

PIPELINES OF INFLUENCE: THE FOSSIL FUELS  
INDUSTRY, CLIMATE CHANGE, AND THE  
POLICY PLANNING NETWORK

by

JEFFREY ROBERT GUNN

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Student: Jeffrey Robert Gunn

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This dissertation has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department  
of Sociology by:

Michael Dreiling	Chairperson
Kari Norgaard	Core Member
Ryan Light	Core Member
Yvonne Braun	Institutional Representative

and

Scott L. Pratt	Dean of the Graduate School
----------------	-----------------------------

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon  
Graduate School.

Degree awarded June 2015

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## DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Jeffrey Robert Gunn

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Department of Sociology

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Title: Pipelines of Influence: The Fossil Fuels Industry, Climate Change, and the Policy Planning Network

This dissertation analyzes the case of organized climate change denial in the United States as a manifestation of the power of the policy planning and opinion shaping networks in the US. It uses a variety of power structure research techniques to put together a topographical study of a fossil fuels network sitting at the core of a wider conservative network which sits at the core of the policy planning and opinion shaping processes. The connections between the core fossil fuels network and wider conservative policy network are examined at length. Using climate change denial as the case allows for the study of how a distinct industry—fossil fuels—can organize a faction which can help set the ideological agenda of the wider corporate and conservative networks. A power elite theoretical approach outlined by Domhoff is used, and the conclusions that may be drawn from this case study support the usefulness of that approach. I also find that the case at hand illustrates how Domhoff's model may be extended and augmented in light of the strategic and tactical innovations employed by those in the climate change denial

faction. Although elites have often tried—with varying levels of success—to employ at least a veneer of populist support in formulating policy, climate change denial employs a new level of sophistication in then fossil fuels' faction's long-term strategic planning and investment. This faction's ability to wrest ideological control of much of the tea party movement and bring that party's policy aims into line with its own allowed for the addition of a powerful populist element to the climate change denial tactical repertoire. Similarly, new secrecy techniques go far beyond those used by elites in the past, reflecting a new set of needs on the part of the individuals and groups involved in the policy network and necessitating the augmentation of the existing network with specialized entities.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Jeffrey Robert Gunn

### GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, OR  
Humboldt State University, Arcata, CA  
Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA

### DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, Sociology, 2015, University of Oregon  
Master of Science, Sociology, 2010, University of Oregon  
Master of Arts, Sociology, 2005, Humboldt State University  
Bachelor of Arts, Political Science and History (Double), 1987,  
Claremont McKenna College

### AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Political sociology (social inequality, and social movements and  
countermovements)  
Environmental sociology

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and  
Anthropology, and Department of Environmental Studies,  
Whittier College, 2014 - Present, Whittier College, Whittier,  
CA.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology,  
University of La Verne, 2013-14, La Verne, CA.

Adjunct Faculty, Social Science Department, Lane Community  
College, 2009-2011, Eugene, OR.

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of  
Oregon, Eugene, 2006-2011.

## GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Sociology, 2006 to 2011  
M.A. degree “with distinction,” Humboldt State University, 2005  
Finalist, Outstanding Thesis Award, Humboldt State University,  
2005

## PUBLICATIONS:

- Gunn, Jeffrey. 2007. A Sociologist’s 25-year Career at General Motors: An Interview with Hallie Kintner.” *Work in Progress (Newsletter of the American Sociological Association’s Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work)*, Spring: 3-4.
- Oliner, Samuel P., and Jeffrey Gunn. 2006. “Manifestations of Radical Evil: Structure and Social Psychology.” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 30(1):108-143.
- Oliner, Samuel P., and Jeffrey Gunn. 2006. “Pitirim Sorokin’s Vision of Love and Altruism.” Pp. 455-468 in *Living a Life of Value*, edited by Jason Merchey. New York: VOW Publishing.
- Gunn, Jeffrey. 2006. Review of “Political Power and Corporate Control: The New Global Politics of Corporate Governance” by Peter Alexis and Gourevitch and James J. Shinn. *Work in Progress (Newsletter of the American Sociological Association’s Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work)*, Fall: 9-10.
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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Data released by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press show that in April, 2006, 77% of Americans agreed that there was “solid evidence” that global warming was real, and 43% felt it was a serious problem (Pew Research Center 2009). Just three years later, those numbers had fallen to 57% and 35%, even though wide scientific agreement had been reached during those same years; by 2007, virtually every major scientific organization in the world agreed that climate change was real, that it was caused mostly by human activity (namely CO<sub>2</sub> emissions), and that it constituted an impending crisis.<sup>1</sup> This major shift in the public’s view of the seriousness of climate change is a reflection of the efforts made by powerful leaders of the fossil fuels industry who have been responsible for the fact that very few actions have been taken in the U.S. to address this problem. Corporate interests in general dominate the production of policy and policy discourse in the United States. What occurred during this period exemplifies the ability of an elite faction to use its network position with a wider group of

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<sup>1</sup> For example, by 2009, most of the leading scientific organizations in the world acknowledged human-caused climate change: American Association for the Advancement of Science-2006, American Chemical Society-2004, American Physical Society-2007, The Geological Society of America-2006, and strengthened in 2010, U.S. National Academy of Sciences-2005, (National Aeronautics and Space Agency 2015).



conservative constituencies to influence the national conversation around a single issue in order to advance its own material interests.

By 2008 there was substantial movement toward legislation that would limit CO2 emissions. Based to some degree on an increasing awareness of climate change on the part of Americans, there was broad public support. There seemed a general sense among corporate leaders that since some sort of regulation seemed inevitable, it would be better to forestall the possibility of letting the political situation get out of hand, possibly resulting in draconian limitations on emissions and instead allow for a less-damaging, market-based solution that would keep regulation to a minimum. This alternate approach was commonly known as “cap and trade,” and seemed to be the direction in which Congress was headed.<sup>2</sup> However, the tide soon turned, in part based on the politics of climate change denial and declining public support. The terms of the discourse around climate change had gone from a growing realization that climate change was a real issue with a need for an immediate response, in the mid-2000s, to a situation where “experts” questioned whether the climate was indeed changing, and if it was, whether that change was caused by human activity or was merely normal variability. There were also charges that global warming was a hoax, and that climate science was a conspiracy with nefarious goals, and that fraud

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<sup>2</sup> “The cap and trade” legislation was actually a market-based approach favored by Republicans, and early in the discussion Republican leaders including George H.W. Bush and John McCain supported it (Sherman 2014).

was rampant in the scientific community. The existence of *seemingly* scientific backing for denial of climate change gave politicians a fig leaf to cover their inactivity, gave the public a reason to quit thinking about it, and represents a plausible explanation for the death of the cap and trade legislation.<sup>3</sup>

This dissertation outlines and illuminates the processes and networks through which climate change denial is disseminated throughout American society, and especially through conservative ranks. Although conservative ideology can be viewed as a somewhat coherent underlying set of principles applicable to political problems, they also represent the direct interests of powerful elites in this country. It is not an accident or fluke that climate change is denied by most conservatives—these views have been actively grafted on to the pre-existing conservative narrative underlying a wide spectrum of the conservative landscape. Often, elites seem to share certain bedrock level ideological beliefs such as “small government” and “free markets,” and the degree to which the interests of a specific group or “faction” within the elites can graft its needs onto the wider ideology is determined to some degree by the extent to which the issue at hand can nest with the pre-existing beliefs. In the case of climate change, fossil fuels leaders, representing a powerful and rich faction, were able to seamlessly add

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<sup>3</sup> See Naomi Klein’s article “Capitalism vs. The Climate” in *The Nation* for a thought-provoking response to the possibilities for “free market” solutions (Klein 2011). She concludes there are none.

climate change denial to existing conservative belief sets because it was framed as a political question whose answers all seemed to involve things that were roundly hated by the Right: government regulation of markets, taxation, and the kind of “big government” bureaucracy that virtually all on the Right found repugnant. In essence the answers made the question wrong. In this way, climate change denial was similar to abortion—it met certain belief requirements before the fact that not only facilitated their adoption and dissemination but perhaps made their adoption and dissemination almost inevitable. The fossil fuels faction was able to use its network and tactical resources to implement a strategic effort to accomplish just this sort of ideological grafting. It was accomplished through a careful and relentless domination of the policy planning and opinion shaping processes that are such a major component of the “power” of the power elite.

This study uses social network analysis of policy organization board interlocks and philanthropic foundation contributions, as well as other power structure research methods, to examine how this faction was (and is) able to guide public opinion formulation and dominate policy making. Even in a period in which finding ways to be sustainable in general is on the rise, the power of the fossil fuel industry—working through policy and opinion networks conservatives have come to dominate—directly impacts policy discourse and the possibilities for environmentally responsive politics. Although the House passed its

version of “cap and trade” in June 2009, the Senate was unable to end discussion, and the bill died there the following year (Broder 2010). Analysis of the data collected and examined in this study demonstrates that the owners and managers of corporations in the fossil fuel industries have been successful in directing a “climate change denial network,” a powerful and effective network within the wider conservative policy network, which protects and extends their material economic interests. The dissertation will provide a first in-depth case study of the power structure behind climate change denial in the U.S., tracing its origins to the fossil fuel industry. The policy planning network, and the wider conservative networks around it, have been infiltrated and to a great extent dominated by America’s oil and gas corporations for the purpose of advancing a specific agenda in this policy area. Elite factions are often able to affect policy debates by effectively applying their power in the policy planning network to control the debate on issues, both against the specific interests of other elites, and over the interests of the population large.

### *Elite Policy Domination*

That factions of the corporate elite have this kind of power in setting policy is, of course, no surprise. In the late 1940s, C. Wright Mills began to outline the basic workings of elite power. Mills’

conceptualization of the power elite represented a radical step toward underlining the class nature of power in the face of the pluralist and functionalist models popular at the time. His distinctions between what he called “sophisticated” conservatives—who were willing to negotiate with labor, for example, as opposed to “practical” conservatives who were ideologically (and materially) disposed to never compromise on what they perceived to be their specific economic concerns (Mills 1948:23-27, Mills 1956:122, and see Jacobs 1999)—are still useful conceptualizations today, roughly analogous to the tags “conservative” and “ultra-conservative” or “far right” used at times in this study. G. William Domhoff initiated a substantial body of research by charting the processes used by elites to exert their power.

Michael Useem’s description of the inner circle illustrated how a convergence of views resulted from prolonged and regular interactions among the business elite. He argued that while “members of the inner circle share with other corporate managers a common commitment to enhancing corporate profits, their heightened sensitivity to business interests more general than those that look solely to support individual company profits also sets them apart” (Useem 1984:61). While the marketplace requires no-holds-barred competition between rival corporations, these firms also demand a friendly regulatory system within which to compete. Bitter competitors have shown themselves fully able to cooperate to project their power, as a faction, into government

regulation of their common business environment (Domhoff 2006). Mark Mizruchi suggests four reasons behind business unity: similar material interests, direct pressure from outside stakeholders, social pressure to conform, and conformity within an industry (1992:59). Michael Dreiling (2000) documents the ability of firms to ally themselves closely in times of potential opportunity, while Dreiling and Darves (2011), in their study of business unity in pursuing trade agreements, note that firms from the same industry, those which share direct or indirect board interlocks, and those which share policy planning network participation or conservative business association membership will be more likely to have similar political behaviors (Dreiling and Darves 2011:1529-1530). There are a number of ways that corporations cooperate, including the formation of policy groups and task forces, concerted political lobbying, contributions to politicians, and opinion-shaping through social and political events and processes, and through the media and other opinion-shaping processes. Domhoff (2006) breaks down elite impact on policy formation in the United States into four main areas: the special-interest process, the policy-planning process, the candidate-selection process, and the opinion-shaping process, the relative importance of each factor being dependent on the specific instance. Although corporate elites form the backbone of an overarching conservative policy network, the network is not homogeneous, and is terrain open for contention; indeed, its primary function is to serve as a means of facilitating compromise and consensus

through essentially political processes. Groups with different material interests regularly exert their power over the larger network, using their network connections and material resource to try to diffuse their views into the underlying ideology and into the actual production of policy. This study takes the fossil fuels network as just such a group making this kind of effort across the wider conservative landscape. The wider network has come to be financed to a great degree by this fossil fuels group, includes many of its owners and managers as board members, and in the end, often represents that faction's interests in wider policy decisions.

### *The Fossil Fuels Industry and Government Policy*

The twentieth century was the century of the fossil fuel industry. It was the oil industry which spawned the first billionaire, John D. Rockefeller, reportedly twice as wealthy as the second richest person in the world, Andrew Carnegie. Rockefeller's company, Standard Oil, was one of the largest and most monopolistic companies in our history (Juhasz 2009:62). Those who owned and profited from the fossil fuel industry have historically had much to protect. Furthermore, they had the resources to spend on protecting them. It was the oil industry behind one of the biggest scandals in American political history, the Teapot Dome scandal, where the Secretary of the Interior was "bought" for six

figures by oil executives (Werner 1959). And even though those days of outright bribery may be past, Robert Engler (1961) argues fossil fuel companies still trade money for influence (317). He wrote fifty years ago that the power of the oil industry in the modern era has allowed it to transcend the government that supposedly controls it: “the regulated have become the regulators, and the supplicants the tribunes” (335). Perhaps this activity is merely more subtle today. Those in power still seem to benefit from the riches of those they regulate, as in the case of federal Judge Rudolph Randa, who recently ruled “that outside groups may freely coordinate with candidates and campaigns and remain free of contribution limits” (Gettys 2014). Disclosure forms subsequently indicated that Randa has received multiple junkets at the expense of the Charles G. Koch Foundation. A long history of fossil fuel industry domination of national and international politics can be traced, specifically in energy policy and more recently, in domestic and international environmental policy (see Engler 1961 and Juhasz 2009). Engler makes a meaningful comparison between the attention paid by legislators to congressional hearings involving Jimmy Hoffa and a few thousand dollars to the lack of interest in the low intensity hearings right down the hall on bribery and ethics charges against oil companies and lobbyists, where billions of dollars of potential gains to the oil industry threatened to go out the back door (Engler 1961:414).



In the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, Exxon (subsequently ExxonMobil) led the fossil fuels companies in their relationship with Washington DC. From the 1950s on, Exxon was one of the biggest corporations in the world, always in the Fortune 500 top five, and one of the most consistently profitable American corporations. Some see Exxon's scale of influence as dominant: "Exxon's size and the nature of its business model meant that it functioned as a corporate state within the American state." In an era of "corporate of ascendance," Exxon was "the most politically active" oil company (Coll 2012:623-4).

Leaders of the fossil fuel industry spend large sums of money lobbying Congress every year, clearly a profitable arrangement. During the period 1998-2006, the three biggest oil companies spent almost \$170 million just on lobbying (opensecrets.org; Juhasz 2009:220). ExxonMobil spent about \$67 million on lobbying between 1998 and 2005, spending about twice as much as the next highest oil company each year. It spent over \$7 million on lobbying in both 2004 and 2005, but dropped to second place, behind Chevron, in 2005. Other big oil company lobbying expenditures came from BP, which spent \$2.8 million and Shell with \$1.4 million (opensecrets.org).

Oil and gas companies have donated almost \$239 million to candidates and parties since the 1990 campaigns, most of which has gone to Republicans. In 2010-11, the top five companies alone donated about \$3 million to candidates for national office (opensecrets.org). Just

as important has been the revolving door between the federal government and Big Oil. Antonia Juhasz (2009) writes that there is a “startling overlap between the legislative agendas set out by the oil corporations and their lobbying bodies and the actions taken by their former and soon-to-be employees serving in government” (239).

As for direct and bundled campaign contributions, for the eighteen month period from January 2009 to June 2010, American oil companies spent over \$216 million, as well as making over \$5 million in PAC contributions. For this same period, fossil fuels industry groups, as well as business groups spent another \$289 million in lobbying expenses and made \$2.8 million in PAC contributions.

For the period from 1998 – 2014, the top 20 spenders on lobbying includes #1 US Chamber of Commerce, spending \$1.1 billion, more than 3 times the next highest spender, as well as #10 ExxonMobil, spending \$208 million, Business Roundtable spending almost \$200 million, Edison Electric Institute at \$191 million, and Southern Co. at \$171 million (opensecrets.org). For the same period, the top ten industries in total lobbying spending included the electric utilities industry, spending over \$1.95 billion, business associations at \$1.74 billion, and the oil and gas industry at \$1.65 billion. While these lobbying efforts were often aimed at short-term legislative goals, influence was constantly being applied affecting the debate on climate change.

## *The Fossil Fuels Industry and Climate Change Denial*

Climate change presents members of the fossil fuel industry with a serious crisis—one that threatens its very existence. According to one researcher, “nearly two-thirds of industrial carbon dioxide and methane released into the atmosphere from 1854-2010 can be traced to fossil fuel and cement production by just 90 entities.” These entities include investor-owned companies such as Chevron, ExxonMobil, BP, Shell, ConocoPhillips, Peabody, and Total, as well as state-owned companies operating in the oil and gas industries. Of the top thirty investor-owned entities, the thirteen top American corporations alone (Chevron, ExxonMobil, ConocoPhillips, Peabody, Consol, Arch, Anadarko, Occidental, Marathon, Hess, Massey, Alpha, Devon, and Westmoreland) are responsible for over 11% of the total emissions (Heede 2013).

While some oil company leaders were concerned that climate change legislation could literally put them out of business, others, like ExxonMobil President Lee Raymond, thought the industry could withstand such regulation but worried about the effects on business overall. Raymond and the executive leadership at ExxonMobil had determined that the global warming scare was a hoax, and “nobody inside Exxon dared question that” (Coll 2012:83).

To defend themselves, the fossil fuels industry, led at first by ExxonMobil and the PR firms they employed, have counter-attacked.

The existing policy planning and opinion shaping networks were used to promote climate change denial and regulation delay. ExxonMobil has financially supported more than forty different organizations that deny climate change (Juhasz 2009:280). Exxon started supporting climate change science denial in the 1980s, but funding began in earnest with the foundation of the “Global Climate Coalition” in 1992. At this point, there was still substantial uncertainty in the scientific community about the extent to which global warming could be blamed on human activity, and Exxon and others took advantage of that uncertainty for the next fifteen years. Today, “we have a much clearer sense of what the modeling warns us about than was available in 1997. And so ExxonMobil was able to exploit genuine divisions that were still present in a global scientific community [by] fund[ing], often in the early years surreptitiously, campaigns to attack the science that were carried out by nonscientific groups, often by free-market ideologues” (Frontline 2012a).<sup>4</sup>

But Exxon, one of the biggest emitters of CO<sub>2</sub> (see Table 1), soon gave up on publicly fighting the PR battle over climate change, at least partially in answer to demands from the scientific community, by agreeing to stop funding denial organization in 2008 (Sheppard 2011), although a public admission that fossil fuels contributed to global

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<sup>4</sup> In fact, the ExxonMobil contributions to climate change science denial organizations were of massive proportions. From 1998 to 2012 they totaled at least \$27.4 million (Greenpeace 2013:10).

**Table 1. Cumulative 1854 – 2010 Percentage of Global Emissions –  
(Investor-Owned Corporations)**

		<b>2010</b>	<b>Cumulative</b>	<b>Percent/Global</b>
	<b>Producers</b>	<b>MtCO2</b>	<b>MtCO2</b>	<b>Emissions</b>
1	<i>Chevron, USA</i>	423	51,096	3.52%
2	<i>ExxonMobil, USA</i>	655	46,672	3.22%
3	BP, UK	554	35,837	2.47%
4	Royal Dutch Shell, Neth.	478	30,751	2.12%
5	<i>ConocoPhillips, USA</i>	359	16,866	1.16%
6	<i>Peabody Energy, USA</i>	519	12,432	0.86%
7	Total, France	398	11,911	0.82%
8	<i>Consol Energy, Inc., USA</i>	160	9,096	0.63%
9	BHP Billiton, Australia	320	7,606	0.52%
10	Anglo American, UK	242	7,242	0.50%
11	RWE, Germany	148	6,843	0.47%
12	ENI, Italy	258	5,973	0.41%
13	Rio Tinto, UK	161	5,961	0.41%
14	<i>Arch Coal, USA</i>	341	5,888	0.41%
15	<i>Anadarko, USA</i>	96	5,195	0.36%
16	<i>Occidental, USA</i>	109	5,063	0.35%
17	Lukoil, Russian Federation	322	3,873	0.27%
18	Sasol, South Africa	113	3,515	0.24%
19	Repsol, Spain	126	3,381	0.23%
20	<i>Marathon, USA</i>	59	2,985	0.21%
21	Yukos	-	2,858	0.20%
22	<i>Hess, USA</i>	61	2,364	0.16%
23	Xstrata, Switzerland	214	2,223	0.15%
24	<i>Massey Energy, USA</i>	91	2,199	0.15%
25	<i>Alpha Natural Resources, USA</i>	182	2,149	0.15%
26	Cyprus Amax	-	1,748	0.12%
27	EnCana, Canada	84	1,695	0.12%
28	<i>Devon Energy, USA</i>	93	1,690	0.12%
29	BG Group, UK	97	1,543	0.11%
30	<i>Westmoreland Mining, USA</i>	46	1,530	0.11%
	<b>Total:</b>	<b>7,628</b>	<b>314,811</b>	<b>21.71%</b>

Notes: Table adapted by the author from Heede 2013. Right column compares each entity's cumulative emissions to CDIAC's global emissions 1751–2010. Excludes British Coal, whose production and assets have not been attributed to extant companies, and five of nine nation-states (FSU, China, Poland, Russian Federation, and Czechoslovakia, in that order). 14 American companies in italics.

warming wouldn't come from the ExxonMobil CEO until 2012 (Daily 2012). However, IRS records show that it has continued funding at least 28 different entities involved in the organized effort to fight climate regulation after that promise (Himler 2012). In 2011, the denialist Global Warming Policy Foundation's website hosted an article titled "900+ Peer-Reviewed Papers Supporting Skepticism Of 'Man-Made' Global Warming (AGW) Alarm," listing more than 900 papers which supposedly refute "concern relating to a negative environmental or socio-economic effect of AGW, usually exaggerated as catastrophic" (Carbon Brief 2011). They found that

...a preliminary data analysis by the Carbon Brief revealed that nine of the ten most prolific authors cited have links to organisations funded by ExxonMobil, and the tenth has co-authored several papers with Exxon-funded contributors. The top ten contributors alone were responsible for 186 of the papers (over 20%) cited by the Global Warming Policy Foundation. (Carbon Brief 2011)

As it turns out, ExxonMobil and other fossil fuels companies and entities supported the vast number of authors, including Willie Soon and Craig Idso, and other notable deniers. Patrick Michaels revealed that he receives "at least 40%" of his funding from fossil fuels industry sources, and Sallie Baliunas, was found to have connections with nine different entities funded by Exxon (Union of Concerned Scientists 2007).

When Exxon scaled back its public financing of the organized climate denial effort, other major players in the oil industry were already in place to take over. The Koch brothers, in particular, had already been deeply involved, and were well situated and personally motivated to organize the denial effort. David Koch articulated the brothers' view on the Kochs' efforts to change the course of the debate: "It's almost like an investor investing in a whole variety of companies" (Center for Public Integrity 2004). The Kochs saw that dominating the conservative policy network would impact the legislative and regulatory possibilities, both in the short and long term, and he therefore sought funding and leadership relationships with virtually all of the wider conservative policy network organizations. According to Greenpeace, the Kochs have spent over \$67 million from 1997 to 2011 in supporting the key organizations that deny climate science (Greenpeace 2014).

The essence and many of the specifics of the overall strategy for the climate change denial campaign is captured in a pair of internal industry documents. The first was a 1998 memo from PR executive Joe Walker which lays out the possibilities for tactical approaches. Convened by the American Petroleum Institute and supported by all the largest oil companies, a small group of PR experts wrote the "Global Climate Science Communications Plan" in response to increasing public awareness of and acceptance of climate science, and, especially, an increase of the willingness of politicians to address it through

regulation—even conservative Republicans. Those involved in developing the plan included Walker, an employee of the American Petroleum Institute, representatives from Chevron, ExxonMobil, and the Southern Company, as well as think tanks including Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow, Frontiers of Freedom, Science and Environmental Policy Project, the George Marshall Institute, and the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition<sup>5</sup> (Readfearn 2013, Cushman 1998).

Even more graphically, and certainly more political in a tactical sense, was the 2002 memo and policy guidelines from Frank Luntz, a long time conservative analyst and consultant, who is perhaps best known for coming up with the concept of the “Contract with America” which cemented Newt Gingrich’s power in the Congress, and more recently for the phrase “death tax” to describe estate taxes.<sup>6</sup> Luntz and his team produced a voluminous set of suggestions to the incoming Bush administration officials on how to organize their approach to environmental concerns (Luntz 2002). The Luntz memo suggests that there existed a short window of opportunity to water down public interest in climate change legislation or regulation through a strategy based on

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<sup>5</sup> The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, led by Steve Milloy, was a major player in the tobacco denial campaign—see Chapter IV below. Milloy and TASSC popularized the phrase “sound science.”

<sup>6</sup> As with the more recent example of “death tax,” Luntz focuses on rhetorical choices and framing. He suggests changing the alarming phrase “global warming” to the more reasonable sounding “climate change.” In 2010, discussing Israeli efforts to sell its Gaza policy, he suggested changing the official line of “The current security regime for Gaza will be maintained” with: “The safety and security of the innocent families in the region must always be our first priority. No man, woman or child should live in constant fear of violence” (Horovitz 2010).



obfuscation of the science. Luntz begins by noting that “the science is not yet settled,” and that there was a short window to try to influence public opinion. Fossil fuels industry leaders and conservative activists were able to use the model that Big Tobacco found so effective for so long. Ironically, some of the same scientists and think tanks active in the climate denial network were also major players in the tobacco effort.

Organizations in the policy-planning network were quick to put forward their own experts to conduct research and review the research of others in this contest of shaping opinion through knowledge-shaping processes. This “knowledge-shaping” process is an extension of Domhoff’s description of the opinion-shaping process suggested by recent research (Bonds 2010). According to Bonds, the battle over climate change clearly suggests that “environmental science...is not a pure reflection of a biophysical world that is separate and distinct from environmental politics. Rather, environmental science and environmental politics are *co-produced*” (Bonds 2010, see also Forsyth, 2003). This “co-production” then takes the place of merely reporting the results of scientific work. Bonds suggests four important aspects to what he calls the knowledge-shaping process,<sup>7</sup> though not all aspects are necessarily in play in any specific instance: information suppression, contesting knowledge, knowledge production, and knowledge administration.

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<sup>7</sup> The knowledge-shaping process is an additional, fifth process, proposed by Bonds to Domhoff’s model: special-interest, policy-planning, candidate selection, and opinion-shaping processes (Domhoff 2006).

Similar to the findings in Bonds' examination of the national debate over ammonium perchlorate, the main ingredient in rocket fuel, the process of knowledge-shaping is clearly indicated in the organized climate science denial campaign, and even more brazenly in the tobacco denial campaign as well. Specifically, elites have suppressed knowledge that is damaging to their cause by White House editing of scientific reports, contested knowledge through what many researchers refer to as "fake experts", with perhaps the clearest example being the "Oregon Petition," a public document signed now by over 30,000 "scientists" denying climate change. One expert on "fake experts" determined that the Oregon petition is 99.9% non-scientists, leaving about thirty actual scientists, most of whom are not trained in climate science (Farmer and Cook 2013:450). Of course, all that is necessary to sign is self-identifying as a "scientist," with a B.S. degree or higher. A third aspect of Bonds' knowledge-shaping process is found is perhaps the main climate change effort which is through the actual production of studies, mostly in think tanks, supporting denial. Such production is detailed in the Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman study of who was publishing denial books (Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman 2008), while a more cynical suggestion of this effort might be the bounty offered to scholars willing to present a paper at the Heartland Institute conference (Sample 2007). The last of Bonds' four aspects of knowledge-shaping is the administration of knowledge, and the effort to disqualify and "disappear" the work of the

U.S. Global Change Research Program in producing the National Assessment climate change impacts study by invoking the Data Quality Act is illustrative (Ebell 2003, DeSmogBlog.com n.d.[b]).

In the case study presented here, the science itself was contested whenever possible. For example, early in the fight, Robert Jastrow, William Nierenberg, and Frederick Seitz, of the George C. Marshall Institute, published a paper titled “Global Warming: What Does the Science Tell Us?” (Jastrow et al. 1991). In that piece, these highly acclaimed scientists argued that the sun was responsible for the warming that was taking place. They were able to cast doubt simply by suggesting the idea of solar influence. They based their conclusions on a study conducted by climate change supporters, but the “denier” version gives only half the picture—literally. Only the top half of an explanatory graph was used, skewing the appearance of the data and steering unwary readers toward wrong conclusions. As these particular scientists *must* have known better, this incident can only be interpreted as an intentional attack on science (Oreskes and Conway 2010:186-190).

When the science was unassailable, in some cases individual scientists were themselves attacked (Oreskes and Conway 2010; Mann 2012; Schneider 2010, Browning 2014, Bump 2012). Michael Mann tells of receiving death threats to himself and his family (Mann 2012:227). The practice of picking off individual scientists to threaten—what Mann calls the “Serengeti strategy”—is a reflection of tactics used by tobacco

companies at the heights of the battles to recognize the science behind the lethality of cigarette smoking, with today's funders and organizers being fossil fuels industry groups (Dietz 2012). The theft and subsequent publication of carefully cherry-picked bits and phrases from years of email communications between climate scientists was manufactured into "Climategate," a scandal that deniers used to (supposedly) show how climate change science was actually a hoax, filled with inaccuracies and "tricks", with data massaged into alarming directions. Although several major investigations were conducted, including several by American organizations at the outraged behest of officials well-connected to fossil fuels interests, no wrongdoing was found. For example, the Office of the Inspector General of the US Department of Commerce found did not find any evidence that NOAA inappropriately manipulated data or failed to adhere to appropriate peer review procedures" (U.S. Department of Commerce 2011).

The conservative media echo chamber—composed of a highly interconnected network of conservative news sources such as the Wall Street Journal and Fox News, openly partisan news and opinion sources (mostly online), conservative bloggers, and conservative talk radio<sup>8</sup>—was so effective in pounding away at single sentences and phrases taken out of context in these private emails. Another very important effort was to

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<sup>8</sup> See Dunlap and McCright 2011 for a more full treatment of the conservative echo chamber.

force the media to offer “both sides of the controversy” in order to offer fair and balanced coverage. The media seemed inclined this way anyway, as controversy makes for better news, and gives the indication that a reporter is reporting news rather than passing along only one side of the story (Boykoff and Boykoff 2004). When climate scientists produce a study making a science-based claim, deniers were able to rebut that claim in the same article by merely suggesting that the results were not based on “sound science,” or by hearkening back to Climategate. The facts themselves were often left behind, and Americans were left to interpret the potential consequences through ideological lenses.

Competitive Enterprise Institute’s Frederick Seitz publicly accused lead IPCC climate scientist Ben Santer of altering and deleting sections of the report to remove hints of the skepticism felt by some of the scientists who signed on for the Second Assessment Report in 1996. Several op-ed pieces in the Wall Street Journal were unsupported character attacks with little substance, and what little substance there was turned out to be wrong (Schneider 2010:142). Again, the pattern was to inject confusion and to sow doubt.

One incident may serve to support the knowledge suppression tactic. The “Climate Action Report” (US Department of State 2002), a national response required by treaty with the UN, was produced by the State Department in 2002. When news reports linked the report with a new Federal willingness to regard climate change as a real issue, the

denial machine fought back. Led by the Competitive Enterprise Institute, a group of organizations filed suit under the “Data Quality Act” to have any such documents disavowed, and deleted from federal websites. The legal argument was that since the DQA required federal documents to be based on “sound science,” which specifically requires replicable experiments. This report addressed planning questions involving potential consequences of climate change. Two different models were used to generate probable and possible consequences to the United States. As the two models did not agree on all aspects of the simulation, and because there were no experiments that were replicable, the lawsuit contended that the science behind the reports was unsound. It constituted “junk science”, in the words of Patrick Michaels, a phrase that has become a favorite of the denial machine (Competitive Enterprise Institute 2002, Center for Regulatory Effectiveness 2002; see also Mooney 2005). Their use of the phrase “junk science” ends up being ironic in that there are no peer reviewed papers which contradict the essence of the evidence supporting climate change, and most of the critical articles are written by scientists writing outside their fields.

The overall strategy employed by deniers was straightforward. The fossil fuel industry could fight only a rearguard action, where it gave up ground only if necessary, fighting to prolong the process:

1. We can't be sure that there is actually global warming.

2. We can't be sure that global warming is caused or exacerbated by human activity, or what segment of human activity may be involved.
3. We don't know if global warming will be harmful to the planet or to humans, or how harmful, or the timeframe for any potential harm.
4. There is probably not much we can do about it.
5. Even if there were viable mitigation or adaptation policies, they would be too expensive, especially in light of the current state of the global economy.<sup>9</sup>

And these tactics have indeed confused or given cover to political actors and the public, and have therefore delayed meaningful action. In this instance, the fossil fuel industry elite—that faction most affected by potential climate change action—made use of all the processes available to them: lobbying, generating policy analysis in think tanks and universities, as well as dominating policy discussion, spreading massive campaign contributions to those politicians who played along, and shaping public opinion in various ways. An important aspect of the opinion-shaping process in this case was a relatively new technique, first used effectively by tobacco companies in their fight with regulations based on science. This “knowledge-shaping” process directly accounts for how scientific knowledge is legitimated (Bond 2010). In this case, controlling the knowledge-shaping process meant casting doubt in the minds of both policymakers and the public on what had already become generally accepted theory among the scientific community. Creating doubt in the public's view of climate change science allowed policy-

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<sup>9</sup> See also Washington and Cook 2011 for another approach.

planning networks to “fold in” climate change denial to standard conservative ideology. Climate change denial is now “something of a litmus test<sup>10</sup> for Republican politicians to prove their conservative *bona fides*,” says Riley Dunlap, a sociologist at Oklahoma State University (Zaffos 2014). “The new political expediency is to be a global warming skeptic,” said Marc Morano, executive editor of the skeptic clearinghouse Web site ClimateDepot.com and a former aide to outspoken skeptic Sen. James Inhofe, a Republican from Oklahoma (Tankersley 2010). As Eric Pooley put it, conservatives “loathed the solutions so much that they decided there was no problem to be solved” (Pooley 2010:38). This allowed them to amass widespread financial support from leaders of other elite factions, and turned the question of climate change into an almost strictly partisan one. The tactics used to influence the public at large served also to stiffen the already strong conservative denial. The Pew poll numbers for self-identified “conservative Republicans” went down at the same rate as the general public, and “moderate Republicans” declined at an even more precipitous rate. Where one stands on climate change has become a litmus test issue politically. Of course, it hasn’t hurt the efforts of the denial network that one of the biggest liberal bogeymen of all time, Al Gore, was at the forefront of the issue, making

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<sup>10</sup> Media Matters posted an article in 2011 matching denialist writers and websites’ reactions to the mild, science-affirming statements issued by “RINOs” such as Newt Gingrich, Jon Huntsman, Chris Christie, and eventually Mitt Romney. The Republican candidates were skewered by a host of commentators, including Chris Horner, Doug Powers, Marc Morano, Steve Milloy, and James Taylor, representing CEI, MichelleMalkin.com, Climate Depot, junkscience.com, and Heartland Institute, respectively. (Media Matters 2011)



the polarization of opinion quite simple on a surface level. Myron Ebell, former director of global warming at the Competitive Enterprise Institute, said that if Al Gore wasn't a leader, those working against climate change regulation would have tried to make him out as one (Pooley 2010:121-22). This was effective since how one felt about Al Gore tended to be an ideological litmus test as well.

### *The 2009-10 Climate Change Denial Network*

The research presented below offers a snapshot of a corporate elite network that has successfully come to organize and coordinate larger conservative networks in pursuit of its own material goals. Data for this network begins with the membership roster of attendees at the 2010 private meetings sponsored by David and Charles Koch of Koch Industries. A substantial proportion of the attendees represented fossil fuel interests, mining interests, major conservative billionaires and their foundations, and conservative media figures. From this membership roster, organizational affiliations were identified among attendees.

The Koch meetings illustrate how a faction of the American corporate elite organizes to achieve policy success. These meetings are private and highly exclusive. The themes are highly political and, based on the details of the meeting program and the few public comments made by attendees, focused on building political power and clarifying the

stand on issues. The network of conservative and ultraconservative foundations, media, think tanks, and policy groups includes billionaires, scholars, political activists, and more. The presence of national, single-issue, regional, and state think tanks, propaganda organizations like the Heartland Institute, and more publicly visible figures, like Glenn Beck, indicates a coordinated campaign with extensive resources rooted in the political leadership (and material interests) of free market billionaires.

The structural mapping of attendees and their affiliations illustrate that an activist network of fossil fuels interests has successfully integrated their material interests into an ideological package that has been grafted onto “mainstream” conservative platforms. At the center of this network is Koch Industries, a massive, privately owned conglomerate with investments in refineries and pipelines, among a host of other polluting industries. The fossil fuel and climate change denial network spans the boards of oil companies and their foundations, and the think tanks and Astroturf organizations that spill into the media echo chambers. Empirically, this study expands on and tests the theoretical and historical argument advanced by Dunlap and McCright (2011). Specifically this study focuses on a coordinating network associated with Koch Industries and the Koch brothers, joint owners of the company, and its relationships with broader director and funding patterns in the conservative policy networks. This research empirically explores those networks within a conceptual framework based on the theoretical work of

G. William Domhoff (2006) with a series of network analyses centered on the political meetings of the Koch brothers and the membership networks of participants at these secret meetings, particularly as they indicate the organized and ongoing coordination of climate change denial efforts.

The breadth of the effort also reinforces the proposition that a coordinated and multifaceted effort has been underway. This is also suggested by the fact that the Kochs have held the strategy meetings since 2002. Although the main climate denying organizations (as identified by Dunlap and McCright (2000, 2011) are the most active in carrying out activities that have detectable results, the participation of foundations, think tanks and all sorts of organizations from across the conservative and libertarian landscape indicates a politically coordinated approach. All cultural and political arenas are in play, and all political tools are available. Indeed, this inclusionary effort has a self-strengthening effect, building up to the point where in conservative and libertarian circles, denying climate change has become a foundation of one's political identity. The efforts to portray scientists and climate science supporting politicians as part of a massive leftwing effort to increase the scope and power of the federal (and global!) government has been effective both at creating doubt across the spectrum of those on the right, and eventually, by 2010, making climate science denial an integral part of the conservative platform.

This ability to weave climate change denial into the very fabric of conservative ideological positions in a wide swath of both opinion making elites and rank and file republicans is perhaps the key accomplishment of what McCright and Dunlap have called the “denial machine” (2011). Similar to how the right-to-life faction (led mainly by religious activists) on the Right was successful in making an unbending and aggressive stand against abortion rights in the 1970s and 1980s, and how missile defense advocates had some traction in making “Star Wars” ballistic missile defense systems part of the generally accepted planks in the conservative platform, energy interests have successfully inserted climate change denial into the conservative worldview. This is especially true of politicians, as any on the Right who embrace (or even mention the possibility of) climate change at their electoral peril. Ultraconservative Super PACs and AstroTurf organizations such as the Americans for Prosperity are ready to “primary” Republican lawmakers who do not toe the line on climate change.

The multifaceted approach to waging all-out war against their enemies (unions, taxes, regulation, big government, climate change legislation, etc.) was embraced by the Koch brothers as early as the 1980s. As he indicated in an interview while running for Vice President on the Libertarian ticket in the 1980 election, David Koch indicated that he was in full accord with the advice given by Powell in his 1971 memo to colleagues at the Chamber of Commerce. In his memo, Powell outlines

the important areas that business interests had ceded to control by “leftists”: the judiciary, universities, the media, the legal profession, and so on (Washington and Lee University n.d.). Charles Koch describes the Koch approach to implementing what even he refers to as a “radical philosophy”: “To bring about social change requires a strategy that is vertically and horizontally integrated...[spanning] from idea creation to policy development to education to grassroots organizations to lobbying to litigation to political action” (Doherty 2007:121). Individuals attending the Koch meetings can be viewed as climate denial vectors, taking ideologically consistent climate change denial messages and tactical approaches back from the Koch meetings to their home organizations.

The Koch meetings, then, can be viewed as a means of planning, directing, funding, solidifying the message, teaching and sharing tactics, widening networks even further between think tanks, funders, media and cultural personalities, and those with material interests in their common efforts in preventing meaningful action in response to climate change. The Kochs have been instrumental in helping to create, fund, and nurture this network. The present study focuses on both the Koch organizational circle that helps direct the climate change denial efforts (and other libertarian projects), and the larger conservative networks of which it is a part, and at times a driver.

## CHAPTER II

### THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study is to outline and illuminate the policy-planning and opinion-shaping capabilities of the fossil fuel industry, using the lens of climate change politics as a specific case study. As part of this effort to analyze the power structure, I utilize social network analysis and content analysis, tracing the process from the industry's material interest to their collective action, illustrating the ability of an elite faction to directly impact policy. Power structure research methods offer practical means to suggest answers to the kind of "how" questions this study asks. Specifically, the connectedness of the fossil fuel industries is examined within an ultraconservative network of climate denial actors. After tracing the material interests of fossil fuels industry players and examining past political involvement, an organized fossil fuels network nested within the broader conservative network of foundations and think tanks, donors and policy discussion groups is illuminated, exposing a group bent on denying climate change science and delaying action to slow climate change processes. These analyses enable me to demonstrate the four existing aspects of elite faction power in G. William Domhoff's model (2006). Little sociological work has been done to date on the processes involved in the political battle over climate

change. This study will serve as both a real-time aid in explaining American public opinion and policy development around climate change issues specifically, and serve as a case study for how a faction of the American corporate elite can mobilize the wider conservative policy and opinion networks and fold their people and capabilities into a specific strategy organized around the material interests of that faction. It will also serve to examine the historical and theoretical claims made by Riley and Dunlap (2000, 2011) and, more generally, by Domhoff (2006) in regards to the activities and capabilities of elites in developing and implementing policy. Evidence supporting a theoretical extension of Domhoff's model by Bonds (2010) is presented. Finally, this study suggests two other ways in which the policy planning network has been extended structurally and augmented tactically. The network has been extended through the addition of further secrecy mechanisms and by adding a populist element available to provide the appearance of support from everyday citizens, both aimed at taking the public eye off the fossil fuels industry, the real source of climate change denial. Tactically, the network has added tools and knowledge in maintaining secrecy for elites involved directly as actors or funders. This study of the development of the climate change denial network advances and supports this argument. These network enhancements, like the tactical and network advances from the tobacco fight, will be available for use in future conservative strategizing in the future.

## *Data and Methods*

For this case study, methods and approaches from several areas of social science are employed. The study is based primarily around several social network analyses. Social network analysis is in some ways the most sociological of methods. Marin and Wellman argue that “while people with similar attributes may behave similarly, explaining these similarities by pointing to common attributes misses the reality that individuals with common attributes *often occupy similar positions in the social structure*” (Marin and Wellman 2011:13, italics mine). Throughout, I employ various techniques and methods from power structure research as articulated by G. William Domhoff (2006) and Val Burris (1992, 2005, 2008). These include online data access, content analysis of documents and other materials to ascertain meaning and intent, and use of news sources for day to day tactical analysis.

