



# CAPITAL RESEARCH



## SPECIAL REPORT: CLIMATE DOLLARS

HOW ONE FLAWED STUDY FOOLED THE MEDIA AND  
POISONED THE DEBATE ON CLIMATE CHANGE (p. 23)

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Goldman Sachs

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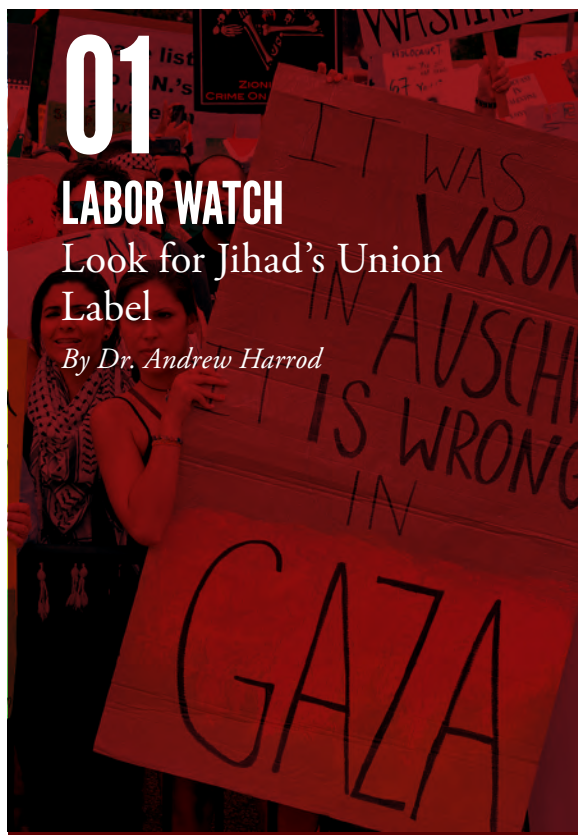
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## LOOK FOR JIHAD'S UNION LABEL

Some unions offer a fertile ground for Islamofascist beliefs

By Dr. Andrew Harrod

**Summary:** “Progressives,” including those in the labor movement in the U.S., are rapidly aligning themselves with Islamic political radicalism. Within unions that are historically pro-Israel, support is growing for the anti-Israel program known as BDS (Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions). In public schools, members of teachers’ unions are pushing partisan positions in favor of Islam. This is an emerging “red-green alliance”—red being the traditional color of the Left and green the traditional color of Islam—and it should alarm all mainstream Americans.

On September 24, 2010, FBI agents, investigating support for terrorist groups like Hamas, raided the Chicago home of Joe Iosbaker, chief steward of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 73. SEIU is a major political force in the United States—it was the union most closely allied with President Barack Obama—and the raid provided a troubling reminder of the drift of America’s labor unions into a “red-green alliance” with radical Islamism.

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*In public schools, members of teachers’ unions are pushing partisan positions in favor of Islam.*

SEIU Local 73 pledged solidarity with the subjects of the raid, which included Iosbaker, his wife Stephanie Weiner, and former SEIU Local 73 Executive Board member Tom Burke. These individuals were “seeking peace and justice for workers and other oppressed people throughout the world,” according to the union’s resolution in solidarity with Iosbaker, Weiner, and Burke. The resolution noted an additional union connection, that Weiner is a member of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Iosbaker was a staff adviser for the University of Illinois-Chicago chapter of Students for a Democratic Society; SDS



*Thousands gather for a rally and march in support of the people of Gaza who are under occupation and siege by Israeli armed forces.*

is the radical group best known for its violent offshoot, the Weather Underground. Iosbaker has described his wife as an “activist in the Palestine solidarity movement.” And he has spoken favorably of the regime of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad, declaring the farcical June 3, 2014, election to be a triumph for the Syrian people. At a press conference at the United Nations headquarters in New York, he said, regarding participation in the election, that the “Syrian people are an inspiration.” The election was a “defeat for the United States, for NATO, for the Zionists and the Gulf States.”

Contrast his views on Syria with his opinion of Israel. Iosbaker told PressTV, an Islamic Republic of Iran front, that Israel is a “racist” and “terrorist regime.” Although

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Credit: Stephen Melkevelian. License: <https://goo.gl/lySz2>

supported by “US imperialism...Israel is living on borrowed time and stolen land.” And, in 2016, “Israel’s occupation of Palestine has led to a third heroic Intifada.” (Intifada is an Arabic word meaning tremor or “shaking off” as with dirt. Figuratively, it means an uprising, particularly the violence by Islamist Palestinians against Israel.)

## WIDESPREAD ANTI-ISRAEL ACTIVISM

The anti-Israel Iosbaker is not alone in the American labor movement, as indicated by the website of Labor for Palestine (LFP), a group that “endorses the 2005 Palestinian-led Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) picket line.” LFP’s December 1, 2004, founding statement declared that “Israel’s war on the Palestinian people reflects imperial domination throughout the Middle East,” which the “Palestinian people have courageously resisted.” (For more on the BDS movement, see “Progressivism’s New Hate on Campus,” *Organization Trends*, January 2016.)

Various American union chapters have heeded this “picket line.” The list includes International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) Local 10. As announced on Facebook, ILWU Local 10 participated in the October 25, 2014, “Block the Boat” campaign to prevent the offloading of an Israeli Zim line cargo ship in Oakland, California. “Join the BDS movement to end Israeli apartheid!” and “Zionism is simply not welcome on our coasts,” ILWU Local 10 announced.

A California chapter of the United Auto Workers, UAW 2865, followed suit on December 4, 2014. Representing over 13,000 University of California teaching assistants and other student-workers, UAW 2865 became the “first major U.S. labor union to hold a membership vote” responding to the Palestinian call for BDS. UAW 2865’s dissenting pro-Israel group, Informed Grads, noted that in the union “it is clear that our leaders oppose Israel’s existence, but they carefully avoid saying so explicitly.” One speaker at a union event said that “all of Israel is Occupied Palestine.”

With each over 2,000 members, the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Graduate Employee Organization (GEO/UAW2322) and the New York University Graduate Student Organizing Committee (GSOC-UAW 2110) voted in April 2016 to support BDS.

GEO/UAW2322’s resolution demands that Israel honor a “right of return” for millions of Palestinian “refugees” who would flood into Israel, demographically destroying the Jewish state. Likewise, Israel should end its supposed “occupation of



UE president Bruce Klipple stated that the “widespread abuse of workers under the occupation is a concern for the global labor movement.”

the Palestinian territories” (including all of Israel?) and the “preferential treatment of Jews vis-à-vis Palestinians” in Israel’s “apartheid.” Supporting the resolution, one GEO member stated that “it is imperative to demand the immediate and unqualified decolonization of Palestine.”

Representing over 9,000 graduate student workers, the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s Teaching Assistants’ Association (TAA), also known as the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 3220, followed in May 2016. The TAA/AFT Local 3220 resolution contained the three traditional BDS demands while referencing an “Israel Occupation and Colonization of all Arab lands occupied in 1967.” The resolution also repeated the slander that Israel has a “network of racially segregated roads in the West Bank” and an “apartheid legal system.”

“*Millions of Palestinian “refugees” would flood into Israel, demographically destroying the Jewish state.*”

Representing some 30,000 workers, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) at its 2015 national convention in Baltimore, became America’s first national union to endorse BDS. UE proclaimed that the “BDS statement upholds the union’s long tradition of





*BDS harms Palestinian workers much more than Israelis, for example, Soda Stream had to close a factory on the West Bank where 1,000 Palestinian workers earned 5,000-6,000 shekels monthly plus all benefits.*

courageous stands on foreign policy issues, such as being the first union to oppose the Vietnam War.” UE general president Bruce Klipple stated that the “widespread abuse of workers under the occupation is a concern for the global labor movement.”

## TO THE LEFT OF ABBAS

Incredibly, these unions’ support for BDS is more extreme than the position of the Palestinians themselves. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and Palestinian business leaders *oppose* BDS.

Contrary to Klipple, BDS harms Palestinian workers much more than Israelis and their settlements in the disputed territories won by Israel in the 1967 war. For example, the Israeli firm Soda Stream closed a factory in one such settlement where almost 1,000 Palestinian workers earned 5,000-6,000 shekels monthly plus all worker benefits guaranteed by Israeli law. The workers then had to find Palestinian jobs earning about 1,500 shekels monthly without benefits.

While making typical BDS demands calling for an end to Israel’s American military aid and a Palestinian “right of return,” the UE resolution also viciously slandered Israel by re-writing history. The resolution declared that in Israel’s 1947-1948 independence war “well-armed Zionist militias seized most of the territory of Palestine and expelled 750,000 people.... They executed much of the Palestinian leadership.” Anti-Defamation League national director Jonathan Greenblatt condemned in a letter to Klipple this “outrageous and totally unfounded claim that from 1947-1948 the Jewish State engaged in ethnic cleansing.”

The Connecticut chapter of the AFL-CIO also voted in favor of BDS at its 2015 convention. The BDS resolution

repeated the false accusation that Israel had used indiscriminate military force in the Gaza Strip, such that “Israel’s right to defend itself” had resulted in “collective punishment.” The resolution condemned “all acts of racism” and anti-Semitism, but also targeted an undefined “Islamophobia,” an accusation often used to suppress even the mildest criticism of Islam.

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*Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and Palestinian business leaders oppose BDS.*

## A MINORITY VIEW

Such anti-Israel measures reflect a minority opinion in the American labor movement, as Jewish Labor Committee (JLC) president Stuart Appelbaum noted in 2008. The *Forward*, a prominent Jewish newspaper, reported that, after the JLC the previous year began a campaign against British trade union support for BDS—

In the space of two weeks, every major American union had endorsed the effort. In fact, the show of American labor opposition to Israel-bashing was so strong that unions in Germany followed our lead and took a similar stance.

As Eric Lee of the pro-Israel Trade Unions Linking Israel and Palestine (TULIP) stated in 2014, the “American labor movement has long been a safe space for friends of Israel, and to a large degree remains so.”

“Labor unions were once among Israel’s most important allies” in a friendly relationship going back to the Zionist settlement of Palestine, noted Rabbis Yitzchok Adlerstein and Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. In the past “at one point, the UAW may have been the largest institutional purchaser of Israel Bonds.”

Similarly, the AFL-CIO Executive Council in an August 5, 1982, statement, considered “the Israeli invasion of Lebanon entirely justified.... In the conflict between Israel, on the one hand, and the PLO and Syria, on the other, the AFL-CIO is not neutral.... We support Israel.”

## THE OPPOSITION

Some in the labor union movement have indeed opposed the anti-Israel campaign—the UAW International Executive Board, for example. UAW leaders have overruled local chapter BDS decisions, arguing for example in a June 16, 2016, letter that these chapters may not contradict policy of the international UAW. The UAW’s position drew protests from the student workers of University of Washington’s UAW Local 412. Eric Lee of TULIP noted in 2014 that, like “practically every other national union in the US,” the “UAW has long been friendly to Israel and there’s not a hint of support for BDS in the national union.”

In November 2014, as UAW Local 2865 prepared to vote on BDS, union leaders expressed opposition to the idea. Writing to the UAW International, American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) national president J. David Cox, Sr. noted the “most obvious reason for the UAW to reject the BDS movement,” which is that BDS “calls for boycott and divestment from companies that employ UAW members.” Cox noted that—

Israel, unlike its neighbors, has a thriving labor movement and far greater legal protections for organizing, bargaining, and going on strike than we have in the United States.... Thus Arab Israelis and Palestinians working for Israeli companies have more labor rights, and more union rights, than workers anywhere else in the Middle East.

The Teamsters Union’s California chapter declared in a letter to UAW Local 2865:

Unlike the members of your union, who are graduate students and therefore union members for a short period of time, our members are working in jobs that must support them for a lifetime and it is our job to protect them for all of their working lives.

“

*...Palestinians working for Israeli companies have more labor rights, and more union rights, than workers anywhere else in the Middle East.”*

Lee of TULIP noted that the “student members of United Auto Workers Local 2865 have dealt a serious blow to Israel’s standing in the American labor movement, a movement in

which we believed such things could not happen.” Adlerstein and Cooper wrote that now a “new front opens up in the war against the Jewish state.” Not surprisingly, the Jewish Council for Public Affairs, at their February 2017 “JCPA2017” conference, featured a panel on “Labor Unions and Graduate Students: The Next Campus Challenge” in anti-Israel activism.

## AS THE WORLD TURNS

Lee warned that BDS victories in the labor movement “will happen again as BDS activists are emboldened, as they realize that their ideas are increasingly popular.” Adlerstein and Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center wrote:

Union political orientations always had progressive and socialist leanings, which today are bolstered by alliances with left-leaning and third world groups around the globe, many of whom regularly demonize Israel and the United States.

“Though there remain many unions which are sympathetic to Israel and a two-state solution, particularly in the USA, Germany and Australia, the trend is absolutely clear” around the world, Lee declared. “Every day, supporters of delegitimizing Israel are growing stronger and the voices of moderation are growing weaker.” He added, “Supporters of Hamas with its exterminationist program, its vision of a Palestine free of Jews, living under Sharia law, have set the agenda.”

“To grasp the enormity of the challenge facing Israel’s friends on the left,” the Jewish Labor Committee’s Stuart Appelbaum noted in 2008, “one need only look at the Socialist International’s condemnation” in March 2008 of the “excessive use of force by Israel in Gaza.” (Gaza is a territory between Egypt and Israel, captured by Israel when the Jewish State was attacked in 1967, and held until 2005. It remains under Israeli demilitarization restrictions and is administered by the Sunni/Islamofascist organization Hamas.)

The condemnation of Israel by the Socialist International reflected growing global labor opposition to Israel. For example, two Australian unions in 2008 denounced an Australian parliamentary resolution celebrating Israel’s 60th anniversary, because the unions saw it as a “celebration of the triumph of racism and the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians since the al-Nakba (Catastrophe) of 1948.” That “Catastrophe” is what Israelis call their “War of Independence.”

British unions, Lee said, are now “on the side of the Palestinians,” and “they have burned their bridges to the Jewish state and its trade union movement.” Yet

“Opposition to Israel—indeed hatred of the Jewish state—is much more intense in other trade union movements,” including one of the worst cases, the South African labor movement. Adlerstein and Cooper also noted that Danish and Norwegian unions have supported BDS.

## THE SOLIDARITY CENTER

Thus, the American labor movement risks association with anti-Israel hatred through involvement with international labor groups. For example, the AFL-CIO represented its more than 11 million members via the union’s Solidarity Center at the March 2013 World Social Forum (WSF) in Tunis, Tunisia. Befitting an annual gathering of radical leftist groups, the WSF in 2013 hosted several events condemning Israel and supporting BDS. Fred Wszolek of the Workforce Fairness Institute, a business-oriented group, commented that many AFL-CIO members “would actually be insulted” by the WSF’s tenor, particularly concerning Israel.

Exploration of the Solidarity Center’s website reveals troubling anti-Israel biases. One article laments that “Attempts at a Palestinian national dialogue have failed to bring unity between the two political parties, Fatah and Hamas.” Fatah is, in essence, the late Yasser Arafat’s Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), perhaps the premier international terrorist organization of the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and Hamas is a jihadist terrorist group with genocidal designs against Israel.

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*Fatah is the late Yasser Arafat’s Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), perhaps the premier international terrorist organization of the last half of the 20th Century.*

Another article links to a report by the pro-BDS Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU) that refers to Israel as a “Zionist entity” and comments that “Work in tunnels is one of the special work conditions in the Gaza Strip” without mentioning that these tunnels serve Hamas terrorism. Notably, the Solidarity Center article overlooks important nuances revealed in the PGFTU report. The article cites a Palestinian worker who “must endure hours each day in dehumanizing lines to pass



Credit: House Committee on Education and the Workforce Democrats & New America.

*Randi Weingarten toured Israel on trip with J Street president Jeremy Ben Ami and met with radical leftist Israeli groups like Peace Now’s Settlement Watch and Breaking the Silence.*

through” a checkpoint on the way to work in Israel. Yet the report reflects on the Palestinian realities of working in Israel by observing that: “Almost all the workers prefer to work within the Green Line [pre-1967 Israel] because of the high pay.” This preference is so strong that it exists despite “suffering and abuse” endured from security checkpoints and individual Israelis.

A July 23, 2014 Solidarity Center article sharply criticizes Israel’s position on a ceasefire during the Israeli “Protective Edge” military campaign against Hamas in the Gaza Strip. The article links to several consistently anti-Israel labor groups and to an article regarding a Gaza ceasefire at the website of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC). The article notes that the “ITUC has called for many years for the lifting of the Gaza blockade and the removal of the separation wall,” two vitally important Israeli security measures.

Examination of past ITUC statements reveals ITUC’s absolute rejection of Jewish settlement in disputed “Palestinian territory,” territory that includes areas central to Judaism. Such anti-Israel criticism is no exception. ITUC has praised, as “an important step,” the European Union’s “decision to require labelling of certain products from illegal Israeli settlements on Palestinian territory.” In addition to this stigmatization and reduction of the economic value of these products, ITUC has called for BDS against these settlements, as “economic relations with the settlements help to sustain their existence, in violation of international law.”

