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Justice through Affordable Energy for Wisconsin

Alleged threats of global warming disaster must not hobble justice and civil rights. Endangerment rules and cap-and-trade laws threaten jobs, opportunity and justice.

Paul Driessen

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Climate science, public opinion and politics

The highly publicized Copenhagen climate conference ended with little more than expressions of concern about climate change and promises to meet again in Mexico City. Cap-tax-and-trade legislation is stalled in the United States Senate. A number of developed countries are having second thoughts about carbon emission rules that raise hydrocarbon costs and restrict economic growth amid a global recession.

China, India and other emerging economies are rapidly expanding their fossil fuel use, to spur job creation, economic expansion and poverty reduction. China has said it has "no intention" of capping its greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, though it has committed to reducing carbon intensity per unit of GDP by 40-45% by 2020. India and other rapidly modernizing nations have taken similar positions.

Emails from Britain's Climate Research Unit suggest systematic efforts by leading "alarmist" scientists to cherry-pick and massage data, control and manipulate the peer review process, and squelch requests by "skeptical" scientists to examine their data, computer codes and analyses. Closer examination of the 2007 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report reveals that most of its "headliner" climate disaster predictions were based on conjecture, anecdotes, papers by environmental activists, and computer models that relied on questionable data and assumptions.

Pew, Rasmussen and other polls consistently find that Americans put global warming dead last in any ranking of environmental and other concerns – far behind worries about the economy, taxes, healthcare, jobs and pollution. Nearly half of US adults now attribute climate change primarily to natural forces.

And yet, some in Congress remain committed to enacting cap-tax-and-trade laws similar to a European system that has sharply raised energy costs for families and businesses, caused extensive job losses, but failed to stall the significant rise in greenhouse gas emissions in every EU country since 1990.

The White House has enlisted numerous Executive Branch agencies in a campaign to slash domestic hydrocarbon production and use, emphasize renewable energy, advance its position that humans are causing dangerous global warming, and impose new taxes and regulations on carbon-based fuels.

Leading the White House initiative is the Environmental Protection Agency, which has ruled that carbon dioxide "endangers human health and welfare." EPA is implementing regulations to control emissions from vehicles and stationary sources and has launched an "environmental justice initiative," promoting the view that global climate change has especially deleterious effects on "communities of color." ¹

Affordable energy: The foundation of environmental justice

The pursuit of justice and civil rights is rooted in our nation's Judeo-Christian heritage, constitution, laws and psychological makeup. "Justice, justice shall you pursue," the Bible commands us. The unalienable rights with which our Creator has endowed all of us include "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Pursuit of justice is a continuing quest, not a destination. It is a commitment to "do unto others as you would have them do unto you," and "not do unto others as you would not have them do unto you." In the environmental arena, it is an ongoing effort to ensure that no racial, ethnic or socioeconomic group – or people in certain companies or industrial sectors – bear a disproportionate share of harmful environmental consequences that may result from industrial, commercial or government policies or activities.

In the public policy arena, pursuit of justice means improving opportunities and quality of life for poor and minority communities, while safeguarding the rights, jobs and living standards of all citizens. It means protecting people from real, demonstrable risks that are based in science and evidence, without focusing on speculative risks, creating new risks, or redefining "justice" to advance political agendas.



These principles must guide state, federal and international policies on energy and climate change.

Energy is the Master Resource – the foundation for everything we eat, make, ship and do. *With* abundant, reliable, affordable energy, almost anything is possible, and we can improve, enrich and safeguard countless lives. *Without* it, jobs, living standards, basic rights and modern civilization are imperiled.

"Laws and policies that restrict access to America's abundant energy resources drive up the price of energy and consumer goods," Congress of Racial Equality chairman Roy Innis points out. They hobble the pursuit of happiness, "cause layoffs and leave workers and families struggling to survive. They roll back the progress for which civil rights revolutionaries like Dr. Martin Luther King struggled and died."²

Such policies block the door to opportunity, creating unnecessary and unacceptable obstacles to the natural, justifiable desire of poor and minority Americans to share in the American Dream. They tarnish the golden years of senior citizens, forcing too many to choose between heating and eating.

Land and resource withdrawals, carbon taxes, and restrictions on energy production and use also put activist pressure groups, bureaucrats, politicians and courts in control of what has made America a shining beacon for people the world over: liberty, economic freedom, and the promise of upward mobility for all, regardless of education, ethnic background or status at birth. They hamper the pursuit of justice and trample on rights, opportunities and dreams. Instead of solving problems, they create new environmental, economic and civil rights conflicts. The most pervasive and destructive of these policies are cap-and-trade and endangerment rules, for they would affect virtually every family, business and activity in Wisconsin and throughout the United States.

• Both cap-tax-and-trade and EPA "endangerment" regulations are *intended* to drive up energy prices and restrict the use of fossil fuels, especially the oil that sustains

Wisconsin's transportation, agricultural and tourism industries, and the coal that generates 66% of the Dairy State's electricity.

- They attempt to control and curtail personal choices, living standards and economic activity via legislative and executive fiat, through micromanagement by unelected bureaucrats, with minimal bipartisan discussion or debate by citizens and their elected representatives.
- They seek to compel a wholesale transformation of Wisconsin's and our nation's energy system, economy, social structure and

"Energy is the Master Resource – the foundation for everything we eat, make, ship and do. Without abundant, reliable, affordable energy, jobs, living standards, basic rights and modern civilization are imperiled."

standards of justice, in the name of preventing disasters that thousands of scientists say are farfetched and based on conjecture, rather than actual, testable scientific evidence. Similar initiatives launched at the state level would have the same effects.

- They are based on the assumption that human emissions have replaced the natural forces that caused climate cycles and changes in the past and on the assertion that carbon dioxide is a "pollutant," even though we exhale it, plants require it to grow, and all life on Earth is dependent on it.
- The assumption that carbon dioxide emissions are causing catastrophic climate change is also driving renewed demands that countries do more to reduce family size and population growth, to curb the need to produce more energy for more people.
- Energy is the foundation of Wisconsin's economy, jobs, living standards, and civil rights progress for its poor and minority citizens. High carbon taxes and stringent regulations will affect every facet of life, including the ability of businesses to avoid layoffs; of hospitals, schools and local governments to operate within tight budgets; and of families to afford food, fuel, transportation and housing.
- This pain, sacrifice and intrusion on our lives will bring no environmental gain even if carbon dioxide does play a major role in climate change because CO₂ emissions from China and India will quickly offset any Wisconsin and US reductions.
- The proposed cap-tax-and-trade and endangerment regulations also raise deeply troubling concerns about the misuse of taxpayer money to promote social, environmental and economic agendas, rather than study and predict climate change, and about the obligation of taxpayer-financed scientists, regulators and institutions to ensure integrity, transparency in their methodologies and conclusions, and accountability for errors and transgressions.

Cap-tax-and-trade and endangerment

Under cap-tax-and-trade, Congress would place a limit or "cap" on the amount of carbon dioxide that power plants, cars, factories, refineries, shopping malls, hospitals and other facilities would be allowed to emit. Utilities, companies and businesses would be issued or sold permits that stipulate how much carbon dioxide they can put in the air. The limits would decrease drastically over time, driving the cost of hydrocarbon energy higher and higher. Facilities that cannot operate within the steadily tightening CO₂ emission limits would have to switch to wind, solar or geothermal energy, find ways to capture and store the carbon dioxide, or buy or trade more "allowances" from companies that don't need as much energy.

The Waxman-Markey cap-tax-and-trade bill, narrowly passed by the House of Representatives, requires that carbon dioxide emissions be reduced 83% below 2005 levels by 2050. The last time our nation's CO_2 emissions were that low was *1908*! Once the population levels and manufacturing, transportation and electrification systems of that era are taken into account, an 83% reduction would have to equal what the United States emitted just after the Civil War! Getting there would not be easy.³

"Cap-and-trade is a tax," Congressman John Dingell (D-MI) has noted, "and it's going to be a great big one." It is "the most significant revenue-generating proposal of our time," says Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD). Under cap-and-trade, "electricity rates would necessarily skyrocket," President Obama has said. "Industry will have to retrofit its operations. That will

"The last time our nation's CO₂ emissions were 83% below 2005 levels was *1908*!"

cost money, and they will pass that cost on to consumers" in every sector of society, the President explained.

The soaring cost of energy will affect the cost of food, heating, cooling, transportation, manufacturing and everything else we do. It will hurt poor and middle class families and small businesses the most. Because the system would be incredibly complex, cap-tax-and-trade would be administered by profit-seeking carbon management and trading firms, and regulated by thousands of government bureaucrats.

Not surprisingly, cap-tax-and-trade is highly controversial, especially during a recession. An equally complex US Senate proposal is bogged down in that chamber. However, the Obama Administration remains committed to implementing a climate change and renewable energy program.

Thus the Environmental Protection Agency has officially declared that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases "endanger human health and welfare." EPA Administrator Lisa Jackson insists that the science behind her emerging climate regulations "is settled, and human activity is responsible for global warming." She says the agency has employed "the best available science" in reaching its determination.⁴

However, literally thousands of climatologists and other scientists dispute Jackson's claim, pointing to extensive evidence that the sun and other natural forces control Earth's complex,

dynamic, frequently changing climate, whereas humans exert only minor, mostly local influences. Even Dr. Phil Jones has admitted to the BBC that there has been no statistically significant global warming since 1995, despite steadily increasing atmospheric carbon dioxide levels, and there is "no consensus" among scientists about climate change causes and effects. It is Jones's Climate Research Unit that provides the temperature data and many of the computer-generated climate disaster scenarios that underpin both the EPA decision and the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports on which EPA relies.

Jackson insists that neither Jones's admissions, the views of these dissenting scientists, the scandal over "Climategate" emails, nor refutations of the science behind "flagship" IPCC disaster claims affect her decision. The new information "doesn't lead to any different conclusion than what we reached in the Endangerment Finding. And that is that climate is changing and that mankind is responsible in part for that change and that we need to move aggressively," she insists. "We need to move clean energy legislation. We need to move to addressing carbon and putting a price on carbon emissions." ⁵



Therefore, in the absence of legislation, her agency is acting rapidly, to issue strict emission standards on motor vehicles and stationary sources via regulation. EPA's "endangerment" ruling allows the agency to use the Clean Air Act to require emitters of as little as 250 tons per year (tpy) of carbon dioxide to install new technologies or otherwise curb their emissions, beginning in 2012. However, the agency says it will limit its permit requirements, and their severe impacts on the economy and jobs, at least initially.

