### EXXON'S WEAPONS OF MASS DECEPTION

THE ASSESSMENT OF GREENPEACE INTERNATIONAL

### CONTENTS

#### FOREWORD BY BIANCA JAGGER

CHAPTER ONE: PULLING STRINGS IN THE REGIME

CHAPTER TWO: SUBVERTING THE WILL OF THE UNITED NATIONS – IPCC SABOTAGE AND THE STOCKPILING OF SCEPTICS

CHAPTER THREE: MASS DESTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC REALITY

CHAPTER FOUR: THE DIRTY WAR – REPRESSING INTERNAL DISSENT BEFORE RESOLUTION 98 AND KYOTO

#### FOREWORD BY BIANCA JAGGER

As I write this foreword, politicians from 178 countries are gathered in New Delhi for the latest round of international talks to tackle global climate change. It was from earlier rounds that the Kyoto Protocol struggled to life, but more, much more is needed.

As long as a decade ago a multi-government panel warned the impacts of global warming would be "second only to nuclear war". If the men and women gathered in India, and their successors in future talks, cannot agree deep cuts in greenhouse gas emissions, global warming will spread a rising tide of economic and environmental devastation across nations with even greater destruction than waves of B-52s.

Their predictions are already coming true. The citizens of the drowning Pacific atoll nation of Tuvalu, are packing their bags to leave their homeland for New Zealand. As long ago as 1993 they accused the industrial nations of "cultural" genocide because of our fossil-fuel profligacy.

As citizens of this planet, we are each reliant on our governments' representatives at the climate talks. But in amongst these delegates are powerful agents with vested interests who continue to wage a cynical, self-interested war to derail this vital process. The worst of these are the men from ExxonMobil. Never mind the millions killed by drought and disease, never mind the homes wrecked by floods, never mind the storms, never mind the extinction risk to species like polar bears, as far as Exxon is concerned, US corporate life is not up for negotiation.

The climate change negotiations have sustained a ten-year, systematic attack by the world's largest oil company, known across Europe as Esso. Exxon's war has resulted in a weak Kyoto Protocol then, under George W Bush, the ditching of it by the US government altogether. But still, Exxon continues in its efforts to sabotage what is left of the process.

This dossier contains some examples of what has been revealed about ExxonMobil's campaign against international climate action. But what don't we know? What else has this company done that we haven't uncovered?

Esso is one of the most powerful companies on the planet. If their war against the Kyoto Protocol can be ended, there is a spark of hope for us to overcome the most serious environmental problem that our species has ever caused.

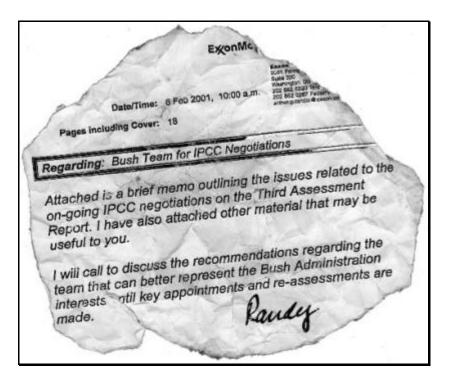
#### CHAPTER 1: PULLING STRINGS IN THE REGIME

When President Bush announced that the US would be pulling out of the Kyoto Treaty in March 2001, the mark of the fossil fuel industry was all over his policy. One company stands out from the rest in its efforts to bring about Bush's climate climb-down. For more than a decade, ExxonMobil (known as Esso in Europe) has been working consistently and systematically to derail any international action to tackle global warming. This corporation has made a concerted effort to turn its interests into government policy, steering the US away from international action, not only through direct lobbying but also through covert activities, funding and support for industry lobbying organisations and climate-sceptic scientists. The threat to security from global warming is profound, and ExxonMobil represents a clear and present danger

In the words of Frank Sprow, ExxonMobil's Vice President: 'Companies that produce and use fossil fuels, oil, coal and gas, have a vested interest in the outcome of the climate change debate.' None more so than ExxonMobil, which puts around \$8 billion a year into oil and gas exploration and production and not one dollar into renewable forms of energy. While agencies such as the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) confirm that the implementation of international measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions could have positive economic impacts, and respected investment analysts CLAROS found that Exxon would benefit from a more pragmatic attitude to global warming, the company itself obviously disagrees. CLAROS found that the company's 'shareholder value is endangered because the opportunities ExxonMobil is missing and the risks ExxonMobil is exposing itself to are far greater than the risks the company faces from any likely policies to reduce emissions'. Nevertheless, the company continues to rely on the narrow energy base of fossil fuel production and seems prepared to stoop to any level to defend its outdated practices, rather than defending the planet. The methods it has adopted are detailed in this dossier.