ITUC World Congress positions on the Israel-Palestinian conflict reflect a two-state, “land for peace” solution that rejects the historic nuances of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 242 concerning territories



Israel won in 1967. Under this resolution, Israel is not required to relinquish all these territories, yet the 2014 World Congress demanded “Israel’s withdrawal from all Palestinian lands, in line with the 4th of June 1967 borders” that were actually 1949 ceasefire lines. Similar ignorance—presumably *willful* ignorance—of UNSCR 242’s demand for defensible Israeli borders guided the 2010 World Congress, before Syria’s descent into jihadist mayhem, to call “for Israel and Syria to reach agreement on Israel’s withdrawal from the Golan Heights.”

ITUC General Secretary Sharan Burrow’s 2014 condemnation of ongoing Israeli settlement development moved her to advocate that “Governments around the world should respond by giving formal recognition to the State of Palestine.” “There is every reason for Palestinians to have international recognition, and no good reason for yet further delay,” she declared, ignoring the chaos that characterizes the prospective “State of Palestine” and precludes recognition. She also ignored that reality in 2012, stating that: “For too long, major powers have sat by and tolerated the Israeli government’s policy of refusing to negotiate a just and lasting two-state settlement.”<sup>1</sup>

The July 2014 Solidarity Center article links to an article at the Public Service International (PSI) website also calling for a Gaza ceasefire. Additional PSI demands, like “promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return,” reflect the endorsement at PSI’s 2012 World Congress in Durban, South Africa, of the “BDS Campaign” and of “Israeli Apartheid Week.” (The “apartheid” reference likened Israel’s relations with the Palestinians to the racist policies of South Africa’s former white-supremacist regime.) Like the Connecticut AFL-CIO, the World Congress opposed “all forms of discrimination including anti-semitism [and] islamophobia” and endorsed “recognition of Palestinian statehood.”

UNI Global Union presented another labor group calling for a Gaza ceasefire cited by the Solidarity Center. UNI Global Union subsequently on August 7, 2014, demanded Israel face the “immediate suspension of all transfers of weapons, munitions and other military equipment and technology being used against civilians.” In addition to this arms embargo justified with the baseless charge that Israel uses indiscriminate force, UNI Global Union further endangered Israel with another appeal for an “end of the blockade of Gaza.”

Another Solidarity Center link directed readers to reporting on Education International General Secretary Fred van Leeuwen, who echoed UNI Global Union’s claims of Israel targeting civilians. He expressed “deep concern about the

ever increasing number of civilian victims in Gaza caused by Israeli military action.” The article paraphrased his criticism of “Israel’s disproportional response.”

Another Solidarity Center link went to a union federation, the IndustriALL *[sic]* Global Union (IGU)—specifically, to IGU’s declaration of support for ITUC’s appeal for an “immediate ceasefire.”

IGU claims 50 million members in its affiliated unions, largely in mining, energy, and manufacturing. The federation called for Israel to undergo “renewed international pressure to end Israel’s occupation of the West Bank.” Like the ITUC, IGU rhetorically transformed ceasefire lines into internationally recognized borders and appealed for a “negotiated settlement to respect the 1967 borders between Israel and a Palestinian state.”

The Solidarity Center also tied the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) to the call for a Gaza ceasefire. IFJ quoted its Palestinian affiliate, the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate, charging during the 2014 Gaza campaign that “Israeli forces have deliberately targeted media workers and media outlets.” IFJ has a record of glorifying Palestinian jihadist propagandists as “journalists,” such as when IFJ condemned Israel for destroying Hezbollah’s Al Manar broadcaster in 2006. This condemnation caused the IFJ’s Israeli chapter to briefly leave the organization, before disputes over dues payments caused IFJ to permanently expel the Israelis in 2009.

## TEACHERS AND ISRAEL

In the United States, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) president Randi Weingarten proclaimed herself a “Jew who has been a lifelong supporter of Israel.” She has opposed the American Studies Association’s academic boycott against Israel, but supported the “Iran nuclear deal as the best current course of action.” She contended that “If you love and cherish Israel” a “two-state solution is the only answer.”

Weingarten made the latter remarks at the March 2015 gala dinner of the group known as J Street, a left-wing alternative to the American-Israel Political Action Conference as a lobbying group supporting Israel. She said Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu “played on the Israeli people’s worst fears” with “Nixonian tactics.” She toured Israel on a January 2015 trip with J Street president Jeremy Ben Ami and met with radical leftist Israeli groups like Peace Now’s Settlement Watch and Breaking the Silence.

Weingarten and AFT also take leftist positions concerning Islam in the United States. AFT’s 2016

resolution on “Immigration and Islamophobia” supported in the United States the “processing and resettlement of tens of thousands of men, women and children” from the Middle East. A 2012 AFT resolution naïvely described the “Arab Spring” as a “mosaic of poignant outpourings across the region that garnered strength from each other, all expressing the will of the people for democracy.” Actually, the Arab Spring—backed by then-President Obama—led to results that were, on the whole, horrific. Islamofascists came to power (temporarily) in Egypt, chaos reigned in Libya to the advantage of the terrorists, and the Syrian civil war became perhaps the worst humanitarian disaster since World War II.

Weingarten proclaimed in 2015 that the “American Federation of Teachers strongly condemns the growing and disturbing anti-Muslim, anti-Islamic rhetoric and bigotry coming from some quarters in the United States.” She focused on the “planned Sept. 11 burning of the Quran by a Florida minister,” Terry Jones. This “shameful act by a group of bigots and political opportunists is a threat to our military personnel abroad and an assault on the values that we hold dear at home.” (In leftist propaganda, Muslim extremism results largely from Americans and other Westerners who insist on exercising their free-speech right to criticize Islam. A notable example is the attempt by the Obama administration to falsely blame the September 11, 2012 Benghazi attack on an obscure anti-Muslim video.)

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*The Arab Spring led to results that were horrific, creating perhaps the worst humanitarian disaster since World War II.*

Weingarten and the AFT find soulmates in the other major teachers’ union, the National Education Association (NEA). NEA president Lily Eskelsen García is a hardcore partisan, calling Donald Trump a “racist” and praising Hillary Clinton, whose “proposal for the Syrian refugee crisis reflects the values this country was founded on.”

On June 12, 2016, a jihadist, reflecting the Islamofascist view that gay people deserve death, murdered 49 people at a gay nightclub in Orlando. García’s reaction was bizarre, seeming to excuse the attack as the result of mental illness, just as in other mass shootings. “What the shooters had in common was often mental health issues.” Who was at fault? Donald Trump, for his “narrow-minded ignorance,” for supposedly believing that the “Orlando tragedy occurred because there are Muslims in our country.” She described her gay son “telling me how

upset he was to see friends and family members blaming Muslims in general for the Orlando attack.” These “troubled people who were susceptible to hate speech” had “easy access to military-style assault weapons with high-capacity magazines,” thereby justifying more gun restrictions.

“  
*Garcia blamed the attack by a jihadist on a gay nightclub in Orlando on mental illness, not Islamofascism.*

Standing, roaring ovations greeted María Elena Durazo, former Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) national president, at the NEA’s July 2016 conference in Washington, D.C. “Disobey Trump,” she urged, declaring that “What happens to Muslims happens to America.” A conference event accordingly focused on the ever-ominous threat of “Islamophobia.”

Displaying a similar mindset, NEA member and San Francisco schoolteacher Fakhra Shah led her students in participating in the 2016 “Muslims at the Capitol Day” in Sacramento, California. The event sponsor was the Hamas-derived Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing case. (For more on this organization, see “Keeping up with CAIR’s Islamic Radicalism” in our January 2017 issue) The NEA reported on this Pakistani-American Muslim in the context of a CAIR report on the bullying of Muslim students.

The NEA article linked to Shah’s PowerPoint presentation on “Islamophobia,” defined as “fear, dislike, and prejudice towards Islam or Muslims.” The presentation equated “Islamophobia” with prejudices in American history like racism, and it included under “Anti-Muslim hate groups” the Jihad Watch website produced by best-selling author Robert Spencer. Shah referenced the “Impact of Islamophobia on Schools” with a picture of the arrest of Ahmed Mohamed, the *cause célèbre* “Clock Boy” whose supposed school project in 2015 looked to school authorities suspiciously like a bomb. The presentation also presents France’s controversial burqa ban as merely bigoted and suggests approval of defacement of Pamela Geller’s Islam-critical San Francisco bus advertisements with messages like “Free speech isn’t a license to spread hate.” For good measure, Shah also created a lesson plan condemning Trump after his election, stating that a “racist and sexist man has become the president of our country by pandering to a huge racist and sexist base.”



NEA materials feature not just CAIR but also the Southern Poverty Legal Center (SPLC), whose founder Morris Dees received an NEA award in 2016. The SPLC, once a legitimate civil rights organization, is known today for its fake claims of “hate.” The NEA website links to an SPLC webpage featuring the booklet *What is the Truth about American Muslims*. Endorsed by numerous left-wing and Islamist groups like the SPLC and the Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated, terrorism-financing unindicted coconspirator Islamic Society of North America, the booklet contains a host of myths about Islam.

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*Fakhra Shah had her students participate in the 2016 “Muslims at the Capitol Day” in Sacramento, California, sponsored by the terrorism-financing Council on American-Islamic Relations.*

For example, the booklet states that “small factions within Islam...lift up extremist theology and pervert their faith to support their violence.” This statement ignores the prevalence of sharia law and other human-right violations in Muslim-majority countries, ranging from anti-blasphemy laws to the subjugation and sexual mutilation of women. The booklet also ignores the role that jihad has played in extending Muslim rule over non-Muslims around the world, in service of Islam’s proclaimed universal mission. Rather, in the booklet’s definition, “Jihad may also involve fighting against oppressors and aggressors who commit injustice. It is not ‘holy war’ in the way a crusade would be considered a holy war.”

Articles from the NEA’s journal *Thought & Action* reflect these biases concerning Islam and American reactions to jihadist dangers. The 2007 summer edition contained an article hawking the myth of Muslim-ruled Spain as a harmonious, multicultural society, a tale that is a staple of Islamic apologetics. The 2005 fall edition meanwhile claimed that “In the wake of 9/11, academic freedom suffered under a wave of patriotic correctness in America.”

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) has expressed sentiments similar to those of the NEA. AFSCME supported the radical Israel-basher Charles Barron in his unsuccessful 2012 bid for a Congressional seat in New York. AFSCME vice president Johanna Puno Hester in 2015 joined CAIR’s San Diego chapter and other groups in the San Diego Immigrant Rights Consortium (SDIRC) to declare San Diego a “hate-

free zone.” SDIRC’s statement called upon the media to “Ensure that groups presenting their views are not affiliated with documented hate groups” (like Jihad Watch, falsely identified as such by the SPLC). Similarly, “Faith Leaders” should ecumenically “Emphasize the basic common tenant [*sic*] of all faiths that we should care for the poor, marginalized, and vulnerable among us.”

In her position as national president of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), AFSCME’s Johanna Puno Hester denounced Trump’s “Islamophobia” throughout 2016. In a September 15, 2016 APALA press release, she stated that the “conflation of what it means to be American with anti-Muslim hate and Islamophobia must come to an end, and that includes reforming government policies.” Among other groups, she noted that “APALA continues to partner with...Muslim Advocates,” a group known for having pushed American authorities in 2011 to purge their training documents of references to sharia and jihad.

AFSCME joined CAIR and others again in supporting the Freedom of Religion Act of 2016 introduced by U.S. Representative Don Beyer (D-Va.) that declares that an “alien may not be denied admission to the United States because of the alien’s religion.” Religion defined here could give admission to someone who believes in theocratic, totalitarian dictatorship, in female genital mutilation, and in the execution of homosexuals. The broadness of the bill’s terms could prohibit any vetting, extreme or otherwise, of an immigrant because of critical inquiry into possibly violent religious beliefs.

The SEIU has also had several interactions with CAIR. CAIR and SEIU’s Seattle affiliates collaborated in 2013 to remove from city buses advertisements for the United States State Department’s “Rewards for Justice” program. The groups condemned the advertisements as bigoted because the overwhelming majority of wanted terrorists pictured in the advertisements were Muslim. CAIR’s Chicago affiliate later joined SEIU president Mary Kay Henry in front of McDonald’s corporate headquarters in Illinois at a 2014 rally for a \$15 minimum wage.

It was perhaps no coincidence that SEIU’s Washington, D.C. headquarters hosted an October 2015 anti-Israel panel (reported on by this author) featuring CAIR national executive director Nihad Awad. Fellow panelists included former Palestine Liberation Organization spokesman and Barack Obama confidante Rashid Khalidi, the Edward Said Professor of Modern Arab Studies at Columbia University.

Like others, SEIU executive vice president Rocio Saenz in 2016 denounced Donald Trump’s “extremist rhetoric” concerning Muslims and others. He welcomed outgoing President Barack Obama’s abolition of the National

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*Muslim Advocates is a group known for having pushed American authorities in 2011 to purge their training documents of references to sharia and jihad.*

Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS). That program monitored visa holders from countries posing high security risks like terrorism, most of them Muslim-majority jihadist centers.

Union and Islamist leaders have in recent years collaborated in several high-profile public initiatives. MoveOn.org published a full-page *New York Times* advertisement on December 10, 2015, that denounced that a “dangerous tide of hatred, violence, and suspicion is rising in America” and threatening Arab and Muslim Americans, among others. Its signatories included AFSCME president Lee Saunders, SPLC president Richard Cohen, radical Muslim anti-Zionist and leftist luminary Linda Sarsour, and Trita Parsi, leader of the Iranian lobby group National Iranian American Council, along with Awad of CAIR.

Like NEA’s Garcia, many of these union and Islamist leaders saw fit to blame American firearms ownership, not jihadist ideology, for the Orlando massacre. A June 13, 2016 open letter from Americans for Responsible Solutions focused on “condemning hatred and gun violence.” Along with Garcia, signatories included CAIR’s Awad, SEIU’s Henry, AFSCME’s Saunders, and AFT’s Weingarten.

American union alliances with Islamists and other “progressive” groups do not necessarily reflect union rank-and-file sentiments. “I am deeply concerned,” Henry stated in a January 2016 interview about SEIU, that “our members are responding to Trump’s message.” She worried that “Sixty-four percent of our public members identify as conservative.”

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*Many union and Islamist leaders saw fit to blame American firearms ownership, not jihadist ideology, for the Orlando massacre.*

“Today, individual union members are often disconnected from political posturing of their organizations about

non-economic issues, half way around the world,” Adlerstein and Cooper of the Wiesenthal Center wrote in 2007. As an example, they noted how in 2006 the Human Rights Committee of the United Teachers of Los Angeles teachers’ union agreed to host the launch of a BDS campaign. “Only the public outcry from Jewish organizations in Los Angeles forced the union to move the meeting off-site from its headquarters.”

Adlerstein and Cooper drew the lesson that “if you are a member of any union, be informed about its human rights agenda.... Don’t allow well-organized extremists to speak in your union’s name.” Appelbaum of the Jewish Labor Committee asked, “Why, then, has this [BDS] worldview remained so marginal among American progressives?” He concluded that “The answer may be found in the labor movement.”

Americans inside and outside of unions should keep a close eye on what the labor movement is doing in schools, the marketplace, and politics. As in the Cold War, when Communists and anti-Communists struggled for control of the labor movement, it is imperative to note who is on which side. In the struggle with Islamic totalitarianism, Americans must look under the union label.

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*1 Editor’s note:* The term “two-state solution” refers to a hypothetical resolution of the conflict between Israel and a largely Arab people who, in recent decades, have been referred to as “Palestinians.” It would include an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel and west of the Jordan River. It could involve a swap of territory termed “land for peace.”

Some supporters of Israel back a “two-state solution” as a way of preserving the Jewish State. But others see it as a trap. In the *American Thinker*, February 7, 2017, Jack Winnick wrote:

The so-called “Two-State Solution” has been touted for many years by Israel’s enemies as the only way to achieve peace. The fundamentals of this “solution” consist of the creation of two new countries. One would comprise the “West Bank,” historically known as Judea and Samaria, and be populated and governed solely by Arabs. As in other Arab countries, Jews, Christians, and other non-Muslims would be unwelcome.

The other “country” would comprise the area now known as Israel, but would be open to the return of millions of Arabs as citizens. These “returnees” would include all Arabs who could show *any* relation to those living in the ill-defined region known as “Palestine” prior to the establishment of the Jewish state in 1948. This, in effect, would mean Israel would have to open its borders to all Arabs in the Levant [the Eastern Mediterranean region including Cyprus, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, “Palestine,” Syria, and Hatay Province in Turkey, as well as Israel]. The idea of a Jewish homeland would disappear. A nation populated and governed by Arabs would take its place.





## BIG OIL, STANDING ROCK SIOUX, AND HOW TO ACTUALLY HELP AMERICAN INDIANS

By Martin Morse Wooster

**Summary:** In a recent book, Naomi Schaefer Riley, senior fellow at Independent Women's Forum, points out that natural resources on American Indian reservations can be the best way to empower the tribes to rise out of poverty. Unfortunately, government agencies and regulations often prevent private enterprise from working with tribal leaders to develop their land and take advantage of the untapped natural resources on their property.

In 2011 I was in a coffee shop across the street from the main Occupy encampment in Washington. I was trying to read a book I was reviewing, but ended up overhearing a very loud conversation where one of the organizers was talking about his plans. The organizer had lots of acronyms that made sense to him but seemed like baffle-gab to me. But if all the acronyms did whatever they were supposed to do, and a lot of handwaving took place, then, well, the revolution was inevitable.

