

CLEAN ENERGY UNDER SIEGE

Following the Money Trail Behind the Attack on Renewable Energy



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Our task here has been to compile and retell a story that has been unfolding for the past 12-18 months. Much of the original reporting was done by extremely talented colleagues from a variety of organizations referenced in the report. Our gratitude goes to all. These notably include the talented staff of the Center for American Progress Action Fund and Kert Davies at Greenpeace — the man to know when following the dough. We thank them for their help and are fortunate to have the privilege to work with them.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Wind energy has grown steadily in the past decade, doubling in size since 2009. In 2011, it accounted for roughly three percent of U.S. electricity production (EIA). During the first months of 2012, it topped four percent. Already, Iowa and South Dakota generate 20 percent of their electricity from wind power, and the wind industry is on track to produce 20 percent of America's electricity by 2030. A boom in the production of photovoltaic solar cells has cut the price in half and also doubled solar energy's contribution to power supply. While still a relatively small number of electric cars are on the road today, growth is brisk, and sales have surged 164 percent since June of 2011.

That level of growth and success has made renewable energy more of a force to be reckoned with in energy markets. It has also drawn competitive attacks from oil, coal, and gas interests.

With renewable energy seeing an 83 percent approval rating among all Americans — including 63 percent support from Republicans and 84 percent support from Independents — it seems counterintuitive that many politicians still oppose the development of clean energy. Yet the political spending power of the traditional energy industries is unrivaled.

Clean energy is under siege at the congressional level

- Political attacks continue to be waged through the Solyndra investigations.
- Hostile legislation such as the Pompeo bill (H.R. 3308) continues to be introduced.
- Conservative think tanks publish “studies” attacking federal appliance efficiency standards.
- The Production Tax Credit (PTC) is stalled in Congress.

Clean energy is under siege at the state level

- Oil, coal, and gas industry power concentrated in the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) is targeting state Renewable Portfolio Standards.
- Well-funded fossil-fuel advocacy groups masquerade as think tanks.
- Self-anointed experts like John Droz Jr. are committed to bringing down clean energy.
- Local groups receive outside funding to pursue an anti-wind agenda.

Clean energy is under siege by some of the most powerful, free-spending entities in the nation

- According to the campaign finance tracking group Open Secrets, oil and gas was a “top-spending industry in 2011” in the policy arena, spending more than \$146 million on lobbying costs.
- Campaign expenditures by Koch family entities Koch Industries and Oxbow Corporation place them in two of the top three campaign spending slots for 2011-2012.
- The oil and gas industries contributed to 387 — or 88 percent — of all members of the House of Representatives in the 2010 election cycle. The industry also contributed to 89 out of 100 senators. In both chambers of Congress combined, Republicans received 86 percent of all oil and gas donations.
- William Koch has bankrolled opposition to the Cape Wind offshore wind project for more than a decade.
- Exxon has contributed more than \$600,000 since 1998 to the Manhattan Institute, and approximately \$676,500 since 1998 to the Heartland Institute.

Attacks on clean energy present a great challenge.

Clean energy industries and advocates must both rise to the challenge. We will win by providing the best solutions for America and the world.



INTRODUCTION

The tone of the U.S. energy policy debate has changed markedly over the past two years. Since the oil embargoes of the 1970s, renewable energy and energy efficiency have been part of our national energy conversation. Though they are now generally regarded as a key part of the solution to our energy problems, it took a long time to get there. The slow growth of the wind, solar, geothermal, and biofuels industries throughout the 1980s and 1990s traditionally relegated them to the status of technologies of the future that could, someday down the road, help us to reduce fossil fuel use and its attendant costs and consequences. Meanwhile, there was little credible political challenge to the oil, natural gas, nuclear, and coal industries.

While traditional energy interests and their supporters in Congress did not support the progress of clean energy industries, they did not particularly fear it. Any opposition was generally muted and behind-the-scenes. It even became a time-honored tradition that the political prospects for any energy bill would be improved by a small sprinkling of clean-energy provisions added for “balance.”

Fast-forward to 2012. Wind energy has grown steadily over the past decade, doubling in size since 2009. In 2011, it accounted for roughly three percent of U.S. electricity production.¹ During the first months of 2012, it topped four percent. Already, Iowa and South Dakota generate 20 percent of their electricity from wind power, and the wind industry is on track to produce 20 percent of America’s electricity by 2030.² A boom in the production of photovoltaic solar cells has cut the price in half and also doubled solar energy’s contribution to power supply. While still a relatively small number of electric cars are on the road today, growth is brisk, as sales have surged 164 percent since June of 2011.

The rapid growth of clean energy was fueled by steady maturation of the industries, targeted government incentives, periodic energy price volatility, and a growing awareness of scientific documentation of climate change. Democratic congressional gains in 2006 and

2008, the election of President Barack Obama, and passage of a Renewable Electricity Standard in the House of Representatives in both the 2007 energy bill and the 2009 Waxman-Markey climate bill, led to a widespread presumption that continued political movement toward clean-energy development and the “de-carbonization” of the economy was inevitable.

Yet that momentum changed abruptly. Millions of dollars were poured into advertising campaigns designed to sway public opinion against action to address global warming and defeat a climate bill in the Senate in 2010. Then the rise of the Tea Party in that November’s elections set the stage for a concerted backlash against clean energy.

In their book, *Merchants of Doubt*, Naomi Oreskes and Erik Conway describe a methodology that has grown alongside controversial public policy issues designed to influence public opinion and policymakers in favor of a certain conclusion. The method they describe in detail was largely funded by corporate interests and right-wing think tanks with financial ties to the issues in question. Growing from its infancy amid the 1950s and ‘60s cigarette debates, through the legislative process on acid rain resulting in the 1990 Clean Air Act amendments, the international agreement on stratospheric ozone depletion in the Montreal Protocol, and reaching new heights during the consideration of global warming legislation, the “Merchants of Doubt” strategy sought to achieve its goals by undermining the credibility of traditional scientific research, substituting its own scientific conclusions — valid or not — and aggressively discrediting government action in almost all of its forms. Further, it often articulated its arguments through entities that disguised the true nature of who was making the argument and why.

It is a testament to the growth and development of both energy efficiency and renewable-energy industries that the riflescope of the “Merchants of Doubt” strategy is now focused on clean energy. The industries have grown so quickly that they now account for tens of thousands of domestic jobs. As a result of clean energy becoming a more formidable economic force, we have seen the rise during the past two years of a concerted effort to cast doubt on the public benefits of renewable energy and efficiency that have long been accepted and reflected by strong public favorability ratings.

The attacks on clean energy have come in a variety of venues. Some House Republicans took a poor decision to grant a single loan guarantee to Solyndra and used it to indict clean energy broadly as a reckless investment.

Conservative groups like Americans for Prosperity have tried to rally Tea Party activists against wind power and energy efficiency. Corporate advocacy groups such as the American Legislative Exchange Council have targeted state renewable-electricity standards for repeal. Many of these entities are attacking incentives such as the highly successful renewable-energy Production Tax Credit for wind energy as an unwarranted government subsidy at the same time as they defend giveaways for oil and gas, stay silent about them, or support deceptive bills that purport to end all energy subsidies but fail to attack entrenched benefits for fossil fuels and nuclear power. Are these connected? By following the money trail and the energy interests behind it, we have to conclude that the answer is yes.

We are at a critical crossroad in the development of U.S. energy policy. The impending retirement of dozens of coal plants creates a competitive playing field for the next several years. Clean energy has an opportunity to fill that gap but potentially competes with expanded natural gas reserves from unconventional drilling. This report will discuss some of the obstacles standing in the way and the need to get the answers right.