It intends to issue greenhouse gas emission standards for Model Year 2012-2016 motor vehicles by April 2010. It will wait until shortly after the 2010 elections to impose GHG rules on stationary sources. It will then "tailor" its greenhouse gas ruling, at least initially, limiting it to sources emitting more than 25,000 tons per year – which means primarily power plants, factories, refineries, steel mills and cement makers.

EPA plans to regulate "no" facilities in 2010, and "fewer than 400" during the first half of 2011. It "does not intend to subject the smallest sources to Clean Air Act permitting" and strict endangerment regulations for greenhouse gas emissions "any sooner than 2016." EPA is also "closely following" efforts to make "carbon capture and storage" and other technologies "commercially available" for coal-fired power plants, so that it can raise the bar for Best Available Control Technology (BACT) on the plants, and make its use a condition for issuing or renewing permits to operate in the future.⁶

However, the Clean Air Act stipulates that EPA *must* set 250 tpy as the threshold for "dangerous" pollutants. Some legal experts say this new "tailoring rule" improperly rewrites the Clean Air Act and question the agency's authority to set arbitrarily higher limits for carbon dioxide. The higher limitations may thus be challenged in court by activist groups that want all emitters covered, so

as to delay energy projects, drive hydrocarbon energy prices even higher, and restrict economic growth.⁷

Thus, despite slight delays in implementation, the rules will have a profound chilling effect on corporate investment and hiring. Investors and businesses will not know until 2011 or 2016 how draconian the rules will be, how businesses will be impacted, or even which industries, companies, farms and facilities will be most severely affected. They do know, however, that more stringent standards will soon be imposed – saddling US industries and power generators with costs not faced by Chinese, Indian and other overseas competitors; driving jobs and

businesses out of the United States; and adding significant additional costs to everything Americans drive, make, eat, ship and do. Cap-tax-and-trade would do likewise but, say some, could at least be subject to some debate and fine-tuning in Congress.

The National Association of Manufacturers points out that neither the EPA action nor cap-tax-and-trade legislation would noticeably combat climate change (even if carbon dioxide does drive climate change), because greenhouse emissions from developing countries would continue to increase significantly.⁸ In fact, using the IPCC's own computer models, and "EPA's endangerment rules would cost a cumulative 11.4 million in lost Black and Hispanic jobs by 2030, and increase Black and Hispanic families' energy burden by one-third."

assuming that carbon dioxide is the primary cause of global warming, climatologist "Chip" Knappenberger calculated that even an 83% reduction in US carbon dioxide emissions would result in global temperatures rising a mere 0.1 degrees F less by 2050 than not cutting America's CO_2 emissions at all!⁹

Even if Virginia eliminated *all* of its CO_2 emissions, at an obviously disastrous cost to its economy, China's emissions growth alone would replace all of Virginia's in just 77 days.¹⁰ Replacing even a 100% reduction in Wisconsin's carbon dioxide emissions would take roughly the same amount of time.

The 60 Plus Association stated that the EPA decision "would trigger a growing cascade of regulations on virtually all sources" of greenhouse gases. "There is clear and substantial scientific, medical and economic evidence that regulations contemplated by EPA would adversely affect the cost and availability of energy, and thus family incomes and access to jobs, life and health insurance, food, modern living standards, and other components of human health and welfare," it argued in comments to EPA. "Poor, minority and elderly families would be impacted most severely of all."¹¹

Texas, Virginia and several industry trade groups have filed lawsuits challenging the EPA decision and the scientific basis for its finding that carbon dioxide emissions endanger human health and welfare. Other litigation is likely to follow, because global warming regulations, permitting processes and restrictions on emissions will severely impact manufacturing, transportation, employment, economies, revenues and families, especially poor and minority families, especially in states like Wisconsin that rely heavily on oil, coal and natural gas.

An extensive study commissioned by the Affordable Power Alliance concluded that the EPA emission rules will act as "discriminatory tax based on race, with disproportionately heavy impacts on African Americans and Hispanics." The study calculated that the Agency's regulations would cost 430,000 Black and Hispanic jobs by 2015, and a cumulative 11.4 million lost jobs by 2030; increase poverty rates for these minority groups by one-fifth; decrease their cumulative household incomes by \$13,000 to \$15,000 between 2012 and 2035; and increase Black and Hispanic families' "energy burden" by one-third by 2030.¹² These are potentially devastating consequences for many families and communities.



The fundamental issue is not whether "climate is changing" or whether "mankind is responsible in part for that change." Earth's climate is always changing. It warmed, then cooled, then warmed again between 1900 and 2000 – even as atmospheric carbon dioxide levels continued to rise – and temperatures have been stable and even cooling slightly since 1995. Our planet has experienced ice ages, a global Medieval Warm Period, a Little Ice Age, the Dust Bowl and other droughts, major floods, and cyclical periods of frequent and intense hurricanes and

tornadoes. There is little doubt that humans and urban centers affect local temperature and climate; they may even exert some influence on the complex, turbulent, unpredictable world climate that is driven primarily by powerful natural forces.

The fundamental issue is whether *humans* are causing *imminent* and *global* climate change *disasters* – and whether moving "aggressively," increasing the price of carbon emissions, and dramatically curtailing hydrocarbon use will "control Earth's thermostat" and prevent future climate changes and disasters.

However, there is no consensus in the scientific community that humans, carbon dioxide and methane are the primary forces driving climate change; that any forthcoming climate change will be disastrous; or that significant human-caused changes are imminent on a regional or global scale.

The burden of proving this is on the EPA, IPCC, politicians and others who urge draconian restrictions on our fossil fuel energy use. Assertions, computer models and seriously flawed IPCC reports do not meet that burden. Nor do they address a fundamental question facing Wisconsin and the United States:

What happens if coal and other fossil fuels are regulated or priced out of the picture? What happens to manufacturing, transportation, agriculture, jobs, living standards, civil rights, environmental justice, and all the other benefits that hydrocarbons bestow upon us?

Hydrocarbon energy: Lifeblood of the Wisconsin economy

Most Americans recognize the need for abundant, reliable, affordable energy – for cars, homes, factories, jobs, and a way to end the recession, pay for vital government programs and avoid new tax increases. But few citizens, even in Wisconsin, understand how significantly their lives truly depend on hydrocarbons.

Wisconsin relies on coal to generate 66% of its electricity. Another 10% comes from natural gas, 19% via nuclear, and 3% from hydroelectric. Less than 2% is generated by wind and solar power.¹³

As a result, Wisconsin consumers, manufacturers and businesses pay an average of 9 cents per kilowatt hour, compared to 14 cents per kWh in CA, NY and NJ, which get less than 15% of their electricity from coal. That means Dairy State families can better afford to heat and cool their homes – and schools and "Because of Wisconsin's talented workforce and access to affordable electricity, the state's manufacturing sector generates upwards of \$45 billion annually – over 20% of the Gross State Product."

hospitals can more easily operate under tightened budgets. It means companies can make products and offer services in competition with foreign companies – and employ workers who support their families.

It means Wisconsin citizens enjoy civil rights progress, justice and improved economic opportunity.

This reliable, affordable, mostly coal-based electricity creates hundreds of thousands of highpaying jobs, which provide health insurance, rent and mortgage money, nutrition, clothing, college tuition, vacation options and retirement benefits for countless families. Those companies and their employees also pay the taxes that support federal, state and local governments and government services. They also make contributions to numerous churches, synagogues and charities.

Because of Wisconsin's talented, experienced workforce and access to affordable electricity, fuel, parts and raw materials, the state ranks among the top five states in the percentage of its economy based on manufacturing. In fact, one of every six Wisconsin workers is employed directly in its manufacturing sector, which generates upwards of \$45 billion annually, over 20% of the Gross State Product. Many of the state's best paying service jobs also depend directly on manufacturing, much of it centered on local, privately owned firms. These few examples are just the tip of the proverbial iceberg in Wisconsin.¹⁴

Boats and marine equipment. Oldenburg Group Incorporated provides commercial lighting systems; engineering and logistics services; rock drills, roof bolters and booms for the mining industry; and cranes, cargo transfer systems, mooring systems, unmanned underwater vehicles, modular causeways and other marine equipment for nuclear power plants, submarines, surface ships, and other defense and commercial programs. Mercury Marine produces inboard and outboard engines, inflatable boats and marine electronic equipment for recreational, commercial, police, defense and homeland security use. Palmer Johnson makes luxury high performance

yachts – while dozens of other companies make fishing, pleasure, defense and commercial water craft of every price and description.

Chemical products. Aldrich Chemical manufactures organic, inorganic and biological chemicals, laboratory equipment and supplies. SC Johnson & Son makes household cleaning, personal care, air freshening and insect control products. Sensient Technologies produces color and flavor products for the food, cosmetic, pharmaceutical, printing and imaging industries.

Food products. Kraft Foods plants around the state make cheese, meat, pizza and numerous other food products, while Patrick Cudahy produces bacon, sausage and cooked ham. Countless other companies create other delectable dairy, bakery, beverage, fruit, vegetable and meat products.

Furniture and other home products. The Kohler Company produces some of the world's most recognizable kitchen and bath products, but it also manufactures furniture, cabinets, diesel and 4-cycle gasoline engines, and operates tourism and hospitality businesses. Ashley Furniture is

perhaps the best selling furniture brand in North America, but A. A. Laun, Invincible Metal and other companies also make a wide variety of home, office, hospital, school and outdoor furniture.

Paper and packaging. Kimberly-Clark produces quality writing papers and paper-based bathroom tissue, disposable diapers, wet wipes and other products. Appleton Papers makes carbonless, thermal and specialty papers.



Georgia Pacific manufactures tissues and paper towels – 95% of them from recycled fiber. Kohlberg-owned Thilmany Pulp & Paper (where I once worked) manufactures packaging, pressure-sensitive and industrial papers. George A. Whiting, Neenah, Midland and dozens of other companies make still more paper products for information, consumer, healthcare, industrial and other markets.

Steel, engines and power equipment. Nucor Cold Finish is America's largest metals recycler, using scrap metal to manufacture top quality steel wires and bars for applications in numerous industries. Briggs & Stratton is world-renowned as the maker of engine components and gasoline engines for power equipment. Manitowoc Company builds stationary, mobile and truck-mounted cranes and lifting equipment, as well as commercial food service equipment. Rockwell Automation designs and builds industrial automation, power, control and information systems.