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*There are those who like to think that endless confrontations and screaming are key tools of political persuasion.*

Six years later, it's hard to say what, if anything, Occupy accomplished except to fill the minds of a great many Millennials with political gas and fatten the paychecks of cops and sanitation workers who had to clean up the encampments. But there's those who like to think that endless confrontations and screaming are key tools of political persuasion. So we now have the battle with the Standing Rock Sioux's triumph over Big Oil at the Dakota Access Pipeline.

I'll be the first to argue that American Indians have been treated badly in the past. But the past offers no help to Indians trying to rise up out of poverty. Naomi Schaefer

### THE NEW TRAIL OF TEARS

How Washington Is Destroying American Indians

NAOMI SCHAEFER RILEY

"A much-needed revelation of heart-breaking conditions on American Indian reservations"  
—THOMAS SOWELL



*Naomi Schaefer Riley writes that the natural resources on their reservations can be the best way to empower tribes to rise out of poverty.*

*Martin Morse Wooster is a Senior Fellow at Capital Research Center. A version of this article was originally posted at Philanthropy Daily.*



*Riley gives an in-depth account of Energy Transfer Partners' efforts to build the Dakota Access Pipeline.*

Riley, a senior fellow at the Independent Women's Forum and the author of a new book about American Indians, makes this provocative point in her article in *Commentary*: natural resources are the best way to ensure that Indians can rise out of poverty.

Riley gives an in-depth account of Energy Transfer Partners' efforts to build the Dakota Access Pipeline. The company first proposed the pipeline in 2014. They managed to convince property owners to allow the company to build 97 percent of the pipeline on private land. "The many farmers who allowed the company to run across their property were paid handsomely," Riley writes.

In addition, the pipeline company made sure that the pipeline wouldn't go near any property being considered for an addition to the National Register of Historic Places, had many meetings with state historic preservation officers, and rerouted the pipeline in North Dakota 140 times to make sure that the pipeline wouldn't cross a burial ground or ceremonial site. Energy Transfer Partners staff also presented their plans to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council and to the tribe's historic-preservation officer.

But the Army Corps of Engineers had to give approval for the pipeline to go underneath Lake Oahe. The Corps tried repeatedly to meet with the Standing Rock Sioux. They had 389 meetings with 55 other tribes about the pipeline, but the Standing Rock Sioux either refused to answer letters or when Corps representatives showed up claimed the discussion of the pipeline had already taken place. Then they demanded that the pipeline be halted, even though the Corps only had jurisdiction over the construction of the pipeline over federal land.

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*The Army Corps of Engineers had 389 meetings with 55 other tribes about the pipeline.*

In December, the Army announced that construction would be halted until Energy Transfer Partners found a way around Lake Oahe. The Sioux and their green allies declared a great victory. But Riley notes that the real issue is how much control Indians have over their reservations—and whether they can develop the abundant natural resources on their land.

Radicals daydream that Indian reservations will someday become independent nations. A more desirable—and achievable—goal would be for Indians to have as many rights to their lands as private property owners have. Indian reservations, Riley reports, are micromanaged by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indians are routinely blocked by Washington bureaucrats from getting mortgages, buying or selling land, or engaging in other forms of productive economic activity.

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*A more desirable goal would be for Indians to have as many rights to their lands as private property owners have.*

Terry Anderson and Shawn Regan of the Property and Environment Research Center, a free-market environmental nonprofit, calculate that Indian reservations have \$1.5 trillion in coal, uranium, oil, and gas on their land—enough to give every Indian living on a reservation west of the Mississippi \$290,000. But Indians who want to develop these resources find that Bureau of Land Management (BLM) officials routinely block development requests because they consider reservations to be federal government property. Both the Navajo and the Crow tribes have denounced the BLM for denying them fracking permits. The proposed Bears Ears National Monument, which would encompass over a million acres in Utah, has been denounced by members of the Navajo, Ute, and Paiute tribes because they'd be blocked from farming and drilling for oil in lands that would be taken over by the government for the national monument.



Because the control Indians have over reservations is so ambiguous, Riley says, businesses are reluctant to deal with them. The end result of the Standing Rock Sioux protest, Riley observes, is that companies “will now be less likely to locate industry in an area where Indians could potentially see jobs or feel any economic boost.”

The first task philanthropists should have in dealing with American Indians is how to help them rise out of poverty. The best way to do that is to ensure that they have control over the abundant natural resources on their reservations.

American Indian reservations are not—and should not—be considered to be captive nations. But giving Indians the clear and unfettered rights to develop their land that other private property owners have would be a considerable improvement. ■

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*Read previous articles from the Doing Good series online at [www.CapitalResearch.org/category/doing-good/](http://www.CapitalResearch.org/category/doing-good/).*



*The Army announced that construction would be halted until ETP found a way around Lake Oahe. The Sioux and their green allies declared a great victory.*

*Credit: Stephen Melisethian.  
License: <https://goo.gl/Y5TWJH>.*



## A HERO OF CONSERVATIVE PHILANTHROPY

The Bradley Foundation's Dan Schmidt

By Michael E. Hartmann

In 1985, something big occurred in the world of conservative philanthropy. Rockwell International bought Milwaukee's Allen-Bradley Company for \$1.65 billion. One of the trusts that owned the company then became the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, named in honor of the two brothers who founded the company and enjoying \$290 million in assets at the time. The foundation's board almost immediately hired Mike Joyce of the John M. Olin Foundation to come to Milwaukee and run the new philanthropy. Joyce brought one staffer with him from Olin and hired another, highly recommended local person to join them: Dan Schmidt.

Schmidt was a high-level administrator at Marquette University, where he had earlier earned his Ph.D. in history. At the end of last month, this son of a postman retired from Bradley as its vice president for program after more than three decades of service.

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*This son of a postman retired from Bradley as its vice president for program after more than three decades of service*

Schmidt has helped Bradley become one of the country's most-influential—and effective—conservative policy-oriented foundations. (See the Philanthropy Roundtable's study of the Bradley and Olin foundations, *How Two Foundations Reshaped America*.) Perhaps only one or two persons in America can match his experience in and knowledge of conservative philanthropy.

He played a very significant role in most of Bradley's successful grantmaking strategies, including the expansion of educational options for low-income parents, first in Milwaukee and then elsewhere around the country; the reform of government-assistance programs in a way that affirms the dignity of work, first in Wisconsin and then nationally; and securing a place for faith in the public square.



*Schmidt, on the way to a junior-league hockey game, at a Tim Horton's in Brandon, Manitoba, earlier this year.*

Schmidt also played a large role in Bradley's contribution to the construction of Miller Park, which helped ensure the Brewers baseball club's continued presence in Milwaukee. As well, he spearheaded creation in 1989 of the Bradley Commission on History in Schools; the annual Bradley Symposium in Washington, D.C.; and the 2008 Bradley Project on America's National Identity, which presaged many debates now roiling the U.S. and all the West.

*Hartmann is a senior fellow and director of the new Center for Strategic Giving at the Capital Research Center. He served for more than 18 years in various positions on the program staff of The Bradley Foundation, including most recently as its director of research.*

Photo courtesy of Michael E. Hartmann.



In the early 2000s, he loyally helped carry Bradley through an unfortunate period of turbulence, including service as its acting president. I personally have been blessed to work for Schmidt at Bradley since just before that time. It was a blessing mostly because of the fun I and others had with him, but also because of what we learned from him.

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*Stylistically, Bradley’s philanthropic influence has been better and more effectively wielded because of Schmidt’s humility.*

Stylistically, Bradley’s philanthropic influence has been better and more effectively wielded because of his humility, a virtue that can be tested when one is besieged by flatterers seeking largesse. Unlike so many others in the sector, Schmidt—an avid fan of hockey, a team sport—never pushed himself forward, perhaps sometimes to his detriment.

Bradley, its grantees, and their shared aims have also benefited from Schmidt’s calm presence, an attribute that can be challenged by the hustle and bustle of a high profile in the policy arena; from his approachability, which is difficult to maintain when many want to approach; from his fairness, without which giving money away doesn’t matter much and can even harm the larger effort; and from his quick smile and humor, which shares a root word with *humility*. (Schmidt could confirm that, I bet.)

Substantively, he believes history matters. Few could so quickly grasp the relevance of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the Sykes-Picot Treaty, and the French Fourth Republic to contemporary issues, but he could. His references to such historical facts were always relevant to what was being discussed, though their relevance usually only became clear to me after Googling them afterwards.

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*Few could so quickly grasp the relevance of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, the Sykes-Picot Treaty, and the French Fourth Republic to contemporary issues.*

Schmidt sees great peril in “presentism”—the notion that contemporary views of enduring human problems are all that matters—and he decries the arrogance that often underlies it.

To humble people like him for whom history matters, institutions matter too. They have longer lifetimes than we do, and the loss of trust in them bodes ill for all of us. Schmidt thinks this trust should be restored and that the institutions of philanthropy can and should look for ways to help restore it.

He believes in paying attention to the essences of things. Whenever a complaint arose about a petty matter, he would give it a hearing only if it really went to the essence of the enterprise. If it did, then he would react.

Relatedly, he believes in and speaks of identity—of us as human beings, in families; of us as Americans, in the West; of us as conservatives, in a tradition worthy of respect as we apply it in current circumstances.

He would also reference a “communion of saints” in various contexts. They are made up of those individuals who precede us—in secular contexts, the Founders, the intellectual godfathers of conservatism, and Bradley board members; and in a religious context, real-life saints. Our predecessors were not stupid, and current expertise, however evidence-driven, does not render them moot. At core, the questions with which they grappled remain with us now. Their answers can help us.

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*For Schmidt, religion matters—not just for saving our souls, but also for seeing the world clearly.*

For Schmidt, religion matters—not just for saving our souls, but also for seeing the world clearly. We need to grasp religion as a motivating factor in human behavior, including in international affairs, because it offers us all a path toward the transcendent.

The essence of philanthropy, Schmidt would often recall, is generosity. He himself has a generosity of spirit. The lessons borne of that spirit should be more widely shared, and emulated, by individuals and institutions. They should not be dismissed as platitudinous. They should more often be put into practice, personally and professionally, including as part of conservative philanthropy’s future. ■



## THE UNITED STATES OF GOLDMAN SACHS

The international investment bank continues to influence government no matter who's in power

By Fred Lucas

**Summary:** *The elite investment bank Goldman Sachs has supplied Treasury secretaries to both Republican and Democratic administrations. A Goldman veteran serves as President Trump's current Treasury Secretary and as his chief White House strategist. The firm leans left and cozies up to Big Government, remaining profitable while less well-connected firms perish.*

Some things just don't change in Washington. Republican and Democratic administrations are swept in and out of office. Whether after an election where the winner vows to "fundamentally transform America" in 2008, or eight years later when the winning candidate vows to "make America great again," one thing is constant: the tentacles of Goldman Sachs continue to be embedded all over the federal government regardless of who is president. (Goldman Sachs was previously examined in the October 2008 and July 2009 issues of *Foundation Watch*.)

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*The tentacles of Goldman Sachs continue to be embedded all over the federal government regardless of who is president.*

President Donald Trump hurled a few rhetorical grenades at the banking giant, as did Democratic presidential aspirant Bernie Sanders, the Independent senator from Vermont. Presidential candidates Hillary Clinton and Ted Cruz each had to explain their ties. Clinton pocketed \$675,000 in speaking fees from Goldman Sachs, while Heidi Cruz, wife of the junior senator from Texas, previously worked for the firm.



*"Government Sachs," the Goldman Sachs tower in New Jersey.*

Trump committed to assemble the best and the brightest from the business world—which we've seen in many of his cabinet picks. He's seeking institutional knowledge from people who know about business and the government to get the economy moving again.

Still, it's difficult to forget the Trump campaign commercial that showed the Goldman Sachs CEO's face as the narrator talked about "a global power structure that is responsible for the economic decisions that have robbed our working class, stripped our country of its wealth and put that money into the pockets of a handful of large corporations and political entities." During the Republican primary campaign Trump said: "I know the guys at Goldman Sachs. They have total, total control" he said, referring to Cruz, "just like they have total control over Hillary Clinton" (*New York Times*, Dec. 9, 2016).

### "GOVERNMENT SACHS"

After Trump came into office, he filled the administration with Goldman alumni, notably Treasury Secretary Steven

*Fred Lucas is the White House correspondent for The Daily Signal.*

Credit: Andrew Fedyor. License: <https://goo.gl/uq5X2r>.

Mnuchin and his deputy Jim Donovan, and National Economic Council Director Gary Cohn. Even top White House strategist Stephen K. Bannon was at one time an investment banker with Goldman, though in the years since he has become an outspoken populist.

And guess who's angry?

It's very telling that today's same left-wing "Resistance" rallies against Goldman weren't happening when former Goldmanites packed the ranks of the Obama administration. And there were many. For example, before being appointed to the Supreme Court, Elena Kagan briefly served as Solicitor General in the Obama administration. Before that she was a member of the Research Advisory Council of the Goldman Sachs Global Markets Institute. Although Steve Friedman originally chaired the President's Intelligence Advisory Board under President George W. Bush, his term extended into the Obama administration.

Other notable Goldman alumni serving in the Obama administration include Rahm Emanuel, the White House Chief of Staff who is now mayor of Chicago; Robert Hormats, who served as Under Secretary of State for Economic Growth, Energy, and the Environment; and Gary Gensler, who served as chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

This is not an exhaustive list.

Conservative journalists such as Tim Carney and Michelle Malkin often used the phrase "Government Sachs" to describe the firm because of its deep ties to the Obama administration. Now things have come full circle. In February, left-wing activists rallied outside the Goldman Sachs headquarters in lower Manhattan, protesting "Government Sachs."

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*Blankfein isn't running away from the "Government Sachs" label. He welcomes it.*

Always eager to jump on the nearest Occupy Wall Street-style bandwagon, the far-left Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D), along with Wisconsin Sen. Tammy Baldwin (D), wrote Goldman CEO Lloyd Blankfein a letter expressing how deeply troubled they were about the "influence" Goldman has on the Trump administration.

"Dismantling Dodd-Frank would be a financial boon for large banks, including Goldman Sachs," the lawmakers



Credit: Tim Pierce. License: <https://goo.gl/5sCpntG>.

*The far-left Massachusetts Sen. Elizabeth Warren—always eager to jump on the nearest Occupy Wall Street-style bandwagon.*

wrote. They also noted Goldman's market value soared after Trump signed an executive order to begin dismantling Dodd-Frank, the heavy-handed financial regulation law that President Obama signed in 2010 (CNN, March 17, 2017).

But these senators weren't as concerned about Goldman's influence during the Obama years.

Whichever party is in power, Blankfein dismisses such concerns about the firm's disproportional influence. He isn't running away from the "Government Sachs" label. He welcomes it. He said in March of this year he wants more executives from the firm serving in government roles.

"We will continue to encourage our people to contribute to government service if they are fortunate enough to be asked," Blankfein wrote in an annual shareholder letter. He went on to address the concerns about any conflicts. "Those in government bend over backward to avoid any perception of favoritism" (CNN, March 17, 2017).



Cohn was president of Goldman before moving to the Trump administration, a typical spring board to high federal office. “Gary was not the first person from Goldman Sachs to join the government, and we hope and expect that he will not be the last,” Blankfein said. “Five of my most recent predecessors went into government service, and that has not been by happenstance.”

Recently, a rift was reported between Bannon, the economic nationalist, and Cohn, the globalist and registered Democrat who supported President Obama. The two are reportedly clashing over tax and trade policy. The White House denied any rift (Fox Business, March 15, 2017).

Donovan was Group Managing Director at Goldman before becoming second-in-command at Treasury. Trump selected Jay Clayton, an attorney who has defended Goldman, to chair the Securities and Exchange Commission. At the time of this writing, the nomination was pending in the Senate. Also, former Goldman Sachs partner Dina Powell was appointed as one of the two Deputy National Security Advisors.

Trump should be wary that former Goldman executives don’t interfere with a reform agenda. Reform isn’t a priority for the company that has typically backed numerous causes on the left. Sure, Goldman knows how to make money, but it doesn’t necessarily believe in free enterprise and has been the king of crony capitalism in many ways.

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*Reform isn’t a priority for the company that has typically backed numerous causes on the left.*

So far, there is no evidence that the firm is pushing Trump to the left. Yet Blankfein opposed Trump’s so-called extreme vetting policy on seven Middle Eastern countries that are terrorist hotbeds, asserting, “This is not a policy we support. ... I recognize that there is potential for disruption, and especially to some of our people and their families.”

On another front, Goldman executives were pushing for Trump to hold off on repealing and replacing Obamacare, because the company felt it would distract the new administration from working with the Republican Congress on tax reform.

Goldman economists wrote in February: “This process is likely to take longer than expected, which is likely to delay the upcoming debate over tax reform. The difficulty

the Republican majority is having addressing a key political priority suggests that lawmakers might ultimately need to scale back their ambitions in other areas as well, such as tax reform.”

## GOLDMAN’S NONPROFIT ARMS

Since it began facing increased scrutiny in the years following the financial crisis, the Goldman Sachs Foundation has not only greatly increased its charitable giving, but the company as a whole has also moved into hyper-drive to pour money into politically correct progressive nonprofits. It backed an Obama identity-politics agenda and same-sex marriage. The company has a long history of going all-in on climate change activism, seeking to profit from government policies that harm the larger economy.

But Goldman and its employees don’t just fund environmentalists, according to IRS filings. Planned Parenthood has received \$2,967,990 since 2003 from the Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund and the Goldman Sachs Foundation combined. The Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund has given to Catholic Relief Services (\$4,160,700 since 2004), U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (\$1,795,934 since 2009), and the Natural Resources Defense Council (\$266,000 since 2007). The Fund has also given generously to donor-advised funds such as the Vanguard Charitable Endowment Program (\$73,962,248 since 2007) and the National Philanthropic Trust (\$18,419,202 since 2008).