There is no reason to shy away from questions about the advantages and disadvantages of clean energy. Robust, rigorous, and open debate powers the engine of democracy. But it is also important to know who is initiating that debate and ask what their self-interest is. Our report attempts to highlight the attacks on clean energy up until now and expose how and why these attacks are being funded. This is an unfolding story that the public should pay attention to. This account neither covers every piece of this puzzle, nor claims to have found a smoking gun of public corruption. But we hope that it will help an interested public evaluate the current debate over clean energy.



SIEGE IN THE CONGRESS

SOLYNDRA AND THE GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

As the U.S. economy unraveled in late 2008, economists called for a major stimulus package to shore up the greatest loss of jobs and wealth since the Great Depression. New President Barack Obama put his transition team to work designing programs to inject funding into various sectors of the economy. Keeping his campaign promises to support clean energy, Obama's stimulus package included more than \$70 billion dollars for renewable energy and energy efficiency. Within that package was \$2.5 billion to back loan guarantees to projects that developed innovative technologies or reduced greenhouse gases.

On August 31, 2011, one of the recipients of a Section 1705 loan guarantee, solar panel manufacturer Solyndra, laid off all of its workers and filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. In so doing, Solyndra left the federal government on the hook for over \$500 million in loans taken out by the company and ignited a feeding frenzy among congressional Republicans.

Seeing Solyndra as a potential smoking gun to implicate the White House in wrongdoing, House investigators subpoenaed nearly 200,000 documents, held 10 hearings, and questioned dozens of witnesses. The Solyndra investigation provided a platform to not only criticize the president, but also to affect historically positive public perceptions of clean energy. Despite the fact that many in the GOP ranks—including House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform chairman Darrel Issa—had sought federal help for clean-energy companies in their district, they seized the opportunity to discredit clean energy along with the Obama administration. To date, they have found no unethical or criminal activity.

The Center for American Progress's Stephen Lacey characterized it in the following way: "Rather than use the process to help make government investments more transparent, efficient, and effective for the taxpayer, Issa and others have taken the opportunity to call any

support of renewable energy a 'scandal'—even policies they support for the oil and gas sectors, like tax credits."

Ultimately, one of the leaders of the investigation leveled with a reporter about its true intent. Rep. Jim Jordan of Ohio said, "Ultimately, we'll stop it on election day, hopefully. And bringing attention to these things helps the voters and citizens of the country make the kind of decision that I hope helps them as they evaluate who they are going to vote for in November."

Former Treasury Department official and financial executive Herb Allison analyzed the broader portfolio of clean-energy loan guarantees in early 2012. His conclusion was that losses were well within a reasonable range and that overall the investments were low-risk and performing well.³ That did not prevent the House Energy and Commerce Committee from reporting the "No More Solyndras Act" on July 25 that would eliminate the broader loan guarantee program—but would still allow the Department of Energy to grant loan guarantee requests for—arguably more risky—nuclear power plants that were submitted before the end of 2011.⁴

Karl Rove's Crossroads GPS has used Solyndra as a centerpiece in his multi-million dollar negative advertising campaign to influence the 2012 presidential election. Despite making a springtime assertion that he supports renewal of the Production Tax Credit for renewable energy, Rove has remained determined to smear clean energy by association with Solyndra. His lead has been followed by Americans for Prosperity, a group funded by the Koch brothers that has run millions of dollars of ads that mention Solyndra in presidential battleground states.

SUBSIDY SLEIGHT OF HAND: THE POMPEO BILL

Clean energy has been caught up in congressional zeal to reduce or eliminate energy subsidies. Wind and solar have been roundly criticized as too dependent on federal tax incentives, despite the fact that the Production Tax Credit (PTC) was originally enacted in 1992 to begin to level the playing field for renewables

against a slew of embedded breaks for oil and gas and other traditional energy sources.

But to some members, all subsidies are to be done away with. Mike Pompeo (R-KS), a crusader for getting the government out of energy markets, introduced a bill called “The Energy Freedom and Economic Prosperity Act” (H.R. 3308), that he claims will “reduce government interference in the energy sector by repealing all energy tax credits.”⁵ To sell this bill both to conservative colleagues and to the American people, Rep. Pompeo preached populist free-market economics and so-called equality in the marketplace: “My energy legislation gets rid of every single tax credit in the entire federal Internal Revenue code. It doesn’t favor solar, it doesn’t favor oil and gas, it doesn’t favor wind. It is energy-neutral.”⁶

So, thanks to Rep. Pompeo, we have a clear path to eliminating all energy subsidies and returning markets to some semblance of freedom. Or do we? As it turns out, Pompeo seems to have missed a few.

A closer look at H.R. 3308 shows that Pompeo managed to omit nearly all of the oil and gas subsidies that are worth real money to the industry. Data from the American Petroleum Institute (API) shows that his proposal is anything by neutral and leaves in place subsidies such as the Percentage Depletion Allowance, the Intangible Drilling Costs credit, and the Section 199 for Oil and Gas Activities credit, among others.⁷ The Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that Pompeo’s oversight would be worth a cool \$35 billion to oil and gas interests between 2011-2020. Meanwhile, the two credits that the Pompeo bill would eliminate, the Marginal Well credit and the Enhanced Oil Recovery credit (EOR), are not currently being used at all.

According to calculations contained in a factsheet from the office of Senator Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) as part of his proposed End Polluter Welfare Act, the fossil fuel industries combined would continue to collect a grand total of \$113.355 billion over ten years.⁸

Of course, the Pompeo bill never sought to dislodge subsidies that are worth billions to energy industries such as the Price-Anderson Act, which limits the liability of the nuclear industry in the event of a major accident — without which the industry itself would shut down — or pass-through corporate structures such as Master Limited Partnerships that allow the oil, gas, and pipeline industries to access public investment markets unavailable to renewable energy developers.

While Pompeo advertised his bill as “energy neutral,” he and his (currently) 26 co-sponsors are apparently

unwilling to demand the same degree of market freedom for the giant and powerful oil, coal, and gas industries that he is to demand for the relatively tiny wind and solar industries.

HANGING THE WIND INDUSTRY OUT TO DRY

The Production Tax Credit (PTC) for renewable energy was enacted in the Energy Policy Act of 1992 to begin to level the playing field between energy sources. It was enacted for six years through 1999. So began a cycle that has persisted for the past 20 years, of severe disruption to the wind industry every time the PTC is set to expire and must be renewed.

If the original architects of the PTC really wanted to level the playing field, they should have either made the credit permanent or pulled out the multi-billion-dollar oil and gas tax breaks and slapped an expiration date on them. The more lucrative oil and gas incentives never face the impending economic downturn caused by the expiration of their benefits. The PTC has actually expired three different times, and each time it has thrown the wind industry into disarray. Even late-year enactments of the “extender package” of expiring provisions have caused significant disruption.

The PTC was extended in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 until December 31, 2012 — meaning the wind industry is again walking the plank toward a crippling expiration.

The American Wind Energy Association (AWEA) estimates that 37,000 jobs will be lost if Congress does not renew the credit before the end of the year. But this expiration cycle is different than some that have gone before. The last 5-10 years have seen significant growth in domestic manufacturing of wind turbines. That development has released developers from the need to ship turbines from Europe or elsewhere and significantly lowered the price of wind energy to remain roughly constant during a time of increasing cost for steel and other raw materials.