In April 2002 Dr Robert Watson was removed from the chair of the United Nation's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Dr Watson's removal followed concerted lobbying by the Bush Administration at the behest of ExxonMobil. Watson had been a powerful voice in support of action to tackle climate change, and as the head of the UN's global warming body he had sway over governments. Thus it was that ExxonMobil lobbied President Bush to remove Watson from his position. Within days of Bush entering the White House, a fax sent by Arthur G. Randol III, senior environmental advisor at ExxonMobil, was sent to the new administration. It was prefaced with a comment that he would *call to discuss the recommendations regarding the team that can better represent the Bush Administration*'. The memo went on to specifically ask: *'Can Watson be replaced at the request of the US?'* (See memo below). The answer, evidently, was 'yes'. Exxon claims it was forwarding a previously written document on behalf of someone – a claim doubted, not least because the document is dated as written on the day it was sent.

Arthur 'Randy' Randol III – Exxon's senior environmental advisor - writes to the White House soon after Bush takes power.



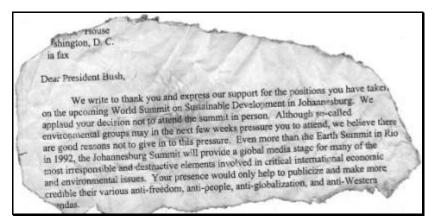
### He requests the removal of influential UN climate chief Dr Bob Watson. Bush obliges.

ent belied his real intent, which was where was a chance for the process to challenge his personal Issue: Can Watson be replaced now at the request of the U.S.? Working Group Reports are prepared by acientists, economists visions from industry and environmental

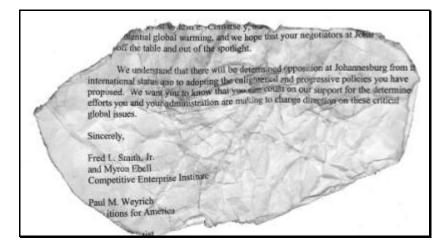
In August 2002, four months after Watson's removal, conservative groups which had been funded to the tune of more than \$1million by Exxon, wrote to the White House congratulating George W Bush on his decision to not attend the Johannesburg Earth Summit. In startling language, the letter - leaked to an environmental group - urged the Bush administration to refuse to sign any new environmental treaties. It stated. 'Even more than the earth summit in Rio in 1992, the Johannesburg summit will provide a global media stage for many of the most irresponsible and destructive elements involved in critical economic and environmental issues. Your presence would only help to publicise and make more credible their various anti-freedom, anti-people, anti-globalisation and anti-western agendas.' The letter identifies lack of clean water as the most important environmental issue at the summit but adds: 'Conversely, the least important global environmental issue is potential global warming, and we hope your negotiators can keep it off the table and out of the spotlight.' Defending the thirty-one groups that signed the letter, Esso UK Public Affairs Manager Gordon Sawyer wrote to The Times of London stating that 'the organisations referred to are respected independent associations.' Among the thirty-one signatories is the Freedom Alliance, set up by LtCol Oliver North. Another is the US National Anxiety Centre, which claims the UN has a 'socialist agenda' because it was 'created by diplomats from the former Soviet Union and US diplomats who were Soviet agents.' Its website describes

Islam as a *'bankrupt failure.'* Another signatory is the Texas Eagle Forum whose *'A1'* policy priority is to fight liberals *'who want to repeal the law against sodomy.'* 

Groups funded by Exxon write to Bush congratulating him on not going to South Africa. They claim global warming is the 'least important' environmental issue.



The groups include the CEI – funded to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars by Exxon.

