIAL CAMPAIGNS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

- Campaigns executed by oil trade associations like American Petroleum Institute, and NGOs like Competitive Enterprise Institute being funded by ExxonMobil and other corporations

# ExxonSecrets.org Launched in 2004



# CLIMATE INVESTIGATIONS CENTER



# CLIMATEFILES

Hard to Find Documents All in One Place



## **Climate Files**

- The collection has 195 posts comprised of more than 200 documents, emails, transcribed video and audio files representing several thousand pages of content.
- A detailed index of these documents will be submitted with my testimony.

# Global Political Backdrop

1979 - First World Climate Conference in Geneva

1980 - Reagan elected - no pressure

1980s - Montreal Protocol ozone layer takes center stage

1988 - UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change formed

1992 - Rio Earth Summit - voluntary action only

1995 - Berlin Mandate - call for mandatory action

1997 - Kyoto Protocol - mandatory framework begun

2000 - Bush elected - withdraws U.S. from Kyoto Protocol

2000s - Corporate funding of climate denial increases

# **WHAT FOSSIL FUEL COMPANIES KNEW**



# CLIMATEFILES

Hard to Find Documents All in One Place

HOME SEARCH HOW TO EXXON KNEW ABOUT

## 1988 Shell Confidential Report "The Greenhouse Effect"



CONFIDENTIAL

### THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT

This 1988 Shell report, discovered by [Jelmer Mommers](#) of [De Correspondent](#), shines light on what the company knew about climate science, its own role in driving global CO2 emissions, the range of potential political and social responses to a warming world.

The confidential report, "The Greenhouse Effect," was authored by members of Shell's Greenhouse Effect Working Group and based on a 1986 study, though the document reveals Shell was commissioning "greenhouse effect" reports as early as 1981. Report highlights include:

- A thorough review of climate science literature, including acknowledgement of fossil fuels' dominant role in driving greenhouse gas emissions. More importantly, Shell quantifies its own products' contribution to global CO2 emissions.
- A detailed analysis of potential climate impacts, including rising sea levels, ocean acidification, and human migration.
- A discussion of the potential impacts to the fossil fuel sector itself, including legislation, changing public sentiment, and infrastructure vulnerabilities. Shell concludes that active engagement from the energy sector is desirable.
- A cautious response to uncertainty in scientific models, pressing for sincere consideration of solutions even in the face of existing debates.
- A warning to take policy action early, even before major changes are observed to the climate.

In short, by 1988 Shell was not only aware of the potential threats posed by climate change, it was open about its own role in creating the conditions for a warming world. Similar documents by ExxonMobil, oil trade associations, and utility companies have emerged in recent years, though

SEND US TIPS/DOCUMENTS SECURELY



### TOP POSTS & PAGES

1965 President's Science Advisory Committee Report on Atmospheric Carbon Dioxide

1988 Shell Confidential Report "The Greenhouse Effect"

1991 Western Fuels Association Annual Report

1991 CATO Climate Denial Conference Flyer and Schedule

1995 Global Climate Coalition Draft Climate Change Science Primer

1999 Shell "Sustainable Development - making it happen" Report and Internal "Sounding board" feedback

1999 Shell Report "Listening and Responding - The Profits and Principles Advertising Campaign"

1994 Shell Report "The Enhanced Greenhouse Effect - A review of scientific aspects"

2001 ExxonMobil's Randol Memo to White House on IPCC Team

In short, by 1988 Shell was not only aware of the potential threats posed by climate change, it was open about its own role in creating the conditions for a warming world. Similar documents by ExxonMobil, oil trade associations, and utility companies have emerged in recent years, though this Shell document is a rare, early, and concrete accounting of climate responsibility by an oil major.

HOWEVER, BY THE TIME THE GLOBAL WARMING BECOMES DETECTABLE IT COULD BE TOO LATE TO TAKE EFFECTIVE COUNTERMEASURES TO REDUCE THE EFFECTS OR EVEN TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION. (p. 4)

monitoring will improve the understanding and likely outcomes. However, by the time the global warming becomes detectable it could be too late to take effective countermeasures to reduce the effects or even to stabilise the situation.

[View the entire document with DocumentCloud](#)

### Fossil fuels are driving CO2 emissions

Throughout the report, Shell acknowledges the central role of fossil fuels, and oil in particular, in increasing CO2 emissions. While the authors note the uncertainties and limitations of contemporary climate models — particularly around the timing and intensity of impacts — there is little ambiguity about the responsibility of the oil industry. The report states, "Although CO2 is emitted to the atmosphere through several natural processes... the main cause of increasing CO2 concentrations is considered to be fossil fuel burning."

Later, the authors quantify Shell's products' unique contribution to global CO2 emissions by segment. According to this internal analysis, Shell's products (oil, gas, and coal) were responsible for 4% of total global carbon emissions in 1984. This is one of the earliest examples of carbon accounting by an oil major, and consistent with Richard Heede's "Carbon Majors" methodology of tracing carbon responsibility back to the producers.

TABLE 8: CONTRIBUTION TO GLOBAL EMISSIONS FROM FUELS SOLD BY THE SHELL GROUP IN 1984 (p. 60)

Table 8. Contribution to global CO2 emissions from fuels sold by the Shell Group in 1984 (source: Shell Coal)

fuel	carbon emissions (gigatonnes of carbon)	
	total world	Group share
oil	2.56 ( 40%)	0.20 (3.1%)
gas	0.80 ( 12%)	0.03 (0.5%)
coal	2.46 ( 38%)	0.02 (0.4%)
NCE*	0.63 ( 10%)	0 (0.0%)
total	6.45 (100%)	0.25 ( 4%)

\* NCE = Non-Commercial Energy (biomass)

[View the entire document with DocumentCloud](#)

2001 ExxonMobil's Randol Memo to White House on IPCC Team

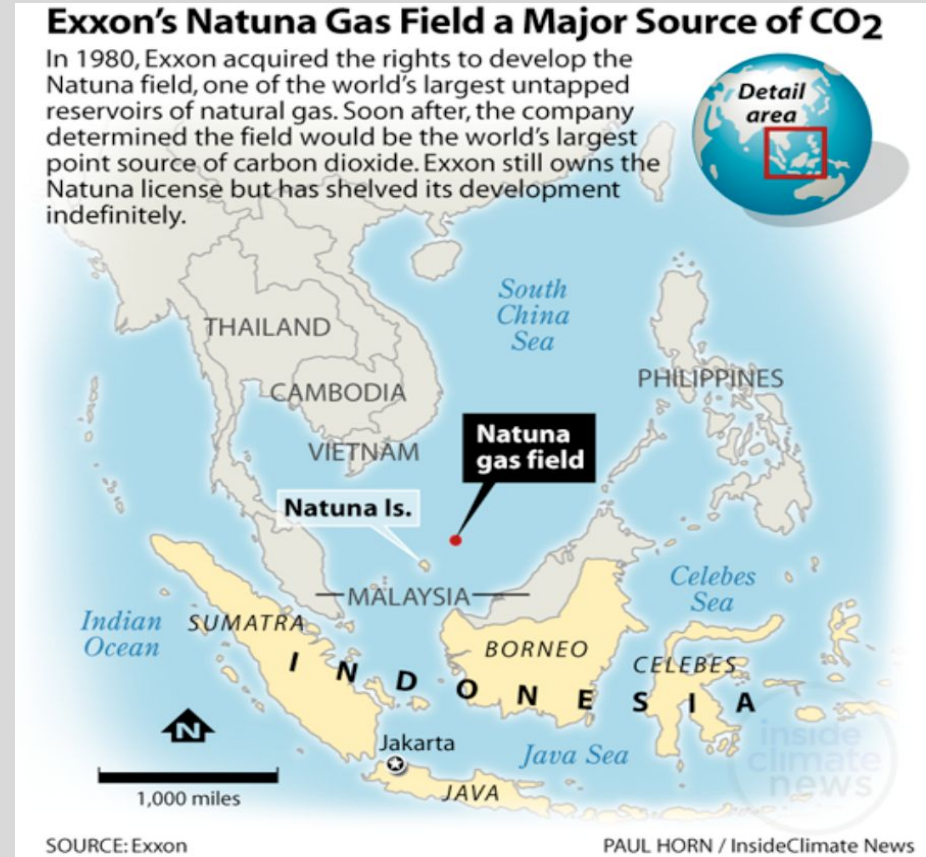
1991 Information Council on the Environment Test Denial Campaign Plan and Survey

# Natuna Gas Field - Early 1980s

## THEY KNEW IT WOULD BE BAD...

- Exxon abandons gas project, north of Borneo, because they could not figure out how to deal with CO<sub>2</sub>.
- 71% CO<sub>2</sub> by volume in deposit.
- Exxon estimates the natural gas would have twice the climate impact of coal if released.
- Would be the largest single point source on earth.