Trucks and automotive. Oshkosh Corporation makes specialty vehicles and truck bodies for defense, concrete, refuse, fire and emergency use. Its Pierce Manufacturing division focuses on custom fire trucks and homeland security vehicles. Johnson Truck Bodies designs and manufactures molded fiberglass refrigerated truck bodies and trailers. Harley-Davidson makes some of the most famous, powerful and recognizable motorcycles in the world, as well as parts and apparel for legions of devoted bikers. Johnson Controls produces automotive seating systems, interiors, controls and batteries.

Other manufacturers. Snap-On Tools makes a diverse line of hand and power tools, diagnostics and shop equipment and software for automotive, industrial, agricultural, government and other applications. Master Lock produces padlocks and security systems. Hundreds of companies across the state manufacture medical and dental uniforms, equipment and devices.

Of course, manufacturing is not the only industry that requires abundant, reliable, affordable energy. Every grocery, clothing and department store – from Kohl's and Sears to Land's End, Shopko and Menard's – requires hydrocarbon-based fuel to build, heat and cool buildings, manufacture and transport the products they sell, power computers, and operate warehouses and equipment.

That means other companies must provide that energy. In Wisconsin, the bulk of the power comes from companies like Alliant Energy, Integrys, Wisconsin Energy and Wisconsin Public Service, which provide electric, natural gas, hydroelectric and steam energy, transportation and aviation fuels, along with a dollop of wind-based electricity, for millions of consumers. They keep the lights on, the machinery operating, the paychecks coming and the economic opportunities growing throughout the state.



Simply put, dependable, affordable energy is the backbone and lifeblood of an economy that includes thousands of family owned and publicly held companies, large and small, of every description. Nothing runs, nothing happens, without energy. And the products and services these companies provide will not be so readily available and affordable for so many families – and certainly will not be made in Wisconsin or America – if energy prices are driven steadily upward by policies that deliberately deny access to plentiful, reliable, affordable, mostly fossil fuel energy.

Dairy State farmers depend on oil and natural gas as fuels for vehicles, feedstocks for fertilizers, and heat for buildings and hot houses, to produce dairy products, beef, pork, eggs, honey, corn, cranberries, potatoes, vegetables and a host of other nutritious agricultural products for hungry consumers all over America. Electricity and fuels enable bakeries and breweries to make a host of familiar products, producing and emitting prodigious amounts of carbon dioxide in the process. And thousands of smaller Wisconsin companies provide countless additional goods, services, jobs and revenues.

Hydrocarbon fuels keep people warm (and alive) on freezing nights, and comfortable during summer heat waves, like the 2003 scorcher that killed 15,000 elderly French citizens who didn't have air-conditioning.

Heat waves and heat-related deaths are not due to global warming. The tragic deaths result from poor families being unable to afford air-conditioning, and from families and health officials

failing to respond in time. Cold-related deaths are much more common – and are also largely due to energy affordability, especially for those on low and fixed incomes.



Due in large part to coal-based electricity, CT scans, x-rays, colonoscopies and other examinations detect cancer, heart disease and other health threats, saving many lives every year. Doctors perform life-saving and enhancing surgeries, because they have lights, lasers, computers, high-tech equipment and sterile operating rooms. "Premie" wards and life-support systems carry people through critical illnesses.

Children and adults get vaccinations that are created in modern laboratories, many using hydrocarbon molecules, and kept viable because of dependable refrigeration. Patients also get stents, catheters and other implants that are available because of modern labs and hydrocarbon molecules. Millions avoid deadly intestinal bacteria, thanks to refrigerators and freezers that preserve food, and to water that is sterilized and piped because of carbon-based electricity.

Reliable, affordable carbon-based energy also enables people to live and work in safer houses and buildings, receive and respond to timely evacuation warnings, and adapt, survive and even thrive in the face of storms and climate change, whether human or natural in origin. It means homeless shelters, soup kitchens and other government and charitable programs can care for the less fortunate.

Simply put, reliable, affordable energy -85% of it from hydrocarbons in America today - is the key to creating and preserving jobs, families and communities; improving opportunities and living standards; revitalizing blighted neighborhoods; further reducing pollution and promoting environmental stewardship; bringing health, prosperity and environmental quality to impoverished cities and nations; and pursuing justice for people of every creed, color, ethnic origin and social status.

We need all the energy we can get, from every available resource – not just to meet projected demand here in the United States, but to ensure that developing nations can modernize and improve the health and living standards of their people. Until we can replace fossil fuels with nuclear power or practical renewable energy, hydrocarbons will remain the most essential resource for human civilization. Without hydrocarbon energy, civilization, living standards, rights and justice will roll steadily backward.

"All people, and especially America's and the world's least fortunate families, are gravely threatened not by climate change – but by policies implemented in the name of preventing climate change."

Oldenburg Group Incorporated

High-tech jobs from low-cost energy

Oldenburg metalworking and shipbuilding facilities pump \$30 million annually into northern Wisconsin and Upper Michigan communities. Despite high labor costs, OGI's outstanding and well-trained workforce enables it to compete with modern Chinese, European, Mexican and South Korean operations, in large part because of the high productivity that comes from access to reliable, affordable energy.



"A single worker in our Rhinelander fabrication plant can do the work of ten who do not have access to cranes, welding machines, plasma burners and all other machinery that allows us to cut, bend and fabricate steel up to six inches thick, and make all kinds of heavy equipment," says Oldenburg executive vice president Tim Nerenz. "That, plus their drive and initiative, enables them to earn much more than their foreign counterparts." The technology employed also removes many hazards that accompany more manual processes, greatly reducing accidents and injuries.

But the machinery and facilities are energy-intensive; in fact, energy is the second highest operating cost

component in Oldenburg heavy equipment plants, exceeded only by labor. If energy costs rise, the company would have to find savings elsewhere, as its contract prices are fixed and overseas competition is fierce. That would likely mean wage and benefit cutbacks.

Cap-tax-and-trade or endangerment rules could easily double OGI's energy costs. Rising costs to transport steel, wire, castings and components from all over the world would compound the problem; so would tariffs on imported materials from countries that do not impose emission reductions and energy cost increases (as Kerry, Lieberman and Graham have proposed). Together, those impacts would quickly make Oldenburg less competitive.

Even worse would be energy rationing, resulting from total power generation that is inadequate for the needs of the region's numerous energy consumers. "If we can't get all the energy we need to run our plants – or if there are brownouts, blackouts or days when we are told our cranes or facilities are not allowed to operate – we would have to move to someplace where energy is available," Nerenz says.

The end result would be layoffs, the loss of innovative, high-tech, high wage manufacturing facilities, and incalculable impacts on other local businesses, tax revenues, schools, hospitals and families. For a state that has already lost thousands of automotive and other manufacturing jobs in recent years, these additional impacts would be devastating.¹⁶

"Our workers have prevailed against competitors from all over the world," Nerenz notes proudly. "But they can not prevail against politicians, activists and regulators who are not bound by market forces and economic laws."

Risks of climate change policies

"The consequences of global climate change, disastrous trends of environmental degradation, and our nation's perilous dependence on fossil fuels are being felt in communities here in the United States and around the world, especially in communities of color," Congressional Black Caucus Chairwoman Barbara Lee (D-CA) claimed, in announcing a joint CBC-EPA "Environmental Justice Tour."¹⁵ Chairwoman Lee and EPA Administrator Jackson are mistaken.



All people, and especially America's and the world's least fortunate families, are gravely threatened not by climate change – but *by policies implemented in the name of preventing climate change*. Any actions that make energy less accessible, reliable or affordable – especially in the absence of clear and convincing proof that we face an imminent manmade climate crisis – are *immoral* and must be rejected.

Governments, corporations and foundations act immorally when they fund only research that is designed to prove humans are causing catastrophic climate change. Researchers act immorally when they stigmatize, ignore or exclude contradictory research that points to natural causes – or to only moderate temperature, weather and climate changes. The Congress, EPA, IPCC, NASA and other governmental bodies act immorally when they advance reports, disaster scenarios, laws and regulations that are based on speculation, flimsy evidence, and computer models that

cannot even profile current climates accurately or replicate past climates, much less predict climate changes five or fifty years in the future.

Ethical, responsible scientific research seeks to determine what (human and natural) forces drive climate cycles and changes, so that we can better forecast future changes. It seeks to assess how communities can adapt to those changes and develop the technologies that enable us to do so.

Cap-tax-and-trade, endangerment, land and resource withdrawals, and similar government actions would hit already reeling companies, employees and families hard. Poor people, minorities and the elderly in developed nations would be particularly hard hit, for little or no environmental gain. Poor families in the world's most impoverished countries would face devastating consequences, for they would continue to be denied access to technologies that would improve, enrich and safeguard their lives.

The risks from global warming are at best highly speculative. But the risks from alarmist global warming policies are real, demonstrable, substantial, immediate and often fatal.

The fundamental *purpose* of global warming legislation and regulation is to curtail greenhouse gas emissions – by driving up the cost of hydrocarbon energy, making it less accessible and affordable, and controlling manufacturing, economic growth, living standards, transportation and consumption habits.

Consider what that portends for companies, employees, families, the United States and our world. Think about the role of energy in your life, the importance of affordable electricity for your home and workplace, for local schools and hospitals, and for the most important employers in your region. Ponder how *you* would slash *your* carbon footprint 17% over the next ten years, and 83% over the next 40 years, under Waxman-Markey – and how all these other energy users will do likewise. It won't be easy.

Environmental or economic justice is supposed to be about creating jobs and improving the quality of life for poor and minority communities. But we cannot drive up energy costs and

curtail energy use, without adversely impacting businesses, industries, jobs, families, opportunities, civil rights and the pursuit of ecological-social-economic justice.

All Americans would feel intense pain, for little environmental gain, if these bills and regulations become the law of the land. The restrictions would affect all citizens, but hit seniors, blue-collar workers, and poor and minority families especially hard. They would transfer trillions of dollars from energy users to financial institutions and the government, and then to industries, companies, organizations and activities favored and chosen by the government. "Waxman-Markey would add – not just \$50 or \$500 a year – but \$1,500 to \$3,000 to the average family's annual energy bill."

Poor and minority families may have global warming "on their radar screen." However, a Wilson Research Strategies poll of black Americans found that 76% are unwilling to pay more than an additional \$50 per year for electricity, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.¹⁷ Analysts emphasize that the actual impact would be much higher.