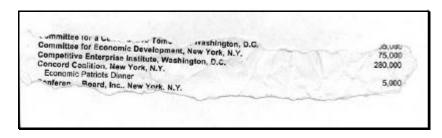


June 2002 saw a stark illustration of the power exercised by climate-sceptic business interests, when Bush dismissed a report written by the White House's own Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The report found that climate change is happening now, is caused by fossil fuels and, in a few decades, will impact on the US with increased droughts, sea level rise and more cyclones. The findings were drawn after input from NASA, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the US State Department and the Energy Department. But Bush dismissed the report in a now infamous off-hand comment when he described the authors of the report as '*the bureaucracy*'. The President's refusal to accept the advice of his own scientific experts came after concerted pressure from climate-sceptic business interests. Exxon front groups - funded to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars (see funding document below) - were first to congratulate the President following his dismissal of the report.

• The Competitive Enterprise Institute (CEI) told the New York Times that Bush dismissed the report, '*because of concern from the right that he was going to accept the European environmental world view, that he had changed his mind as the report indicated he had.*' The CEI last year received \$280,000 from ExxonMobil - and has received a similar sum for many years.

- The American Petroleum Institute (API) complained that its criticism of the science hadn't been incorporated in the EPA report. The API is chaired by ExxonMobil's Chairman and CEO Lee Raymond.
- The George C Marshall Institute claimed that '*much of that report has been thoroughly discredited by the scientific community.*' The Institute received \$60,000 from Exxon last year and has received thousands from the Global Climate Coalition, an Exxon front group.
- Well-known climate sceptic, Dr Sallie Baliunas, claimed that 'the Administration has no scientific basis for the climate report sent to the United Nations which states that human actions are to blame for recent global warming.' In 1994 the Exxon and industry front group Global Climate Coalition hired a PR firm to take Dr Baliunas on a media tour. Through the Exxon-funded George C Marshall Institute, Baliunas has published several reports which attempt to show that human activities such as burning fossil fuels have no role in global warming, that science does not suggest dangerous climate change, and that scientific findings do not support federal regulation. Baliunas is an expert in astrophysics, not climate, and the reports were not subject to the peer review process.

#### From Exxon's website - details of funding recipients:



The relationship between George W Bush and Exxon began when Bush was Governor of Texas, during which time Exxon was a key player in the weakening of state environmental regulatory policy on air quality. Bush was coming under increasing pressure from the public and environmentalists to close a loophole in the 1971 Texas Clean Air Act, which effectively exempted the older Grandfathered' power plants (responsible for 30% of the state's industrial air pollution) from pollution control. Seeing an opportunity to paint himself green in the run up to his presidential campaign, but keen not to alienate his old colleagues in the oil and energy industry, Bush asked two oil company presidents - V.G. Baghini of Marathon Oil Company and Ansel Condray of Exxon USA – to draft a programme tailored to the needs of the industries involved. Baghini, Condray and Bush's environmental director met in secret for the first six months of 1997 to develop a working proposal for legislation that would not disadvantage them. Their completed product – a completely voluntary scheme – became law in 1999, following a sham public consultation. As Bush's democrat opponent in the 1998 gubernatorial election, Land Commissioner Garry Mauro commented, Bush has 'given these polluters a corporate loophole they can drive a Cadillac through.' Bush heralded his success in having achieved a major environmental policy without needing to resort to a 'command and control' approach. It was exactly the kind of policy that he would later propose in place of the Kyoto protocol's binding emissions reduction targets. Sharing the platform at a press conference in January

1998 with Ansel Condray, Bush claimed that he already had 26 industry volunteers for his Clean Air Programme signed up. By the end of that year however, only three companies had actually reduced emissions, and then only by a sixth of the promised amount. Ansel Condray is now head of Esso UK.

Bush's route to office was paved with oil money, and Exxon gave more than any other oil company to the Republicans in 2000 – over \$1 million. Of its total political donations for that year, 89% went to the Republicans.