<https://insideclimatenews.org/news/08102015/Exxons-Business-Ambition-Collided-with-Climate-Change-Under-a-Distant-Sea>



# Nov 1982 Memo to Management

## CO<sub>2</sub> GREENHOUSE EFFECT A TECHNICAL REVIEW

PREPARED BY THE

COORDINATION AND PLANNING DIVISION

EXXON RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING COMPANY

APRIL 1, 1982

## EXXON RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING COMPANY

P.O. BOX 101, FLORHAM PARK, NEW JERSEY 07932

M. B. GLASER  
Manager  
Environmental Affairs Programs

Cable: ENGEXXON, N.Y.

November 12, 1982

CO<sub>2</sub> "Greenhouse" Effect

82EAP 266

TO: See Distribution List Attached

Attached for your information and guidance is briefing material on the CO<sub>2</sub> "Greenhouse" Effect which is receiving increased attention in both the scientific and popular press as an emerging environmental issue. A brief summary is provided along with a more detailed technical review prepared by CPPD.

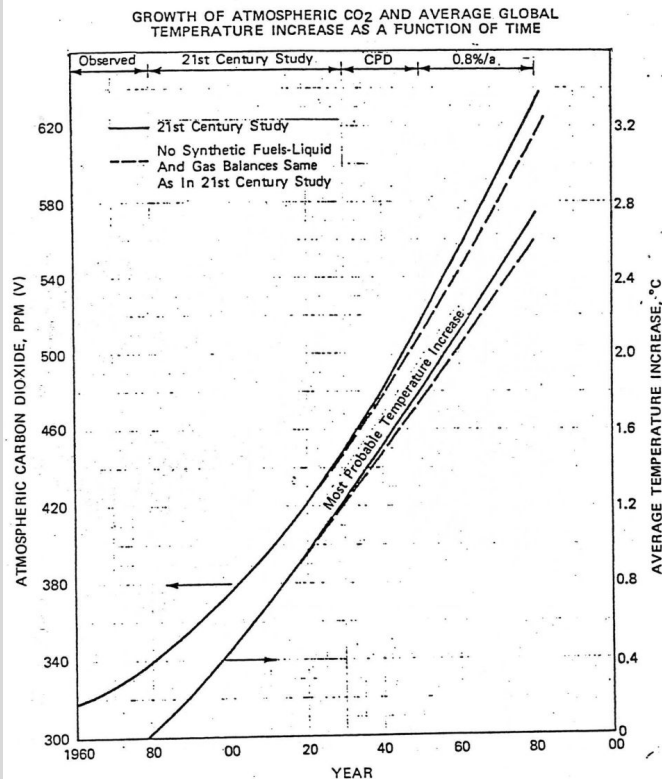
The material has been given wide circulation to Exxon management and is intended to familiarize Exxon personnel with the subject. It may be used as a basis for discussing the issue with outsiders as may be appropriate. However, it should be restricted to Exxon personnel and not distributed externally.

Very truly yours,

*M.B. Glaser*

# Nov. 1982 Memo to Management Cont.

Figure 3



PROPRIETARY INFORMATION  
FOR AUTHORIZED COMPANY USE ONLY

about 5 years to the late 2090's. Figure 3 summarizes the projected growth of atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentration based on the Exxon 21st Century Study-High Growth scenario, as well as an estimate of the average global temperature increase which might then occur above the current temperature. It is now clear that the doubling time will occur much later in the future than previously postulated because of the decreasing rate of fossil fuel usage due to lower demand.

# Exxon 1988 Internal Document "The Greenhouse Effect"

## EXXON POSITION

- 0 EMPHASIZE THE UNCERTAINTY IN SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE POTENTIAL ENHANCED GREENHOUSE EFFECT.
- 0 URGE A BALANCED SCIENTIFIC APPROACH.
- 0 DUE TO CURRENT SCIENTIFIC UNCERTAINTY, EXXON IS NOT CONDUCTING SPECIFIC IMPACT STUDIES WITH RESPECT TO PARTICULAR COMPANY OPERATIONS OR GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS.
- 0 EXXON HAS NOT MODIFIED ITS ENERGY OUTLOOK OR FORECASTS TO ACCOUNT FOR POSSIBLE CHANGES IN FOSSIL FUEL DEMAND OR UTILIZATION DUE TO THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT.
- 0 RESIST THE OVERSTATEMENT AND SENSATIONALIZATION OF POTENTIAL GREENHOUSE EFFECT WHICH COULD LEAD TO NONECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NONFOSSIL FUEL RESOURCES.



# Shell 1988 “Confidential” Report on 1981-1986 Internal Study



HOWEVER, BY THE TIME THE GLOBAL WARMING BECOMES DETECTABLE IT COULD BE TOO LATE TO TAKE EFFECTIVE COUNTERMEASURES TO REDUCE THE EFFECTS OR EVEN TO STABILIZE THE SITUATION. (p. 4).

monitoring will improve the understanding and likely outcomes. However, by the time the global warming becomes detectable it could be too late to take effective countermeasures to reduce the effects or even to stabilise the situation.

CONFIDENTIAL

The likely time scale of possible change does not necessitate immediate remedial action. However, the potential impacts are sufficiently serious for research to be directed more to the analysis of policy and energy options than to studies of what we will be facing exactly. Anticipation of climatic change is new, preventing undue change is a challenge which requires international cooperation.

With fossil fuel combustion being the major source of CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere, a forward looking approach by the energy industry is clearly desirable, seeking to play its part with governments and others in the development of appropriate measures to tackle the problem.

# Oil Companies Funding Academic Studies in 1990s

Mobil Foundation, Inc.

grant recommendation

ORGANIZATION: Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory/  
Columbia University  
ADDRESS: Palisades, N. Y.  
ZIP CODE: 10964  
ORGANIZATIONAL CONTACT: L. C. Cox  
PROGRAM/DEPARTMENT:

DATE: June 1993  
BUDGET YEAR: 1994  
AMOUNT: \$25,000

RECOMMENDING MOBIL UNIT (CO., DIV. & DEPT.): MOCORP, EHS  
MOBIL EMPLOYEE COORDINATING GRANT: J. C. Hildrew

501(C) (3) ATTACHED ☐  
(IF NEW ORGANIZATION)

PREVIOUS GRANTS BY MOBIL	GRANTS BY OTHER CORPORATIONS	DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BLOCK For Foundation Use Only:
1991 - \$25,000	Companies contributing at least	
1992 - \$25,000	\$25,000	
1993 - \$25,000	Exxon	
	Shell	UNIT CODE: _____
	Texaco	CAT. CODE: _____
	Others	

## JUSTIFICATION:

### Description of Activities and Programs

Lamont-Doherty is a world-wide leader in earth and atmospheric studies. It has organized a consortium of petroleum companies to fund the development of an improved model of energy transfer between the atmosphere and oceans. This is critical to improving global climate models and to improving the prediction of global warming. API and IPIECA are acting as focal points of petroleum industry effort.

### Purpose of Grant

Lamont-Doherty researchers continue to develop an improved computer model for energy transfer between the atmosphere and the oceans. This computer model will become part of the larger models predicting the impact of increased greenhouse gas emissions on global climate. Ultimately these models will be the basis for regulatory action. Lamont-Doherty researchers recently reported two findings with significance for constructing better global climate models: a negative feedback mechanism which compensates for the effect of melting sea ice on temperature rise and that small-scale geographic features can have large impact on the shape of ocean currents, making accurate ocean modelling more difficult than anticipated.

### Effectiveness of Program/Organization

Lamont-Doherty is one of the few centers in the world capable of conducting a program of this type. They combine the earth science and computing background necessary for high-quality model development.

### Benefits to Mobil Foundation

Global warming is likely to be the key international environmental issue of the 1990s. While there currently are no regulations limiting emissions of greenhouse gases, such regulations are a real possibility within the next five years. Technical information and understanding will be key to Mobil's ability to participate in the debate on these regulations. Lamont-Doherty conducts annual seminars for sponsors of this program, at which time Mobil scientists involved in the global warming issue can gain first hand understanding of the role of the oceans in global warming and develop personal relationships with some of the key experts on this issue. Continued support of this effort, particularly in light of recent findings, and participating at this level is far more valuable to Mobil than merely reading papers which will eventually be published.