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*The company as a whole has moved into hyper-drive to pour money into politically correct progressive nonprofits.*

Advocating such left-wing causes allows class-warfare-obsessed Democrats to have a clear conscience in backing a big corporation. Meanwhile, far too many establishment Republicans are unwilling to distinguish being pro-free market from being pro-business—thus, favoritism might seem acceptable.

What Bill Frezza, a fellow with the Competitive Enterprise Institute, wrote for Real Clear Markets in 2012 is still true today:

“No, Goldman Sachs is not a law breaker. With all the former executives and cronies it has parachuted into the halls of government and all the money it

showers on politicians running for office, it is actually a law maker. And that is the problem. Thanks to this last banking crisis, the lines between the Treasury, the Federal Reserve, the Executive branch, and Goldman Sachs have all but disappeared. Using the entirely legal means of calling in chits from both political parties in its hour of need, Goldman Sachs looted the Treasury to save it from a liquidity crisis, cover its speculative investment errors, and make good on winning gambling bets that would have been uncollectable had Uncle Sam not stepped in to bail out counterparties like AIG.”

## GOLDMAN'S CLIMATE AGENDA

In a letter to shareholders that accompanied the 2015 annual report, Blankfein and Cohn, stated that the company was ahead of most other firms in tackling climate change when it established its Environmental Policy Framework in 2005.

“Specifically, to facilitate the transition to a low-carbon economy, last year we updated our Environmental Policy Framework to include an increased target of \$150 billion in clean energy financings and investments by 2025, up from an earlier target of \$40 billion,” the letter to investors said. “Finally, we continue to be mindful of our own operational impact on the environment, pledging to be carbon neutral from 2015 onwards and to target 100 percent renewable power to meet our global electricity needs by 2020.”

The company first announced in 2009 it was working with renewable energy leaders, purchasing carbon offsets and purchasing more green power for its various facilities to meet the carbon neutral goal by 2020. The announcement of spending \$150 billion on green energy also made big news, particularly at a time when many green businesses seem to be failing.

“We believe that climate change is one of the most significant environmental challenges of the 21st century and is linked to other important issues, including economic growth and development, poverty alleviation, access to clean water, food security and adequate energy supplies,” Blankfein says on the Goldman Sachs website. “We are committed to catalyzing innovative financial solutions and market opportunities to help address climate change.”

With the new financial commitment, the firm wrote in its new policy framework, “Goldman Sachs acknowledges the scientific consensus, led by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, that

climate change is a reality and that human activities are responsible for increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases in the earth’s atmosphere” (*Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 2, 2015).

Green energy companies affiliated with Goldman haven’t done so well. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Goldman client Solar City, as well as Sun Edison, had slow-downs in solar and wind projects. Another client, Chorus Clean Energy had a disappointing initial public offering. And since 2012, the Nex Clean Energy Index underperformed most of the stock market benchmarks, such as Standard & Poor’s. In 2006, Goldman Sachs purchased 10 percent interest in the Chicago Climate Exchange, which specializes in selling carbon offsets. Thus, the firm has a deep economic interest in seeing the climate change narrative pushed politically. The problem is that so many of these green companies can’t survive without federal loans and grants. (Carbon offsets and other regulatory schemes aimed at carbon emissions are examined in the August 2007 and August 2008 issues of *Foundation Watch*; the December 2011 and August 2013 issues of *Green Watch*; the January 2009 issue of *Organization Trends*; and the February 2017 issue of *Capital Research* magazine.)

The company’s stance on climate change didn’t go unnoticed by the Obama White House, which praised Goldman in an October 2015 press release regarding the American Business Act on Climate Pledge. According to the White House press release: “Goldman Sachs is targeting \$500 million of financing and co-investments in companies that develop and deploy advanced clean energy technologies, including for smart grid infrastructure and advanced battery solutions. Investments in advanced technologies are important in order to modernize the grid and facilitate reliable and flexible expansion of clean energy, and are part of Goldman Sachs’ longstanding commitment to deploying capital to scale up clean technology and renewable energy.”

In 2006, Goldman established the Center for Environmental Markets, which works with green nonprofits because, “We recognize that many critical environmental issues cannot be solved through voluntary action alone and that establishing partnerships and ecosystems that bring together key public and private sector stakeholders is important.”

Nothing makes the Left happier than hearing phrases such as, “cannot be solved through voluntary action.” The GS Center for Environmental Markets announced it would spend another \$10 million in grants on multiple environmental groups and is already parting with the Climate Group, the Nature Conservancy, the Natural Resources Defense Council, the World Resources Institute



*The relationship between Goldman Sachs and 2016 Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton runs deeper than opulent speaking fees.*

and the Banking Environment Initiative among others.

Retired Goldman Sachs executive Larry Linden has been one of the top advocates for a carbon tax. He established the Linden Trust for Conservation and is funding a \$3 million project by Resources for the Future to analyze the fiscal and environmental impact of a carbon tax (Inside Philanthropy, Nov. 10, 2015).

In the blood and gore connection, former Goldman Sachs CEO David Blood teamed with former Vice President Al Gore to establish General Investment Management in 2006. The board of the company was mostly composed of former Goldman executives.

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*Nothing makes the left happier than hearing phrases such as, “cannot be solved through voluntary action.”*

## CLINTON CONNECTION BEYOND THE SPEECHES

The relationship between Goldman Sachs and 2016 Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton runs deeper than opulent speaking fees. The firm contributed between \$1 million and \$5 million to the Clinton Foundation, according to the foundation’s website. Clinton Foundation CEO Robert S. Harrison is a veteran of Goldman Sachs, where he was a partner in the firm’s investment banking division and global co-head of its Communications, Media, and Entertainment group.

Meanwhile, Goldman has consistently been a funder and participant in the Clinton Global Initiative. All told, Goldman Sachs has been the second largest contributor throughout Hillary Clinton’s political career, with employees spending \$760,740 on her two Senate and two presidential campaigns (McClatchy, Jan. 26, 2016).

When running scared in last year’s Democratic presidential primary against Sanders, Clinton consistently bashed banks on the campaign trail. Yet when CNN’s Anderson Cooper asked if taking such hefty speaking fees was “a bad error in judgment?” Clinton responded, “I made speeches to lots of groups. I told them what I thought. I answered questions.”

Cooper followed up, “But did you have to be paid \$675,000?” Clinton blithely replied, “Well, I don’t know. That’s what they offered.”

That would be a perfectly respectable answer if Clinton seemed inclined to believe in a free market system. But given the certainty that Clinton would be a presidential candidate, it seems more likely that a firm constantly looking to maintain a symbiotic relationship with the federal government was investing in its future. It also seems probable that, like most of the establishment, executives pegged Clinton as a safe bet to win.

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*Goldman Sachs has been the second largest contributor throughout Hillary Clinton’s political career, with employees spending \$760,740 on her campaigns.*

Several of the attendees at Hillary’s speeches at Goldman reportedly said she went on about how stupid it was to bash big banks. As Katherine Timpf wrote, “What people are willing to give you in exchange for your time is a direct measure of how much they appreciate you. No doubt, \$675,000 is a lot of money...so, if that’s what they offered her, then that can mean only one thing: They like her a lot. After all, would any firm pay someone \$675,000 to come hang out and tell them that they’re garbage? Based on simple logic, I’m thinking probably not” (*National Review*, Feb. 4, 2016).

On another more indirect front, the watchdog group Foundation for Accountability & Civic Trust (FACT) filed a complaint with the U.S. Office of Government Ethics, alleging that “Clinton gave a private company special access to



the State Department based upon the company's relationships with Secretary Clinton's family members and donors to the Clinton Foundation."

Harry Siklas, an investor in Neptune Minerals Inc., was also an employee of Goldman Sachs, of which Neptune is a client. He asked to meet then-Secretary of State Clinton and other State Department officials at the time Clinton was advocating for the Law of the Sea Treaty. The treaty purportedly would assist U.S. mining companies searching for minerals in international waters, but the Senate blocked it. FACT says Siklas' ties to Goldman might have been relevant, given Goldman's support for Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign and donations to the Clinton Foundation (*Investor's Business Daily*, Dec. 15, 2015).

## GOLDMAN AND THE GOP

Goldman Sachs has ties to Republicans as well—beyond the Trump administration. Nearly the entire Republican presidential field in 2016 had some financial ties to Goldman Sachs through investments, according to a Reuters analysis of financial disclosure forms (Reuters, Jan. 21, 2016).

The *New York Times* went after Cruz for getting a loan for almost \$500,000 from Goldman to help finance his 2012 Senate campaign. The *Times* primarily faulted the senator for not initially reporting the loan to the Federal Elections Commission. However, Cruz did report the loan on his Senate financial disclosure form, and he said leaving it out of the FEC form was an oversight. A Cruz campaign spokeswoman said the loan has "been reported in one way or another on his many public financial disclosures and the Senate campaign's FEC filings" (*New York Times*, Jan. 13, 2016).

Early in last year's primaries, employees of Goldman Sachs had contributed a total of \$43,575 to Cruz's presidential campaign, significantly less than Clinton received from those associated with the company. (McClatchy, Jan. 26, 2016). Cruz said he would "absolutely not" support another corporate bailout, and directly criticized Goldman.

"Goldman is one of the biggest banks on Wall Street, and my criticism with Washington is they engage in crony capitalism," Cruz said. "They give favors to Wall Street and big business and that's why I've been an outspoken opponent of crony capitalism, taking on leaders in both parties. I think big business, if they're building a better mousetrap, great, but it shouldn't be government favoring, and let me give you an example: Dodd-Frank. Sold to the American people as stopping 'too-big-to-fail.' What

happened? The big banks have gotten bigger. Goldman has gotten bigger" (Bloomberg News, March 24, 2015).

Trump was a shareholder in Goldman Sachs. Trump's various businesses are reportedly indebted to several Wall Street banks in the hundreds of millions (Red State, Jan. 16, 2016).

## WADING INTO THE CULTURE WARS

It came as a bit of a surprise in 2012 when Blankfein leapt into the cultural war, doing a commercial for the Human Rights Campaign, an LGBT advocacy organization, to support same-sex marriage. He became the group's first national corporate spokesman.

"I'm Lloyd Blankfein, chairman and CEO of Goldman Sachs, and I support marriage equality," Blankfein said in a TV spot recorded at the bank's Manhattan headquarters. "America's corporations learned long ago that equality is just good business and is the right thing to do."

Blankfein's support wasn't a secret, as he publicly urged the New York State legislature to approve same-sex marriage long before agreeing to do the advertisement for the gay group. The New York Human Rights Campaign gave its Corporate Equality Award to Goldman. "Lloyd Blankfein is not someone average Americans would think is going to support marriage equality," Human Rights Campaign executive Fred Sainz said. "The green visor crowd is not typically associated with socially progressive policies, and this is further proof that a diversity of Americans are coming to the same conclusion" (*New York Times*, Feb. 5, 2012).

## JOINING OBAMA WITH THE GENDER CARD

Goldman boasts on its website that since 2008 it "has committed in excess of \$1.6 billion to philanthropic initiatives."

"Goldman Sachs works with over 100 academic and nonprofit partners and is routinely among the leaders identified in the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*," the site states. "In 2011, one of Goldman Sachs' philanthropic programs, 10,000 Women, received the Committee Encouraging Corporate Philanthropy's coveted Chairman's Award." Its 10,000 Women program may well be a worthwhile cause. Under it, Goldman Sachs is trying to spur more women to become entrepreneurs in the United States and around the world. The point at which it might raise a red flag is that it directly coincided with Obama administration initiatives.

Goldman's 10,000 Women initiative targets 56 countries across the Middle East, Africa, and South America. It helps women with business education and access to capital. "In 2014, The Goldman Sachs Foundation and International Finance Corporation, a member of the World Bank Group, launched the first-ever global finance facility dedicated exclusively to women-owned small- and medium-sized enterprises," the Blankfein and Cohn letter to shareholders said. "To date, the facility has made more than \$400 million in commitments to banks in 14 countries, enabling women from Kenya to China to Laos to access capital and grow their businesses. In 2015, President Obama announced a \$100 million commitment by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, demonstrating how the facility is catalyzing new investments from both the public and private sectors in women-owned enterprises globally."

As part of the effort, Goldman created the first \$600 million financing facility to help 100,000 women around the world start businesses. "Two years later, this public-private partnership, spurred by private sector innovation, has catalyzed new investments from both the public and private sectors and reached more than 25,000 women in 14 countries," according to the Goldman Sachs website.

In July, President Barack Obama praised Goldman for the initiative when speaking in Kenya. "And as part of that \$1 billion that I mentioned earlier, the United States Overseas Private Investment Corporation is contributing \$100 million to support Goldman Sachs' 10,000 Women initiative, making more capital available to women-owned enterprises around the world," Obama said.

The White House sponsored a summit called, "The United States of Women," on May 23 last year, "with additional cooperation from Goldman Sachs 10,000 Women, the Tory Burch Foundation and the Ford Foundation."

The Goldman letter to shareholders, which accompanied the 2015 annual report, went on to talk about the need for "companies for multicultural women." "Attracting and retaining the highest-caliber talent also means that we must invest in our people early on in their careers—

the best of whom will become the next generation of leadership at the firm," the letter said. "Building off the learnings of our biennial People Survey, last year we unveiled a set of new initiatives designed to support junior employees, giving them more flexibility and greater exposure to our client franchise. In 2015, we also selected our newest class of managing directors. In addition to hailing from more than 40 countries, 40 percent of the class of 2015 started at the firm as analysts, a testament to our emphasis on talent development and retention for the long haul."

## COINCIDENTAL TIMING

This and other charitable giving seemed to be timed with buying redemption. As the *New York Times* reported, "Then, in late 2009, the company faced mounting criticism about the billions of dollars it was paying out in bonuses in the wake of the financial crisis. The firm needed some good public relations. And fast. Goldman committed \$500 million over five years to another program, 10,000 Small Businesses, which helps businesses in the United States and Britain."

In 2012, Goldman gave \$241.3 million to charity, up from \$47 million in 2006. A Goldman employee not authorized to speak on the record told the *Times* anonymously that the charitable giving is "run as if it's a Broadway show." But even the Goldman official authorized to speak to the *Times* seemed to indicate public relations motives were behind the giving. "Engaging wasn't just the right thing, it was necessary, especially in the wake of the financial crisis when people said we weren't doing enough," said John F.W. Rogers, Goldman Sachs' chief of staff for philanthropic efforts (*New York Times*, Oct. 26, 2013).

## THE POSTER CHILD OF CRONY CAPITALISM

Goldman Sachs has been the poster child of crony capitalism over multiple administrations, as author and journalist Peter Schweizer explained in an interview with the Acton Institute. "If you look back at the history of the last 20 years, you come to the realization that firms like Goldman Sachs, for example, have been bailed out five times over the last 20 years," Schweizer said. They were bailed out first in 1993 when they bought a bunch of Mexican government bonds that went bust."

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*A Goldman employee, not authorized to speak on the record, told the Times that the charitable giving is “run as if it’s a Broadway show.”*

"Large firms, like the Wall Street firms for example, are generally in favor of Dodd-Frank, which creates this highly complex, and expensive regulatory maze that most people can't even understand," he added. "If you're Goldman Sachs with your size and scope and assets and the number of attorneys that work for you, and you're competing against a firm that is one third your size, the firm that's one third your

size is going to have a much more difficult time complying with those regulations. So large firms like complexity and government likes to deal with a smaller number of large firms rather than a large number of small firms.”

One reason for the coziness could be that Goldman Sachs has been a springboard to high-ranking government positions, and it's been that way since the Clinton Administration. (Before the aforementioned Trump officials, Robert Rubin and Henry Paulson were Goldman executives who became Secretary of Treasury for Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, respectively.)

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*Goldman Sachs holds a special place among firms that influence government, and glomming on to whatever the progressive cause du jour might be is a convenient way to maintain that grip.*

Though Obama frequently used populist rhetoric to rip Wall Street firms, Goldman continued to hold an exalted place in his administration. It typically came with a wink and a nod, though, as he would publicly bash big corporations. In 2010, after the SEC began its litigation against Goldman, the Democratic National Committee bought Google ads that directed someone who typed the search terms “Goldman Sachs SEC” to go to the website of Obama’s community-organizing nonprofit, Organizing for Action. This attempt to gather Goldman’s critics into the Obama activist brigade occurred despite the fact that Goldman employees contributed \$994,795 to Obama’s 2008 election (*National Review*, April 21, 2010. Organizing for Action, previously named Organizing for America, was profiled in the May 2010 issue of *Organization Trends*.)

Obama named Goldman Sachs partner Gary Gensler to chair the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission. Former Goldman Sachs lobbyist Mark Patterson went on to work in the Obama Treasury Department to oversee the



*From left, Henry Paulson, Jr., former United States Treasury Secretary and CEO of Goldman Sachs, Asia Society Trustee J. Michael Evans, and New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg.*

Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) bailout. Goldman Sachs indirectly got \$10 billion from TARP. Obama also named former Goldman Sachs attorney Tom Donilon as his National Security Advisor.

It’s difficult to imagine this powerful entity relinquishing its vise grip over the federal government, particularly since it is so thoroughly entrenched in both parties. That seems to be true, even after the earthquake election last November.