But there is generally an 18-month interval between the time a developer orders a turbine and when it is in the ground generating electricity. Uncertainty over whether the PTC will be renewed throws the investment climate into chaos and orders dry up, putting high-quality manufacturing jobs at risk first. Those layoffs are now accelerating as we approach the New Year’s Eve expiration date. In early July, 2012, wind turbine manufacturer Gamesa furloughed 165 employees from their two centers in Pennsylvania, citing the PTC. As of this writing, there have been wind job losses in Florida,

Illinois, Vermont, Virginia and other states, and it is expected to be only the beginning.

The House leadership has thus far shown little interest in acting on the PTC and heading off the expected tens of thousands of job losses. Despite their professed concern about jobs, these particular jobs have not appeared to stir concern within the group that sets the agenda.

This year, renewal of the PTC is further complicated by the commitment of congressional Republicans (and some Democrats) to treat expiring tax provisions as new spending, and thus require that they be offset by spending cuts. As if the inequity of being stuck in the Extender Package was not enough, the PTC now faces the additional political hurdle of having to produce spending offsets. The billions for oil and gas abjectly neglected by Rep. Pompeo will have to jump none of these hurdles.

Rather than act to protect American families from devastation caused by nothing but their inaction, the Ways and Means Committee embarked on a plodding review of the dozens of expiring provisions in order that they might find provisions they can cut. In fact, the seeming aimlessness of the process might sooner guarantee that the committee can postpone action until after the election than yield a fair outcome in a reasonable amount of time.

The failure to act is all the more perplexing when a stand-alone PTC renewal very likely has the bipartisan support to pass either house of Congress. Wind has historically had strong champions from both sides of the aisle. Wind farms are more likely to be in rural areas, which are more likely to be red.⁹

Thirteen Republican senators recently voted against an anti-wind amendment to the farm bill. Most and perhaps all of them could be counted on to vote for the PTC—depending on variables of duration, offsets, or whether it includes a phase-out of the credit—and nearly unanimous Democratic support could put it beyond the clutches of a filibuster.

Though a few GOP House members have spoken out directly against the PTC, there are currently more than 30 House Republicans who have taken positive public action to support the PTC. We believe that significantly more would support it if given the choice of voting up-or-down on the issue.

Some members are clamoring for a phase-out of the PTC. We fail to see why wind incentives should be eliminated when fossil subsidies are protected assiduously and fail to even reach the negotiating table.

But that issue aside, any phase-out should be a long-term proposition that provides maximum predictability and stability to the industry. A decision to simply pull the rug out from under wind energy this year would be a supremely hostile act toward the wind industry, its workers, and their families.

EFFICIENCY IS NOT SPARED

Energy-efficiency improvements since 1970 resulted in savings of 100 quadrillion Btu of energy in 2010, and thus efficiency has delivered more new energy to the U.S. economy over the past 40 years than any other energy source.¹⁰ The same agents who would sap the growth of renewable energy have a companion goal to discredit and reduce our utilization of energy-efficiency measures. Several weeks ago, the Mercatus Center at George Mason University issued a report that criticizes appliance efficiency standards. The Mercatus study attacks appliance standards where they are the strongest, asserting that they restrict consumer choice and result in minimal environmental and economic benefits.

The American Council for an Energy Efficient Economy (ACEEE) responded that,

Taking into account all U.S. appliance standards starting with the original round signed into law by Ronald Reagan and including those updated by the Department of Energy (DOE) under two Republican and two Democratic administrations and those added by both Republican- and Democratic-controlled Congresses, U.S. standards reduced greenhouse gas emissions by about 200 million metric tons in 2010, and annual reductions will increase to about 450 million metric tons by 2025. That works out to about 3.5% of actual U.S. 2010 emissions and 8% of projected 2025 emissions.¹¹

On the issue of consumer choice, ACEEE countered that,

For each of these products, consumer choices have increased even as standards have eliminated energy-inefficient models from the market. Refrigerators come with a wider array of configurations, ice- and water-dispenser options, built-in designs, and other features, than have ever existed. (The latest rage is French doors; GE just added a second shift at its Louisville, Kentucky, plant to keep up with demand.) Clothes-washer buyers have an array of energy- and water-efficient front-loading and top-loading designs covering price points from \$400 and up to choose from, many with features like steam cleaning that were unheard of a decade ago. For light bulbs, manufacturers report that the standards spurred them to introduce a whole new generation of energy-

efficient incandescent bulbs so that consumers can now choose among energy-efficient incandescent, compact fluorescent, and newly-introduced LED options. Consumers have more choice than ever.

The Mercatus challenge to appliance standards and efficiency generally seems to fall weakly away. The federal appliance standards program, signed into law by Ronald Reagan, has generally operated with the input and consent of the manufacturers, and has produced \$1.1 trillion in benefits.¹² Opponents of energy efficiency standards had more success in the Congress through their attempt to restrict the enforcement of light bulb efficiency standards. A prohibition on DOE enforcement of the consensus standards was included in a December, 2011 budget agreement between the House and Senate. Both of these examples show concerted attempts to undermine long-held public values in favor of energy efficiency.

MIKE POMPEO REVISITED

Before we leave Congressional attacks on clean energy, it is instructive to take a closer look at Rep. Pompeo.

Before getting elected to Congress, Pompeo was — ironically — an executive at a Kansas wind-energy company that directly benefited from the very tax credits he is now trying to kill. The company, Sunflower Wind, was based in Hutchinson, Kansas, and had generated much excitement in the region. Despite his attempt to dismember the wind industry, as recently as last year, Rep. Pompeo's financial disclosure form shows that he continues to hold assets in Sunflower Wind.¹³

Considering his history and experience in the wind industry, why might Pompeo fight renewable energy sources while preserving handouts for the fossil fuel industries? Even if he had never been an executive in the wind industry, why would a representative from Kansas, a state with over 1,200 MW of installed wind capacity — totaling 8.2 percent of the state's total electricity from wind alone — be against a proven technology that is contributing economic growth and creating jobs in his state?¹⁴

The governor of Kansas, fellow Republican Sam Brownback, has been a champion of wind power, calling recently for an extension of the PTC while praising wind power's economic advantages: "The wind industry has utilized a Production Tax Credit, which has helped the industry see steady growth this decade. I support the continued use of those tools as a way to spur investment in our communities and create sorely needed

jobs."¹⁵ And yet, Rep. Pompeo is willing to lead the effort to pull the plug on this Kansas growth machine.¹⁶

Campaign contributions don't necessarily explain everything about a politician's behavior, but they can often provide some insight. Since 1989, Rep. Pompeo's campaigns have been bankrolled in large part by oil and gas companies.¹⁷ The most notable of these was Koch Industries, headquartered in Pompeo's district, which topped the next-biggest donor by nearly \$70,000 (\$111,500 vs. \$42,100 from a defense company).¹⁸ More fossil fuel companies round out the top five list of Pompeo donors, bringing his total take from those industries to \$191,300. His lifetime donations from oil and gas companies total over \$400,000.¹⁹

Koch Industries gives generously to House Republicans. The company has donated to 171 members of Congress, including 159 of Rep. Pompeo's colleagues in the House. Of all these politicians taking Koch money, however, nobody has received more cash than Rep. Mike Pompeo.²⁰

While Rep. Pompeo may offer a stunning example of how political contributions might change the policy orientation of a member of Congress, he is certainly not the only one subject to such pressures. As cumulative spending records show, fossil fuel industries are seizing this moment to maximize their influence with Congress and push competitive advantage for their industries through the policy process.