With the announcement of President Bush's cabinet in January, it emerged that over half the members (including Vice President Cheney) were drawn from the oil and gas industry. Bush's under secretary for Economic Affairs in the Commerce Department was the former Chief Economist for Exxon, Kathleen Cooper. Lobbying soon began in earnest to get Bush to withdraw the US from the Kyoto protocol. Two days before the President's inauguration, Exxon published advertisements in the US press outlining its recommendations for 'An Energy Policy for the New Administration' which stated that 'the unrealistic and economically damaging Kyoto process needs to be rethought.' Another more recent advertisement declared that 'the Kyoto Protocol would be a serious mistake'. Exxon gave \$100,000 to Bush's inaugural fund.

Following Bush's statement in March 2001 of his formal opposition to the Kyoto Protocol, the American Petroleum Institute – of which Exxon is a key player - wrote a letter of support to the Chair of the Energy and Air Quality Subcommittee, Congressman Joe Barton. Importantly, the letter indicated that the API had been asked by Barton for its view on the status of the international negotiations to implement the Kyoto protocol on 26 March, days before Bush's climb-down.

In October 2001, Mr Rene Dahan, Executive Vice President ExxonMobil, predicted that the long-promised US Government's alternative to Kyoto, *'will not be very different from what you are hearing from us'*.

On 22 January 2002 Lee Raymond spent an hour at No. 10 Downing Street with UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair. A senior government official later told The Guardian newspaper that Raymond's visit was designed to persuade Blair to support Bush's alternative to Kyoto which was about to be announced.

George Bush unveiled his plan in February 2002. It mirrored every Exxon policy on climate change. Bush's approach is entirely voluntary and would result in an increase in US carbon emissions of around 29% on 1990 levels. By 2012, US emissions would be allowed to rise by between 22% and 57%.

Having succeeded in getting the US to withdraw from the Kyoto Protocol, ExxonMobil is now lobbying to get the Canadian Government to reject the treaty. In March 2002, Bob B. Peterson, the Chairman and CEO of Imperial Oil, the ExxonMobil subsidiary in Canada, told the journalists, 'Kyoto is an economic entity. It has nothing to do with the environment. It has to do with world trade. This is a wealth-transfer scheme between developed and developing nations. And it's been couched and clothed in some kind of environmental movement. That's the dumbest-assed thing I've heard in a long time.'

# CHAPTER TWO: SUBVERTING THE WILL OF THE UNITED NATIONS – IPCC SABOTAGE AND THE STOCKPILING OF SCEPTICS

'Exxon provides support to selected organisations that assess public policy alternatives on issues with direct bearing on the company's business operations and interests' – ExxonMobil website

If current warming trends persist, the insurance industry predicts that annual losses from natural disasters could come close to \$150 billion by the end of the decade. Meanwhile, aside from the overt and covert sway the company exercises over Bush, ExxonMobil continues to engage in a campaign of dirty tricks designed to sabotage international action on climate change. It has a two pronged strategy of attack:

- undermining the accepted scientific consensus on climate change
- deliberately misleading the public and policy makers over the economic implications of tackling global warming

At a meeting of Exxon shareholders in May 2000, Chairman and Chief Executive Lee Raymond aggressively questioned the scientific consensus by citing a petition signed by '17,000 scientists' that dismissed warnings of human-induced global warming. Claims that the petition had been organised by the respected National Academy of Sciences were found to be a misrepresentation of the truth when the petition was refuted by the Academy itself. In reality the petition – which included the forged signatures of the Spice Girls among other previously unrecognised celebrity climate experts - was found to have been prepared by the so-called Oregan Institute of Science and Medicine. The grandiose title of this body - relied upon by Raymond and Exxon - is unrepresentative of its true size and reputation.

A photograph of the Institute's membership and facilities (below) demonstrates the quality of the supposed scientific body arming Exxon with its 'facts'.



At the same shareholder meeting in May 2000 Lee Raymond cited a study of temperature data in the Sargasso Sea to refute the claim that world-wide global warming was occurring. The claim had appeared two months previously in an Op-Ed advertisement placed by the company in the New York Times. In reality Raymond's claim was deeply misrepresentative of the study's findings. The author of the study later wrote, *I believe ExxonMobil has been misleading in its use of the Sargasso Sea data... I think the sad thing is that a company with the resources of ExxonMobil is exploiting the data for political purposes.*' (See copy of letter below). After Exxon made its initial claims, the Institute responsible for the data – concerned at the company's interpretation of their results – invited Exxon to a discussion of the ocean and climate. They didn't even receive a response.