Waxman-Markey would add – not just \$50 or \$500 a year – but \$1,500 to \$3,000 to the average family's annual energy bill. The legislation would raise energy costs by \$350 billion to \$400 billion or more per year, according to studies by the Brookings Institution, CRA International, Congressional Budget Office, Heritage Center for Data Analysis, Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC) and other experts. It would also cost 1 million to 4 million jobs, mostly in the manufacturing sector, and raise electricity rates 90-130% and gasoline prices 60-140% after adjusting for inflation, these experts say.¹⁸

Farms, factories, businesses, hospitals and schools would be hit with extra energy costs ten to fifty times this per-family amount – to power machinery, operate tractors and trucks; heat, light and air condition offices, stores and operating rooms; refrigerate foods and medicines; transport raw materials and finished products; and support all the other operations that require affordable, reliable energy.

Businesses would have little choice but to pass those costs on to consumers. That means the average family would have to pay a cumulative additional *\$4,000 or more every year* in higher heating, cooling, cooking, transportation, food, clothing, school, medical and other expenses, analysts say.

Families would be compelled to pay these skyrocketing energy, food and commodity prices by trimming or slashing their vacation, college, retirement, medical, food, clothing, and home and car repair budgets – thereby affecting not only their quality of life, but revenues and jobs in these industries.

Schools would have to find millions more for buses, heating and lighting. That would mean higher taxes – or reduced music, sports, language and special education programs.

Hospitals would have to charge more for diagnostics, treatments, surgeries and rehabilitation. Churches and charities would see contributions plummet, just as more jobless families seek food and assistance.

Food stamp and unemployment compensation programs serve millions who are downtrodden or out of work. Cap-tax-and-trade and endangerment programs would drive up energy costs, create uncertainty for investors and employers, and postpone the day when unemployed workers have new jobs. They would mean thousands more workers will lose their jobs, thereby expanding welfare rolls and increasing the cost of government, while reducing state and federal tax revenues. States, communities, churches and charities will be far less able to help people, if their revenues and budgets contract further.

The average household spends 5% of its budget on fuel. But families at the bottom of the economic scale "spend half or more of their incomes on gasoline, heating and cooling," notes Bishop Harry Jackson, Jr., pastor of Hope Christian Church in Maryland. Poor families also have longer commutes to work, and will be especially hard hit by the \$1-per-gallon gas tax increase that cap-tax-and-trade would bring.



Difficult economic times and steadily rising global oil prices are sending costs even higher. A 2010 study found that families earning less than \$10,000 annually spend 69% of their income on energy! Families earning less than \$50,000 – the majority of all American households – must spend an average of 19% of their after-tax income on heating, cooking and transportation.¹⁹

Minority-owned firms are disproportionately new and small – and startup companies face especially large obstacles. They typically have

few employees and limited experience navigating complex state and federal regulatory systems. Cap-and-trade and endangerment rules would create a much more massive, intrusive, expensive regulatory system than they already confront.

Many Wisconsin communities depend on tourism as mainstays of their economies, and environmental groups have long argued that states should replace mining, oil, timber and even ranching with tourism. Tourism, they argue, is "eco-friendly and sustainable." Global warming, they claim, would bring droughts and melt snowpack that sustains ski resorts. These assertions have no basis in fact.

I grew up in Wisconsin, attended college in Appleton, and spent a decade in Colorado, Wyoming and other Western states. Cycles of snow and drought are common. I skied out West during winters when plows had to clear deep snow from under ski lifts, and others when I rounded a bend to find nothing but rocks ahead of my touring skis. I remember the 1975 *Time* and *Newsweek* stories citing the "unassailable evidence" and "near-unanimous consensus" that global temperatures were falling, due to fossil fuel emissions, and the world faced a potential new Little Ice Age.

Tourism requires plentiful, affordable energy – for cars, trains, buses, boats, airplanes and hotels. And that requires taking resources out of the ground: extractive industries. It also requires a population that can afford to take vacations far from home. Prohibit drilling and mining, hike energy taxes, destroy jobs, squeeze family budgets, boost travel costs – and millions will have no choice but to stay home. Send energy and operating costs upward, and many hotels, resorts and restaurants will face those additional problems, as well, and will be forced to raise rates, lay people off or close their doors.

"In 2010, the energy-switching company uSwitch calculated that British household gas and electricity bills will rocket from \$1,620 annually in 2005 to \$8,110 by 2020."

Indoor pools, slides, spas and other facilities now make vibrant tourism a year-round industry, sustaining jobs and local economies throughout long, frigid Wisconsin winters, attracting families and making resorts like the Chula Vista Resort in Wisconsin Dells wonderful jumping-off points for cross country skiing, snowmobiling and other activities. However, year-round operations also mean higher energy costs, and electricity and natural gas already represent up to 10% of their gross annual revenue.

Sending energy costs steadily upward, as cap-tax-and-trade and endangerment rules seek to do, would hammer bottom lines and force the reduction or cessation of many winter and other activities. Significant layoffs in resorts, restaurants and other local businesses would severely affect these communities, and their significant capital investments and leveraging could threaten the viability of many operations.

Moreover, some environmental groups are now targeting air travel and tourism, because airplanes and cars emit greenhouse gases. They don't want people traveling – except, it seems, to climate change meetings in Montreal, Bali, Rio and Copenhagen.

In the United Kingdom, punitive climate taxes, the closure of coal-fired power plants, and forced reliance on "green" energy have already sent energy prices soaring and put 5.5 million households in "fuel poverty." The National Housing Federation reported that average annual energy bills climbed from \$1,620 in 2005 to a predicted \$2,250 by the end of 2009. People have been "shocked" by the enormity of their heating bills, and anger is rising over "insidious stealth

taxes" that are hammering households at a time of rising unemployment, falling incomes and economic uncertainty, said the *Daily Mail*.²⁰

In 2009, UK utility regulator Ofgem predicted that average household gas and electricity prices could double to \$3,245 (£2,000) between 2005 and 2020, to pay for new nuclear, wind and wave

power. By January 2010 it admitted that it had "severely underestimated" the cost of cutting carbon emissions, and the energy-switching company uSwitch calculated that household bills will rocket to \$8,110 (£5,000) by 2020. Cashstrapped pensioners are already burning hardback books to stay warm, because they cost far less than "carbon-priced" coal used in small home heaters. Energy-intensive industries expect their costs to rise even more dramatically.²¹

In October 2009, Britain's TaxPayers' Alliance concluded that the European Union Emissions Trading Scheme cost British and European



consumers over \$100 billion between January 2005 and December 2008. Consumers suffered, while energy and financial companies made windfall profits, the TPA says.

Large swathes of "badly insulated, ugly" 1960s and 70s era commercial buildings in UK cities may soon be demolished, to meet new carbon emission standards. That means more unnecessary demolition and construction, to meet what British citizens increasingly see as unnecessary carbon reduction mandates.²²

Worst of all, according to the National Housing Federation, 25,000 more people *died* during the 2007-2008 winter than during the summer. Most were elderly people, who had circulatory or respiratory problems, and couldn't afford adequate heat.²³ The lethal cycle is being repeated again this year.

No wonder British citizens have become less worried about global warming than about *policies implemented in the name of preventing planetary warming*, especially as Climategate unfolds and the case for human-caused warming disasters grows weaker almost by the week.

Cap-tax-and-trade and endangerment schemes would subject nearly every aspect of American energy, economics, life and society to government review and control. "Every aspect of our lives must be subjected to an inventory of how we are taking responsibility" for reducing carbon emissions, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi told students at Beijing University in June 2009.

The inventory, review and control programs would be expensive, regressive, pervasive, intrusive, abusive and punitive. They would destroy jobs and force companies to close their doors. They would restrict freedom and free enterprise, and let government determine how much energy we can use, how warm or cool we can keep our homes, what kind of car we can own and how far we can drive it. They would hamper, rather than advance, opportunity, civil rights and environmental justice.

What has happened to Wisconsin's paper industry should be a warning shot across the bow. A number of mills have already closed, and thousands of jobs have been lost, due to high taxes, a depressed national and world economy, global supply-demand imbalances, and intense competition from foreign companies that have newer equipment and are not obligated to operate

under the same regulations and threats of CO_2 emission restrictions and taxes that face the state's paper mills.

The situation is precarious for many of Wisconsin's remaining mills. Over 160 years of paper-making excellence is on the line. The companies and their investors and employees would be severely affected by any scheme to slash carbon dioxide emissions and raise energy prices, especially if it is done at the state level or by Executive Branch fiat. Forcing these companies to spend what limited capital they still have, to pay for soaring energy costs and carbon reduction mandates, could be the death knell for many.

"An ICF International study concluded that developing all US oil and gas resources on federal lands could generate more than \$4 trillion in bonuses, rents, royalties and taxes."

Every Wisconsin company and industry is at risk from today's energy and climate policies.

Renewable energy myths and realities

The extensive benefits that fossil fuels bring to Wisconsin make it easier to understand how America's oil and natural gas industries sustain 9 million direct and indirect American jobs, and contribute well over \$1 trillion to the US economy, and how coal generates similar economic and social well-being.²⁴

One can only imagine the economic, employment, social and environmental justice benefits we would receive, if state and federal governments allowed greater development of the vast energy resources that still lie untapped right here in the United States. Instead of sending \$350 billion or



more a year to foreign countries, petroleum consumers would be investing those funds in Wisconsin and America. Instead of running deficits – instead of having to cut government services, school sports and music programs, aid to localities, and funding for transportation and roads – there could be revenue surpluses.

According to a 2008 Department of the Interior inventory of federal energy resources, 163 million acres of US public lands are off limits to oil and gas leasing. The land withdrawals make 62% of the oil

and 41% of the natural gas in our nation's onshore public lands unavailable. Another 65 million acres are severely restricted, affecting an additional 30% of US onshore federal oil and 49% of our gas.²⁵

That means an area the size of Texas and Oklahoma, 92% of our onshore publicly owned oil potential, 90% of our onshore natural gas prospects, and all the jobs, revenues and other benefits associated with developing those vital untapped resources are *off limits* to the American families that own them.