The first network analysis central to this study is an event-centric two-tier analysis of the attendees of a conservative elite political event in Aspen, Colorado in June, 2010, sponsored by Koch Industries co-owners David and Charles Koch. This event, one in an ongoing series of such meetings, was aimed at bringing together key members of the fossil fuel industries and other conservative corporate elites with conservative media personalities, conservative thinkers, politicians, and funders (and potential funders) in order to generate a critical mass that could help stop climate change momentum, and to fight liberal policy and



politicians more generally. Organization websites, tax and other official filings, and archived website pages, along with Lexis-Nexis and other public databases and data sources, were used to develop professional profiles of attendees and to map their network affiliations. Specifically, these sources included Sourcewatch, Rightwing Watch, Greenpeace, DeSmog Blog, Exxon Secrets, ALEC Exposed, Muckety, NNDB, Lexis-nexis, full list of sources listed in Appendix H.

The second set of social network analyses centers around a wider network made up of the top fossil fuel companies, the foundations they direct and fund, think tanks and policy groups in the conservative policy-planning network, particularly those involved in climate change denial. To a great degree, this climate change denial network receives its financing and many of its key personnel from the fossil fuel corporations. Analysis will focus on industry group membership funding relationships and on director interlocks. Data consist of tax and other official filings by corporations and trade associations, non-profit philanthropic foundations, 501c3 and 501c4 non-profit think tank organizations, non-profit policy groups, and non-profit public interest groups. Director data were collected from form 990 filings from these organizations, accessed online from Foundations.org, National Center for Charitable Statistics, and through Guidestar. All individuals identified as “trustee” or “director” were included, as were corporate officers listed in Part VIII of form 990. Some 990s were accessed directly from an organization’s website, using

the Internet Archive to access data for the appropriate year. Contribution data were collected primarily through Parts IX and XV of the organization's 990. Some contribution data in some comparisons were obtained from private correspondence between the author and Robert Brulle, and from the Conservative Transparency Project.

In addition, the study also incorporates archival research into the documents produced by and the testimony given by various entities such as think tanks, foundations, professors and universities, and "independent" scholars. Public documents, such as congressional testimony, and public filings such as organizational non-profit applications and affidavits, were examined to make connections between individuals, corporations, and charitable institutions such as think tanks and foundations. Annual reports from these entities, tax and other official filings, and other company documents were studied. Newspapers and magazines, as well as online blogs and news sources were used as well. I also made use of the "Legacy tobacco documents."<sup>11</sup>

The third set of analyses focuses on the broader network of conservative and ultraconservative think tanks and foundations. This involved examining organization websites, tax and other official filings, and archived website pages, along with Lexis-Nexis and other public

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<sup>11</sup>A digital library maintained by UCSF, and funded by the tobacco settlement, of important documents from the industry. "The Legacy Tobacco Documents Library (LTDL) contains more than 14 million documents (80+ million pages) created by major tobacco companies related to their advertising, manufacturing, marketing, sales, and scientific research activities" (University of California, San Francisco 2015).

databases and data sources. Some datasets from other studies were also used with permission (Brulle, e.g.), and subjected to my own analysis.

Data were collected and input to Microsoft Excel and then into The UCINET 6 software program (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman 2002), which were used to convert the raw data into matrices, and its graphical “NetDraw” component (2002), which I used to convert matrix data into graphical images.

Data were collected for the year 2009 for several reasons. One, 2009 was the most recent year for which most data were available for all entities, most importantly federal 990 tax filings. Also, the period of 2009-2010 was a pivotal point in the history of climate change politics, with the passage of the House “cap and trade” bill and that bill’s eventual death in the Senate. In fact, the upsurge in climate denial spending starts in earnest at this point but has truly skyrocketed recently (Brulle 2014). Finally, the Koch meeting itself was held in June, 2010, which would include board members represented in the 2009 filings.

As Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman note, “there is no master list of ‘climate change science denial organizations,’ researchers are left to compile evidence as they can” (Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman 2008:358), so for continuity with their efforts, I chose to put together my list of climate science denial think tank organizations using their method. Using the Heritage Foundation’s online database (Heritage

Foundation n.d.), which includes hundreds of conservative organizations across the conservative spectrum, the names of all organizations listed with stated interests in the “policy issue” of “environment”, “environmental policy”, “global warming” and/or “climate change” were downloaded. This set of searches was conducted in summer of 2012. The search generated a sizeable list, which was used to identify candidates for inclusion on the list. I first eliminated all foreign organizations. Any entities that were not “stand-alone” organizations from, for example, universities, were eliminated. The websites of each remaining organization was visited to verify that the organizations were indeed interested in these issues, and that the interest was reflected in their online activities. The Internet Archive<sup>12</sup> was used to check webpages from the period of 2009 and 2010. From this process a list of 35 key denial entities was developed, referred to as the “Denial 35”. This is the key group of denial organizations referred to throughout the study. I also refer at various times to a group of 14 organizations identified by McCright and Dunlap (2003), and refer to them as the “Denial 14.” This group overlaps my group almost perfectly.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Some entities are careful about access to past webpages—perhaps because of embarrassing posts or changes to official line, and therefore sometimes these searches were unsuccessful.

<sup>13</sup> The Koch-funded Citizens for a Sound Economy was the forerunner of both Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks, and their foundations, which accounts for the differences in the lists. I simply add both of the successor organizations to come up with a “Denial 14+1”.

From these processes a topography of the conservative network's denial organizations is developed, consisting of think tanks, policy discussion groups, Astroturf groups, trade associations and coalitions, which also serve as an organic organizing core of the fossil fuels network. First, a thorough review of the climate change denial literature was conducted to find which organizations were involved in climate politics (Brulle 2014; Dunlap and McCright 2010; McCright and Dunlap 2003). Individual actors were traced to the organizations with which they were affiliated. The Heritage Foundation website expert and organization lists were used to identify conservative organizations. Membership lists of voluntary organizations such as the State Policy Network (SPN), the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), and the Philanthropy Roundtable (PR) were examined. Donations to DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund, the "dark money" conduits of choice for so many known conservative organizations yielded yet more data, as did examination of other meeting attendee lists and reports, such as other Koch meetings and from other groups, including the American Enterprise Institute's annual strategy meetings. This list of philanthropic foundations was difficult to assemble, and a comprehensive list may perhaps be impossible. Several sources were used to track down wealthy conservatives and their foundations, including NNDB, Muckety, Google searching, annual reports of many of the conservative organizations being studied, news accounts, interviews in the popular media, and

official biographies on various sites. I also looked at the top contributing foundations for each state, and the top contributing organizations for the country. I searched using “policy” and variations of “policy” to find donors.

In the end, data were collected for over 250 think tank and policy groups and over 400 philanthropic organizations, including private foundations, corporate foundations, and community foundations. For other purposes Val Burris’s (2008) set of policy groups was used, as a representative set of the key policy groups in the United States.

The data (Koch meeting attendance lists, organization director lists, contribution data, and organization lists) were input to matrices. For the wider conservative network of foundations and policy organizations, the product was a 5079 row by 594 column dichotomous tie/no tie relationship matrix of directors attributes, and organizations. The contribution data produced a 233 row by 386 column matrix containing actual contribution amounts from all philanthropic foundations (private, corporate, community) in the sample, and the denial 35 group of policy organizations (see Table 2).

**Table 2. "Denial 35" policy organizations**

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Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty  
American Council on Health and Science  
American Legislative Exchange Council  
American Policy Center  
Americans for Prosperity  
Americans for Prosperity Foundation  
Capital Research Center  
Center for Public Justice  
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow  
Competitive Enterprise Institute  
Discovery Institute  
Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment  
FreedomWorks Foundation  
Frontiers of Freedom  
George C. Marshall Research Foundation  
Heritage Action for America  
Hudson Institute  
Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation  
Just Facts  
Mountain States Legal Foundation  
National Center for Policy Analysis  
National Center for Public Policy Research  
Ocean State Policy Research Institute  
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy  
Philanthropy Roundtable  
Property and Environment Research Center  
Reason Foundation  
Rio Grande Foundation  
Science and Environmental Policy Project  
State Policy Network  
Statistical Assessment Service  
The Heartland Institute  
The Heritage Foundation  
The Independent Institute  
Washington Policy Center

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Nodes are generally colored and sized consistently but are explained in each graph. Calculations performed in Microsoft Excel 2010 and UCINET; all graphs were drawn with NETDRAW.

### *Outline of Chapters*

The dissertation begins with a focus on the fossil fuels network centered on the Koch brothers, as organized and funded through their regular secret coordinating meetings. Specifically, in the first substantive chapter, an analysis is made of the June 2010 Koch meeting, its attendees, and their network connections in the broader conservative networks. The meetings are shown to be prime locations for organizing, strategizing, and strengthening fossil fuels industry interests, and those of a broader conservative network. Securing the substantial funding necessary for these campaigns is another key function. Relationships are traced showing capacity for ideological and tactical diffusion. Funding patterns and strategies are examined. Individuals are examined as examples of different kinds of activists. The Kochs are identified as key brokers for the fossil fuels industries to the wider conservative policy network.

The second chapter expands its focus to this wider network, composed of powerful and well-funded think tanks, policy discussion groups, single issue and ideological multi-issue advocacy groups, and the



philanthropic foundations that support them. Demographics of the network are discussed. A topography is produced. The network is examined for key nodes and relationships. A key “denial network” is identified, centered on Koch Industries and the large fossil fuels corporations. An historical parallel is found using a brief historical contrast with the ways the conservative network was (and in some case, is still being) used by Big Tobacco to fight anti-tobacco legislation and regulation.

The third substantive chapter illuminates two ways in which the traditional policy network is extended in the efforts against climate change regulation: the production, maintenance, and incorporation of a more permanent Astroturf organization feeding on the populist “tea party” movement; and, secrecy measures making it easier for elites to fund and take part in these often unpopular causes. These “boots on the ground” and “dark money” organizations and strategies are crucial in the denial network, and are embedded near the core of the wider conservative policy network. Although tea party groups such as Americans for Prosperity have been studied by others, they have not been shown to be tightly incorporated into the policy network, and the dark money processes and organizations have gone, until recently, virtually unnoticed in the literature to this point.

The dissertation aims to lay out the processes elites use to dominate policy production, tracing those efforts in the current case,

with an emphasis on the policy production network and using climate change denial as a case study.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FOSSIL FUELS NETWORK

The fossil fuels industry has been a powerful force in American politics, and in the development of policy in this country in general. The industry has historically negotiated responses to common problems and issues through its trade associations, such as the American Petroleum Institute and the Edison Electric Institute.

The American Petroleum Institute (API) was founded just after World War I, as the result of a quasi-governmental body developed to coordinate industry efforts in the war (American Petroleum Institute 2015a). The API is tasked to

    speak for the oil and natural gas industry to the public, Congress and the Executive Branch, state governments and the media. We negotiate with regulatory agencies, represent the industry in legal proceedings, participate in coalitions and work in partnership with other associations to achieve our members' public policy goals. (American Petroleum Institute 2015a)

The API counts more than 500 corporate members and spans the industry, including all aspects of the oil and natural gas sectors, and covers the whole of oil and natural gas producing areas geographically, with a presence in 33 states. The API has played a role in coordinating several major industry responses to climate change, including the

(ongoing) attempts to “undermine the public’s understanding of climate science,” and to use existing entities such as ALEC to respond to state regulation efforts (Readfearn 2015). Initially ridiculing the notion that fossil fuels use affects the climate, the PI has come to acknowledge now that “emissions from their production and use may be helping to warm our planet by enhancing the natural greenhouse effect of the atmosphere” (American Petroleum Institute 2015b”).

With a similar historical basis, the American Gas Association (AGA) was founded in 1918. It “focuses on advocacy...serves as a voice on behalf of the energy utility industry... [and] disseminates data on a timely basis to policy makers and the public about energy utilities and the natural gas industry” (American Gas Association 2015). The American Coal Council, founded in 1982,<sup>14</sup> boasts over 170 corporate members including “coal suppliers, coal consumers, coal transportation companies, coal traders and coal support service firms” serving as an industry resource for “policy makers and public interest groups. The Association supports activities and objectives that advance coal supply, consumption, transportation and trading” (American Coal Council 2015).

There are also councils maintained by the White House to advise on their areas of expertise. Such entities include the National Petroleum Council (NPC), the National Coal Council (NCC), and the Natural Gas

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<sup>14</sup> Originally founded as the Western Coal Export Council (WCEC), “a private industry trade group formed to promote exports of western U.S. coal to the Pacific Rim” (American Coal Council 2015).

Subcommittee (NGS). The NPC was “established by the Secretary of the Interior in 1946 at the request of President Harry S. Truman” (National Petroleum Council 2015). Its goal is to offer solid advice to the Secretary of Energy, so “special attention is given by the Secretary to assure a well-balanced representation from all segments of the oil and gas industries, all sections of the country, and from large and small companies. The Council also has members with interests outside of oil or gas operations, including representatives from academic, financial, research, Native American, and public interest organizations and institutions (National Petroleum Council 2015). Rex Tillerson (CEO of ExxonMobil) currently serves as Vice Chair of this group.

The National Coal Council (NCC) was founded in 1984 and “provides advice and recommendations to the Secretary of Energy, on general policy matters relating to coal and the coal industry” (Energy Department 2015).

Although these organizations have served the industry well up to now, climate change offers a truly life or death challenge to the industry, and the powerful leaders of some of the largest and most influential corporations seem loathe to leave the decision-making to the group. In fact, the major trade associations and advisory groups are now unable to completely deny climate change science. Public acknowledgement is low key. In fact some groups, like the AGA, while seeming to acknowledge climate change, have nothing but broken links to the actual documents

they refer to on their website. In fact, AGA has not one single working link to any of its climate change documents or informational pages, including general principles and various letters and testimonies, as well as association reports.<sup>15</sup>

The fossil fuels industry has impacted the battle against climate change regulation in many ways, especially by carefully vetting and supporting candidates for state and federal office, and by spending vast sums on lobbying officeholders. Of the top 20 House candidates in 2010, all were either Republicans or Democrats who votes against Cap and Trade. In the Senate, the top recipient of oil campaign dollars, Blanche Lincoln, was a Democrat who won, and subsequently attacked the cap and trade bill.

During the 2010 campaign cycle, the oil and gas industry contributed almost \$24 million to campaigns for Congress.<sup>16</sup> Of this, over 2/3 went to Republicans (\$17.6 million), with Republicans being given about twice the average size contribution. House Republicans received about twice as much as House Democrats, while in the Senate the number were much closer: the 50 Senate Democrats received a total of just over \$2 million while the 36 Republicans receiving donations received \$2.2 million. The top contributor to these campaigns was Koch

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<sup>15</sup> The AGA website was checked several times throughout 2014 and 2015 (last checked 5-3-15) with no change in the broken link status.

<sup>16</sup> Campaign and lobbying numbers from [opensecrets.org](http://opensecrets.org)

Industries (\$2 million), with Exxon Mobil (\$1.4 million) and Chief Oil (\$1.2 million), and Chevron (\$1 million) also donating heavily, with most of these dollars coming through PACs.

The list of top twenty 2010 cycle recipients in the Congress was dominated by representatives from oil producing states, including six from Texas and Oklahoma, and two each from Alaska and Louisiana.

Just before adjourning for the 4<sup>th</sup> of July recess, after a nasty debate, the House barely passed HR 2454 (the “Cap and Trade” bill) on June 26, 2009, by 219-212. Three of the four Democrats in the top twenty recipients of oil industry money in that cycle voted “nay” on the bill, while other Democrats joining them were mostly from the major oil producing states, or from states in the southern part of the US.

In the Senate, the bill was doomed, as it required enough votes to defeat a Republican filibuster (60), and, since all Republicans were against the bill, there simply weren’t enough Democrats to push it through. Those Democrats who publicly came out against the bill were among the biggest recipients of oil industry campaign funds, including the top recipient, Blanche Lincoln, as well as Mary Landrieu and Ben Nelson.

Over \$7 billion was spent on lobbying activities in the 2010 election cycle. In 2009, the US Chamber of Commerce spent \$144.6 million, about 5 times the next highest spender. In 2010, the US

Chamber of Commerce was again the largest spender, at \$132 million on lobbying, three times the next highest spender. ConocoPhillips and Southern Corporation were represented in the top twenty lobbying spenders for that year, spending \$19.6 and \$13.2 million respectively. The oil and gas industry spent a total of \$175 million in 2009 (3<sup>rd</sup> among industries) and \$148 million in 2010 (5<sup>th</sup>). The industry employed over 800 lobbyists over the 2009-2010 cycle. The top ten lobbying spenders were responsible for the bulk of the expenditures: in 2009 they accounted for about 75% of the total amount spent by the industry on lobbying, and about 63% in 2010. The top ten companies included Exxon Mobil, ConocoPhillips, Chevron, Koch Industries, Royal Dutch Shell, BP, the American Petroleum Institute, Marathon Oil, Anadarko Petroleum, and the Williams Companies in both years, in slightly different orders and amounts.

Clearly, the oil industry has spent a large amount of money securing influence in the Congress through candidate vetting, campaign contributions, and lobbying. Even a Democratic President who had made cap and trade legislation a priority, with a Democratic House and a Democratic Senate, was unable to jam the bill through. Being a major campaign supporter of the key legislators in both houses, and spending over \$500,000 per member in lobbying of Congress over 2009-2010 certainly resulted in influencing the outcome of the Cap and Trade bill.



But it is the network built by those interested that is the enduring defense for the industry.

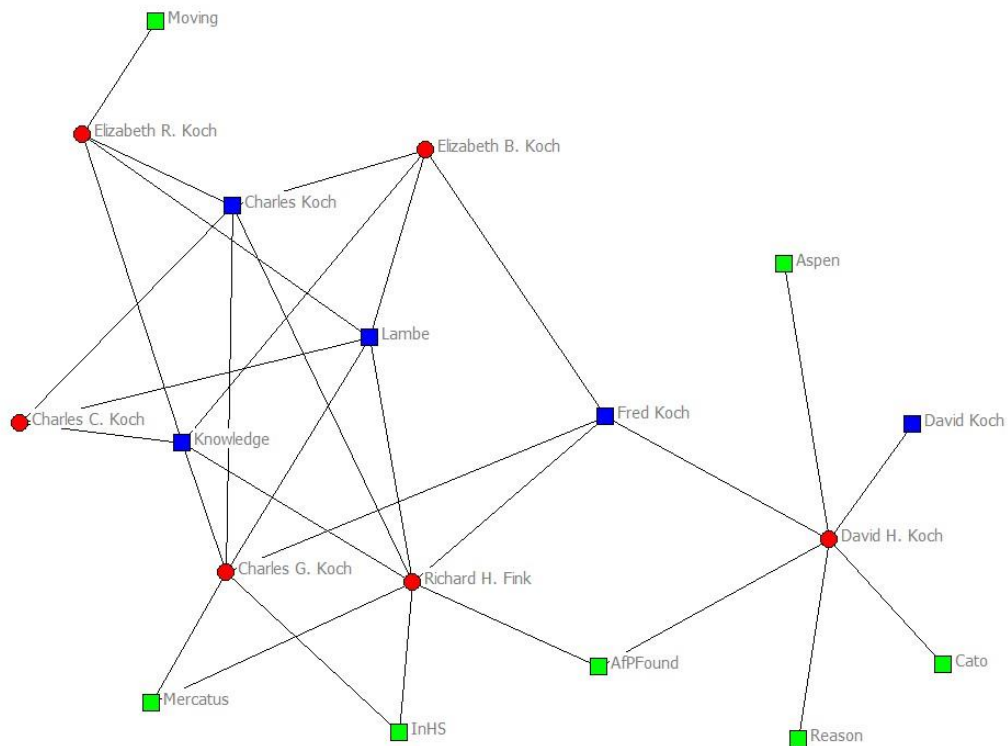
### *The Koch Brothers*

The main hub of the fossil fuels network is a mini-network based around the “Koch Brothers,” Charles G. Koch and David H. Koch (see Figure 1). They are the owners of Koch Industries, one of the largest privately held companies in the country and worth about \$42 billion *each*, tying for 4<sup>th</sup> richest Americans according to the 2014 list from Forbes (Forbes.com 2014)<sup>17</sup>. They are two of the four sons of Fred Koch, a Kansas oil entrepreneur who built up the foundation of the family business and fortune. Fred Koch, as he built up his oil company, became increasingly politically active, driven at least partly, perhaps, by his extensive business dealings with the Soviet government (Schulman 2014: 7-8), and by observing the rise of labor unions and the growth of the federal government. The elder Koch was one of the original founding members of the John Birch Society, and wrote a political tract in 1960 titled “A Businessman Looks at Communism,” in which he warned of an imminent communist takeover (University of Southern Mississippi n.d.). David Koch said that his father “was constantly speaking to us children about what was wrong with government and government policy. It’s

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<sup>17</sup> This is up from the \$16 billion 2009 personal fortunes reported by Forbes (Forbes 2009).

something I grew up with—a fundamental point of view that big government was bad, and imposition of government controls on our lives and economic fortunes was not good” (Schulman 2014: 41). But it was Charles who was most indoctrinated into Fred’s far right politics.



**Figure 1. Sociogram of Charles and David Koch family network core, 2009 seats on policy group and foundation boards**

Charles was the eventual CEO and ideological leader of Koch Industries. It is through ideologically consistent policy organizations and

universities that Charles is networked, through libertarian (“free market”) entities such as Mercatus Center and Institute for Humane Studies, both housed at George Mason University. He also spends a substantial amount of money and time on the various Koch internships and Koch fellowship programs offered to college students and graduate students.

David on the other hand, tends to network through social events and through more traditional upper crust arts support philanthropic work, such as serving as vice chair of the American Ballet Theatre and as a trustee for the American Museum of Natural History, the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, and the National Geographic Society, as well as being named honorary trustee of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory. He also has sat on the governing boards of MIT (his alma mater), Johns Hopkins University, and Rockefeller University (Rockefeller University 1996, Koch Industries 2015).

Charles developed a business philosophy he ended up calling “Market-Based Management,” and even though originally intended for application within Koch Industries as a business management model, it also was the philosophical foundation for the Kochs’ political and ideological efforts (Schulman 2014:250). Based on “the MBM® ten guiding principles” (including “integrity, principled entrepreneurship, value creation” among others). Koch lobbyists are in for the long haul,

rather than for short term gain of the corporation itself. Contrary to normal lobbying behavior,

Koch's lobbyists "don't shift their positions based on the political headwinds. According to one Senate Republican leadership aide, they won't be found pressing for subsidies in one bill and opposing them in another. "They're not rent-seekers," he said. The overriding factor guiding the company's lobbying agenda is not whether a legislative proposal will be good or bad for Koch Industries, but whether it is consistent with Charles's libertarian beliefs. (Schulman 2014:255)

Charles, then, in essence "created a free-market society in miniature at Koch Industries" and along with his brother is "driven by their feeling that the way they run their companies is the way the country should be run," according to a former Koch manager (Schulman 2014:255). The Koch brothers are undeniably "true believers, whose free-market beliefs are unquestionably self-interested—but also undeniably sincere" (Schuman 2014:254).

### *Koch Political Activity*

Considering the influence of their father, it is no surprise that that the sons were politically active in far right circles at an early age. Charles was involved with "Austrian School" economist Murray Rothbard to try to organize a real libertarian movement out of the disorganized spectrum of adherents, from sober-minded academics to black-flag-waving

anarchists, and from button-downed executives to survivalists...” (Schulman 2014:100). With Ed Crane, they formed Cato Institute in 1977, as a libertarian, non-partisan, answer to Brookings and American Enterprise Institute (Cato Institute 2015).

After poor showings in recent elections, the Libertarian Party put David Koch on the ballot in 1980 as the VP running mate for Ed Clark, the Libertarian Presidential nominee. Since campaign finance laws allowed those running to spend their own money with no limits, David Koch had a practical advantage to offer the party. When the Libertarian ticket received less than 1 per cent of the vote, the Kochs decided a new means of effecting change was in order (Mayer 2010). The 1980 loss, and the resulting feuding and bickering left the libertarian party itself a shambles, and the brothers moved on to create new policy organizations and put together a core group to organize and fund a coherent, long-term effort to influence the political processes. Once Libertarian Party activists found that Charles Koch “wanted to run the movement like a corporation, where orders are given, dissidents are fired, etc.” and the party was effectively destroyed (Schulman 2014:113).

Starting in the Bush administration, the Kochs began organizing annual and sometimes semiannual weekend meetings of the rich and powerful (Schulman 2014:286). They have been held in various locations across the western United States in lavish resort facilities in the western half of the US, such as the St. Regis Resort Hotel in Aspen, Hyatt

Regency Tamaya Resort in Bernalillo, New Mexico, and the Renaissance Esmeralda resort in Indian Wells, California. Meeting invitations, attendance lists, and agendas have been kept dark, with planners and attendees often going to great lengths to avoid publicity. In fact, the June 2012 “Path to Freedom” meeting in San Diego was kept so dark that journalists, who had prior knowledge that it was happening, had difficulty determining where it was actually being held (NBC San Diego 2012). Every meeting is described as swarming with security. Attendees are advised to keep conference materials confidential and not to share details on social media or elsewhere. According to one reporter who was onsite for the 2012 Indian Wells meeting, “Helicopters, private security, and police officers from neighboring cities patrolled the area constantly” (Fang 2012). Investigative reporters went to great lengths to identify attendees, including tracing private jet ownership for those spotted landing at local airports, eventually identifying half a dozen attendees, mostly regular attendees and Koch insiders. As soon as this tactic was reported, however, private jets began taking steps to make their flight plans and ownership details more opaque. The added secrecy was apparent even to local reporters, who were “confused about why the multi-golf course Esmeralda Renaissance was locked down and why the hotel staff couldn’t talk to anyone about what was going on” (Fang 2012).

These secret meetings in resort settings in the western half of the US to bring together wealthy donors, powerful as well as up-and-coming

conservative politicians, political activists across the conservative spectrum, and rightwing celebrities like George Will and Glenn Beck. The purpose at first was to showcase think tanks and other conservative organizations that the Kochs thought worthy of the support of the deep-pocketed donors who attended (Schulman 2014:286), The stated purpose of later meetings was to “activate citizens” and to “develop strategies” to “stop—and reverse—the internal assault on our founding principles” (Americanactionfund.org n.d.). In his invitation letter, Charles Koch refers to the importance of his “network of business and philanthropic leaders who are dedicated to defending our free society,” and I argue that this evolving network also operates as ground zero for the organized movement pushing climate science denial. It is through the relationships of the actors and organizations represented at the meetings that strategy is planned, projects are funded, and leaders and representatives emerge. Perhaps even more importantly, these meetings are instrumental in continuing the project of making climate science denial a solid plank of far right ideology, and furthering its spread to the rank and file of far right politicians and activists, as well as to the general public (Domhoff 2006:78-9).

## *The 2010 Koch Meeting*

The 2010 Aspen meeting is the only one of the secret Koch brothers meetings for which we have a complete attendee list (see Appendix E). The meeting was held at Aspen's St. Regis Resort on June 26-28, 2010, following the intense political and fundraising efforts of the Koch network in fighting the 2009 House Cap and Trade Bill and the 2010 battle in the Senate of that bill. The agenda reflects the seriousness with which the Koch network takes the climate change legislation and the larger "Obama agenda" that underlies that approach.

As with past Koch meetings, the agenda was composed of fine meals, off-site activities, and opportunities to meet popular rightwing journalists and broadcasters, socialize with other wealthy people, and attend educational sessions (Americanactionfund.org n.d.). These meetings included sessions on the entire spectrum of conservative issues and concerns, and the presenters and presentations help form or expand a nucleus of ideological agreement. The "Goals & Missions" stated in the agenda include: attracting leaders; sharing best practices and opportunities; fashioning the message and building educational channels; and, building principled and effective institutions" (Americanactionfund.org n.d.). The program consisted of 14 sessions scheduled over the three days, mixed liberally with cocktails, gondola rides, receptions, private dinners, big dinners, breakfasts and other activities. Topics covered the range of libertarian concerns, including



government (over-) spending, K-12 school reform and charter schools, and developing young free market leaders. Practical topics such as decision-making in philanthropy were covered, along with several major sessions, including the big name speakers (Glenn Beck, Charles Krauthammer) on “threats” faced by “America.” The majority of time was organized around the elections: how to “understand” and “mobilize” voters, how to “frame” issues, how to take advantage of judicial elections, and the consequences of losing (Americanactionfund.org n.d.).

“If not us, who? If not now, when?” These are the questions asked rhetorically by Charles Koch, in his letter to prospective participants in the meeting held in Rancho Mirage at the end of January 2011 (Americanactionfund.org n.d.). Koch clearly sees those invited to the meetings as the natural leaders of the nation—those who have the most to lose, those who have earned their *bona fides* in business, those who have proved themselves through ultraconservative activism, journalism, scholarly work, policy production.

### *2010 Koch Meeting Attendees*

About 21% of the attendees of the 2010 meeting in Aspen were from the fossil fuels industry, including major stockholders, CEOs and other executive officers, totaling 44 of 206 attendees. The oil business was represented by executives of large corporations and the owners of

small companies. About 27 attendees were from the finance sector, especially heavily represented by hedge fund managers. Another 18 attendees were executives in manufacturing companies. Eight attendees each were from retail industry and from real estate. Think tanks, lobbyists, political operatives, lawyers, and health executives rounded out the industries represented.

Racially, this is not a diverse group. To the best of my efforts, there appear to be no African American attendees at all, and only a couple who do not meet a strict WASP definition. The players are mostly white men,<sup>18</sup> with few exceptions (multimillionaire Susan Gore and a few activists come immediately to mind), and almost all very wealthy. The oldest are born in the late 1920s and 1930s, with most being born in the 1950s. There are at least 38 undergraduate and graduate degrees from Ivy League schools, with most coming from Harvard and Yale. Other universities represented include a handful from Virginia, the UC campuses, MIT, Chicago, George Mason, University of Texas, and a smattering of small liberal arts colleges. The state with the largest number of residents was Virginia, although Colorado, California, New York, and Texas were also well represented.

Eleven of the attendees were listed by Forbes as among the wealthiest 400 in America (Forbes 2009). Three of those individuals, as

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<sup>18</sup> As are Koch employees, according to one former manager, who described the typical Koch employee “clone” as “young, white, male, and sharp...” (Schulman 2014:247).

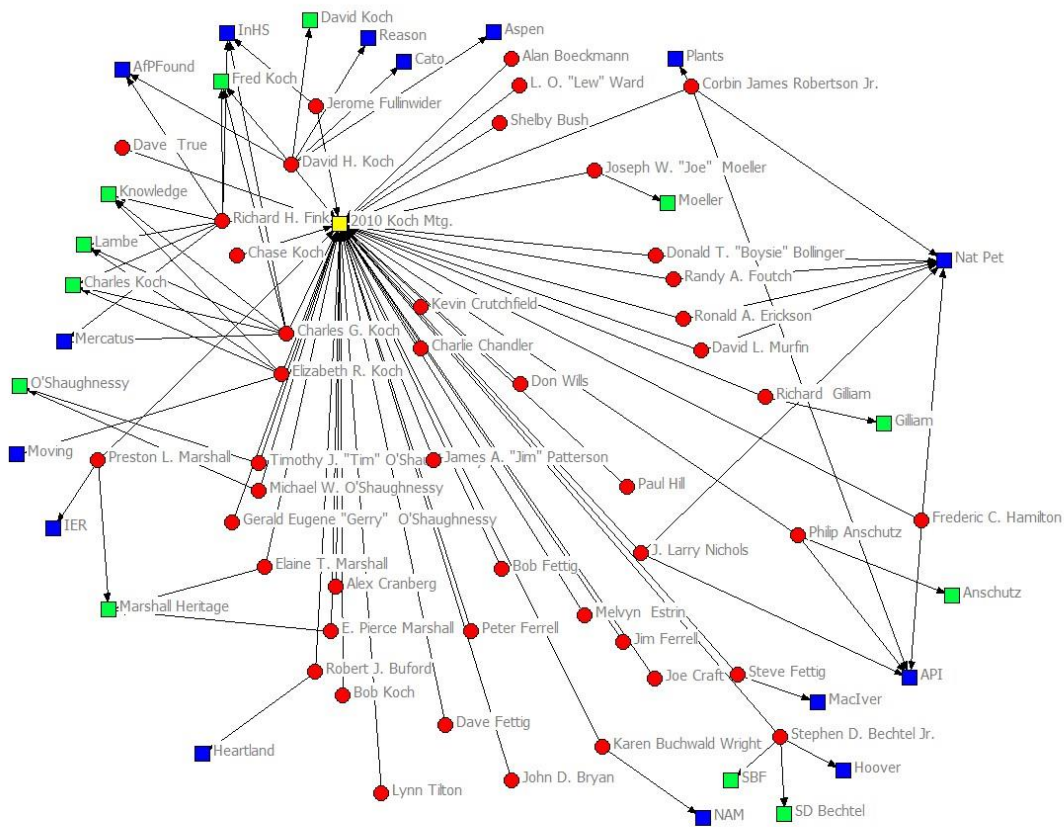
well as another 6 attendees were represented on Forbes Wealthiest Families list (Kroll 2014). However, this is only the billionaires—a high percentage of the attendees were multimillionaires.

These wealthy individuals and families, along with the leaders of the major corporations and the boards and executives of policy organizations, form the basis of Domhoff's power elite, the group of individuals most directly tied into power in our country (Domhoff 2006:105).

#### *2010 Attendees: Fossil Fuels Industry*

The range of industries represented the individuals attending the Koch meeting is wide, including banking and finance (and Wall Street in particular, especially hedge fund managers), retail, manufacturing, as well as various service sectors including real estate and insurance. But the meetings in general, and the 2010 meeting specifically, are dominated by oil, gas, and coal interests. Though the meetings are dominated by attendees from the fossil fuels industry (Figure 2), this group is not particularly well connected to the wider conservative network. Of the 44 attendees of the 2010 meeting affiliated with the fossil fuels industry, only 24 were affiliated with other organizations determined to be part of the wider conservative policy network, as directors or funders of policy organizations. In fact, if one removes the

Kochs, family foundation connections, and the trade associations (four, three, and six), fossil fuels attendees are almost completely disconnected—23 have no connection at all, other than family foundation, and , without the Kochs, there are only five connections to the wider network. Remaining connections consist primarily of billionaires—and, of course, the Kochs themselves. A key accomplishment for the Koch meetings, then, is to connect leaders of the



**Figure 2. Sociogram of Koch meeting attendees from the fossil fuels industries and their board seats across the policy network, 2009**

fossil fuels industry to the wider conservative network. The Koch meetings allow for the material interests of the fossil fuels attendees to be disseminated throughout these wider networks, and for this relatively small faction of the corporate class to use its resources to have an outsized impact on the formulation of policy.

*2010 Attendees: The Upper Class*

The second leg of the power elite tripod for Domhoff consists of the wealthy, what he calls “the social upper class” (Domhoff 2006:105). As Domhoff states, such “involvement...instills a class awareness,” and because it is a “capitalist class, [its members develop] a capitalist mentality and a conservative outlook on issues that relate to the well-being of the corporate community as a whole” (Domhoff 2006:75). 2010 Aspen attendees include several billionaires, such as Ken Langone (\$2.4 billion in assets (#242 on the 2009 Forbes list), Stephen Bechtel (\$4 billion, T-#178), Harold Hamm (\$18.7 billion, #49), Philip Anschutz (\$11.1 billion, #43), Richard DeVos (\$6 billion, #73), Sheldon Adelson (\$32 billion, #12), Ken Griffin (\$5.5 billion, #90), Tom Love (\$3.3 billion, #170), and Steven Schwarzman (\$10.6 billion, #41). Other wealthy attendees include Kenny Troutt, George Records, Foster Friess, Diane Hendricks, Susan Gore, and Richard Gilliam.

Fifteen of the attendees (Paul Singer, Charles Koch, Elizabeth Koch, Ken Griffin, Anne Griffin, John Childs, David Koch, Julia Koch, Dick DeVos, Betsy DeVos, Diane Hendricks, Julian Robertson, Cliff Asness, John Bryan, and Dick Farmer) were listed in the top individual contributors for the 2010 federal elections (opensecrets.org n.d. [b]), and 13 for the 2012 election (opensecrets.org n.d. [c]).

Several longtime conservative activists brought along their adult children to the Koch meeting who have become active as well. Domhoff notes that networks of the American upper class always include opportunities for “socializing” the younger generations and the few who rise from lower social levels. This socializing process allows for the upper class to truly be an enduring social phenomenon, as “the names and faces may change somewhat over the years, but the social institutions that underlie the upper class must persist with only gradual change over generations” (Domhoff 2006:6). On the 2010 attendee list we can start with the Kochs themselves: Charles Koch’s two children, son Chase (then 32), Chase’s new wife Annie, and Charles’s daughter Julia, a Brooklyn-based writer, both attended, and Chase was responsible for meeting with some key donors and potential donors at the 2014 meeting (Kroll 2014, Schulman 2014:287). The Fettig family contingent attending the meeting was also multi-generational, as were the Andersons, the O’Shaughnessys, and the Marshalls (though the “next generation” Marshalls were already into their 50s).

### *2010 Attendees: Think Tanks and Policy Organization Connections*

The final of the three overlapping networks forming Domhoff's conceptualization of the power elite is the leadership and experts from the policy formulation organizations (Domhoff 2006:105). The breadth of rightwing group leadership represented at the meeting is impressive (see Appendix A, B, C, and D). National policy organizations represented included Cato, Heritage, and the Hoover Institute, among others. Attendees of the 2010 Koch meeting represented many active organizations from both the mainstream and libertarian sectors of the conservative network, as well as trade associations representing corporate interests, and the family, corporate, and donor-assisted foundations that fund those groups. In all, 56 different think tank and policy discussion organizations were represented by their leaders at the Koch meeting, many with more than one director. At least 47 national think tank organizations and policy discussion organizations were represented, ranging from the major conservative think tanks in the US today—Hoover Institution, Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute, Manhattan Institute, and the Foundation for Economic Education as well as less well known groups such as Citizens in Charge and Center for Excellence in Higher Education, and other smaller or less broad organizations. Also included were some of the most important policy discussion groups, such as the Bilderberg Group and Aspen Institute.

National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), an influential trade association was also represented.

Some institutions were heavily represented. The Hoover Institution had six directors present, and the George Mason University affiliated Institute for Humane Studies and Mercatus Center had five and four respectively. The Cato Institute, Americans for Prosperity, and the Aspen Institute all had three directors each present. Five of the top eight traditionally most cited conservative think tanks—Heritage, Cato, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Hoover Institution, Manhattan Institution (Dolny 2005)—were represented at the meeting.

#### *2010 Attendees: State and Regional Organizations*

Nine state and regional groups were represented at the Koch 2010 meeting, all of which are members of the State Policy Network, which was also represented itself. The Goldwater Institute, The John W. Pope Civitas Institute, The Mackinac Center for Public Policy, The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions, The Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives, The Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs, The Kansas Policy Institute, The Wyoming Liberty Group, and The John K. MacIver Institute for Public Policy all sent a member of their board of directors to the 2010 Koch meeting. At least 27 national organizations



which are affiliated members of the SPN, including Cato, Heritage, Capital Research, and Philanthropy Roundtable had leaders attending.

### *2010 Attendees: Philanthropic Foundations*

There were family and individual philanthropic organizations represented at the 2010 meeting, including some of the biggest and most actively involved in conservative politics (see Table 3). One expert in the area of grantmaking and philanthropy claims that “sets of funding decisions constitute *intellectual* policies” (Katz 1983:2, italics mine). Bradley Foundation’s funding decisions, then, represent a determined effort to enact an anti-government, corporate-dominated agenda. The Bradley Foundation, one of the most important conservative philanthropic foundations, was represented, as were several other major contributors, including at least sixteen foundations donating \$500,000 or more to conservative organizations (see Table 5). These donations totaled over \$46 million. The Bradley Foundation is one of the “Four Sisters,” (see Chapter III) the key conservative foundations which have funded the resurgence in conservative efforts to win the war of ideas. In fact, the Foundation notes that the brothers believed “the consequences of ideas were more decisive than the force of political or economic movements” (Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation 2010:6).

**Table 3. Top Policy Network Foundation Contributors to Conservative Organizations Who Attended the 2010 Koch Meeting**

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Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	\$11,466,000
Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	\$3,849,343
Chase Foundation of Virginia	\$586,000
Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation	\$4,115,000
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	\$2,710,296
Randolph Foundation	\$1,811,000
Searle Freedom Trust	\$7,392,900
John William Pope Foundation	\$4,971,692
J.P. Humphreys Foundation	\$622,500
E.L. Craig Foundation	\$1,085,000
J M Foundation	\$505,000
Lovett and Ruth Peters Foundation	\$830,000
Anschutz Foundation	\$1,192,000
Marcus Foundation	\$919,500
M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust	\$3,313,500
Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Foundation	\$765,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$46,134,731</b>

Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings

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With 2009 assets of \$622,913,819 (with a 150% increase in assets in 2013, to \$922,303,709), and donating \$44 million in 2009, \$42 million

in 2010, and between \$34-35 million each year in 2011, 2012 and 2013, Bradley exerts a serious financial influence on policy. Paul Ryan, quoted in the Foundation's 2009 Annual Report, seems to sum up the Bradley Foundation's view of the world:

The struggle between market freedom and a European welfare state socialism is a moral struggle. My friends in this room, our only real problem is getting the people to hear the facts and explaining the consequences. You and I must engage ourselves in the saving of Western civilization, the principles of human individuality and greatness. It falls to the honor of the American people to make this decision for mankind: either recover human freedom or sink into centuries of darkness only made worse by the pretensions of progress. (Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation 2010:36)

The Bradley Foundation's focus and wide network connections, however, have made it even more powerful, as other conservative philanthropists look to it and the other big donors as indicators of which are effective organizations in which to invest.

In total, 43 philanthropic foundations in the wider conservative network were represented at the Koch meeting (see Table 4). This does not count the dozens of foundations headed by attendees which did not as of that meeting donate, or who donate through less visible mechanisms.

**Table 4. Foundations in the Conservative Policy Network with Directors Attending the 2010 Koch Meeting**

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Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation	Holman Foundation
Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation	J.P. Humphreys Foundation
David H. Koch Charitable Foundation	Jack Miller Family Foundation
J M Foundation	Knowledge and Progress Fund
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation	Malek Family Foundation
A. Gary Anderson Family Foundation	Marcus Foundation
Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Foundation	M.J. Murdock Charitable Trust
Anschutz Foundation	Moeller Foundation
Bachman Foundation	Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation
Brown Foundation	I.A. O'Shaughnessy
Chase Foundation of Virginia	Pope Foundation
E.L. Craig Foundation	Peters Foundation
Dick and Betty DeVos Foundation	Stephen Bechtel Fund
Richard and Helen DeVos Foundation	Schiff Foundation
Donors Capital Fund	S.D. Bechtel Jr. Foundation
Randolph Foundation	Searle Freedom Trust
Dixon and Carol Doll Family Foundation	Shenandoah Foundation
Donors Trust	Von Ehr Foundation
Duke Endowment	Woodford Foundation
Jerry and Nanette Finger Foundation	
Fred C. and Mary R. Koch Foundation	
Lynn and Foster Friess Foundation	
Richard and Leslie Gilliam Foundation	
Robert A. and Marie Hansen Foundation	

Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings

These funding organizations represent a crucial nucleus of activist members of the elite who consistently fund the organizations that reflect their conservative ideologies.