## Lloyd D Keigwin, senior scientist with the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution – and author of the Sargasso research – lambastes Exxon for distorting the science.

"as ing imb of a mittral cycle." 10 Revolution didn't happen 500 yrs ago! In summary, I would have to say I believe ExxonMobil has been misleading in its use of the Sargasso Sea data. There's really no way these bear on the question of human-induced climate warming, and we stready how are then bear on the question of human-induced climate warming, and we stready knew that there were climate cycles during receat millennia. I think the sad thing is that a company with the resources of ExxonMobil is exploiting the data for political purposes when they could actually get much better press by supporting research into the role of the ocean in climate change. At the present rate of progress, we will be able to measure climate warming outside the kitchen window before we know how the climate system works. Sincerely, D.4 loyd D. Keigwin Senior Scientist

The IPCC consists of 2500 of the world's top scientists. It was set up by the UN in 1988 to produce assessment reports on the science of global warming, the probable impacts and potential policy responses. During the final drafting of the IPCC's First Scientific Assessment Report, Brian Flannery, Exxon's Chief Scientific Advisor and key lobbyist, took issue with the recommendation for 60%-80% cuts in  $CO_2$  emissions in the light of what he suggested were 'uncertainties' about the behaviour of carbon in the climate system. The consensus of opinion remained against him, but he continued to demand that the Executive Summary state that the range of model results were 'quite scientifically uncertain'. He was unsuccessful; the summary concluded that greenhouse gas emissions at present rates would *certainly* lead to warming. Since this first report, Exxon has consistently followed a strategy of exploiting selective and outdated scientific studies to question the existence of global warming and the causal role of fossil fuels, in its efforts to undermine the emerging consensus from the IPCC on both the reality and the cause of climate change.

In September 2001, the draft final summary report of the UN IPCC's Third Assessment Report, included the line: *The Earth's climate system has demonstrably changed on both global and regional scales since the pre-industrial era, with some of these changes attributable to human activities*'. Exxon lobbied to amend the text by deleting 'with some of these changes attributable to human activities'. The IPCC rejected the amendment. Not only has the IPCC considerably strengthened its opinion that the recent warming is mostly due to human activities, it links this increase principally to the burning of fossil fuels.

Exxon's campaign of misinformation concerning the consensus on global warming and its manipulation and distortion of climate science can be traced back this attempt to water down the conclusions of the First Assessment Report of the IPCC. Exxon has since been funding some of the most visible and notorious 'climate sceptics', whose work it can use to back up its anti-Kyoto and anti-IPCC lobbying, and has actively sought to use them publicly to distort the debate. Whether or not money from the fossil fuel industry can be said to have corrupted the findings of scientists, these climate sceptics have been given a voice and a global platform from which to deliver their opinion to the public. The prominence and influence they have garnered has been completely out of proportion to their contribution to the science and the extent to which they represent wider scientific opinion. Scientists who have credibility in one field have often been hired to do PR work for Exxon in another field, thereby parading opinion as scientific fact.

One of the most high profile sceptics in the climate change debate, S. Fred Singer, has recently denied receiving any oil company money in the 20 years that he has been consulting for the oil industry. Yet Exxon's own documents show that in 1998, the company gave a grant of \$10,000 to the Science and Environmental Policy Project (SEPP), of which Singer is the founding president, and another \$65,000 to the Atlas Economic Research Foundation, which promotes and supports Singer's work. Exxon also gave \$135,000 to the Hoover Institution in the same year (1998) that Singer - a fellow of the institution at the time - published an article in the institution's journal, the Hoover Digest. Michael J. Boskin, a member of ExxonMobil's board of directors, is a Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution, which has consistently questioned the existence of global warming in its publications. According to the Wall Street Journal, ExxonMobil also funds the ultra-conservative and anti-environmentalist Frontiers of Freedom Institute, of which Singer is a staff member. Singer has a history of public attacks on the integrity of the IPCC process and has fabricated quotes from the former chair of the IPCC, Dr Bert Bolin, in an attempt to suggest that Dr Bolin had changed his mind about climate change. Singer was also behind a plan to take fifty Republican American students, trained in the sceptics' arguments, to the climate negotiations in Bonn in 2001 to demonstrate in favour of Bush's abandonment of the Kyoto Protocol.