Offshore the situation is similar. The vast majority of Alaskan and Lower 48 offshore public lands and resources outside the Gulf of Mexico are unavailable for leasing and drilling, even off states that are in dire need of jobs and revenues, and states like Virginia that actually support drilling. Moreover, the offshore areas that remain available in the Gulf are increasingly in extremely deep waters, where costs are exorbitant and only "monster" fields can be produced economically.²⁶

Compounding the problem, in early 2009, Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar canceled 77 Utah oil and gas leases that had gone through seven years of studies, negotiations and land use planning. The canceled leases represented a third of a Utah land parcel estimated to contain enough oil to fuel 3 million cars and enough natural gas to heat 14 million homes for 15 years. His rationale: drilling rigs might be "visible" from national parks over a mile away. Global

warming, not petroleum development, he declared, was to be the top priority for every Department of the Interior agency.²⁷

Secretary Salazar has also canceled lease sales and further delayed new offshore drilling plans that had undergone years of environmental review. Other plans would permanently foreclose access to over 10 million acres of energy-rich lands in Western states, under the 1906 Antiquities Act – in some cases specifically to *prevent* energy development.²⁸



These withdrawals impose huge economic impacts. An ICF International study calculated that developing America's off-limits oil and natural gas resources could generate more than \$1.7 trillion in government revenues, create thousands of new jobs, and enhance national security by offsetting nearly a fifth of the oil that the United States currently imports. Developing all US oil and gas resources on federal lands could generate more than *\$4 trillion in bonuses, rents, royalties and taxes*, ICF concluded.²⁹

The onshore and offshore energy impoundments also translate into growing oil and gas imports, as proven reserves continue to be depleted and we fail to replace them with new fields. The United States now imports over half of its crude oil, at a cost of some \$350 billion annually, taking from world markets oil that we could produce here in the USA.³⁰ Denying Americans access to our own energy, jobs and revenues, reflects the apparent (and ludicrous) assumptions that burning domestic oil and gas causes carbon dioxide emissions and global warming, but burning imported fuels does not – and that we can easily replace oil, gas and coal with wind and solar power, which currently provide 1% of our energy.

The United States also has 600 coal-based electrical generating facilities, which produce nearly half of all US electricity, and nearly 262 billion tons of recoverable coal reserves (a 235-year

supply at 2008 rates of use). Utilizing these resources in new state-of-the-art, low-pollution facilities could produce 100 gigawatts of new generation capacity, 4 trillion cubic feet per day of natural gas, 2.5 million barrels of oil daily and 1.4 million new jobs – with a total net present value of almost \$3 trillion, according to industry and government analysts.³¹ But political-environmentalist opposition to coal mining and coal-fired power plants is unrelenting and mounting, and cap-tax-and-trade rules would further restrict these options.

America's 104 nuclear power plants generate 20% of the nation's electricity, while emitting no carbon dioxide or pollutants. Three reactors at the Palo Verde Nuclear Power Station near Phoenix, Arizona alone provide the equivalent of six Hoover Dams in electrical power, from less than 140 acres of facilities on a 4,000-acre site, utilizing city wastewater to cool the reactors.³² But US uranium deposits are largely off limits, work on the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository has been shut down, and regulatory uncertainty makes it unlikely that America will build new nuclear power plants anytime soon.

In the ideological struggle over America's energy future, safety and pollution control records mean little.

- Since 1970, unhealthy power plant pollutants have plummeted 95% per unit of energy produced. Total US particulate emissions (soot) decreased 90% below 1970 levels, even as coal use tripled, and new technologies and regulations will nearly eliminate most coal-related pollution by 2020.³³
- Cars too are some 95% cleaner than in 1970, meaning tailpipe emissions have plunged that far.³⁴
- As a result of technological and regulatory improvements since the infamous 1969 Barbara oil spill, Santa offshore operations spill an average of only 3,778 barrels of oil per year - out of 14 billion pumped from barrels the Outer Continental Shelf since 1980. That's a 99.999% safety record. By contrast, Mother Nature oozes 620,000 barrels of oil into America's OCS waters every year, from cracks in the sea floor.35 Having explored the magnificent artificial reef



ecosystems beneath a dozen oil and gas production platforms off the California and Louisiana coasts, in scuba gear, I have seen firsthand how these structures actually increase fish, shellfish and other marine populations.

But in the battle to remove hydrocarbon fuels (and their benefits) from the world's energy mix, these facts are viewed as irrelevant. Politicians and environmentalists want to transform America's "brown" energy system into a "green" system, by penalizing hydrocarbon use and legislating taxpayer subsidies for renewable energy, to harness the wind and sun, via thousands of wind turbines and solar arrays.

Wind and solar power will certainly play an increasingly important role in our energy mix, as technologies improve and costs come down. The United States is blessed – not just with vast, untapped, largely off-limits storehouses of hydrocarbons and uranium – but with vast stretches of wind-swept plains and mountain passes, sun-baked deserts, and enormous geothermal potential in the form of hot and super-heated rocks and water. They have excellent potential for generating renewable electricity – though going from 2% of US electricity today to 20% or 50% anytime soon is highly doubtful.

It is much more likely that these "alternative" energy resources will remain "supplements" to conventional energy for decades to come, because many questions remain regarding how "eco-friendly" and "sustainable" they are, how "free" and "affordable" their energy is, and how many "green jobs" they will actually create.

Citizens and legislators must carefully weigh the pros and cons, costs and benefits of these technologies, before investing heavily in them or discarding the energy that makes our nation's jobs and living standards possible today.

Proposals to expand geothermal energy use are met with objections that the best resources are located near natural wonders like Lassen, Yellowstone and Hawaii Volcanoes National Parks. Others worry that deep-drilling for geothermal has caused small earthquakes in California and Switzerland, or that it could result in groundwater contamination or other problems. ³⁶

"Generating 20% of US electricity with wind would require some 186,000 turbines, 18,000,000 acres of land, and 270,000,000 tons of concrete, steel, copper, fiberglass and rare earth minerals."

Many object to wind turbines on the ground that they kill birds and bats, and despoil scenic views off Cape Cod or in mountain and grassland areas. Others are concerned that continuous vibration and pulsing, low-frequency noise from the turbines causes irritability, headaches, sleep deprivation and other ill health effects. People also worry that health and ecological problems will become much more pronounced if Congress mandates that the US must somehow produce 20% of its electricity from wind by 2020.³⁷

Spain's multi-billion-dollar wind energy program reportedly created or saved 50,000 jobs. However, most involved installing wind turbines, and each "green" job cost \$754,000 in subsidies. Moreover, because the pricey "renewable" electricity forced manufacturers and other companies to lay off workers, the wind energy subsidies *destroyed* 2.2 regular jobs for each green job they created. ³⁸ By contrast, though they receive some limited subsidies, oil, natural gas and coal actually *generate* significant revenue.

Wind systems only work 35% of the time on average; 25% of the time in many locations; and 10% of the time on freezing Midwestern winter nights and sweltering Texas summer afternoons – compared to 95% for coal and nuclear power. They thus require gas-fired backup generators ("peaking units") running on spinning reserve 24/7/365, for instantaneous power every time the wind stops blowing. This adds to the land and raw material needs, total cost, fuel use and pollution.

Analysts have also calculated that generating 20% of US electricity with wind would require some 186,000 turbines and 19,000 new miles of high-voltage transmission lines. That translates into roughly:

- 18,000,000 acres of farm, scenic and habitat land one-half of Wisconsin, and
- 270,000,000 tons of concrete, steel, copper, fiberglass and rare earth minerals the equivalent of 197,000,000 Toyota Priuses (not counting the necessary gas-fired backup or peaking units).³⁹

That is far more land and raw materials than required to generate and transmit equivalent amounts of (far more reliable) electricity with coal, natural gas or nuclear power. In fact, wind power's infrastructure requires five to ten times the steel and concrete than does nuclear.⁴⁰

Intense opposition to mining and drilling means those raw materials will probably not be mined in America. Instead, they will be mined – and the turbines, blades and towers manufactured – in China and other foreign countries, under *their* pollution control laws. In fact, that is already happening.

The US Renewable Energy Group is using \$1.5 billion in federal stimulus funds to erect 240 gargantuan 3-megawatt wind turbines on a Washington, DC-sized area in West Texas. The project will create 2,800 jobs. But 2,400 of them will be in China; only 400 will be American workers – mostly truckers, installers, supervisors, lawyers, accountants and regulators.⁴¹

Similarly, to meet even 5% of America's electricity needs with photovoltaic panels would mean blanketing thousands of *square miles* with expensive solar arrays across Southwestern desert habitats. A new solar array at Nellis Air Force Base in Nevada covers 140 acres, to produce 30 gigawatt hours of electricity per year.

By comparison, the Palo Verde Nuclear Power Station near Phoenix generates 26,780 Gwh of electricity annually. Thus, while the three Palo Verde reactors cost 124 times more than the Nellis solar array (in constant dollars), they generate 893 times more electricity – and do so 90% of the time, year after year, versus 30% of the time for the Nellis array, and on less land. Moreover, the Nellis electricity is 15 times more expensive per k Wh than Palo Verde's – and generating the nuclear power station's annual electrical output via Nellis technology would require solar arrays across some 390,000 acres of land – an area ten times larger than Washington, DC.⁴²

"We should pay the true costs for fossil-fuel energy sources, including all associated environmental costs," says UCLA professor Neil Morley. Few would disagree, if we are talking about actual costs, rather than speculative, exaggerated or lawsuit-inspired costs.

However, the same standard should apply to wind and solar power. *Their* land, water, raw material, resource extraction, bird, wildlife habitat, visual and environmental costs should likewise be evaluated and paid for – along with the financing, raw material and fuel costs of backup generators; the impacts of ultra-long transmission lines from wind and solar facilities to distant urban centers; and the expensive, unreliable nature of the electricity they generate.

Under any reasonable definition, these costs are not "sustainable." They certainly raise the question of whether these technologies and associated electricity can be characterized as "affordable" or "eco-friendly." If the "precautionary principle" were applied to the projects, they would be rejected.

If the transition to a "green" economy is driven primarily by government mandates and subsidies, it will exact a heavy, unjustifiable toll on energy-dependent businesses, employees and families. By forcing America to depend far more on expensive, unreliable energy, it will also impose unacceptable costs on job creation, personal liberties, living standards, and the civil rights of poor and minority families.

If the transition is driven by assertions that our nation and planet face unprecedented risks of air and water pollution, species losses and climate change catastrophes, then there had better be solid, incontrovertible evidence that those risks are imminent and real – and that the "green" energy can actually replace the electricity and other energy that Wisconsin currently gets from hydrocarbons.

However, there is no evidence to support either of these claims.

Climategate and climate science

Planet Earth has endured, flourished in or been battered by weather events and climate changes throughout its history. Ice ages sent mile-thick glaciers across Europe and North America, carving out mountain valleys, scraping continents down to bare rock, and pulling so much water out of the oceans that sea levels fell 400 feet below present day levels. Wisconsin has gone through several glacial and inter-glacial periods over the last two million years that periodically crushed the state under billions of tons of slowly moving ice.