Crony capitalism is a larger problem than just this one firm. But Goldman Sachs holds a special place among firms that influence government, and glomming on to whatever the progressive, “social justice” cause *du jour* may be has become a convenient way for the company to maintain that grip. As CEI’s Bill Frezza warns, “At what point will players like Goldman Sachs have handed so much ammunition to left-wing radicals who cannot tell the difference between crony capitalism and the real thing that they succeed in blowing up Western civilization? If real market capitalists don’t step up and speak out against purveyors of cronyism and the politicians from both parties that enable them, it is just a matter of time before we all go down together.” ■

*Read previous articles from the Foundation Watch series online at [www.CapitalResearch.org/category/foundation-watch/](http://www.CapitalResearch.org/category/foundation-watch/).*

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## COUNTING CLIMATE DOLLARS: WHO CONTROLS THE DEBATE?

By Dr. Steven J. Allen

**Summary:** In this Special Report, Dr. Allen challenges the shoddy analysis conducted by Drexel University sociologist Robert Brulle. In his widely cited study, Brulle calculated the combined annual income of organizations working to “deny climate change” from 2003-2010 and found the average annual income of those Conspirators totaled “just over \$900 million.” Dr. Allen undertakes the analysis Brulle should have produced, cutting his billion-dollars-a-year figure down to size. For the full version of Dr. Allen’s study, including data, tables, and additional information about the current state of the climate change debate, please go to [ClimateDollars.org](http://ClimateDollars.org).

Sometimes conspiracies are real. The Gunpowder Plot in England was real. The conspiracy behind the Lincoln assassination was real, as was the Watergate cover-up. As an investigative journalist, I work every day to expose real conspiracies. But many alleged conspiracies are crackpot fantasies like the International Jewish Conspiracy, the notion that the CIA killed JFK, and now the claim that a worldwide conspiracy of energy companies and their co-conspirators are working to “deny climate change” and make billions of dollars while destroying the planet.

One key piece of evidence presented in support of the Global Warming/Climate Change conspiracy—let’s call it The Conspiracy—is the study “Institutionalizing delay: foundation funding and the creation of U.S. climate change counter-movement organizations,” by a Drexel University sociologist, Robert J. Brulle. In the paper, Brulle claimed to expose a vast network of organizations working in concert to confuse people as part of, in his words, “a deliberate and organized effort to misdirect the public discussion and distort the public’s understanding of climate change.”<sup>1</sup>

As proof of The Conspiracy, Brulle cited a 2012 Pew study in which, Pew claimed, respondents were split (43 percent no/45 percent yes) on the question of whether scientists believe the earth is getting warmer “because of” human activity.<sup>2</sup> This response, Brulle wrote, doesn’t reflect “the near unanimity of the scientific community about anthropogenic [i.e., man-made] climate change.” He then claimed that this



Credit: Drexel newsblog. License: <https://goo.gl/dhbwnc>.

*Brulle claimed to expose a vast network of organizations working as part of “a deliberate and organized effort to...distort the public’s understanding of climate change.”*

alleged misunderstanding by the public arose because of trickery, as the scientific “literature...clearly shows.”

But the literature doesn’t show any such thing. Brulle cited, as his reference to a “deliberate and organized effort” to “misdirect” and “distort,” page 35 of a 2011 National Research Council report.<sup>3</sup> Actually, that page covers various reasons people might *fail* to understand the issue, even if they were never misdirected by evildoers; the reasons include

- the fact that measuring climate change is “a difficult task even for scientific experts using voluminous data and complex mathematical models”
- the fact that people rely on both trustworthy and untrustworthy sources of information on the topic
- and the fact that climate change is so gradual that it’s hard for people to judge whether it’s real and whether it’s part of a natural pattern.

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The only line on the page relating to Brulle's Conspiracy is the claim that "Most people rely on secondary sources for information, especially the mass media; and some of these sources are affected by concerted campaigns against policies to limit CO<sub>2</sub> [carbon dioxide] emissions, which promote beliefs about climate change that are not well-supported by scientific evidence." Given that people on Brulle's side of the Global Warming/Climate Change argument have been making false claims for decades—for example, that New York and Washington would be under water by the year 2000<sup>4</sup>—and given that the mass media sound daily alarms about the climate threat, the statement in the National Research Council report that "some" information sources are "affected" by campaigns opposed to policies that would limit carbon dioxide emissions is scant foundation for believing a massive conspiracy exists.<sup>5</sup>

*Those on Brulle's side of the argument have been making false claims for decades—for example, that New York and Washington would be under water by the year 2000.*

Brulle and others like him refuse to concede that anyone on the other side of the argument has a point, whether those opponents are disputing the severity of climate change now occurring, or the degree to which man-made causes are responsible for change, or even pointing out that it's unclear what the Pew survey's ambiguous question is asking. No, for Brulle, if lots of Americans express doubts about environmentalists' claims on climate change, it can only be the result of The Conspiracy. Otherwise, no one would have any doubts at all. Thus no proof of The Conspiracy is necessary; its existence is self-evident.

Try arguing with a man who says the fact you're arguing with him is proof you're lying. (For more reasons to be cautious about accepting the claims of Global Warming theory, see the nearby "Short History of Global Warming Fears.")

Despite its failings—and more will be spelled out below—the Brulle study has enjoyed voluminous citations in scholarly and popular media. Google's index of academic papers lists 130 citations for that paper alone, and Brulle's work overall has received thousands of citations in papers that mention "climate change." Hundreds of supposed studies have reinforced belief in The Conspiracy; Brulle himself notes "over 100 peer-reviewed articles" on the topic.<sup>6</sup> In reality, virtually all of those articles consist of

*Try arguing with a man who says the fact you're arguing with him is proof you're lying.*

one supposed expert citing another supposed expert, or a third citing the first two, and so on. For believers in The Conspiracy, *proof* is the plural of *accusation*.

## THE BRULLE NUMBER

The most oft-cited claim in the Brulle study and accompanying supplementary material<sup>7</sup> regards the typical annual income of 91 organizations in The Conspiracy: "just over \$900 million." I call this the *Brulle Number*. Brulle, in the paper, stated that this was the total income of organizations that, he believes, "deny climate change," and he collectively labeled these groups "the climate change counter-movement (CCCM)."

In his study, Brulle examined 118 organizations that he said were part of the CCCM—or as I call it, using explicit language for Brulle's clear insinuation, "The Conspiracy." Of those 118 groups, he looked at 91 that had filed public records with the Internal Revenue Service. For the period 2003-2010, Brulle came up with a total of \$7.2 billion in revenue for the 91 groups, and then he took the annual average to arrive at what I'm calling the Brulle Number: "just over \$900 million."

To discover how exaggerated Brulle's number is, I examined the groups' income for 2010, the last year Brulle considered. He calculated that The Conspiracy in that year had total revenues of approximately \$1.2 billion.<sup>8</sup> Brulle's claims were cited by environmentalists and news media around the world as evidence of an immense conspiracy, concocted by oil and coal companies and their allies to attain great wealth by ruining the planetary environment. The Brulle Number fueled the belief that skepticism of Global Warming/Climate Change theory is just a cunning plot by "deniers" (a term intended to liken the skeptics to the Nazi sympathizers who deny that the Holocaust occurred). Such people don't even have the right to speak freely on the issue, declared Brulle's close ally, Senator Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), because "fraud is not protected under the First Amendment."<sup>9</sup>

An important point, easily missed: What Brulle measured was each group's total *income*, not its *spending*, much less its actual spending on the Global Warming/Climate Change



*Skepticism of the Climate Change theory is just a cunning plot by “deniers” (a term used for Nazi sympathizers who deny that the Holocaust occurred).*

issue or, more broadly, on matters related to energy and the environment. If an organization raised \$1,000,000, and then put \$100,000 into savings, spent \$1,000 on climate change issues and \$899,000 on tax reform, criminal justice reform, and Medicare reform, the group’s entire \$1 million income was included in the Brulle Number. That’s misleading to an extreme degree; at the very least, Brulle should have counted only total spending, not income. Still, if you read carefully, you find Brulle did indicate that his number represented total income, whether it was spent or not, and whether or not it was spent on environmental issues or other areas of public policy.

Yet when politicians and the mainstream media cited the number to indicate the size of The Conspiracy, they left out all qualifications. And so “approximately a billion dollars” became the size of the so-called “denial” effort, rather than a number that aggregates all income received by all of the organizations that, at some point, spent any money on work that questioned, or was thought to have questioned, environmentalists’ apocalyptic claims on Global Warming.

For a rough analogy, imagine if someone calculated the resources of the Democratic Party by adding up the income of all registered Democrat voters in the United States. Theoretically, the Democratic Party could call upon all those resources in an election, but it’s ludicrous to calculate that number and imply it equates to what the Democrats spent to battle Republicans in the last election.

## FAKE NEWS

Brulle fulminates in his study about how The Conspiracy manages to “manipulate and mislead the public,” which is ironic given how Brulle’s own research is in the “media spotlight.”

“Conservative groups spend \$1bn a year to fight action on climate change,” read the headline in the U.K. *Guardian*. The article began: “Conservative groups have spent \$1bn a year on the effort to deny science and oppose action on climate change, according to the first extensive study into



*The U.K. Guardian article began: “Conservative groups have spent \$1bn a year on the effort to deny science and oppose action on climate change...”*

the anatomy of the anti-climate effort.” Brulle’s study “offers the most definitive exposure to date of the political and financial forces blocking American action on climate change.” The *Guardian* article acknowledged in its fifth paragraph that the billion-dollar claim in its headline and first paragraph wasn’t really true, because “It was not always possible to separate funds designated strictly for climate-change work from overall budgets, Brulle said.” But this too was a lie, because it implied Brulle *sometimes* made the effort to “separate funds” for climate change work, when in fact he never once bothered to try.<sup>10</sup>



*The Guardian article acknowledged in its fifth paragraph that the billion-dollar claim in its headline and first paragraph wasn’t really true*

The newspaper later “corrected” its headline, but even the correction involved falsehoods. The revised headline, instead of saying “Conservative groups *spend* \$1bn a year to fight action on climate change” as previously, simply said, “Conservative groups spend *up to* \$1bn a year to fight action on climate change” (emphasis added), which was still entirely misleading. And the online correction note only said the headline was changed, when the opening sentence was too, even though it remained as false as the headline. In addition, the sentence claiming “It was not always possible to separate funds designated strictly for climate-change work from overall budgets,” which was also untrue, remained untouched.

Likewise, an article in *ClimateWire* noted that “Together, they [the 91 groups] raise about \$900 million annually.” Later, the article conceded that “Altogether, the 91 groups raised about \$7 billion between 2003 and 2010 for all of their activities, including issues unrelated to climate change.”<sup>11</sup> Cenk Uygur, formerly of MSNBC, did a 10-minute Internet video focusing on the “\$900 million a year...spent to deceive us,” featuring an online

Credit: Stanley Zimny.  
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graphic saying “\$900 million/year.” “To be fair,” Uygur acknowledged, “it was not all about climate change,” because some of the money went for “other forms of propaganda.”



*The \$900 million a year spent to deceive us was not all about climate change; some of the money went for “other forms of propaganda.”*

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported, “In the high-stakes conflict over U.S. climate-change policy, groups that deny or cast doubt on global warming brought in \$7.2 million from 2003 to 2010...‘Powerful funders are supporting the campaign to deny scientific findings about global warming,’ reported Robert J. Brulle...” In the eighth paragraph, the *Inquirer* noted the response by James Taylor of the Heartland Institute, who observed that many of the groups “support other causes as well” and, in some cases, spend “less than 10 percent of their funding...on climate-related efforts.”<sup>12</sup>

These articles are the relatively accurate ones. By comparison, many news stories repeating the Brulle Number failed to make even the perfunctory reference to the money spent on other issues. Regarding the portion of the organizations’ budgets that came from foundations, the *Daily Astorian* and other papers reported that 140 donor entities “funneled \$558 million to 118 climate change-denial groups between 2003 and 2010”—with no mention of the fact that only a small portion of that money would have gone to so-called “denial.” (The \$558 million refers to funding from foundations; the remaining funding for the Conspiracy came from individual donors, member dues, investment income, etc.) The *Roanoke Times*, *Winston-Salem Journal*, and other papers ran an article that even missed the distinction between *revenues* and *spending* as it declared, “A recent study by Drexel University professor Robert Brulle documents almost a billion dollars a year spent by think tanks, foundations and others denying that there’s a problem at all.”<sup>13</sup> The same error appeared in an op-ed in the *Concord Journal*, which stated that Brulle “published a study asserting that close to \$1 billion a year is being spent by vested interests to fight climate change policy.”<sup>14</sup> CNN reported, “A recent study by Drexel University found that conservative foundations and others have bankrolled denial to the tune of \$558 million between 2003 and 2010.”<sup>15</sup> That figure, again with no qualification, was used in speeches by

Senator Sheldon Whitehouse, a climate change crusader, such as his call on May 6, 2015 to use the RICO Act—a law intended to combat organized crime syndicates—to put “deniers” in jail.<sup>16</sup> Asian News International noted that “A new study has exposed the organizational underpinning and funding behind the ‘powerful’ climate change countermovement,” with a total annual income of “just over 900 million dollars.”<sup>17</sup> The same claim appeared in the U.K. *Daily Mail*. The *Canberra Times* said the Brulle study “finds that organisations promoting attacks on climate science have a combined yearly access to \$US900 million...from increasingly untraceable sources.”<sup>18</sup> The Environmental Defense Fund put out a press release declaring: “Drexel University professor Robert Brulle reviewed IRS data from 2003 to 2010 and found a web of entities investing over \$900 annually in organizations dedicated to obstructing climate progress and fighting the deployment of safe, clean energy in America.”<sup>19</sup> In 2015, *The Lancet*—one of the world’s most respected medical journals and thus a publication trained in the most careful parsing of statistics—quoted a scholarly work that cited Brulle’s paper: “It is estimated that US industry spent close to \$500 million in its successful campaign against the 2010 House of Representatives proposal to cap US emissions. A major study of the Climate Change Counter Movement in the USA identifies funding of around \$900 million annually.”<sup>20</sup>

## A FAIR MEASUREMENT?

Brulle knew or should have known that his almost-billion-dollar number would be presented by his allies in the media and the environmentalist movement as the budget of the so-called “denial” effort, not as merely the combined budgets of all groups that Brulle labeled, rightly or wrong, as “deniers.”

And it’s easy to prove that Brulle knows perfectly well that his methodology is flawed—that it is unfair to measure the size of an organization’s work on climate change just by looking at the group’s total revenues—because Brulle made that same point himself when he looked at the work of Matthew C. Nisbet, then at American University. In the case of Nisbet, Brulle was honest about the shortcomings of this bad methodology, presumably because this time the methodology cut against Brulle’s desire to plant in the public’s mind the falsehood that his environmentalist allies are the poor, small David, struggling to fight the vast, wealthy Goliath formed by the “deniers.”

The study at issue is a 2011 report in which Nisbet analyzed claims by some environmentalists that they



*Nisbet analyzed claims by some environmentalists that they lost the political battle over creating a federal cap-and-trade tax on carbon dioxide emissions because they were outgunned.*

lost the political battle over creating a federal cap-and-trade tax on carbon dioxide emissions because environmentalists were outgunned; that is, because industry associations and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce marshalled resources far beyond those of cap-and-trade's supporters.

*Platts Coal Trader* summarized Nisbet's work: "According to the report, in 2009, national environmental groups working on climate change generated \$1.7 billion in revenue, spent \$1.4 billion on program activities and spent \$394 million on climate change and energy-specific activities. During the same time period, conservative think tanks, advocacy groups and industry associations brought in \$907 million in revenue, spent \$787 million on all program-related activities and spent \$259 million specifically on climate change and energy policy."<sup>21</sup>

“*Brulle wanted the public to believe that the environmentalists are the poor, small David, struggling to fight the vast, wealthy Goliath formed by the “deniers.”*

Andrew Revkin of the *New York Times* said he “asked Brulle about the report’s evidence for a very large war chest for environmental groups.” Brulle’s response:

There is a lot of money in the environmental movement. But first, there are very big restrictions and limitations on what they can spend that money on. Charitable organizations have very serious limitations on lobbying and political activities. You would have to check with a nonprofit specialist exactly what they are, but I know they are very substantial.

Second, this is total spending. So this includes groups like the Nature Conservancy, who accounts for about 20% of all spending, and basically buys land for conservation. The other big ones are groups like the Trust for Public Land, the Wildlife Conservation Society (which includes the Bronx Zoo) and World Wildlife Fund. This also includes all of the funding to maintain the Appalachian Trail, huts in the Adirondacks, running outdoor education centers, member outings, etc. etc. So most of the funding goes for things like buying land for nature preservation, wildlife refuges, and to maintain open spaces, running outdoor nature education facilities, protecting and enhancing the habitat of wildlife and endangered species, building and maintaining hiking trails and outdoor recreation spaces, as well as engaging in political activities. But that is a pretty small [*sic*] and limited by law. So comparing operating expenses might create the idea that the environmental movement has a lot of funding, but when you get down to it, they don’t spend a lot of their funding on politics.<sup>22</sup>

In short: It’s not fair to count an organization’s entire spending (much less its entire income) when measuring the size of its effort on the climate change issue.