Other prominent sceptics funded by Exxon include Patrick Michaels, Robert Balling, and Sherwood Idso. All are veterans of the 1991 coal industry funded sceptic campaign by the Information Council on the Environment (ICE). According to strategy papers developed for the campaign, the ICE campaign sought to 'reposition global warming as theory (not fact)' and attempted to target 'older, less educated males from larger households who are not typically information seekers' and 'younger, lower income women'.

In 1998, Exxon gave a grant of \$15,000 to The Cato Institute's Environment and Natural Resources programme, of which Patrick Michaels is a senior fellow. It also gave \$15,000 to The Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, which published Robert Balling's book on climate change, *The Heated Debate.* Sherwood Idso is the scientific advisor for the Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change in Arizona, which received a \$10,000 grant from Exxon in 1998. Idso's past contribution to the climate debate was a 1991 coal industry funded video *The Greening of Planet Earth* – which claims that global warming is good for humanity. It was the subject of congressional hearings in the early 1990s.

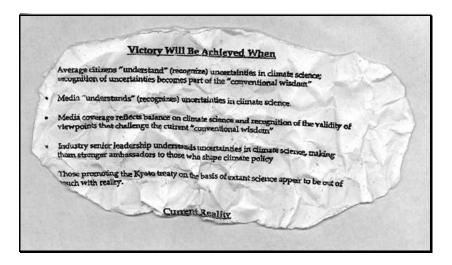
In April 1998 Exxon took part in the planning of a \$7 million industry PR offensive – the American Petroleum Institute's *Global Climate Science Communications Action Plan*, aimed at re-injecting uncertainty into the US public's perception of climate science in the run up to the climate negotiations in Buenos Aires in November 1998. The plan stated:

'Victory will be achieved when:

- Average citizens understand (recognise) uncertainties in climate science, making them stronger ambassadors to those who shape climate policy
- 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.'

Part of the strategy was to co-ordinate 'a complete scientific critique of the IPCC research and its conclusions' and to enable decision makers 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 towards implementation at the Buenos Aires meeting in November, or through other ways'. This would be achieved by recruiting and training five 'independent' scientists – 'new faces... without a long history of visibility in the climate debate' to participate in media outreach. The API aimed to 'maximise the impact of scientific views consistent with ours, with Congress, the media and other key audiences' and admitted shamelessly that it would target teachers and students, in order to 'begin to erect a barrier against further efforts to impose Kyoto-like measures in the future.'

### The Exxon-dominated American Petroleum Institute's *Global Climate Science Communications Action Plan.*



## CHAPTER THREE: MASS DESTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC REALITY

As it becomes increasingly difficult to convince the public that climate change is not a problem, the fossil fuel industry, and ExxonMobil in particular, has begun to refocus its propaganda on the alleged costs of action. Numerous deceptive arguments have been used to protect the corporate interests of the industry. Particularly in the US, urgent warnings are made of economic disaster, massive unemployment and loss of competitiveness if emissions reductions are accepted. Although developing countries emit only a fraction of global greenhouse gases, and the historical burden for emissions rests on the industrialised world, ExxonMobil continues to argue that developing countries should make the same binding agreements to immediate reductions in emissions as the industrialised world. At the same time, Exxon lobbies developing countries to reject any environmental obligations that might 'strangle economic growth'. It alleges heavy costs for developing countries of  $CO_2$  reduction policies implemented by industrialised nations – in an effort to undermine developing nations calls for the rich to honour their commitments under the convention and act first.