# **CORPORATE EFFORTS TO STALL THE CLIMATE POLICY PROCESS**

# Case Study

## 1996 Document: IPIECA Report on COP2 and IPCC

Proves multiple corporations were actively contributing science to the IPCC 2nd Assessment Report

Present at the COP were representatives from multiple companies who attended as members of IPIECA and GCC delegations

- Exxon
- Mobil
- Chevron
- Texaco (now Chevron)
- BP
- Total

11-15-24

**IPIECA REPORT  
FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE (FCCC)  
COP2  
8-19TH JULY, GENEVA**

**"Present for at least part of the meeting were ... Robin Aram (Shell - ICC delegation), Lenny Bernstein (Mobil - GCC delegation), Brian Flannery (Exxon - IPIECA delegation), Clem Malin (Texaco - ICC delegation), Jean Marvillet (Total - IPIECA delegation), Bill Mulligan (Chevron - GCC delegation), Tito Sale (ENI - WEC delegation), Peter Scupholme (BP - IPIECA delegation) and John Shinn (Chevron - IPIECA delegation). This report draws on a report by Lenny Bernstein."**

Present for at least part of the meeting were either on the IPIECA or other delegations were Robin Aram (Shell - ICC delegation), Lenny Bernstein (Mobil - GCC delegation), Brian Flannery (Exxon - IPIECA), Charlotte Grezo (IPIECA), Lois Johnston (Texaco - ICC delegation), Klaus Kohlhase (BP - IPIECA delegation), Clem Malin (Texaco - ICC delegation), Jean Marvillet (Total - IPIECA delegation), Bill Mulligan (Chevron - GCC delegation), Tito Sale (ENI - WEC delegation), Peter Scupholme (BP - IPIECA delegation) and John Shinn (Chevron - IPIECA delegation). This report draws on a report by Lenny Bernstein.

## **Case Study:**

**1995 Global Climate Coalition draft document  
titled “Predicting Climate Change: A Primer”**

# Global Climate Coalition

## 1995 Draft Science Primer

**Mobil Oil Corporation**

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH  
AND SAFETY DEPARTMENT  
P.O. BOX 1031  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08543-1031

December 21, 1995

To: Members of GCC-STAC

Attached is what I hope is the final draft of the primer on global climate change science we have been working on for the past few months. It has been revised to more directly address recent statements from IPCC Working Group I and to reflect comments from John Kinsman and Howard Feldman.

We will be discussing this draft at the January 18th STAC meeting. If you are coming to that meeting, please bring any additional comments on the draft with you. If you have comments but are unable to attend the meeting, please fax them to Eric Holdsworth at the GCC office. His fax number is (202) 638-1043 or (202) 638-1032. I will be out of the office for essentially all of the time between now and the next STAC meeting.

Best wishes for the Holiday Season,



L. S. Bernstein

# GCC Draft Primer 1995

This primer addresses the following questions concerning climate change:

- 1) Can human activities affect climate?

The scientific basis for the Greenhouse Effect and the potential impact of human emissions of greenhouse gases such as CO<sub>2</sub> on climate is well established and cannot be denied.

- 2) Can future climate be accurately predicted?



# GCC Draft Primer 1995

## APPROVAL DRAFT

### Predicting Future Climate Change: A Primer

In its recently approved Summary for Policymakers for its contribution to the IPCC's Second Assessment Report, Working Group I stated:

...the balance of evidence suggests that there is a discernable human influence on global climate.

The Global Climate Coalition's Science and Technical Advisory Committee believes that the IPCC statement goes beyond what can be justified by current scientific knowledge.

## APPROVAL DRAFT

The limitations which prevent climate models from accurately predicting future climate also limit their ability to assess whether a human impact on climate has already occurred. Claims that human activities have already impacted climate are currently unjustified. However, the improvements in climate models could make an assessment of human impacts on climate possible. Alternatively, a sufficiently large, short term change in climate consistent with model predictions could be used as proof of a human impact on climate.

# GCC Draft Primer 1995

## Computational Limits

GCMs are huge models which require supercomputers to run in any reasonable time. Computational limitations require that they use large grid sizes, typically 500 km. on a side. These cells are larger than many of the important physical features in the system they are trying to model, for example, the width of the Gulf Stream. Computational limits also mean

# GCC Draft Primer 1995

## APPROVAL DRAFT

### Are There Alternate Explanations for the Climate Change Which Has Occurred Over the Last 120 Years?

Several arguments have been put forward attempting to challenge the conventional view of greenhouse gas-induced climate change. These are generally referred to as "contrarian" theories. This section summarizes these theories and the counter-arguments presented against them.

#### Solar Variability

##### Contrarian Theory

*Solar radiation is the driver for the climate system. Any change in the intensity of the solar radiation reaching the Earth will affect temperature and other climate parameters. Dr Robert Jastrow, Director of the Mt. Wilson Observatory, and others have*

##### Counter-arguments


Direct measures of the intensity of solar radiation over the past 15 years indicate a maximum variability of less than 0.1%, sufficient to account for no more than 0.1°C temperature change. This period of direct measurement included one complete 11 year

# GCC Draft Primer 1995

## APPROVAL DRAFT

### Role of Water Vapor

#### Contrarian Theory



*In 1990, Prof. Richard Lindzen of MIT argued that the models which were being used to predict greenhouse warming were incorrect because they predicted an increase in water vapor at all levels of the troposphere. Since water vapor is a greenhouse gas, the models predict warming at all levels of the troposphere. However, warming should create convective turbulence, which*

#### Counter-arguments

Lindzen's 1990 theory predicted that warmer conditions at the surface would lead to cooler, drier conditions at the top of the troposphere. Studies of the behavior of the troposphere in the tropics fail to find the cooling and drying Lindzen predicted. More recent publications have indicated the possibility that Lindzen's hypothesis may be correct, but the evidence is still weak. While

# GCC Draft Primer 1995

## APPROVAL DRAFT

*Detailed temperature records do not agree with predictions about greenhouse warming. Prof. Patrick Michaels of the University of Virginia presented a series of hypotheses about how greenhouse warming should affect temperature. Only two will be discussed in detail.*

*First, if greenhouse gases were responsible for the increase in global average temperature, one would expect daytime maximum temperatures to increase. What is actually happening is that daytime maximum temperatures are staying constant, while nighttime temperatures are increasing. Michaels*

While some scientist argue that greenhouse warming has already occurred, most say that it cannot be separated from all of the other factors affecting climate, including the urban heat island effect and aerosol cooling. Thus, the fact that the recent temperature record does not agree in detail with a greenhouse gas warming scenario does not diminish the potential threat from substantially higher atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases.

# GCC Draft Primer 1995

## Conclusions about the Contrarian Theories

The contrarian theories raise interesting questions about our total understanding of climate processes, but they do not offer convincing arguments against the conventional model of greenhouse gas emission-induced climate change. Jastrow's hypothesis about the role of solar variability and Michaels' questions about the temperature record are not convincing arguments against any conclusion that we are currently experiencing warming as the result of greenhouse gas emissions. However, neither solar variability nor anomalies in the temperature record offer a mechanism for off-setting the much larger rise in temperature which might occur if the

**Case Study:**  
**Documents detailing Bush State Department**  
**meetings with Global Climate Coalition,**  
**ExxonMobil and others**



200113000  
United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

02

JUN 20 2001

RELEASED IN FULL

BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: G - Under Secretary Dobriansky

FROM: QES - Ken Brill, Acting *KBY*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with members of the Global Climate Coalition, June 21, 2001, 9:10 - 9:50 a.m.

On Thursday morning you will speak to members of the Global Climate Coalition (GCC), a group formed a number of years ago to coordinate the participation of business and industry in domestic and international climate change policy making. GCC members are completely supportive of the Administration's position on climate change and the rejection of the Kyoto Protocol.

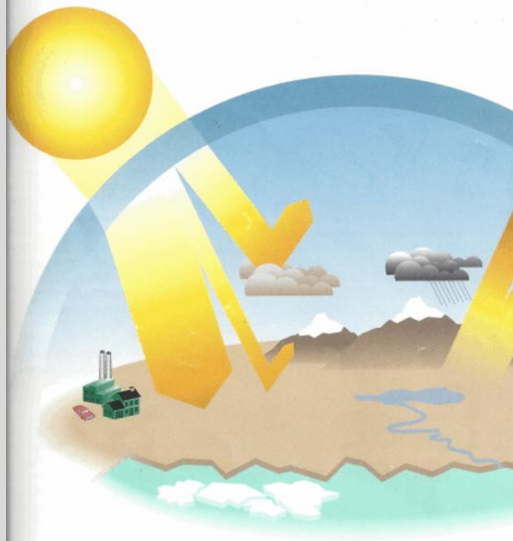
- POTUS rejected Kyoto, in part, based on input from you.
- POTUS believes, however, we need to show leadership on this issue to advance U.S. domestic and international policy objectives.



**Case Study:**  
**Exxon documents**  
**doubting science**

Facts about a debate turned up more questions than

turned up more questions than



In the debate over global climate change, one of the most critical facts has become one of the most ignored – the undeniable link between economic vitality and energy use.