Brulle was so appalled by his fellow environmentalist Nisbet’s work that he had his own name removed as a reviewer of Nisbet’s paper “because I felt my role was being used to create a veneer of academic legitimacy that I do not believe the report merits.”<sup>23</sup> Brulle also returned the \$500 reviewer’s fee, according to *Congressional Quarterly Weekly*.<sup>24</sup>

The Nisbet report came to the attention of Joe Romm of the Center for American Progress (CAP), an organization closely linked to Hillary Clinton. (CAP was founded by John Podesta, who chaired the 2016 Clinton for President campaign. Its current president, Neera Tanden, was policy director for the 2008 Clinton campaign.) According to *The Economist*, Brulle “was happy to assist Mr. Romm in his scathing criticism,” and “the onslaught drew some blood,” particularly over the fact that “Mr. Nisbet’s analysis tends to stress the gross amounts available, not spending on specific things.”<sup>25</sup>

Observing that the environmental movement likes to present itself as an underdog fighting against big business interests, Nisbet told *CQ Weekly* that “Until we get beyond the David vs. Goliath narrative, those of us who care about action on climate change can always use that as an excuse.”<sup>26</sup> Note that Nisbet and Brulle are both on the same side of the dispute over Global Warming. Nisbet has impeccable academic credentials (senior editor at Oxford University Press’s *Research Encyclopedia Climate Science*; former visiting fellow at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government; etc.), and he receives funding from left-of-center donors like the MacArthur Foundation, the Nathan Cummings Foundation, and more.

## WHO IS BRULLE?

Hard science—physical science—is rooted in experiments and measurements that can be tested, that scientists can replicate or fail to replicate. Social science is more subjective, the data more open to interpretation, the analysis more open to the challenge that the conclusions represent mere opinion rather than cold, hard fact.

That’s why it matters that Brulle freely mixes science with his political opinions.

Brulle received his Master’s degree in sociology from the notoriously left-wing New School for Social Research. (Its debate director said the school continues a tradition of “synthesizing leftist American intellectual thought and critical European philosophy.”)<sup>27</sup> His sociology Ph.D. is from George Washington University, and he also has a Master’s in natural resources from the University of Michigan.

As a sociologist, he has done important work, particularly in his research on the environmentalist movement. He has been quoted by major newspapers over the years on such topics as the split between activists who work within the system and their more radical compatriots; the appeal of environmentalism to some evangelical Christians; and the structure of the network of “green” organizations. In a 2007 article in the *New Republic*, Brulle was quoted chastising Fred Krupp of the Environmental Defense Fund as someone who, in the 1980s, took his place on “the right side of the room” within the environmentalist movement.<sup>28</sup>

A 2010 article in *E: The Environmental Magazine* quotes Brulle criticizing some groups for their top-down approach: “Try to go to a meeting of the Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, or Greenpeace. You can’t, because they don’t have them.”<sup>29</sup> *Politico* in 2011

noted that Brulle has criticized the “green” movement’s reliance on foundation money.<sup>30</sup> Brulle is an environmental activist as well as an academic. According to *E* magazine, he participated as a high school student in the first Earth Day in 1970.<sup>31</sup> A 2002 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article on an environmentalist protest at Valley Forge called him “a member of the local Sierra Club” involved in the protest.<sup>32</sup> In a 2009 op-ed in *Newsday*, Brulle commented on the coming-to-power of President Obama and a Democratic Congress: “Have we finally overcome the gap between what is necessary to save the planet and what we are willing to undertake politically?... Unfortunately, I don’t believe so.” Brulle claimed that, to stave off disaster by meeting the targets set by a United Nations panel, the U.S. “will need to reduce its carbon-dioxide emissions by more than 25 percent below 1990 levels by 2020, and by 80 percent by 2050—an enormous social, economic and technological task.” Alas, Brulle wrote, “Opposition to strong measures, such as a carbon tax, is high in the public and Congress. In a 2009 Gallup poll, 81 percent opposed a policy that would ‘increase taxes on electricity so people use less of it.’ But it is impossible to imagine significant reductions in carbon emissions that do not entail increased energy costs.”

He lamented that, as Al Gore had observed, “What is scientifically necessary seems to be politically impossible.”

“But it isn’t always,” Brulle wrote hopefully. “The history of the environmental movement shows we can and have generated significant improvements. In the 1960s and 1970s, popular books by scientists including Rachel Carson, Barry Commoner and Paul Ehrlich helped the average person understand the links among environmental degradation, ecosystem processes and human health.”<sup>33</sup> It is a window into Brulle’s thinking that he points to Carson, Commoner, and Ehrlich as role models. That list includes two of the most infamous, discredited scientist-activists of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century—Carson, whose fake analysis led to the global ban on DDT that has caused millions of deaths from malaria, and Ehrlich, whose absurd visions of a “population bomb” laid the foundation for China’s horrific One Child

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*Brulle praises Rachel Carson and Paul Ehrlich, two of the most infamous, discredited scientist-activists of the 20th Century.*



policy.<sup>34</sup> The third icon listed by Brulle, Barry Commoner, was far better known as a political activist and “eco-socialist” presidential candidate than as a scientist.

Brulle added that the public needed to be made aware of “dramatic, global threats” and of the fact that “personal sacrifices (such as a substantial carbon tax) will be required.” Environmentalists must emulate Martin Luther King Jr., who “appealed to our sense of justice in the face of injustice and offered a vision of an alternative social order.”<sup>35</sup> Brulle’s views on the need to change society apparently have not changed over the years. In a 2015 press release from Drexel University, he called for the greater involvement of sociologists in the climate change cause, in order to “answer questions like, how can we change our culture of consumption, how will we respond to extreme weather events caused by climate change and how do we bridge the political divide on this issue.” Referring to a book co-edited by Brulle, the press release declared:

According to the authors, an improved understanding of the complex relationship between climate change and society is essential for modifying ecologically harmful human behaviors and institutional practices, creating just and effective environmental policies and developing a more sustainable future.<sup>36</sup>

By the way, the book was produced by the American Sociological Association’s Task Force on Sociology and Global Climate Change. Because if there’s anyone qualified to debate matters of climatology and geophysics, it’s sociologists—right? (Or maybe medical doctors and biologists. The British medical journal *The Lancet*, known for its tobacco Prohibitionist and anti-Israel views, created a commission on Health and Climate Change to promote, as if it were science, the view that “to avoid the risk of potentially catastrophic climate change impacts requires total anthropogenic carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions to be kept below 2900 billion tonnes by the end of the century”—not a calculation that physicians, biologists, and the like are particularly qualified to make.)<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, of the 38 “environmental sociologists,” living and dead, included in that category by Wikipedia, a total of three are listed as having received advanced degrees in the physical sciences—counting natural resources, forestry, and environmental science as physical science. One (Brulle) has an M.S. in natural resources. Another has a Master’s degree in environmental studies, and a third has a Master’s in forestry and environmental studies. In addition, one has an unspecified “degree in chemical engineering,” one “studied the science of plant diseases,” one has a Bachelor’s degree in chemistry (that is, he graduated from college with a major in

chemistry), and one has a Bachelor’s degree in forestry and outdoor recreation. Although it’s possible that Wikipedia left something out, it’s clear that the level of academic expertise on the science of climate change possessed by “environmental sociologists” is barely above that of people randomly selected from the population. Like everyone else, they’re entitled to their opinions on the topic, but not to “expert” status. And one is entitled to suspect that some of those degrees represent less hard science than training in “social justice” advocacy. For instance, the school where Brulle earned his Master’s in natural resources, brags on its website<sup>38</sup> about its alumni’s work for politicized advocacy groups like the Environmental Defense Fund, the Natural Resources Defense Council, and Detroiters Working for Environmental Justice.

## SCIENCE = MANIPULATING PUBLIC OPINION

What explains the involvement in the Global Warming/Climate Change controversy of sociologists and others who lack any special qualifications for dealing with the issue? For an answer, let us examine the political advocacy carried out by Brulle and his allies.

The University of Oregon declared in a 2012 press release, “Resistance at individual and societal levels must be recognized and treated before real action can be taken to effectively address threats facing the planet from human-caused contributions to climate change.” Announcing a conference led by associate professor Kari Marie Norgaard, a collaborator with Brulle, the press release quoted Norgaard: “Just as we cannot overhaul a car fleet overnight, we cannot change our ideological superstructure overnight. We must first be aware that this resistance is happening at all levels of our society.”<sup>39</sup> Climate change is a social problem, Brulle explained in yet another press release. “If you want to deal with climate change, you have to deal with human behavior.” That quotes comes from a Drexel University press release which declared in its headline that “Climate Change is a ‘People Problem.’”<sup>40</sup> Writing in *Nature Climate Change* (September 24, 2015), Brulle and a co-author suggested that Pope Francis, who had called for a “dialogue” on climate change, could provide a “rhetoric of change” provoking “moral visions, conversations and deliberations about where society needs to go.... Moreover, social scientists need to engage in this effort more fully. The moral task at hand demands it.”<sup>41</sup>

Thus, it is imperative for human beings to develop “an alternative social order,” to “change our culture of

consumption,” and to “modify ecologically harmful human behaviors.” It’s “the moral task at hand.” When a scientist declares, as Brulle did in that *Newsday* op-ed, that we “must do what is necessary to save the planet” and that activists need to present “dramatic, global threats” to persuade people to make great sacrifices and move toward that “alternative social order,” his work is properly subject to the scrutiny applied to commentary by political activists. His claims must be treated with appropriate skepticism, particularly when he ventures outside the realm of objective science and into the pandemonium of politics and public affairs.<sup>42</sup> In politics, frustrated people often find comfort in conspiratorial beliefs. In their minds, defeat can’t be the result of a fair fight (much less of a fight that is rigged in their own favor). Defeat can’t be due to bad luck. It certainly can’t be due to their own failings. Only one thing can explain their defeat: the machinations of evil men in a nefarious conspiracy.

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*Only one thing can explain their defeat: the machinations of evil men in a nefarious conspiracy.*

In his writings, Brulle often uses the term “climate denial” to describe the views of skeptics of climate change environmentalism. That’s a term with a pedigree—a callback to “Holocaust denial,” which refers to the claims by Nazi sympathisers and other kooks that the Holocaust never happened. Brulle also likens “deniers” to the tobacco companies that, for years, denied that smoking causes lung cancer. (Never mind that the tobacco industry was promoted and subsidized by the U.S. government; that scientific experts were often less likely than the general public to believe smoking makes you sick; and that the environmentalist movement, with its claims that nearly all artificial chemicals cause disease, actually delayed recognition of the role of smoking in promoting disease.)

If you paint your adversaries as the moral equivalent of Nazi sympathizers and cigarette manufacturers, engaged in a massive conspiracy to stop you from saving the planet, then you can hardly be expected to maintain scientific objectivity.

When another college professor, Andrew Hoffman of the University of Michigan, suggested that environmentalists stop challenging people’s moral views directly and that they downplay tales of environmental catastrophe, Brulle

said Hoffman was “looking for a third way out besides conflict. To define a way that says, ‘Well, we don’t have to have a power struggle here,’ is to sort of engage in a fanciful notion of how social order is created and maintained. I find that to be a politically naïve viewpoint. The stakes here are enormous. For the oil and gas industry, it is literally trillions of dollars of investments they’re protecting. The idea that they’re going to give this up without a fight is, I think, naïve.”<sup>43</sup> Last July, Brulle and co-author Timmons Roberts wrote approvingly of the prospect that, “if the Democrats gain the majority in the November election, they will probably investigate [oil, gas, and coal] firms and their front groups’ actions, and might recommend follow-up by the U.S. Attorney General.” Brulle and Roberts blamed the great conspiracy for “decades of inaction on climate change” and claimed that “Scholarly research shows that these institutes received nearly a billion dollars in funding to promulgate a series of neoliberal causes, including misinformation on the causes and impacts of climate change.” (“Neoliberal” is a term used by the Left to denigrate liberals who favor aspects of free-market capitalism.)

Brulle and Roberts added, “Dragging the web of denial organizations into the light makes clear that these decades of inaction on climate change in the US Senate has [*sic*] not been by chance.... The issue of manipulation of public perception of science is reflective of a much larger problem in America today: political inequality has allowed vested interests to hijack and distort discourse and democratic governance, crippling our ability to act on the issues of our time.”<sup>44</sup> That same month, when Brulle received what was described as the “highest honor in American environmental sociology,” there was no denial that the award was partly political. One of Brulle’s nominators, the aforementioned Kari Norgaard, declared that “Dr. Brulle deserves this award for his brilliance as a scholar,” for his generosity and collegiality, and “for his courage to take on the oil and gas industry.” Senator Sheldon Whitehouse (D-Rhode Island), currently the Senate’s most vehement proponent of left-wing views on climate change, was quoted in Drexel University’s press release on the award, asserting that Brulle was one of “very few academics [who] have the courage or capacity to

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*“Neoliberal” is a term used by the Left to denigrate liberals who favor aspects of free-market capitalism.*

stand up to such a powerful and relentless industry.”<sup>45</sup> Just don’t accuse Brulle of being biased, like those deniers.

## THE THREAT TO SCIENCE

The biggest danger represented by Brulle and other Great Global Warming Conspiracy theorists is that, as they work to discredit their adversaries and ban them from the public debate, they attack science itself.

Science cannot function if skeptics are harassed, ostracized, denied employment, and threatened by public officials, based on their supposed role in an insidious conspiracy. Skepticism is central to legitimate scientific inquiry and is only the enemy of false science.

The existence of bias is presumed in all scientific work. At the very least, a scientist is biased by the desire to be proven right. Being proven right—or *seeming* to be proven right—leads to greater income and respect, to tenure and lucrative consultancies, and to satisfaction with one’s own work. So it’s only human for any scientist’s work to reflect some degree of bias. That’s why good science is like good journalism in that skepticism is the order of the day, as expressed in the reporter’s rule, “If your mother says she loves you, check it out.”

Science is not rooted in “consensus” or other assumptions; it’s rooted in replicable research and experimentation. Generally, here’s how it works: A scientist examines an existing set of facts and concocts a theory that explains those facts. He or she makes a prediction to test that theory. If the prediction comes true, that constitutes evidence to support the theory. If the prediction fails, that undermines the theory, and the scientist goes back to the drawing board.

Einstein’s General Theory of Relativity met, and passed, its first major test in 1919, when a solar eclipse provided an opportunity to observe the apparent bending of light (actually, the warp of spacetime) by the mass of the sun. During the eclipse, scientists positioned off the coast of Brazil and on an island off the west coast of Africa examined the position of the stars in the sky and determined that predictions based on Einstein’s theory were correct. The accuracy of the predictions fundamentally changed our understanding of gravity.

The scientific reaction to Einstein’s theory should have had nothing to do with Einstein’s politics, or the source of his income or other funding, or his religious or ethnic background, or any other extraneous factor. But that didn’t stop some German physicists from supporting



Credit: Joe Brusky. License: <https://goo.gl/raoB3A>.

*There’s a rhetorical trope popular among environmentalists that being skeptical about Global Warming/Climate Change theory is like being skeptical about gravity.*

“Arische Physik” (Aryan physics) over the “Jüdische Physik” (Jewish physics) of Einstein and others, on the ground that Jewish physicists were part of a great Jewish conspiracy. What foolishness!

In real science, it doesn’t matter whether a scientist is on the payroll of the American Cancer Society or a tobacco company, whether he is a Communist, or a Jew or a Baptist, or whether she beats her spouse, or whether he volunteers at a soup kitchen or steals from the church poor box. Only the evidence counts—especially, the results when predictions are tested.

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*German physicists supported Aryan physics over the Jewish physics on the ground that Jewish physicists were part of a great Jewish conspiracy.*

As it happens, believers in apocalyptic climate changes have made a number of predictions that have failed to prove true over the last century.

- In 1969, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the future U.S. Senator (D-New York), warned his colleagues in the Nixon White House about scientists’ Global Warming prediction that New York City and Washington would be under water by the Year 2000.<sup>46</sup>



- In 2008, ABC News predicted New York under water by 2015, on the basis of interviews with persons still active in the climate debate like physicist James Hansen and Obama science advisor John Holdren.<sup>47</sup>
- In the 1970s, many scientists predicted disastrous cooling; for example, “Scientist predicts a new ice age by 21st century,” *Boston Globe*, April 16, 1970.
- The 1930s saw scientists predicting warming: “Next Great Deluge Forecast by Science: Melting Polar Ice Caps to Raise the Level of Seas and Flood the Continents,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1932.<sup>48</sup>
- Scientists in the 1890s predicted a new ice age: “Prospects of Another Glacial Period,” *New York Times*, February 24, 1895.<sup>49</sup>

There’s a rhetorical trope popular among environmentalists that being skeptical about Global Warming/Climate Change theory is like being skeptical about gravity. Actually, scientists continue to debate the nature of gravity, as reflected in this headline last November on the respected science website Phys.org: “New theory of gravity might explain dark matter.” Of course, the most famous skeptic about gravity was Albert Einstein, who successfully challenged the scientific consensus on gravity theory in his day. Einstein understood that it is cold, hard fact, not a consensus generated by intimidation or groupthink, that is the goal of science. When he was told of a publication entitled, *100 Authors Against Einstein*, he reputedly said, “Why one hundred? If I were wrong, one would have been enough.”

If Global Warming skeptics are wrong, no conspiracy will prove them right. If they are correct, those attempting to silence them will go down in history alongside the members of the “scientific communities” that promoted the idea of a

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*The most famous skeptic about gravity was Albert Einstein, who successfully challenged the scientific consensus on gravity theory.*

geocentric universe, the impossibility of continental drift, and the existence of canals on Mars, to say nothing of the many scientists who claimed science justified such evils as white supremacy, eugenics, and Prohibition.