Roman and Medieval Warm Periods produced agricultural bounties and flourishing civilizations. The Little Ice Age inflicted frigid winters, storms, crop failures, famines, and glaciers bearing down on alpine villages. Four thousand years ago, verdant valleys in North Africa became the Sahara Desert. America's Dust Bowl forced thousands of families to flee their farms and cities. And over the past 110 years, our planet warmed, cooled, warmed and cooled again, while atmospheric carbon dioxide levels climbed from 0.0250% of the atmosphere (250 ppm) to 0.0387% (387 ppm).⁴³

Carbon dioxide is essential for all life on Earth, and neither EPA nor IPCC pronouncements can transform it into a "dangerous pollutant." Higher CO_2 levels benefit agriculture, by fostering faster, more robust plant growth, even during droughts or in times of cooler temperatures and shorter growing seasons. Adverse impacts on species and ecosystems will not result from climate change, but from needing to farm more acreage to meet growing food demands, especially if activists continue to oppose chemical fertilizers and biotechnology.⁴⁴

Hundreds of climate scientists say there is no convincing evidence that increases in atmospheric CO_2 beyond pre-industrial levels will cause dangerous global warming. Moreover, the entire body of climate change science – far from being "settled" or a matter of "near unanimous consensus" – is roiling with debate and dissent. Indeed, thousands of climate and other scientists

have signed letters and statements, faulting IPCC analyses and contesting claims that the world faces an imminent manmade global warming disaster.⁴⁵

Numerous recent peer-reviewed scientific papers challenge the UN IPCC views, including many summarized in the 900-page compendium, *Climate Change Reconsidered*.⁴⁶ The scientists preparing these papers reject claims of an impending manmade climate apocalypse and make the following points.

• Headline-grabbing disaster scenarios forecast for 50 or 100 years in the future are the product of speculation, assumptions, unreliable computer models and articles by climate activists. They are not supported by actual data and observations regarding historic and

current global temperatures, ice caps, sea levels, polar bears, tropical diseases, weather and storm patterns, and other matters.

• The soundness, validity and predictive value of models depend on the assumptions, data and overall knowledge on which they are based. Existing models help scientists study weather and climate processes. But they are useless as predictive tools because: they focus on carbon dioxide and largely ignore changes in solar energy output; historic and recent temperature data are unreliable; our understanding of positive and negative feedbacks due to cloud cover and precipitation is still limited; and we know little about oceanic currents and how oceans absorb CO₂ and heat.

"Carbon dioxide is a minor player in climate change – compared to natural factors like water vapor and periodic shifts in cloud cover, ocean currents and jet streams, the shape of Earth's orbit, solar energy output and cosmic ray levels."

- Carbon dioxide is a minor player in climate change compared to water vapor and natural forces and influences that drive shifts in our planet's complex, chaotic and unpredictable weather and climate patterns. Those forces include continental movements and volcanoes, and changes or periodic shifts in ocean currents and jet streams, water vapor and cloud cover, evaporation and precipitation, planetary alignments and the shape of the Earth's orbit, the tilt and wobble of Earth's axis, and solar energy output and cosmic ray levels.
- Right now, the Sun appears to be entering a less vigorous phase, as evidenced by a dramatic drop in sunspots, and average annual planetary temperatures have fallen slightly since the strong El Niño-driven peak in 1998. If this cooling is prolonged, it would be far more threatening for humanity than moderate warming because it could worsen winters and reduce both growing seasons and arable farmland, as it did from 1450 to 1850.⁴⁷
- Although carbon dioxide is indeed a minor greenhouse gas, the recent (1975-1995) correlation between rising CO_2 and rising temperatures simply is not a cause-effect relationship; nor was it of the magnitude predicted by the IPCC. Instead, these other complex, interrelated natural forces are now causing stable or declining average global temperatures, even as atmospheric carbon dioxide levels continue to rise. Some scientists say that, as the Sun's energy output and magnetic field reach record lows for the modern era, increased cosmic rays reach Earth's lower atmosphere over the oceans and ionize

particles of moisture to form clouds – and greater cloud cover then causes more sunlight to be reflected away, further cooling the planet.

These analyses and findings directly contradict studies, conclusions, alarmist predictions and policy prescriptions developed by the UN IPCC – and presented as the "official, consensus, universal" scientific statement on global warming and climate change. Astonishingly, however, those hotly contested IPCC views form the principal basis and justification for –

- Congressional "climate protection" bills, fossil fuel restrictions, and renewable energy mandates and subsidies;
- The EPA endangerment decision and regulatory scheme;
- Proposed global climate treaties; and
- Every demand that mankind must slash emissions, reduce living standards, put bureaucrats in charge of energy use, economies, industries and lives, and accept restrictions and intrusions on our freedoms, opportunities, free enterprise system, and civil rights.

If the IPCC science is wrong – or far worse, if it is manipulated and fraudulent – then this unprecedented attempt to control our energy, economy and lives is unjust and unjustifiable. Mounting evidence suggests that this is the case.

The IPCC consistently selects topics and studies, issues reports and press releases, and presents apocalyptic climate disaster scenarios that emphasize "the risks of *human-induced* climate

change." This intentionally narrow focus is used to justify ignoring or excluding non-human, natural causes – and emphasizing only human causes, as "highly likely" sources of measured, perceived, speculated and exaggerated warming and associated "crises." It also gives many researchers a vested interest in promoting and defending the "manmade global warming catastrophe" hypothesis, vilifying and intimidating scientists who disagree with them, and dismissing skeptics' analyses and conclusions.⁴⁸

'Why should I make the data available, when your aim is to try and find something wrong with it?'

Even worse, recently released emails reveal that global-warming-catastrophe scientists actively and systematically manipulated data and computer models; lost or destroyed raw (original) temperature data, so that it could not be examined by other scientists; utilized data and studies that they knew were unreliable; disregarded and excluded information that contradicted their results and conclusions; hijacked the peer review process, to ensure that only friendly scientists examined their papers, and "skeptical" research was excluded from scientific journals relied on by the IPCC and world governments; and willfully ignored and subverted legitimate Freedom of Information requests. A growing body of evidence strongly suggests that these scientists and research institutions took billions of taxpayer dollars – and used them to manipulate the scientific record, and convince policymakers and legislators to impose a massive transformation of economic systems and human behavior at almost unimaginable cost. Excerpts from just a few of the "Climategate" emails reveal an abuse of trust that is at best unscientific, and at worst fraudulent and criminal.⁴⁹

- British Climate Research Unit chief Phil Jones to Australian scientist Warwick Hughes, "Why should I make the data available, when your aim is to try and find something wrong with it?" Jones subsequently "lost" extensive raw temperature that had been entrusted to the CRU's care.
- Jones to Penn State climatologist Michael Mann of "hockey stick" fame: "Can you delete any e-mails you may have had with Keith [Briffa] re AR4 [the IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report and Briffa's suspect tree-ring data]. Keith will do likewise."
- Jones: "I've just completed Mike [Mann]'s trick of adding in the real temps to each series [of tree ring data], to hide the decline" [in average global temperatures, as shown in the same tree ring data after 1960]. US climate scientist Kevin Trenberth later groaned that

alarmists still "can't account for the lack of warming and it is a travesty that we can't."

- Climate scientist Tom Wigley to Mann: "If you think [*Geophysical Research Letters* editor James] Saiers is in the greenhouse skeptics' camp, then, if we can find documentary evidence of this, we could go through official AGU channels to get him ousted." (Saiers was subsequently dismissed.)
- Anonymous CRU programmer, in notes appended to a segment of computer code: the only way the models can produce "the proper result" is when programmers "apply a VERY



ARTIFICIAL correction" [emphasis in original], use "low pass filtering at century and longer time scales," and "include a load of garbage."

These emails prompted scientists and journalists to reexamine the IPCC reports, analyses, background studies and conclusions. They discovered numerous examples of questionable, speculative, unsubstantiated and even fabricated "research," suggesting a deliberate and systematic effort to buttress claims of an imminent global warming cataclysm, while excluding contrary evidence.

• Satellite temperature measurements show stable and then slightly declining temperatures since 1995. So alarmist scientists have focused on *surface* temperature data. However, nearly half of the world's ground-based monitors are in the United States, and most of them are close to air conditioning exhausts, tarmac, blacktop and other urban heat sources – which makes them report measurements that are much higher than true ambient and rural temperatures. The alarmist scientists also "cherry-picked" their monitoring stations and data, excluding more rural and high latitude measurements, further skewing trends upward.⁵⁰

- Britain's combined marine and land-based temperatures were aggregated, averaged and manipulated by the Climate Research Unit which then tossed or lost the original raw data, so that no one could check its methodology, accuracy and honesty.
- The CRU excluded data from 40% of Russian territory, much of which showed no temperature increase for almost five decades. This cherry-picking of data made it appear that Russia had experienced a distinct warming trend, in response to rising CO₂ levels. Similarly, scientist Keith Briffa selected just twelve tree-ring cores, to "prove" a dramatic recent temperature spike, while ignoring over 250 other Siberian cores that did not support his thesis.⁵¹
- NOAA's National Climate Data Center and NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies selected temperature data from only 36 Canadian monitoring stations, including just one from above the Arctic Circle – even though Canada operates 1,400 stations, 100 of them

in the Arctic. The cherry-picked data were further altered to generate warming trends that may not exist in the full dataset.⁵²

• In Australia, researchers "radically altered" data from temperature station Darwin Zero to create a pronounced warming trend, whereas the unadjusted data showed a slight *cooling* trend over the same period. They achieved this by arbitrarily adding 2-6 degrees C (4-11 degrees F) to the raw data, at times justifying the added warmth by referring to data from stations 1,000 km from the Darwin station.⁵³

"The IPCC claim that Himalayan glaciers would 'disappear by the year 2035' was based on a World Wildlife Fund press release, which was based on a magazine article, which was based on a statement by a glaciologist, who later admitted it was pure speculation."

This data manipulation was then compounded by "errors" in and deliberate skewing of IPCC reports, especially the 2007 *Fourth Assessment Report* and *Summary for Policy Makers*, which served as the supposedly scientific foundation for congressional cap-tax-and-trade bills, the EPA endangerment decision and the proposed Copenhagen treaty.