### *2010 Attendees: Media*

A variety of attendees have direct connections to the media. Several are owners of various media outlets, while others are writers and “content providers,” and still others have become media celebrities. One of the biggest of these is Glenn Beck, who was the keynote speaker. Beck’s address was on “America’s Road to Serfdom,” echoing the title of Austrian economist von Hayek’s seminal book.

Media ownership has continued to concentrate into fewer and fewer hands, such as those of attendee Phillip Anschutz. The 37th richest American in 2009, with \$6 billion, Anschutz owns Clarity Media Group which includes The *Oklahoman*, the largest newspaper in Oklahoma City and Oklahoma, The San Francisco *Examiner*, the Washington *Examiner*, The Baltimore *Examiner*, and Examiner.com, a locally focused web portal where “citizen journalists” write on local and national topics, from “news” to stories written more as blogs. He also owns the *Weekly Standard*, which featured a passionate defense of the Koch brothers (“The Paranoid Style in Liberal Politics”) in March, 2011 (Continetti 2011). Anschutz’s *Weekly Standard* has also been an active promoter of the so-called “climategate” scandal. The magazine has served as a platform for numerous articles by prominent career deniers such as Kenneth Green of Reason Foundation and Steven Hayward of the American Enterprise Institute (AEI). Anschutz also owns NRC broadcasting, which operates a string of radio stations in Colorado.

Foster Friess, another 2010 attendee, was one of the original founding investors of the Daily Caller, an increasingly influential conservative online news and commentary site. Although Tucker Carlson, chief editor at the DC claims that Friess has “no say” over editorial policy or content, Friess has stepped in multiple times to defend DC, such as when Carlson’s brother, an occasional contributor, “replied all” on an email concerning MNYC Mayor Bill DeBlasio aide Karen Spitalnick, in which Carlson used foul, sexual language to refer to her but was defended by DC (Wemple 2013). It is no surprise then that DC regularly defends the Kochs as well, specifically attacking the uproar over the Kochs considering buying the Tribune Company (Gibson 2013).

Stanley Hubbard, as owner of Hubbard Broadcasting, owns a variety of TV and radio stations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, New Mexico and New York. Through a \$505 million purchase of 17 radio stations from Bonneville International, Hubbard is significantly expanding its radio presence in the District of Columbia, Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. This purchase includes WTOP, a major Washington, DC news station with the nation’s second highest 2010 radio station revenue, as well as WFED, which appeals primarily to federal employees and contractors (Farhi 2011).

Several influential writers attended as well, although they did not subsequently write about the event. One national writer who attended the meeting was Charles Krauthammer, opinion writer for the

Washington Post. Krauthammer wrote as recently as last year that climate science is still not settled (Krauthammer 2014), and that climate science was more of a “superstition”, “like a rain dance of Native Americans” than science (Thompson 2014).

Steve Moore, then editorial board member and senior economics writer for the Wall Street Journal, also attended. The Wall Street Journal’s opinion section has served for decades as a podium for prominent skeptics with ties to the Kochs, such as Bjorn Lomborg, Richard Lindzen and Patrick Michaels. Michaels used the Wall Street Journal’s opinion section to continue pushing “climategate” as some sort of a smoking gun proving that climate science was full of fraud and deceit even after scientists were exonerated by formal investigations. Moore is a frequent guest on talk shows, where in 2009 he claimed there was no solid science behind global warming, and that efforts to say so were “Stalinistic.” He also claimed that climate change should be phrased as “climate improvement” (Johnson 2009a). Also in 2009, Moore declared that “I happen to believe that global warming is the biggest scam of the last two decades” (Powell 2009:149). Moore has served in a variety of leadership and board positions for conservative organizations, including at Cato Institute and Club for Growth, and now serves as a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Heritage Foundation (Heritage Foundation n.d.[b]).

Joining Krauthammer and Moore in Aspen was National *Review's* Ramesh Ponnuru, who generally does not deny climate science outright, but instead argues that whatever approach being proposed won't work. He was against the cap and trade bill (Ponnuru 2014a) and has regularly attacked EPA's attempts to regulate carbon (Ponnuru 2014b).

In some ways, the most important "media connection" attending the 2010 Koch meeting was Eric O'Keefe, who, since that meeting, has been instrumental in building a media start-up into a national media power. Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity, from penniless and inauspicious birth in North Dakota in 2009, has blossomed into a multi-million dollar enterprise that has come to dominate statehouse news in many states across the country (Franklin Center 2015). According to its website, Franklin supports "an in-house team of state-based reporters and acts as a capacity-building service provider for organizations that sponsor investigative journalism (Franklin Center 2015). The Franklin Center coordinates news coverage from the states on its own websites, though state organizations that it either owns or with which it cooperates, to provide its take on state events (Pew Research Center 2014).

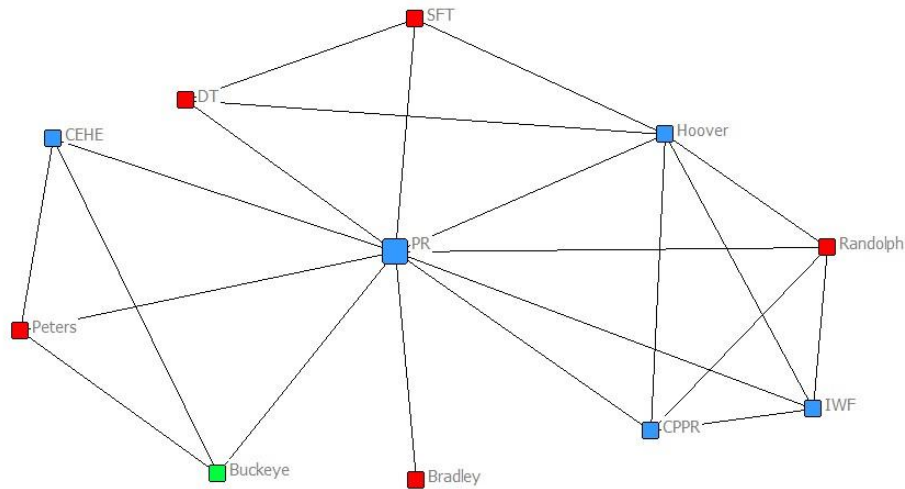


### *2010 Attendees: Other Important Coordinating and Funding Organizations*

There were also directors of influential conservative funding and planning groups, including Philanthropy Roundtable, Donors Trust and Donors Capital, and the State Policy Network. Also, several attendees have ties to ALEC, the national organization aimed at manufacturing model bills for passage in states (see Chapter IV).

The Philanthropy Roundtable was technically founded in 1991 but actually traces its roots to the 1970s, when conservative activism was in the process of being reignited, with the help of ideologically committed corporate members of the upper class, and corporate leaders. Starting as a small informal network of philanthropists under the wing of the Institute for Educational Affairs, the PR soon gained its own non-profit status, and built a headquarters in Indianapolis (but later moved to Washington, D.C.). Kim Dennis was the first executive director, and served in that capacity until 1996, when she accepted the position as President and CEO of the Searle Freedom Trust (George Mason University 2015). Starting in 2001, the PR began an ambitious effort to provide a wide variety of services to conservative philanthropists, mainly focusing on “opportunities for strategic coordination.” The Roundtable has an annual budget of nearly \$7 million, and has a membership of 650 philanthropic organizations and individuals (Philanthropy Roundtable 2015b).

The five main services offered by the Roundtable are all aimed at “strategic coordination”: annual meetings, regional meetings, *Philanthropy* monthly magazine, thematic informational guidebooks, and the Alliance for Charitable Reform, which works to protect “philanthropic freedom” through educating legislators and policymakers about the central role of philanthropy in American life” (Philanthropy Roundtable 2015a).



**Figure 3. Sociogram of Philanthropy Roundtable network connections to 2010 Koch meeting attendees**

The board members of Philanthropy Roundtable are well-connected within both the Koch network and the wider conservative policy network (see Figure 3). Connections resulting from director interlocks include some of the largest conservative philanthropic foundations (Bradley, Searle, Randolph), the key “dark money” conduit DonorsTrust, and influential policy organizations such as the Hoover Institution (see Figure 3).

#### *Top Linked Attendees*

The rich, the famous, the widely read and listened to, the politically connected, and especially those who are well integrated into the organizations of the policy planning network. In Figure 4, the top 20 connected individuals at this meeting can be seen as individually connected into different areas of the network. There is little overlap and no high concentration at all. But, a wide range of organizations is represented, with a high potential for ideological diffusion.

Political insiders like Edwin Meese attended who have some star power of their own as far as mixing at such events, but more importantly sit on multiple boards. Meese, in spite of having to resign in disgrace from his job as Ronald Reagan’s Attorney General after an independent prosecutor issued a report blasting him for a number of ethical abuses. These offenses included “influence peddling, selling federal jobs,

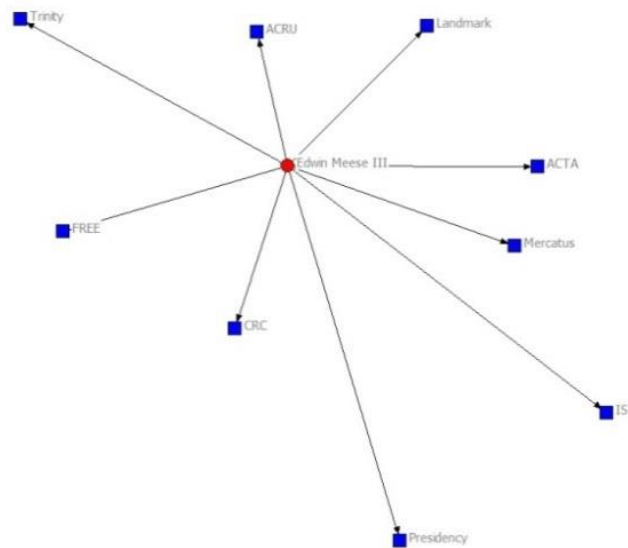


also was an integral part of the “Emergency Committee to Defeat Al Gore” and the “Emergency Committee to Stop Hilary Rodham Clinton.”

In 2009, Meese sat on the boards of seven conservative organizations (see Figure 5): Landmark Legal Foundation, American Civil Rights Union (ACRU), Mercatus Institute, Center for the Study of the Presidency, Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment (FREE), Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI), Capital Research Center (CRC), Trinity Forum, and American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA). Meese’s case is particularly interesting to this case study focused on climate, as none of the entities on whose boards he sits is outwardly a major climate change denial player. His importance to the climate denial and delay network is to serve as a vector in the effort to make climate science denial a deeply entrenched part of conservative ideology. Meese has no scientific background at all but has made public his disbelief in climate change and his distrust of climate science and scientists.

A strong and well-liked figure in conservative circles (Haun 2012), and one who has always been able to toe the party line, Meese, through these wide-ranging network connections, had the capability to influence countless numbers of people. One colleague described Meese as a consummate organizer and facilitator, as having “great management skills: he listens carefully, considers all points of view, and thereby gets everyone invested...” (Haun 2012). Through sitting on the board of FREE, Meese spent time with Professors Jonathan Adler and John Baden, both

anti-climate free marketers. Adler, also a lawyer, was identified in a 2007 study as the most cited legal academic in environmental law under age 40 (Case Western Reserve University School of Law 2015), and is listed as a climate expert by Heartland Institute (Heartland Institute n.d.), Competitive Enterprise Institute (Competitive Enterprise Institute n.d.), the Federalist Society (Federalist Society n.d.), and the Foundation for Economic Education (Foundation for Economic Education n.d.) even though he lacks any scientific training at all, much less specific



**Figure 5. Sociogram of Edwin Meese policy network organization 2009 board seats**

knowledge in climate science. As early as 1997, Adler was writing an anti-climate change science book (*The Costs of Kyoto: Climate Change Policy and Its Implications* [1997]), articles such as “Global Warming: Hot Problem or Hot Air?” (Adler 1998), and opposing regulations dealing with climate change on John Stossel’s Fox show (PERC 2014). In addition, John Von Kannon, a longtime Goldwater Republican, also sat on that board, as well as being the longtime Vice President and main fundraiser for the Heritage Foundation. Von Kannon also sat on the boards of Donors Capital Fund, Holman Foundation, Marion Wells Foundation, and two other grant making philanthropic foundations. (Heritage Foundation. N.d.[c]).

On the board of the Capital Research Center (CRC), Meese joined several ultraconservative activists. Heritage director Marion G. Wells, for example, in addition to her board position with CRC, sat on the boards of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) and chaired her own small philanthropic foundation, the Marion G. Wells Foundation with \$701,274 in 2009 assets and which gave \$41,540 in contributions in 2009 to conservative causes. Thomas Winter also sat on the board of CRC, as well as being a director of the American Conservative Union (ACU), perhaps the largest and most influential of the social conservative wing of the Republican political scene. On the board of the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), Meese joined Steve Balch, conservative scholar and founding president of the conservative think tank National

Association of Scholars, who also sat on the board of The Alexander Hamilton Institute for the Study of Western Civilization. Balch has received awards from the American Conservative Union and from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (National Association of Scholars n.d.).

Another Meese board role was directing Landmark Legal Foundation, which has played a role fighting against climate legislation. Its latest effort was filing an amicus brief challenging EPA's authority to regulate greenhouse gases (Landmark Legal Foundation n.d.). In 2007, Landmark nominated Rush Limbaugh for the Nobel Peace Prize, calling him the "foremost advocate for freedom and democracy in the world today" (PR Newswire 2007). Landmark, joined by other conservative legal organizations, was responsible for a several year effort to troll for damaging information by looking through the emails and academic records of Michael Mann. FOIA and records lawsuits were the tactic of choice, harassing Mann, Penn State University and other universities where Mann had worked (Mann 2012:229). On Landmark's board, Meese was joined by Mark R. Levin, lawyer and constitutional scholar who has become a popular ultraconservative radio host. Levin frequently collaborates with Sean Hannity. In 2009 Levin wrote *Liberty and Tyranny*, a bestselling book, seeking to redefine progressives or liberals as "statists." He has been a longtime denier, and as recently as May 2014, wrote that "There's no convincing evidence that the release of CO2



by humans is causing the alleged change of the Earth” (Mark Levin Show 2014).

On the board of Christian group Trinity Forum, an organization “that works to cultivate networks of leaders whose integrity and vision will renew culture and promote human freedom and flourishing” (Trinity Forum n.d.), Meese is joined by Fonda Huizenga, wife of billionaire Waste Management (and former NFL Dolphins owner) owner Wayne Huizenga, Jr. The Huizengas were estimated to hold \$2.1 billion in wealth, putting them at 154<sup>th</sup> on the 2009 Forbes list, and up to \$2.6 billion in 2014 (Forbes.com 2009, 2014), and, through the Huizenga Family Foundation, are active in donating to conservative and Christian charities such as the Heritage Foundation, Trinity Forum, and between \$250,000 and a \$1 million a year to the US Chamber of Commerce.

As a director of the Mercatus Institute, Meese joined directly with the Kochs and their allies. Charles Koch and his chief lieutenant (and Mercatus founder) economist Richard Fink<sup>19</sup> were both on the board, and

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<sup>19</sup> “Richard Fink is a member of the Mercatus Center's Board of Directors. Mr. Fink is an executive vice president and member of the board of directors of Koch Industries, Inc. He is also chairman and CEO of Koch Companies Public Sector, LLC; which provides legal and government and public affairs services to Koch Industries, Inc. and its affiliates. Mr. Fink also serves on the boards of Georgia-Pacific Equity Holdings, LLC and Flint Hills Resources, LLC, subsidiaries of Koch Industries, Inc. Before joining Koch in 1990, Mr. Fink was an economics professor and executive vice president of advancement and planning at George Mason University. He also served on the University's Board of Visitors for eight years” (Mercatus Center 2015).

Tyler Cowen, a former Mercatus student and a major climate denier<sup>20</sup> in 2009, too.

Besides having been a major scholar at George Mason and at Mercatus (before moving to Chapman University), the Nobel-winning economist Vernon Smith also sat on the board of Property and Environment Research Center (PERC), which was “the nation’s first and largest institute dedicated to improving environmental quality through property rights and markets” (Property and Environment Research Center 2015). PERC champions a philosophy it calls “free market environmentalism,” which, in a recent posting on its website, seems to revolve around replacing EPA and other federal regulatory processes with voluntary corporate efforts, and a reliance on private property rights (Property and Environment Research Center 2014b). Smith was also an active director of Reason Institute, whose “nonpartisan public policy research promotes choice, competition, and a dynamic market economy as the foundation for human dignity and progress” (Reason 2015). Reason’s take on climate change was expressed in 2004: ““What we can say is that climate change has been a natural phenomenon throughout the course of time. What impact do man’s activities have on the Earth’s natural climate cycles? That is still open to debate. Some would say none at all while others will say that it is dramatic” (ExxonSecrets.org. n.d.).

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<sup>20</sup> Though long a denier his views have evolved somewhat since.

And Reason scholar Ronald Bailey wrote in 2004, “So is dangerous rapid global warming merely the new conventional wisdom—or a credible forecast of our climatic future? There's plenty of evidence for both positions, and I'll keep reporting the data and the controversy”<sup>21</sup> (Bailey 2004). Smith also sat on the board of International Foundation for Research in Experimental Economics (IFREE). In addition, Smith has long been affiliated with English think tank Institute of Economic Affairs, which has a longstanding presence in climate change denial (Monbiot 2013) in Europe and he's affiliated with free market groups here including the Association for Private Enterprise Education, and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Smith is also listed as an adjunct scholar and expert at Cato Institute, and serves on the Cato Journal editorial board. Thomas W. Smith (no relation to Vernon Smith) also sits on that board. Thomas W. Smith is a regular attendee of Koch meetings, although he did not attend in 2009. He did attend the 2014 meeting, as well as being an attendee at a similar strategy meeting held by American Enterprise Institute in 2014. Smith also sits on the board of the Manhattan institute, which has a history of denying climate science, and is deeply entrenched in conservative circles. Smith's foundation, TWS Foundation, no longer complies with IRS policy in naming recipients,

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<sup>21</sup> Bailey, too, relented from steadfast denier to non-committal. While seeming to accept basic climate science, he is still quick to accept the validity of anything skeptical and slow to accept consensus. While writing a mea culpa of sorts in 2006, a tongue in cheek self-reference as an Alleged ExxonMobil Whore” (Bailey 2006), he writes as recently as January 2015 (Bailey 2015) complaining that the models are still wrong, and that trends are not being predicted accurately (presumably meaning that action taken on the basis of them would be foolish.

merely stating that details are “available upon written request,” but 2008 and earlier returns show that he is a supporter of Cato, the Competitive Enterprise Institute, Institute for Justice, Federalist Society, Interscholastic Studies Institute, and other conservative policy network organizations and causes. Retired George Mason economist Manuel “Manley” Johnson had occupied the “Koch Chair in International Economics,” and also sits on the Mercatus board. He is also an attendee of Koch meetings. His family foundation, The Manuel and Mary Johnson Foundation, donates to Americans for Prosperity and a few other conservative organizations.

Lastly, Meese is joined on the board of the American Civil Rights Union (ACRU) by Morton Blackwell. Blackwell is founder and president of the Leadership Institute, established in 1979. He served as Barry Goldwater’s youngest elected delegate to the 1964 Republican Party convention. The Leadership Institute “prepares conservatives for success in politics, government and the news media” (Leadership Institute. N.d.) Over the years the Leadership Institute has trained more than 155,000 students. Blackwell also has been involved in several major far right organizations, including the Council for National Policy, the American Conservative Union, and the Free Congress Foundation. He is an active donor to political candidates, including to Mitt Romney and to the Conservative Leadership PAC. The Institute doesn’t teach policy, it teaches tactics; its website explains that it teaches conservative

Americans how to influence policy through direct participation, activism, and leadership” (Leadership Institute 2015). In spite of the official disclaimer about not instilling rightwing ideological stances into its students, the website had this to say in its blog: “For the leftist activists, COP 15 and the protest was about changing the system (aka ending capitalism). Climate change is merely an excuse to collapse capitalism and switch to socialists economic systems” (Campusreform.org 2009). According to one source, the Leadership has had a hand in training some of the foremost conservative leaders of our time, including Karl Rove, Grover Norquist, Ralph Reed, Joe Wilson, Mitch McConnell as well as several other US and state legislators, governors and organization leaders (DeSmogBlog.com n.d.). Blackwell and the Leadership Institute have supported the Heartland Institute’s “International Conferences” on climate change, including as a “Gold Sponsor” in 2012 and “co-sponsor” in 2010. Leadership’s spin-off group “Campus Reform Project” attempted to organize college students to fight climate change legislation by highlighting “ridiculous claims” made by climate scientists (Campusreform.org n.d.). One Campus Reform blogger refers to “Rule 44 of Morton Blackwell’s Laws of Public Policy Process” in which “moral outrage is the most powerful motivating tool in politics. Wise student activists can put this rule to use to bring about real change on their campuses” (Thomas 2010).

In 2002 Blackwell signed the letter to President George W. Bush, urging him to retract the 2002 Climate Action Report produced by the US Global Change Research Program as required by UN agreement, and to require its rewriting and subsequent work in climate change to be products of “sound science” (Smith 2002).<sup>22</sup> Several network connections can be seen at work in the relationships between Meese and his fellow board members. For example, many were involved in Young Republicans or Young Americans for Freedom. Many are corporate CEOs and have met through Business Roundtable, Chamber of Commerce, or other industry associations or groups. Some share board memberships on cultural or more traditional types of philanthropic organizations like cancer research or art museums. David Koch, for example, sits or has sat on the boards of the Economic Club of New York, The Institute of Human Origins, the National Geographic Society, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the American Museum of Natural History, the Corporation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the New York-Presbyterian Hospital, the boards of Deerfield Academy and Johns Hopkins, WGBH, American Ballet Theatre, and numerous other charitable organizations, where he has joined dozens of other influential

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<sup>22</sup> Other signers of the letter include Fred Smith and Myron Ebell (CEI), Paul Beckner (Citizens for a Sound Economy, the predecessor organization to Americans for Prosperity), Kenneth Green (Reason Institute), David Rothbard (CFACT), Thomas Schatz (CAGW), Grover Norquist (ATR), Tom DeWeese (APC), Steve Hayward (Pacific Research Institute), George C. Landrith (Frontiers of Freedom), Patrick Michaels (Cato), Fred Singer (Science and Environmental Policy Project), Lori Waters (Eagle Forum), Paul Weyrich (Free Congress Foundation), John Berthoud (National Taxpayers Union), as well as a dozen other rightwing, business, and Christian organization leaders.

members of the upper class and corporate leaders. Some were also officials in the Nixon White House. Also, Meese's Ivy League education (Yale) allowed him familiarity with many of the Koch meetings attendees—a group of over 200 who, between them, hold at least 37 Ivy League degrees. Virtually everyone is connected to everyone in the six degrees of Edwin Meese—at least everyone on the ultraconservative side of politics.

Another type of influential attendee is the wealthy activist. Well over half the attendees at the 2010 Koch meeting are multimillionaires, and some have crossed over from merely “voting conservative” and donating to conservative politicians to becoming activists themselves. Donating large amounts year after year in an organized campaign with specific ends, bringing in friends and business associates, attending strategy and tactics meetings, and sitting on boards of policy organizations shows a hands-on involvement that was unusual in past generations. Members of the ruling economic elite now feel almost compelled to fight directly for their principles and material interests.

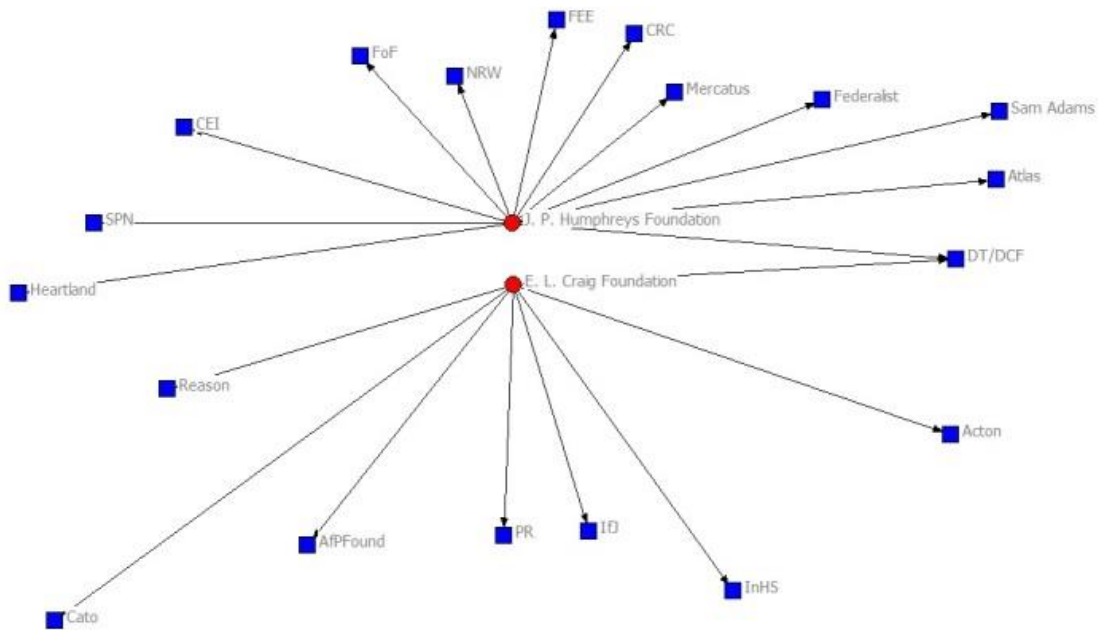
One example of this multimillionaire activism through philanthropy is the Lovett and Ruth Peters Foundation, founded by oilman Lovett “Pete” Peters and his wife after he “made a fair chunk” in the oil exploration business (Heritage Foundation 2009). Now headed by their son Daniel S. Peters, the foundation focuses on education reform. In 2009, the foundation, with assets of \$3,932,494, donated a total of

\$1,624,000 to 31 different organizations, many of them related to education. But, in addition to a few legitimate scholarship and reform organizations is a long list of donations to the general funds of an array of ultraconservative organizations, including: the American Enterprise Institute, Americans for Tax Reform, Heritage Foundation, Institute for Humane Studies, James Madison Institute, Landmark Legal Foundation, Mackinac Center, National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, Pacific Research Institute, Pioneer Institute, Reason Foundation, and the State Policy Network. Donations to these organizations totaled \$550,000. There was also an unidentified donation of \$225,000 to DonorsTrust, the dark money organization of choice for the Koch network (see Chapter V), which means that about half of the “philanthropic” efforts of the Peters family have gone to organizations that deny climate change, in addition to supporting lower taxes for wealthy individuals, lowering regulations for corporations, and pushing for legislation that increases and makes permanent class differences in our country. In fact, of the remaining \$800,000 in donations, it appears that very little could really be called “charity” in the generally accepted sense of the word, as the grants seem to support charter schools and school choice organizations in several states, an issue broadly interwoven with class issues in the United States.

Another example is Ethelmae Humphreys, owner of Tamko Building Materials. Humphreys, described as a top power player in



Missouri politics (St. Louis Beacon 2014), appears to be a regular attendee at the Koch meetings. In addition to sitting on the boards of two activist conservative philanthropic foundations (see Figure 6), she is also on the boards



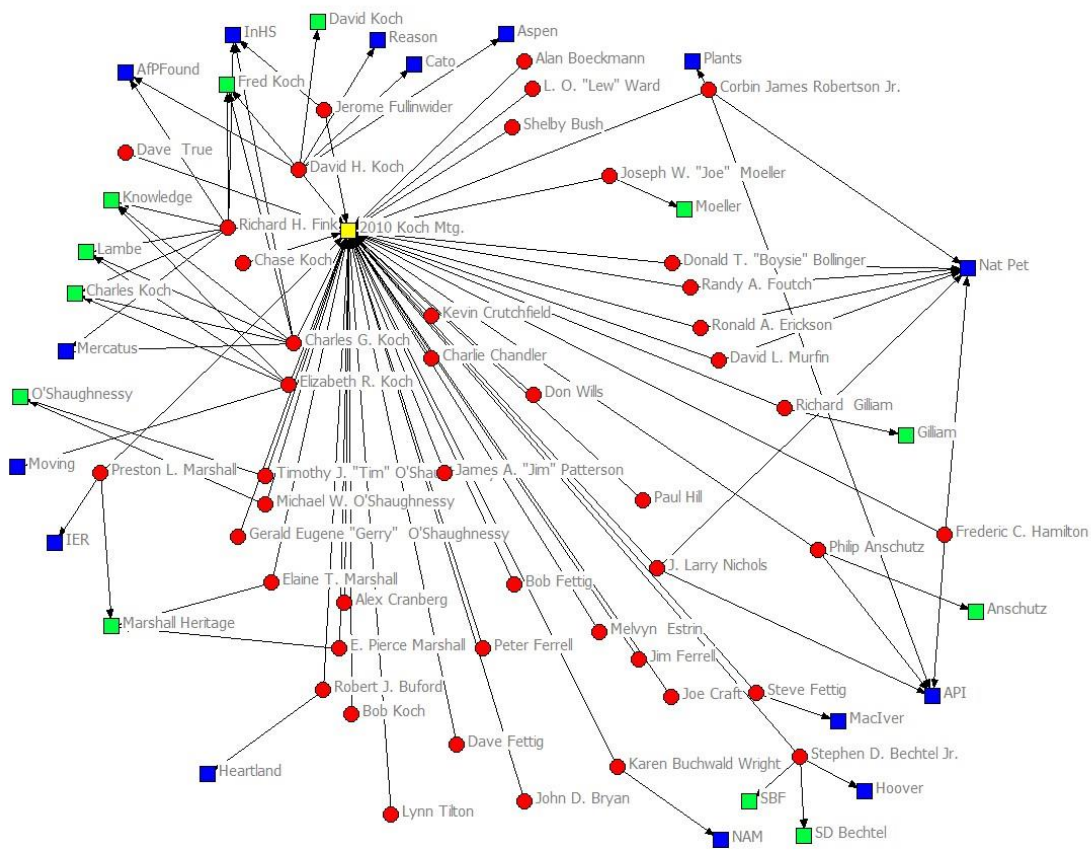
**Figure 6. Sociogram of 2009 Donations to conservative organization made by foundations controlled by Ethelmae Humphreys**

of three policy organizations: she has long been on the board at Cato, and also sits on the boards of the Foundation for Economic Education (FEE) and the National Right to Work Legal Defense Fund. The

foundations she directs—the J.P. Humphreys Foundation and the E.L. Craig Foundation—donate to a wide spectrum of mainstream conservative and far right organizations. Between the two foundations, 19 conservative policy organizations are supported, including Cato, Heartland, State Policy Network, Mercatus Institute and Institute of Humane Studies, Reason Foundation, Americans for Prosperity, and Competitive Enterprise Institute. Both foundations also give large donations to unknown recipients through DonorsTrust (see Chapter V). In 2009, donations to right wing causes from these two entities totaled \$1,707,500, of which \$250,000 (or about 15%) was laundered through DonorsTrust.

Ken Langone is the billionaire founding partner of Home Depot. He is said to be a regular attendee at Koch meetings; he attended in 2009 and 2011, and several other years as well (Fang 2011). Forbes estimated his personal wealth at \$2.4 billion (Forbes.com 2009), making him the 242nd wealthiest person in the country in 2009. He sits on the boards of two conservative policy organizations and controls an active philanthropic foundation, the Marcus Foundation. In 2009, the Marcus Foundation spread about \$1,000,000 to 14 different conservative organizations, including the American Enterprise Institute, Institute for Humane Studies, the Property & Environment Research Center, and the Philanthropy Roundtable.

Figure 7 shows the Koch meeting attendees who are part of the fossil fuels industry. This group includes oil processors, drillers, suppliers, retail and wholesale companies, pipeline companies, and allied industries. Also included are members of the boards of any fossil fuels related company, even if their main income could not be verified to come from fossil fuels. Those who have benefitted from large inherited wealth



**Figure 7. Representatives from the fossil fuels industry attending 2010 Koch meeting, and their 2009 network connections.**

from fossil fuels fortunes have also been included, and those who sit on philanthropic boards based on fortunes generated in the fossil fuels

industries. I have also included any allied industry that depends to a great extent on the health of the fossil fuels industry, with the best example being those who specialize in finance within the oil industry. Using this definition, 44 individuals attending the Koch meeting were members of the fossil fuels industries. Of these individuals, four were members of the board of the American Petroleum Institute, and seven were directors of the National Petroleum Council. Besides these, fossil fuels attendees had only 16 other network connections in the wider network, most of them through the Kochs themselves. The National Coal Council and Natural Gas Council were also each represented by two directors.

An example of a wealthy fossil fuels industry activist is Corbin Robertson, Jr. After starring on the University of Texas football team in the 1960s, Robertson took over his grandfather's company. He is CEO of Quintana Petroleum, and even though his family had traditionally invested in and made massive profits from oil, he divested and instead went heavily into coal. His company-- Natural Resource Partners—operates in mountaintop removal mining, and one estimate puts his NRP's reserves as the largest in the nation, with only the federal government holding more in reserve. Robertson and his firm are closely affiliated with the Coalition for Responsible Regulation, which seeks to challenge EPA greenhouse gas regulations (Bannerjee 2010). He has donated large amounts to conservative and ultraconservative politicians

over the years including the last three election cycles, and is listed as a top 100 political donor (openscrets.org n.d. [b]). He is also active in climate policy himself. According to IRS documents filed by the organizations, Robertson is a director of two groups promoting climate denial, “Plants Need CO2” (a 501c3) and “CO2 is Green” (a 501c4).

Robertson, among others, was acknowledged at the Koch meeting in June 2011 in Vail, Colorado for donating at least \$1 million to Koch-related causes (Aronsen 2011). He sits on the boards of family philanthropic foundations that dispense tens of millions of dollars per year. Also acknowledged at the 2011 meeting were 2010 attendees John W. Childs, Dean Cortopassi, Joe Craft, Rich and Helen DeVos, Dick Farmer, Foster Friess, Richard Gilliam, Dick Haworth, Diane Hendricks, Ethelmae Humphreys, Kenneth Levy and Frayda Levin, The Marshalls, Art Pope, and Karen Wright and Tom Rastin. Other regular attendees honored for \$1 million dollar donations include Charles Schwab, Paul Singer, and John “Jack” Templeton, and others (Aronsen 2011).

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY NETWORK

When power elite theorists argue that the corporate class rules America, they do not say it is through the backroom edicts of a few shadowy villains as is sometimes portrayed in conspiracy theory sketches. In the United States, members of the power elite rule through their ability to generate policies that favor their class positions. One way they do this is through their positions as board members and funders of the highly interlocked organizations in the policy planning network (see Figure 7). They produce and constantly reproduce a basic worldview that helps protect and extend their material interests, and their various networks work to solidify and do battle for such class interests. Domhoff, while stressing the fact that these networks are always in flux, with families rising and falling, corporations booming or busting, and organizations changing personnel, notes the importance of the “innumerable face to face small groups that are constantly changing in their composition as people move from one social setting to another” (Domhoff 2006:75). The identities of the individual members of the network are less important than the fact that the network relationships exist, that they represent class interests, and that they exert power to advance those interests. These networks serve as the producers of a

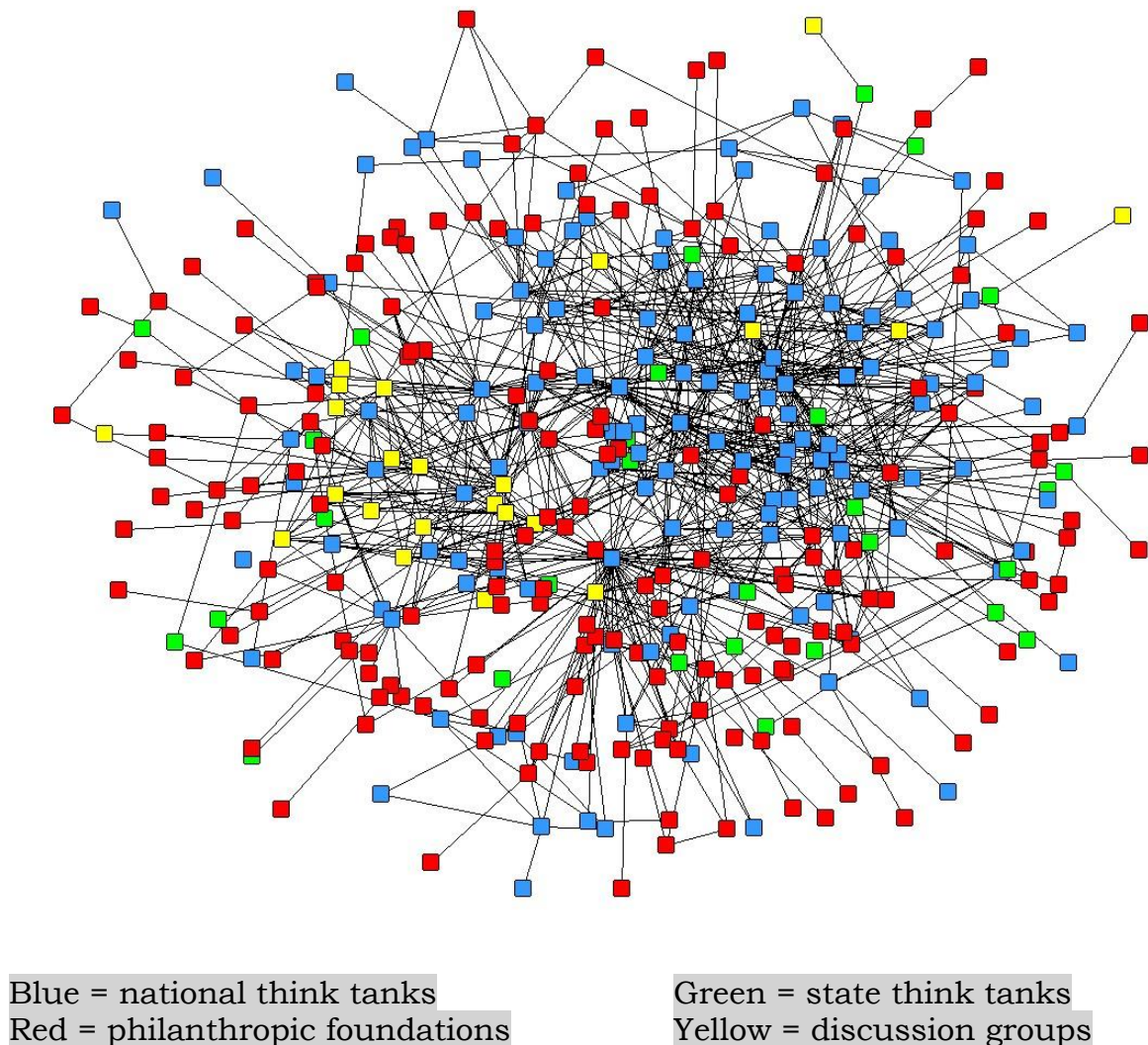
consistent worldview from which specific policies spring as much as they do to produce the specific policies themselves.

The corporate elite lies at the heart of the policy network, for it is here that class-wide interests are developed through political and social processes, “in corporate boardrooms, social clubs, and informal discussions” (Domhoff 2006:79). Problems and interests are identified, disagreements and misunderstandings become clarified, and factions of the elite can use their power to try to direct the overall network to do its bidding, through the actions (and in the case of climate change denial, *inaction*) of government. Between the informal discussions that identify issues and the action of government lie the organizations of the policy network, composed of three main components: philanthropic foundations (mainly family foundations but increasingly including corporate foundations and “laundering” organizations), think tanks, and policy discussion groups. These organizations are highly interlocked (see Figure 8).

### *Think Tanks*

The term “think tank” enjoys a loose definition that several scholars have attempted to better conceptualize (see Pautz 2011, Plehwe 2008, 2014, and Kelstrup n.d.). These debates are beyond the scope of this research, but it is important to stake out a working definition for the

practical purposes of the research. In this study, “think tanks” will consist of organizations that fall in between universities (which generally claim autonomy from public policy battles and claim little interest in participating in them), and political organizations that do openly act as lobbying or pressure groups (Plehwe 2008).



**Figure 8. Sociogram of 2009 Director Interlocks of the Conservative Policy Network**



Policy is developed through a network of these policy organizations that conduct research and develop suggestions. Policy proposals then go through a discussion phase where the opinions of the individuals in the wider conservative network can have the opportunity to coalesce around key legislative approaches. Ideological pressure is exerted on these organizations primarily through funding, as philanthropic foundations make decisions each year about which of these organizations to fund, and to what extent.

The oldest of these think tank organizations is American Enterprise Institute, originally named the American Enterprise Association. AEI was founded in 1943 by Lewis H. Brown, president of the Johns-Manville Corporation. It served corporate interests, but represented those interests as being best for the country as a whole. While attempts were made to nudge labor towards adopting corporate ideology as in its best interests, Brown and the AEI realized that the corporate relationship with government was another key. The first organized bastion of free market corporate conservatism, AEI sought to stamp national policy discussions with the economics of Hayek and von Mises (Smith 1991:7). Just as today's organizations do, AEI's board included activist corporate leaders of the day, who, by the 1970s, were bent on pushing both the dominant corporate worldview and the more "mainstream conservative" politicians rightward, though they did not see themselves as a political organization *per se* (Rich 2004:54). Finding little

success through its initial “lawyerly approach”, AEI soon looked to academia as their model, bringing free market scholars such as Milton Friedman into the fold, and having policy analysis written in the “language of the policy community” (Smith 1991:175). By 1973, it wasn’t outlandish for President Richard Nixon, hardly a lock-step conservative, to remark that “we can’t fight the marketplace” (Jacobs 2008:199).

If AEI was the foundation upon which 1970s Republican activists sought to build a comprehensive network of conservative think tanks, it took a rebirth of activist spirit on the part of the wealthy and corporate class to make real change. Lewis Powell called for this kind of activism in his 1971 memo to his friend Eugene Sydor was then President of the Chamber of Commerce. Powell describes American business as being under “broad attack” from liberal enemies, and claims that is the “responsibility of business executives to recognize that the ultimate issue may be the survival...of America and the freedom of her people” (Powell 1971). Powell saw the need not just for action, but for *concerted* action:

But independent and uncoordinated activity by individual corporations, as important as this is, will not be sufficient. Strength lies in organization, in careful long-range planning and implementation, in consistency of action over an indefinite period of years, in the scale of financing available only through joint effort, and in the political power available only through united action and national organizations. (Powell 1971)

Powell goes on to detail from where the counterattack must come, including in churches, campuses, intellectual and popular press, the arts

and sciences, and in politics. It was up to the “good citizens,” argued Powell, to fight against the left. But Powell was not alone in feeling that the Right was a beleaguered and disorganized whipping boy for all of America’s problems. Some of the richest men in America were starting to become aware as well.

William Simon, in his book *A Time for Truth* (1978, co-authored with Clare Booth Luce), may have been among the most important and influential from the corporate wealthy class to help this process along. In

Issuing a prominent call for counterpublicity, William Simon participated in an orchestrated movement initiated by public officials and private executives in the early 1970s to overcome the perceived marginalization of conservative policy ideas. Despite the election of Richard Nixon as president, influential social actors believed that conservatism continued to suffer from a marginalization effected through the formation of the New Deal policymaking coalition in the 1930s. (Simon and Luce 1978:65)

The event that truly signaled the era of the dominant conservative policy network was the conception and birth of the Heritage Foundation. Founded in 1973, the Heritage Foundation “is a research and educational institution whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense” (Heritage 2015).