As well as paying climate-sceptic scientists and funding covert lobbying – such as the CEI and the George C Marshall Institute - much of Exxon's work to undermine the climate negotiations has been carried out in the guise of industry lobby organisations of which it is a member. Since 1990, this network of fossil fuel industry umbrella groups has been attempting to undermine the scientific evidence and economic advice given to governments, and stall the climate negotiations. These groups have worked hard both to undermine the climate science and overplay the economic implications of climate protection:

- Global Climate Coalition Set up in 1989, the GCC is the most outspoken and confrontational lobby group battling emissions reduction commitments. It has put enormous resources into full-scale attacks on international climate agreement, waging extensive, multi-million dollar disinformation campaigns. Both Exxon and Mobil were board members of the GCC. Taking the lead from BP, which left in 1997 after admitting that climate change required action, a large-scale defection of companies such as Ford, Texaco and General Motors occurred in 1999-2000. Exxon was the last to leave, and only left then because the GCC ended its corporate members' programme, thereby excluding the company from eligibility. In January 2002, the GCC announced it was 'deactivated' as it had 'served its purpose'. While Exxon dominated the group, the GCC attempted to orchestrate a character assassination of an IPCC scientist, Dr Benjamin Santer, whom it accused of 'scientific cleansing' claiming in the press that he had secretly and substantially altered the 1995 IPCC report. Santer's fellow IPCC scientists came out in his defence and confirmed that the allegations were false. The GCC also sponsored and disseminated a report by a private weather forecasting firm - Accu-Weather to counter the findings of a landmark study by the US National Climatic Data Center which documented the link between extreme weather events and climate change in the US over the previous two decades. The Accu-Weather study disputed the suggestion that there had been more extreme weather events, drawing its data from only three US cities. Though the study was unsupportable scientifically, it gained considerable media and public attention when it was heavily promoted by the GCC.
- American Petroleum Institute ExxonMobil is a financial supporter of the API and sits on the board. Lee Raymond, CEO of ExxonMobil, is currently the chair of the board of the API. He is also chair of the Executive and Policy Committees and was previously the chair of the board from 1995-1997. US Vice President Dick Cheney was on the board of directors until recently, and the API remains a member of the GCC. The API commissioned and funded an economic model to predict the costs of reducing carbon emissions. The model produced by US consulting firm, Charles River Associates predicted that

any commitment to legally binding emissions targets within the next decade would entail large costs. This model omitted to factor in the economic (never mind the environmental and human) costs of inaction or delay on climate protection, nor did it incorporate the possibility that new markets and jobs could be created through emissions reduction policies and renewable energy. While these omissions are not surprising given who funded the work, it is rarely cited with any reference to the API. The author of the model, David Montgomery, spoke at a briefing organised by the US Council for International Business and chaired by the head of the International Chamber of Commerce (see below) at the UN climate negotiations in Geneva in December 1996.

- *International Chamber of Commerce* An industry lobby group that was active at COP 6 in The Hague, November 2000. ExxonMobil's Chief Scientific advisor, Brian Flannery, is one of their main spokespeople.
- US Business Round Table The BRT is made up of CEOs from over 200 large corporations, including ExxonMobil. The agenda it pushes calls for global climate agreements that include developing countries, voluntary agreements for industry, 'flexible policies' and tradable emissions permits between countries. Tax and regulatory measures are strongly opposed. Its 1997 position statement proposed that ' a climate policy which fails to include all nations should be opposed.'
- *Global Climate Information Project* In the run up to Kyoto in 1997, this industry coalition ran a \$13m advertising campaign in the US press, national and local TV and radio. It was sponsored by both the API while Lee Raymond was chair and the GCC.
- *US Council on International Business* ExxonMobil is a member of this corporate lobby group that actively supported Bush's rejection of the Kyoto protocol.
- International Petroleum Industry Environmental Conservation Association At the December 1996 climate talks, the IPIECA circulated a briefing paper which concluded: 'Current proposals for near term (10-20 years) emissions reductions in developed countries, which imply curbs on fossil fuel based energy use, would result in substantial costs that would inhibit economic growth and negatively affect trade, investment, competitiveness, employment and lifestyles.' Exxon and Mobil where both members at this time.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE DIRTY WAR – REPRESSING INTERNAL DISSENT BEFORE RESOLUTION 98 AND KYOTO

The argument ExxonMobil uses again and again in order to try and prove its case both on the legitimacy of its economics and the long-term position of the US government, is the 1997 Senate Resolution 98. The vote went 95-0 in favour of a resolution by Senators Hagel and Byrd recommending that the US should not sign an international agreement on climate unless it contained specific new commitments for developing countries. The vote was preceded by extensive lobbying by Mobil, and by the Exxon trade and lobby front groups detailed in this dossier in favour of the resolution. Close examination also reveals close links between Chuck Hagel, Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations, and the oil industry.