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*Only a small percentage of these organizations’ work is devoted to engaging the public on the science of Global Warming/Climate Change.*

You would think that scientists would be aware of the danger of mixing their science with politics, but it seems each generation has to learn that lesson all over again.

## CORRECTING BRULLE’S NUMBERS

In our examination of Brulle’s claims about the size of The Conspiracy, or, as he calls it, the CCCM (Climate Change Counter Movement), we at the Capital Research Center examined Brulle’s list of 91 organizations for 2010, the most recent year he studied. To determine the degree each group focused on climate issues, we looked at several factors: first, the specific amount of spending on climate or energy and environment issues, if that was specified on the group’s IRS filing; organizations’ profiles by the news media and opposition-research organizations; mentions in the Lexis-Nexis news database and on the Web as reported by Google; and the groups’ own websites, annual reports, and other publications. We tried to contact spokesmen for the organizations, and when we succeeded we compared their claims to the available evidence. (We acknowledge that some groups may have changed their focus since the 2003–2010 period covered by the Brulle study, but we do not believe such changes significantly affect the ratio of the groups’ effort on the climate change issue relative to their efforts in general.)

We determined that only a small percentage—perhaps five or six percent—of these organizations’ work is devoted to engaging the public on the science of Global Warming/Climate Change.

For example, Brulle listed the Intermountain Rural Electric Association (IREA), a customer-owned, nonprofit electric company, as a member of The Conspiracy, and included in his Number every penny of IREA’s 2010 revenues of \$246.5 million, which made the group, according to professor Brulle’s dubious social science, the largest Conspirator by far, single-handedly responsible for about 21 percent of the Brulle Number for 2010. What did the humble co-op members of IREA, headquartered in Sedalia, Colorado

(2010 population: 206), have to do to be accused of leading a global effort to “manipulate and mislead the public”? Well, in 2006 the group provided \$100,000 to support the work of Patrick Michaels, one of the country’s most distinguished climatologists and a prominent skeptic, and in general IREA opposes measures that drive up electricity costs for customers, such as requirements for the use of high-cost non-carbon energy. That seems to sum up IREA’s involvement in the Conspiracy. (Its \$100,000 grant equalled 0.05% of IREA’s revenues for 2006, according to Brulle’s data.)

Similar distortions are found when one examines the American Farm Bureau Federation (\$36 million in 2010 revenues) and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (\$199 million). Each of those organizations represents a particular constituency with a wide range of interests; each takes public positions or seeks to influence political leaders on many issues, most of them unrelated to Global Warming/Climate Change. Brulle claims to be concerned with how the groups on his list have confused Americans about climate science, but groups like the American Farm Bureau Federation or Chamber of Commerce have rarely weighed in on the science disputes involved. The most one could say is that these sorts of groups have opposed specific legislation, such as carbon taxes or drilling bans, that Brulle wants politicians to enact into law.<sup>50</sup> This opposition may explain a lot about Brulle’s motivations, and it definitely shows that he’s more interested in political victories than science, but it says nothing about how Americans form their views of the science of Global Warming.

Indeed, over 72 percent of the Brulle Number for 2010 is accounted for by 501(c)(5) and (c)(6) organizations such as boards of trade, business leagues, and chambers of commerce. By law, such groups “are not organized for profit” and no part of their net earnings may benefit “any private shareholder or individual.” Most people who work for or have contact with these groups would be quite surprised to see them listed as part of a conspiracy to cover up the truth about climate change, much less to see someone imply that all of the groups’ revenues are spent on climate science.

## COUNTING ALLIES AS ENEMIES

Yet another large issue complicates Brulle’s claims: he says the defining characteristic of the Conspirators is an effort to block “legislative restrictions on carbon emissions.” Yet it’s easy to show that many of the groups Brulle identifies as conspiring against this goal have in fact supported carbon taxes, which means they don’t belong on his list in the first place. Scholars at the American Enterprise Institute, for example, both during the period he studied and more recently, have advocated in



*People don’t even have the right to speak freely on global warming, declared Senator Sheldon Whitehouse (D-RI), because “fraud is not protected under the First Amendment.”*

their own studies and at conferences, not to mention in the mainstream media, in favor of a carbon tax. In fact, skeptics have protested AEI events!<sup>51</sup> Under Brulle’s parameters, AEI should have been removed from the analysis, and its millions in income cut from the Brulle Number altogether, yet he counted \$264 million in AEI revenues in his study.

Clearly, many supposedly conservative or skeptical groups not only fail to challenge the alarmist view of climate change, they even endorse significant parts of alarmism and often go so far as to support the very political actions that Brulle most greatly desires. The Chamber of Commerce, for example, specifically backs “sensible approaches to reducing greenhouse gas emissions.” The Niskanen Center, which calls itself a libertarian think tank, has a Center for Climate Science directed by Dr. Joseph Majkut, a climatologist who previously served on the staff of Brulle’s ally Sen. Sheldon Whitehouse.<sup>52</sup> The think tank R Street is so well known for its friendliness to a carbon tax that when we published a study critical of the carbon tax, we invited it to contribute a defense of the tax.<sup>53</sup> And as the present study goes to press, prominent Republicans at the Hoover Institution like George Schultz and James Baker are advocating vigorously for a carbon tax.<sup>54</sup> Any honest, unbiased researcher would laugh at the suggestion that 100% of the revenues of numerous other groups on Brulle’s list are dedicated to critiques of Global Warming. For instance, the Reason Foundation (\$7.2 million) is on Brulle’s list, despite the fact that its top writer on science issues shares some of environmentalists’ views on Global Warming/Climate Change.

The Cato Institute (\$40 million) represents a libertarian point of view, and the Heritage Foundation (\$78 million) and the American Conservative Union Foundation (\$1.4 million) represent a conservative point of view, but all three of these groups deal with a vast array of issues, not

just Global Warming or the wider field of energy and the environment (E&E).

Cato, for example, has scholars working on education and child policy, finance and banking, foreign policy and national security, healthcare and welfare, telecom and Internet policy, civil liberties, immigration, welfare, Social Security, and other issues. Its Center for the Study of Science, directed by the aforementioned Patrick Michaels, does deal with Global Warming as well as other scientific issues, but it's one of 12 centers or major projects that are affiliated with Cato. Only about three of the organization's 70 top experts appear to spend much of their time on the issue.

Heritage, which has a staff of nearly 300, lists five experts on climate change, including one specialist and four more who also deal with other issues such as agriculture and government regulation.

The Competitive Enterprise Institute (\$4.25 million) is another group that supports free-market and libertarian ideas. Brulle understandably lists CEI as part of the alleged Conspiracy, because CEI is quite prominent in the debate. It runs a blog on the issue and hosts a monthly meeting of skeptical experts, and a CEI expert led the Trump transition team dealing with Energy and Environment. Yet even in the case of CEI, the Brulle Number represents a large distortion. Only about one-seventh of the CEI experts listed on its website are tied to the issue, and energy and the environment is one of 12 major issue areas with which CEI deals.

Likewise for Freedom Works and the Freedom Works Foundation (combined, \$13.7 million in 2010). Freedom Works, a libertarian group that was closely associated with the Tea Party movement, lists energy and the environment as one of its 15 issue areas. The National Taxpayers Union and the NTU Foundation (combined, \$3.5 million) deal almost exclusively with tax issues, government spending, and government waste, rarely with energy and the environment. The Media Research Center (\$12.6 million) deals with every controversial issue discussed in the news media; it exerts perhaps five percent of its efforts on all Energy and Environment issues combined.

Other members of Brulle's Conspiracy are similarly varied in their issue focus. The Hudson Institute (\$9.8 million) has one visiting fellow dealing with Global Warming/Climate Change out of approximately 100 experts listed on its website. As its name would suggest, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace deals rarely with the issue. (Brulle, in his study, did not list revenues for Hoover, because its finances are legally part of Stanford University and it doesn't file its own IRS report, but we estimate its

2010 revenues at approximately \$39.4 million.)

According to a spokesman, the Cascade Policy Institute (\$988,000) had a single economist working on the issue in 2010, and none since. The Independent Institute (\$2.65 million) "hasn't done much on the issue since 2009 or so," according to a source familiar with the organization, who added: "Maybe two percent of the Institute's effort is on Global Warming, maybe seven percent if you count all environmental issues."

A spokesman for the John Locke Foundation (\$3.9 million) said its involvement in the issue consists of an occasional blog post and that it currently devotes less than half a percent of its efforts to anything related to climate change. He said the level of involvement was perhaps two or three percent in 2010. A spokesperson told us that the Landmark Legal Foundation (\$3 million) "doesn't deal with the issue at all." The Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy (\$306,000) hosts two annual conferences on Global Warming and Energy and Environment, paying for hotel rooms for some participants, but a spokesperson said that that constitutes only about 20 percent of its total effort. A Washington Policy Center (\$1.5 million) spokesman put its effort at "approximately one percent." We could find no significant evidence to contradict the claims made by the spokesmen for those groups.

The Congress of Racial Equality, New York chapter (\$205,000), is a civil rights organization that deals with such issues as financial literacy and job training. 60 Plus (\$16 million) is a senior citizens organization that supports conservative and free-market ideas and, on some occasions, sharply criticizes the positions taken by climate change activists. The Independent Women's Forum (\$859,000) is a conservative women's group that, on its website, does not even list Energy and Environment as a major topic; it's a subtopic under "culture of alarmism."

Some of the groups that Brulle lists as part of the Conspiracy—with, remember, 100 percent of their revenues counting toward the Brulle number—are difficult to classify. They fall in the middle between explicit opposition to Global Warming/Climate Change activism and a more general support for affordable energy. Citizens for Affordable Energy (\$315,000) promotes an all-of-the-above approach to the U.S. energy supply, and, on one page of its website, does promote a book by prominent skeptic Chris Horner, but otherwise avoids the Warming issue. The Consumer Energy Alliance (\$737,000) and the Industrial Energy Consumers of America (\$8.7 million) also support cheap energy, with no explicit opposition to left-wing views on Warming.

The American Gas Association (\$25 million) also declines to challenge left-wing Global Warming beliefs.



(Its ambivalence is understandable. Given that natural gas is seen as an alternative to more carbon-intensive fuels, people's fears about climate sometimes work to the advantage of the natural gas industry.) Likewise, the American Natural Gas Alliance (\$88 million) seems to work mainly on advertising and public-relations efforts to promote fracking or the use of natural gas rather than other fuels, and the group takes no obvious position on Global Warming/Climate Change. The World Coal Association (\$1.5 million) does not appear to openly challenge environmentalists on the issue.

The Institute for Energy Research (\$2.4 million) focuses on Energy and Environment issues, but its range of interests extends well beyond climate matters. Besides climate change, the carbon tax, and cap-and-trade, IER's areas include the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, the rise of China, the cost of electricity generation through new and existing technologies, electronic vehicles, fuel economy mandates, the Renewable Fuel Standard, "green jobs" and "green pricing programs," the Keystone XL pipeline and other pipelines, drilling in the Gulf of Mexico and on the Outer Continental Shelf, liquid natural gas, and the wind Production Tax Credit.

The Association of Global Automobile Manufacturers (\$5.9 million) seeks to "lessen the nation's reliance on fossil fuels" and to "reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions"—hardly signs it is a hardcore "denial" group.

Then there's the American Coalition for Clean Coal Energy (\$45 million), which focuses on the promotion of clean coal technology, something that is needed only because of the desire to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. If no one believed in Global Warming theory, this organization wouldn't even exist. In a similar vein, the American Coal Foundation (\$312,000) brags about progress in "near-zero emissions technology" such as clean coal and carbon capture, and does not challenge Climate Change beliefs. The Edison Electric Institute (\$82 million), a supposed member of the conspiracy exposed by Brulle, declares that "Global climate change presents one of the biggest... challenges the country has ever faced."

Again, is it fair and accurate to include the total revenues of all these groups in the Brulle Number? If, as Brulle declares, these groups are all "fronts" (his word) for oil, gas, and coal companies, those carbon-fuel companies are more devious than we thought, because they managed to completely take over, and turn to their advantage, national organizations with long histories like the Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, and the Heritage Foundation—major national organizations that were advising Presidents long before Global

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*If these groups are all “fronts” for oil, gas, and coal companies, those carbon-fuel companies are more devious than we thought.*

Warming/Climate Change was ever heard of.

We should note that Brulle lists the Capital Research Center as a Conspirator, and we have indeed received support over the years from his two *bêtes noires*, Exxon and Koch-related philanthropies. But Exxon stopped giving to us a decade ago, and funders focused on climate change issues have never provided as much as ten percent of our annual revenues. Nor have we ever devoted as much as ten percent of our spending to climate science.

## A NOTE ON OUR METHODS

As we calculated our ratings—our measure of how much of each group's effort went to Energy and Environment and Global Warming/Climate Change—we sought to err on the side of Brulle. If an organization publicly expressed a skeptical view on the issue, or consistently aligned politically with those who did, we counted any efforts on energy and environmental issues as linked, however peripherally, to Global Warming/Climate Change. Those issues include the building of oil and gas pipelines, cap-and-trade, the carbon tax, requirements for the use of "renewable fuels," and many others. If, on the other hand, an organization took no clear position or seemed to accept Climate Change-related policies as an unavoidable reality, we were less likely to give it a high rating for involvement on Climate Change.

Our analysis is not perfect. It is often impossible from the outside to determine how much of an organization's effort is devoted to a particular issue. Often, even people inside the organization don't know.

We encourage others to attempt a similar analysis, and welcome criticism or comments that might lead us to alter our ratings. Our complete data, including our "Allen Index" indicating our best estimate of the proportion of the group's efforts that went anywhere in the direction of skepticism on Global Warming and Climate Change science, is available at [ClimateDollars.org](http://ClimateDollars.org).

Unlike Brulle and many others for whom the climate change issue is a major cause, *we encourage discussion and*

*debate*. We do not believe that Brulle and his compatriots are part of a conspiracy that must be quashed. Nor do we believe that our adversaries lack First Amendment rights, or that they should be jailed.

We wish they afforded us the same respect. ■

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## CLIMATE FEARS AND FINANCE

By Kenneth Haapala

**Summary:** Much of the fear of global warming, now called climate change, stems from long-term projections that use complex climate models. These are correctly called projections, not predictions, because none of the models has undergone the rigorous scientific testing required for verification and validation. Consequently, the models and their results are speculative. If a climate model had been verified and validated, that would be the only model needed. As it is, we have multiple models producing a wide variety of projections. A critical issue in global warming/climate change science is the reliability of the models and the evidence substantiating their use.

*“It doesn’t matter how beautiful your theory is, it doesn’t matter how smart you are. If it doesn’t agree with experiment, it’s wrong.”* – Richard Feynman, Nobel Laureate in physics and brilliant teacher.

Unlike most Nobel Laureates in physics, who desire private lives to further their work, Richard Feynman strove to teach students basic physics, science. Some of his lectures are available on YouTube. He explained that the process of expanding scientific knowledge frequently starts with a guess, a hypothesis. Then the guess, hypothesis, must be tested against all available data that are relevant. If the hypothesis fails any testing, then it must be modified or discarded.

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*It doesn’t matter how beautiful your theory is, it doesn’t matter how smart you are. If it doesn’t agree with experiment, it’s wrong.*

The data may come from experiment or from observations. But, eventually the hypothesis must be tested with data from observations of physical phenomena—real world evidence. Sometimes the necessary data are not available for



Credit: Tony Webster, 2007. License: <https://goo.gl/sDjqlH>.

Some scientists suggested the cause of the sudden warming was an increase in carbon dioxide, and other greenhouse gases, brought about by the Industrial Revolution.

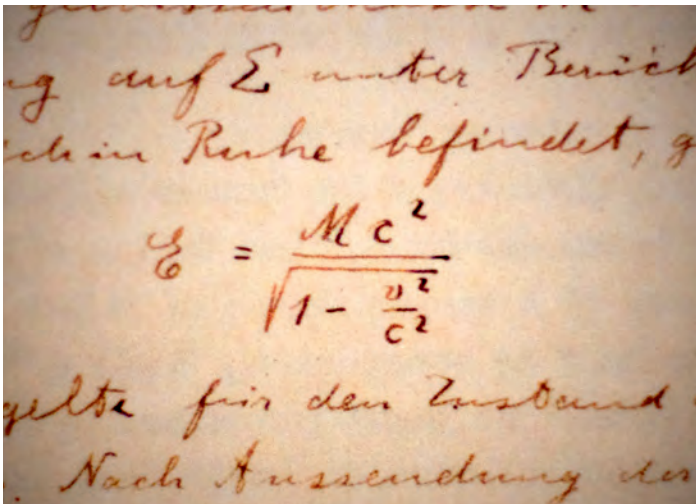
years. Such is the case with Einstein’s Theory of Relativity, with some testing continuing today after a hundred years.

## RECENT HISTORY OF THE GLOBAL WARMING GUESS

The fear of human-caused global warming really started in the late 1970s. Based on the best surface-temperature data available at the time, global temperatures had been falling from 1940 to the mid-1970s, creating fears of another ice age. About 1977, temperatures suddenly rose. At the time, the reasons for this sudden increase were not known.