Achieving economic growth remains one of the world's critical needs, and with good reason. It creates more and better jobs, improves our quality of life and enables us to safeguard the environment. When economies grow, their energy consumption rises. It's no accident that nations with the highest standard of living have the highest per-capita use of energy, about 85 percent of which comes from fossil fuels.

Today, however, a multinational effort, under the auspices of the United Nations, is under way to cut the use of fossil fuels, based on the unproven theory that they affect the earth's climate.

In July, the U. S. administration, without full public discussion and debate, and to the surprise of nearly everyone, proposed the concept of a binding international agreement requiring developed nations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions after the year 2000, and committed the United States to such an agreement. This policy, if implemented, has ominous economic implications that could touch pocketbooks and impair lifestyles throughout and even beyond the industrialized world.

Developing nations, which will account for most of the growth in greenhouse gas emissions, are excluded from most emission-reduction proposals, but they're not immune to their impact. In our increasingly integrated world economy, policies that limit growth in industrialized nations affect trade with developing nations and hinder their economies as well.

This would have profound implications since developing nations face real and immediate problems. The World Bank says one-third of the world's population lacks adequate sanitation and more than one billion people are without safe drinking water – conditions that inevitably lead to disease and suffering.

### From the chairman

## Climate change: don't ignore the facts

*The issue reaches into every home and pocketbook around the world.*

by Lee R. Raymond  
Chairman, Exxon Corporation

Solving these problems as population growth, which, in turn, requires

### Politicization stirs fears

Proponents of the global warming theory of greenhouse gases – especially carbon dioxide – claim that the world temperatures will rise and that the world will be a worse place for the reason. (See *Global Warming – What's the Deal?* on page 4.) Yet scientific evidence re-

whether

While such taxes could be slower economic growth, job losses and impaired ability to compete in foreign markets.

our conf Worldwide fuel rationing

The U.S. administration has also called for the use of "tradable permits" for fuel usage - another term for rationing.

As consumers, we should ask pointed questions about how a worldwide rationing program would work. What international agency would decide how much of what fuel each nation may have "permits" to use? Within each country, who would decide how much gasoline an individual or business could use every month, or how much heating oil one could have for home heating?

### Better understanding needed

With these considerations in mind, what's the best way to manage the issue of potential global climate change?

First, we must understand it better, and that's why Exxon is conducting its own research and supports that of others dealing with related science, economics and policy options.

In addition, a constructive approach should consider these

- Taking drastic action immediately is unnecessary since many scientists agree there's ample time to better understand climate systems and develop the best long-term strategies.

- Mandating reductions in

fossil fuel use now is needlessly expensive. It would force replacement of major portions of energy-consuming capital stock, such as power plants and other facilities, before the end of their useful life. It would be far less costly to replace this equipment when it would normally be retired.

■ Policy proposals should undergo careful analysis and disclosure of their economic, social and competitive impacts, and their acceptability and consequences should be tested in thorough and open public debates.

■ If action is needed, it should come in the form of truly global measures that include developing nations, since they will account for most of the growth in greenhouse gas emissions.

■ Increased efficiency in energy supply and demand should be encouraged by liberalizing trade, opening world markets and reducing government intervention and subsidies. The world

**Considered action** needs more opportunities for technology transfer through market mechanisms such as investment. This will help to improve energy efficiency and emissions control in developing countries.

■ Natural means of carbon dioxide absorption should be part of the analysis of the issue and any policy approach. Measures could include slowing deforestation and encouraging sound forest management practices.

■ Voluntary, market-based steps, along with a better understanding of how humans and ecosystems can adapt to potential climate change, offer the best hope for setting policies that are rational, scientifically sound and cost-effective.

### Dealing with facts

Whatever choices we ultimately make about global climate change, let's build on a foundation of facts. Perhaps the most important is the worldwide need to achieve continued economic growth while minimizing the impact on the environment.

Economic vitality, energy use and environmental protection are strongly interrelated, and the world needs all three. Economic growth improves the quality of life and helps pay the costs of protecting the environment. A strong economy in turn depends on the availability of abundant, competitive, affordable and increasingly cleaner supplies of energy, with price and availability being determined in a freely operating marketplace.

Precipitous, poorly considered action on climate change could inflict severe economic damage on industrialized nations and dramatically change your way of life. Those who say otherwise are drawing on bad science, faulty logic or unrealistic assumptions. We must reject policies that will clearly impose a heavy burden of costs but offer benefits that are largely speculative and undefined.

Lee Raymond

**...poorly considered action  
on climate change  
could inflict severe  
economic damage...**



Lee Raymond

**Case Study:**  
**1996 Exxon presentation on**  
**health effects of climate change**

# 1996 Exxon presentation on health effects of climate change

## PURPORTED IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON HUMAN HEALTH

September 19, 1996

D. J. Devlin - Exxon Biomedical Sciences, Inc.

### INTRODUCTION

- International Attention Focused on Relationships Among Greenhouse Gases, Climate Change, Ecological Stress and Human Health
  - ▶ National Academy of Sciences (NAS) Sponsored Conference on Potential Impacts of Global Climate Change on Health (9/95)
  - ▶ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Report Reviews "State of Knowledge" . . . Raises Significant Health Concern
  - ▶ Medical Journals ... Relate Climate Change to Incidence of Disease
  - ▶ Popular Press Raising Issue of "Megastorms" ... "Global Fever" ... "Emerging Infectious Disease"

# 1996 Exxon presentation on health effects of climate change

## THE HYPOTHESIS

- 1) Greenhouse Gases Increase Due Primarily to Fossil Fuel Use
- 2) Accumulation Leads to Increase in the Average Global Temperature . . . 1 - 4°C in the Next 100 Years
- 3) Global Warming Will Affect Ocean/Air Currents and Humidity, Lead to Climatic and Geographic Changes
  - ▶ Wintertime Precipitation Increase
  - ▶ More Severe Weather Events . . . Increased Rainfall
  - ▶ Drought Increase in Number and Severity
  - ▶ Northern Snow Cover and Alpine Glaciers Decline
  - ▶ Sea Level Rise (0.3 - 0.5 m by 2100)
  - ▶ El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) Increase Frequency

## THE HYPOTHESIS (cont'd)

- 4) Changes will Strain Major Ecosystems
  - ▶ Decrease in Diversity of Species
  - ▶ Increase in Number/Range of "Opportunistic" Species
  - ▶ Relocation, Possible Reduction, of Agricultural Sites
- 5) Human Health will be Directly Impacted by Climatic Changes
  - ▶ Suffering and Death Due to Thermal Extremes
  - ▶ Physical/Psychological Injury, Death Due to Weather-Related Disasters

# 1996 Exxon Presentation On Health Effects Of Climate Change

## THE HYPOTHESIS (cont'd)

### 6) Human Health will be Indirectly Impacted by Physical and Ecological Changes

- ▶ Range/Activity of Disease Vectors and Infective Agents Will Increase . . . Alter Range, Intensity and Seasonality of Vector-Borne Diseases
- ▶ Increase in Water-Borne Diseases Through Disturbances in Fresh Water Ecosystems
- ▶ Population Displacement Due to Rising Sea Level, Regional Declines in Food Production, Weather Disasters . . . Lead to Increase in Malnutrition, Injuries, Infections, Civil Strife

# 1996 Exxon Presentation On Health Effects Of Climate Change

## CONCLUSIONS (cont'd)

- **Minority View: Evidence Must be Weighed . . . Plausible Mechanisms Defined . . .Relative Significance Assessed**
  - ▶ **Climate Change is Likely a Marginal Factor. . . More Critical Issues Exist: Malnutrition, Personal Hygiene, Drug Use, Food Prep, Urbanization, Population Growth, Trade and Travel, Evolution of Microbes, Inadequate Public Health**
- **Impact of Climate Change on Human Health will Remain Speculative . . . Provides a Potentially Emotional Issue**

# **1996 Exxon Presentation On Health Effects Of Climate Change**

- **Identify Scientific Leaders with Diverse Views . . . Encourage Active Participation in Debate**
- **Promote Concept of Relative Risk . . . Significance of Climate Impacts Vs. Other Disease Factors**



# Op-Ads: Mobil 1996-97

Display Ad 20 -- No Title

New York Times (1923-Current file); Jul 25, 1996;  
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2007) with Index (1851-1993)  
pg. A23

## With climate change, what we don't know can hurt us

It has been said climate is what we expect, weather is what we get. Weather is capricious and chaotic. By contrast, climate in the 10,000 years since the last Ice Age has been assumed to be quite stable and serene, an assumption that is crumbling in the face of ever more sophisticated measurements. It now appears that the climate in this period has actually been quite volatile, changing Earth in ways that may dwarf the impact of human activity and complicate predicting climate trends. Nevertheless, the human factor in global climate change and the chance that we might be headed for damaging social and economic dislocations cannot be ignored. In the second of three reports on global climate change, we look at efforts to achieve an ecological balance.