Heritage was born from the desire of Colorado beer baron Joseph Coors to find an organization that would unflinchingly defend free

market capitalism, but he and conservative political activist Paul Weyrich couldn't find one. Weyrich was reduced to saying "I don't understand why people who are free-market-oriented stop being free-market-oriented when there's competition that encroaches on their activities" (Phillips-Fein 2009:172). Coors and Weyrich, with a few other conservative activists simply started their own organization. One of the earliest of its opinion pieces was titled "The Government Versus the Entrepreneur," contributed by Amway founders Jay Van Andel and Richard M. DeVos (Phillips-Fein 2009:169-72). Although Heritage was oriented as an intellectual non-partisan knowledge producer, it is clear that, though the "New Right in the 1970s might have a new style, it still drew its money and its personnel from the old cadres of the business right" (Phillips-Fein 2009:173). The power of Heritage's model of knowledge production for practical purposes was proven when the newly elected Ronald Reagan incorporated virtually *en masse* the approach contained in Heritage's massive *Mandate for Leadership* (Heatherly 1981). The purpose of the project was to organize conservative thought around key principles and practical approaches to "revitalize our economy, strengthen our national security and halt the centralization of power in the federal government" (Heatherly 1981:vii). The paperback version, condensed to 1000 pages, was a Washington bestseller, and contained over "2000 ideas—60% of which had been implemented within his first year (Ball 2013). Indeed, when President Reagan, deeply tied in to corporate networks of power

and contributions, visited the Heritage Foundation in 1986 to give a speech, he felt that he “was among old friends” (Smith 1991:19).

Besides its new model of policy analysis as the foundation of actual governance, the Heritage Foundation also was crucial in the development of today’s policy network for its funding model. Starting off with large donations from a few key corporate activist multi-millionaires, the foundation soon received contributions from a wide swath of the conservatively oriented philanthropic foundations. This core network of the Heritage Foundation and the major philanthropic foundations—including most of the “Diligent Dozen” (see below) are the early core around which was constructed the policy network of dozens of national multi-issue conservative and ultraconservative think tanks, dozens of state and regionally oriented multi-issue think tanks, and hundreds of philanthropic foundations funded by the wealthy leaders of corporate America today (Schulman and Zelizer 2008:154-6). Basic consistency is assured through the hiring process. For example, Cato is clear that its analysts will not be suggesting any potential policy proposals that involved adding to government. Free market ideological guidelines, usually funneled through the theoretical work of Austrian economists Hayek and von Mises, are already internalized and then are strengthened within organizations.

These major national think tanks offer a wide variety of policy suggestions and research on a spectrum of issues. Some think tanks

develop a niche in the constellation of issues, such as fighting against unions or for K-12 school reform. Others are regional or state-oriented in their concerns. Some organizations are oriented towards infrastructure of the policy network itself, especially starting in the 1990s. One study notes that

Nonprofit infrastructure organizations received \$8,547,119 from foundations in order to help strengthen the organizations working on conservative public policy issues. These organizations, such as the State Policy Network and Philanthropy Roundtable, are primarily membership organizations that provide a range of services from technical assistance to organizing conferences and gatherings where new funders can be identified and new ideas generated to further the work of the conservative movement. The nonprofit infrastructure organizations also serve as a type of outreach mechanism to conservative funders to help them find new grantees that share their conservative values and ideals. (Krehely, House, and Kernan 2004:29)

In addition to those mentioned by Krehely, House and Kernan, there are several other entities worth mentioning here. The Leadership Institute, which focuses on training and preparing young students to be conservative activists, both inside the government and from business ranks. Atlas Foundation helps new organizations grow and develop, offering training to administrators, financing, help with fundraising, as well as coordinating an international organization of organizations.

Though any of these organizations may differ on individual issues, part of the function of the network itself is to lay these ideas out to the policy public to allow for consensus and compromise to be reached.

“Despite the ideological differences of the Heritage Foundation, AEI and

the Cato Institute, they have been successful in advancing the conservative movement” (Krehely, House and Kernan 2004:20). And since the 1980s, all the careful work and massive spending have paid off, as “one successful campaign followed another: official English, immigration reform, welfare revisionism, limits on affirmative action, rollbacks in women’s procreative rights...” (Stefancic and Delgado1996:4). Even liberal scholars who “have little admiration for the substance of the right’s social agenda [remark on the] dedication, economy of effort, and sheer ingenuity of much of the conservative machine” (Stefancic and Delgado 1996:5). This is accomplished partly through the coordinating relationships that directors of these organizations have with each other and through the meetings and events which are held between them.

Some of the key policy organizations are worth singling out, as they have been central to the wider conservative policy network for decades. Val Burris uses a group of policy organizations in his study on the rightward turn of those organizations, tracing this rightward shift using network analysis. This group includes the CED, CFR, Conference Board, Business Roundtable, BC, National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, Trilateral Commission, American Enterprise Institute, Hoover Institute, Heritage Foundation, and Brookings Institution. In Figure 9 below, the wide network connections of those organizations can be seen. These 12 policy organizations are related to a





foundations, community foundations, or “pass-through” donor-advised funds. In order to earn tax-free status, the foundations must disclose and post their annual reports, including the recipients of their contributions. Recipients must be identified as charitable organizations under the tax code, theoretically leaving out overtly political entities associated directly with campaigns and candidates.

In 2009 there were 76,545 philanthropic foundations registered in the United States. Of these, 4,567 were operating organizations oriented towards funding a specific entity, and so are left out of this analysis. The remaining 71,978 of these organizations held a total of more than \$590 billion in assets, and received about \$40 billion in gifts during 2009. These organizations gave out almost \$46 billion in gifts during the year 2009. Most of these foundations were “independent foundations,” meaning they were controlled by individuals or families, or groups of private individuals, and these foundations hold the bulk of assets, with \$482 billion. Of the remainder, 2,733 were corporate philanthropic foundations with almost \$20 billion and 737 were community foundations with about \$50 billion (Foundation Center 2015a). Of the 50 largest giving independent foundations in the country in 2009, 25 are found in the conservative policy network, including eight of the top ten, and 16 of the top 25 (Foundation Center 2015b).

Of the key 2001 conservative funding organizations studied by Krehely, House and Kernan (2004), 60 of the 78 are still found in the

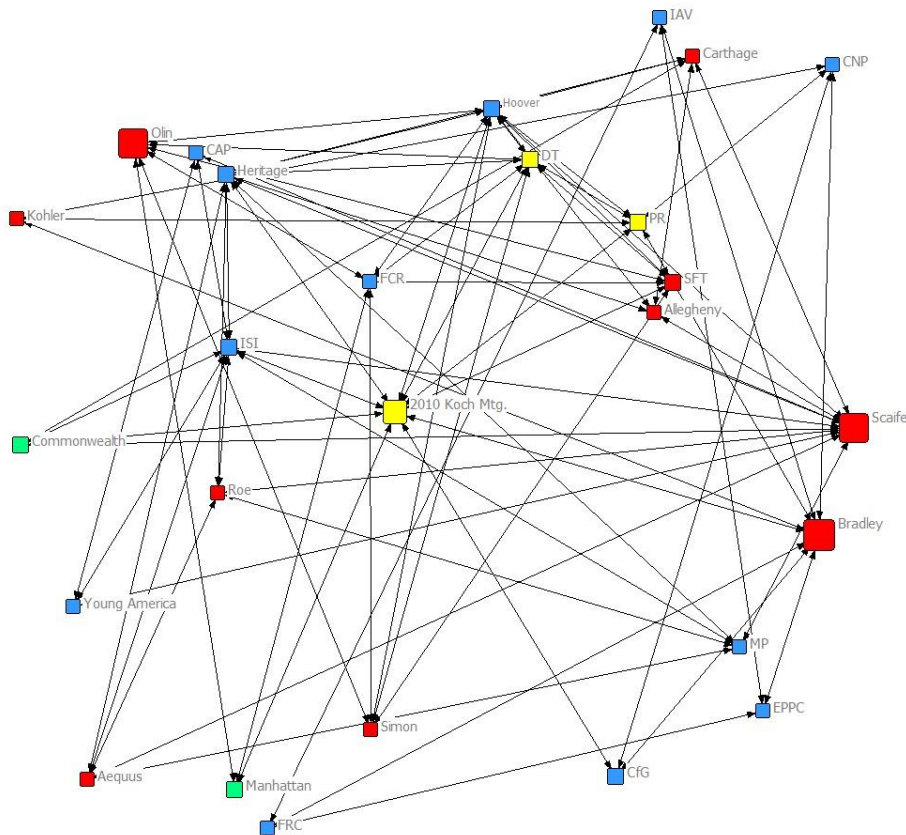
conservative policy network, so once these funding mechanisms are set up they tend to last for some considerable time. Leadership is passed from generation to generation, and outside directors are replaced as they retire, because relationships with others holding key ideological beliefs serve to reinforce those beliefs with new members.

They have done so because conservative foundation boards often hold the same beliefs as those of their grantees and are looking to build the conservative movement. Progressives have not experienced this same type of dedication to their movement because foundation boards tend to be composed of individuals who represent wealthy and corporate interests and are, therefore, not willing to support controversial research and advocacy that may threaten their place in society. (Krehely, House and Kernan 2004:21)

Although there are many instances of these conservative foundations donating large amounts of money to what could be perceived as “liberal” causes and organizations (Domhoff gives the example of The Ford Foundation and environmental organizations in the early 1960s [Domhoff 2006:83]), and even a quick glance through the IRS filings of the foundations in this study show that environmental groups, K-12 school support and improvement, college scholarships and grants, and other examples), there is no doubt in the end where the interests of most of these organizations lie. Although money may be spent on these issues, there is little “bend on the key issues, such as shown by the foundations’ support for opposition to unionization” (Domhoff 2006: 87).

*The four sisters and the diligent dozen*

In conservative circles, the four most traditionally important philanthropic foundations are a group called the “Four Sisters,” consisting of the John M. Olin Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, and the Scaife Foundations (see Figure 10). While their conservative fortunes were dwarfed by larger foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller, the “four sisters” and other allied foundations targeted their money to ensure an outsized impact on national politics” (Meagher 2012:472).



**Figure 10. Sociogram of 2009 Interlocks of the “Four Sisters” Group of Conservative Philanthropic Foundations.**

They are ideologically driven and focused, tending to support specific organizations rather than individual projects. This allows for stability and growth. In Table 5, a network can be discerned through director interlocks between the Four Sisters. Smith Richardson is isolated from the network, and only Bradley was represented at the 2010 Koch meeting, but the degree to which the Four Sisters are embedded in

**Table 5. 2009 Assets and Contributions from the "Four Sisters" Conservative Philanthropic Foundations**

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Four Sisters - 2009

Foundation	Assets	Contributions
Bradley	\$622,913,819	\$44,367,300
Olin	\$1,121,088	\$1,280,748
Scaife Foundations		
Sarah Scaife	\$243,990,427	\$14,099,500
Scaife Family	\$70,966,750	\$2,644,684
Carthage	\$24,309,711	\$600,000
Smith-Richardson	\$441,100,393	\$21,741,648
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$1,404,402,188</b>	<b>\$84,733,880</b>

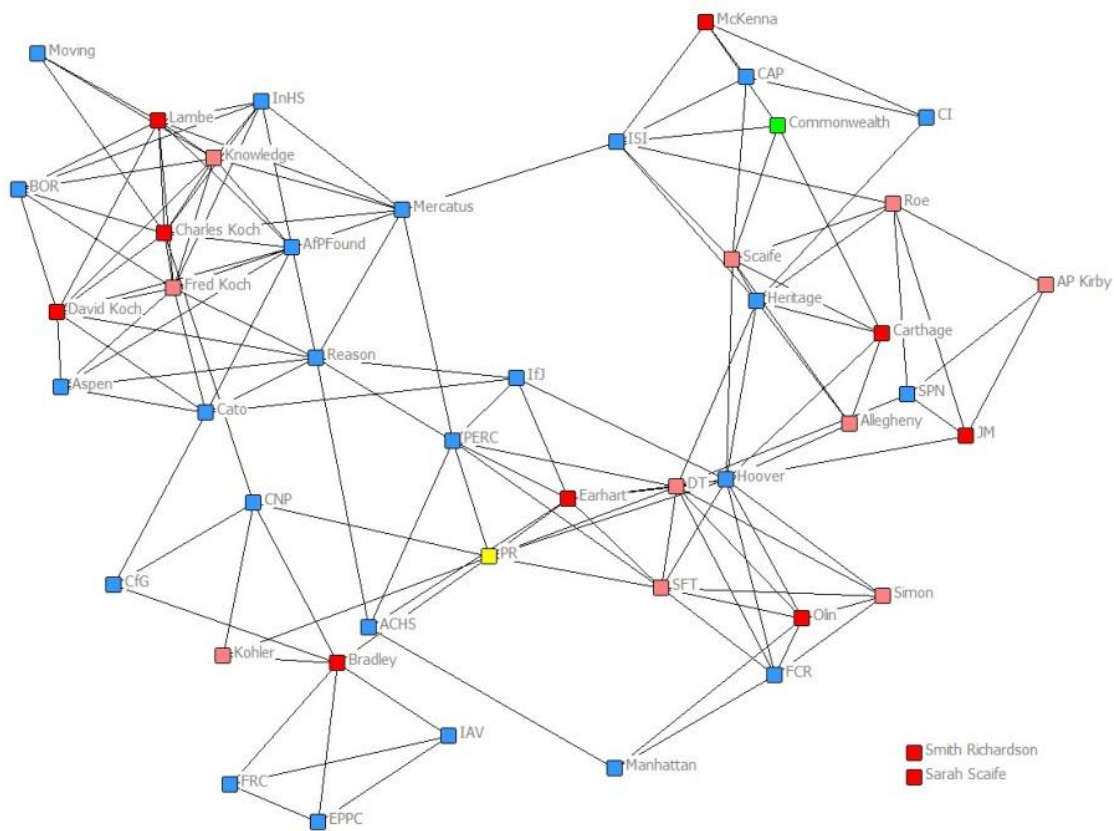
Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings

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the network, and are related to each other and to important nodes in the network through multiple director interlocks is easily visible. The “Diligent Dozen” refers to a slightly larger collection of philanthropic foundations especially dedicated to building and securing a permanent conservative topography of organizations in the ongoing war of ideas. In the words of one scholar who studies conservative philanthropy, “The philanthropic funding of an ideology -- its articulation and dissemination -- is rare, perhaps unprecedented in American politics. To have sustained the effort over decades must be unique. It was a brilliant strategy brilliantly executed...” (Behan 2003). This group includes The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Carthage Foundation, the Earhart Foundation, the Charles G. Koch, David H. Koch and Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundations, the Phillip M. McKenna Foundation, the JM Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation<sup>23</sup>, the Henry Salvatori Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, and the Smith Richardson Foundation (see Figure 11). These organizations, as some of the largest of the ideologically and long-term strategically motivated foundations, “have been consistently bent on developing an agenda for the nation,” according to one researcher (Dowie 2001:XXII).

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<sup>23</sup> After 2005, the Diligent Dozen really became the Diligent Eleven. The John M. Olin Foundation, established in 1953 by John M. Olin with money he made in the chemical and defense industries, was closed. According to the Philanthropy Roundtable’s “Philanthropy Hall of Fame” article on John Olin, “Before he died in 1982, he instructed his foundation to spend itself out of existence within a generation of his passing” in order to avoid “wandering goals and a disconnection from the donor’s intent.” (Miller 2006) it spent its assets over the next few years.



**Figure 11. Sociogram of 2009 Interlocks of the “The Diligent Dozen” Group of Conservative Philanthropic Foundations**

The 2009 assets of this group total over \$1.8 billion (see Table 6). Total 2009 giving was over \$107 million in 2009, led by Bradley at \$44 million and Smith-Richardson at \$21 million.

**Table 6. 2009 Assets and Contributions  
from the "Diligent Dozen" Conservative  
Philanthropic Foundations**

	<b>Foundation Assets</b>	<b>Contributions</b>
Bradley	\$622,913,819	\$44,367,300
Olin	\$1,121,088	\$1,280,748
Scaife Foundations		
Sarah Scaife	\$243,990,427	\$14,099,500
Scaife Family	\$70,966,750	\$2,644,684
Carthage	\$24,309,711	\$600,000
Smith-Richardson	\$441,100,393	\$21,741,648
Henry Salvatori	\$0	\$0
Phillip McKenna	\$13,213,435	\$461,650
Koch Foundations		
David H. Koch	\$95,264,998	\$0
Charles G. Koch	\$206,497,763	\$12,157,638
Lambe	\$7,349,000	\$2,713,796
Knowledge and Progress	\$22,746,656	\$0
Fred C. Koch	\$31,850,374	\$1,485,923
JM Foundation	\$22,314,527	\$807,045
Earhart Foundation	\$35,165,196	\$5,049,476
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$1,838,804,137</b>	<b>\$107,409,408</b>

Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings

Foundations are clearly a crucial component of this policy network, but not simply as funders. These organizations, as extensions of the

corporate community carry with them the corporate ideological stand on key issues; “they are not merely donors of money for charity and value-free research...they are also program initiators” (Domhoff 2006:87).

### *Other Major Ideological Funders*

In addition to the previously identified Four Sisters and Diligent Dozen, there are several philanthropic foundations worthy of mention in this network. The Searle Freedom Trust, founded by Daniel C. Searle in 1998 to “foster research and education on public policy issues that affect individual freedom and economic liberty. Through its grant-making, the foundation seeks to develop solutions to the country’s most important and challenging domestic policy issues” (Searle Freedom Trust 2015). One of its main focuses is environmental policy, although like many funding organizations in the conservative policy network, the basic worldview drives funding towards small government and a focus on individual economic freedom governed almost exclusively by the market (Dennis n.d.). Guided for several years by Dan Searle himself, the Searle Freedom Trust has given millions to a broad range of conservative organizations (see Figure 12). In 2009, Searle Freedom Trust contributed over \$7 million, including \$1.5 million to the American Enterprise Institute, and six figure contributions to American Council for Capital Formation, American Council of Trustees and Alumni, American

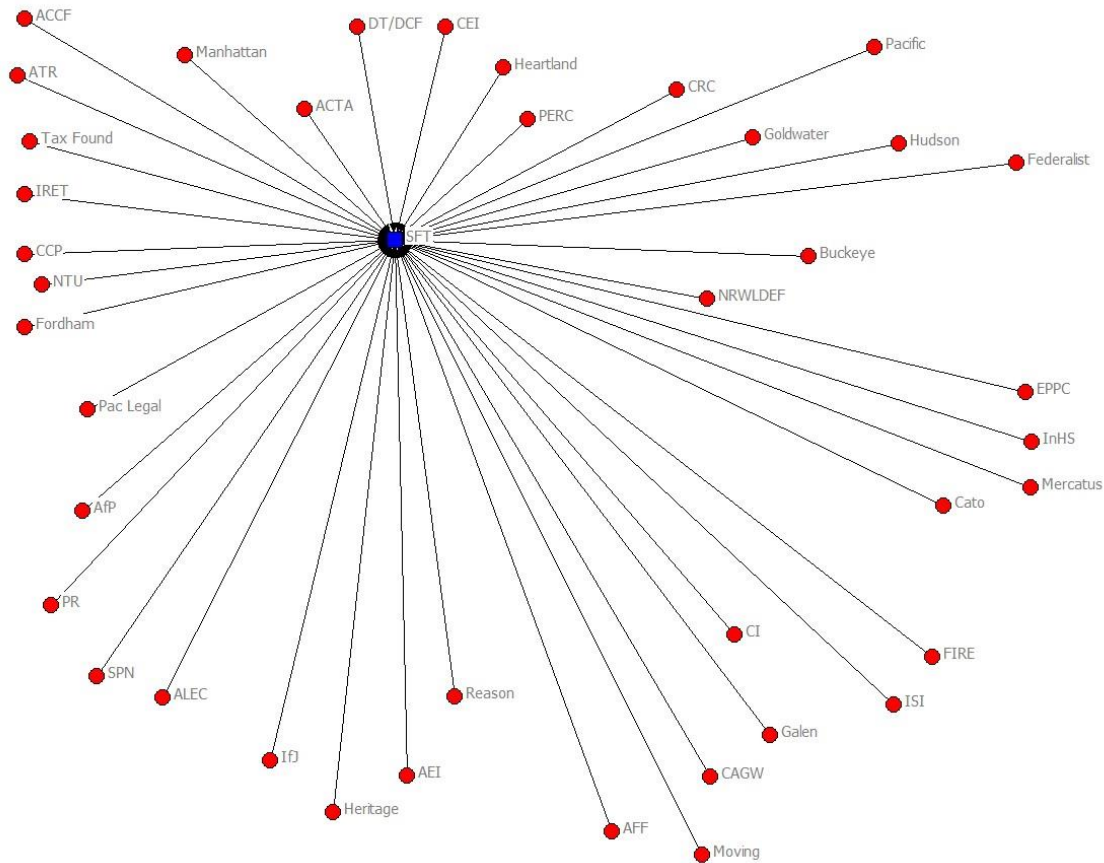


Legislative Exchange Council, Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions, Cato Institute, Center for Competitive Politics, Competitive Enterprise Institute, Galen Institute, Heartland Institute, Institute for Humane Studies, Institute for Justice, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, Mercatus Center, Pacific Research Institute, Property & Environment Research Center, Reason Foundation, State Policy Network, Tax Foundation, The Federalist Society, and The Heritage Foundation. Approximately a dozen other organizations received contributions between \$10,000 and \$99,000. The public received a rare view into the processes of funding the projects proposed within the conservative policy network when the 2013 “Searle Tax and Budget Grant Proposals” document became public (State Policy Network 2013). Ed Pilkington and Suzanne Goldenberg reported in the *Guardian* in 2013 that the Searle projects reflected a “coordinated assault against public sector rights and services in the key areas of education, healthcare, income tax, workers' compensation and the environment...” (Pilkington and Goldenberg 2013). Among other proposals was a request from the Beacon Hill Institute which requested \$38,825 from Searle:

to weaken or roll back a five-year effort by states in the region to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The institute said it would carry out research into the economic impact of the cap-and-trade system operating in nine states known as the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative. BHI appeared to have already arrived at its conclusions in advance, admitting from the outset that the aim of the research was to arm opponents of cap-and-trade with data for their arguments, and to weaken or destroy the initiative. "Success will take

the form of media recognition, dissemination to stakeholders, and legislative activity that will pare back or repeal RGGI," the funding proposal says. (Pilkington and Goldenberg 2013)

These foundations provide a steady flow of dollars, donated for general purposes rather than for specific projects, usually, allowing think tanks to compete with each other based on results and potential for results and ideological alignment.

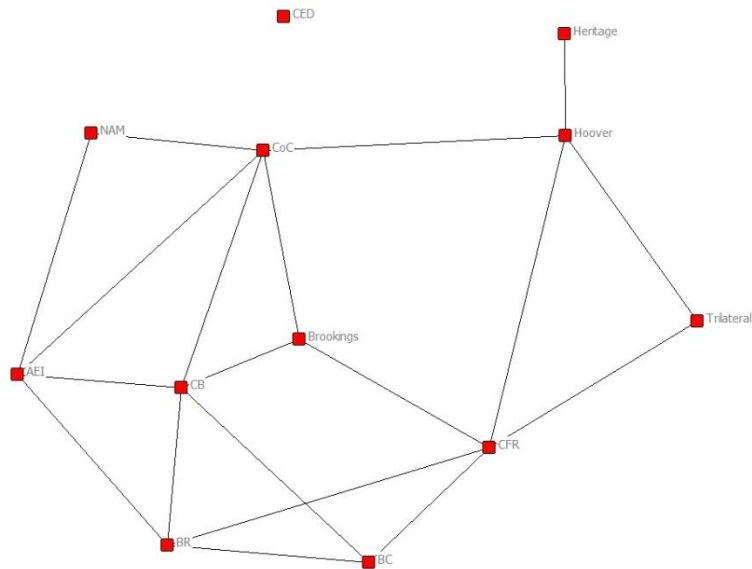


**Figure 12. Sociogram of Searle Freedom Trust 2009 Donations to Conservative Policy Organizations**

### *Policy Discussion Groups*

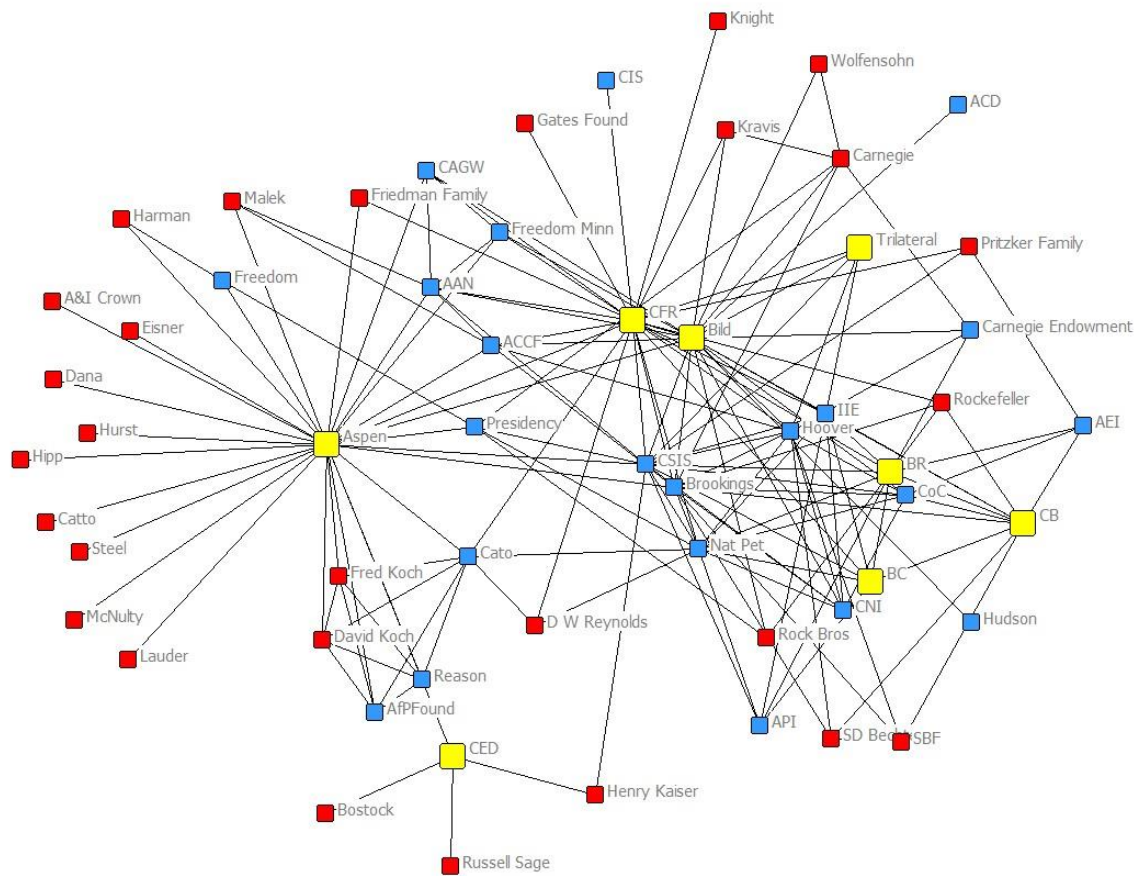
Policy discussion groups include the organizations most often associated with corporate power in the US, such as the US Chamber of Commerce (CoC) and the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), and less well-known organizations such as the Business Roundtable (BR), which all unapologetically fight for corporate interests. These entities are tied directly in to governmental decision-making through advisory groups, as well as through the advocacy and lobbying arms of their member companies and individuals (see Figure 13). Others are thought of as more scholarly bodies, such as Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) or the Committee for Economic Development (CED). These organizations portray themselves as non-partisan, though their interests align closely with corporate needs and wants, and therefore with the conservative political groups who are for the most part corporate and foundation funded. Interlocks provide communication patterns and relationships that facilitate ideological agreement (Burriss 2008). According to Val Burriss, we should expect interlocks in these organizations because,

to the extent that ideological criteria are operative in the selection of directors, we would also expect ideologically similar organizations to draw from a common pool of potential directors, thereby increasing the likelihood of board overlaps...dependence on common sources of funding may also bring with it a shared interest or obligation to appoint some of the same individuals to directorships (Burriss 2008:12).



**Figure 13. Sociogram of 2009 Interlocks among Burris 12 Influential Policy Organizations**

These organizations share leadership, both with each other and with corporate America, as well as the social upper class (see Figure 14). This results in ideological consistency going in both directions—directors being influenced by each other and taking on those views to their other organizations and groups, as well as bringing their own ideological views with them to their boards and sharing them with their fellow directors.



**Figure 14. Sociogram of 2009 Board Interlocks of the Directors of 8 Key Discussion Groups (Aspen, CED, BC, CB, Bild, CFR, Trilateral, BR)**

As the express purpose of discussion groups is to generate consensus, it should be no surprise that they are so embedded into the network. In Figure 14, it is apparent that the eight major policy discussion groups are not only related to each other, sharing common leadership amongst themselves, but also interfacing directly with a large number of other types of organizations. First of all, some of the key philanthropic foundations are represented, including the Rockefeller

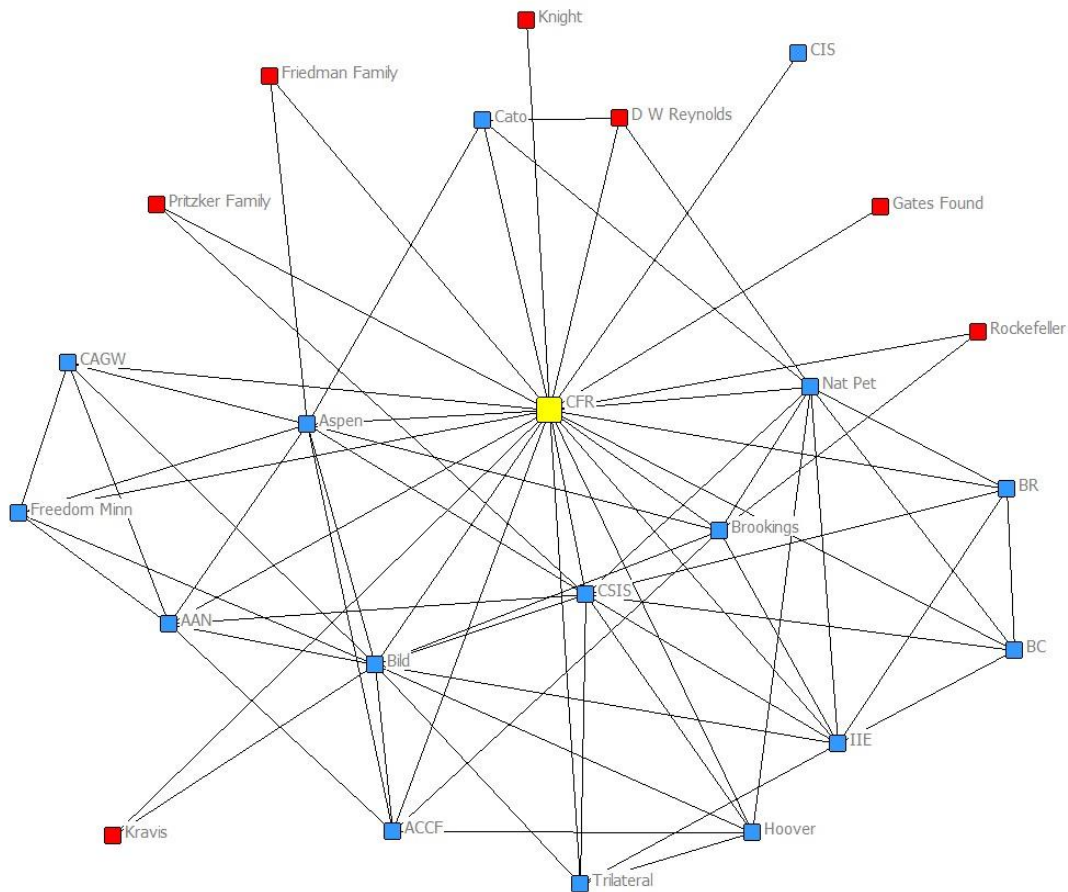
foundations, the Gates Foundation, David Koch, as well as a new generation of wealthy corporate interests, including Henry Kravis, Steve Bechtel and the Pritzker Family Foundation. In all, 28 foundations form the wider conservative policy network are networked in. Key think tanks are also well-represented, including American Enterprise Institute, Hudson Institute, Hoover, Brookings Institute, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Cato, as well as smaller organizations from the libertarian, “free market” sector, such as the Reason Foundation, American Council for Capital Formation, and Citizens Against Government Waste.

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) was founded in 1921. Though it nominally takes no institutional positions on policy and is a non-partisan organization, CFR is not neutral. It describes itself as

an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries. (Council on Foreign Relations 2015)

The CFR, as one of the oldest organizations of its type, has become deeply entrenched with corporate interests, and is highly embedded within the wider conservative policy network (see Figure 14). It shares leadership not only with similar discussion groups, such as Trilateral Commission and the Bilderberg Group, but also with key philanthropic

foundations, think tanks, and the most influential business advocacy groups, such as Business Roundtable and Business Coalition (see Figure 15).



**Figure 15. Sociogram of 2009 Board Interlocks in the Policy Network of the Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the CFR was an important core of the conservative network, especially concerning foreign policy matters. In fact, one think tank scholar describes CFR as playing “a significant role in defining consensus in the US” (Smith 1991:283). As both a research center and a

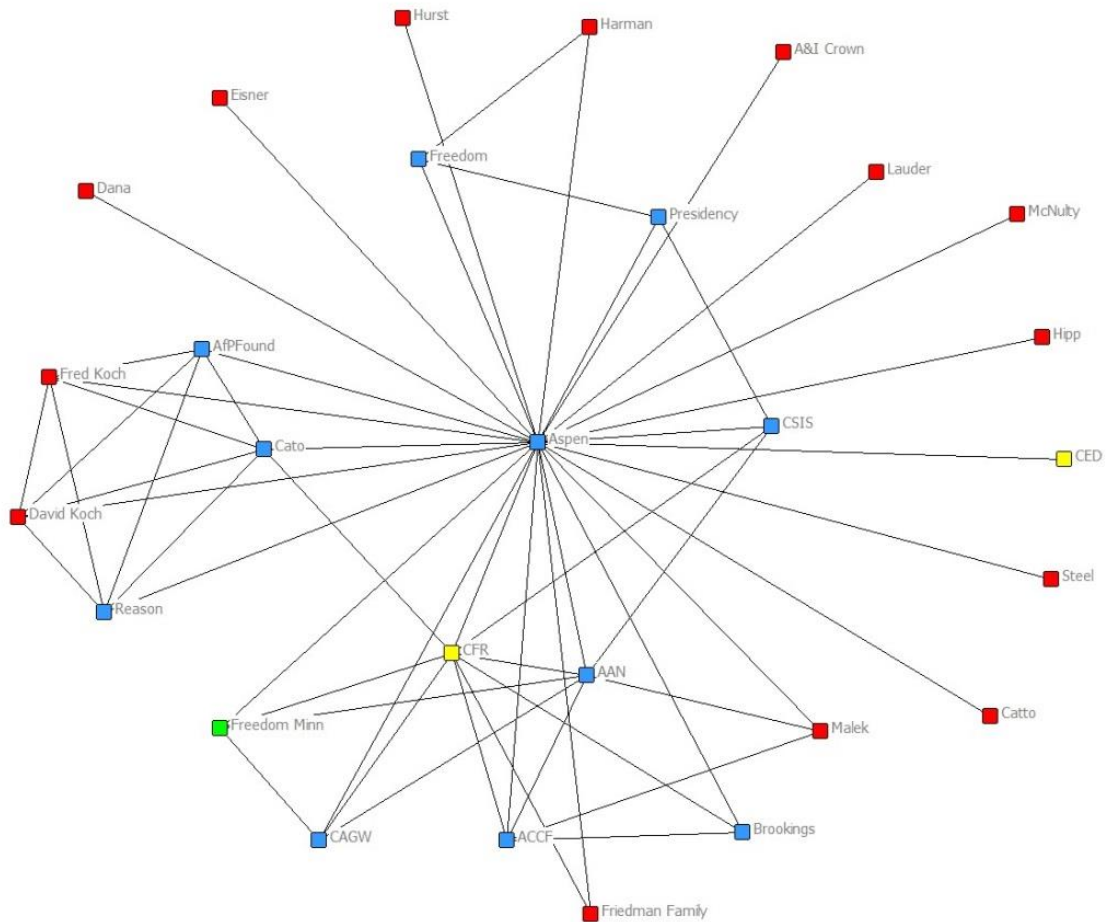
membership organization, it is well-positioned to bring people together, developing consensus ideologically and practically, with developed policy proposals based on its own research (Smith 1991:283).

The Aspen Institute is an educational, and policy studies, and discussion organization based in Washington, D.C., seeking to “foster leadership based on enduring values and to provide a nonpartisan venue for dealing with critical issues” (Aspen Foundation 2015). Chicago businessman Walter Paepcke (1896-1960), chairman of the Container Corporation of America, created what is now the Aspen Institute (Aspen Foundation 2015a). A special mission of the Institute is to put on focused seminars aimed at helping participants “reflect on what they think makes a good society, thereby deepening knowledge, broadening perspectives and enhancing their capacity to solve the problems leaders face” (Aspen Foundation 2015b). It also sponsored semi-autonomous policy programs “which serve as nonpartisan forums for analysis, consensus building, and problem solving on a wide variety of issues (Aspen Foundation 2015b). Since its founding, the Institute has “preserved its synthesis of elite leadership, commerce, politics, and the arts that emerged from the big ideas and open markets of the mid-century University of Chicago” (Moser 2012), and this blend of upper class, corporate class and policy elites (with some additional members from the arts) can be seen in the board of directors of the organization. Besides David Koch, with network connections to eight other



organizations in the wider conservative network, there are 20 directors with at least one network tie, including former congressman Vin Weber (director of Council on Foreign relations, American Action Network, ITT Education, Seed Foundation, and NPR, among several other prestigious current and former connections) with six, political insider Fred Malek (Founder of American Action Network, present or former director of Northwest Air, US Military Academy, DuPont, Council on Foreign Relations, Marriott, and several other major organizations) with five, financier and political insider Stephen Friedman (director of Council on Foreign Relations, and present or former director of Fannie Mae, Walmart, Goldman Sachs, and many other influential corporations and organizations) with three, and Sidney Harman (died in 2011 at age 92, but who had been owner of Harman Media, and although Forbes featured a headline reading “Sidney Harman Ain’t No Billionaire” in 2010, it also noted that his \$500 million fortune was not “chump change” [Barrett 2010]) also with three connections (also, see Figure 16).

These entities—think tanks, policy discussion groups, and philanthropic foundations—make up a discernible network through director interlocks (Burriss 2008:3). The directors of these organizations



**Figure 16. Sociogram of Board Interlocks in the Policy Network of 2009 Directors of Aspen Institute**

share a variety of attributes. Highly educated, wealthy, participants in a common pool of charitable and recreational activities, members of the same clubs and attending the same meetings, these directors make up what C. Wright Mills called the “power elite.” Although directors often change from year to year, continuity is kept through a solid interlock of many organizations, even though specific relationships between organizations may change. Directors retire or die, and are replaced by a new generation.

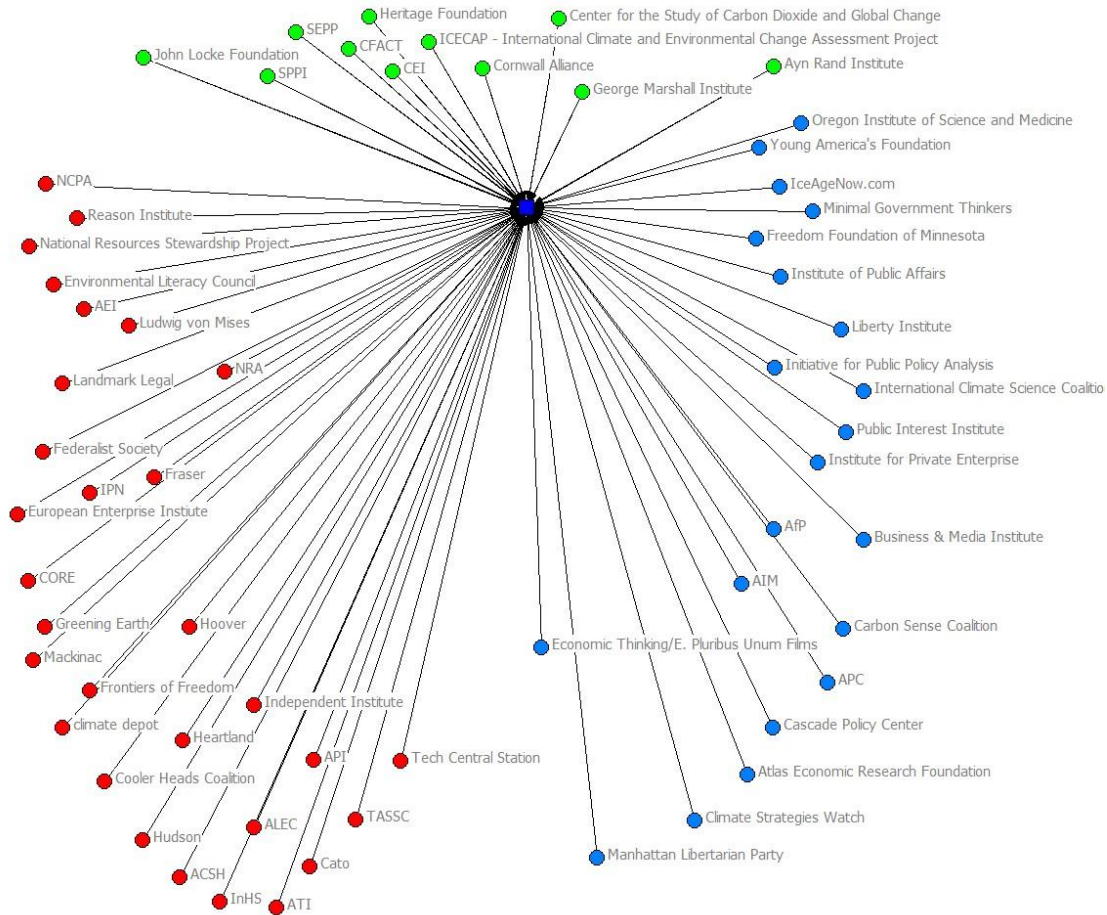
Meetings are important coordinating tools, allowing for face to face discussion and problem solving both on practical matters of tactics and funding, as well as generating ideological compromises and, ultimately, some degree of consistency. If those who wield power in the public sphere can come together to iron out difficulties and discuss disagreements at face to face meetings, it, (in the words of former Director-General of the World Trade Organization Pascal Lamy),

removes the political dimension from government...Governance [becomes] a decision-making process that through consultation, dialogue, exchange and mutual respect, seeks to ensure coexistence and in some cases coherence between different and sometimes divergent points of view. This involves seeking some common ground and extending it to the point where joint action can be envisaged. (World Trade Organization 2006)

Actual meeting events, where members of the elite can mix and talk, generate the possibilities for building and strengthening consensus, as well as providing opportunities for funding and coordinating strategy and tactics.