SIEGE IN THE STATES

SMART ALEC

If well-funded opponents of clean energy are willing to commit resources to hurting their enemies at the federal level, it only follows that they would pursue their goals in state and local venues as well.

State Renewable Portfolio Standards have long been regarded as a major driver for the addition of renewable energy generation. RPS's have been established in some form in 30 states and generally require a utility to produce an increasing percentage of the electricity they sell from renewable sources. Wind energy has been a particular beneficiary of state RPS laws and has also helped lower the overall cost of electricity in many of those states.²¹

Weakening or eliminating the RES in states has become a cause célèbre for the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board, which often calls the tune for conservative activists. It wrote:

*Politicians keep promising to reduce energy prices, but they keep ignoring one easy step: repeal renewal [sic] energy standards. Twenty-nine states have these rules requiring local utilities to purchase between 20% and 33% of their electric power from renewable sources. They were enacted over the past decade when lawmakers bought into the fad about cheap “clean energy.” Their real effect has been to force utilities to pay above-market prices for electricity, which means higher electric bills for consumers.*²²

The *Wall Street Journal* is hardly the only mouthpiece to place pressure on state legislators to repeal RPS laws across the country. Groups like the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) are a clear and present threat to state RPS laws. ALEC describes itself as a nonprofit group that “works to advance the fundamental principles of free-market enterprise, limited government, and federalism at the state level...”²³ ALEC's modus operandi is to provide state lawmakers with “model legislation” that will carry out the goals of its corporate members. They have had significant success with several

initiatives. One high-profile example is the “stand your ground” law — ALEC-authored legislation that was implemented nearly word-for-word across several states. Today, ALEC is in the process of approving anti-RPS language to send to willing sponsors in state Houses across the nation.

ALEC's Energy, Environment and Agriculture Task Force features national and international powerhouses like Exxon Mobil, Koch Industries, Peabody Energy, and the American Petroleum Institute. In May, ALEC invited a *Who's Who* of anti-clean energy advocates to a meeting in Charlotte to plot strategy.²⁴ The Heartland Institute was there, even after its internal documents had been exposed and the damage of its self-inflicted wound with the Unabomber billboard had been done. The field general for the Koch brothers, Americans for Prosperity, was there. The first-string squad for the anti-clean-energy team was suited up and on the field.

The staffer behind ALEC's energy task force is Todd Wynn. Wynn's resume is a journeyman's travelogue through the world of ultra-conservative advocacy. Wynn's opposition to wind energy is well documented from his time with the Cascade Policy Institute. Cascade is another example of the “free-market” libertarian groups (much like ALEC) that have popped up across the country. While with Cascade, Wynn wrote reports with titles like, “The Dirty Secret Behind Clean Jobs” and “Renewable Energy Failure: Why Government Mandates Don't Work and What They Will Do to Our Economy.”²⁵ Before that, he worked for another “free market think tank,” the American Tradition Institute (ATI).²⁶

After joining ALEC in 2011, Wynn attended a seminar sponsored by ATI Fellow, wind energy opponent and Koch Industries ally, John Droz, Jr.²⁷ At this meeting, along with approximately 30 other individuals, Droz and Wynn discussed anti-wind-energy strategy and a national public relations planning document which sought to use “subversion” in order to destroy the wind industry.²⁸

Wynn did not waste much time getting down to work with the goal of slowing the growth of renewable energy. Shortly after his return from the Droz conference, Bloomberg News broke the story that Wynn's task force was considering drafting model legislation to assist state legislators with repealing RPS laws.²⁹ This draft language has since been developed and approved by Wynn's taskforce, and will now be up for vote by the main ALEC council. Given ALEC's history — they already have legislation to block RPS bills — it would be little surprise if this motion passes and state legislators around the country are handed pre-written language intended to destroy an effective engine for renewable-energy development.³⁰

Thus far, there have been efforts to repeal the RPS in a small handful of states, including Montana, Michigan, and Ohio. Though legislators have introduced repeal legislation, the bills have not yet gotten traction. But with the resources available to Team ALEC, state advocates should brace for an onslaught.

On the flip side, environmental groups, unions, and some wind manufacturers are engaged in an initiative that will be on the ballot in Michigan in November that would significantly increase the Michigan RPS to 25 percent by 2025. If successful, the "25x25" initiative will send an important signal to the nation that public desire to move toward clean energy remains strong.

THE "THINK TANKS"

Now that we have introduced key players such as the Heartland Institute, Americans for Prosperity, and the American Tradition Institute, it is important to take closer look at the web of conservative advocacy organizations, several of which bill themselves as "think tanks."

Think tanks have traditionally provided a useful and valuable service to society. They house experts and academics who perform research, conduct investigations, offer expert opinions, and compile data on various aspects of society and the way it functions. We normally think of the Brookings Institution or perhaps the RAND Corporation. But the landscape has shifted over the past few decades. Ideologically-based organizations on both sides of the political spectrum now commonly refer to themselves as think tanks. In the best cases, they employ legitimate experts who are rigorous and honest in the way they develop and present their data and information

In the worst cases, rather than providing the public with education for the greater good, these new groups use the think tank moniker as a mouthpiece for their

particular industry or business interest, yet try to appear objective or scientific. While groups like the Heritage Foundation openly acknowledge their conservative slant, advocacy organizations like the Manhattan Institute or the Institute for Energy Research prefer to portray themselves as "not-for-profit organizations" who have earned a "solid reputation for [their] scholarly approach to energy analysis,"³¹ when their true intent is to hide the vested economic interests that fund their operations and predetermine their conclusions.

Groups like Americans for Tax Reform, the John Locke Foundation in North Carolina, the Manhattan Institute in New York, and the American Energy Institute have all accepted money from corporations like Koch Industries and Exxon Mobil and are waging aggressive public relations campaigns in support of those companies' financial and competitive interests.³²

Many of these groups claim to support "free-market" energy policy. Yet in similar fashion to Rep. Pompeo's energy-subsidies legislation, the "free market"-oriented criticism of federal support for energy seems to apply only to renewables. A review of material from a list of allegedly pro-free market organizations — including the Manhattan Institute, the Institute for Energy Research, their partner organization American Energy Institute, and the American Tradition Institute — shows that they simultaneously defend subsidies for oil and gas while attacking incentives for renewables.³³ For example, the American Energy Alliance, a 501(c)(4) lobbying partner with the Institute for Energy Research, writes in its mission statement: "Free markets will provide the United States with affordable, plentiful, and reliable energy... The tax code should not be used to pick energy winners and losers."³⁴ But in July of 2011, the AEA compiled a "study" that urged exactly the opposite of that mission statement, railing against the repeal of fossil fuel tax breaks as proposed by the Obama administration: "Moreover, [Obama's energy policies] are restrictive to both business activity and economic growth. They therefore achieve the worst of both worlds: they hurt the economy while exacerbating the federal budget deficit."³⁵

Economic policy aside, by the AEA's logic, the "tax increase" imposed on the U.S. wind industry via the expiration of the Production Tax Credit would have the same effect on business and industry. And yet, on May 24, 2012, AEA President and ex-Koch Industries lobbyist Thomas Plye sent a letter to all members of Congress voicing the AEA's opposition to the PTC and claiming, "Decades of clamoring for subsidies and cash handouts by wind power proponents have done nothing to mature

the industry into a viable competitor in a free energy market....”³⁶

While the AEA spends its time lobbying Congress for preferential treatment for the oil industry, its partner organization, the Institute for Energy Research (IER), is busy undermining renewables in less direct ways. Despite there being no disclaimer or any identifying information on the website, the anti-renewable MasterResource.org is currently sponsored by the IER. A clearinghouse for anti-renewable materials, MasterResource bills itself as a “blog dedicated to analysis and commentary about energy markets and public policy.”³⁷ Regular contributors to MasterResource include known anti-wind energy activists John Droz Jr. Lisa Linowes of the Industrial Wind Action Group, and—the only notable tie to IER—CEO Robert Bradley Jr.