The evolving science of climate change and the known behavior of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere—their long life and global, cumulative buildup—argue for a careful and comprehensive approach to their control. Unfortunately, policy decisions now being considered in United Nations climate change negotiations could lead to premature, inequitable and ultimately counterproductive measures. At stake are trillions of dollars in technological and industrial changes, potentially disruptive trade wars and an unprecedented transfer of wealth.

A critical factor is timing. The compressed timetable of these negotiations tends to create an unwarranted sense of crisis. A gradual approach—one that would not result in an appreciable buildup of gases over the next 100 years—would allow us to improve our understanding of the potential threat and to develop more efficient technology to deal with it. The U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change itself recognizes the dynamic nature of greenhouse-gas decision-making. It requires periodic review "in light of the best available scientific information on climate change and its impacts, as well as relevant tech-

nical, social and economic information."

There is great pressure to assign responsibility for the stabilization and reduction of emissions, along with the cost, almost entirely to the industrialized world. While the developing world would be spared the initial burden, such selective controls would penalize all nations in the long run.

Imposing controls only on the industrialized world would likely cause what economists call "carbon leakage"—the transfer of energy-intensive industries to less-regulated countries, where they would offset the benefits of emission reductions. Beyond this, the cost of mitigation, even for the wealthiest nations, would weaken their purchasing power and lead to a reduction in imports from the developing countries—depriving them of a powerful impetus for growth and prosperity.

The U.N. climate control negotiations rely on an arbitrary classification of countries as either developed or emerging. While much of the world falls short of a decent standard of living—nearly 2 billion people have never seen a light bulb, and half of them rely on wood or other biomass for fuel—the developing world as now defined includes a growing list of commercial powerhouses. Among developed countries, patterns of energy use are so diverse that an equal percentage reduction in emissions by all would be both unfair and uneconomical.

Independent studies—by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade as well as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)—increasingly point to international cooperation and worldwide implementation of control measures as sensible and cost-effective. Such an approach would include funding and technology for emission controls to flow from developed countries to the rest of the world, in return for credits for their own mitigation measures. A cooperative, international approach, we believe, offers a win-win for all nations.

Next: ...we're all in this together.

**Mobil**

Display Ad 26 -- No Title

New York Times (1923-Current file); Nov 6, 1997;  
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2008) with Index (1851-1993)  
pg. A31

## Science: what we know and don't know



As the debate over climate change heats up, science is being upstaged by the call for solutions. At stake is a complex issue with many questions. Some things we know for certain. Others are far from certain.

First, we know greenhouse gases account for less than one percent of Earth's atmosphere. The ability of these gases to trap heat and warm Earth is an important part of the climate system because it makes our planet habitable. Greenhouse gases consist largely of water vapor, with smaller amounts of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane and nitrous oxide and traces of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs).

The focus of concern is CO<sub>2</sub>. While most of the CO<sub>2</sub> emitted by far is the result of natural phenomena—namely respiration and decomposition, most attention has centered on the three to four percent related to human activities—burning of fossil fuels, deforestation. The amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen in the last 100 years, leading scientists to conclude that the increase is a result of man-made activities.

Although the linkage between the greenhouse gases and global warming is one factor, other variables could be much more important in the climate system than emissions produced by man.

The UN-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) thought it had found the magic bullet when it concluded that the one-degree Fahrenheit rise in global temperatures over

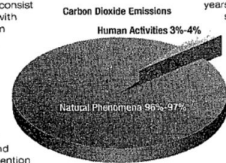
the past century may bear a "fingerprint" of human activity. The fingerprint soon blurred when an IPCC lead author conceded to the "uncertainty inherent in computer climate modeling."

Nonetheless, nations at Kyoto are being asked to embrace proposals that could have potentially huge impacts on economies and lifestyles. Nations are being urged to cut emissions without knowing either the severity of the problem—that is, will Earth's temperature increase over the next 50-100 years?—or the efficacy of the solution—will cutting CO<sub>2</sub> emissions reduce the problem?

Within a decade, science is likely to provide more answers on what factors affect global warming, thereby improving our decision-making. We just don't have this information today.

Answers to questions on climate change will require more reliable measurements of temperature at many places on Earth, better understanding of clouds and ocean currents along with greater computer power.

This process shouldn't be short-circuited to satisfy an artificial deadline, like the conference in Kyoto. Whatever effect increased concentrations of man-made gases may have, it will develop slowly over decades. Thus, there is time for scientists to refine their understanding of the climate system, while governments, industry and the public work to find practical means to control greenhouse gases, if such measures are called for. Adopting quick-fix measures at this point could pose grave economic risks for the world.



**Mobil** The energy to make a difference.

<http://www.mobil.com/climatechange>

© 1997 Mobil Corporation

**Case Study:**  
**1998 API Global Climate Science**  
**Communications Plan**

# 1998: Industry backlash plan leaked

## The New York Times

SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1998

A1

### INDUSTRIAL GROUP PLANS TO BATTLE CLIMATE TREATY

#### AIMS TO RECRUIT SKEPTICS

Draft Proposal Seeks to Depict  
Global Warming Theory as  
a Case of Bad Science

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN JR.

WASHINGTON, April 25 — Industry opponents of a treaty to fight global warming have drafted an ambitious proposal to spend millions of dollars to convince the public that the environmental accord is based on shaky science.

Among their ideas is a campaign 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

### Industrial Group Plans to Fight Climate Treaty

Continued From Page 1

nations should cut emissions of greenhouse gases, and the treaty was modified last year to require further reductions in emissions to levels well below those of 1990, over the next 10 to 15 years. But the United States Senate has not yet agreed to that treaty provision, which could require deep reductions in American consumption of fossil fuels.

Documents describing the proposal to undermine the mainstream view were given to The New York Times by the National Environmental Trust, whose work in support of the global-warming treaty is financed by philanthropic organizations, including the Pew Charitable Trusts, the biggest of the nation's pro-environment grant makers.

Phil Clapp, the president of the environmental trust, said he obtained the papers from an industry official. Exposing the plan at this

another prominent skeptic on global warming, is involved with two other groups mentioned in the plan: the George C. Marshall Institute, where Dr. Seltz is chairman, and the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, where he is on the science advisory board.

On Monday, the National Academy of Sciences disassociated itself from the most recent effort to drum up support among skeptical scientists. That effort came in the form of a statement and petition on global warming circulated by Dr. Seltz, a

threat, "public opinion is open to change on climate science."

Supporters of the plan want to raise money quickly to spend much of it between now and the November negotiating session in Buenos Aires, where important details of the international treaty are to be decided.

A proposed media-relations budget of \$600,000, not counting any money for advertising, would be directed at science writers, editors, columnists and television network correspondents, using as many as 20 "respected climate scientists" recruited expressly "to inject credible science and scientific accountability into the global climate debate, thereby raising questions about and undercutting the 'prevailing scientific wisdom.'"

Among the tasks, the petroleum institute's memorandum said, would be to "identify, recruit and train a team of five independent scientists to participate in media outreach."

What the industry group wanted to provide, the memorandum said, was "a one-stop resource on climate sci-

**Critics of the  
'greenhouse effect'  
would be backed up  
with \$5 million.**

# 1998 API memo

## “Global Climate Science Communications Team”

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

Exxon, Southern Company and Chevron on the team

# 1998 API Global Climate Science Comms Plan - Goals

## Victory Will Be Achieved When

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

# 1998 API Memo - Action Plan

## Global Climate Science Communications

### Action Plan

#### Project Goal

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

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

#### Current Reality

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

# 1998 API Memo- Metrics

## Measurements

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

- Baseline public/government official opinion surveys and periodic follow-up surveys on the percentage of Americans and government officials who recognize significant uncertainties in climate science.
- Tracking the percent of media articles that raise questions about climate science.
- Number of Members of Congress exposed to our materials on climate science.
- Number of communications on climate science received by Members of Congress from their constituents.
- Number of radio talk show appearances by scientists questioning the "prevailing

# 1998 API Memo- Budget

## Strategies and Tactics

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

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

National Direct Outreach Program Budget — \$300,000

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

- II. Global Climate Science Information Source: Develop and implement a program to inject credible science and scientific accountability into the global climate debate, thereby raising questions about and undercutting the "prevailing scientific wisdom." The strategy will have the added benefit of



# **EVIDENCE OF CORPORATE FUNDING OF CLIMATE DENIAL CAMPAIGNS**

# 1998 API Memo - Funding It

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

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

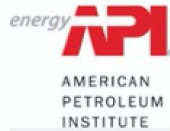
- Potential funding sources were identified as American Petroleum Institute (API) and its members; Business Round Table (BRT) and its members, Edison Electric Institute (EEI) and its members; Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA) and its members; and the National Mining Association (NMA)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