### *Heartland Meetings*

A participant list of the 2009 Heartland meeting, as has been the case throughout the history of the event, serves as a “who’s who” of climate science denial (see Figure 17). The conference is primarily national but also includes representatives from international groups, as



Blue = sponsor    Red = presenters    Green = both sponsor and presenter

**Figure 17. Sociogram of Sponsors and Presenters of 2009 Heartland NIPCC Meeting (SourceWatch 2015c)**

well as prominent climate science deniers from Australia and Canada, among other nations. The programs and agendas from the meetings indicate a steady stream of presentations attacking climate science from almost every possible angle. According to the New York Times, over 600 “skeptics” attended the 2009 meeting, ranging from astronauts to international politicians, to film makers, but there was a scarcity of actual climate scientists present (Revkin 2009). Revkin also notes that,

according to organizers, the meeting was intended to “synchronize” the arguments and tactics used to fight climate action. Richard S. Lindzen, a prominent skeptic and one of the few who is actually a climate scientist, argued that skeptics needed to jettison arguments that weren’t based on sound science, saying that is “asking for trouble.” In addition,

S. Fred Singer, a physicist often referred to by critics and supporters alike as the dean of climate contrarians, said that he would be running public and private sessions on Monday aimed at focusing participants on which skeptical arguments were supported by science and which were not. (Revkin 2009)

2010 speakers included evangelical Christian Calvin Beisner, who has spoken at several of the conferences. Beisner’s argument is that poor people in developing countries will be hurt by switching the world’s economies from fossil fuels, making the fight against global warming a fight against the poor around the world. This has become one strand in the denial repertoire, one used emotionally by Lord Monckton as he delivered the final presentation of the 2010 meeting. Lord Monckton closed his speech by making two points: one, that “science and economics cannot be divorced from politics,” seems to be true though not perhaps exactly in the way he meant it, and secondly, that efforts to fight global warming through limiting carbon emissions is “nothing less than an attempt by the rich and powerful to take away the chance for the little guy to face up to the big guy” (Thorner 2010).

This 2010 meeting included an unrelenting attack on science and scientists. One attendee listed the points that speakers made:

Weather stations can no longer be trusted...The billions of dollars spent by government and others to fund science just perpetuates problems rather than solving them...The public is susceptible to scare tactics: *Silent Spring*, by Rachel Carson, published in September of 1962, helped to start the environmental movement...Computer models are not reliable...Peer review is a way of screening out opposing views...Science education is in a general decline. Students are taught that science is based on evidence, and yet all they are presented are inaccurate models. (Thorner 2010)

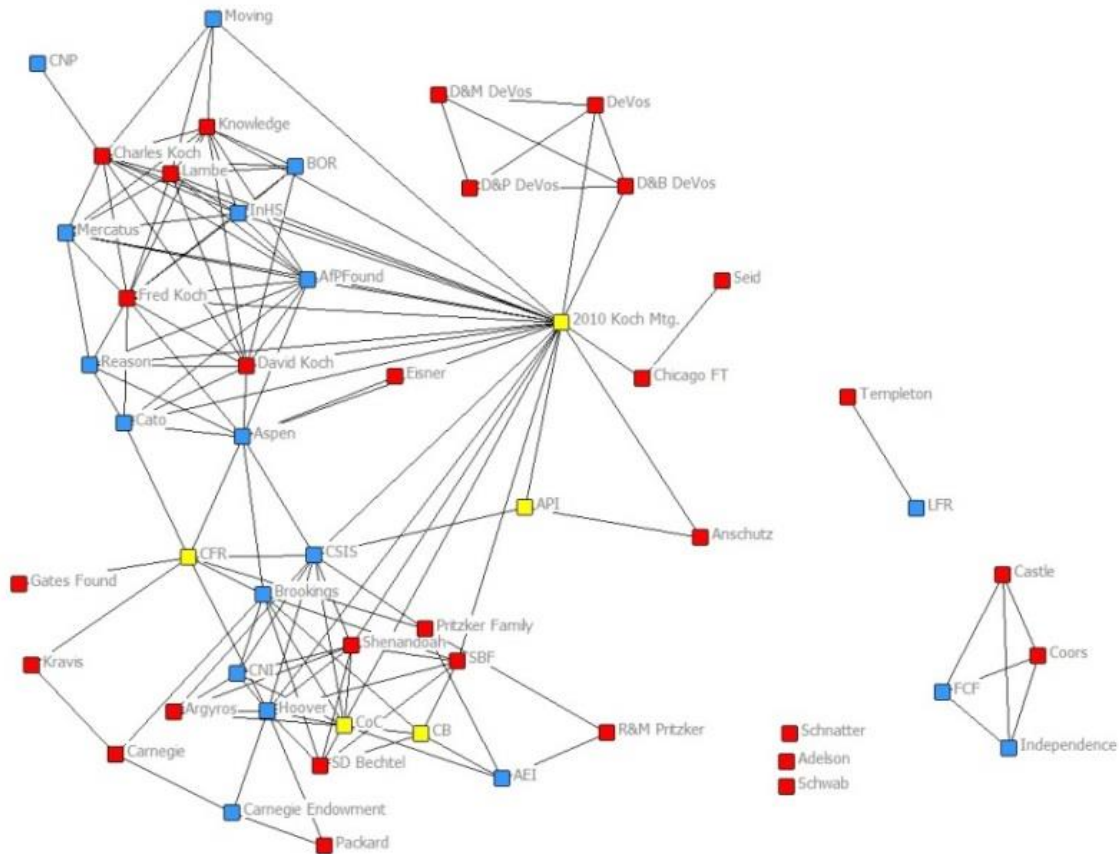
So doubting the science is clearly a mainstay tactic of climate denial as expressed at the Heartland meetings.

### *The Upper Class*

The upper class is a central part of Domhoff's conception of the policy planning network (Domhoff 2006:105). Members of the upper class have material reasons for holding conservative ideological views; the system has treated them well, and the continuation of the *status quo* should generally suit their interests well. This does not mean that they always agree with each other about every bit of regulation or legislation, in fact it is inevitable that they will disagree about some things. But the clubs, boards, and corporate activities that these upper class individuals participate in serve the purpose (in addition to the manifest purpose of those activities) of integrating their individual behavior into class behavior. It is the networks in which they play a part that allows for class

unity. The upper class is already fairly well-connected but events such as the Koch meetings increase that connectivity in important ways.

For example, in the figure above (Figure 17) the networks relationships around billionaire attendees of the 2010 Koch meeting and the interlocking nature of the boards on which they sit is clear. In fact, only three billionaires are unconnected in this small network, but a serious increase in the connectivity can be clearly seen when the 2010 event is added to the network below (see Figure 18).



**Figure 18. Sociogram of Board Interlocks of 2009 Directors of Billionaire Koch Meeting Attendee Foundations**

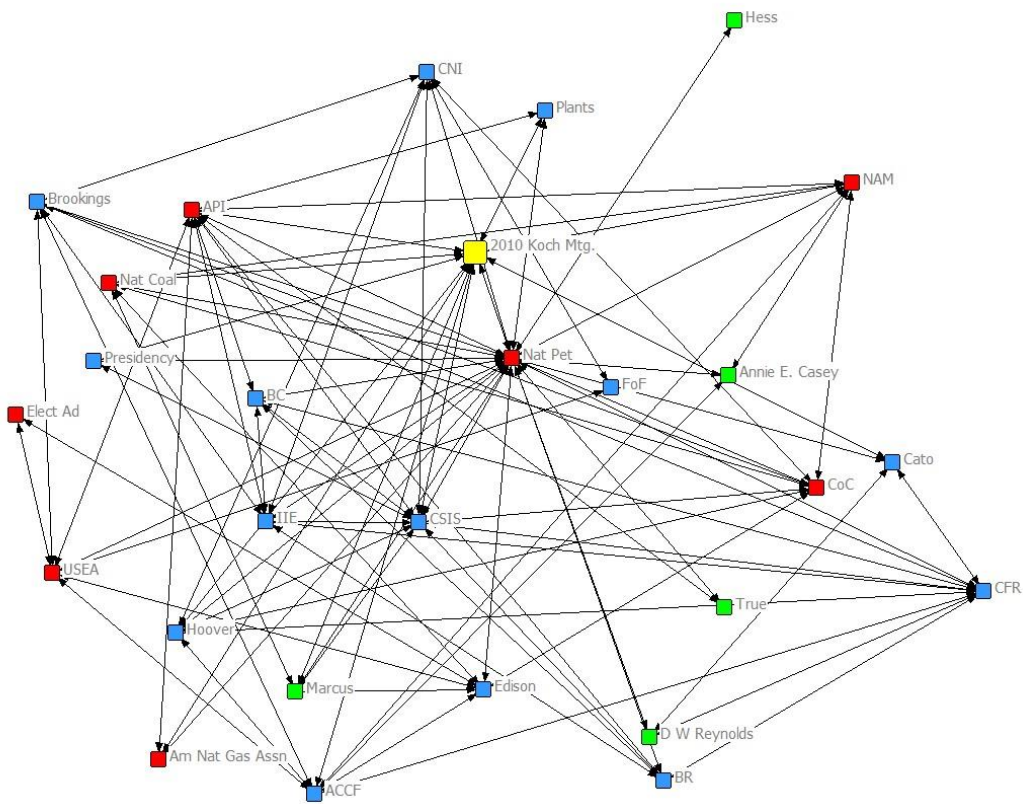
## *Fossil Fuels Industry*

As mentioned above, the fossil fuels industry is powerful and rich. It is well organized within itself and is tied into the political landscape, especially at the national level. Through key hubs, especially the Kochs as documented in this study, the fossil fuels network is connected to the wider conservative networks, and is able to stake its denial position as part of the basic conservative ideological stance shared to a great extent by all the sectors of the Right. Even using a very broad description of “fossil fuels industry,”<sup>24</sup> oil and gas industry leaders are not well-connected; if the Kochs and the Rockefeller foundations are removed, there remain few connections. Hoover, Cato, Brookings, Business Roundtable are all connected to the main advisory and trade associations affiliated with the fossil fuels industry, but most of the conservative think tanks are outside this network, as are the “Diligent Dozen” foundations, and the majority of billionaire directed foundations (see Figure 19). In fact—ironically—the fossil fuels industry is not connected to the “Denial 35” organizations except through the Kochs and the Koch network.

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<sup>24</sup> For Figure 18, I included individuals from any entity in the fossil fuels industry, or affiliated with a philanthropic foundation whose wealth was based on the fossil fuels industry. This is helpful for possible connections but also suggests ideological positions that may not be present. A clear example would be the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which recently announced its decision to divest from fossil fuels investments (Rockefeller Brothers Fund 2014).





**Figure 19. Sociogram of Board Interlocks of 2009 Directors of Fossil Fuels Industry-Affiliated Trade Associations and Advisory Committees**

*Conservative Ideology Brokers*

William Domhoff (2006) shows how the “opinion-shaping process”, involving the media, PR firms, public affairs departments of major corporations, and middle-class voluntary associations of various types, helps diffuse and strengthen public opinion on important ideological tenets. There is a well-connected network of such ideology-strengthening organizations knitted into the wider policy planning network. Domhoff

defines “ideology” as a “complex set of rationales and rationalizations through which a group, class, or nation interprets the world and justifies its actions” (Domhoff 2006:113). Perhaps the most important success scored by the climate change science denial network to date has been its ability to make climate change denial an integral part of a conservative mindset. Climate change denial has become an even more pervasive litmus test issue among conservative politicians, cadre, and rank and file Republican Party members than even anti-abortionism, creationism, or school choice, causing conservative politicians who wish to avoid being “primaried” to backpedal (Dunlap and McCright 2011:154).

This is the result of a complex and somewhat chaotic set of processes, but it is still possible to trace the influence of the efforts of the network in several ways. First of all, politicians often need an ideological support for these kinds of public stands. Americans—including Republicans—can be suspicious of politicians taking stands on issues that seem to favor campaign contributors or big industry in general. Climate change denial fits well within existing conservative ideological stances, and is particularly likely to be attractive to conservatives in light of the positioning of Al Gore as climate change’s champion and public face, and Gore’s status as one of the biggest bogeymen in contemporary American politics. As the problem of climate change is so comprehensive, it is easier to simply deny the problem than to entertain the ideologically unacceptable policy alternatives: “a bigger government”, “increased

government regulation of industry”, “redistribution of corporate profits”, and other ultraconservative “no-nos.” so, not only does the denial of climate science fit the needs of the fossil fuels industry, at the core of the network (along with finance, banking, “mainstream corporate America”, etc.), but it also dovetails nicely with corporate ideological needs as well. Think tanks give politicians this cover, by financing and arranging for the writing, publishing, and distribution of a wide range of climate science denial literature. This spectrum of materials ranges from references in the popular press and on TV, in movies and literature, in magazines and popular journals, elite journals and policy periodicals, and in formal scholarly articles and policy pieces.

As far as the diffusion of this ideological plank in the ultraconservative platform goes, the embeddedness of climate science deniers in the wider conservative network of think tanks, foundations, and policy discussion organizations is clearly traceable (see Figures 22 and 23). The many weak ties of members of the network reflect a wide spread of ideological constructs. Roelofs (2007) discusses key national and international organizations that are prime conduits for the diffusion of ideology: specifically, these include the Bilderberg Group,<sup>25</sup> the Trilateral Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations, Center for

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<sup>25</sup> It is also sometimes referred to as the Bilderberg meetings, Bilderberg Conference, or Bilderberg Club.

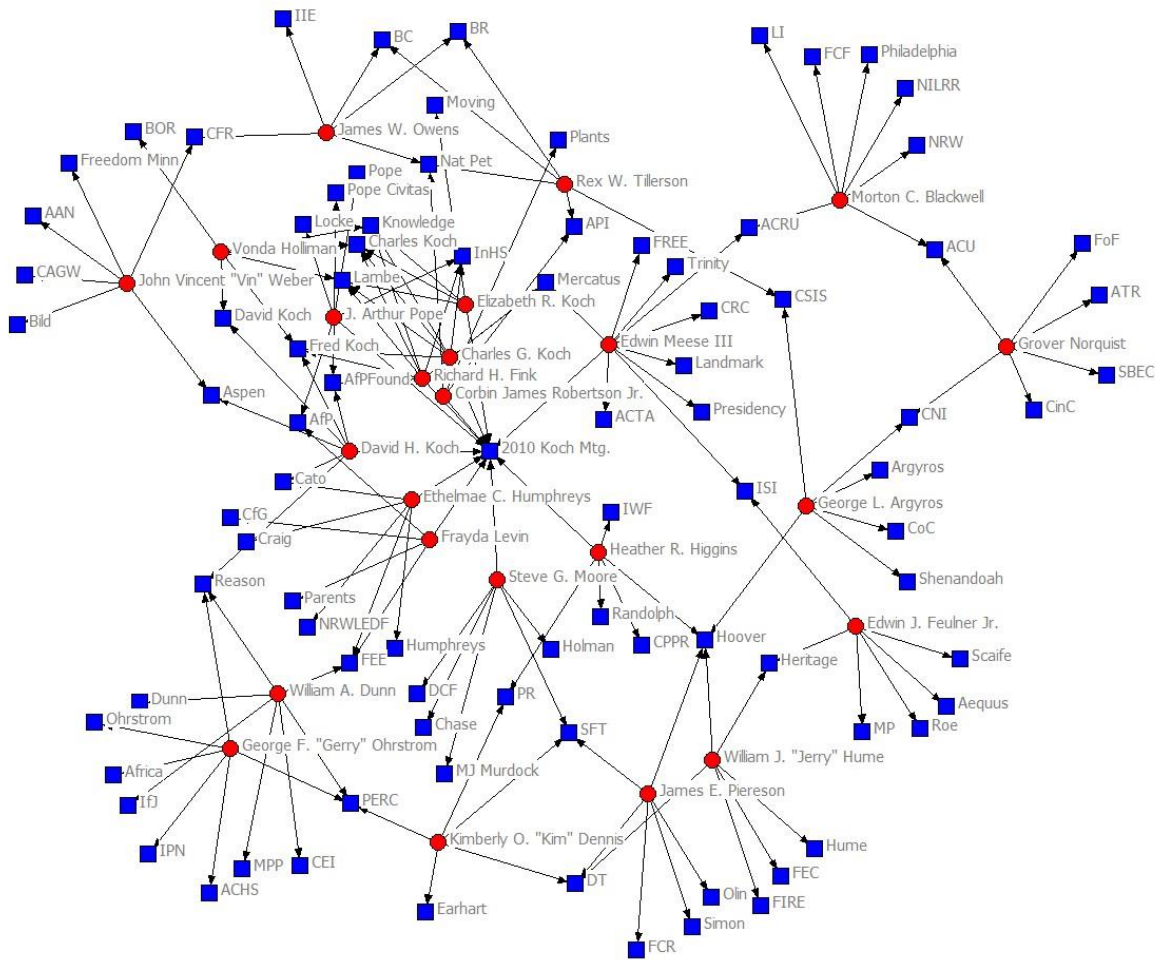
Strategic and International Studies, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

There is a widespread network of conservative organizations spread across the spectrum of issues of the day and across the expanse of the 50 states. Power elite theorists have found that the essence of class remains material interests, but that a common set of values that are often shared through shared institutions, activities, and memberships helps create a more or less all-encompassing ideological worldview. An ideal example might include all the planks of recent libertarian-dominated campaign planks, including blind faith in the free market, and focusing on values such as self-reliance, small government, and an anti-regulatory, pro-business *laisse faire* approach to corporations and their products and services. Social issues such as abortion and religious freedom remain viable but optional as components of this ideology, while the new, bedrock component has become non-belief in climate science.

Conservative organizations, including philanthropic foundations, think tanks and policy discussion groups are prime vectors for the diffusion of this ideological touchstone. These organizations are intimately networked with a host of individuals and organizations reflecting a material interest in denying climate science. For example, in Figure 20, a spectrum of organizations are clearly networked with the two main oil trade associations, the National Petroleum Council and the American Petroleum Institute. Included in this network are key



Similarly, a look at the 24 most highly connected individuals in the policy planning network shows that the individuals themselves are highly embedded in a wide conservative network, but with very few overlaps (see Figure 22). These 24 individuals, then, constitute a highly connected core group, helping solidify conservative acceptance of climate science denial, among other ideological positions, as bedrock principle. As shown in Figure 21, the 90 board membership positions include the most powerful “boots on the ground” organization in conservative circles (Americans for Prosperity – see Chapter V), some of the most important philanthropic foundations in the movement (SFT, the Koch foundations, Scaife, Randolph, Humphreys, Pope, Olin, Chase), the key “dark money” organizations (DCF, DT, CPPR), the most respected think tanks (Hoover, Institute for Humane Studies, Aspen Institute, CSIS) and discussion groups (CFR, BC, BR, Bilderberg), the most radical think tanks (or “do-tanks”: CRC, ACTA, NRW, ACCF), and key trade associations (CoC, NatPet, IIE, API). Powerful ultraconservative organizations such as the Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute, Club for Growth, and the John Locke Society are represented, as are key organizing entities such as the Philanthropy Roundtable and State Policy Network. Although there may be an underlying rift between libertarian or



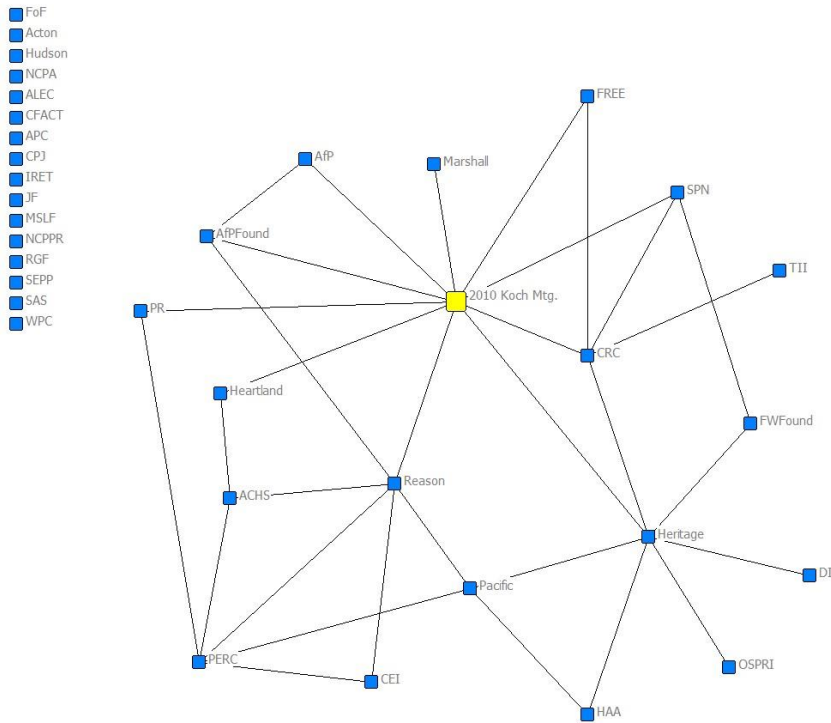
**Figure 21. Sociogram of the 16 Most Connected Individuals in the Wider Policy Network and Their Board Interlocks**

ultraconservative groups and old school “social values” groups, powerful forces from the old religious right are still embedded in this network, including Trinity Forum, American Civil Rights Union, Parents in Charge, as well as groups for women (Independent Women’s Forum) and for legalizing marijuana (MPP). Lastly, several regional or state groups, affiliated with the State Policy Network, are also directly represented in this group, including Freedom Minnesota and Pope Civitas.

### *Climate Denial Network*

The network of corporations and individuals materially interested in delaying and preventing legislative action on climate change funds and leads a network of policy organizations that includes groups with a wide variety of skill sets and focuses (see Figure 23). It also includes a media component composed of rightwing journalists trained and funded by several entities in the network, offering their on-the-scene reporting coverage to newspapers and media outlets. The key is to have all the resources necessary within the network. “The publicly and politically effective generation and peddling of knowledge relies on the ability to successfully combine expert, consulting, and lobbying/advocacy capacities” (Plehwe 2014:106), and this is what the Koch network puts together—a complete support system for the entities that can actually do the work, including training, funding, coordination, ideological consistency, books, movies and other materials, and mailing lists. About half the organizations I describe as part of the denial network are directly related through board director interlocks or through organizing meeting event attendance. Through 2009 funding, there is an even stronger sense that this group constitutes an organized core that works out the strategic directions carries out the bulk of the tactical work.





**Figure 22. Sociogram of Board Interlocks of the Directors of the “Denial 35”**

Conservative policy network philanthropic foundations contributed over \$54 million to the 35 denial network organizations in 2009, including \$247,000 from ExxonMobil. Corporate and trade associations contributed \$1.3 million, while donor-advised funds contributed almost \$18 million, of which \$11.5 million was funneled through Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund, and another \$2.25 million through Center for the Protection of Patient Rights (a little known Koch entity).

There are 345 family philanthropic foundations in the 2009 conservative policy network, of which 219 contributed to at least one of

the organizations. These 219 foundations accounted for over \$35.5 million in contributions to the denial network. Of this, almost \$15 million came from the top ten donors to these groups, with contributions ranging from \$815,000 to \$2,688,500. These top donors consisted of Bradley, Searle Freedom Trust, Sarah Scaife, Dunn, Lambe, R & H DeVos, MJ Murdock, Howard, Templeton, and Simon. Of these top ten, half were represented at the 2010 Koch meeting. The next ninety highest donors accounted for another \$17.4 million. Finally, of the \$37 million coming from family philanthropic foundations, 12.8 million came from organizations represented at the 2010 Koch meeting.

The Denial network is highly embedded within the wider conservative policy network (see Figure 24). Fully 80% of these organizations are directly tied to at least one other organization in the wider conservative networks, with only seven of the 35 completely unconnected to the wider network through board interlocks, and, of those, five receive substantial funding from philanthropic foundations in the network. The remaining two entities are quite small—the SAS and Just Facts are basically one person shops.



American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), and Cascade Policy Institute.

### *State Policy Network*

One of the most visible and important arms of the fossil fuels industries' efforts to combat legislative action in the US is composed of state and regional organizations and their organizing and funding arms. Founded in 1992 by Republican activist Thomas Roe, a longtime director of the Heritage Foundation, the State Policy Network focuses on coordinating state think tank efforts to mirror the efforts on the national level by the major conservative think tanks, especially the Heritage Foundation. Today, SPN includes 59 state think tank members, with at least one organization in all 50 states. SPN lists more than 100 regular and associate member organizations which are "dedicated to advancing market-oriented public policy solutions" It describes its mission as a "capacity building service organization," consisting of helping state-oriented activists generate the capital, connections, and general know-how to establish a "mini-Heritage Foundation" in their states (State Policy Network 2015). Roe was an early director of Heritage, and had founded the South Carolina Policy Center in 1986. Roe was an early supporter of Ronald Reagan, and when Reagan's "New Federalism" policies started rolling out, he realized that the states were as ill-

equipped to enact meaningful reform as the federal government. When raising this issue with Reagan in 1992, Reagan reportedly told him to set up a mini-Heritage Foundation in each state (Sourcewatch 2013).

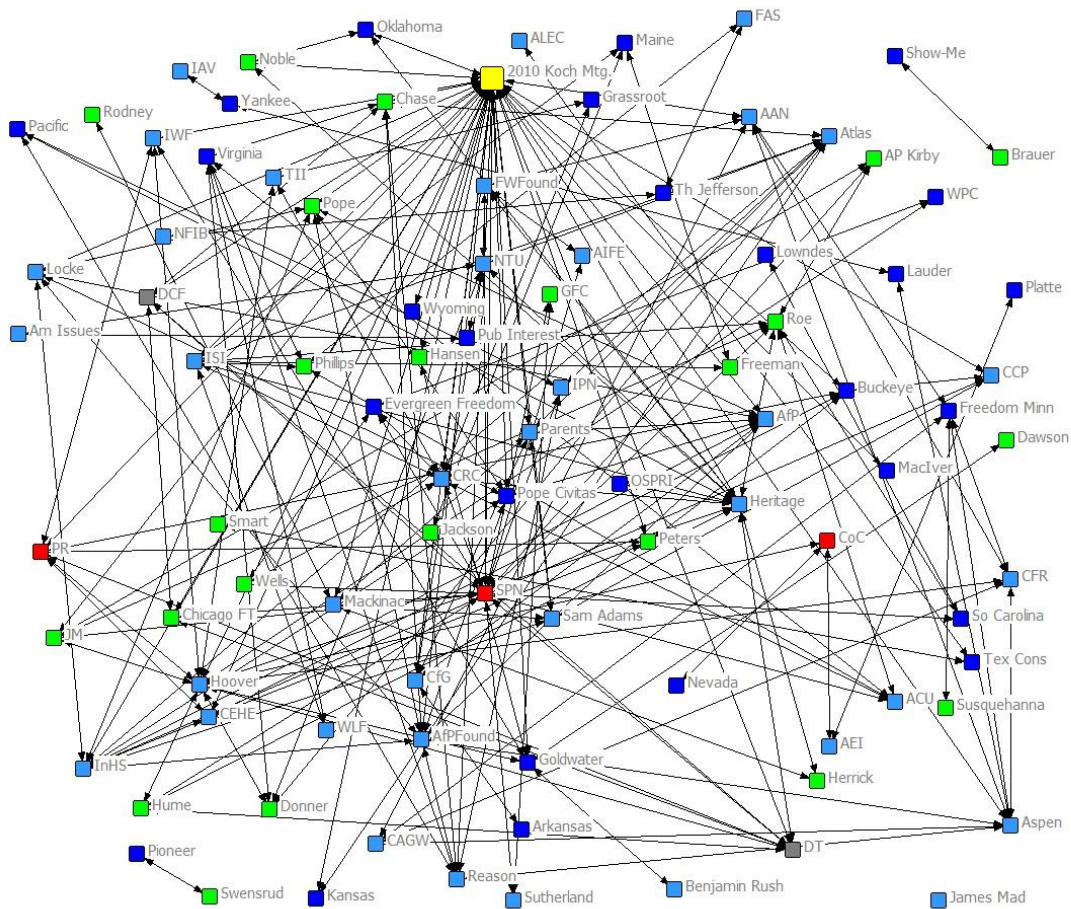
Roe had made a fortune in lumber and then in telecommunications, and his charitable foundation, The Roe Foundation, has been one of the most consistent donors to a wide range of conservative causes, including regular six figure support for the State Policy Network. In 2009, The Roe Foundation, with assets held approaching \$30 million, donated \$1.3 million to 78 organizations in the conservative policy network, averaging over \$17,000 per grant. In 2013, the Foundation held assets of over \$33 million, and gave out over \$1.8 million to a similar range of organizations. Clearly, when telling fellow wealthy conservative donor and Heritage Foundation trustee Robert Kriebel "You capture the Soviet Union -- I'm going to capture the states," he was willing to put his money and his time and effort into doing just that (Wilce 2013).

In 2009, SPN reported revenue of \$4,480,000, mostly from grants, which it then turned around and used to help fund the state entities which it is comprised of. Its individual grant amounts ranged from \$1000 up to a high of \$260,000 for a grant to the Idaho Freedom Foundation. SPN provides practical support to its members, who meet each year at SPN conferences and are required to disseminate all of their publications to other member groups SPN holds training sessions "to teach these

people how to run these things like franchises," according to one liberal admirer (Woods 2008).

The SPN, by fostering a nationwide consortium of state-oriented think tanks, has developed an army of activists, tied in via a strong communications net, as well as interlocked through shared leadership (see Figure 24). SPN members pledge to uphold the organizations core principles of private property rights, competition and markets, personal responsibility, and limited government (State Policy Network 2015). Recent policy initiatives reflect the usual range of conservative positions, including rolling back unions, fighting healthcare reform (including anything remotely connected to or similar to Obamacare), cutting health and welfare benefits to the poor, fighting for vouchers and charter schools, and slashing state spending. The latter has taken the form of attempting to amend state constitutions (Kroll 2011, FCIR 2013). Climate change is also high on the list of issues addressed.

The states have become a significant battleground for conservative efforts to fight climate change specifically, but also for many issues. Don E. Eberley, president of SPN's Pennsylvania affiliate, the Commonwealth Foundation for Public Policy Alternatives, tellingly said "We simply will not have power on the national level until we declare war on state legislatures" (Wilce 2013). Coordination between national efforts, state efforts, and those whose interests are at stake, and those who fund the efforts are therefore crucial. The SPN is highly connected with the wider



**Figure 24. Sociogram of Board Interlocks of the 2009 Directors of the State Policy Network and State Organizations in the Policy Network**

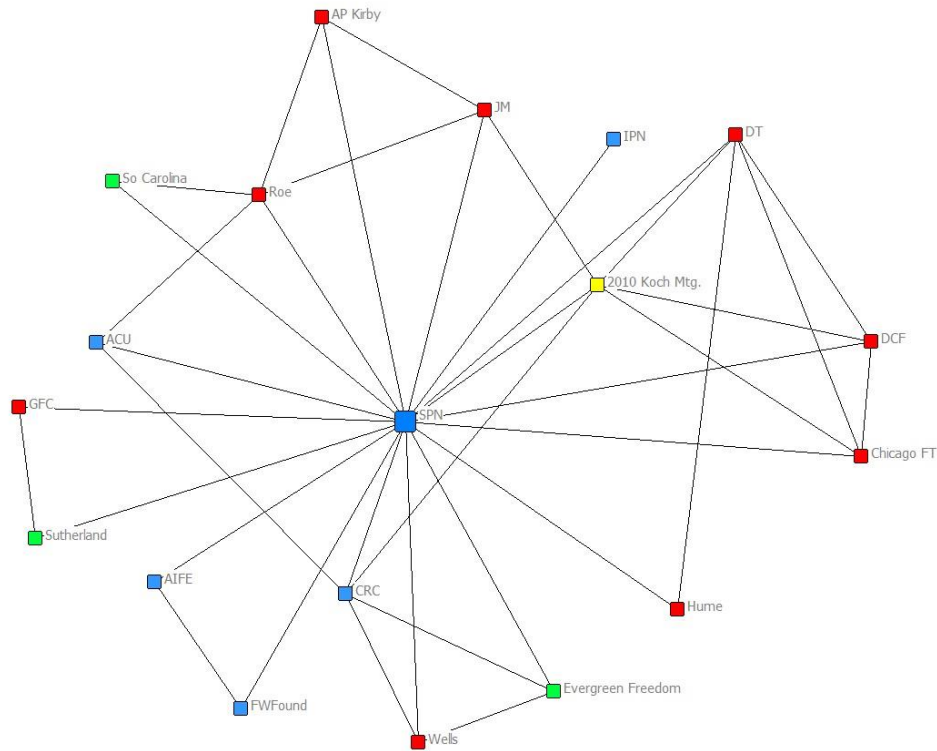
network through director interlocks, and in addition to state think tanks as full members, the SPN also invites other organizations to participate as associate members. This list reads as a list of who's who in conservative organizations, including Heritage, Cato, American Enterprise Institute, Americans for Prosperity, FreedomWorks, and funding organizations, such as Donors Trust, Philanthropy Roundtable, and Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, and nearly every important

climate change denial organization, including Competitive Enterprise Institute, Heartland Institute, the American Tradition Institute (recently renamed the Energy & Environment Legal Institute), and Foundation for Research on Economics & the Environment (State Policy Network 2015a). It is not insignificant that three members of congress were past presidents of state organizations which were part of the State Policy Network: U.S. Representative Jeff Flake of Arizona, former president of the Goldwater Institute; U.S. Representative Mike Pence of Indiana, former head of the Indiana Policy Review Foundation, and Former U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo of Colorado, president of the Independence Institute during the 1990s.

2009 director interlocks situate the State Policy Network within the wider conservative policy network (see Figure 25). It is linked with five national organizations, three state and regional organizations (who are also members), and nine funding entities, including DonorsTrust and Donors Capital, who provided \$2.6 million (out of a total of \$4.4 million in contributions received, or 60%) for the SPN itself, as well as substantial percentages—sometimes 90% or more—for the state entities.

The SPN receives the bulk of its donations from anonymous donors. In 2009 it reported a total of about \$4.2 million in contributions with over \$3.3 million of that coming from organizations in the conservative network. Of that \$2.5 million in 2009, \$2.5 came from DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund. A couple dozen philanthropic





Blue = national policy organizations  
 Green = state and regional organizations  
 Red = philanthropic foundations  
 Yellow = 2010 Koch coordinating meeting

**Figure 25. Sociogram of Board Interlocks of the 2009 Directors of the State Policy Network Director Interlocks with the Policy Network**

foundations combined for about \$800,000 in contributions, including the Roe, Chase, Bradley, JM, Pope, Hume, the Coors foundations, and the Searle Freedom Trust.

Sometimes the smaller state organizations can be quicker to jump on political opportunities. For example, when Al Gore received an Oscar for *An Inconvenient Truth*, members of the Tennessee Policy Center for

Policy Research immediately obtained access to Gore's home electricity bills which showed that the mansion used more electricity in one month than the average Tennessee home used in a year. The resulting echoing of the story in the rightwing chamber of talk radio, blogs and even in think tank communications, has resounded to this day. It certainly robbed Gore of his "victory lap" (Miller 2009).

Like many of the organizations involved in denying climate science, the SPN has deeply intertwined roots with the tobacco industry. As one investigative journalist noted:

Though [already] backed by some of the largest Republican donors in the country, including the Coors family and Richard Mellon Scaife, SPN also thrived in the 1990s by assisting the tobacco industry in packaging its resistance to tobacco taxes and health regulations as part of a "freedom agenda" for conservatives. (Fang 2013)

An examination of the inadvertently published records of donors to the Texas Public Policy Foundation in 2012 reveals several interesting insights into the processes behind these organizations.<sup>26</sup> First of all, as the TPPF's website explained at the time, large donors are able to attend and contribute to Foundation board meetings, and to meet one-on-one with the Foundation's leadership to discuss issues (Wilder 2012). So, according to the donor list, Koch Industries, State Policy Network, and

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<sup>26</sup> Through a clerical error, the spreadsheet listing all 2012 donors was published online by Guidestar. Although quickly removed, it was downloaded and made available on the internet (Wilder 2012).

the Pew Charitable Trusts were allowed access to the board and to the Foundation President. The 129 included many of the most important energy companies of the region, including Koch, ExxonMobil, ConocoPhillips, Chevron, Devon Energy and many other, while individual donors included a dozen of the richest men in Texas. TPPF policies reflect donor needs—energy companies are fighting for less regulation (along with insurance companies, telecommunications firms, and other large corporate interests), private prison corporations seek contracts and stricter laws including more prison time, and TPPF fights for just those kinds of issues (Wilder 2012). It is not surprising to find that Altria and RJ Reynolds both also fund the TPPF, as the tobacco industry has a long history of working with the state Policy Network, and the state organizations themselves.

Analysis of recent tax filings, and work published by investigative journalists, indicates that there is a strong relationship between the State Policy Network, its affiliated state organizations, and the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). The Center for Media and Democracy’s “SourceWatch” project has traced connections between the SPN and ALEC, and between ALEC and 31 of the affiliated state organization (SourceWatch 2015b). Although Tracie Sharp, the longtime president of SPN likes to claim that the state organizations are “fiercely independent,” the truth is that behind closed doors she describes the SPN model as akin to IKEA. She compares the resources available

through the SPN as a shopping list of projects available to state organizations, from which they could pick and choose. She also indicated that these issues were handpicked by the big donors behind both the SPN and ALEC (Mayer 2013).

### *American Legislative Exchange Council*

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) was founded in 1973, out of a meeting including behind-the-scenes conservative activist Paul Weyrich, Lou Barnett, a former campaign official for Ronald Reagan in his recent Presidential campaign, and a group of state legislators including Illinois state Representative Henry Hyde (Shelden 2011:3). Those involved in the formative years included future governors or members of congress such as Robert Kasten, Tommy Thompson, John Engler, Terry Branstad, and John Kasich, as well as John Buckley, Jesse Helms, Phil Crane, and Jack Kemp, all conservative activist politicians (American Legislative Exchange Council 2015). The early focus was on Reagan's initiatives devolving authority to the states and away from the federal government. Although early efforts reflected ALEC's status as a "clearinghouse" for ideas, it became more activist as time went on. It now refers to itself as a "freestanding think tank" centered around policy task forces composed of both private members (consisting of representatives from interested corporate members) and legislative representatives,

generally from states heavily involved in the issues involved. ALEC describes on its website its “long-time philosophy that the private sector should be an ally rather than an adversary in developing sound public policy” (American Legislative Exchange Council 2015a).

ALEC is governed by a board of directors composed of politicians from the various states (American Legislative Exchange Council 2015c). For example, the current National Chair is Representative Phil King from Texas, and Representative Linda Upmeyer from Iowa is Immediate Past Chair. The organization also includes a “Private Enterprise Advisory Council” composed of representatives from the corporate world. Currently represented on this Board are the trade associations such as the American Bail Coalition, the pharmaceutical association “Phrma”, and the National Federation of Independent Business, as well as large individual corporations such as ExxonMobil, Pfizer, ATT, Koch, Altria, UPS, and national insurance companies (American Legislative Exchange Council 2015b). Past board members have also included representatives from ExxonMobil and Koch Industries and its subsidiaries, as well as several coal and energy companies, including Peabody. The energy task force includes several representatives from the fossil fuels industries, including its chair, from the American Gas Association. Other ALEC members include: Chevron, BP America. While governance is shared, funding is almost 100% corporate (SourceWatch 2015b).

ALEC is aggressively re-writing the laws on the books in the states. It estimates that it has “considered, written and approved hundreds of model policies on a wide range of issues, model policy that will frame the debate today and far into the future. Each year, close to 1,000 bills, based at least in part on ALEC Model Legislation, are introduced in the states. Of these, an average of 20 percent become law” (American Legislative Exchange Council 2015a).

ALEC is a central member of the conservative network, receiving massive support every year for decades from a wide range of members. Early supporters included the Edison Electric Institute, Proctor & Gamble, Eli Lilly, Coors, and ARCO Petroleum. Donald Rumsfeld was a 1980s eras Chairman of the ALEC Business Policy board (SourceWatch 2015b). in 2009, it reported \$82,891 in legislative dues<sup>27</sup> from politician members, and \$6.1 million in corporate dues. ALEC receives substantial funding from fossil fuels interests specifically. It collected at least \$600,000 from Koch Industries and affiliated organizations between 1997 and 2009, as well as \$1.4 million from ExxonMobil since 1998.

ALEC gives corporate interests a semi-independent voice to trumpet its policies and values. We have already seen how ALEC works with the State Policy Network to effect legislation. It is also able to push legislation directly from corporate interests to state capitols buildings all

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<sup>27</sup> ALEC wrote off more in bad debt in 2009 (\$100,000) than it received in legislative dues (SourceWatch 2015b).

over the country. Since its inception, ALEC has been a major weapon at the state level in corporate efforts to push their agenda. ALEC has fought against the Kyoto Treaty and against regional greenhouse gas agreements in the US. But it has been even more effective in gaining the small victories that make a meaningful response to climate change virtually impossible at the state level. ALEC has spent a great amount of its time and resources on promoting off-shore drilling, legislation protecting and mystifying the fracking process, opening new lands to drilling and prospecting, as well as fighting against fuel standards and operating almost as an energy association PR organ in fighting virtually every piece of legislation attempting to regulate fossil fuels corporations.

For example, 29 states have now established targeted minimums for the generation of electricity from renewable sources. ALEC is leading the charge against these laws, in conjunction with national groups like Americans for Prosperity and state groups as coordinated through State Policy Network. Its Energy Task Force, in conjunction with the Heartland Institute, generated a model bill (the “Electricity Freedom Act”) in 2012 that would eliminate these standards. According to ALEC, 31 bills based on the Electricity Freedom Act model have been submitted, and the first was passed, in the state of Ohio. The Ohio bill was introduced by Bill Seitz who sits on the ALEC national board (Surgey 2014). ALEC rolled out members to fight back against solar energy for homeowners as well. It produced model bills, and tactical sessions aimed at blocking and

rolling back state efforts to jumpstart solar units for homeowners and small businesses. Its latest effort is a model bill to increase the costs to homeowners of installing solar units.

On December 7, 2009, President Obama's EPA made a crucial finding—that the “current and projected concentrations of the six key well-mixed greenhouse gases -- carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane (CH<sub>4</sub>), nitrous oxide (N<sub>2</sub>O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs), and sulfur hexafluoride (SF<sub>6</sub>) -- in the atmosphere threaten the public health and welfare of current and future generations” (Environmental Protection Agency 2009). This finding then required EPA to regulate the emission of those gases. It didn't take ALEC long to formulate a response. In 2010, it sponsored a policy convention on the “coming regulatory train wreck.” Sessions included criticism of the EPA's right to regulate these gases, as well as proposals for legislation that would fight it. On a website it hosts called “regulatorytrainwreck.com” it provides “legislation to consider, including bills that would defund EPA if necessary, to stop it from regulating greenhouse gases, would impose a two year moratorium on any regulatory legislation that would address anything to do with air quality, as well as delaying tactics such as requiring the government to conduct a “complete” study of EPA and its effect on competitiveness, jobs, and on the economy writ large. In 2011, Indiana became the first state to pass one of these bills—a resolution addressing EPA's ability to regulate greenhouse gases, and defunding



EPA if necessary (American Legislative Exchange Council 2011). In 2011, several other states passed resolutions similar to the Indiana resolution (Alaska, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Virginia, and Wyoming). Several more had resolutions introduced that have not yet passed (Alaska, Florida Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio and Oklahoma) (American Legislative Exchange Council 2011).