On the surface, these groups appear to be driving the conservative conversation on renewable energy policy and technology, but under the surface, the picture is quite different. Rather than promoting free market ideas, they are promoting ideas that serve the interests of very specific segments of the energy sector.

JOHN DROZ: ANTI-WIND CRUSADER

Many of the lead advocates of the groups we describe here tend to be media-savvy individuals with a “fellowship” or “scholar” title. John Droz Jr. of the American Tradition Institute, Lisa Linowes of the Industrial Wind Action Group, and Robert Bryce of the Manhattan Institute form an eclectic snapshot of the anti-renewable Merchants of Doubt.

To be sure, it is not always easy to follow the line between legitimate scholarly work or modern media punditry and the more intentional role of driving the public debate toward bad science or bad policy. This report focuses on several examples of the latter—that is, people who are promulgating misinformation while actively misrepresenting themselves to the public and to elected officials in order to impede the progress of renewable energy.

John Droz Jr. is mentioned several times throughout this report, notably for his work on a so-called National Public Relations plan and the accompanying gathering of self-proclaimed “wind-warriors” who joined him to discuss anti-wind tactics in early 2012.³⁸ Mr. Droz has maintained a complicated persona. He has described himself at times as a representative common man, proclaiming in an interview with E&E News, “I’m just a citizen who lives on a lake in the backwoods;”³⁹ at

other times as an intellectual and expert (“senior fellow with [the American Tradition Institute]”);⁴⁰ and at still others as a scientist who cares about protecting the earth (a “physicist who has also been an environmental activist”).⁴¹

So who is Droz in reality? Despite his varied claims and his master’s degree in Solid State Science from Syracuse University in 1975, Droz’s resume indicates that he focused the majority of his career not on energy or the environment but on real estate investment.⁴²

A review of Droz’s activity in recent years suggests he is little more than a climate-change denier and activist against wind power who uses his own version of “science” as a means of casting doubt on the virtues of that energy source. A PowerPoint presentation compiled by Droz asks the question: “Our energy policy: from science or lobbyists?”, then goes on to claim that wind energy has “never” been evaluated to “independently prove its efficiency.”⁴³

This skepticism bears a resemblance to Droz’s positions on man-made global warming and various environmentally-oriented issues. A documented climate-change denier, Droz has spoken at the Heartland Institute (itself known for its denial of climate change). He has written statements such as, “There is considerable scientific evidence that contradicts the assumptions and conclusions of [man-made global warming]. Unfortunately, the main proponents of the AGW have not been able to provide credible scientific explanations for these contradictions.”⁴⁴ Jean Chemnick at E&E News notes that Droz has also spent time working to “prevent North Carolina from factoring climate change into its projections for sea-level rise.”⁴⁵

In his “National PR Plan,” Droz proposes several “solutions” to his perceived lack of scientific backing for wind energy, including the creation of an anti-wind “‘think-tank’ subgroup to produce and disseminate white paper reports and scientific quotes and papers that back up the message.” Such a group, of course, would be a striking parallel to his own employer, the American Tradition Institute, and would engage in work (suggested by Droz) hardly befitting a traditional think tank: “[Writing an] expose book on the industry, showing government waste, harm to communities and other negative impacts on people and the environment” and “[creating a] counter-intelligence branch (responsible for communicating current industry tactics and strategies as feedback to this organization).”⁴⁶

Whatever the motive, Droz has built a far-reaching alliance to help his cause. His “wind-warrior” meeting in February of 2012 brought together a “dream team” of more than 30 anti-wind activists from a variety of organizations.⁴⁷ In March of 2012, POLITICO reporter David Rogers wrote, “But other activists, such as John Droz, told POLITICO that he had enlisted Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks — which have received major support from the Koch family — as part of his own telephone campaign against the wind-power tax breaks.”⁴⁸

The connection between Droz and Americans for Prosperity (AFP) could yet bear fruit. AFP was founded by Koch Industries CEO David Koch and run by President Tim Phillips, a Republican campaign strategist who has helped organize Tea Party protests and the widely-covered disruption of town meetings leading up to the 2010 elections.⁴⁹ Apart from their work with Droz, AFP continued to fight the progress of renewable energy. In a 2012 press release headlined “Americans for Prosperity to Combat ‘Global Wind Day’ Fanaticism this Friday, June 15,” an AFP state director commented: “Far left European groups and other radical elements of the environmental movement want to use this event to spread their propaganda about offshore wind energy.”⁵⁰ In reality, it was a Sierra Club pro-wind rally at the New Jersey shore.

AFP followed up its Global Wind Day attacks with an advertisement hitting President Obama on his support for green-energy jobs and the solar industry.⁵¹ The *Washington Post’s* “Fact Checker” blog gave the advertisement a “four Pinocchio” rating — the most egregious manipulations of the truth or, in the Post’s words, “whoppers.”⁵²

Droz continues to be a man to watch. Given Koch’s virtually limitless funding strength, the collaboration of Droz and AFP conceivably could bring Droz’s “National PR Campaign” to reality and fulfill his plans to “Cause subversion in message of industry so that it effectively becomes so bad no one wants to admit in public they are for it.”⁵³

NOT IN MY — OR ANYONE ELSE’S — BACKYARD

There is no energy source that can be implemented on a large scale completely free of any environmental impact. The Sierra Club is fully acquainted with the trade-offs between sources — whether they be water quality, carbon emissions warming the climate, the management of dangerous nuclear waste, or the effect of poorly-sited renewable-energy facilities on avian populations or desert ecosystems. Its staff and

membership is in a constant conversation about how to minimize the impact of renewable energy projects on public lands, wildlife and habitat, and overall quality of life. Evaluating individual projects must be done on a site-by-site basis. Siting renewable-energy facilities requires dialogue, cooperation, and compromise. As this good-faith dialogue ensues, there is a presumption that working through these problems will lead to better technology, better construction and operation practice, and ultimately lower-impact projects.

Similarly, the Sierra Club would always try to distinguish between legitimate conservation and economic concerns about a specific project or site and an across-the-board opposition to wind power. That separates the conscientious activist from the individual who functions as a paid hatchet man whose intent is to damage renewable energy without regard for its documented economic and environmental benefits.

The February 2012 Droz conference provides a fairly comprehensive list of “bad actors” — individuals who have built organizations that maintain a posture of legitimate concern while actually working to do broader damage to clean energy.

The Industrial Wind Energy Group (IWAG) is one such group, run by husband-and-wife team Jonathan and Lisa Linowes. Jonathan is a politically active Tea Party member and the listed owner of the IWAG website.⁵⁴ Lisa is the face of the organization, frequently writing for MasterResource, appearing in various press stories on wind energy, and even testifying before Congress (at a House of Representatives subcommittee hearing in 2012) as the “Executive Director and spokesperson” for IWAG.