**Total Funds Required to Implement  
Program through November 1998** —

**\$2,000,000** (A significant portion of funding for the GCSDC will be deferred until 1999 and beyond)

# 1998 API Memo

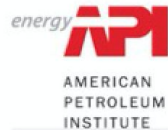
## Conspirators



## Funders

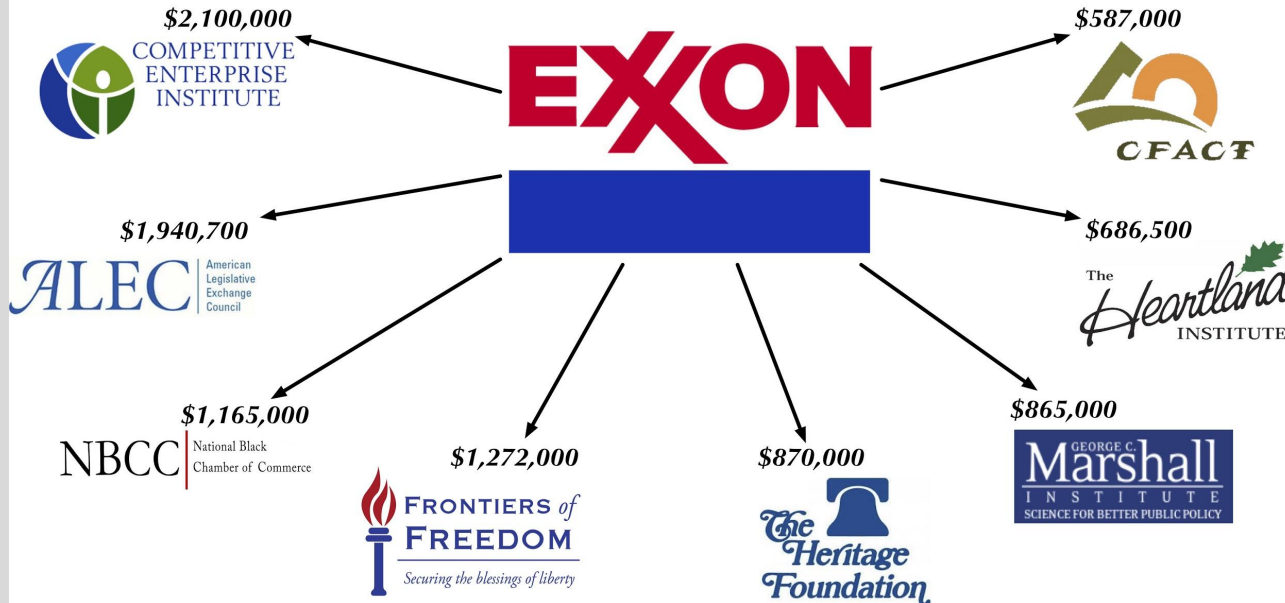


## Front Groups



# Exxon Funding To Front Groups

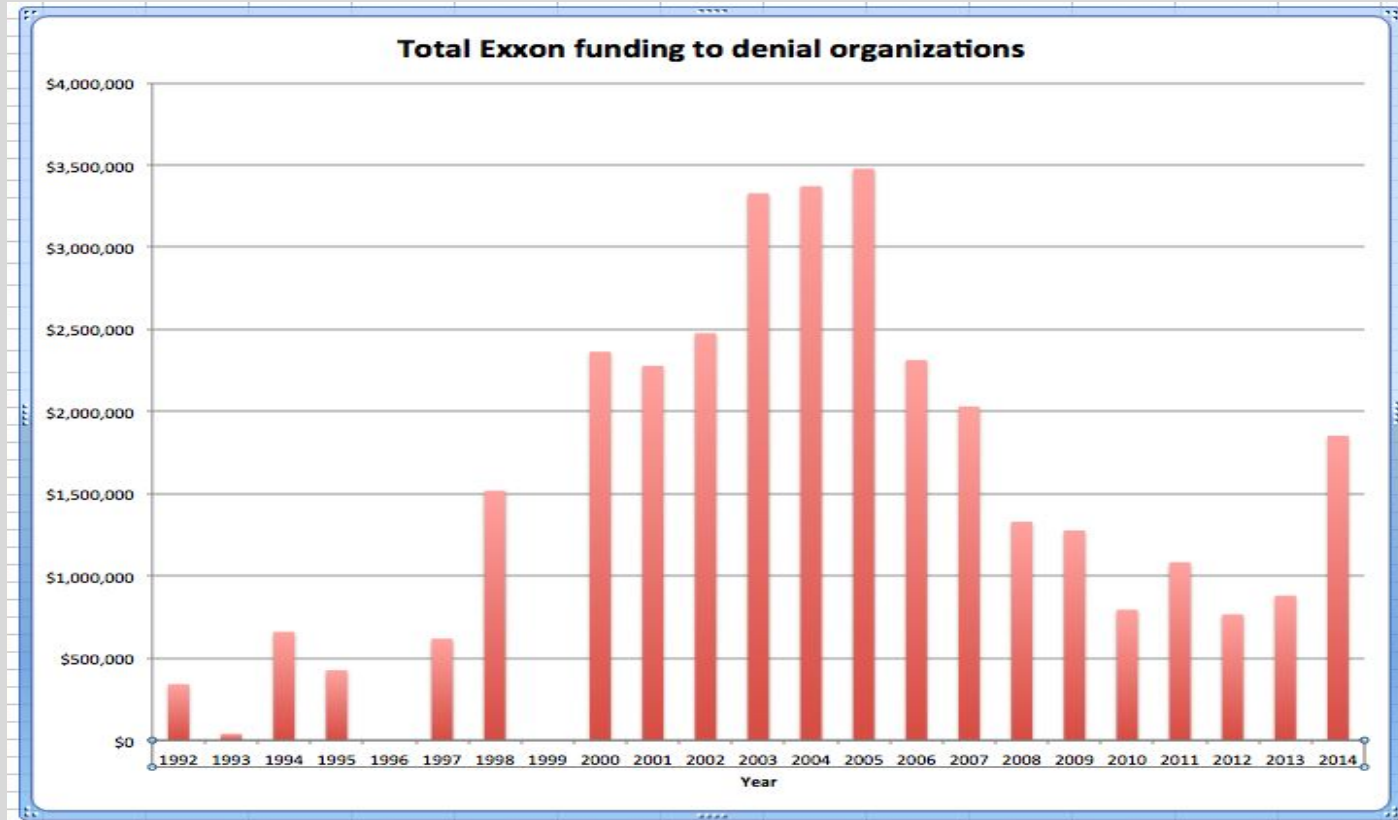
Major Recipients of Known  
Exxon Funding  
1997-2017



# ExxonMobil Funding of Denial Organizations

- We have collected records of Exxon and ExxonMobil grants totalling \$38.7 million from 1992-2017
- Over \$5 million in grants specifically earmarked for climate related work
- (This is an underestimate, as we do not have all the Mobil Foundation records and there are records missing for the merger year 1999)

ExxonMobil Foundation funding of climate denial groups doubled between 1998 and 2003 and peaked in 2005.



# Tip of The Iceberg


*Amoco, Chevron, Shell, and Texaco*  
funding climate denial organizations in the 1990s

Amoco Foundation ([1991](#); [1993 to 1994](#))

Chevron ([1992](#); [1993](#))

Shell Oil Company Foundation ([1993](#))

Texaco Foundation ([1991](#))



Competitive Enterprise Institute, The Heartland Institute,  
Citizens for a Sound Economy, The Heritage Foundation,  
American Legislative Exchange Council,  
and Global Climate Coalition

# **Case Study: Cooler Heads Coalition**

**Global Warming.org**

**May Cooler Heads Prevail**





# “Cooler Heads Coalition”

Initial grant to Competitive Enterprise Institute in 1997:  
\$95,000 earmarked for “Global Climate Change Program and  
other support”

NEW YORK, N.Y. ....	75,500
<b>Competitive Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C.</b>	
Global Climate Change Program and other support	95,000
<b>Consumer Alert, Inc., Washington, D.C. ....</b>	10,000
Committee on Economic Development, New York, N.Y.	50,000