Some scientists suggested the cause of the sudden warming was an increase in carbon dioxide, and other greenhouse gases, brought about by the Industrial Revolution. During

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*Sometimes the necessary data are not available for years, as in the case of Einstein's Theory of Relativity.*

the Industrial Revolution, the burning of wood and other traditional materials for fuel was replaced by the burning of coal and later oil and natural gas—so-called fossil fuels. Use of fossil fuels increased substantially during the prosperous post-World War II period, as part of a significant improvement in people's living conditions. The result was an increase of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) in the atmosphere, leading many scientists to suspect the globe may be warming due to CO<sub>2</sub>.

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*The climate has been warming and cooling for hundreds of millions of years, long before humanity evolved.*

The U.S. National Academy of Sciences (NAS) had an eminent panel of experts examine the claims of possible warming from carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. The panel, called the Climate Research Board, was headed by the noted meteorologist Verner Suomi, considered the father of satellite meteorology. The Climate Research Board appointed an ad hoc study group to examine the impact of greenhouse gases on the earth's temperatures. The study group was headed by the noted American meteorologist Jule G. Charney, who played an important role in developing numerical weather prediction and was Alfred P. Sloan Professor of Meteorology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Their report was published in 1979 by the NAS and is called the Charney Report.<sup>1</sup> It estimated that “the most probable global warming for a doubling of CO<sub>2</sub>” would be roughly 6 degrees Fahrenheit, with a probable error of plus or minus 3 degrees. But the devil is in the details. Repeated laboratory experiments, such as ones at the U.S. National Bureau of Standards, demonstrated that a doubling of CO<sub>2</sub> would lead to a modest increase in temperatures. Modern instruments probably would not be able to detect the influence of CO<sub>2</sub> on temperatures that is separate from natural variation in temperatures. The climate has been warming and cooling for hundreds of millions of years, long before humanity evolved, much less before the Industrial Revolution. For the past 2.5 million years, the earth has been in a cold period with lengthy ice ages, interrupted by brief warm periods of 10,000 years or so. We are about 10,000 years into the current warm period called the Holocene.

The Charney Report stated that numerical modelers of global climate had estimated that the modest warming caused by CO<sub>2</sub> would be greatly amplified by a more powerful warming from an increase in water vapor, particularly in the tropics. Though few people realize it, water vapor is the dominate greenhouse gas on earth. At the time of the 1979 report, there were no comprehensive measurements of global atmospheric temperatures, or water vapor, to confirm or deny this educated guess that water vapor would cause a more powerful warming. Measurements by weather balloons, the main method used to measure temperatures at the time, only test a small sliver of the atmosphere and are far from comprehensive.

Thus, according to the Charney Report, human-caused greenhouse gas warming has two components, both of



*International organizations were being mobilized to control greenhouse gases that the untested hypothesis of the Charney Report guessed would cause global warming.*





*In 1988, the U.N. formed the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).*

which occur in the atmosphere. The first component is directly from increased carbon dioxide and is estimated from laboratory experiments to be modest. The second component of human-caused global warming is indirect—a positive feedback from increased atmospheric water vapor—and would be far more powerful than the direct warming from carbon dioxide, but would also occur in the atmosphere.

In 1979, scientists lacked any comprehensive measurements of atmospheric temperatures, so the Charney Report's guesses could not be confirmed or denied. But to cause this “top-down warming,” the warming trends in the atmosphere would have to be more pronounced than surface warming trends, because much of the energy from atmospheric warming is lost into space and does not affect surface temperatures.

## U.N. EFFORTS

In 1988, the U.N. formed the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). It was set up “to prepare, based on available scientific information, assessments on all aspects of climate change and its impacts, with a view of formulating realistic response strategies.” According to its governing principles, the IPCC is “...to assess on a comprehensive, objective, open and transparent basis the scientific, technical and socio-economic information relevant to understanding the scientific basis of risk of human-induced climate change, its potential impacts and options for adaptation and mitigation. IPCC reports should be neutral with respect to policy, although they may need to deal objectively with scientific, technical and socio-economic factors relevant to the application of particular policies.”<sup>2</sup>

In its first assessment report, the IPCC provided no new data regarding the cause of the temperature increase in the late 1970s or the relationship between increasing CO<sub>2</sub> and global warming. But it did play a decisive role in creating “the key international treaty to reduce global warming and cope with the consequences of climate change.”

That treaty, called the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), was agreed upon at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. President George H.W. Bush signed it, and the Senate ratified it with stipulations. The treaty entered into force in 1994. The treaty's principal objective was “stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic [i.e., man-made] interference with the climate system.” The UNFCCC holds annual meetings called the Conference of Parties (to the treaty).<sup>3</sup>

## MEASURING ATMOSPHERIC TEMPERATURES

The international agreements forming the IPCC and the UNFCCC were designed to prevent greenhouse gas warming of the atmosphere, and as those agreements were hammered out, two American scientists, Roy Spencer and John Christy, developed a method that uses data collected from weather satellites to produce science's first comprehensive measure of global atmospheric temperatures.

The value of measuring atmospheric temperatures globally becomes clear when we recall that the untested hypothesis



Credit: Violaine Martin, 2014. License: <https://goo.gl/r8Uont>.

*The treaty, called the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), was agreed upon at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.*



behind global warming projects that greenhouse gas warming in the atmosphere will cause the surface to warm by 6 degrees Fahrenheit (with a probable error of plus or minus 3 degrees). For atmospheric warming to cause surface warming, atmospheric warming trends need to be far more pronounced than the surface warming trend.

The Spencer-Christy method of determining global atmospheric temperatures uses weather satellites, which do not directly measure temperature; instead, they measure radiant energy in various wavelengths. The energy must then be mathematically converted to obtain calculations of temperature. The process is similar to using an ear probe in a doctor's office to calculate a person's temperature.

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*International organizations mobilized to control greenhouse gases based on the untested hypothesis that alleged they would cause global warming.*

Since December 1978, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's polar-orbiting satellites have measured upwelling microwave radiation from atmospheric oxygen, and Spencer and Christy use this data to calculate the temperature of broad volumes of the atmosphere. Thanks to their work, we have comprehensive atmospheric temperature dating to December 1978. The records are kept electronically and are publicly available, including any adjustments, at the National Space Science & Technology Center of the University of Alabama in Huntsville.

Although there have been minor errors in calculations, such as early failure to adjust for orbital decay of the satellites, once recognized, the data have been quickly adjusted, as is expected in rigorous science. For developing this method to calculate atmospheric temperatures from satellite data, Spencer and Christy have been awarded NASA's Medal for Exceptional Scientific Achievement. Today, the data from satellites are converted to temperature data by three independent groups, which cross-check each other. Further, the temperature calculations are independently confirmed by four different sets of weather balloons that measure atmospheric temperatures using thermometers.

The global average temperature calculations cover 97-98 percent of the earth's surface, excluding only the most extreme polar latitudes. Obviously, lower atmospheric

measurements are not possible in land areas with an elevation above 4,500 feet, but upper atmospheric measurements are available for these areas.

## THE CONFLICT

As the Spencer-Christy method to measure atmospheric temperatures was being developed—a method that would permit scientists to test the greenhouse gas warming hypothesis in the Charney Report—international organizations did not wait to act. They were being mobilized to control greenhouse gases that the untested hypothesis of the Charney Report guessed would cause global warming. The international solution proposed was to control emissions of CO<sub>2</sub>.

Yet a conflict arose among scientists over the question of whether the Charney Report's hypothesis had been adequately tested, and the dispute became very public because governmental organizations with large public funding were involved. The conflict, in other words, was and remains largely political, not scientific, and it is financed by governments. The U.S. government is heavily involved in financing the guess that greenhouse gas warming will be dangerous, based on the untested hypothesis. At the same time, independent research efforts are producing evidence that calls into question the fear of global warming from greenhouse gases.

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*The U.S. government finances the presumption that greenhouse gas warming will be dangerous, based on the untested hypothesis.*

Independent researchers have tested the Charney Report's hypothesis against atmospheric temperature data, which now extends over 37 years, and found the hypothesis wanting. The Report's assumptions are simply not supported by empirical observation of nature. The hypothesis needs to be modified or discarded. As Richard Feynman, a Nobel laureate in physics, liked to say, “It doesn't matter how beautiful your theory is, it doesn't matter how smart you are. If it doesn't agree with experiment, it's wrong.”

## FROM WARMING FEARS TO COOLING CLAIMS

The *lack* of significant warming in recent years has become such an embarrassment that many desperate persons are now abandoning the term “global warming” in favor of the term “climate change,” in hopes they can somehow connect carbon dioxide to cooling global temperatures. Yet there is no generally accepted scientific hypothesis that posits any way for greater CO<sub>2</sub> levels in the atmosphere to cause cooling. In addition, some political advocates of climate alarmism have invented the claim that increased carbon dioxide will worsen extreme weather events like hurricanes, but this, too, has no basis in broadly accepted theory or in empirical observation. As the Swedish meteorologist, Lennart Bengtsson, has written, “there are no indications of extreme weather in the model simulations, and even less so in current observations.”

Similarly, professor Roger Pielke Jr. of the University of Colorado, Boulder, has published extensively on extreme weather, including at the center-left website FiveThirtyEight.com run by Nate Silver. He writes, “There is scant evidence to indicate that hurricanes, floods, tornadoes or drought have become more frequent or intense in the U.S. or globally.” But in the same article he observes that even though the U.N. IPCC backtracked on earlier claims related to extreme weather, he and his findings were attacked by the Obama White House and by the Center for American Progress, which was founded by Hillary Clinton’s 2016 campaign chairman, John Podesta. After WikiLeaks published thousands of Podesta’s emails, Pielke discovered an email in which a staffer at CAP bragged to a donor, hedge fund billionaire Tom Steyer, that CAP’s website had forced Nate Silver to ban Pielke from FiveThirtyEight.com. Steyer has been the largest individual donor in American politics for the last two election cycles, giving over \$91 million in the 2016 cycle. Given the way Steyer has focused his giving on environmentalist causes of the left, Steyer’s inspiring CAP to squash scientific discussion provides support for Robert Brulle’s view that rich donors can distort public perceptions of climate science.

## U.S. GOVERNMENT FUNDING OF CLIMATE CHANGE

The failure to find physical evidence that supports the Charney Report’s assumptions does not stem from any lack of funding—from both governmental and private sources—in strong support for projects trying to find such evidence.

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*There is scant evidence to indicate that hurricanes, floods, tornadoes or drought have become more frequent or intense....*

Since the Charney Report, scientists have failed to find much physical evidence to support the report’s assumptions, but that failure has not stemmed from any lack of taxpayer support of research that looks for such evidence. The United States government has spent enormous sums on global warming/climate change issues, including science research, although the ocean of funding is so large, fed by so many rivers of tax dollars, that it’s hard to tally it all up.

Not all of this government funding goes to advocacy of climate alarmism, of course. But it would be hard for the federal government to spend *billions* of dollars a year on a controversial topic, with every penny of the spending based on the presumption that global warming is a serious crisis worthy of billions of tax dollars, and not have those billions make a powerful impression on the public. The persons in the public who would be most powerfully affected would be those hoping to obtain grants for their research, tax subsidies for their businesses, or otherwise seeking to benefit from going along with the presumption that a crisis exists. Tens of billions of dollars are not exactly a small incentive, and as Robert Brulle said in the press release for his study, “Money amplifies certain voices above others and, in effect, gives them a megaphone in the public square.”

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*Money amplifies certain voices above others and, in effect, gives them a megaphone in the public square.*

The data provided here come primarily from two government sources: (1) the Government Accountability Office (GAO), using data from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB); and (2) the Congressional Research Service (CRS). The GAO report covers Fiscal Years 1993 to 2010;<sup>4</sup> the CRS report covers FY 2008 to 2014 (with FY 2014 estimated)<sup>5</sup>. The funding expenditures not only include regular annual budgeted amounts, but also large additional funding provided under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), also known as

the “Stimulus Bill,” signed into law by President Obama in 2009. The Stimulus sent more than \$26.1 billion in funding toward climate change programs, of which the GAO estimates about 2.5 percent, or \$641 million, went to climate science.

Accounting for all these government billions is further complicated by international transfers from various U.S. government entities to international groups like the U.N. In 2016, questions arose in Congress about the legality of recent transfers, such as those sent to the U.N. Green Climate Fund. But my analysis will stop as of September 30, 2016, the end of FY 2016, before serious questions were raised about such transfers.

Additional complications arise from the various definitions of spending included in the reports. For example, the summary of the 2011 GAO report states: “OMB reports funding in four categories: technology to reduce emissions, science to better understand climate change, international assistance for developing countries, and wildlife adaptation to respond to actual or expected changes.”

In addition, the summary reports that there are no clear definitions across agencies. Thus, the estimates are educated guesses, at best. I group these educated guesses of expenditures into two categories: (1) climate science; and (2) “other,” including efforts to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and their presumed, but not demonstrated, effects.

More uncertainty in the numbers arises from the fact that the GAO report is based on a survey conducted from August 6, 2010, to September 24, 2010. “Of the 106 officials who were asked to participate, 73 responded to the questionnaire, for a response rate of about 69 percent.”

Several types of funding are covered in the broad classification of federal expenditures. Actual funding, or cash outlays, is a fairly clear type of support, and for this analysis, the actual or the enacted budget authority is used, except for 2014, where the requested amount is used.

But less clear are the second and third categories of federal support, because they involve so-called tax expenditures. Tax expenditures are estimates of revenues the government “loses” when the tax code allows taxpayers to reduce gross income with specific deductions to arrive at adjusted gross income. (That’s why economists typically say that the largest U.S. tax expenditure is the mortgage deduction for personal homes.) Of course, these kinds of “expenditures” are generally not transferable and simply reduce the income that citizens report, which may or may not reduce anyone’s tax bill.

Another form of tax expenditures are federal tax credits, which can be transferable. Generally, tax credits are used by corporations with large federal tax burdens to directly reduce the taxes they pay. In this analysis, I will calculate federal revenues lost, largely from tax credits, according to the numbers in the government reports from the GAO and CRS. These “expenditures” fall into the category of “other”—efforts to reduce greenhouse gases and their presumed effects. They are not included in the Climate Science.

No reports to Congress from a government agency were found for the periods after FY 2014, which ended on September 30, 2014. The amount for FY 2014 is an estimate, and to cover FY 2015 and 2016, one must examine agency budgets, a tedious process. Further, in recent years the accounting for many agencies has become obtuse, with monies moving among entities for various purposes without notification to Congress. The complications are made worse because there have been no rigorous government agency audits in several decades. A 2015 report from the GAO<sup>6</sup> states:

“Three major impediments prevented GAO from rendering an opinion on the federal government’s accrual-based consolidated financial statements: (1) serious financial management problems at the Department of Defense (DOD), (2) the federal government’s inability to adequately account for and reconcile intragovernmental activity and balances between federal entities, and (3) the federal government’s ineffective process for preparing the consolidated financial statements. Efforts are under way to resolve these issues, but strong and sustained commitment by DOD and other federal entities as well as continued leadership by the Department of the Treasury (Treasury) and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) are necessary to implement needed improvements.”

This pathetic status of government accounting limits the reporting of federal expenditures on climate issues for years after FY 2013, which is why the numbers provided here for FY 2014 are estimated. After 2014, the budget for climate science spending by one entity is available: the U.S. Global Change Research Program.<sup>7</sup> The expenditures of other government entities are clouded, and so for climate science only a minimum expenditure can be established—the actual amount may be significantly greater. For other climate change programs, the amounts are not generally available.



## THE NUMBERS

From FY 1993 to FY 2014, government reports show that annual spending on “climate science” grew from \$1.31 billion to \$2.66 billion, for a total of \$42.49 billion. Of this total, \$0.64 billion came from the stimulus bill. Annual expenditures in this category over the period increased over 200 percent. During the same period, “other” climate-related expenditures (including tax credits) grew from \$1.05 billion to \$8.94 billion, for a total of \$104.29 billion, with \$25.5 billion coming from AARA. The increase in annual expenditures in this category was 850 percent.



*In “fighting” climate change, the United States government is spending almost as much as it did on all the Apollo missions.*

If we combine both categories, total expenditures for the period grew from \$2.35 billion to \$11.59 billion, for a total of \$146.78 billion, with \$26.14 billion coming from ARRA. The increase in total annual expenditures was 490 percent.

The amount going to international assistance via U.N. groups grew from \$201 million to \$893 million in 2014—a 440 percent growth in annual expenditures.

When the budgets for FY 2015 & FY 2016 of the USGCRP<sup>8</sup> are included, the total expenditures for “climate science” from FY 1993 to FY 2016 come to \$47.56 billion, with international assistance amounting to \$8.24 billion.

**Constant Dollars:** While the CRS report also gave the total annual expenditures of climate change in constant 2012 dollars, the GAO report did not give constant dollars. Since the index used by the CRS is not available on the web, I’ve used the Consumer Price Index from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to adjust GAO numbers to 2012 constant dollars.<sup>9</sup> To assure a reasonable adjustment, several calculations were double-checked with CRS numbers. The error in the match sets was less than 1 percent.

## CONCLUSION

After examining the reports, and removing double counting, calculations show that from FY 1993 to FY 2014 **total U.S. expenditures on climate change amount to more than \$166 billion in 2012 dollars.** By way of

comparison, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the entire Apollo program, operating from 1962 to 1973 with 17 missions—seven of them sending men to the moon and back—cost \$170 billion in 2005 dollars<sup>10</sup>, which equals about \$200 billion in 2012 dollars, if we use the Consumer Price Index to adjust that figure. In “fighting” climate change, the United States government is spending almost as much as it did on all the Apollo missions. ■

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