Although the climate denial network was successful in its effort to prevent US entry into the Kyoto accords, states and regions have been entering into voluntary agreements with each other in the years since then. ALEC has provided the model bills for climate deniers to fight back. Even as efforts such as the Northeast/Atlantic states regional agreement and the Western regional Initiative become solidified, efforts were underway to defund or legislate them out of existence. ALEC's model resolution urged governors to withdraw their states from these agreements, scoring a key victory with Governor Jan Brewer's withdrawal of Arizona from the Western Initiative in 2010. Brewer had been a member of ALEC as a legislator herself.

ALEC teamed up with the Tea Party group FreedomWorks to point to "grassroots" support for a bill delaying enactment of any EPA regulations involving greenhouse gasses. The bill, H.R. 2401 "The Transparency in Regulatory Analysis Impacts on the Nation Act of 2011", was passed in the House in September 2011 with the help of

FreedomWorks efforts, including legislator phone calls (FreedomWorks 2012).

Even though the ALEC model is one of cooperation and collaboration between legislators and corporate interests, in practice the relationship seems much more like straightforward influence peddling. For example, at a recent conference, one third of the sponsors were energy companies (Johnson 2013), and at another recent ALEC convention, it cost corporate-funded think tanks a substantial amount to host break-out sessions. In the 2013 meetings, Committee For a Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT), a notorious denialist organization, paid \$40,000 to host a session called “How to Think and Talk About Climate and Energy Issues” (Johnson 2013). At that same convention’s Energy, Environment and Agriculture task force meeting, the Heartland Institute’s President Joe Bast briefed legislators on the (supposed) lies of climate scientists. The 2011 meeting featured a session titled “Warming Up to Climate Change: The Many Benefits of Increased Atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub>” (Johnson 2013).

### *Cascade Policy Institute*

Cascade Policy Institute, formed in 1991 in Oregon, is a good example of the state policy institute’s role in the climate denial network. Funded by some of the same philanthropic foundations as the major

think tanks, these small, state and regionally oriented institutes are able to take the lead on more questionable projects, where the major players can bankroll and help produce, but giving themselves deniability.

Cascade has a history of battling for free markets solutions through artfully framed opinion pieces, talk show appearances by Institute staff, and policy development and criticism. Although nominally non-partisan, Cascade supports limited government, personal responsibility, free markets, and privatization efforts similar to other organizations in the network. It produces policy papers, writes and distributes a quarterly report to legislators, and its members provide commentary on a variety of media on a wide spectrum of topics, including education, transportation, fiscal policy, health care, social services and of course, the environment. The Institute also hosts and attends regional and national meetings, often overwhelmingly attended by other members of the network, as well as organizing community educational events. It is a member of the State Policy network.

Though non-partisan, as almost every member of the network claims it to be, it is composed of conservative activists who come from and go on to work for far right candidates and for other far right organizations. Former vice president and environmental editor Todd Wynn is a good example. Joining Cascade as an analyst in 2008, Wynn holds a master's degree in economics. He moved up to environmental editor and vice president of Cascade in 2010, but left to work for ALEC in

2011. He spoke at the Heartland Institute's 7<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Climate Change in 2012, and on climate change to the Annual Meeting for State Policy Network in 2014 (State Policy Network 2014). During this time, he was also listed as a "research fellow" at the American Tradition Institute. In 2013, he joined the Edison Electric Institute, the power generating industry trade association (Wynn 2015, Cascade Policy Institute 2015).

Although Cascade describes its funding coming from a combination of "Generous contributions from individuals, businesses, and foundations" (Cascade Policy Institute 2015), the reality is a bit more one-sided: out of a reported total of \$886,000 in contributions for 2009, \$423,000 (almost half) came through Donors Capital Fund, Hume, Roe, Chase, and a couple other philanthropic foundations in the conservative network together contributed another \$200,000, making up about 75% of its 2009 funding.

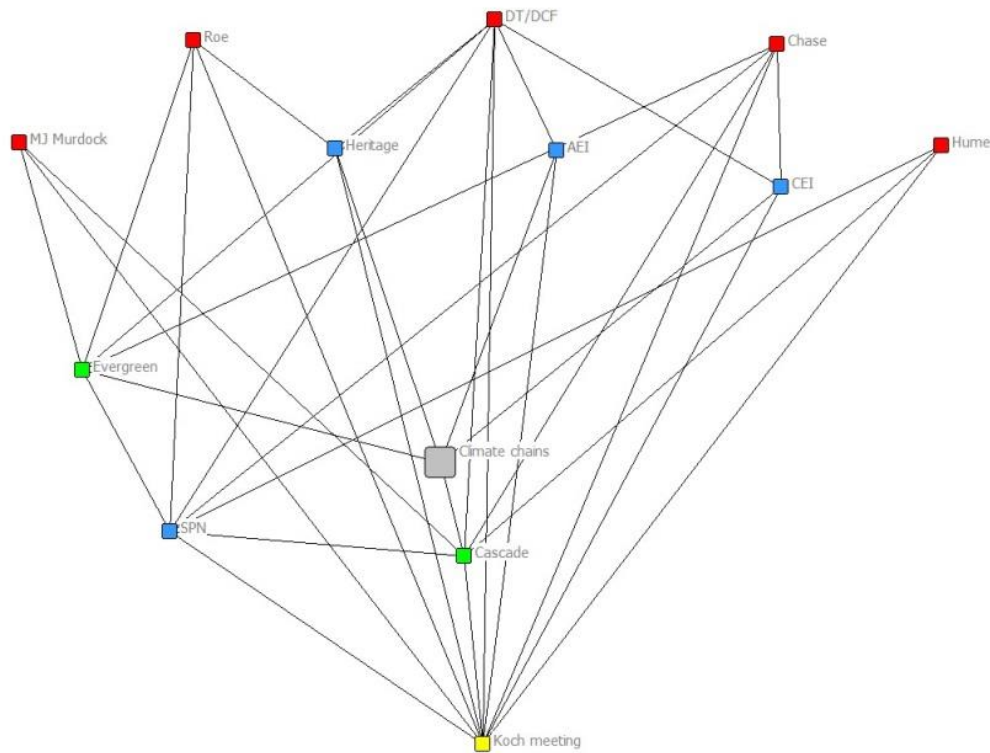
Sensing that climate change and the 2009 battle over cap and trade would take center stage in the free market landscape, Cascade promoted research analyst Todd Wynn to Vice President and helped put together a consortium of climate denial organizations to produce a video titled "Climate Chains" (Cascade Policy Institute 2015c). The short (22 minutes) film includes commentary and appearances from some of the major climate deniers in the US, including Marlo Lewis, Chris Horner, and Patrick Michaels. The organizations involved in the production of the

film include the Heritage Foundation, The Competitive Enterprise Institute, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Evergreen Freedom Foundation.

One youtube channel, hosted by rightwing pastor Dave Flang, includes the video, uploaded on October 17, 2009, and shows over 16,000 views as of September 29, 2014 (Flang 2015). The trailer, uploaded August 22, 2009 to the official “Climate Chains” youtube channel, has been viewed over 21,000 times.

The film was the product of the Cascade Policy Institute directly, but at least ten other organizations involved in the climate change denial network had a hand in its making (see Figure 26). Philanthropic foundations including the Hume, Chase, M.J. Murdock, and Roe Foundations, as well as Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund contributed towards Cascade’s budget that year. The State Policy Network and some of the biggest members of the network were also directly involved, including Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, and Competitive Enterprise Institute, as well as the Evergreen Freedom Foundation, a state-oriented think tank in the state of Washington. Most of these organizations are interlocked by sharing common directors, and eight of these organizations had board members attending the 2010 Koch strategy and fund raising meeting in Aspen, including the Hume, Murdock, Chase, and Roe Foundations, Donors

Trust/DCF, and the three major think tanks (Heritage, AEI, CEI). (See Figure 26 below)



**Figure 26. Sociogram of Personnel and Financial Contributions from Koch Meeting Attendees to Cascade Institute’s Climate Chains Video**

Many of the organizations and individuals in the Climate Chains film were also players in the tobacco regulation battle. The conservative policy network seems to incorporate an institutional memory. Corporate interests learn lessons from past regularity and legislative battles and incorporate those lessons into future strategic planning. Public opinion

studies in the US have indicated a rise and subsequent dip in popular belief in climate change as a major problem. This can be traced to collective efforts on the parts of the think tanks, policy groups and fossil fuels industry leaders which mirror those of the think tanks, policy groups and tobacco industry leaders a couple decades before.

### *Big Tobacco*

In many ways, the problem of global climate change mirrors the problem of smoking as a public health issue, so it should perhaps be little surprise that the tactics are similar. What is surprising is that many of the main players, both think tanks and individual scientists, economists, and flacks, are the same as well.

It has become clear, through research on the internal tobacco documents freed by the “Tobacco Deal” of 1998 performed by many scholars over the past decades, the tobacco industry colluded to use every means necessary to delay the consequences of producing and selling their product, as each year of delay in a significant drop in smoking, or in paying product liability suits, resulted in massive corporate profits, huge salaries and stock option cash-ins on the part of tobacco execs, and the stability of the industry for all employed in it.

Tobacco industry scientists and execs knew early in this process that the science was against them. Enough work had been done by the

industry itself by the 1960s to show that smoking was a direct cancer-causing agent. Furthermore, second hand smoke, referred to in research as “environmental tobacco smoke (ETS)” was quickly being touted as a major health issue. Big Tobacco saw the science around ETS as an opportunity for the delay tactic. Looking at Philip Morris alone, over a short period, think tanks were funded in areas as diverse as the Heritage Foundation and the Progress and Freedom Foundation. Philip Morris executives joined the boards of friendly think tanks, worked directly and publicly with others, and worked behind the scenes furnishing research, money, and tactical advice to still others, including working with “independent” journalists (Dreyfuss 2001).<sup>28</sup>

Allan Brandt describes how the typical relationship between commercial interests and science changed after the tobacco strategy: “the steps the industry took as it fashioned a relationship with the scientific enterprise have become a powerful and influential model for the exertion of commercial interests within science and medicine since that time” (Brandt 2012:63). This model, reflecting the industry’s perception that it had reached what Brandt describes as “crisis mode” by the 1950s, banked on the fact that the debate on the possible harms of tobacco would eventually shift from a scientific one to a political one, and with their tremendous financial resources, ongoing long-term lobbying, and

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<sup>28</sup> These tactics are used in England as well, where documents showed large donations to the Adam Smith Institute and the Institute for Economic Affairs, both vigorous fighters for tobacco rights (Doward 2013).



longstanding relationships with powerful Washington insiders, tobacco companies were well placed to fight in the political arena. Even though the battles would revolve around scientific issues, the battles themselves would be fought in Washington DC, amongst politicians and lobbyists, as well as in the arena of public opinion (Brandt 2012:69). After a ten year period of this PR-organized campaign, the tobacco industry was even better off financially than before. More cigarettes sold, more new smokers and total smokers over all, and high profit rates, even as the science behind the health effects of their product became more and more solidified. Hill and Knowlton, the PR giant behind the tobacco campaign, had “turned “tobacco science into yet one more political controversy on which people could differ” (Brandt 2012:69).

In its extensive research on tobacco industry efforts to delay inevitable regulations, The University of Bath’s “Tobacco Tactics” website outlines key policy process tactics. These tactics include building alliances, hiring scientists, funding outside scientists, and funding and operating front groups and Astroturf groups. The climate denial network has made use of all these techniques (Tobaccotactics.org 2014). Tobacco documents show the breadth of efforts taken by the tobacco delay network to find allies in public and private spaces to further a wide spectrum of counterattacks. A 100 page internal 1990 PM document outlines efforts across the states to counter various anti-tobacco legislative efforts. Tobacco executives list dozens of approaches, from the

protection of individual smokers' rights to protecting advertising revenues to watering down indoor air regulations. Each state's priorities are listed with a "pro-active agenda" spelled out for each individual item. These agendas include allies and potential allies for each specific tactic (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library n.d.).

First of all, the diversity of the organization involved, and the breadth of the effort by Philip Morris is very similar to the network around climate change. In the internal Philip Morris 1995 report on think tank funding, we find almost every player in climate change denial, major or minor, actively denying or playing a supporting role. In 1995, PM donated to about 125 think tank organizations, with a special emphasis on fighting excise taxes, whether they operated as a sin tax or as a funding mechanism for health care reform. Only four of the "Denial Fourteen" group of think tanks were not recipients of PM money that year. Two of those—Reason Foundation and NCPPR—were each targeted by PM exec Roy Marden as players in tax and regulatory efforts, and Marden gives a report on progress made with them.

AEI, Heritage, Heartland, CEI, Pacific Research, NCPA, CSE, Hoover, Claremont Institute, and Cato all received contributions from PM in 1995. Marden describes efforts on the part of think tanks in a candid internal memo. Although they are "highly bureaucratic and rather slow", Marden wrote of AEI, he argued that PM should sponsor conferences and panel discussions that can "expose" unpalatable aspects of policy. Cato

was working on an anti-regulatory series of programs based on the work of Gary Huber at Harvard, called “Smoke and Mirrors: The EPA’s Flawed Study of ETS” (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library 1993), and Marden reports that it was likely that “a forum would be provided” for PM’s policy alternatives. He refers to a major funding a grassroots initiative through Citizens for a Sound Economy, the predecessor to tea party groups Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks. The Claremont Institute was good for bringing Institute spokesmen on board for a media blitz, including influential California politician Bruce Herschensohn. Marden was on the board of the Heartland Institute, and a main effort was on “coalescing of state-based free market policy groups to unify” their approaches (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library. N.d.[b]). Marden worked with the Heritage Foundation and Hoover Institute to produce op-ed pieces and several major policy papers. Marden “worked closely with [NCPA] president John Goodman and the rest of the NCPA staff on developing policy alternatives” (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library. N.d.[b]). Finally, as a board member of the Pacific Research Institute, Marden was able to “work closely with PRI in the development of policy pieces and op-eds, particularly for Western markets...in support of free market alternatives. At his request, PRI was convening a major meeting of think tanks to generate a consensus on tactics on the issue, “including the use of mass mobilization technology in individual districts to educate and persuade legislators, policymakers, media, and the general public on

the debate...*consistent with the interests of PM*" (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library. N.d.[b], emphasis mine).

The tobacco industry executives determined that the softest science, the research most open to attack was that studying ETS. They suggested that "passive smoking [be] the focal point [because] of all the health issues surrounding smoking... the one that the tobacco industry has the most chance of winning [is to argue] that the evidence proclaimed by [anti-smoking groups] is flawed... It is highly desirable for us to control the focus of the debate." Concluding that only science could fight science, the study recommends that tobacco companies fund efforts to attack the credibility of the science on the other side, and to try to hire doctors and scientists to support their side" (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library N.d.[c]).

"The EPA and the Science of Environmental Tobacco Smoke" is the first of many attempts to undermine the efforts to generate a foundation of sound science for the Federal government's environmental regulatory decisions. Since the costs of environmental regulation on individuals, businesses, and state and local governments continue to grow, it is crucial that scientists help the public become more aware of the potential health and ecological risks, based on science. The public had so far proven willing to pay a little more in order to feel that they were protecting public health or the condition of the environment.

The final report entitled "Science and Environmentalism" evaluates "the science behind several of the most current environmental questions...The goal of the report is to provide policy-makers, the media, and the general public with information that will help improve and rationalize environmental policy decisions" (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library N.d.[d]).

Kent and Singer conclude, "In particular, EPA has gone far beyond its authority in making ETS an "environmental" issue within its regulatory jurisdiction. In the process, it has engaged in both scientific overreach and regulatory overreach" (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library N.d.[d]).

The report was written by Jeffrey Kent, and the principal reviewer was Fred Singer, and the report was issued under the non-partisan Alexis de Tocqueville Institute imprimatur, with the support of several other think tanks. But as Dr. John Graham of the Harvard Center on Risk Analysis noted, "While it may seem obvious that EPA should use good science, students of the Agency have documented that the Agency's leadership, when preoccupied with public fears and legal pressures, has sometimes allowed good science to be neglected." One powerful politician may have captured the truth, saying, "Truth be told, I suspect that environmental decisions have been based more on feelings than on facts." (Legacy Tobacco Documents Library N.d.[e]). The Reason Foundation and other think tank members of the tobacco delay network used Dr.

Huber's research over the years to these ends, and his work on the relationship between chest health and tobacco were a central part of the report. Huber referred to EPA's "lies, damned lies, and statistics" and suggested that the public's job was to separate the "liars from the statisticians." He then went on to highlight shortcomings in the EPA report, often using EPA's own charts. He ended with recommendations calling for scientific objectivity, independent review.

Dr. Huber, who received payments and kickbacks from tobacco industry in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, later came to question his own participation. When asked about whether the goal of tobacco research was delay in regulation and doubt on scientific consensus, on the news show Frontline in 1998, Huber said that the delay the industry received (at least partially from his own research), was "extraordinary." He went on: "They bought ten or fifteen years of scientific—arrested ten or fifteen years of scientific progress, by funding research in such a way that, uh, disinformation was generated and that confusion and controversy were developed and perpetuated. [They] bought time" (Frontline 1998). When asked whether delay was the only goal, Huber concluded that scientific controversy—a muddying of the waters—was the other crucial piece:

Well, I think worse than that. Not just deny. I think create disinformation. They could go on one hand to Congress and say "look, we're funding research, we're trying to get answers." They could go to the public and say, you know, "we don't know, we're trying to find answers." But they were

really, I think, funding research in different ways, the outcome of which would create confusion and disinformation. Unequivocally.” (Frontline 1998)

Science-for-sale has become an industry in its own right, it seems. In this model, science becomes a sub-section of public relations, with its scientific or academic specialists available for a price, willing to perform any number of services, from organizing scholars to write ‘independent’ letters-to-the editor, to designing biased research protocols that return results that at worst prove nothing, or that demand further research.

This network of science-for-sale includes a spectrum of philanthropic foundations, advocacy groups and think-tanks, and discussion groups, and the media. These institutions exist only because of the largesse of corporate America, and as their basic ideological stances are similar, it is easy for them to make common cause in exchange for continued—and ever-increasing—financial support. These organizations have a range of techniques available to them, and, in the US, they are generally afforded a tax-free status by the IRS, provided they claim in their articles of association that they are ‘non-partisan, though few of them are, or even attempt to pretend.

These might be Astroturf organizations, foundations, or academic operations which can provide "experts" or “resident scholars” willing and able to produce the kinds of scholarly(-looking) work that criticizes anything that threatens the corporate worldview of small government,

anti-tax and anti-regulatory, free-market policies. Regulatory become easy targets, and a wide range of tactics are used: lawsuits filed by “education” of judges offered by legal associations, protests by Asroturf groups, and op-eds and Rotary club talks from those with talking points provided by think tank scholar, all of which receive news attention and are echoed by the rightwing echo chamber composed of talk radio hosts such as Rush Limbaugh and Glenn Beck, and conservative blogs and websites.



## CHAPTER V

### EXTENDING THE POLICY NETWORK

Those with vital material interests—like the tobacco industry and the fossil fuels industry—to protect do not rely on simply producing position papers and influencing the Washington elites, but rather seek to use all means necessary. In the fight against climate change regulation, fossil fuels interests have successfully extended the traditional policy network in two main ways: adding a populist, “boots on the ground” component through tea party groups, and adding an extra buffer between funding entities and climate science denying organizations through donor-advised funds.

Many leaders on the right have a newfound respect for what have always been tactics used by the left. We find conservative websites advising activists on how to use Saul Alinsky’s *Rules for Radicals* “against liberals” (Hawkins 2012) and Matt Kibbe, President of FreedomWorks, a major Tea Party organization, recently saying “We read the same literature Obama did...Saul Alinsky, Gandhi, Martin Luther King. We learned we needed boots on the ground...” (Mayer 2010). This kind of thinking has always been at the heart of conservative efforts to harness the Tea Party movement: how conservative policymakers can take advantage of “legitimate” (pre-existing) populist angst by putting it to work on the issues most important to the power elite. a component

adding the ability to influence events through social movement activity, either in large settings such as on the Mall in Washington, D.C., coordinated national tours addressing climate change legislation or issues, and through action in state and regional legislative events.

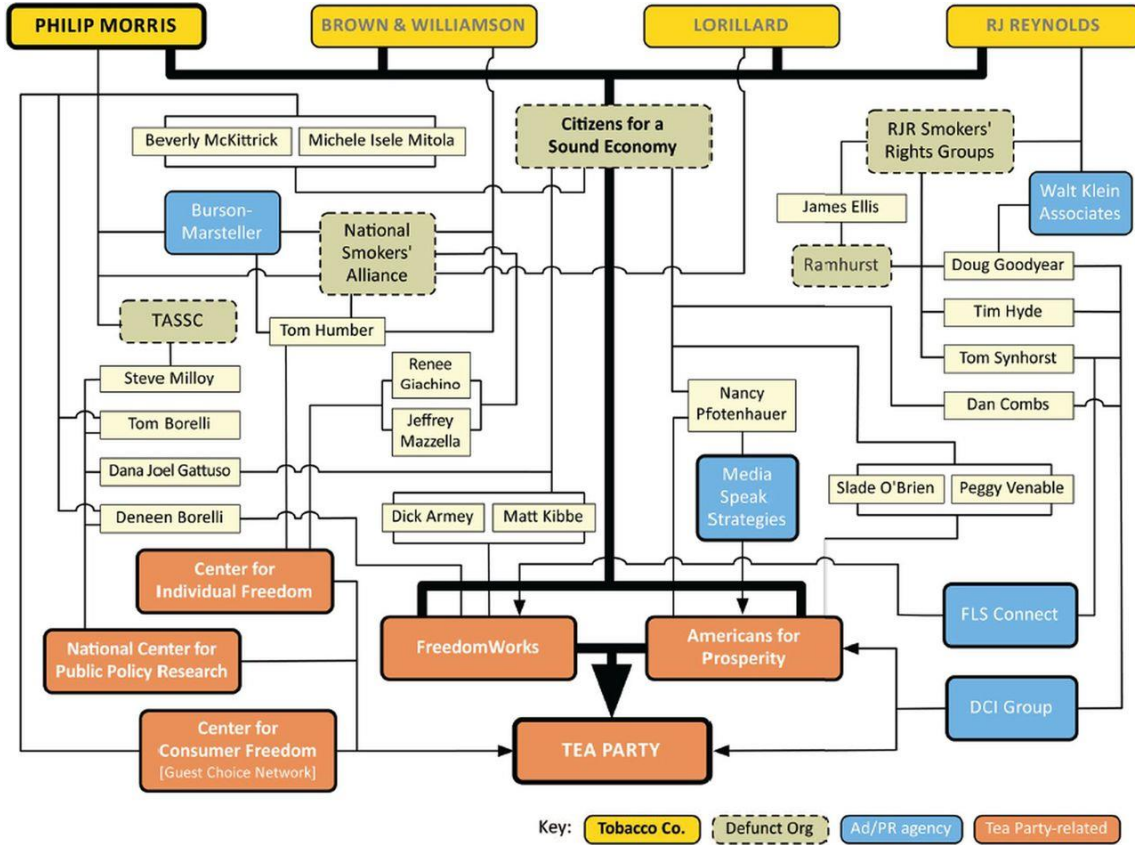
### *Americans for Prosperity*

By far the largest, best funded, and most immediately recognizable of these groups is Americans for Prosperity (AfP). This political group has proven itself a solid partner in several issues dear to the principal members of the climate change denial network, including union busting, education reform, and fighting healthcare reform. But it has played a central role in fighting climate legislation both nationally and in individual states. AfP can put thousands of citizens in the streets or the state capitol building to protest climate change legislation. It bills itself as a populist, grassroots expression of boiling anger on the part of real Americans. But it doesn't take long to trace direct ties to the Kochs, to the fossils fuels industry in general, and to the wealthy member of the corporate class (see Figure 28). One researcher says, "First is the fact that the tea party is a creation of enterprising political and public relations professionals, constructed to accomplish a political purpose" (Coleman 2013).

AfP was formed in 2003 out of the debris from the dissolution of the Koch founded organization Citizens for a Sound Economy, which the Kochs had been instrumental in founding in 1984. The Kochs provided over 80% of the donations received by CSE from 1986 to 2002, totaling \$12.3 million. CSE was active in much the same way that AfP is, representing corporate interests as grassroots issues, and turning PR events into grassroots protests. When CSE splintered apart into FreedomWorks on the one hand and Americans for Prosperity on the other, several of the senior staff came with AfP, including Nancy Pfotenhauer, who was behind the CSE effort to derail President Clinton's healthcare reform. Before her work with CSE, AfP and eventually heading the Independent Women's Forum (yet another Koch entity), Pfotenhauer headed the Washington office of a Koch Industries subsidiary.

But before the CSE became the precursor to the tea party movement (see Figure 27), it had national significance as a tobacco denial organization. A tobacco executive said that "In about the third year [of the RJR smokers' rights groups], there was an emphasis on coalition building—anti-tax groups were a natural. You didn't have to defend your position on tobacco because a tax is a tax is a tax to these guys" (Gup 1996). One PR executive hired by the tobacco industry proposed an all-out effort to fight tobacco taxes: he envisioned, in 1992, a group that was

Grounded in the theme of “The New American Tax Revolution” or “The New Boston Tea Party”, the campaign activity should take the form of citizens representing the widest constituency base mobilised with signage and other attention-drawing accoutrements such as lapel buttons, handouts, petitions and even costumes. (Auxier 1992)



**Figure 27. Relationship Chart Showing Historical Links Between Corporations, Moneyed Interests and the Modern Tea Party (Fallin, Grana and Glantz 2013)**

The Americans for Prosperity, chaired by David Koch, helped give birth to the Tea Party movement. Their early coordinating help, which consisted of website hosting and activist training for volunteers, helped

channel the organizations goals and tactics to fit within the Kochs' greater vision. Bruce Bartlett, former economist at the National Center for Policy Analysis (a Koch-funded conservative think tank) described the role of the AfP as finding and organizing the efforts on the ground:

The problem with the whole libertarian movement is that it's been all chiefs and no Indians. There haven't been any actual people, like voters, who give a crap about it. So the problem for the Kochs has been trying to create a movement...Everyone suddenly sees that for the first time there are Indians out there—people who can provide real ideological power.” The Kochs are “trying to shape and control and channel the populist uprising into their own policies” (Mayer 2010).

AfP attacks on Van Jones illustrate the techniques used to further oil industry interests. Jones was newly elected President Obama's appointee as a lower level administration to oversee “green jobs” production. Described by tea party forces led by AfP's Vice President Phil Kerpen as a “watermelon, green on the outside but Communist red to the core,” Jones “urged adoption of a carbon cap-and-trade program, renewable electricity mandates, including Al Gore's outlandish and impossible goal of eliminating fossil fuel use by 2018, large taxpayer-funded green jobs programs, a so-called smart grid for electricity, more mass-transit subsidies, higher fuel efficiency standards for automobiles, federal funding for organic farms, a ban on new coal plants, expanded ethanol mandates, and even a spirited, multiple-page pitch for a cash-for-clunkers program -- he called it "Hoopties for Hybrids" (Kerpen 2009).

If the tactics were exemplary of Koch efforts both before and after, the overall strategic theme was also consistent. The strategy is simple: exacerbate the worst fears of working class people to get them to organize against their own interests. Jones was eventually the casualty of a sustained effort involving tea party activists, rightwing radio hosts Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh, and the full force of Fox News. The rightwing blogosphere and rightwing radio echo chamber helped Channel working class fears into political action favoring the policies of oil billionaires. Five hundred people attended the summit, which *The New Yorker* said served, in part, as a training session for Tea Party activists in Texas. An advertisement cast the event as a populist uprising against vested corporate power: “Today, the voices of average Americans are being drowned out by lobbyists and special interests. But you can do something about it.” The summit did not advertise the support of oil company owners, or other big business interest contributions.

Perhaps its most visible effort has been the annual hot air balloon tour, where a specially designed balloon festooned with denialist propaganda. A carnival like air is produced at these hot air events by providing kiddie rides, free t-shirts and other goodies, and offering food and entertainment. In 2009, more than 75 hot air events were held across the country (Heritage Foundation 2010). These events also provide opportunities for other organizations to cross-pollinate on other issues,

usually centering on the mandatory and ubiquitous hatred for President Obama.

In 2008, AfP put out a press release attacking the EPA on its “job-killing regulations,” and spent millions on ads (Americans for Prosperity 2008). Public filings show that AfP spends tens of millions of dollars each election cycle on political ads. They spent \$1.2 million on radio spots and television in 42 congressional districts and television commercials in key states during the 2010 cycle, with all but two specifically targeting Democrats. The others were Republicans deemed to be “RINOs” who were being “primaried” for being too cozy with the Administration (opensecrets.org n.d. [d]). These efforts also included rallies, mass mailings, phone banks and other seemingly coordinated events with candidates and campaigns.<sup>29</sup>

AfP ran a national (and eventually international) effort to have politicians take the “No Climate Tax” Pledge. Described as the “Grover Norquist of Climate change” because of his pledge efforts, AfP President Tim Phillips wrote a pledge similar to Norquist’s Americans for Tax Reform promise to not raise taxes. Over 450 American politicians have signed the AfP pledge, according to AfP, including more than 25 US Senators and over a hundred members of Congress. State and local politicians ranging from State governors (Scott Walker, in Wisconsin) to

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<sup>29</sup> These activities often seem to go well beyond the legal restrictions on political and lobbying activities allowed by law for charitable organizations.

three members of the Texas Railroad Commission (Americans for Prosperity n.d.).

The pledge was unveiled in 2008, and progress was slow. The first Senator (Pat Roberts, R-Kansas) signed in July, just after the first cap and trade bill failed to pass. 76 of the 85 new Republican members of the House signed the Pledge, and 57 of those signees received campaign contributions from the Koch Industries PAC. This invasion of Koch and AfP supported tea party candidates helped make the anti-science behind the pledge the new established rightwing position. Not signing the Pledge now amounted to siding with Al Gore. (Holmberg and Campbell 2013). Anyone can look up their representatives to see if they have signed the pledge at the “NoClimateTax” website, hosted on the AfP site.

At its “Defending the Dream” summit in October 2008, AfP Foundation Chairman David Koch awarded denier Senator Jim Inhofe the “Washington Award” for his actions in fighting climate change progress in the US Senate. Inhofe’s comments underline the function that populist as well as academic groups play by tying these issues into a solid fabric of ideology: “Those of us gathered here today must be ready for the assault against reason and be prepared to stand our ground in protection of our free-market economic principles” (James M. Inhofe 2015). In 2008, AfP leaders, with Koch network funding, founded “RightOnline”, an effort to train and motivate rightwing activists to be effective in online efforts, including blogs and discussion groups, online



journalism, and interacting with politicians and candidates. Annual conventions through 2013 have featured senior AfP personnel participating, including President Tim Phillips keynoting in 2012 and 2013, as well as rightwing icons Michele Malkin, Sarah Palin, and James O’Keefe (RightOnline 2013).

In 2009, AfP joined with representatives from several other groups in the network to attempt to spark a series of “spontaneous” tea party protests in response to Obama’s recent inauguration. These events drew a substantial number of tea party activists and involved protesting several tea party themes, including climate change. Specifically, they targeted the EPA and its right to regulate energy companies, attacked legislation aimed at supporting clean energy alternatives to coal and oil, and mocking climate science and climate scientists. These events were broadcast on Glenn Beck’s show and on Fox News, where commentators explained that these were spontaneous events that were not planned by any specific groups (Fang 2010).

Included in this offensive was a huge media buy airing ads arguing that “Congress should stop wasting their time and focus on real problems” and “Isn’t it time Congress listened to the rest of us and got its science and priorities right?” (Johnson 2009). President Tim Phillips claimed that the consequences of a cap and trade bill would be a \$1.2 trillion tax increase, falling for the most part on working Americans, along with the loss of over a million jobs. As is common with

organizations in the Koch network, the source cited by one member comes from the research performed by another.<sup>30</sup>

In closing its Hot Air tour in 2009, AfP sent a delegation to Copenhagen during the international climate accord meetings in December. Christopher Monckton spoke out in front of the meeting hall, claiming that climate change dollars could be better spent on helping dying people in third world countries, and that climate activists were therefore heartless. Monckton described climate activists as “Hitler Youth” because of their refusal to consider denialist arguments on the science, and their “chanting [of] mindless, repetitive slogans” (Monckton 2009).<sup>31</sup>

In 2010, AfP organized its “Regulation Reality” tour, a nationwide effort to battle against EPA efforts to combat climate change through the Clean Air Act. AfP activists in Arkansas complained that the solutions for the problem did not jibe with Americans’ desire for low taxes and less government, while in Texas, state AfP leaders attacked the science, claiming that “carbon dioxide is not a pollutant. On the contrary it makes crops and forests grow faster. We exhale carbon dioxide” (Venable 2010). It helped create rallies in the Nevada cities of Carson City, Reno,

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<sup>30</sup> In this case, it was Americans for Prosperity’s Tim Phillips quoting statistics generated by research from American Council for Capital Formation (ACCF), which describes itself as one of the “most influential organizations operating behind the scenes” in Washington DC, and is a major recipient of Koch network dollars.

<sup>31</sup> Retired NASA scientist James Hansen is also, according to Monckton, a “fully-paid-up member” of the “*Sturmabteilung* and *Schutz Staffel* wannabes” (Monckton 2009).

Las Vegas, and Henderson, as well as in California, in Sacramento, Fresno, and Bakersfield, from June 15th to June 17th, 2010.

In May, 2010, AfP co-sponsored the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Climate Change in Chicago. The conference, a direct denialist response to the IPCC conferences, was titled “Reconsidering the Science and Economics,” and featured dozens of individuals in the climate change denial network, including, Patrick Michaels, Craig Idso, Don Easterbrook, Willie Soon, Ben Lieberman, Christopher Horner, Marc Morano, James Taylor, Richard Lindzen, US Senator James Inhofe, and of course, Lord Christopher Monckton. Virtually every organization in the denial network and the many from the wider conservative network were in attendance or sponsors of the event (Heartland 2010).

In 2011, Phillips authored an op-ed with Congressman Fred Upton, the House Energy and Commerce Committee chair, on the EPA’s new rules aimed at regulating greenhouse gas emissions. They wrote that the EPA “presumes that carbon is a problem in need of regulation. We are not convinced.” They also said the carbon regulation rules are “an unconstitutional power grab that will kill millions of jobs.” Koch and several members of the Koch network were important contributors to Upton and other members of that committee in the 2010 election cycle. Individual energy companies such as Energy Solutions, CMS Energy, and DTE were his top three contributors, and the Electric Utilities industry was the top industry contributor in 2010. Before the “tea party” election

brought in an influx of the extreme right-wingers, Upton had published his belief in global warming, and his feeling that action was needed: "I strongly believe that everything must be on the table as we seek to reduce carbon emissions," though this statement subsequently disappeared from his website, and his views have made an extreme hard right turn (Sheppard 2011). In 2011, Upton declared that while the earth may be warming, "I do not say that it is man-made" (Youtube 2011).

Tim Phillips, republican and rightwing network insider, is President of both AfP and the AfP Foundation, an allied 503c4 organization. He explains the importance of AfP's efforts mainly in terms of the organization's success in planting doubt into Americans' view of the science, and giving politicians cover for claiming that the science is still unsettled. He said, "In a broader-movement sense, if [the science] argument is won, I do [think we've won]. The underpinning for what they want to do to us, you know, cap and trade and other big government programs, they try to leverage the science" (Frontline 2012b).

When asked if AfP was responsible for the successful effort to kill cap and trade, he replied that "I think we played a part. I think it was a broad effort, but I think we played a part...We certainly did TV ads, radio ads, social media. We did rallies, events..." (Frontline 2012b).

Phillips describes the AfP as a rightwing "army," saying "we can do the same kind of calls and emails and letters and rallies, events [that the

left has traditionally been able to do, and apply] pressure. I mean that word in a good sense. And I think that's made a big difference. Our side didn't have that five or six years ago on this issue. We do now. I do think it's a new day..." (Frontline 2012b).

Americans for Prosperity continues to play an important role in conservative battles. For instance, in the recent IRS "scandal" involving the agency's slow handling non-profit applications from groups who "sound" like tea party groups, one researcher notes that "10 out of 11 Tea Party spokespeople quoted in major news outlets regarding the IRS scandal have ties to the Koch funded Americans for Prosperity" (Coleman 2013). At the same time, with all the above having been said, AfP (and, indeed, all of the 501(c)3 organizations studied) contend that they do not engage in politics (Lehmann 2011).

AfP has been funded by a variety of organizations on the right, many headed by billionaires and multimillionaires, including the Kochs (see Table 7), Uihlein, Bechtel, the Marshalls, and Art Pope (see Figure 28). It is also publicly supported by many of the "standard" conservative philanthropic foundations, such as Searle Freedom Trust, Randolph, and Chase. Also, over the past decade, a new trend of anonymous giving has emerged, to the point where in 2010, the grassroots organization which bills itself as representing the interests of working Americans received over \$22 million in anonymous funding—about 58% of its entire total

income. Of this amount, AFP received \$2.6 million from Donors Capital, as well as \$1.9 million from the Center to Protect Patients Rights, a Koch-connected 501(c)4 that acted (and under a new name—“American Encore”—continues to act). CPPR and its successor act as the middleman for tens of millions in non-attributable funding distributed to nonprofit groups that attacked Democrats in the 2010 elections (Fang 2012a).

**Table 7. Koch Foundations Support for Americans for Prosperity, 2005 - 2010**

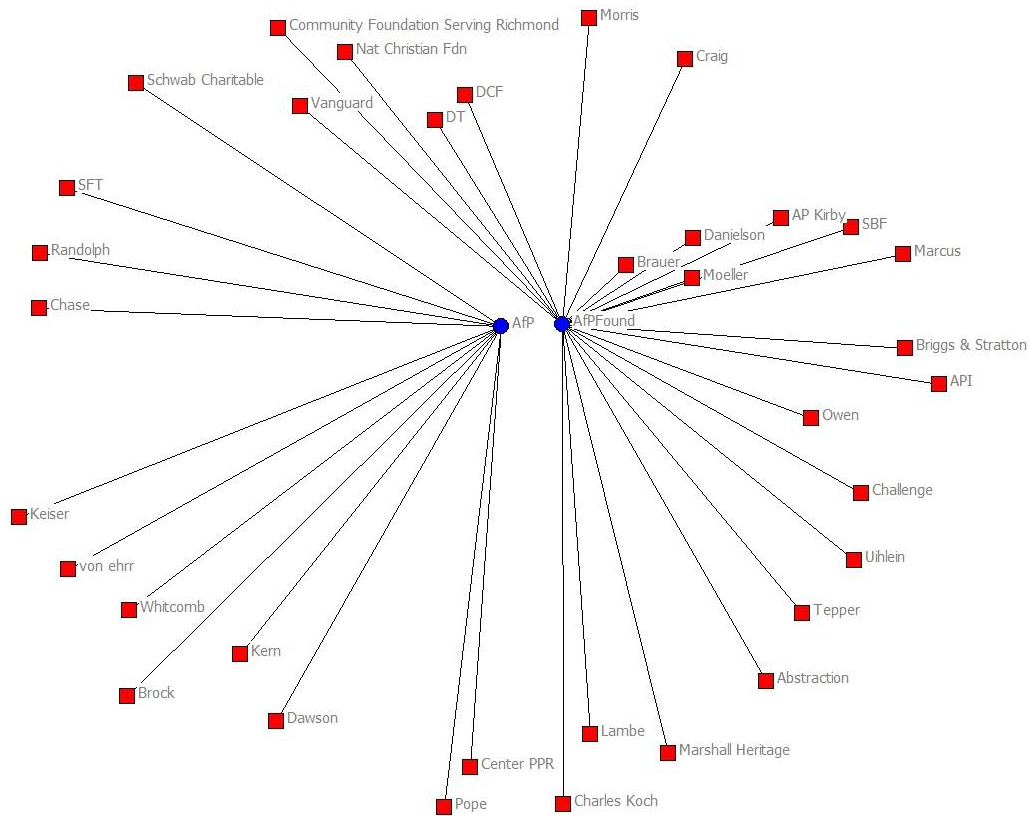
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**Koch Foundations Charitable Donations to AFP**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Contributions</b>	
2005	\$	1,000,000.00
2006	\$	1,151,000.00
2007	\$	1,025,000.00
2008	\$	2,000,000.00
2009	\$	434,281.00
2010	\$	150,000.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$</b>	<b>5,760,281.00</b>

**Note: Data compiled from IRS 990 filings**

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**Figure 28. Sociogram of Board Interlocks between 2009 Directors of Philanthropic Foundations in the Policy Network which Funded Americans for Prosperity and Its Foundation**

Closely affiliated with the Americans for Prosperity was an organization known as the Independent Women’s Forum. In fact, in its infancy, it was formally affiliated with AfP, and it shared both its focus on “limited government, property rights, free markets, and a powerful and effective national defense and foreign policy” as well as a modest Washington DC office (Independent Women’s Forum 2003). According to

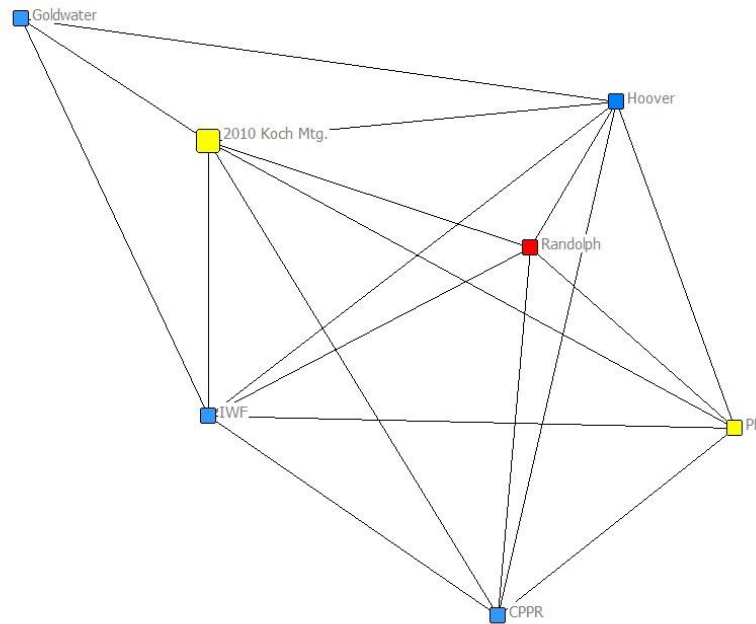
a 10-29-03 press release described the relationship:

What made this so desirable," Pfothenauer said, "is that we have very similar missions. Each of us is dedicated to the spirit of free enterprise and self reliance and supports the principles of political freedom, economic liberty and personal responsibility. While IWF's focus has been on a woman's perspective on important issues, the partnership allows us to leverage each other's strengths and build on each other's successes. Americans for Prosperity's longstanding strength in grassroots mobilization with IWF's media access and marketing is a powerful combination..." (Independent Women's Forum 2003)

After leading the CSE, Pfothenauer started off as President of both AfP and IWF. Each organization had its own board and its own area of focus, with IWF seeking to "improve the lives of Americans by increasing the number of women who value free markets and personal liberty (Independent Women's Forum 2015).