# Cooler Heads Coalition

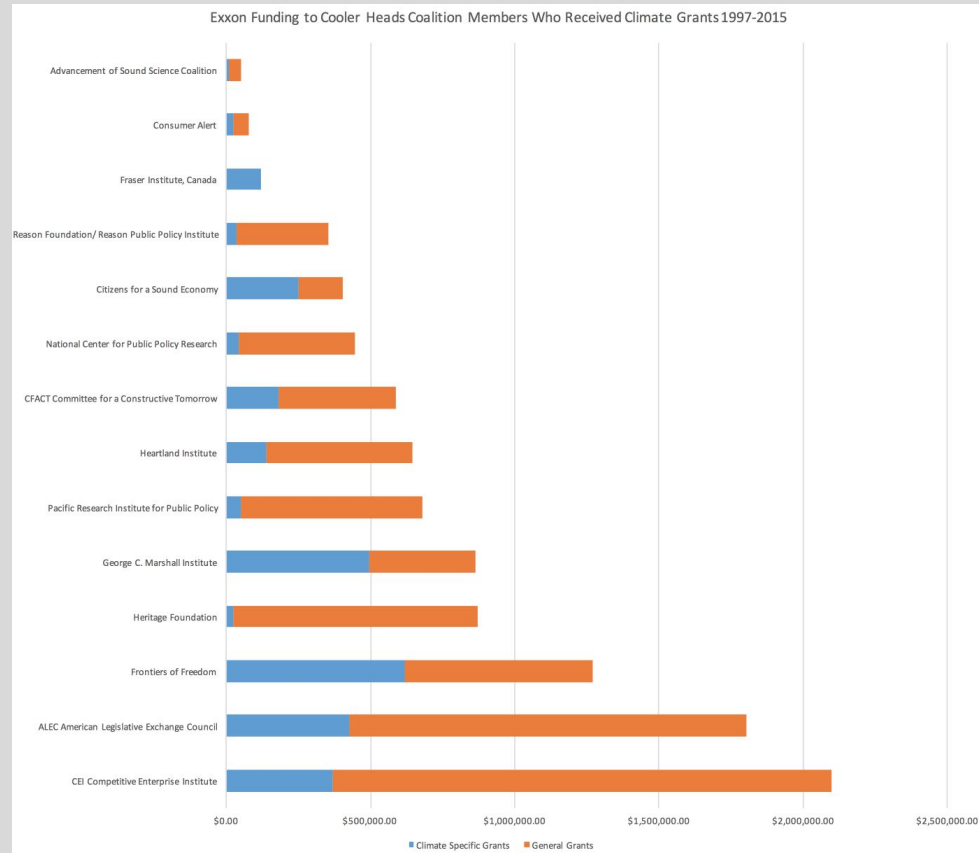
- Multiple NGO members of the Cooler Heads Coalition were funded by Exxon and ExxonMobil in subsequent years, with known funding totalling nearly \$11 million.
- Approximately \$3 million of the \$11 million in grants were designated on Exxon documents as climate specific grants.
- On Exxon documents, grants to Cooler Heads Coalition groups had labels such as, “Climate Change Issues (Opinion Leaders and Public Education Efforts)”, “Global Climate Change Outreach”, and “Climate Change Science”.

# Cooler Heads Coalition Members

Organizations that received climate specific grants from ExxonMobil while members of the Coalition include:

- The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition
- Fraser Institute
- National Center for Public Policy Research
- Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy
- Reason Foundation/Reason Public Policy Institute
- Consumer Alert
- Frontiers of Freedom
- George Marshall Institute
- Heartland Institute
- Heritage Foundation
- Competitive Enterprise Institute
- Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow
- Citizens for a Sound Economy
- American Legislative Exchange Council

Three Cooler Heads Coalition members received over \$1M from Exxon after 1997, eight groups received over \$500,000 (source: Exxon published grantmaking.)



**Case Study:**  
**Revealing discrepancies and omissions**  
**in ExxonMobil financial reports**

# Discrepancies Between Public ExxonMobil “Worldwide Giving” Report and IRS 990 Filing For ExxonMobil Foundation

## Public Information and Policy Research: 2005 Worldwide Giving Report

### American Legislative Exchange Council, Washington, D.C.

Annual Conference*	90,000
Energy Sustainability Project	80,000
General Operating Support	71,500
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$ 241,500</b>

<b>990-PF</b>		Re: or Sect:
Form 990-PF Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service		Note: The organization may be
For calendar year 2005, or tax year beginning		
G Check all that apply	Initial return	
Name of organization		
Use the IRS label.	ExxonMobil Foundation	
Otherwise,	Number and street (or P.O. box number)	

## Payee Organization

2005

**American Legislative Exchange Council**

1129 20th Street, NW, Suite 500

Washington, DC 20036

**Energy Sustainability Project (Climate Change)**

\$80,000.00

2005

**American Legislative Exchange Council**

1129 20th Street, NW, Suite 500

Washington, DC 20036

**Project Support**

\$20,000.00

2005

**American Legislative Exchange Council**

1129 20th Street, NW, Suite 500

Washington, DC 20036

**Climate Change Environmental Outreach**

\$21,500.00

2005

# Discrepancies Between: Annual ExxonMobil “Worldwide Giving” Report and IRS 990 Filing For ExxonMobil Foundation

Worldwide  
Giving Report :

**Frontiers of Freedom Institute, Chantilly, Virginia**

Annual Gala and General Operating Support\*

50,000

General Operating Support

90,000

IRS 990:

**Frontiers of Freedom Institute**

13448 Melville Lane

Chantilly, VA 20151

Climate Change Efforts

\$90,000.00

# Discrepancies and Omissions Between: Annual ExxonMobil “Worldwide Giving” Report And IRS 990 Filing For ExxonMobil Foundation

Worldwide  
Giving Report:

**Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, Washington, D.C.**

90,000

IRS 990:

**Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow**

P.O. Box 65722

Washington, DC 20035

Climate Change & Energy

\$70,000.00

2005

**Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow**

P.O. Box 65722

Washington, DC 20035

General Operating Support

\$20,000.00

2005



# **Case Study:**

## **CEI TV Ads**

**CEI 2005 TV ad**  
**“They call it pollution. We call it Life”**

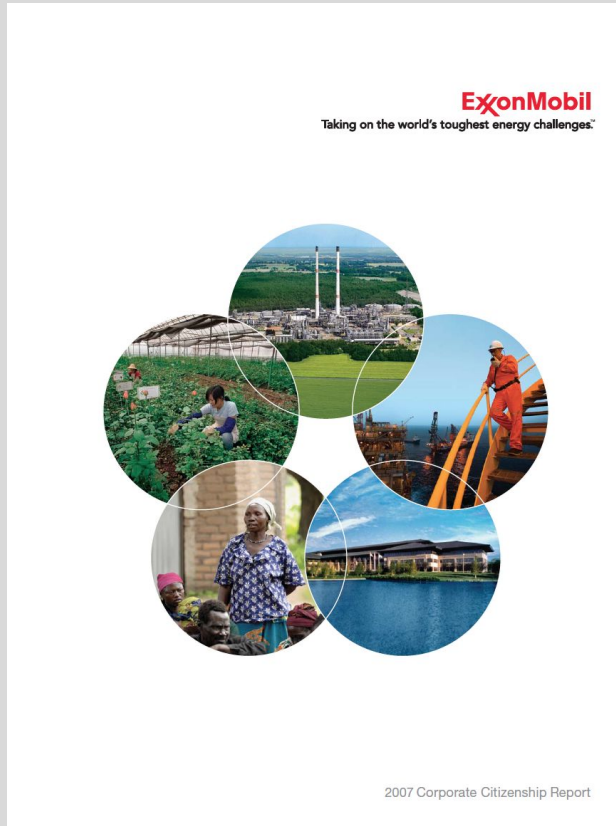


# 2006 Exxon Statement To Royal Society of London

ExxonMobil gives financial support to organizations which research significant policy issues and promote informed discussion on issues of direct relevance to the company. These include topics such as international affairs, environmental issues and market economics. These organizations do not speak on our behalf, nor do we control their views and messages. Our financial support for such organizations is publicly posted on our web site.

We review funding of these organizations on an annual basis. As we are currently in that review process, it would be premature for us to discuss specific funding decisions for any particular organization.

# 2007 Reversal



## public policy research contributions

ExxonMobil promotes discussion on issues of direct relevance to the company. We contribute to a wide range of academic and policy organizations that research and promote dialogue on significant domestic and foreign policy issues, including the Brookings Institution, the American Enterprise Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and

Resources for the Future. In 2008, we will discontinue contributions to several public policy research groups whose position on climate change could divert attention from the important discussion on how the world will secure the energy required for economic growth in an environmentally responsible manner. Additional information about our

U.S. contributions can be found on our Web site ([exxonmobil.com/contributions](http://exxonmobil.com/contributions)).

**Case Study:**  
**1991 “ICE” campaign**  
**Information Council on the Environment**

# The 1991 I.C.E. Campaign

## Strategies

1. Reposition global warming as theory (not fact).
2. Target print and radio media for maximum effectiveness.
3. Achieve broad participation across the entire electric utility industry.
4. Start small, start well, and build on early successes.
5. Get the test concepts developed and implemented as soon as possible.
6. "Test market" execution in early 1991.