- The IPCC claimed Himalayan glaciers would "disappear by the year 2035," causing numerous communities in the region to be deprived of water. In reality, this disaster-of-the-century assertion was based solely on a press release from the environmental pressure group World Wildlife Fund which was based on a non-peer-reviewed 1999 article in a popular scientific magazine, which was based on an email interview statement by a single glaciologist, who later admitted his prediction was pure "speculation." ⁵⁴
- The IPCC lead author in charge of this section subsequently said the Himalayan glacier meltdown had been included despite full knowledge of its bogus pedigree because he thought highlighting it would "impact policy makers and politicians and encourage them to take some concrete action" on global warming.⁵⁵
- IPCC assertions about snow and ice disappearing from mountains all over the world likewise had no scientific basis. One source was an article published in a magazine for climbers and based solely on anecdotal statements by mountaineers; the other was a

geography student's master's degree thesis, based on interviews with mountain guides who also shared anecdotal stories about past and present ice conditions.⁵⁶

- Another headline-grabbing IPCC story claimed droughts caused by global warming would destroy 40% of the Amazon rainforest. Once again, the "expert" source was the World Wildlife Fund, which had provided "research" by two young activists, who based it on a science journal article that was not even about rainfall or climate change, but about the *logging and burning* of forest areas by humans.⁵⁷
- The 2007 Assessment Report also claimed that a worldwide increase in hurricane-force storms like Katrina since 1970 was linked to global warming, and significant increases in the frequency and intensity of such storms were likely over the coming century, unless greenhouse gas emissions are dramatically reduced. But research available then and subsequently concludes that the rise in hurricane frequency since 1995 was just part of a natural cycle, and that similar increases have been recorded in the past, each time followed by a decline.⁵⁸

"The IPCC's assumptions, analyses, computer models and disaster scenarios are being used to justify government actions that will destroy jobs and roll back civil rights progress."

• A recent horror story holds that the oceans

are becoming more acidic, threatening to dissolve mollusks and plankton that form critical parts of the food chain. The claim is based on several studies that inappropriately added weak *hydrochloric acid* to seawater in fish tanks, rather than bubbling CO₂ through the water, to simulate natural conditions. In fact, other studies found that increased atmospheric CO₂ actually causes single-celled algae and phytoplankton to produce *more* calcium carbonate, and that such organisms were abundant throughout past periods of ocean acidification and high atmospheric carbon dioxide.⁵⁹

• Perhaps most apocalyptic of all was the claim that rain-based agriculture could plummet by up to 50% by 2020 in some African countries. African villagers became convinced that global warming threatens their lives even more than deadly malaria. Only later did the world learn that the source was another non-peer-reviewed article, which discussed cereal crops in North Africa during drought years, and said nothing about Sub-Saharan Africa.⁶⁰



This scientific exaggeration, manipulation, fabrication, falsification and intimidation does not disprove the manmade global warming disaster thesis. Nor does it demonstrate that the entire IPCC process or 2007 report is erroneous or fraudulent.

However, it does demonstrate unprecedented, systemic and systematic problems that need to be investigated thoroughly, and rooted out, before IPCC or EPA findings can be allowed to buttress legislative and regulatory schemes, and justify draconian regulation of our economies and lives.

It is not simply that these errors and falsifications were carried out by environmental activists and alarmist climate scientists, who manipulated the peer review process to validate their work, hide their actual data and methodology, and exclude "skeptical" scientists from the review process. Nor is it only that these transgressions were further compounded by an IPCC hierarchy that permitted and published only alarmist views in its Summaries for Policy Makers.

The IPCC's false data, analyses, assumptions and reports were also fed into computer models that conjured up dozens of terrifying disaster scenarios. The scare stories and scenarios then formed the basis for countless summaries, press releases and news stories. Even worse, they are being used to justify congressional, EPA, Interior, EU, UN and international legislative, regulatory, treaty, subsidy and spending proposals – as well as drastic actions at the state and local level.⁶¹

"We cannot have justice without opportunity, or opportunity without energy. We cannot have justice by sharing scarcity and poverty more equally. We cannot help poor nations by penalizing rich nations for their technology and success."

But the worst travesty is that these non-validated and inaccurate climate models are being used to justify government actions that will destroy jobs, make government the primary arbiter of energy and employment decisions, roll back civil rights progress, shackle the hopes and dreams of hard-working poor and minority American families, keep Third World families deprived of energy and mired in poverty, disease and despair – and perpetrate gross injustices on businesses and families all over the world.

A lucky few will become wealthy and powerful. Their lobbying and connections will enable them to corner markets for renewable energy technologies, subsidies, carbon offsets and emissions trading.

The vast majority will face skyrocketing energy and food bills, unemployment and reduced living standards. Poor, minority, elderly and blue collar families will be penalized severely.

The most destitute people on the planet will face literally life-or-death risks, because climate disaster claims are being used to justify denying them access to hydrocarbon-based technologies, economic development, healthcare and living standards.

Every exaggerated, misrepresented or falsified IPCC scare story was designed to reinforce claims that human carbon dioxide emissions are causing Earth to warm dangerously. Every error, every decision to include or exclude a study, pointed to more warming – never to less. And yet the IPCC and its supporters continue to insist that these were just minor errors, which do not alter the "central fact" that human hydrocarbon use poses an imminent threat to habitats, species, human civilization and the planet.

These reports and analyses cannot be allowed to guide energy and economic policy, or to set the standard for "climate justice." The scientists and organizations behind them must be investigated

thoroughly. If found guilty of misusing of public funds and abusing the public trust, they must be held accountable.

Conclusions – What should Wisconsin do?

Earth's climate is constantly changing, in response to natural forces and cycles that we are only beginning to understand. Human actions, activities and emissions certainly affect temperature and perhaps even weather and climate at a local level, especially by creating "urban heat islands" in and around cities, and through agricultural practices that change or replace forest, grassland and other ecosystems.

Whether and to what extent people affect the regional or global climate is still the subject of intense debate. That question – and the broader question of our ability to predict, prepare for and adapt to future climate change, from natural and/or human causes – should be the focus of ongoing studies.

However, in the realm of public policy, it is vital that the issue before us is stated and understood clearly.

Regardless of what certain scientists, politicians and activists may say, the fundamental issue is not whether "climate is changing" or whether "mankind is responsible in part for that change." ⁶² This is a simplistic and misleading proposition, designed to skew the debate and preordain policy responses.

The fundamental issue is this: Are *humans* are causing *imminent* and *global* climate change *disasters*? And can we prevent future climate changes and disasters, by moving "aggressively," dramatically increasing the price of carbon, drastically curtailing hydrocarbon production, use and emissions, and imposing government control over industries and people's lives?

Some continue to argue that the debate is over, the manmade climate crisis question has been answered in the affirmative, and it is time to take aggressive action to prevent a looming global warming disaster. However, as the Climategate and IPCC report scandals, and the increasing weight of scientific evidence and opinion make clear, that is emphatically not the case.

At this time, there is no clear or convincing evidence and observational data demonstrating that "recent changes in climate differ substantially from changes observed in the past and are well in excess of normal variations caused by solar cycles, ocean currents, changes in the Earth's orbital parameters and other natural phenomena." ⁶³ There is therefore still no justification for taxing and rationing energy use, and unleashing extensive adverse unintended consequences that will send shockwaves through our economy and society, and impair our civil rights, freedoms, and pursuit of justice and happiness.

It is vital that we protect and manage our Earth and its resources as wise stewards. Do unto others, as we would have them do unto us. And meet the many growing needs of current and future generations, to improve, enrich and safeguard lives, in this nation and the world over.

However, to do this, we need abundant, reliable, affordable hydrocarbon energy. We cannot and must not attempt to replace our "brown" economy with a "green" economy, before sufficient, dependable, affordable, eco-friendly renewable technologies are actually available – or regardless of the costs that a forced transformation of our energy and economic system would impose on our citizens.

Government actions promoted in the name of "stabilizing the climate" and "preventing global warming disasters" would affect not just one-sixth of our economy, as in the case of national healthcare "reform."

They would affect 100% of our economy, every business, every aspect of our lives.

America can ill afford activist, court and government control of its energy and economic systems, to promote "environmental justice," "planetary protection" or "the national interest" – narrowly defined to serve an anti-hydrocarbon, anti-economic growth agenda. It cannot afford a program that is imposed by executive fiat or enacted through bait-and-switch tactics, armtwisting, vote buying, or special deals carved out by activists,



politicians and corporate executives who have "seats at the negotiating table," while the rest of the nation is not represented but will be severely impacted by the decisions.

We cannot have justice without opportunity, or opportunity without energy. We cannot have justice by sharing scarcity and poverty more equally. We cannot help poor nations by penalizing rich nations for their technology and success.

We cannot help our own disadvantaged citizens achieve the American Dream if our economy is dictated by false science, expensive and unreliable renewable energy, and over-taxed, over-regulated, over-priced conventional energy.

Environmental justice based on global warming alarmism and opposition to hydrocarbons is a perversion of any ethics- and reality-based concept of justice, fairness, civil rights and common sense.

What can Wisconsin citizens and legislators do to ensure *real* energy, justice and civil rights?

Examine the IPCC report and EPA analysis. Determine how much more of its "science" is suspect, biased, indefensible or even fraudulent. Assess how much of its evidence is honest, testable and verifiable – how much credibly and persuasively supports claims that human carbon dioxide and greenhouse gas emissions are causing an imminent global warming crisis. Ask climate crisis proponents hard questions about their asserted science, evidence and models; the economic, employment, social and environmental impacts of the purported solutions they advocate; and the effects of energy restrictions on personal freedoms, civil rights and justice. Demand verifiable proof that humans are causing an immediate global warming disaster – and

that sacrificing our energy and economy will prevent the disaster, without imposing costs that are far worse than the alleged climate crisis they claim to be averting.

Insist on full transparency and accountability. Scientists of integrity support and encourage debate and criticism, in their quest for truth. There can be no excuse for scientists cherry-picking and fudging data; refusing to share data, computer codes and methodologies; failing to discuss and debate all aspects of their work; and refusing to allow their work to be examined by other scientists, including their sharpest critics – especially when their work is funded by taxpayers and energy consumers, and their claims, results and conclusions are used to justify wholesale transformations of our society and economic system. Insist that wrongdoers be punished with fines, suspension, termination or imprisonment, as appropriate.

Demand and ensure debate on all matters of climate science, economics and justice. Utilize legislative hearings, town hall meetings, radio and television programs, articles and other opportunities to compel global warming alarmists and dissenters to defend their methods, findings and recommendations. Do not allow any scientist, politician or activist to speak at high school, college, legislative or regulatory events, unless you first secure agreements that they will forthrightly and respectfully respond to *all* questions and counter arguments, and will not seek or be granted the right to pre-approve such questions.

Educate voters, legislators and regulators about the vital role of abundant, reliable, affordable energy in your lives and businesses – and thus in creating and saving jobs, providing vital goods and services, ensuring a steady revenue stream for essential government services, and safeguarding living standards, health and welfare, and civil rights and justice for all.