Mobil took out full-page adverts in the US press in June 1997, ahead of the senate vote advocating that 'Instead of rigid targets and timetables, governments should consider alternatives... encourage voluntary initiatives.' It highlighted the upcoming senate vote, and concluded: 'By early next century, fast-growing developing nations will be the largest carbon emitters. That is why it is incumbent on all nations to participate in the solution even in the short term.' After the vote, it took out further advertisements expressing support for the concerns raised by the senate vote over the equity of a climate treaty that excluded developing countries and might results in 'serious harm to the economy of the United States'. It suggested that 'when the congress speaks this forcefully, the American public as well as the administration should take notice'. Mobil also gave Chuck Hagel \$5000 during the 1997-1998 election cycle, the maximum donation allowed from a company to a single candidate. During the same period, William O'Keefe, Chair of the Exxon front group the GCC (see above), gave Hagel \$2000 – the maximum an individual donor is permitted to give.

The American Petroleum Institute (see above) signed a US newspaper advertisement on 23 June 1997, in the run up to the senate vote, addressed to President Clinton and stating its support for the anti-Kyoto resolution by Byrd and Hagel. Hagel had close links with the API at this time; he spoke at its conference in November that year, just before Lee Raymond, who quoted Hagel's resolution in his speech.

The US Business Round Table (see above) ran a \$1m advertising campaign on climate change in June 97, urging the US administration not to rush into policy commitments without fully understanding the consequences. This included full-page advertisements in the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post, signed by both Exxon and Mobil. The BRT also sent a letter to Chuck Hagel on 8 July 1997, supporting his upcoming senate resolution, on the basis that 'the science is less than compelling.'

Following the Senate vote, the Global Climate Information Project began a \$13m advertising campaign in the US press, national and local TV and radio, sponsored by the GCC and API while Exxon CEO Lee Raymond was chair of the API. Ahead of the Kyoto climate talks, the advertisements claimed that 'the UN Global Climate Treaty isn't global...and it won't work,' suggesting that 'Americans will pay the price...50 cents more for every gallon of gasoline'.

In October 1997, in the run up to Kyoto, Exxon CEO Lee Raymond urged Asian governments at the World Petroleum Congress in Beijing to continue to fight emissions regulations for at least the next two decades. Having previously argued that the lack of developing country participation was unfair on the US, he now threatened that developing countries would lose foreign investment if binding targets were agreed at Kyoto: 'It would be tragic indeed if the people of this region were deprived of the opportunity for continued prosperity by misguided restrictions and regulations.' Claiming that 'the case for global warming is far from airtight,' Raymond also peddled the scare story that emissions reductions would entail 'energy rationing administered by a vast international bureaucracy responsible to no-one.' Yet, by simultaneously suggesting that the US must not act unless developing countries join them, and that developing countries should not reduce their emissions because it would hinder economic development, Exxon, and the rest of the industry, had

effectively created an impasse from which the only policy that could emerge was inaction. By November, Raymond was arguing: 'While the petro-phobia seems irrational of course to us all, we cannot take for granted that it will go away without our diligent efforts to dispel it.'

During the Kyoto negotiations in December 1997 Global Climate Coalition - the Exxon front group - produced a press briefing stating: 'Economic damage [of Kyoto] could empty American pockets... millions of job losses, higher gasoline, food and heating bills.' It claimed that 'US sovereignty is at risk' and that 'Negotiating test gives a UN body – dominated by developing countries – permanent license to control US economic growth, without senate ratification or domestic legislation'

The Global Climate Information Project took out a full page Washington Post advertisement in March 1998, following the opening of the Kyoto agreement for ratification. The advert referred back to the outcome of the senate vote: '*Now that 95 Senators have showed their hand, it's time for the president to show his*'. Below the text was a picture of a thumbs down hand.