Members of the board represented the organization at the 2010 Koch meeting, and are interlocked into the wider conservative policy network (see Figure 29). Not only was the IWF related to several powerful entities in the Koch network, they tend to have the same network connections. All interlocked organizations had a representative at the 2010 Koch meeting, for example, and IWF exactly mirrors the relationships held by Hoover. CPPR and the Philanthropy Roundtable are both closely related to the Koch network, the former as a dark money conduit and the latter as a coordinating and organizing entity.





**Figure 29. Sociogram of Board Interlocks of 2009 Directors of the Independent Women’s Forum**

IWF has been funded by a variety of foundations, several tied closely to the Koch denial network, but in fairly small amounts (see Table 8). The majority of its funding is from anonymous sources. In 2009, for example, it reported a total of \$4.1 million in contributions received. That year, it received over \$3 million from Donors Trust along, as well as \$250,000

**Table 8. Donations to Independent Women's Forum from  
Conservative Policy Network Philanthropic Foundations, 2009**

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**Donations to Independent Women's Forum**

<b>Foundation</b>	<b>Contributions</b>
Hume	\$15,000
Chase	\$2,000
Lambe	\$150,000
Roe	\$2,500
Holman	\$10,000
Randolph	\$230,000
Carthage	\$50,000
Pope	\$10,000
Gleason	\$200,000
Anschutz	\$25,000
Taube	\$500
Windway	\$1,000
DDSF	\$3,000
Center PPR	\$250,000
Donors Trust	\$3,045,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$3,994,000</b>

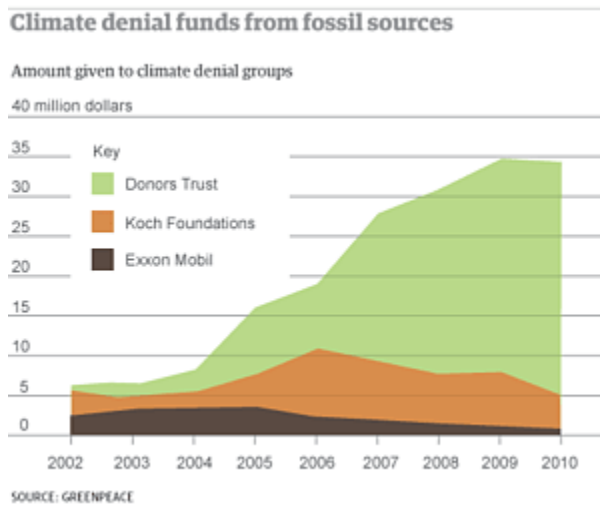
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**Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings**

from Center to Protect Patient Rights, a Koch funding conduit, in addition to \$150,000 from the Kochs publicly.

### *Donor-Advised Funds*

DonorsTrust (DT), and its sister “big donation” sister-entity Donors Capital Fund (DCF), have come to dominate the funding of some members of the conservative policy network, and specifically some organizations at the forefront of the climate science denial network (see Figure 31). “Donors Trust has injected nearly \$400 million into free-market causes, thanks in large part to contributions by dozens of private foundations run by wealthy executives or their families” (Abowd 2013). For some organization, anonymous funding through DonorsTrust and similar mechanisms far outweighs all other funding they receive (see Figure 30).



**Figure 30. Climate Denial Funds from Fossil Fuels Sources (ExxonMobil, Kochs, Donors Trust), (Goldenberg 2013)**

Donations to Donors Trust/Donors Capital Fund have increased steeply almost every year. This is a crucial development, as the DonorsTrust mechanism allows for both maximum tax advantages to donors, as well as contribution anonymity. In fact, the amounts of total contributions made to the conservative network, and to the climate science network specifically have grown so rapidly that an analysis of funding patterns would be incomplete without a focus on its founding and growth.

Donors Trust was founded in 1999 at the behest of a retired cattle rancher and businessman named Bruce H. Jacobs, who was concerned about retaining “donor intent” in the contributions made by his philanthropic foundation after his death (Sparks 2011). This rightwing concern about donor intent has been stoked over the years by entities like Capital Research Center, who research board composition and donor patterns to pass judgment on whether the philanthropic foundation is actually hewing to the wishes of the conservative founder of the organization. Some, like Jacobs, or like Robert William “Bill” Daniels, announced while still living that they did not want any money being donated to liberal causes. Some, like Daniels, were more explicit—no money for AIDS, no money for academic research of any kind, no money for cultural activities. The Daniels Fund was given some guidelines left by the founder, but CRC outlines how “liberal” fund employees twisted Daniels’ intent to favor their own choices for funding (Capital Research

Center 2013). The main problem, according to CRC, was the choice of a new Chief Operating Officer who had previously worked at Rockefeller Foundation, poster child for everything the Right hated about the loss of donor intent, such as oil money funding environmentalists' challenges to oil companies. The main lesson to be learned from the debacle, for rightwing donors who are intent on guiding their foundations from the grave, was that "liberal philanthropic establishment remains hostile to donor intent." With the advent of DonorsTrust, a donor can give explicit directions about giving and rest easy that "Greenpeace won't get a dime from us" (Kroll 2013).

Donor advised funds had actually been around in the US since the 1930s, when similar vehicles were used by community foundations, and specifically by Jewish philanthropic federations. The advantage of donor advised funds is in the simplicity, flexibility, and anonymity. Such a setup allows donors to make a contribution, receive an immediate tax benefit, and then to advise the administrator on making the actual grants from the fund over time. According to one industry research study of the most recent data available (2013), donor advised funds have broken records in every area—grants, contributions, charitable assets, and the number of individual donor-advised fund accounts. In 2013, grants from donor-advised funds totaled nearly \$10 billion dollars, making up about 5% of all giving in the United States. Assets are over \$50 billion, an increase of over 20% over 2012. The report claims that

there are now over 217,000 individual donor-advised fund accounts in the US (National Philanthropic Trust 2014). In comparison, 2009 grants totaled \$6.66 billion and assets were \$29.3 billion.

As the science has become clearer and clearer, some of the more publicity conscious foundations and corporations have perhaps become reluctant to have their names associated with climate science denial, and especially with some of the more combative organizations. At the same times, the material interests of the directors of these organizations are well served by funding denial and the success they've had in delaying action on climate change. The Koch brothers themselves have always been publicity shy about their foundations' donation information, and have recently become truly Machiavellian.

Donations outgoing to the entities in the ultraconservative network have also skyrocketed in this period. Chart showing contributions to the climate denial organizations followed by Brulle (see Table 9).

Directors of DT and DCF are highly embedded in the Koch climate science denial network, and in the conservative policy network (see Figure 31). Two directors of DCF and one from DT attended the 2010 Koch meeting, and their attendance is regular at these and other conservative strategy meetings.

**Table 9. Money Funneled Through Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund 2004 - 2010**

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**Donations through Donors Trust and Donors Capital**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Contributed</b>
2004	\$1,671,000
2005	\$2,522,690
2006	\$3,853,487
2007	\$4,992,550
2008	\$10,597,561
2009	\$15,011,742
2010	\$19,537,168
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$58,186,198</b>

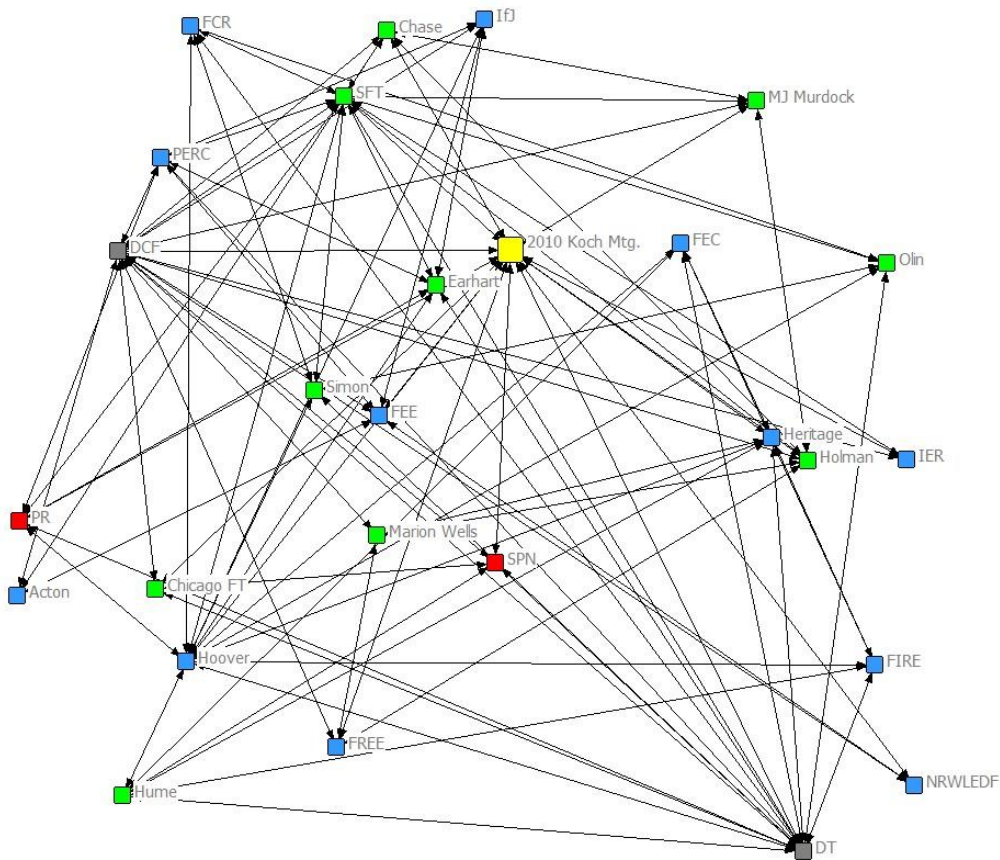
**Note: Data compiled from Robert Brulle (2014b)**

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Total contributions to the conservative network examined in this study are also substantial. The contributions from the DAF entities examined in this study totaled almost \$78 million for 2009. Of that amount, approximately \$49 million (or 63%) were funneled through DT/DCF. Vanguard accounted for almost \$10 million, NYCT for \$7.6 million, NCF for \$6.7 million, Schwab for \$2.3 million and the other 11 accounted for the remaining \$2.3 million.

There were 18 organizations in the conservative policy network which received contributions totaling \$1 million or more from these dark

money sources, with the total to these 18 equaling over \$49 million (see Figure 33). The list of these organizations includes both the more moderate organizations, such as Council on Foreign Relations and Brookings Institute, as well as organizations far to the right, such as



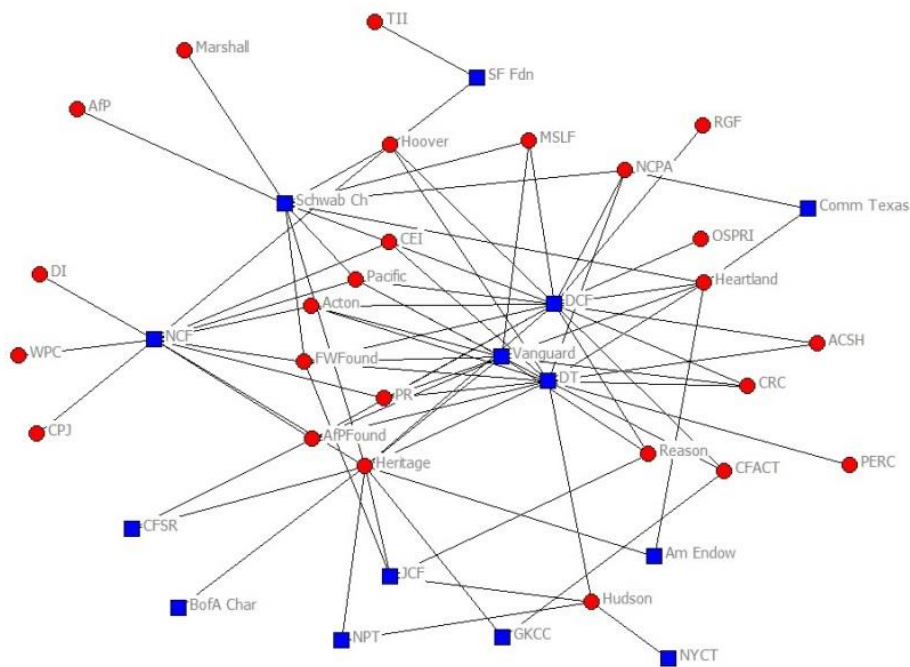
**Figure 31. Sociogram of Interlocks of 2009 Director of Donors Trust and Donors Capital Fund with Policy Organizations**

Sam Adams Alliance and Heritage Foundation. Also included in this list are some of the more activist Christian groups, including Focus



on the Family and Family Research Council. Some relatively unknown entities are garnering huge money through these channels, for example, Americans for a Limited Government, and Foundation for Individual Rights in Education. Legal attack organizations included The Federalist Society and the Institute for Justice.

Sometimes the donations made through the dark money entities (see Figure 32) dwarf the acknowledged donations, which seems to be a



Red = think tanks

Blue = donor-advised funds

**Figure 32. Sociogram of Donor-Assisted Funds Funding the “Denial 35”**

statement in itself (see Table 10). For example, Heartland Institute, tabbed the “world’s most prominent think tank promoting skepticism about man-made climate change” (Economist 2012), has been funded to a great degree through dark money channels since ExxonMobil stopped their large contributions after 2006. Heartland received a total of grants

**Table 10. Major Donors to Heartland Institute, 2009**

**2009 Donations to Heartland Institute**

<b>Foundation</b>	<b>Total Contributed</b>
Donors Capital	\$2,171,530
Donors Trust	\$516,750
Mercer	\$500,000
Searle Freedom Trust	\$150,000
Bradley	\$125,000
Schwab Charitable	\$103,900
American Endowment	\$50,000
Gleason	\$50,000
Rupe	\$44,000
Barney	\$25,000
Pope	\$25,000
Vanguard	\$25,000
18 others	\$134,100
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$3,920,280</b>

**Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings**

of \$6,499,687 in 2009. Of this amount, \$3,920,280 (or about 60%) came from foundations situated in the conservative policy network examined in this study.

Similarly, the Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT) received contributions and grants (see Table 11) from all sources totaling

**Table 11. Major Donors to Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow 2009**

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<b>Foundation</b>	<b>Total Contributed</b>
Donors Trust/ Donors Capital Fund	\$909,194
Scaife affiliated funds	\$260,000
Rothschild	\$50,000
Dodge Jones	\$12,500
Challenge	\$10,000
Dunn	\$10,000
Gerrish Milliken	\$10,000
Hilton Family	\$1,000
Fletcher Jones	\$8,000
Armstrong	\$5,000
Charles Johnson	\$5,000
5 smaller contributions	\$8,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$1,288,694</b>

Note: Data compiled from 2009 IRS 990 filings

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\$3,071,053 for 2009. \$1,288,694 (almost 42%) came from the philanthropic foundations in the conservative policy network examined in this study, and over \$900,000 of that from DonorsTrust.

Of particular interest in this regard is the Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity, founded in 2009 (Franklin Center 2015). In response to a perceived dip in quantity and quality of statehouse reporting across the country, Franklin's mission is to fill the void, and "already provides 10 percent of all daily reporting from state capitals nationwide...We support an in-house team of state-based reporters and act as a capacity-building service provider for organizations that sponsor investigative journalism" (Franklin Center 2015). Grants and contributions received in 2009, the first year of Franklin's life, totaled \$2,378,931 on its 2009 990 filing. But DonorsTrust, Donors Capital Fund and Vanguard Charitable (another DAF) reported a total of \$3,679,300 in contributions to Franklin in 2009, just from the three organizations. In 2011, DT/DCF provided \$6.3 million (or 95% of Franklin's reported grants and contributions received for the year). Though its donors remain anonymous, the Franklin Center touts "transparency, accountability, and fiscal responsibility as its watchwords" (SourceWatch 2015).

This is similar to the approach of the Sam Adams Alliance, founded by Eric O'Keefe in 2007. The Sam Adams Alliance seeks to address seven capacities necessary to a political movement, "the capacity

to generate intellectual ammunition, to pursue investigations, to mobilize for elections, to fight media bias, to pursue strategic litigation, to train new leaders, and to sustain a presence in the new media (Phillips 2008). It is perhaps best known for funding “dirty tricks” training for tea party activists through subsidiary American Majority (Monbiot 2010).

The Sam Adams Alliance’s 2009 990 reflects a total of \$3,948,589 in grants and contributions received for the year. In addition to a handful of grants totaling less than \$10,000 from philanthropic foundations examined in this study, SAM also received \$3,469,500 from the DonorsTrust entities, as well as \$580,000 funneled through Vanguard Charitable. One of the biggest activities of the Alliance seems to be setting up other entities, as SAM has its fingerprints on both the Franklin Center and on the American Majority. The Sam Adams Alliance provides more than 75% of the funding for American Majority, which hosted the training session referred to above. In the previous year, 2008, the year it was founded, about 90% of its money came from Donors Trust, in a single donation of \$3,700,000.

DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund dominate this funding for 2009. Of the \$14.8 million donated to Denial 35 organizations by the identified DAFs in this study, \$10.9 (or 69%) came through DT/DCF, while about \$1 million each came through Schwab, National Christian

Foundation, and Vanguard Charitable. The other eleven entities combined for under \$1 million.<sup>32</sup>

The Koch meetings have been vitally important to the growth of the donor advised funds. Whitney Ball, CEO of Donors Trust is a customary attendee at Koch events (Abowd 2013) and at all major ultraconservative and many conservative events around the country. Members of the board of directors of DT and DCF are highly networked in the ultraconservative fossil fuels network around the Kochs. “We think they’re great guys,” she says of the Kochs, “but if they weren’t around, we’d still be successful” (Abowd 2013). At the 2010 Koch meeting, Donors Trust hosted a private cocktail event for what Ball called a “target-rich environment” of wealthy donors and foundation directors. Although, we cannot be sure he attended the DonorsTrust event or even spoke to Ball then, Richard T. “Dick” Farmer, CEO of Cintas Corporation seems a likely example of the kind of “target” Ball described. As of 2009, his Farmer Family Foundation had never donated to blatantly political non-profits. It focused mainly on education, and other more “typical” charitable causes. After attending the Koch meeting in 2010, however, the Foundation took a different giving trajectory, including small amounts for the Buckeye Institute and for the Thomas B. Fordham Institute. The eye-opening difference however, was the annual giving through DonorsTrust, starting

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<sup>32</sup> The caveat about these as relative amounts is that specific data for Fidelity Charitable were not available for 2009, and anecdotal evidence suggests that the total from that source could run in the millions of dollars.

with \$500,000 in 2010, increasing to \$1,410,000 in 2011, and going up again to \$1,750,000 in 2012, the most recent year for which data are available. More and more of the wealthy conservatives in the Koch network have opened Donors Trust accounts, including Amway co-founder and longtime funder of conservative causes Richard DeVos; hedge fund billionaire Paul Singer; as well as Philip Anschutz, owner of the conservative Examiner newspapers. Many other big conservative donors have DT/DCF accounts, including the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation and the Coors family's Castle Rock Foundation (IRS records and Abowd 2013).

In recent years, DonorsTrust donors have taken a strong interest in fighting political battles in the states, by founding and nurturing state-level think tanks and the national organizations that help coordinate their activities, the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), and the State Policy Network (SPN), for example. "Gridlock at the federal level of government means donors see a better opportunity to make a difference in the states," says Ball, who sits on the board of the State Policy Network (Abowd 2013). SPN has come to rely on Donors Trust money, having received at least \$10 million in the past five years. In 2011, Donors Trust passed along donations that made up about 40 percent of SPN's revenue for the year. Over the last five years, Donors Trust money has gone to virtually every single state-level think tank

affiliated with SPN, which are located in nearly every state. (Abowd 2013).

With the need for the ability to move enormous sums of money outside of public view, the DAFs have started to collect and disperse huge sums. Also, dummy organizations have been set up, headed by a trusted “dummy” as trustee, and again, huge sums of money transferred where needed. This was especially true in the 2010 elections.

#### *Other Secrecy Measures*

The Kochs and other high dollar contributors soon found that shell companies could effectively hide donation sources until well after the knowledge of who is funding which side in an election is important. Beginning with the 2010 election cycle, for example, the Kochs began using both real and shell organizations as conduits for vast amounts of campaign cash (see Figure 33). A representative example is that of the Center to Protect Patient Rights, Inc. (CPPR), a 501(c)4 group with an Arizona headquarters, and headed by Sean Noble, an otherwise little-known former congressional staffer. It describes itself as an organization formed to build a “coalition of like-minded organizations and individuals, and educating the public on issues related to health care with an emphasis on patients [sic] rights’ and “engaging in issue advocacy and



activities to influence legislation related to health care” (Center to Protect Patient Rights 2009).

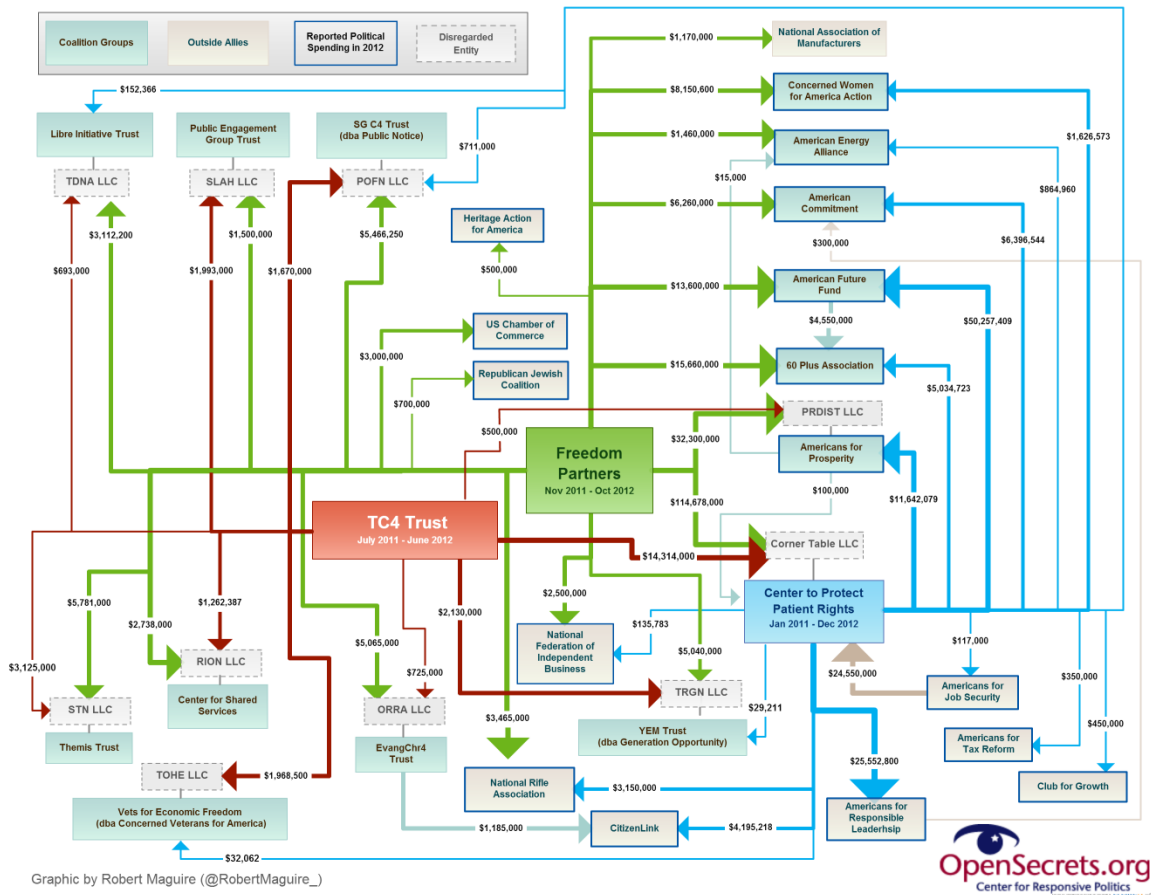
CPPR donated over \$55 million to groups on the right to pay for ads targeting endangered Democrats in the 2010 elections (Los Angeles *Times* 2012). Recipients included American Future Fund, 60 Plus Association, Americans for Limited Government, Americans for Tax Reform, Americans for Prosperity, and independent Women’s Voice, as well as various tea party groups. Some of these entities seemed to have no actual activities on their own, but served mainly as conduits for further laundering of the funds involved. In fact, one group listed as a recipient, called “Coalition to Protect Patients’ Rights” has the same mailing address and a phone number answered by the same PR firm employee as CPPR itself (Fang 2009).

Similarly, Themis Trust, a 501(c)4 organization founded in 2010, serves as media buying entity and little else. Themis describes its activities in its tax filing as “providing information and assistance to nonprofit organizations involved in public education.” It reported \$7.7 million in contributions in 2010, and along with several other groups, such as the TC4 Trust and Freedom Partners, both groups which are not required to report their donors, received over \$182 million in grants from CPPR between 2009-2012 (Maguire 2014). Groups receiving CPPR money included a committee fighting President Obama’s re-election based on

gas prices, a group supporting Scott Walker in Wisconsin, and a legal challenge to Arizona's re-districting (Maguire 2014). But this funding

## A Maze of Money

One of the biggest political operations in 2012 took place outside the campaign finance system, involving a network of politically active nonprofits backed by the billionaire industrialists Charles and David Koch and other conservative donors. Seventeen allied groups in the coalition raised at least \$407 million, much of which was spent on get-out-the-vote efforts and ads attacking President Obama and congressional Democrats, according to tax filings and campaign finance reports. Many of the funds were transferred to LLC subsidiaries, known as disregarded entities, that are wholly owned by the recipient groups. The network also gave millions to other outside groups allied with the GOP.



**Figure 33. “A Maze of Money”, Tracing Contributions Centered on the Major Koch Secret Entities (Center to Protect Patient Rights, Freedom Partners, TC4 Trust) (Maguire 2014)**

remained invisible until annual tax filings were made by the entities involved, and the strings and knots of contributions were unraveled.

Sean Noble and The Center to Protect Patient Rights has played its part in politics, now renamed “American Encore, and without Koch backing (Barker and Meyer 2014). In fact, 2013 tax records indicate a drop in contributions from a high in 2012 of over \$146 million to 2013’s \$2.2 million. But Noble operated as the Koch money dispenser for two election cycles, becoming personally wealthy in the process. According to tax documents, Noble collected about \$24 million in 2012 for himself, keeping about one of every six Koch dollars to flow through his hands (Maguire 2014).

His efforts in a California proposition battle also fizzled, and ended in a million dollar fine. The New York Times reported in 2013 that

records and documents uncovered during the California investigation provide a rare glimpse into how such groups closely coordinate transfers of money that mask the sources of the contributions and skirt state and federal disclosure rules. (Confessore 2013)

The investigation by the California Fair Political Practices Commission ended in a negotiated civil settlement requiring CPPR to admit wrongdoing and pay a fine of \$1 million dollars to the California State General Fund (Fair Political Practices Commission 2013).

The use of various forms of philanthropic organization type as philanthropic vehicles allow corporations, foundations, and individuals who may be averse to publicity, a means for confidentiality. "That's precisely why we have seen an explosion in 501(c)(4)s, because they are not subject to rigorous disclosure laws," said Paul Ryan, from the Campaign Legal Center:

It made them a very convenient conduit for risk-averse corporations. They certainly want to buy access and influence with lawmakers, but they don't want the public to know about it, so they'll route their money through (c)(4)s to hide their own identity. (Lehmann 2011)

Since corporate America, and the upper class it generates, is awash with accounting, legal, business and other skilled technicians, it seems virtually certain that every possible step will be taken to maximize benefit and minimize cost (and publicity), and that we will continue to see an extension of form and functions in philanthropic contributions towards political and ideological ends.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

This dissertation has undertaken to map out an instance of conservative power. Specifically, it sought to outline ways a faction of the power elite can use its network position and resources to place its material interests at the forefront of the wider conservative policy network. This is accomplished through organizing that network in ways that encourages the individuals involved to graft those material interests onto existing conservative ideologies. The fossil fuels network was successful in delaying national and international action on climate change mainly through its efforts in the conservative policy network.

This policy network that protects and extends the interests of the power elite as a whole did not magically appear. It was the product of a focused effort on the part of a wide spectrum of political activists, wealthy families and individuals and their foundations, and the members of the corporate class. Shaken by the liberal resurgence of the 1960s, wealthy business leaders such as William Simon, the Kochs, the Coors brothers, as well as academics such as Lewis Powell and political activists such as Paul Weyrich combined to create a rejuvenated network of conservative organizations aimed at controlling the public sphere regarding policy production. Whether as a direct result of Powell's call for conservative action or not, the powerful members of the upper class and

corporate leaders combined to organize and fund a wide group of think tanks, policy groups, and advocacy groups. It is this network of organizations that a core group of leaders from the fossil fuels industry was able to nestle within to form climate change denial network, funded by both its own members and the foundations and funding mechanisms from the wider network. These organizations—both single issue and wide spectrum groups, multimillion dollar organizations with plush offices near the centers of power in Washington DC and the little one person organizations with a couple hundred thousand dollar budget—were instrumental in adding climate change denial to the very root of conservative ideology, perhaps as much or more solidly as the anti-abortion plank of conservatism ever was.

Oil companies have a history in the United States of unrivalled power, producing billionaire families and the largest corporations—corporations that dwarf most of the nation-states of the world. The leaders of these corporations wield tremendous political power, and they have not been reluctant to use it. Of course this is true of corporate power in general, and the political history of the United States offers abundant examples of the good of corporations being viewed as the priority of the nation. “The business of the nation is business,” one might say, and “What’s good for GM is good for the country as well.”

Elite power is no conspiracy gimmick. It is merely the expression of the natural, inevitable domination of the public sphere by those with

money. Those with this kind of power generally prefer to work behind the scenes, which makes research on the power elite more like detective work. But processes and organizations leave traces, especially when they are mainly aimed at public processes themselves, so it is possible to trace material interests to desired political outcome, and such has been the goal here.

In Chapter I, the fossil fuels industry leaders were shown to be intimately linked in a private network, mainly organized by the Koch brothers, and aimed at promoting industry interests within the wider policy network, especially during the first decade of this century, a time of great danger for them with the possibility of major climate change regulation and treaty agreements. This network, funded by oil money and led by those with a life or death interest in maintain the status quo as much as possible, developed a coherent leadership model, a means to connect with and influence the wider network, and methods of tapping into existing funding sources as well as generating new and creative funding resources and techniques. Different organizations will have different relationships with funding entities in the network and will appeal to different funders for different reasons. Meetings such as the Koch strategy meetings help policy organizations that fill an important role in the denial network to be exposed to prospective funders, and to the conservative network at large. The meetings also allow potential funders to meet and hear from the organizations. They also function as a

forum for educating members of the upper class about climate change as political and financial threat that goes well beyond simply the fossil fuels industries.

In Chapter II, the wider conservative network is shown to be highly interlocked. The network has an institutional memory, in that tactics which were effective in one situation can be recycled for use in another policy area. Even specific organizations and people can be used in these ways. If the tobacco battle was an enormous battle between science, government power, liberal and people-oriented groups, and nonprofits on the one hand against an extremely powerful and profitable industry on the other, it served mainly as a prelude to the battle over climate change, where the very future of the planet is in the balance on the one hand, and where the profits of a large segment of the elites are at risk, not to mention the level of impact potential responses to climate change may have on the average person. So it should be no surprise that climate science deniers have tapped liberally into both the overarching strategic approach and the tactics used by the tobacco industry, as well as employing some of the same scientists and ideological activists. As in the tobacco war, different organizations fulfilled different roles in advancing the industry's objectives, which also generally served to advance the ideological and political goals of the elite more generally. I suggest that this wider conservative network is subject to domination by a small, organized, motivated faction of the elite, using its network positions to



advance its own interests, through taking leadership positions, funding specific projects and groups, and through key organizing and coordinating activities.

The policy network exists already as an instrument for whatever policy needs the elite may employ it to advance, but is also flexible and malleable enough to be tweaked for specific uses. In Chapter III, I trace how the fossil fuels industry effort to graft climate science denial onto the more traditional conservative ideology has required it to extend and augment the existing policy network in ways that are specific to the needs in the case of climate change. The addition of a populist wing of the movement, while not a new idea, has been accomplished to such an advanced degree that it may as well be new. Tapping into some level of dislocation and unhappiness at a root level (as well as creating that pool of disaffected too), the coincidence of the efforts to kill regulatory efforts with the rise of the tea party phenomenon requires scrutiny. The degree to which the tea party movement was created, funded, directed and to the benefit of the elite in general, and the fossil fuels elite faction in particular is enough to suggest the relationship between the two.

Americans for Prosperity has led the tea party charge both in national politics and as an instrument in climate science denial. It has kept its grassroots image somehow, in spite of being chaired by David Koch and for the most part funded by billionaires. This arms-length relationship in plain sight has been effective, but the tenacity of those trying to take

climate policy to a new level as an issue has required funding and organizing well beyond that necessary or possible in the case of Big Tobacco. It has required a new set of institutions, such as donation-laundering foundations like DonorsTrust and Donors Capital Fund. These are multimillion dollar operations offering advantages to the upper class, and that certainly push the limits of the laws regulating philanthropic foundations, if not make a mockery of them. The use of multiple front organizations to hide funding and strategic relationships is a staple in corporate strategy, and it has been employed with great effectiveness in the climate change denial movement.

In the end, climate science denial offers a solid case of elite power, but I just as easily could have chosen to study worker rights or K-12 education reform as issues around which the power elite has formed interest groups wielding the wider conservative policy network. Many of the same techniques are employed. Many of the same foundations are involved. Many of the same think tanks denying climate change are also involved in privatizing education and rolling back worker rights, through the leadership and specific strategy processes obviously differ. With the primacy of money in the political arena now that spending is equated with political free speech, the elite have a stranglehold on democracy that will not be easy to fight. When the Koch brothers declare their willingness to spend a billion dollars to win the 2016 election, even as they continue to spend tens of millions on climate change and other

regulatory issues, we can clearly see that a different policy terrain exists today than a generation ago—though it may be more a matter of visibility (for those who want to see) than degree. Really, in the end, how far off is bribing a politician for access to federal lands for oil production in the 1920s from putting handpicked members into the congress or a handpicked candidate into the White House in 2016? Both are clear perversions of the democracy we tell ourselves we live within.

William Domhoff's theory stands up remarkably well with a real-life example such as climate change denial. It is important that we subject that theory to constant challenge, and find ways to extend our thinking about elite power, such as in the ways that elites can extend their existing network structure, for example, as I contend here. Or, as in the case of the Eric Bonds' study of the chemical industry (2010), ways that elites may try to dominate an area not explicitly contemplated in Domhoff's theory—a "knowledge-shaping" process. These extensions are valuable ways to re-envision the application of elite power.

I believe it is through case studies, such as the one I present here, that the power elite at work can be seen in the best way—as events happened—in the real world. A similar study to what I present here could be done on the effort to privatize K-12 education the US, or efforts to fight unions and worker rights. A one year "snapshot" of these networks, as provided in this study, is useful, and provides a description of what the network "could" look like at any given time. As directors quit or die,

the faces change. Network connections between specific entities change over time. But the beauty of the network from a stability point of view is just that—its interconnected nature is not due to any one individual or organization. The overall “shape” of the network does not drastically change with the loss of an individual. However, there are key brokers and hubs that add coverage and make paths shorter, for both money and information.

A quantitative network study of both the fossil fuels core network and of the wider conservative policy network might uncover important attributes of those key brokering and hub nodes. Network analysis is an important part of power elite research, but qualitative work with the upper class and the corporate leadership, and with the ideological and activist leaders of the right, could bear important information about how these networks actually operate in real time. But the possibilities are not great for doing more than anecdotal work; members of the upper class have always been notorious shy about talking about their money and power. Longer term studies could be helpful, too, such as Brulle’s 2014 study of denial funding, which gives an important overview of funding trends. Longer term analyses replicating work done in the past will result in more complete understanding as well. For example, Val Burris’s work (especially Burris 2008) should be updated to see shifts in the ideological stands of the major organizations. Lastly, a comprehensive study of ideological sectors of the “Right” would be helpful. How and where do

libertarians intersect with traditional Christian “values voters”? The same could be true in analyzing networks around K-12 education or worker rights. For my purposes, these overlaps and intersections could perhaps suggest fault lines in a seemingly monolithic conservative approach to climate change. This seems especially important in climate change today as it is the ideological divide that marks off the “sides” to the “debate.”

## APPENDIX A

### FOUNDATIONS IN THE CONSERVATIVE NETWORK

Philanthropic foundations in the conservative network. Organizations with directors attending 2010 Koch meeting in BOLD.

#### **Organization**

Ann & Gordon Getty Foundation  
Arie and Ida Crown Memorial  
The Abstraction Fund  
Edward & Wilhelmina Ackerman Foundation  
Dr. Miriam & Sheldon G. Adelson Charitable Trust  
Adler Schermer Foundation  
Aequus Institute  
Ahmanson Foundation  
Allegheny Foundation  
A. Gary Anderson Family Foundation  
Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Foundation  
Anna Paulina Foundation  
Annie E. Casey Foundation  
Anschutz Foundation  
A.P. Kirby Jr. Foundation  
Apex Foundation  
Argyros Family Foundation  
Armstrong Foundation  
Arnold Family Foundation (merging in 2009 with John and Laura Arnold Foundation)  
Richard F. Aster Jr. Foundation  
Bachman Foundation  
Banbury Fund  
Barney Family Foundation  
Bay Branch Foundation  
The Beach Foundation  
Beazley Foundation  
Benwood Foundation  
H. N. and Frances C. Berger Foundation  
Bialkin Family Foundation  
Billy Rose Foundation  
Binder Foundation  
BK Simon  
The Blackstone Charitable Foundation  
Bochnowski Foundation  
Bodman Foundation  
Boettcher Foundation

Bond Foundation  
Bostock Family Foundation  
The James G. Boswell Foundation  
William K. Bowes Jr. Foundation  
Boyd Foundation  
Charles H. Boyle Foundation  
Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation  
Stephen F. & Camilla T. Brauer  
Bristol-Myers Squibb Foundation Inc.  
Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation  
The James and Donnie Brock Foundation  
Brown Foundation  
Louis Calder Foundation  
Capital Group Companies Charitable Foundation  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
Carthage Foundation  
Stephen Case Foundation  
Castle Rock Foundation  
Castleman Family Foundation  
Catto Charitable Foundation  
Charles & Ann Johnson Foundation  
Challenge Foundation  
Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation  
Chase Foundation of Virginia  
Chiarascuro Foundation  
Chicago Freedom Trust  
Chisholm Foundation  
Claws Foundation  
Clover Foundation  
Colcom Foundation  
George E. Coleman Jr. Foundation  
Compton Foundation  
Connelly Foundation  
Adolph Coors Foundation  
Copaken Family Foundation  
E. L. Craig Foundation  
Crail Foundation  
Earlane & Sam Croom Foundation  
Donald W. Reynolds Foundation  
Dick and Betty DeVos Family Foundation  
Douglas & Maria DeVos Foundation  
Daniel & Pamela DeVos Foundation  
Charles A. Dana Foundation  
Daniels Fund  
James Deering Danielson Foundation  
Dart Foundation

David H. Koch Charitable Foundation  
John R. and Margrite Davis Foundation  
John Dawson Foundation  
Diana Davis Spencer Foundation  
Charles F. de Ganahl Family Foundation  
Raymond Debbane Family Foundation  
The Arthur S. DeMoss Foundation  
Deramus Foundation  
Gladys Dickson Charitable Trust  
Dodge Jones Foundation and Subsidiary  
Dixon and Carol Doll Family Foundation  
Donahue Family Foundation  
William H. Donner Foundation  
Herbert H. and Barbara C. Dow Foundation  
Duke Endowment  
Dunn's Foundation for the Advancement of Right Thinking  
The George Edward Durell Foundation  
Earhart Foundation  
ED Foundation  
Edison Electric Institute  
Edyth Bush Charitable Foundation  
Egan Family Foundation  
Eisner Foundation  
El Pomar Foundation  
Eli Lilly and Company Foundation  
Engelberg Foundation  
Ettinger Foundation  
Evanstad Family Foundation  
Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation  
Richard M. Fairbanks Foundation  
Fairbanks Family Foundation  
Fairbrook Foundation  
Farrell Family Foundation  
Foundation for Educational Choice fka the Friedman Foundation  
Jerry and Nanette Finger Foundation  
Doris & Donald Fisher Fund  
The Fletcher Jones Foundation  
Wiliam Howard Flowers Jr. Foundation  
Fairchild Martindale Foundation  
Ford Foundation  
Foulke Foundation Trust  
Foundation to Promote Open Society  
Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity  
Fred C. & Mary R. Koch Foundation  
Foundation for Freedom and Justice  
Neal & Jane Freeman Foundation



Friedman Family Foundation  
Lynn & Foster Friess Foundation  
Richard & Barbara Gaby Foundation  
Galashiels Fund  
Galbraith Foundation  
Gardner Grout Foundation  
Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation  
George Gund Foundation  
Gerrish H. Milliken Foundation  
Rollin M. Gerstacker Foundation  
GFC Foundation  
Gilder Foundation  
Richard & Leslie Gilliam Foundation  
Gleason Family Foundation  
George L. Ohrstrom Jr. Foundation  
Pierre F. and Enid Goodrich Foundation  
Goodwin Foundation  
Gordon and Llura Gund Foundation  
Goyanes Family Foundation  
Albert M. & Lyda Green Foundation  
Bruce T. Halle Family Foundation  
Henry E. Haller Jr. Foundation  
Hamilton Roddis Foundation  
Robert A. & Marie Hansen Foundation  
Harman Family Foundation  
William A. Haseltine Charitable Foundation  
C. J. Heilig Foundation  
Heinz Endowments  
Helmerich Foundation  
Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation  
Grover Hermann Foundation  
Herrick Foundation  
Hertog Foundation  
Albert & Ethel Herzstein Charitable Foundation  
Hess Foundation  
William & Flora Hewlett Foundation  
Hickory Foundation  
Hilton Family Foundation  
Hayne Hipp Foundation  
Holman Foundation  
Houston Endowment  
Howard Charitable Foundation  
Jaqueline Hume Foundation  
J. P. Humphreys Foundation  
Hunt Family Foundation  
Hurst Family Foundation

Huston Foundation  
Irving Harris Foundation  
Issa Family Foundation  
It Takes A Family, Inc.  
Jack Miller Family Foundation  
John E. & Sue M. Jackson Charitable Trust  
Robert & Ardis James Foundation  
J M Foundation  
Joyce Foundation  
J. S. Frank Foundation  
Kantner Foundation  
J. M. Kaplan Fund  
Karol Fund  
W. M. Keck Foundation  
Michael L. Keiser and Rosalind C. Keiser Charitable Trust  
W. K. Kellogg Foundation  
Kern Family Foundation  
Kickapoo Springs Foundation  
Walter & Olivia Kiebach Charitable Foundation Trust  
Mark & Anla Cheng Kingdon Foundation  
F. M. Kirby Foundation  
John S. and James L. Knight Foundation  
Knowledge and Progress Fund  
Charlotte & Walter Kohler Charitable Trust  
Koret Foundation  
Kovner Foundation  
Marie-Josée and Henry R. Kravis Foundation  
Vernon K. Kriebel Foundation  
Lakeside Foundation  
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation  
Leonard and Evelyn Lauder Foundation  
L. E. Phillips Family Foundation  
Thomas & Dorothy Leavey Foundation  
Fred A. Lennon Charitable Trust  
Lilly Endowment  
The James and Joan Lindsey Family Foundation  
Litwin Foundation  
Longwood Foundation  
Richard Lounsbery Foundation  
Leon Lowenstein Foundation  
Lowndes Foundation  
Lynda M. Goldstein Family Foundation  
MacLellan Foundation  
Mailman Foundation  
Malek Family Foundation  
Malott Family Foundation