Despite their mission statement to be “dedicated to providing information on industrial wind energy to enable communities and government officials to make informed decisions,”⁵⁵ IWAG received criticism from the Checks and Balances Project⁵⁶ and the *Milwaukee Sentinel* for “promot[ing] discredited problems and messengers instead of credible sources” and “disseminat[ing] negative and outright false information about wind energy.”⁵⁷

There are other organizations that have changed shape almost overnight. One example is a small anti-wind organization from Idaho, formally known as “Idahoans for Responsible Wind Energy,”⁵⁸ which abruptly rebranded itself as the ambiguous “Energy Integrity Project” (EIP) in late 2011. Following this name change, the group quickly funded and built a new website, hired a state lobbyist with significant oil

and mining connections who flew to Washington, D.C., and connected with John Droz for his February “wind warriors” conference,⁵⁹ and purchased an expensive set of billboards across eastern Idaho.⁶⁰ Marian Kirst, an editorial fellow for *High Country News*, points out that EIP is “running what appears to be a very well-funded effort against local wind-energy projects and policies.”⁶¹

The Tea Party and its connection to Americans for Prosperity provide a second example of foot soldiers recruited by the Koch network to work against renewable energy and energy efficiency. Americans for Prosperity, the Koch-funded group that collaborated with John Droz on his anti-production tax credit lobbying effort in 2012, has a long history of working hand-in-hand with Tea Party groups across the U.S. As Jane Mayer’s *New Yorker* article bluntly puts it, “Americans for Prosperity has worked closely with the Tea Party since the movement’s inception.”

Turning to the Tea Party — an umbrella term for the conglomerate of organizations across the U.S. with direct ties to both AFP and the Koch brothers — there are obvious similarities in message and even several instances of collaboration between the Tea Party and anti-renewables groups.

The Guardian provided a simple snapshot of this collaboration in its May 2012 story on anti-renewable efforts. Tea Party activist Carolyn Gerwin provided insight into her activities and, specifically, the Droz “wind warriors” meeting:

“Everybody is amateur and everybody is learning from the ground up and re-inventing the wheel and the discussion among some of us was as to whether or not we could be a little more efficient and share resources and information,” said Carolyn Gerwin, an attorney and Tea Party activist from Pontiac, Illinois, who was among the participants.

Gerwin has been active in both Illinois Wind Watch and the Tea Party Patriots, and lobbied against wind energy at the state and federal level, her sign-in questionnaire for the February meeting said. “I’d like to see us develop a nationwide network of wind warriors that can be mobilized on very short notice,” she wrote in a questionnaire distributed to participants.⁶²

Gerwin’s group, Illinois Wind Watch, is a featured “Action Group” on the Illinois Tea Party’s website.⁶³ There, the links between the two groups are laid out in detail: “The Watseka/Iroquois County TEA Party joined forces with Illinois Wind Watch and Energize Illinois due to the industrial wind farms coming to Iroquois County.” The

page goes on to explain, “The main reason the Iroquois County Tea Party took on this fight was because the wind farm goes against one of our three core values, ‘fiscal responsibility...’ After digging into this subject, the Tea Party has learned the government is more involved in the wind farms than anyone could ever imagine.”⁶⁴ Gerwin’s anti-wind website is also promoted across the country, appearing on the South Florida Tea Party’s website as well.⁶⁵

The Koch’s penchant for fostering business-friendly, “free market” ideology ties in well with the missions of AFP and the Tea Party. As this report shows, the Kochs are adept at funding special interest causes, particularly through back channels. Whether or not big oil money is flowing all the way to the Tea Party’s fight against renewable energy is not yet fully known. But given AFP’s close relationship with the Tea Party, the question is certainly worth asking.



THE MOTHER'S MILK OF POLITICS

THE COST OF DIRTYING CLEAN ENERGY

Ambitious efforts to change the political landscape to fit a certain set of interests are very unlikely to happen on a shoestring. Most of the activities described in this report have not taken place overnight, nor have they happened by accident. Hours of work and dedicated individuals have collaborated to build a meaningful opposition to renewable energy, whether through the previously discussed “think tanks,” “citizens groups,” or political contributions. These efforts have also required a significant amount of funding. Without money, John Droz’s activities would be confined to basic Internet activism. With support from the Koch’s Americans for Prosperity, however, Droz is able to run a phone-based lobbying campaign and, potentially, launch a national PR plan.

Following the trail of money in politics is often a difficult task. This section on money — that is, the funding behind a coordinated anti-renewable effort — naturally must rely heavily on publically available data. Nevertheless, the evidence does suggest such an effort, with funding links to big corporations, wealthy donors, “free-market” cause-based organizations, and questionable citizens groups all coming into focus.

Private funding links between big fossil fuel corporations like Koch Industries or Exxon Mobil and many special interest groups such as the Heartland Institute are well documented. In 2010, Greenpeace authored several comprehensive reports aimed at documenting the links between corporate interest money and climate change denial.⁶⁶ Their report on the Koch brothers characterized Koch Industries as the “kingpin of climate science denial” and uncovered \$61.48 million that has been “quietly funneled to climate-denial front groups.”⁶⁷

In her famous *New Yorker* article, “Covert Operations,” journalist Jane Mayer highlighted the Koch’s denial of ties to the Tea Party movement, as well as the subsequent evidence of coordination between Koch-funded front groups like Americans for Prosperity and Tea Party activists. “No funding has been provided

by Koch companies, the Koch foundations, or Charles Koch or David Koch specifically to support the tea parties,’ David Koch told the *New Yorker*.⁶⁸ However, a political operative working for AFP outlined the Koch group’s role as working to “‘educate’ Tea Party activists on policy details, and to give them ‘next-step training’ after their rallies, so that their political energy could be channeled [*sic*] ‘more effectively.’”⁶⁹ The founder of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonpartisan watchdog group, characterized this massive undertaking, noting, “The Kochs are on a whole different level. There’s no one else who has spent this much money. The sheer dimension of it is what sets them apart. They have a pattern of lawbreaking [*sic*], political manipulation, and obfuscation. I’ve been in Washington since Watergate, and I’ve never seen anything like it. They are the Standard Oil of our times.”⁷⁰

Exxon Mobil has a similar history, donating nearly \$1.5 million to ALEC since 1998 and remaining a “Chairmen”-level sponsor of ALEC’s 2011 annual meeting.⁷¹ A 2010 Bloomberg News article investigated the collaboration between ALEC and Exxon Mobil, and how the relationship directly contributed to state laws heavily influenced by Exxon’s interests.

*Koch Industries Inc. and Exxon Mobil Corp. (XOM) are among companies that would benefit from almost identical energy legislation introduced in state capitals from Oregon to New Mexico to New Hampshire — and that’s by design. The energy companies helped write the legislation at a meeting organized by a group they finance, the American Legislative Exchange Council, a Washington-based policy institute known as ALEC. The corporations, both ALEC members, took a seat at the legislative drafting table beside elected officials and policy analysts by paying a fee between \$3,000 and \$10,000, according to documents obtained by Bloomberg News.*⁷²

Given special interest groups’ unprecedented access to U.S. politics courtesy of the 2010 *Citizens United v. the Federal Election Commission* decision by the Supreme

Court of the United States, fundraising has taken on a new, ambitious role in today’s political landscape. Due to the torrents of corporate cash unleashed by that ruling, money is changing hands in ever-increasing amounts. Special-interest-group spending for the 2012 election has risen 1600 percent since 2008.⁷³

The energy sector is not immune from this ever-growing emphasis, of course. According to the money-in-politics tracking group, Open Secrets, the oil and gas industry was a “top-spending industry in 2011”⁷⁴ in the policy arena, spending more than \$146 million on lobbying alone. The top spender, ConocoPhillips, had a record-setting year, pushing out over \$20.5 million – nearly \$6 million more than Shell, the No. 2 spender. ExxonMobil, Chevron, American Petroleum Institute, and Koch Industries round out the top six, combining for a grand total of more than \$74 million in one year alone.⁷⁵

FIGURE 1 – TOP 10 OIL & GAS LOBBYING COMPANIES, 2011

Client/Parent	Total
ConocoPhillips	\$20,557,043
Royal Dutch Shell	\$14,790,000
Exxon Mobil	\$12,730,000
Chevron Corp.	\$9,510,000
American Petroleum Institute	\$8,640,000
Koch Industries	\$8,360,000
BP	\$8,130,000
Occidental Petroleum	\$4,295,769
Williams Companies	\$3,765,000
Anadarko Petroleum	\$3,720,000

While these numbers are huge and indicative of the huge persuasive capabilities of the oil industry, lobbying is just one avenue for fossil-fuel money to reach the political system.