Safeguard jobs and state budgets. Scrutinize and regulate the activities of CERES, the Center for Climate Strategies and other activist groups whose anti-hydrocarbon initiatives, renewable energy proposals, insurance industry "climate risk disclosure" programs and other efforts are based on assertions that carbon dioxide emissions are causing global warming disasters. Examine their funding and alliances, make them accountable to voters, legislators and regulators, and demand that they provide honest, clear and convincing evidence that the world faces an imminent manmade climate disaster, before moving forward on any of their proposals. Demand additional oversight for any climate scientists and activist groups that receive public funding from local, state, federal or international sources.

Carefully analyze green job claims. Examine methodologies used to support claims that climate change laws and renewable energy mandates and subsidies will create "green-collar jobs." Ensure that they fully and accurately assess how many existing jobs will likely be lost if hydrocarbon energy costs soar, or companies are forced to switch to more expensive, less reliable wind or solar power. Evaluate land use, wildlife, raw material and eminent domain requirements for renewable energy projects. Determine how promoters define "green jobs" and calculate job creation benefits from renewable energy projects.⁶⁴

Challenge the EPA endangerment ruling. Join Texas, Virginia and other states and organizations that have gone to court to prevent EPA from promulgating and enforcing regulations on stationary and mobile sources of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.

Demand that the agency first prove by clear and convincing evidence, in the courtroom and public hearings, that these gases truly do endanger human health and welfare, and that its proposed regulations will not harm human health and welfare.

Prevent further land and resource withdrawals. Reverse existing withdrawals and speak out against further restrictions on energy and mineral development. Insist that all future land use proposals are addressed through full and open public hearings and legislative processes – not via executive fiat under laws like the Antiquities Act. Demand more hydrocarbon and nuclear energy development, under reasonable environmental regulations.

Understand and defend the true meaning of justice and civil rights. Recognize that there is still no convincing evidence that we face a manmade global warming catastrophe. That energy is the foundation for hope and opportunity for both American citizens and Earth's poorest people. That there can be no opportunity or justice without abundant, reliable, affordable energy, if restrictions and taxes on energy raise family and business costs to unsustainable levels, and if the focus is on speculative climate change risks, rather than on real, demonstrable risks from pollution, or from ill-advised policies and regulations.

By taking these simple steps, Wisconsin citizens and their elected representatives will help ensure sound science, informed laws and public policies, affordable energy, secure jobs, and true environmental justice and civil rights for all people.

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Useful Websites

http://www.AllPainNoGain.org Impacts of cap-and-trade legislation http://www.CFACT.org Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow http://www.ClimateDepot.com Presenting multiple viewpoints on climate change issues http://www.CO2science.org Center for the Study of Carbon Dioxide and Global Change http://www.CongressOfRacialEquality.org Congress of Racial Equality http://www.CopenhagenConsensus.com Bjorn Lomborg: assessment of global health and economic priorities http://www.CornwallAlliance.org Cornwall Alliance for the Stewardship of Creation http://www.GlobalWarming.org Information on global warming science and economics http://www.TheGWPF.org **Global Warming Policy Foundation** http://icecap.us International Climate and Environmental Change Assessment Project http://www.ScienceAndPublicPolicy.org Science-based policy on energy, climate and the environment http://WattsUpWithThat.com News and commentary on science and climate change http://bishophill.squarespace.com/blog/2009/11/20/climate-cuttings-33 Catalog of Climategate emails

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⁴⁸ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, *Climate Change 2007 – The Physical Science Basis*, Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC, "Chapter 1: Historical Overview of Climate Change Science," page 95 [emphasis added]. Dr. John Brignell has compiled an extensive list of phenomena and "crises" that have been attributed to global warming or climate change – literally from acne and aggressive weeds, to cannibalism, jellyfish invasions, Scottish spiders, tectonic plate movements and walrus stampedes. A March 2010 story went so far as to suggest that "flowers are losing their scent" because of climate change. ("A complete list of things caused by global warming," Numberwatch.co.uk/warmlist, 2008 and updated frequently.)

⁴⁹ All the CRU emails were archived on a single backup server, making it easy for someone to find and release selected memos. The ones cited here and numerous other Climategate emails are summarized and linked to the complete email messages at http://bishophill.squarespace.com/blog/2009/11/20/climate-cuttings-33.html

See also Patrick J. Michaels, "How to manufacture a climate consensus," *Wall Street Journal*, December 18, 2009; Michael Barone, "Global warming consensus: Garbage in, garbage out," *Washington Examiner*, November 29, 2009; Paul Driessen, "Scaremongers don't need no stinking facts," *Investor's Business Daily*, December 14, 2009; Meredith Jessup, "Climategate: Hoax and change," *Townhall*, January 2010.

⁵⁰ Anthony Watts, "Is the US surface temperature record reliable?" Heartland Institute, 2009 and www.SurfaceStations.org

⁵¹ Ross McKitrick, "Defects in key climate data are uncovered," *National Post*, October 1, 2009.

⁵² Joseph D'Aleo and E. Michael Smith, "Climategate – American style," a segment of a climate change television series by meteorologist and Weather Channel founder John Coleman, on KUSI-TV, San Diego.

⁵³ Willis Eschenbach, "The smoking gun at Darwin Zero," December 20, 2009, and subsequent discussions, posted on WattsUpWithThat.com and other websites. It appears that NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies (James Hansen's laboratory at Columbia University) played a lead role in "correcting" the Aussie temperature data.

⁵⁴ Jonathan Leake and Chris Hastings, "IPCC mislead world over Himalayan glacier meltdown," *The Times* (London), January 17, 2010; Gerald Traufetter, "Can climate forecasts still be trusted? Confidence melting away," ABC News Internet Ventures, January 28, 2010; F. William Engdahl, "Glacier Meltdown: Another Scientific Scandal Involving the IPCC Climate Research Group," *Global Research*, January 27, 2010. *The Times* reported that India's top glaciologists called Hasnain's claims about imminent glacial meltdown "inherently ludicrous." India's most renowned glacier experts had just completed an exhaustive study that found no evidence of unusual temperature upturns in the Himalayas and said it would take 300 years for the glaciers to melt.

⁵⁵ David Rose, "Glacier scientist: I knew data hadn't been verified," London *Daily Mail*, January 24, 2010; Dominic Lawson, "So all those climate revelations were a dastardly foreign plot," *The Independent*, February 2, 2010. India also announced that it can no longer trust the IPCC on these critical scientific, energy and economic issues, and is forming an "Indian IPCC" to provide additional or alternative analyses and recommendations.

⁵⁶ Richard Gray and Rebecca Lefort, "IPCC based claims on student dissertation and magazine article," *The Sunday Telegraph*, January 31, 2010. See also Dean Nelson, "India to pull out of IPCC," *The Telegraph*, February 4, 2010.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Leake, "UN climate panel shamed by bogus rainforest claim," *Sunday Times* (London), January 31, 2009. It has also been revealed that the IPCC incorrectly reported that over half of the Netherlands is below sea level, and thus at grave risk from rising sea levels caused by global warming. The correct figure is one-quarter of the Dutch nation, a figure that the IPCC could easily have obtained from the Dutch government. See Richard Gray and Ben Leach, "The never-ending scandal: New list of errors in IPCC report," *Sunday Telegraph*, February 7, 2010.

⁵⁸ T. Knutson, Christopher Landsea, et al., "Tropical cyclones and climate change," Nature Geoscience, February 21, 2010; Jonathan Leake, "UN's climate link to hurricanes in doubt," *Sunday Times* (London), February 28, 2010. In 2005, after senior IPCC scientists warned that global warming would cause many more storms like Katrina, Landsea resigned his post as lead IPCC author, accused the organization of having become "politicized," and stated: "All previous and current research in the area of hurricane variability has shown no reliable, long-term trend upward in the frequency or intensity of tropical storms."

⁵⁹ See M. Debora Iglesias-Rodriquez, "Phytoplankton calcification in a high CO₂ world," *Science*, April 18, 2008; interview with Iglesias-Rodriquez, ScienceWatch.com, April 2009; Willie Soon and David Legates, "Carbon Myopia: Three considerations for policy makers regarding manmade carbon dioxide," *Ecology Law Currents*, Vol. 37:1, 2010. The notion that rising carbon dioxide threatens marine life appears to be unfounded.

⁶⁰ See Jonathan Leake, "Africagate: Top British scientist says UN panel is losing credibility," *The Sunday Times* (London), February 7, 2009; Richard North, "And now for Africagate," EUReferendum, February 7, 2010; Richard North, "A wolf in sheep's clothing," EUReferendum, February 10, 2010. And yet, despite the collapsing case for imminent disaster, the United Nations has recently announced the formation of a high-level panel to design and oversee a \$100-billion annual fund for financing "climate mitigation and adaptation" in poor countries, with an emphasis on rising seas, weather extremes (floods and droughts) and renewable energy.

⁶¹ A number of state governments have adopted what critics call "prefab global warming prevention advice" developed by the Center for Climate Strategies, a Washington, DC climate activist group that uses taxpayer and foundation funds to lobby governors to accept their proposals for sharply reducing hydrocarbon use and emissions. See Paul Chesser, "Anti-warming scam at work in NY," *New York Post*, February 9, 2010. Others have argued: "The only place where CO_2 causes temperature increase is in the doctored computer models of the CRU and IPCC. People involved in Climategate also controlled key chapters of the IPCC reports, including those on atmospheric composition; paleoclimate (reconstruction of past climate); computer models; and the Summary for PolicyMakers." Timothy F. Ball, "The climate scandal has diverted attention from the climate scandal," CanadaFreePress.com, December 1, 2009.

⁶² Karen Schuberg, "Fifteen years with no global warming doesn't mean there's no global warming, says EPA chief," CNSNews.com, February 24, 2010, citing remarks made by Ms. Jackson during US Senate Environment and Public Works committee hearing on February 23.

⁶³ Quoting from Syun-Ici Akasofu, Timothy F. Ball, Ahmed Boucenna, Robert M. Carter, *et al.*, "Open letter to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon," December 8, 2009, posted at www.CopenhagenClimateChallenge.org and signed by 165 climate scientists on the eve of the Copenhagen climate summit.

⁶⁴ Do the analyses employ the Jobs and Economic Development Impact or JEDI model, for example? That model counts direct, indirect and "induced" employment, such as McDonald's workers who sell hamburgers to a wind turbine construction crew, wind turbine blade fabricator, or even a tool and die maker who devotes 10% of his output to equipment for a company that devotes 25% of its operations to wind turbine parts. Does their model or methodology count the same worker ten times, if he or she works on ten different wind turbine installation or fabrication projects over a five-year period – as the JEDI model appears to do?

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