## Our Plan

1. Build support for the concept of the ICE strategy among our neighbors.
2. Match Southern Company's commitment by having four or five of our neighbors join us in raising \$125,000 by January 31, 1991.
3. Raise total commitments of \$525,000 by January 31, 1991 to allow the test market project to proceed on schedule.

Who told  
you the earth was  
warming...  
Chicken Little?



**C**hicken Little's hysteria about the sky falling was based on a fact that is known out of proportion.

It's the same with global warming. There's no hard evidence it is occurring. In fact, evidence the Earth is warming is weak. Proof the carbon dioxide has been the primary cause is non-existent. Current models cannot accurately predict for future global change. And the underlying physics of climate change are still wide open to debate.

If you care about the earth, but don't want your imagination to run away with you, make sure you get the facts.

Write Informed Citizens for the Environment, P.O. Box 1513, Grand Forks, North Dakota 58206, or call toll-free 1-705-746-4573. We'll send today's



# ICE Campaign Targets “older, less educated males” and “younger, lower-income women”

More specifically, the results of this study point toward two possible target audiences. One possible target audience includes those who are most receptive to messages describing the motivations and vested interests of people currently making pronouncements on global warming—for example, the statement that some members of the media scare the public about global warming to increase their audience and their influence. People who respond most favorably to such statements are older, less-educated males from larger households, who are not typically active information-seekers, and are not likely to be “green” consumers. Members of this group are skeptical about global warming, predisposed to favor the ICE agenda, and likely to be even more supportive of that agenda following exposure to new information. They are not, however, accustomed to taking political action. They are good targets for radio advertisements.

Another possible target segment is younger, lower-income women. These women are more receptive than other audience segments to factual information concerning the evidence for global warming. They are likely to be “green” consumers, to believe the earth is warming, and to think the problem is serious. However, they are also likely to soften their support for federal legislation after hearing new information on global warming. These women are good targets for magazine advertisements.

A campaign strategy reaching out to these target groups can help to change attitudes where change is most likely to occur, and also to strengthen support among favorable members of the public.

**Case Study:**  
**Dr. Willie Soon**  
**Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics**



# Willie Soon & Polar Bear Study



available at [www.sciencedirect.com](http://www.sciencedirect.com)



journal homepage: <http://www.elsevier.com/locate/ecocom>



## Viewpoint

### **Polar bears of western Hudson Bay and climate change: Are warming spring air temperatures the “ultimate” survival control factor?**

M.G. Dyck<sup>a,\*</sup>, W. Soon<sup>b,\*</sup>,  
T.F. Ball<sup>c</sup>, L.O. Hancock<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Environmental Technology Program, N

<sup>b</sup> Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astr

<sup>c</sup> Clayton H. Riddell Faculty of Environ

<sup>d</sup> Center for Climatic Research, Universi

<sup>e</sup> Climate and Environment Consultant,

<sup>f</sup> MSN H-5-503, 1818 H Street, NW, W

M. Dyck and W. Soon initiated this scientific study around 2002–2003 without seeking research fundings and both have contributed equally. W. Soon’s effort for the completion of this paper was partially supported by grants from the Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, American Petroleum Institute, and Exxon-Mobil Corporation. The views expressed herein are

# 2015 Willie Soon Exposé

The New York Times

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SCIENCE

*Deeper Ties to Corporate Cash for Doubtful Climate Researcher*

By JUSTIN GILLIS and JOHN SCHWARTZ FEB. 21, 2015

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Wei-Hock Soon of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, whose articles have been tied to corporate funding. Pete Marovich

# Soon's Sunspots Theory Discounted By Mobil Scientist in 1995

## APPROVAL DRAFT

### Are There Alternate Explanations for the Climate Change Which Has Occurred Over the Last 120 Years?

Several arguments have been put forward attempting to challenge the conventional view of greenhouse gas-induced climate change. These are generally referred to as "contrarian" theories. This section summarizes these theories and the counter-arguments presented against them.

#### Solar Variability

##### Contrarian Theory

*Solar radiation is the driver for the climate system. Any change in the intensity of the solar radiation reaching the Earth will affect temperature and other climate parameters. Dr Robert Jastrow, Director of the Mt. Wilson Observatory, and others have*

##### Counter-arguments

Direct measures of the intensity of solar radiation over the past 15 years indicate a maximum variability of less than 0.1%, sufficient to account for no more than 0.1°C temperature change. This period of direct measurement included one complete 11 year

# Willie Soon Research Funding

\$1.2M+ from 2001-2015, entirely from fossil interests:

- ExxonMobil Foundation \$335K (through 2009)
- American Petroleum Institute \$274K
- Southern Company \$350K (through 2015)
- Koch Foundation \$230K

**Case Study:**  
**CFACT Targeting the Philippines**

# 1998 API Memo

## Global Climate Science Communications Team

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

# 2013 - CFACT Article On Hunger Strike at COP 19



November 16, 2013, by [CFACT Ed](#), 26 Comments

Philippines climate negotiator Naderev "Yeb" Saño of the Philippines announced to COP 19's plenary

Typhoon activity in the Philippines is normal.

despite over-the-top reporting before the typhoon struck (timed perfectly for COP 19) Typhoon Haiyan/Yolanda was not the strongest typhoon recorded in the Philippines. It was the seventh.

The Philippines enjoys warm tropical weather.

However, with tropical splendor comes tropical storms. This duality is a fact of life in the tropics.

There are no worthwhile science or historical records which support the notion that extreme storms have worsened in the Philippines or elsewhere as a result of a warming planet. We

must soberly remind ourselves that global temperatures have not risen since the nineties and that warming to date peaked at less than a degree Centigrade, with only a few years coming anywhere near that.

**Case Study:**  
**1998 - Shell predicted**  
**that there would be lawsuits**  
**hinged on what their scientists knew**



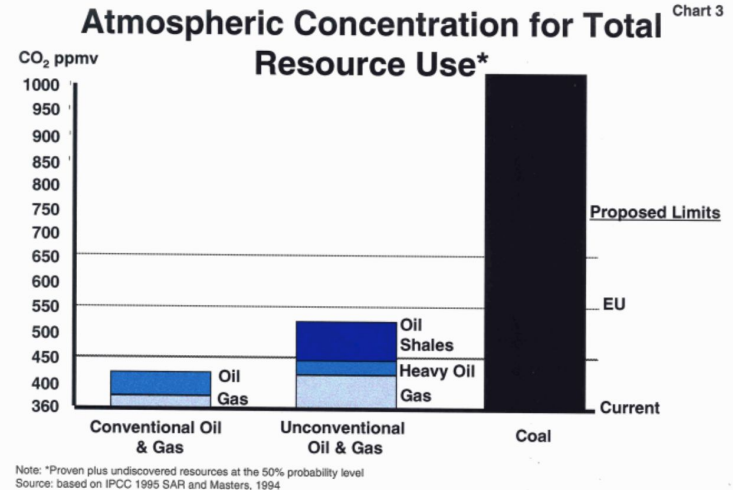
# 1998 Shell “There is No Alternative” report

"FOLLOWING THE STORMS, A COALITION OF ENVIRONMENTAL NGOS BRINGS A CLASS-ACTION SUIT AGAINST THE US GOVERNMENT AND FOSSIL-FUEL COMPANIES ON THE GROUNDS OF NEGLECTING WHAT SCIENTISTS (INCLUDING THEIR OWN) HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR YEARS: THAT SOMETHING MUST BE DONE. A SOCIAL REACTION TO THE USE OF FOSSIL FUELS GROWS, AND INDIVIDUALS BECOME 'VIGILANTE ENVIRONMENTALISTS' IN THE SAME WAY, A GENERATION EARLIER, THEY HAD BECOME FIERCELY ANTI-TOBACCO. DIRECT-ACTION CAMPAIGNS AGAINST COMPANIES ESCALATE. YOUNG CONSUMERS, ESPECIALLY, DEMAND ACTION ..." (p. 122).

Following the storms, a coalition of environmental NGOs brings a class-action suit against the US government and fossil-fuel companies on the grounds of neglecting what scientists (including their own) have been saying for years: that something must be done. A social reaction to the use of fossil fuels grows, and individuals become 'vigilante environmentalists.' In the same way, a generation earlier, they had become fiercely anti-tobacco. Direct-action campaigns against companies escalate. Young consumers, especially, demand action.

OECD governments, under intense pressure from citizens, decide they must also act. Accelerated development of renewable energy commences, along with plans to develop a new generation of nuclear power stations in Europe. Strong new CAFE type legislation is hastily drawn up in 2001. The power, auto, and oil industries see billions wiped off their market value overnight.

SHELL'S CARBON BUDGET ACCOUNTING (p. 3)



**End**

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### Slide 1

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