Marcus Foundation  
Mario Family Foundation  
Marion G. Wells Foundation  
John & Mary R. Markle Foundation  
Marshall Heritage Foundation  
F. Maytag Family Foundation  
Mark C. Pope III Foundation  
Philip M. McKenna Foundation  
John P. and Anne Welsh McNulty Foundation  
McWethy Foundation  
Meadwestvaco Foundation  
Mercer Family Foundation  
Middle East Forum  
Milliken Foundation  
Mississippi Common Trust Fund  
M. J. Murdock Charitable Trust  
Joe and Mary Moeller Foundation  
Dorothy D. and Joseph A. Moller Foundation  
Ambrose Monell Foundation  
Morgan Family Foundation  
E. A. Morris Charitable Foundation  
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation  
Murrill Foundation  
Negaunee Foundation  
Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation  
Frederick E. and Julia G. Nonneman Foundation  
Norman M. Morris Foundation  
Ohrstrom Foundation  
John M. Olin Foundation  
Opportunity Foundation  
Paul F. and Franca G. Oreffice Foundation  
I. A. O'Shaughnessy Foundation  
Dian Graves Owen Foundation  
P & C Collins Fund  
David and Lucile Packard Foundation  
C. N. and Maria Papadopoulos Charitable Foundation  
Charles M. & Gloria E. Parrish Foundation  
Robert S. & Star Pepper Foundation  
Lovett & Ruth Peters Foundation  
Peter G. Peterson Foundation  
Pew Charitable Trusts  
Phillips Foundation  
Ploughshares Fund  
John William Pope Foundation  
Edgar and Elsa Prince Foundation  
Pritzker Family Foundation

Richard & Helen DeVos Foundation  
Robert Pritzker Family Foundation  
Randolph Foundation  
Ray Foundation  
Records-Johnston Family Foundation  
Rising Phoenix Foundation  
Roberts Foundation  
Robertson-Finley Foundation  
Robina Foundation  
Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
Rockefeller Foundation  
Rodney Fund  
Roe Foundation  
William Rosenwald Family Foundation  
Robert P. Rotella Foundation  
Rothschild Art Foundation  
Roy A. Hunt Foundation  
Joyce and Donald Rumsfeld Foundation  
Arthur N. Rupe Foundation  
Russell Sage Foundation  
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation  
Ryan Family Charitable Foundation  
Steve & Cindy Van Andel Foundation  
Saban Family Foundation  
Lesly & Pat Sajak Foundation  
Saliba Family Charitable Foundation Inc.  
Same Line Foundation  
Sarah Scaife Foundation  
Satter Foundation  
Stephen Bechtel Fund  
Scaife Family Foundation  
Schiff Foundation  
The John H. Schnatter Family Foundation  
Charles and Helen Schwab Foundation  
S. D. Bechtel Jr. Foundation  
Barbara and Barre Seid Foundation  
Searle Freedom Trust  
Shamrock Foundation  
Shanley Family Foundation  
Shenandoah Foundation  
Sid W. Richardson Foundation  
The Thomas and Stacey Siebel Foundation  
Silverwing Foundation  
Simms/Mann Family Foundation  
William E. Simon Foundation  
Smart Family Foundation

Donald and Paula Smith Family Foundation  
Smith Richardson Foundation  
Sence Foundation  
Richard Seth Staley Educational Foundation  
Stanton Foundation  
Starr Foundation  
Robert K. Steel Family Foundation  
Stewardship Foundation  
Stiles-Nicholson Foundation  
Hatton W. Sumners Foundation for the Study and Teaching of Self-Government  
Susquehanna Foundation  
Sidney A. Swensrud Foundation  
Thomas A. & Mary S. James Foundation  
Taube Family Foundation  
Ruth and Vernon Taylor Foundation Montana  
Ruth and Vernon Taylor Foundation Montana  
Thomas B. Fordham Foundation  
John Templeton Foundation  
Tepper Family Foundation  
David J. and Mary L. G. Theroux Foundation  
Timken Foundation of Canton  
The Alice M. & Thomas J. Tisch Foundation  
Triad Foundation  
True Foundation  
Tully and Elise Friedman Fund  
Ed Uihlein Family Foundation  
Von Ehr Foundation  
Vradenburg Foundation  
Walton Family Foundation  
Weiler Foundation  
Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation  
Weismann Foundation  
Lillian S. Wells Foundation  
Wellspring Committee Inc.  
Samuel L. Westerman Foundation  
Whitcomb Charitable Foundation  
Whitehead Foundation  
Robert W. Wilson Charitable Trust  
Windway Foundation  
WinShape Foundation  
Wolfensohn Family Foundation  
Woodford Foundation  
Woodhouse Family Foundation  
William Randolph Hearst Foundation  
Barbara and David Zalaznick Foundation

## APPENDIX B

### DONOR-ASSISTED FUNDS IN THE CONSERVATIVE NETWORK

#### **Organization**

American Endowment Foundation  
Bank of America Charitable Gift Fund  
Communities Foundation of Texas  
Community Foundation Serving Richmond and Central VA  
Donors Capital Fund  
Donors Trust  
Fidelity Investment Charitable Gift Fund  
Goldman Sachs Charitable Gift Fund  
Greater Kansas City Community Foundation  
Jewish Communal Fund  
Johnson Charitable Gift Fund  
National Christian Charitable Foundation  
National Philanthropic Trust  
New York Community Trust  
San Francisco Foundation  
Schwab Charitable Fund  
Vanguard Charitable Endowment Program

## APPENDIX C

### CORPORATE FOUNDATIONS IN THE CONSERVATIVE NETWORK

#### **Organization**

Aetna Foundation

Alcoa Foundation

Assurant Health Foundation

Bank of America Charitable Foundation

Briggs and Stratton Corporation Foundation

Caterpillar Foundation

Cigna Foundation

Citi Foundation

Dr. Scholl Foundation

ExxonMobil Foundation

Kirkland & Ellis Foundation

Pacificorp Foundation

Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America

Prudential Foundation

Shell Foundation

## APPENDIX D

### POLICY ORGANIZATIONS (THINK TANKS, ADVOCACY ORGANIZATIONS, TRADE ASSOCIATIONS, DISCUSSION GROUPS) IN THE CONSERVATIVE NETWORK

#### **Organization**

Second Amendment Foundation  
60 Plus Association  
American Action Network  
American Council for Capital Formation  
American Center for Democracy  
American Council on Health and Science  
American Civil Rights Union  
American Council of Trustees and Alumni  
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and  
Liberty  
American Conservative Union  
American Enterprise Institute for Public  
Policy Research  
America's Future Foundation  
Americans for Prosperity  
American Foreign Policy Council  
Americans for Prosperity Foundation  
Africa Fighting Malaria  
Americans for Fair Taxation  
American Institute for Full Employment  
Accuracy in Media  
Alabama Policy Institute  
Alaska Policy Forum  
American Legislative Exchange Council  
Americans for Limited Government  
American Issues Project  
American Natural Gas Alliance Inc.  
American Majority  
American Policy Center  
American Petroleum Institute  
Arkansas Policy Foundation  
The Aspen Institute  
Alliance for a Sustainable USA  
American Tradition  
Atlantic Legal Foundation



Atlas Economic Research Foundation  
Americans for Tax Reform  
The Ayn Rand Institute, The Center  
for the Advancement of Objectivism  
The Business Council  
Tennessee Center for Policy  
Research, aka Beacon Center  
Citizens Committee for the Right to  
Keep and Bear Arms  
The Benjamin Rush Foundation  
American members of the Bilderberg group 2009  
Bluegrass Institute for Public Solutions  
Bill of Rights Institute  
The Business Roundtable  
The Brookings Institute  
Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions  
Caesar Rodney Institute  
Citizens Against Government Waste  
The Conservative Agenda Project  
Cascade Policy Institute  
Cato Institute  
The Conservative Caucus  
The Conference Board  
The Constitutional Coalition  
Center for Competitive Politics  
Committee for Economic Development  
Center for Excellence in Higher Education  
Competitive Enterprise Institute  
Center of the American Experiment  
Center for Equal Opportunity  
Council for America  
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow  
Club for Growth  
Center for Freedom and Prosperity Foundation  
Council on Foreign Relations  
Claremont Institute for the Study of  
Statesmanship  
Citizens in Charge Foundation  
Center for Immigration Studies  
Center for the National Interest, fka The  
Nixon Center  
Council for National Policy  
Coalitions for America  
Chamber of Commerce of the USA  
Common Sense Institute  
Commonwealth Foundation for Public

Policy Alternatives  
Center for Public Justice  
Center to Protect Patient Rights, Inc.  
Capital Research Center  
Center for Strategic and International Studies  
Center for Security Policy  
Concerned Women for America  
David Horowitz Freedom Center fka Center for the  
Study of Popular Culture  
Defend Democracy Action Fund  
Discovery Institute  
Eagle Forum  
Electricity Advisory Committee, Dept. of Energy  
Ethics and Public Policy Center  
Ethan Allen Institute  
Evergreen Freedom Foundation  
Free to Choose Network  
Faith and Reason Institute  
The Fund for American Studies  
Free Congress Research and Education Foundation  
Foundation for Cultural Review  
Foundation for the Defense of Democracies  
The Federalist Society for Law and Public  
Policy Studies  
Foundation for Economic Education  
Foundation for Free Enterprise Education  
Foundation for Individual Rights in Education  
Focus on the Family  
Frontiers of Freedom  
Thomas B. Fordham Institute  
Family Research Council  
Foundation for Research on Economics  
and the Environment  
Free State Foundation  
Freedom House  
Freedom Foundation of Minnesota  
Future of Freedom Foundation  
FreedomWorks Foundation  
Galen Institute  
Georgia Public Policy Foundation  
The Gloucester Institute  
Goldwater Institute  
Grassroots Institute of Hawaii  
Heritage Action for America  
The Alexander Hamilton Institute for  
the Study of Western Civilization

The Heartland Institute  
The Heritage Foundation  
Hoover Institution  
Hudson Institute  
Institute for American Values  
Institute for Contemporary Studies  
Idaho Freedom Foundation  
Institute for Energy Research  
Institute for Justice  
Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis  
International Foundation for Research  
in Experimental Economics  
(The Peter G. Peterson) Institute for  
International Economics  
Institute for International Strategic Studies - US  
Illinois Policy Institute  
Independence Institute  
Indiana Policy Review Foundation  
Institute for Humane Studies  
Institute for Policy Innovation  
International Policy Network US  
Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation  
Intercollegiate Studies Institute  
Independent Women's Forum  
The Institute of World Politics  
James Madison Institute - A Foundation  
for Florida's Future  
The James Partnership  
Jamestown Foundation  
Just Facts  
Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy  
Judicial Watch  
Kansas Policy Institute  
Landmark Legal Foundation  
Let Freedom Ring  
Leadership Institute  
Liberty Institute (fka Free  
Market Foundation)  
Liberty Fund  
Lincoln Institute of Public Opinion Research  
The John Locke Foundation  
John K. MacIver Institute for Public Policy  
Mackinac Center for Public Policy  
Maine Heritage Policy Center  
Manhattan Institute for Policy Research  
George C. Marshall Research Foundation

Maryland Public Policy Institute  
Mercatus Center  
Montana Policy Institute  
Moving Picture Institute  
Mont Pelerin Society  
Marijuana Policy Project Foundation  
Media Research Center  
Mountain States Legal Foundation  
North Dakota Policy Council  
National Association of Manufacturers  
of the USA  
National Coal Council  
National Petroleum Council  
National Center for Policy Analysis  
National Center for Public Policy Research  
National Defense Council  
Nevada Policy Research Institute  
National Federation of Independent Business  
National Institute for Labor Relations Research  
National Institute for Public Policy  
National Legal and Policy Center  
National Rifle Association of America  
The National Right to Work Committee  
The National Right to Work Legal Defense and  
Education Foundation  
National Taxpayers Union  
The Objectivist Center  
Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs  
Oregon Institute of Science and Medicine  
Ocean State Policy Research Institute  
Pacific Legal Foundation  
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy  
Parents in Charge Foundation  
Pelican Institute for Public Policy  
Property and Environment Research Center  
Political Economy Research Institute  
The Philadelphia Society  
Pioneer Institute  
Plants Need CO2 Org  
Platte Institute for Economic Research  
John W. Pope Civitas Institute  
Public Policy Foundation of West Virginia  
Philanthropy Roundtable  
Center for the Study of the Presidency  
Parents Television Council  
Public Interest Institute

Reason Foundation  
Rio Grande Foundation  
Sam Adams Alliance  
Statistical Assessment Service  
Small Business and Entrepreneurship Council  
Science and Environmental Policy Project  
Show-Me Institute  
South Carolina Policy Council  
    Education Foundation  
State Policy Network  
Social Philosophy and Policy Foundation  
Sutherland Institute  
Tax Foundation  
Taxpayers for Common Sense  
Texas Conservative Coalition  
    Research Institute  
Thomas Jefferson Institute for Public Policy  
The Independent Institute  
Texas Public Policy Foundation  
Trilateral Commission (North America)  
Trinity Forum  
United States Energy Association  
Virginia Institute for Public Policy  
Ludwig von Mises Institute for  
    Austrian Economics  
Wisconsin Policy Research Institute  
Witherspoon Institute  
Washington Legal Foundation  
Washington Policy Center  
We the People Foundation for  
    Constitutional Education  
Wyoming Liberty Group  
Yankee Institute for Public Policy Studies  
Young America's Foundation

## Appendix E

### KOCH MEETING ATTENDANCE LIST

(DOES NOT INCLUDE INACTIVE SPOUSES AND GUESTS)

Jack R. Anderson	John D. Bryan
Neil Anderson	Robert J. Buford
Rose-Marie Anderson	Tim Busch
Philip Anschutz	Shelby Bush
Nancy P. Anschutz	Timothy P. "Tim" Carney
Clifford S. Asness	Charlie Chandler
Nathan Dulaney Bachman IV	David Chavern
Lynda A. Bachman	John Childs
Whitney L. Ball	Paul T. Clifton
Michael Barone	Susan Lea Clifton
Frank E. Baxter	Susie Coelho
Stephen D. Bechtel Jr.	Bill Cooper
Elizabeth H. Bechtel	Dino CortoPassi
Glenn Beck	Joe Craft
Earl Benard Blasingame	Alex Cranberg
Alan Boeckmann	Jeff Crank
Donald T. "Boysie" Bollinger	Karl Crow
Patrick D. "Pat" Broe	Eric Crown
Arthur Brooks	Kevin Crutchfield
Ann Noble Brown	Ravenel B. Curry
David R. Brown	Jim Dannenbaum

Veronique de Rugy	Leslie F. Gilliam
Richard M. DeVos	Susan Gore
Helen J. DeVos	Oliver Grace Jr.
Annie Dickerson	Judson C. Green
Edward L. "Ned" Diefenthal	Ken Griffin
Dixon Doll	Gretchen Hamel
Carol Ann Doll	Frederic C. Hamilton
Karl Eller	Robert C. "Bob" Hawk
Ronald A. Erickson	Richard G. Haworth
Melvyn Estrin	Robert "Robin" Hayes
Dick Farmer	Dan Heard
Peter Ferrell	Diane Hendricks
Jim Ferrell	Steve Hennessy
Steve Fettig	Heather R. Higgins
Dave Fettig	James E. Higgins
Bob Fettig	Paul Hill
Jerry Finger	John Hotchkis
Richard H. Fink	Stanley Hubbard
Warren F. "Budd" Florkiewicz	Allan B. Hubbard
Charlie Fote	Ethelmae C. Humphreys
Randy A. Foutch	Manuel Johnson
Foster S. Friess	Merritt Johnson
Steve Friess	Marshall Johnson
Jerome Fullinwider	Kyle Johnstone
Richard Gilliam	I. Michael "Mike" Kasser

Randy Parris Kendrick	E. Pierce Marshall
Ken Kendrick	Bill Mayer
Phil Kerpen	Glen Meakem
Gerry Kingen	Edwin Meese III
Scott Howell Kirkpatrick	Lew Meibergen
Charles G. Koch	Don Meyers
David H. Koch	Jeremiah "Jerry" Milbank III
Elizabeth R. Koch	Jack Miller
Chase Koch	Mark Mix
Bob Koch	Joseph W. "Joe" Moeller
Robert J. "Bob" Kohlhepp	Mary F. Moeller
Charles Krauthammer	Steve G. Moore
Dennis J. Kuester	David L. Murfin
Andrew Kupersmith	W. Walter Negley
Andre Lacy	Mina Nguyen
Kenneth Langone	J. Larry Nichols
James M. "Jay" LaPeyre Jr.	Sean Noble
Frayda Levin	Teresa Oelke
Kenneth N. "Ken" Levy	Eric S. O'Keefe
Tom & Judy Love	Michael W. O'Shaughnessy
Robert L. Luddy	Timothy J. "Tim" O'Shaughnessy
Frederic V. Malek	Gerald E. "Gerry" O'Shaughnessy
Marlene Malek	James A. "Jim" Patterson
Preston L. Marshall	Daniel S. Peters
Elaine T. Marshall	Tom Petrie



Nancy Mitchell Pfothenhauer

Tim Phillips

Ramesh Ponnuru

J. Arthur Pope

Tom Rastin

Russell D. "Russ" Roberts

Corbin James Robertson Jr.

Richard Roder

Kathleen "Cab" Rogers

Gary Rogers

Durwood G. "Durk" Rorie Jr.

Chris Rufer

Peter Schiff

Stephen A. Schwarzman

Rick Sharp

Mike Simmonds

Peter Smith

Dick Strong

Michael Sullivan

Ray Thompson

Lynn Tilton

Dave True

Steve Twist

Gayla von Ehr

Jim Von Ehr

Rick Waller

Debra Steigerwaldt Waller

Peter Wallison

Bill Walton

L. O. "Lew" Ward

Dick Weekley

Fred Wehba

Nestor Weigand

Richard Trent "Dick" Weiss

C. Howard Wilkins Jr.

Don Wills

Larry Winnerman

Joseph C. "Joe" Woodford

Karen Buchwald Wright

Earl Wright

Clifford Miller Yonce

Fred Young

# Appendix F

## KOCH MEETING PROGRAM



**CHARLES G. KOCH**  
CHAIRMAN AND  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

September 24, 2010

"If not us, who? If not now, when?"

That question was posed by a member of our network of business and philanthropic leaders, who are dedicated to defending our free society. We cannot rely on politicians to do so, so it is up to us to combat what is now the greatest assault on American freedom and prosperity in our lifetimes.

Twice a year our network meets to review strategies for combating the multitude of public policies that threaten to destroy America as we know it. These meetings have been critical in improving and expanding our efforts.

Our next meeting will be held January 30-31, 2011, at the Rancho Las Palmas Resort in Rancho Mirage, California. You would be a valuable addition to our gathering, and we hope you can join us.

In Palm Springs, we will assemble an exceptional group of leaders along with a strong line-up of speakers. Together, we will develop strategies to counter the most severe threats facing our free society and outline a vision of how we can foster a renewal of American free enterprise and prosperity.

At our most recent meeting in Aspen, our group heard plans to activate citizens against the threat of government over-spending and to change the balance of power in Congress this November. In response, participants committed to an unprecedented level of support. The important work being done with these initiatives continues. However, even if these efforts succeed, other serious threats demand action.

Everyone benefits from the prosperity that emerges from free societies. But that prosperity is under attack by the current Administration and many of our elected officials. Their policies threaten to erode our economic freedom and transfer vast sums of power to the state. We must stop – and reverse – this internal assault on our founding principles.

316.828.5201 Tel  
P.O. Box 2258  
Wichita, Kansas 67201


Fighting back with incremental changes will only lead to a slower rate of decline. We must dedicate ourselves to making major advances in the direction of economic freedom. Our goal for these meetings must be to advance ideas that strengthen that freedom, beat back the unrelenting attacks and hold elected leaders accountable.

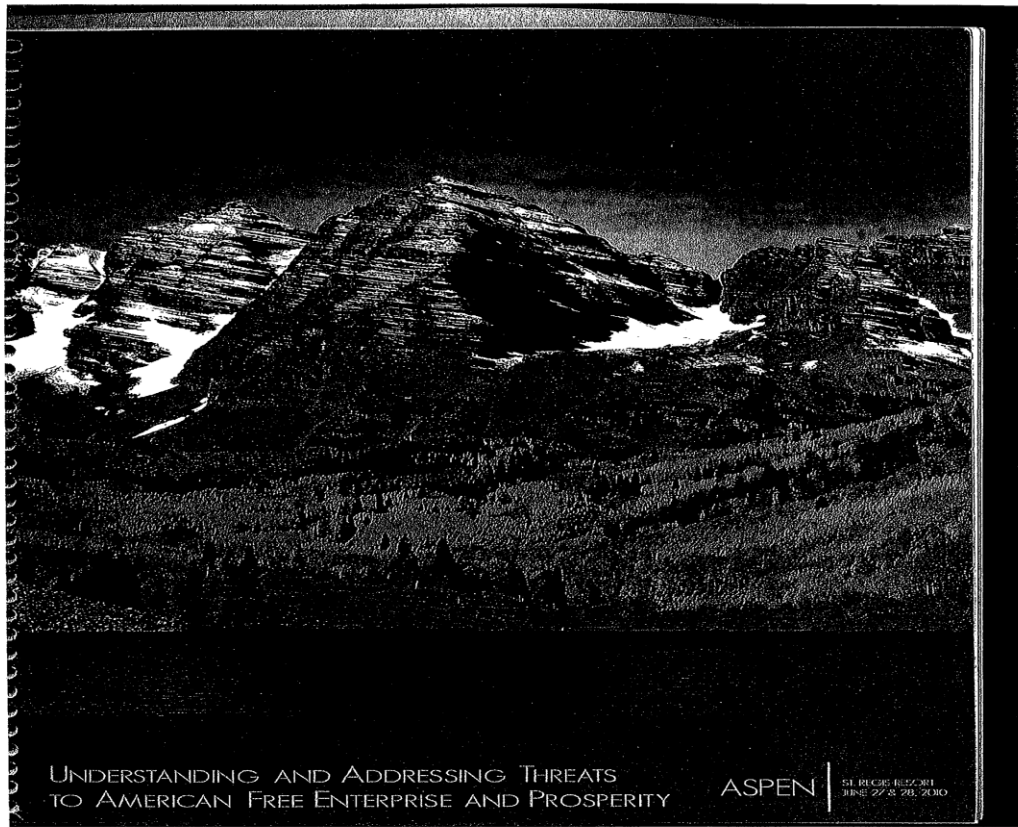
To give you a better idea of the nature of this event, I have enclosed the program from our Aspen meeting. While we will have great speakers and a beautiful setting, our ultimate goal is not "fun in the sun." This is a gathering of *doers* who are willing to engage in the hard work necessary to advance our shared principles. Success in this endeavor will require all the help we can muster.

Please note that this is an invitation-only event and invitations are not transferable. As a first-time attendee, your \$1,500 registration fee will be waived. Your spouse is also welcome to attend at no cost. If you have any questions, please contact Kevin Gentry in our Washington, D.C. office at (202) 737-8377 or by email at [kevin.gentry@kochps.com](mailto:kevin.gentry@kochps.com).

Your active participation would increase our probability of success during this pivotal time in our nation's history. We hope to see you in Palm Springs, January 30-31.

Sincerely,

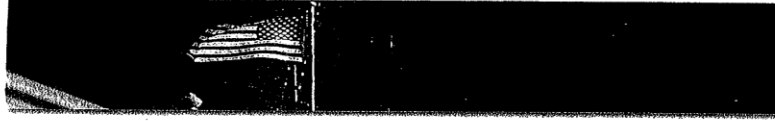
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be the name 'Kevin Gentry', written in a cursive style.



UNDERSTANDING AND ADDRESSING THREATS  
TO AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE AND PROSPERITY

ASPEN

51 PACE BEZCZEL  
JUNE 27 & 28, 2010



## GOALS & MISSIONS

At our seminars, we work to understand and address the threats to American free enterprise and prosperity. These meetings provide an opportunity to discuss these threats and the appropriate strategies to counter them. To that end, we focus on four main objectives:

- Attracting principled leaders and investors who will effectively defend our free society
- Sharing best practices and opportunities to defend our free enterprise system from destructive public policies
- Fashioning the message and building the education channels to reestablish widespread belief in the benefits of the principles of a free and prosperous society
- Building principled, effective institutions that identify, educate and mobilize citizens in pursuit of a free and prosperous society

Our seminars bring together business and philanthropic leaders who possess the vision and knowledge to develop innovative strategies to achieve results. The combination of knowledgeable speakers and motivated participants produces a dynamic environment that inspires creative approaches to advancing a free society.

## CONFIDENTIALITY AND SECURITY

In order to understand issues and develop strategies more effectively, the proceedings of this meeting are confidential. The meetings are closed to the public, including media. Please be mindful of the security and confidentiality of your meeting notes and materials, and do not post updates or information about the meeting on blogs, social media such as Facebook and Twitter, or in traditional media articles. These meetings are invitation-only and nametags should be worn for all meeting functions.



## AGENDA

Saturday, June 26

**12:00 – 6:00 pm**  
ST. REGIS LOBBY

### **Seminar Registration**

You may pick up your seminar materials, including your nametag and an updated copy of this booklet. For security purposes, please remember to wear your nametag to all seminar functions.

**4:30 – 6:00 pm**  
MILL STREET COURTYARD

### **Welcome Reception for Locals and Early Arrivals at the St. Regis**

Enjoy a cocktail and some conversation with your fellow participants at this informal kick-off to our time together.

**6:15 – 8:30 pm**  
VARIOUS LOCATIONS

### **Small Group Dinners**

Enjoy the company of other participants at one of these small dinners centered on areas of focus for our meeting. Policy experts and seminar speakers relevant to each dinner topic will make brief remarks to help facilitate a broader discussion. If you have not indicated your interest in participating, please contact us. Groups will gather after the reception and walk to the dinner locations. Topics include:

- **November 2010:** What's at stake? What is the range of possible outcomes? Will this be a watershed election year?
- **The Bankrupting of America:** Are Americans waking up to the negative consequences of government growth and spending? What messages cut through the clutter? Will this issue be of concern to voters this fall?



## AGENDA

- **Energy and Climate:** What drives the regulatory assault on energy? What are the economic and political consequences of this? How discredited is the climate change argument? What effect does this have on the electorate, especially in key states?
- **Higher Education:** At a time when we face so many immediate threats, how do we also maintain focus on longer-term investments in higher education? What leveraged opportunities exist on campuses now that make a real difference in advancing liberty?
- **Issue Micro-Targeting:** What gaps do we face in thoroughly understanding the electorate? What has been learned from research so far? How can we take advantage of this advanced technology?

Sunday, June 27

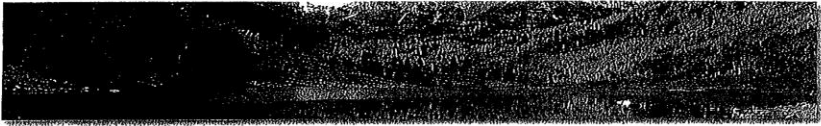
9:00 am – 4:00 pm  
CAPITOL ROOM,  
LOWER LEVEL

**Seminar Registration and Hospitality Center**  
If you did not pick up meeting materials on Saturday, you may pick up those materials today in the Capitol Room on the lower level of the St. Regis. You might also enjoy a snack or visit with your fellow participants.

11:15 am – 12:45 pm  
ASPEN ROOM  
MAIN LEVEL

**An Introduction to these Meetings for First-Time Participants**  
Participants new to these meetings are invited to a welcome luncheon to learn about the strategic framework that has guided past success and that guides future action.

Richard Fink, Koch Industries



## AGENDA

1:00 – 1:40 pm  
GRAND BALLROOM  
LOWER LEVEL

### **The Threats to American Freedom and Prosperity**

We are undergoing the greatest internal assault on American freedom and prosperity in our lifetimes. Rather than cede ground to more government, we must strengthen economic freedom. Business leaders have an important role to play in promoting prosperity, countering the dangerous attacks on our founding principles, and reversing this trend.

Charles Koch, Koch Industries

1:40 – 2:10 pm  
GRAND BALLROOM

### **What's the Outlook for Future Prosperity?**

Government spending continues to climb to dangerously high levels, putting our economy at risk. This session will explore the precarious path that we are on, led by one of the analysts best known for predicting the financial crisis.

Peter Schiff, Euro Pacific Capital

2:10 – 2:30 pm  
GRAND BALLROOM

### **Q&A with Charles Koch and Peter Schiff**

2:30 – 2:50 pm

### **Break**

2:50 – 3:50 pm  
GRAND BALLROOM

### **Understanding the Persistent Threats We Face**

The current administration swept into office with a promise to “fundamentally transform America.” From the nationalization of healthcare to the rising power of unions, as well as a push for major new climate and energy regulations, financial regulation, and even more government spending, there is no lack of significant threats for us to understand and address.

Moderated by Steve Moore, *The Wall Street Journal*  
Phil Kerpen, Americans for Prosperity  
Ramesh Ponnuru, *National Review*  
Peter Wallison, American Enterprise Institute





## AGENDA

3:50 - 4:30 pm  
GRAND BALLROOM

**An Integrated Strategy to Address These Threats**  
While the threats we face are significant, we have seen progress. Building on the lessons learned from the past and capitalizing on several unique opportunities we face this year, we believe there is a way to reverse this present course and build a more prosperous future.

Richard Fink, Koch Industries

4:30 - 6:30 pm

**Free Time**

6:30 - 9:00 pm  
FOUNTAIN COURTYARD

**Reception and Dinner at the St. Regis**

**Is America on the Road to Serfdom?**

Glenn Beck

9:00 - 10:15 pm  
RESTAURANT BAR  
MAIN LEVEL

**Cocktails and Dessert Reception hosted by DonorsTrust**  
Conclude your evening with a cocktail or dessert at the St. Regis' Restaurant Bar.

Monday, June 28

7:30 - 8:30 am  
FOUNTAIN COURTYARD

**Breakfast Buffet and Presentation**

7:50 - 8:30 am  
FOUNTAIN COURTYARD

**We're Spending Too Much**  
Americans are increasingly concerned with the growth of government, but we also need a positive vision of what smaller government means, a vision that goes beyond lower taxes and economic efficiency. Without that positive vision, the appeal of liberty is limited. This presentation provides a vision of how we can regain the moral high ground and make a new case for liberty and smaller government that appeals to all Americans, rich and poor.

Russ Roberts, Mercatus Center



## AGENDA

8:30 – 8:45 am	<b>Break and Transition to Grand Ballroom</b>
8:45 – 9:30 am GRAND BALLROOM	<b>Understanding This Electorate</b> This spring's primaries have produced many surprises and upsets. What is causing this electorate to vote the way they are? What does this mean for the November elections? This session will offer insight into the mood of this year's electorate.  Michael Barone, <i>The Almanac of American Politics</i>
9:30 – 10:30 am GRAND BALLROOM	<b>Framing the Debate on Spending</b> Polls show that the American public is deeply concerned about government growth and spending – and they are making their frustrations known. In this session, we will better understand if this is a fleeting circumstance or one that holds opportunities for advocates of free enterprise into the future.  Nancy Pfotenhauer Jeff Crank, Americans for Prosperity - Colorado Veronique de Rugy, Mercatus Center Gretchen Hamel, Public Notice
10:30 – 10:50 am	<b>Break</b>
10:50 am – 11:50 pm GRAND BALLROOM	<b>Mobilizing Citizens for November</b> Is there a chance this fall to elect leaders who are more strongly committed to liberty and prosperity? This session will further assess the landscape and offer a strategic plan to educate voters on the importance of economic freedom.  Sean Noble Karl Crow, Themis Mark Mix, National Right to Work Tim Phillips, Americans for Prosperity



11:50 – 12:05 pm

**Break and Transition to Lunch in the Fountain Courtyard**

12:05 – 2:00 pm

FOUNTAIN COURTYARD

**Lunch Buffet & Next Steps**

**Winning the Fight between Free Enterprise and Big Government**

America was built on the free enterprise system. That's how America became a prosperous nation with abounding opportunities for all. Now, freedom is under a relentless attack. What happens if it slips away? Arthur Brooks will share with us how free enterprise is more than an economic system – it is a moral imperative, and we must defend it at all costs.

Arthur Brooks, American Enterprise Institute

2:00 – 2:15 pm

**Break**

2:15 – 3:00 pm

**Small Group Discussions**

These five discussion-oriented sessions offer you the opportunity to explore several topics that go beyond the issues already discussed. We will hold these sessions twice so that you may attend the two that most interest you.

ASTOR LIBRARY,  
4<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR

**Opportunities in Higher Education:** For long-term success, we must develop future leaders committed to the principles of a free society. Can we have a major impact in higher education over the next ten years? Where are the most leveraged opportunities for investment?

Russ Roberts, Mercatus Center  
Kristen Short, Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation  
Ryan Stowers, Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation



MAROON BELLS,  
BALLROOM LEVEL

**Decision-Making in Philanthropy:** How can you maximize the impact of your gift-giving? What different giving options are available to you? How can you determine which groups and causes are effective? Advisors to several of America's most generous philanthropists will share their experiences in working toward strategic and informed decisions.

Annie Dickerson  
Mina Nguyen  
Michael Sullivan

CAPITOL ROOM,  
BALLROOM LEVEL

**K-12 Ed Reform & Charter Schools:** What is the best way to reform our education system? How can we ensure children learn core concepts? This discussion will explore what is working and what the future holds for K-12 reform.

John Bryan

PYRAMID ROOM,  
BALLROOM LEVEL

**Judicial Elections:** Several states this year will hold important judicial elections. Is there an opportunity here for advocates of free enterprise to have their voices heard?

David Chavern, U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
Kevin Watson, U.S. Chamber of Commerce

ASPEN ROOM  
MAIN LEVEL

**Choices in 2012:** As important as the 2010 elections might be, 2012 also offers an opportunity to address the threats to free enterprise. This session will allow for an informal discussion of how supporters of economic freedom might start planning today.

Jerry Milbank  
Bill Walton

3:00 – 3:15 pm

**Break and Transition to Second Discussion**

3:15 – 4:00 pm

**Session II of Small Group Discussions**



4:00 – 6:00 pm

**Free Time**

6:00 – 6:50 pm

**Gondola Ride to the top of Aspen Mountain**  
Groups will leave every few minutes from the front drive of the St. Regis to walk or ride to the gondolas, only a few blocks away. The trip to the top of Aspen Mountain on the gondola takes about 15 minutes and offers scenic views of the Aspen valley and the surrounding mountains.

6:00 – 9:00 pm  
SUNDECK,  
ASPEN MOUNTAIN

**Reception & Dinner atop Aspen Mountain**

**What's Ahead for America?**

Charles Krauthammer

9:00 – 10:15 pm  
BENEDICTS,  
ASPEN MOUNTAIN

**Cordials & Dessert Buffet**

Before descending the mountain, you are welcome to enjoy dessert and a farewell cocktail as you continue your dinnertime conversations. The gondolas will be continuously available to return you to the base of Aspen Mountain following dinner, and they will run until 10:15 pm.

Tuesday, June 29

7:30 – 9:30 am  
FOUNTAIN COURTYARD

**Drop-In Breakfast Buffet**

A buffet breakfast will be available for you as you conclude your stay in Aspen. Grab your breakfast and run or stay and converse with your fellow participants.

UNDERSTANDING AND ADDRESSING THREATS  
TO AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE AND PROSPERITY

PALM  
SPRINGS

RANCHO LAS PALMAS  
JAN. 30 & 31, 2011

**Goals & Mission**

At our seminars, we work to understand and address the threats to American free enterprise and prosperity. These meetings provide an opportunity to discuss these threats and the appropriate strategies to counter them. To that end, we focus on four main objectives:

- Attracting principled leaders and investors who will effectively defend our free society
- Sharing best practices and opportunities to defend our free enterprise system from destructive public policies
- Building principled, effective institutions that identify, educate and mobilize citizens in pursuit of a free and prosperous society
- Fashioning the message and building the education channels to reestablish widespread belief in the benefits of the principles of a free and prosperous society

Our seminars bring together business and philanthropic leaders who possess the vision and knowledge to develop innovative strategies to achieve results. The combination of knowledgeable speakers and motivated participants produces a dynamic environment that inspires creative approaches to advancing a free society.

**The Program**

This action-oriented program brings together top experts and leaders to discuss – and offer solutions to counter – the most critical threats to our free society. Recent sessions have focused on addressing rapid government growth, countering climate change alarmism and the move toward socialized healthcare, developing strategies to advance liberty on college campuses, strengthening our state-based capabilities, and promoting judicial reform. Past meetings have featured such notable leaders as Supreme Court Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas; Governors Bobby Jindal and Haley Barbour; commentators John Stossel, Charles Krauthammer, Glenn Beck, and Rush Limbaugh; Senators Jim DeMint and Tom Coburn; and Representatives Paul Ryan, Mike Pence, and Tom Price.

**General Schedule**

*Saturday, January 29*

4:30 – 6:00 pm Welcome Reception for Locals and Early Arrivals  
6:00 pm Small-group Dinners

*Sunday, January 30*

11:15 am Luncheon for First-Time Participants  
1:00 – 5:00 pm Formal Program Begins  
6:30 – 9:00 pm Reception & Dinner at Rancho Las Palmas Resort and Spa

*Monday, January 31*

7:30 am – 4:30 pm Breakfast / General Sessions / Luncheon  
6:30 – 9:30 pm Reception & Closing Dinner

*Tuesday, February 1*

7:30 – 9:30 am Drop-in Breakfast Buffet (No Program)

## Meeting Registration

Invitations are non-transferable. Spouses are welcome at all events.  
You may also register online at [www.regonline.com/PalmSprings2011](http://www.regonline.com/PalmSprings2011).  
Registrations received after January 1 will be accepted if space remains.



Daytime Phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
Assistant: \_\_\_\_\_  
Cell Phone: \_\_\_\_\_  
Email: \_\_\_\_\_

- I/We will attend the meeting in Palm Springs, January 30 & January 31.** As a first-time participant, I understand that my fee for the event will be waived.  
Names for nametags (informal): \_\_\_\_\_
- I/We cannot attend the Palm Springs meeting.**
- Please consider me for future events.
  - Please include me in informational mailings about issues addressed at these meetings.

### Accommodations

The Rancho Las Palmas Resort and Spa, located in Rancho Mirage, California, will host our meeting. A block of rooms is held for our group and will be available until December 27, 2010. For your convenience, all hotel reservations will be handled through our office; *please do not contact the Rancho Las Palmas directly to place a reservation.*

Please indicate below if accommodations will be needed and, if so, your desired room type. Most participants arrive on Saturday or Sunday and depart on Tuesday. The per-night room rates below do not include a \$10/night resort fee, a 10% federal, state and local tax, a 2% Local Business Improvement District assessment fee, or a 0.15% California tourism assessment fee. A deposit of the first night's charges will be made upon booking. Cancellations must be made seven days before scheduled arrival to receive a refund of the deposit. Suites are limited and will be available on a first-come first-served basis.

### Rooming Details

- I will not require a room at Rancho Las Palmas.
- Please reserve me a room at Rancho Las Palmas.
- Plaza Room \$209

Arrival Date: January \_\_\_\_\_, 2011  
Departure Date: Jan/Feb \_\_\_\_\_, 2011

- Optional:  I would like a second room.  
 Connecting /  King or  Double

### Hotel Payment Information

Card Type:  American Express  MasterCard  VISA

Name on Card: \_\_\_\_\_

Card Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Exp. Date: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Please return this form to:

Mr. Kevin Gentry  
Koch Companies Public Sector  
600 14<sup>th</sup> Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20005  
Fax: 202-737-8080 Tel: 202-737-8377  
Or: [www.regonline.com/PalmSprings2011](http://www.regonline.com/PalmSprings2011)

*Privacy notice: We respect your personal information. We will keep your contact details confidential and will use them only for our internal purposes and for the purpose of making the conference arrangements you have requested. We will maintain your credit card information in a secure fashion and will disclose it only to the relevant hotel for the purposes of securing your reservation. The Rancho Las Palmas Privacy Policy is available on its website.*

## Appendix G

### “CLIMATE DENIAL 35” ORGANIZATIONS

<b><u>Organization</u></b>	<b><u>Abbreviation</u></b>
American Council on Health and Science	ACHS
Acton Institute for the Study of Religion & Liberty	Acton
Americans for Prosperity	AfP
Americans for Prosperity Foundation	AfPFound
American Legislative Exchange Council	ALEC
American Policy Center	APC
Competitive Enterprise Institute	CEI
Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow	CFACT
Center for Public Justice	CPJ
Capital Research Center	CRC
Discovery Institute	DI
Frontiers of Freedom	FoF
Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment	FREE
FreedomWorks Foundation	FWFound
Heritage Action for America	HAA
The Heartland Institute	Heartland
The Heritage Foundation	Heritage
Hudson Institute	Hudson
Institute for Research on Economics of Taxation	IRET
Just Facts	JF
George C. Marshall Research Foundation	Marshall
Mountain States Legal Foundation	MSLF
National Center for Policy Analysis	NCPA
National Center for Public Policy Research	NCPPR
Ocean State Policy Research Institute	OSPRI
Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy	Pacific
Property and Environment Research Center	PERC
Philanthropy Roundtable	PR
Reason Foundation	Reason
Rio Grande Foundation	RGF
Statistical Assessment Service	SAS
Science and Environmental Policy Project	SEPP
State Policy Network	SPN
The Independent Institute	TII
Washington Policy Center	WPC



## SOURCE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR URLS

<b><u>Organization</u></b>	<b><u>URL</u></b>
ALEC Exposed	<a href="http://www.alecexposed.org/wiki/ALEC_Exposed">http://www.alecexposed.org/wiki/ALEC_Exposed</a>
Conservative transparency	<a href="http://bridgeproject.com/">http://bridgeproject.com/</a>
DeSmog Blog	<a href="http://www.desmogblog.com/">http://www.desmogblog.com/</a>
Exxon Secrets	<a href="http://www.exxonsecrets.org/maps.php">http://www.exxonsecrets.org/maps.php</a>
Greenpeace	<a href="http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/en/">http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/en/</a>
Lexis-nexis	<a href="https://www.lexisnexis.com/">https://www.lexisnexis.com/</a>
Muckety	<a href="http://www.muckety.com/">http://www.muckety.com/</a>
NNDB	<a href="http://www.nndb.com/">http://www.nndb.com/</a>
Open secrets.org	<a href="https://www.opensecrets.org/">https://www.opensecrets.org/</a>
Rightwing Watch	<a href="http://www.rightwingwatch.org/">http://www.rightwingwatch.org/</a>
Sourcewatch	<a href="http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/SourceWatch">http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/SourceWatch</a>

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