



Denial and Deception:
A Chronicle of ExxonMobil's
Efforts to Corrupt the Debate on Global Warming

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APR -08 '99 (FRI) 15:36

P. 002

Joe Walker

To: Global Climate Science Team
Cc: Michelle Ross; Susan Moya
Subject: Draft Global Climate Science Communications Plan

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

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

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

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

Regards,
Joe Walker

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JAN -08 '99 (FRI) 15:35

P. 003

April 3, 1998

Global Climate Science Communications

Action Plan

Situation Analysis

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

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

The climate change theory being advanced by the treaty supporters is based primarily on forecasting models with a very high degree of uncertainty. In fact, it not known for sure whether (a) climate change actually is occurring, or (b) if it is, whether humans really have any influence on it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The action plan is detailed on the following pages.

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Global Climate Science Communications

Action Plan

Project Goal

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

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

Victory Will Be Achieved When

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

Current Reality

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

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Strategies and Tactics

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

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

- Identify, recruit and train a team of five independent scientists to participate in media outreach. These will be individuals who do not have a long history of visibility and/or participation in the climate change debate. Rather, this team will consist of new faces who will add their voices to those recognized scientists who already are vocal.
- Develop a global climate science information kit for media including peer-reviewed papers that undercut the "conventional wisdom" on climate science. This kit also will include understandable communications, including simple fact sheets that present scientific uncertainties in language that the media and public can understand.
- Conduct briefings by media-trained scientists for science writers in the top 20 media markets, using the information kits. Distribute the information kits to daily newspapers nationwide with offer of scientists to brief reporters at each paper. Develop, disseminate radio news releases featuring scientists nationwide, and offer scientists to appear on radio talk shows across the country.
- Produce, distribute a steady stream of climate science information via facsimile and e-mail to science writers around the country.
- Produce, distribute via syndicate and directly to newspapers nationwide a steady stream of op-ed columns and letters to the editor authored by scientists.
- Convince one of the major news national TV journalists (e.g., John Stossel) to produce a report examining the scientific underpinnings of the Kyoto treaty.
- Organize, promote and conduct through grassroots organizations a series of campus/community workshops/debates on climate science in 10 most important states during the period mid-August through October, 1998.

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- Consider advertising the scientific uncertainties in select markets to support national, regional and local (e.g., workshops/debates), as appropriate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Global Climate Science Data Center Budget — 53,000,000 (spread over two years minimum)

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

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

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

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

National Direct Outreach Program Budget — \$300,000

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

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

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

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

Measurements

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

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

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- Number of school teachers/students reached with our information on climate science.
- Number of science writers briefed and who report upon climate science uncertainties.
- Total audience exposed to newspaper, radio, television coverage of science uncertainties.

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APR-18-01 13:31 FROM: ExxonMobil Corp ID: 872 444 1130 PAGE 2/2

Business Group Proposes Action Plan on Climate Change

Emphasis on technology, market incentives within established U.N. framework

For Immediate Release

Contact: Jonathan Huneke

(212) 703-5043 or jhuneke@uscib.org

New York, N.Y., April 11, 2001 - A leading U.S. business group has put forward the elements of a new framework for international negotiations on climate change. In a letter sent today to President Bush, the United States Council for International Business (USCIB) has urged the administration to move swiftly in developing an agenda for future talks that would address a wide range of energy, competitiveness and technology-related issues.

"We share your concern over the risks of climate change," writes USCIB president Thomas M.T. Niles. "The U.S. should move quickly to chart a path forward that will avoid the Kyoto Protocol's unrealistic targets, timetables and lack of developing country participation."

The Bush administration has indicated that the U.S. has no interest in pursuing the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, citing the treaty's unrealistic targets for reducing emissions of gases believed to contribute to global warming and the lack of developing-country participation. Mr. Niles said business supports an approach that avoids Kyoto's pitfalls while continuing to work within the established context of the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, which the U.S. signed in 1992.

USCIB's climate action plan stresses the need to deal with the full range of suspected greenhouse gases and legitimate sequestration options. It proposes flexibility for countries to choose the most appropriate means to reduce emissions, as well as market incentives to facilitate least-cost options for improvement. And it endorses measures to support the development, commercialization and dissemination of new technologies to reduce emissions worldwide.

"This international action plan should focus on the long-term development, commercialization and global diffusion of advanced energy, carbon sequestration and adaptation technologies" writes Mr. Niles. "It should also take full advantage of appropriate market incentives and mechanisms, rather than mandated caps, targets, timetables and command and control regulations."

USCIB works to promote an open system of world trade, finance and investment in which business can flourish and contribute to economic growth, human welfare and protection of the environment. Its membership includes some 300 U.S. companies, professional services firms and associations. As the American affiliate of the International Chamber of Commerce, the Business and Industry Advisory Committee to the OECD and the International Organization of Employers, USCIB presents business views to international policy makers and regulatory authorities worldwide. More information is available at www.uscib.org.

For more information contact:

USCIB at 212-354-4430 or info@uscib.org

<http://www.uscib.org/news/climatpr.htm>

4/12/01

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5959 Les Colinas Boulevard
Irving, TX 75029-2298

ExxonMobil

Mr. Gerd Leopold
Executive Director
GreenPeace International
Keizersgracht 178
1016 DW Amsterdam
The Netherlands

DATE: April 18, 2001
TO: GreenPeace International
Via fax: 202.462.4507
FROM: Exxon Mobil Corporation

Possible human-induced climate change is a long-term risk that we at ExxonMobil take very seriously.

On Tuesday, April 17, we published our views on basic policy approaches to this issue in the form of Op-Eds in several newspapers including the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post.

Our views are widely shared by others. A good example is an April 11 letter from the U.S. Council for International Business (USCIB) to President Bush. A copy of the USCIB press-release describing this letter is attached.

Attachment