The Koch brothers would appear to prefer using their vast resources to help candidates get into office rather than through lobbying. Their campaign expenditures

place Koch Industries and Oxbow Corp. in two of the top three campaign spending slots for 2011-2012. Combined, the oil and gas industry gave more than \$22.6 million to members of Congress in the 2010 election cycle.⁷⁶ The industry is on pace to spend a comparable figure this cycle, having already contributed nearly \$17.8 million as of July 2012.⁷⁷ Further, they give widely. Oil and gas gave to 387 – or 88 percent – of all members of the House of Representatives in the 2010 election cycle. The industry also gave to 89 out of 100 Senators.⁷⁸ In both chambers of Congress combined, Republicans accounted for receiving 86 percent of all donations.

The Koch Political Action Committee is a major player in these efforts. During 2Q 2012, Koch PAC spent \$37,600 in unlimited contributions to numerous energy-related House campaigns. Unsurprisingly, Rep. Pompeo got the biggest slice of the money, taking \$15,000.⁷⁹

Understanding the effects of campaign contributions is never a precise science. But even minimal exposure to the system convinces the observer of the fact that savvy givers don’t give money for nothing. Some are more candid about it than others, but most large donors expect attention to their issues and concerns. Certainly Rep. Pompeo has been productive, if somewhat deceptive, on behalf of oil and gas interests. Despite the conservative lip service to believing in a “free market,” political spending by the fossil-fuel industry would plausibly be expected to ensure protection of the \$113.355 billion in tax breaks and subsidies laid out in Sen. Sanders’ fact sheet, 89 percent of which are strictly oil-and-gas-related.⁸⁰

FEEDING THE MISINFORMATION MACHINE

Political spending is a tool for manipulating public policy, but politicians can only deliver what public opinion will

FIGURE 2 – PARTIAL LIST OF OIL & GAS SUBSIDIES

OIL and GAS

- **Eliminate royalty relief, including for deep gas and deep water production, 43 USC 1337, 42 USC 15904 and 15905 (Sec 3) - \$0.1 billion** (CBO estimate of just the deep gas and deep water royalty relief, from analysis of S. 916 112th Congress) – this provision repeals authority for the Department of Interior to provide discretionary royalty relief, and also repeals special royalty relief for deep water drilling.
- **Ultra deep water research program repeal, 42 USC 16371 (Sec 5) - \$.100 billion** (President’s FY2013 budget) – repeals 2005 public-private partnership to increase offshore production of oil and gas.
- **Uncap 75 million for spill liability and 350 million for pipeline clean-up for tar sands, 33 USC 2704 (Sec 6)** – current law limits economic damages for an individual offshore oil spill to \$75 million, this section would make liability unlimited so that corporations are fully responsible for the damage they cause. It would also uncap liability for spill damages, currently at \$350 million, for tar sands pipeline operators.
- **Eliminate enhanced oil recovery credit, 26 USC 43 (Sec 14) – 15 percent income tax credit** for advanced oil recovery investments.
- **Eliminate marginal wells credit, 26 USC 45 I (Sec 14) – tax credit** for production from marginal and inefficient wells.

allow. Public perception plays a major role in the oil and gas industries' economic success. Oil giant BP learned this lesson in a vivid manner in the wake of its disastrous 2010 oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico. Nearly two years later, BP is running controversial advertisements seeking to boost tourism in the Gulf Coast region and having some success rehabilitating its public image.⁸¹

The “Merchants of Doubt” strategy keys on the nearly constant generation of misinformation in order to change the terms of the debate. The oil and gas message is now focused on touting the benefits of fossil fuels—including a veritable fountain of cheap natural gas from hydrofracking—while constantly pushing out tired and inaccurate lines about clean energy being too expensive, unworkable because of intermittency, and the like. As previously highlighted, groups like the Manhattan Institute employ fulltime public relations experts like Robert Bryce to write favorable articles and appear on television.

Direct funding ties can be difficult to find, especially for many of the organizations that file as non-profit groups. But there is enough evidence out there to suggest a pattern of strategic fossil-fuel financing. One comprehensive report by the Center for American Progress Action Fund (CAPAF) “identified at least \$85 million the Koch brothers have given to at least 85 right-wing think tanks and advocacy groups over the past decade and a half.”⁸² CAPAF goes on to note:

*This list of organizations is long but they have one common thread: promoting an anti-tax, antiregulatory ideology that will ultimately gut government's ability to ensure markets functioning properly for everyone and protect consumers against abuses in the system. In addition to promoting this right-wing ideology, some of the groups on this list, such as the Competitive Enterprise Institute, seek to undermine the science behind climate change.*⁸³

Observing trends in messaging and based on the evidence in this report, it's clear that many of these groups are also adopting a hardline anti-renewable stance, once again couched in “free market” language.

Following in the Koch's footsteps, Exxon Mobil engaged in a pattern of funding climate change skeptics and “free market” groups—many of which also actively fight renewable energy. This was even admitted by Exxon media relations manager, Alan Jeffers, in a letter to the *New York Times*: “When Exxon Mobil provides financial support to public policy organizations we do so openly and transparently by publishing our contributions on our Web site annually. The approximately 50 public

policy groups to which Exxon Mobil provides support include some of the finest institutions in the world and encompass a range of points of view on a wide variety of policy topics.”⁸⁴

The spin sounds well intentioned, but many of the familiar anti-renewable organizations can be found on Mr. Jeffers' list of unnamed “public policy” groups. Documentation provided by Greenpeace shows that Exxon is directly funding organizations such as ALEC, Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow (CFACT), Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, and the Heartland Institute.⁸⁵ From Exxon's “Worldwide Giving Reports” and Internal Revenue Service documents:

- ALEC — over \$1.5 million since 1998
- CFACT — \$582,000 since 1998
- Manhattan Institute — \$600,000 since 1998
- Heartland Institute — \$676,500 since 1998

Each of these groups is actively working to slow or stop the adoption of renewable energy and efficiency. Examples include articles from CFACT's Paul Driessen⁸⁶ and Manhattan's Robert Bryce⁸⁷—spinmeisters who attempt to embed anti-renewable stereotypes in the public mind—at the state level via proposed legislation⁸⁸, and misinformation targeting renewable-energy policy.

O'Dwyers, a trade publication for the public relations industry, pegged Exxon's total spending on public influence groups at \$16 million from 1998 to 2005.⁸⁹ More recent information—from Exxon itself—shows a rise in donations, topping \$7.7 million for 2011 alone.

For a time, renewable energy enjoyed a honeymoon period of public support because of its outstanding benefits; however, anti-renewables groups have been busy casting doubt on the justification and benefits that for years were assumed. They assert outrageous cost as a given. They assume grid instability as a necessary byproduct of renewable generation. They pretend that because something is “green,” it must automatically need mountains of subsidies to compete against their tried-and-true technologies (which, they forget to mention, receive permanent subsidies).

OIL MONEY IN NANTUCKET SOUND

Perhaps the most celebrated example of Koch money directly supporting an anti-renewable cause is William Koch's support of the Alliance to Protect Nantucket Sound. The Alliance is currently fighting the installation of the first offshore wind farm to be built in the U.S. The

FIGURE 3 — 990 FORM SHOWS BILL KOCH AS CO-CHAIR AND DIRECTOR OF ANTI-CAPE WIND GROUP ALLIANCE TO PROTECT NANTUCKET SOUND.

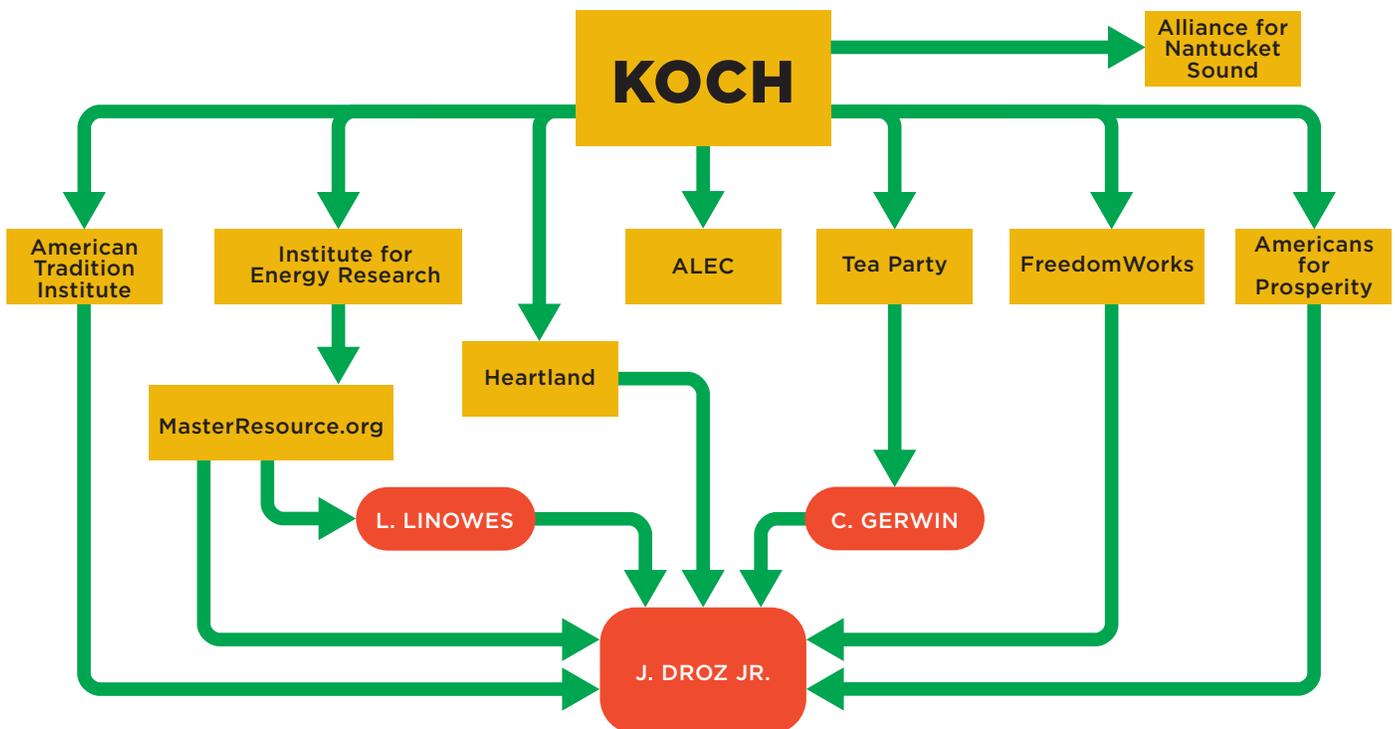
William Koch	co-chair & DIRECTOR OF the organization	100,000	This member of the Organization's board of directors made a contribution to the organization that was designated to pay the President's salary in the amount of \$100,000	No
<small>For Privacy Act and Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the Instructions for Form 990 Cat No 50056A Schedule L (Form 990 or 990-EZ) 2009</small>				

group has successfully delayed the project since 2001, when Cape Wind first proposed the offshore site.⁹⁰

While the Alliance is largely a local group, concerned about the possible environmental, aesthetic, and economic impacts of the wind farm, their efforts have been sustained almost entirely by Mr. Koch and his gas and coal conglomerate, Oxbow Corp. In a 2006 interview with *Forbes*, Mr. Koch admitted spending \$1.5 million on the Alliance.⁹¹ The group's 2011 annual report form filed in Massachusetts includes Mr. Koch as a co-chairman for the organization — despite his Palm Beach, Florida, address, thousands of miles from Nantucket Sound.⁹² The Alliance's 2009 990 IRS form indicates that Mr. Koch also paid most of President Audra Parker's \$147,499 salary.⁹³ Finally, on top of the personal money spent by Mr. Koch to ensure the continued harassment of the Cape Wind project, his company, Oxbow Corp., has turned up on lobbying disclosure filings, spending

\$320,000 to lobby the Federal Aviation Administration on behalf of the Alliance.⁹⁴

Most of the Kochs' contributions to the anti-renewable effort have included significant funding. Mr. Koch's personal involvement with the Alliance to Protect Nantucket Sound is very likely related to the vacation property that he owns in the region. However, when considered in the context of this report, all of the various Koch contributions point in a single direction: promoting the self-interests of large fossil-fuel companies while simultaneously attacking the reputation of and support for clean-energy technology for the future.





CONCLUSION

It is a testament to the success and rapid growth of clean-energy resources that they are now regarded as enough of a threat to draw fire from some of the largest, most powerful corporations on the planet. But with this rising status, there comes a heightened degree of difficulty that the renewable and efficiency companies — as well as advocates for their products as an environmental solution — must both recognize and contend with. The Koch brothers, Exxon Mobil, Peabody Energy, and others are playing for keeps. They have unlimited resources and we have documented that they are committing them to undermining clean energy. We clearly face a dog-eat-dog environment and must respond with as much vigor and aggressiveness as those who would see wind, solar, geothermal, and other technologies fade into the sunset — a product of a brief period in American economic history when the competitive environment was a friendly place for clean energy.

Now is a critical time. Although more than a decade late, EPA is enforcing the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. Finally challenged to pay its freight in health and environmental costs, much of the coal industry's aging infrastructure is unable to both clean up and field a competitive product. The slew of retiring coal plants creates market space in the electric sector that could be filled by both efficiency and renewable energy solutions. It is an open question whether clean energy or only slightly-less-bad fossil fuels step into that void.

Advocates and the industries need to step up and answer the questions raised by conservative anti-clean-energy advocates, and we must call out their untenable assumptions about the true nature of energy markets. They shouldn't be able to hide behind libertarian fantasy when their true intent is winning competitive advantage and making more money.

Clean energy is truly under siege, but it retains its inherent advantage as the best set of solutions to help us face a warming world and its attendant challenges. The "Merchants of Doubt" strategy lost — on tobacco, on acid rain, on ozone depletion — and it will ultimately lose on climate disruption. We must drive forward with innovation and answers that give Americans what they have always wanted: energy that enables us to live modern lives, but which does not carry the destructive costs with which coal and oil use have saddled our planet. The Koch brothers appear to have no intention of delivering that.

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